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CICERO

THE LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

III

CICERO

THE LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN THREE VOLUMES

III

(INCLUDING THE LETTERS TO QUINTUS)

THE LETTERS TO BRUTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON



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INTRODUCTION

THIS collection of Cicero's "Letters to his Friends" was preserved and edited by his secretary Tiro. The collection is inadequately entitled, as it includes several letters, some of them of profound interest, from his friends to Cicero. There are 426 letters, divided into sixteen books, not arranged in any sort of order,^a chronological or otherwise, except that letters from or to particular correspondents are generally grouped together; the third book, for instance, consists exclusively of letters from Cicero to Appius Claudius Pulcher, and the eighth book of letters from Marcus Caelius Rufus to Cicero.

The earliest letter is one from Cicero to Pompey (x. 7) dated 62 B.C., the year after Cicero's consulship; the latest is one from him to Cassius (xii. 10) written in 43 B.C., the year after the assassination of Caesar, and a few months before his own.

These nineteen years from 62 to 43 B.C. cover a period of supreme importance in the history of the Roman Republic—a period more minutely described and vividly illustrated in these letters, giving us as they do the different points of view of various correspondents, than even in the "Letters to Atticus," written by Cicero alone.

^a The confusion thus caused is to some extent obviated by a summary, in chronological order, prefixed to each volume, of the events in each year covered by the Letters.

INTRODUCTION

The Letters vary greatly in interest and style; while many of them contain matter of the highest literary or historical value—as, for instance, Cicero's explanation of his political change of front (i. 9), Sulpicius Rufus's letter of condolence to Cicero on the death of his daughter Tullia (iv. 5) and Matius's defence of his friendship for Caesar (xi. 28)—others are no more than merely formal documents.

The text is based on that of Nobbe (1849); but where there was an obvious call for emendation in that text I have not hesitated to adopt other readings, always with due acknowledgement.

Such universally accepted orthographical corrections as *cum* for *quum*, *consili* for *consilii*, and *causa* for *caussa* I have made as a matter of course.

To Tyrrell and Purser's exhaustive (it has rightly been described as "monumental") *Commentary on the Correspondence of Cicero*^a I have made constant reference, and owe more than I can tell; I have depended upon it, too, for the dates of the letters. Watson's *Select Letters* (with the recently revised edition by Mr. W. W. How), and Pritchard and Bernard's *Selected Letters for the use of Schools* have been of invaluable assistance to me, and I have freely consulted the admirable translations of all or some of the letters by E. S. Shuckburgh, G. E. Jeans, and S. H. Jeyes.

To all the above distinguished Ciceronians I acknowledge with gratitude my very deep indebtedness.

^a Referred to in my notes for the sake of brevity as "Tyrrell."

INTRODUCTION

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The oldest and soundest ms. of the *Epistulae ad Familiares* is the Codex Mediceus 49. 9, now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. This is known as M. Other mss., each giving some of the letters, are :

G, Codex Harleianus 2773, in the British Museum.

R, Codex Parisianus 17812, in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

(G and R are closely connected, and both independent of M.)

T, Codex Turonensis 688, in the Library of Tours.

H, Codex Harleianus 2682, in the British Museum.

F, Codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis, 252, which closely follows H.

D, Codex Palatinus, originally at Heidelberg, now in the Vatican.

Of these M alone contains all the *Epistulae ad Familiares*, G, R, and T giving different portions of Bks. I. to VIII., and H, F, and D of Bks. IX. to XVI.

A CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY
OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN
THE LIFE OF CICERO

DATE B.C.

- 106. Cicero is born on Jan. 3 near Arpinum.
- 89. Serves under Cn. Pompeius Strabo in the Marsic War.
- 86. Writes his *De inventione*.
- 80. Delivers his speech *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino*.
- 79-78. Travels in Greece and Asia.
- 77. Returns to Rome, and marries Terentia.
- 75-74. Serves as quaestor for Lilybaeum in Sicily.
- 70. Accuses Verres. First Consulship of Pompey and Crassus.
- 69. Curule aedile.
- 66. Praetor. Speech *Pro lege Manilia*.
- 64. Elected Consul with C. Antonius Hybrida (the latter by a small majority over Catiline).

63 B.C.

§ 1. Cicero, being now consul, successfully opposes the agrarian law of the tribune P. Servilius Rullus, which was in the interests of Caesar and Crassus, and
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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

intended to check the growing power of Pompey. Caesar is elected Pontifex Maximus. Cicero carries in the Senate the proposal of a *supplicatio* of unusual length to Pompey in honour of his eastern triumphs.

§ 2. Having conciliated his colleague C. Antonius by resigning to him the governorship in 62 of the rich province of Macedonia, Cicero felt himself able in the autumn of 63 to oppose the treasonable designs of L. Sergius Catilina, of which he had full information from the spy, L. Curius. In the consular elections for 62 Catiline was again defeated. On October 21 Cicero foretold the rising of the Catilinarian Manlius in Etruria on the 27th. Martial law was proclaimed, and the conspirators failed in an attempt to seize Praeneste on November 1, and another plot to murder Cicero was exposed. But Catiline had the audacity to appear in the Senate on November 8, when Cicero so crushingly denounced him that he left Rome to take command of the insurgents in Etruria.

§ 3. Certain envoys of the Allobroges, having been approached by the conspirators to supply Catiline with cavalry, were arrested, and on the strength of incriminating letters found upon them the following five conspirators were seized and imprisoned—P. Lentulus Sura (praetor), C. Cethegus (senator), L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Cimber, and M. Caeparius; and at a meeting of the Senate on December 5, mainly at the instance of M. Cato, though Caesar, then praetor elect, was opposed to it, a decree was carried that the five conspirators arrested should be put to death, and that same evening they were strangled under Cicero's supervision.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

§ 4. On December 29 the tribune Q. Metellus Nepos vetoed Cicero's address to the people on going out of office, alleging that " he had put citizens to death without a trial " ; but Cicero's declaration that he had thereby saved his country was received with applause. This Metellus was one of Pompey's officers and was probably instigated by his general, who was chagrined that Cicero, and not he, should have quelled the conspiracy.

62 B.C.

Consuls : D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena

§ 1. Catiline, making for Cisalpine Gaul with Manlius's army, is met by Metellus Celer and thrown back on the army of C. Antonius. In a battle near Pistoria the insurgents were utterly and finally defeated, and Catiline slain.

§ 2. Cicero resents Pompey's lukewarm appreciation of his services to the Republic (v. 7).

§ 3. In December P. Claudius Pulcher, commonly known as Clodius, " one of the most profligate characters of a profligate age," disguised as a female musician profaned the mysteries of the Bona Dea, which were being celebrated by Roman matrons at the house of Caesar. He was discovered and brought to trial in 61.

61 B.C.

*Consuls : M. Pupius Piso and M. Valerius
Messalla Niger*

§ 1. Pompey, having returned from the east and disbanded his army in the preceding December,
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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

addressed the Roman people in January of this year, but failed to create a good impression. He disapproved of the bill for Clodius's prosecution, and being distrusted by the extremists in the Senate, found himself so isolated that he made overtures to Cicero.

§ 2. The consul Pupius Piso also opposed the bill for an inquiry into Clodius's affair, but the trial ultimately came on, with the result that by means of the grossest bribery Clodius was acquitted. Cicero had given evidence cancelling an alibi put up by Clodius, who swore to be avenged upon him, and proved to be a formidable foe, owing to his family connexions, and his influence over the city populace.

60 B.C.

*Consuls : L. Afranius and Q. Caecilius
Metellus Celer*

§ 1. Led by the consul Metellus Celer, now at enmity with Pompey for having divorced his half-sister Mucia, the Senate, by obstinately opposing Pompey's plans in Asia and grants of land to his veterans, completely alienated him, and by refusing all concessions to the *publicani* in Asia offended the *equites* from among whom the *publicani* were mainly drawn. Pompey was ultimately forced into a coalition with Caesar, who returned to Rome in June to canvass for the consulship, which by the aid of Pompey and Crassus he secured.

§ 2. The *optimates*, however, brought about by bribery the election as Caesar's colleague of

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

M. Calpurnius Bibulus, a staunch aristocrat, but a *fainéant* consul.

§ 3. Caesar, having effected the reconciliation of Pompey and Crassus, now invited Cicero to join them, but he preferred to retain his independence, and the coalition (incorrectly called the first triumvirate) of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, to which he might have belonged, was established without him.

59 B.C.

Consuls : C. Julius Caesar and M. Calpurnius Bibulus

§ 1. Caesar, having failed to carry through the Senate an agrarian law providing *inter alia* for Pompey's veterans, brought another law before the assembly of the people distributing the *ager Campanus* among those veterans, and this law was carried despite the opposition of the consul Bibulus and some of the tribunes.

§ 2. P. Vatinius, one of the most unprincipled men of the time, was a humble hireling of Caesar, and now as tribune he carried the famous Lex Vatinia, which gave Caesar the command of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum with three legions for five years; and the Senate, on the motion of Pompey (now, by his marriage with Julia, Caesar's son-in-law), added Transalpine Gaul to his command, with a fourth legion.

§ 3. In March Cicero, in defending his former colleague C. Antonius, who was accused of extortion as proconsul of Macedonia, attacked the triumvirate, causing grave offence to Caesar, who immediately

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

retaliated by sanctioning the adoption into a plebeian family of Cicero's enemy Clodius, thus making him eligible for the tribunate, where he would be in a stronger position to wreak his vengeance on Cicero.

58 B.C.

*Consuls : L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus
and Aulus Gabinius*

§ 1. Clodius, who had been elected tribune in the preceding October, having carried some very popular measures in January, further established his position in February by promulgating a law assigning to the consuls on their going out of office the provinces they most desired—Syria to Gabinius, and Macedonia with Achaia to Piso,—but he made the law contingent upon the passing of two other measures which were subsequently carried—(1) a commission giving to Cato the annexation of Cyprus, and (2) an enactment “that anyone who had put Roman citizens to death without a trial should be forbidden fire and water.”

§ 2. Cicero, realizing that the enactment was aimed at himself, put on mourning and threw himself on the mercy of the people. The senators and *equites* also went into mourning, but were compelled by an edict of the consuls to dress as usual. Caesar stated in public that he thought Cicero had acted illegally in putting Lentulus Sura to death, and Pompey, on being appealed to, referred Cicero to the consuls, who had already shown their hostility. Finally Cicero, at the instance of his family and Hortensius, left Rome and went into exile at the end of March. He was immediately declared an outlaw by Clodius,

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

and his house on the Palatine and villas at Formiae and Tusculum were pillaged and dismantled.

§ 3. Cicero went to Brundisium and thence to Thessalonica, where he sojourned for seven months at the house of his friend, the quaestor Cn. Plancius. As the year went on the situation at Rome became brighter for him ; Clodius had offended Pompey by aiding the escape from Rome of the Armenian prince Tigranes whom Pompey had captured, by defeating the consul Gabinius in a street riot, and even forcing Pompey to shut himself up in his house. Moreover, Lentulus Spinther, one of the consuls elected, was personally devoted to Cicero, and the other, Metellus Nepos, a friend of Pompey ; while among the new tribunes T. Annius Milo, T. Fadius, and P. Sestius strenuously advocated Cicero's recall. His son-in-law also, C. Calpurnius Piso, who had married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63, and was now quaestor, exercised what influence he had in the interests of his father-in-law.

57 B.C.

*Consuls : P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther
and Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos*

§ 1. No sooner had the consul Lentulus entered into office on January 1 than he brought before the Senate, with the approval of Pompey, the question of Cicero's recall ; and despite the obstruction of two of the tribunes, the people, led by Fabricius and all the praetors (except Appius Claudius Pulcher, Clodius's brother), passed in their Assembly (the *comitia centuriata*) on January 23 a provisional decree recalling Cicero. The Senate thanked Cn. Plancius and others for sheltering Cicero in his
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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

banishment, and summoned the Italians to vote finally for his recall in the Assembly, and the bill was carried with enthusiastic unanimity on August 4, the voters being protected from Clodius and his armed ruffians by troops under the command of Milo.

§ 2. Cicero, who had come down to Dyrrachium in the preceding autumn, now crossed over to Brundisium, where he was informed by his brother Quintus of the passing of the decree for his recall, and, after a triumphal progress homeward, re-entered Rome amid universal rejoicings on September 4.

§ 3. Later on, on the motion of Cicero, Pompey is granted the *imperium* in the form of the control of the corn supply (*curatio rei annonariae*) for five years; and on the expiry of their terms of office Lentulus receives Cilicia, and Nepos Hither Spain, as his province.

§ 4. Ptolemy Auletes (the Flute-player), king of Egypt, father of Cleopatra, having been expelled by his subjects, comes to seek the assistance of Rome, and the Senate decrees that his restoration should be entrusted to the next governor of Cilicia, *i.e.* the then consul, Lentulus Spinther.

56 B.C.

Consuls: Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, who supported the optimates and opposed the triumvirs; and L. Marcius Philippus, who later married Atia, widow of C. Octavius, and so became the stepfather of Augustus

§ 1. In January the question of the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes is reopened and hotly debated in the Senate, and Cicero sends Lentulus, now pro-consul of Cilicia, a full account of the voting. Pompey,

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

though ostensibly supporting the claims of Lentulus to effect the restoration, was anxious to secure for himself a commission which would not only be highly lucrative, but would give him a fleet, an army, and a base in Egypt. Cicero felt bound to support his benefactor Lentulus, and the majority of the Senate were afraid or jealous of Pompey, when, very opportunely for them, the tribune C. Cato discovered a Sibylline oracle, forbidding the restoration of Ptolemy by anyone *cum multitudine hominum* ("with a host of men"). This is the *religio* referred to in Bk. i. 2 and 3. The wranglings in the Senate ended in no settlement, but Ptolemy was ultimately restored by A. Gabinius in 55.

§ 2. Clodius, who still lorded it in the streets of Rome, escaped being prosecuted by Milo by being elected *curule aedile*, and turned the tables on Milo by accusing him in February of *vis* (breach of the peace). Pompey, when defending Milo, was shouted down by Clodius's ruffians, who declared that Crassus, and not Pompey, should restore Ptolemy. This led Pompey to suspect that Crassus was aiding and abetting the rioters. The result of the trial was the closer alliance of Pompey and Milo, and the more definite support of Clodius by the extreme aristocrats—Curio, Bibulus, Favonius, and others.

§ 3. Later in February, Cicero, in defending P. Sestius, who had strongly favoured his recall, and was now accused of *vis*, made his speech (as Watson describes it) "a regular political manifesto," and converted his *interrogatio* (cross-examination) of P. Vatinius, now a witness for the prosecution, into a bitter attack upon him as the author of the *Lex Vatinia* in 59 (see 59 B.C., § 2). The acquittal

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

of Sestius encouraged Cicero to hope for the restoration of the Republic, or at any rate the dissolution of the coalition, Pompey being still at feud with Crassus (§ 2) and jealous of Caesar.

§ 4. Cicero therefore, partly with a view of widening the breach between Pompey and Caesar, proposed the suspension of Caesar's law about the *ager Campanus* (see 59 B.C., § 1) on the grounds that the State could not afford any more allotments. This would not affect Pompey, whose veterans had already been provided for, whereas Caesar would be precluded from using the remaining land for his own veterans. He also saw that the repeal of the agrarian law would be followed by that of the Vatinian.

§ 5. Having therefore previously interviewed Crassus at Ravenna, Caesar took him with him to join Pompey at Luca, a town of Liguria in N. Italy; and here the coalition of 60 (see 60 B.C., § 3) was not only renewed but developed into an omnipotent triumvirate who could settle the affairs of the State at their own discretion.

§ 6. This to Cicero, the Republican, and life-long advocate of *concordia ordinum* ("the harmony of the senatorial and equestrian orders"), was a crushing political calamity, but he had to bow to the inevitable, and the famous letter 9 in Bk. I. is his *apologia* for his change of front. Withdrawing his motion on the *ager Campanus*, he supported a motion in the Senate to provide pay for Caesar's troops and allowing him to appoint ten *legati*. This was followed by his brilliant speech *De provinciis consularibus*, practically a panegyric upon Caesar and his achievements in Gaul.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

§ 7. Clodius's turbulence in 56-57 had estranged Pompey, who now leaned to the side of Milo, but the extreme *optimates* (including M. Cato, who was indebted to Clodius for a commission to settle the affairs of Cyprus in 58) showed such fulsome partiality for Clodius, that Cicero, being earnestly requested by Caesar, whom he could not now disobey, to undertake the defence of Vatinius, whom he particularly detested, adroitly converted his predicament into a means of annoying the *optimates* saying that "if *they* coquetted with one Publius (viz. Clodius), *he* would coquet with another Publius (viz. Vatinius) by way of reprisal" (i. 9. 19).

55 B.C.

Consuls (after an "interregnum" in January caused by the tribune C. Cato): Cn. Pompeius and M. Licinius Crassus, both for the second time, having been consuls together in 70

§ 1. Crassus carries his Lex Licinia for the suppression of *sodalicia* ("political combinations"). Pompey opens his new theatre with shows of unparalleled magnificence, but his wholesale slaughter of elephants disgusts not only Cicero, but the people generally.

§ 2. Cicero finishes his *De oratore*. Crassus sets out for Syria, and his departure, together with the death of Pompey's wife Julia, Caesar's daughter, put an end to even the semblance of friendship between Pompey and Caesar.

§ 3. Gabinius marches into Egypt, occupies Alexandria, and restores the ex-king Ptolemy Auletes.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

54 B.C.

Consuls: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, an optimate, who married M. Crassus's sister Porcia, and fell at Pharsalia in 48, and Appius Claudius Pulcher

§ 1. Cicero helps to secure the acquittal of his former enemy, P. Vatinius, who requited his kindness after Pharsalia and later, and at Pompey's instance defends, though unsuccessfully, his former enemy, A. Gabinius; and also defends successfully his old friend Cn. Plancius, charged with *ambitus*, in his famous speech *Pro Plancio*.

§ 2. His brother, Q. Cicero, goes over from Pompey to Caesar as his legate, and serves him with distinction in Britain and Gaul; and this leads to a *rapprochement* between Cicero and Caesar.

53 B.C.

Consuls, after disorder lasting till July: Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messalla

Defeat and murder of M. Crassus in June, near Carrhae. Cicero is more deeply affected by the death, a little earlier, of M. Crassus's son, Publius (v. 8. 4). Cicero succeeds Crassus as augur, and supports Milo's candidature for the consulship, recommending him to C. Scribonius Curio, to whom he writes a series of letters (ii. 1-7).

52 B.C.

About the middle of January Clodius is slain near Bovillae by the retainers of Milo; his body is buried by his supporters in the forum, when the senate-house caught fire and was destroyed; martial law

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

is proclaimed, and finally Pompey is made sole consul, being allowed to retain the government of Spain. Milo is accused of *vis* and condemned. He goes into exile at Massilia.

51 B.C.

Consuls : Servius Sulpicius Rufus and M. Claudius Marcellus

Cicero goes to Cilicia as proconsul, succeeding Appius Claudius, who had succeeded Lentulus in 54, and M. Calpurnius Bibulus goes to Syria. Cicero is kept fully informed of what occurs in Rome by his friend M. Caelius Rufus (Bk. VIII. of these Letters).

50 B.C.

Consuls : C. Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the consul for 51. and L. Aemilius Paullus

§ 1. Cicero, after a satisfactory tenure of office, quits his province, leaving C. Caelius Caldus, his quaestor, in charge, and reaches Rome in December. He is anxious about the honours due to his Cilician successes, having so far only had a *supplicatio* voted him, but no triumph; he is also embarrassed about the marriage of his daughter Tullia with P. Cornelius Dolabella, who was prosecuting for treason Appius Claudius Pulcher, with whom Cicero desired a reconciliation.

§ 2. A motion in the Senate, that Caesar's candidature for the consulship should be considered in his absence, having been rejected, the tribune Scribonius Curio demands the disbanding of Pompey's army, which the Senate would have passed but for

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

the opposition of the consul Marcellus. Curio openly declares for Caesar, whom he joins at Ravenna, thus, according to Lucan, turning the scales against the Pompeian party (*momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum*).

49 B.C.

Consuls : L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, cousin of his namesake, the consul for 50, and brother of the consul for 51

The tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, accompanied by Caelius Rufus, leave Rome and join Caesar, who on January 11 crosses the Rubicon, and thereby declares war upon the Republic, and marching southwards finally besieges Pompey in Brundisium. On March 17 Pompey escapes to Dyrrachium, whither the consuls had gone with the bulk of his army on March 4. Cicero vacillates as to his future policy, but finally decides to throw in his lot with Pompey.

48 B.C.

Consuls : C. Julius Caesar (for the second time) and P. Servilius Isauricus

Cicero spends the first half of the year in Pompey's camp at Dyrrachium, where he conceives a poor opinion of Pompey's army; he is still there when he hears of the utter defeat of Pompey by Caesar near Pharsalus on August 7 and his flight to Egypt. Crossing with the Pompeians from Dyrrachium to Corcyra, Cicero is threatened with death by young Cn. Pompey for refusing to take the command as senior consul. In October he returns to Italy and settles in Brundisium.

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47 B.C.

Consuls : Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius, but only for Oct., Nov., and Dec.

§ 1. Though allowed to remain in Italy when all other Pompeians were driven out, Cicero was not happy ; he had broken with his brother Quintus, and Terentia (he alleged) had mismanaged his financial affairs in his absence ; while Dolabella, his son-in-law, was so notoriously unfaithful to Tullia as to make a divorce inevitable.

§ 2. He was consoled, however, by a reassuring letter from Caesar in Egypt, who permitted him to retain his lictors and the title of *imperator* ; on Caesar's return Cicero met him and was cordially received, and being given leave to live wherever he liked, he chose Tusculum, so as to be near Rome.

§ 3. Dolabella, now tribune, agitating for the abolition of debts, is opposed by his colleague, Trebellius, and the ensuing riots had to be quelled by troops under M. Antonius.

§ 4. Towards the end of the year, through Caesar's influence, Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius are elected consuls.

46 B.C.

Consuls : C. Julius Caesar (third time) and M. Aemilius Lepidus

§ 1. Caesar defeats the Pompeian army under Scipio at Thapsus in Africa, and M. Cato, preferring death to slavery, commits suicide at Utica. Returning to Rome and celebrating four triumphs in August

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

for his victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa, Caesar is made Dictator for the year.

§ 2. Cicero's letters now show a more cheerful spirit; he had now divorced Terentia, and after a short interval married his young and wealthy ward, Publilia; the marriage, however, was an unhappy one.

§ 3. Cicero wrote this year his *Partitiones oratoriae*, *Brutus*, and *Orator*.

45 B.C.

Consul (fourth time): C. Julius Caesar

§ 1. In February Tullia, shortly after her divorce from Dolabella, died in childbed. Cicero, who had loved her devotedly, refused to be comforted and sought refuge in the solitude of Astura.

§ 2. Caesar now openly aimed at monarchy, and Cicero especially resented, as an insult to the senatorial order, the election as consul for one day of Caninius Rebilus.

44 B.C.

§ 1. Caesar, now consul for the fifth time and dictator for the fourth, had already by his arrogance and ill-concealed ambition aroused the opposition of the republicans, and a conspiracy had long been maturing which culminated in his assassination on March 15 at the foot of Pompey's statue in the senate-house. By his will he adopted C. Octavius and made him his chief heir.

§ 2. On the 17th, at a meeting of the Senate in the temple of Tellus, Cicero proposed an amnesty, which the Senate passed, but at the same time ratified all Caesar's acts. After this he retired into private life for six months.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

§ 3. He had already completed his *Tusculan Disputations* and *De natura deorum*, and during the remainder of the year composed his *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *De officiis*, and several other works.

43 B.C.

Consuls: C. Vibius Pansa and A. Hirtius

After a series of events too complicated even to summarize here,^a C. Octavius, by then called Octavianus, formed a triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus, who removed their chief opponents by *proscriptio*. Among the proscribed was Cicero, who was slain on December 7th, when he was approaching the end of his sixty-fourth year.

^a A full note on the Cisalpine Campaign will be found at the beginning of Book X.

CICERO'S
LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS
BOOKS XIII-XVI

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NOTE ON CICERO'S "LITTERAE COMMENDATICIAE" IN BOOK XIII

LETTERS of recommendation are to be found scattered here and there throughout Cicero's correspondence, but Book xiii. (with the single exception of *Ep.* 68, addressed to Servilius Isauricus) consists of nothing else. There are seventy-nine letters in the Book, and of these seventy-eight are commendatory of either communities or individuals.

The great bulk of them were written in 46 B.C., a few in 45, and a few in previous years. Why so many of these letters should have been written in 46 is an interesting question, on which Cicero's position at the time may throw some light.

In 47 B.C. Cicero had received a reassuring letter from Caesar (from whom he had little to hope after the battle of Pharsalia in 48), permitting him to retain his lictors and the title of *Imperator*. When Caesar landed at Tarentum about September 25, Cicero hastened to meet him, was graciously received, and allowed to choose his own place of residence; he elected to live at Tusculum. (See Chron. Summ. for 47 B.C.)

During this and the following year Cicero was perhaps happier than he ever had been since his entry into public life. He was still on good terms with Caesar, whose generosity to himself he freely ad-

NOTE ON "LITTERAE COMMENDATICIAE"

mitted, and who, he hoped, might yet re-establish the Republic; he had divorced Terentia, whom he suspected of extravagance and dishonesty; he had married his young and wealthy ward Publilia, and had not yet tired of her; and his beloved daughter Tullia was still living. It was at this time that he composed his *Brutus* and *Orator*, and found leisure to give informal lessons in rhetoric to Hirtius and Dolabella, and his happier mood is reflected in his jocular letters to such congenial friends as Paetus (ix. 16-20).

Moreover, in 46 B.C. Cicero, with his distinguished past and his assured literary eminence (though little more than a spectator in the arena of practical politics), was probably the most widely known and influential personality, next to Caesar himself, in the Roman world. This in itself would account for the increasing numbers of those who sought his good word; and it is reasonable to suppose that the ease of mind and freedom from anxiety he now enjoyed rendered him more responsive to such appeals.

We have thus two plausible explanations of the comparative frequency of his "Litterae Commendaticiae" in this year—the enhanced value of his recommendation, and his greater accessibility to those who applied for it.

Of letters in commendation or defence of communities there are six, viz.: *Epp.* 4, advocating the claims of Volaterrae; 7, Concerning property owned in Gaul by Atella, a municipium of which Cicero was *patronus*; 9, on behalf of the Bithynian Company of the *Publicani*; 11, in defence of property owned in Gaul by his native town Arpinum; 18 B, on behalf of the Lacedaemonians; and 40

CICERO

on behalf of the Cyprians. These letters afford convincing proof of Cicero's extraordinary public influence and authority, the variety of his interests, and the wide scope of his sympathies.

The remaining seventy-two letters are commendatory of individuals. That they should generally conform to a common type is not surprising. Those who are constantly called upon for "testimonials" know how difficult it is to avoid the repetition of certain stock phrases. Cicero indeed strives, with his usual fluency and felicity, to vary his theme, but even he fails to break the monotony of these letters, of which the following may be taken as a "skeleton" specimen :

"A is a man to whom I am so much attached that I shall regard whatever you do for him as done for myself. I therefore entreat you with more than ordinary earnestness to do him this particular favour, and to befriend him in every other respect, so far as your integrity (honesty, sense of justice) and your high position permit of it." [These words recall the frequent phrase in Buckingham's letters recommending friends to Bacon when Lord Chancellor—"So far as may stand with justice and equity."] Cicero goes on : *"You will find A an excellent fellow, worthy of your friendship, and most grateful for any service you may do him."* He often, however, discounts the altruism of a letter by adding, with Pepysian candour, *"Pray make it quite clear to A that it was I who induced you to do him this kindness,"* and he sometimes attaches to a recommendation a preconcerted private mark, indicating that it is to receive particular attention.

Inspid and monotonous, however, as these letters

NOTE ON " LITTERAE COMMENDATICIAE "

must appear to those who read them *en masse*, they are yet impressive evidence of Cicero's large-hearted *bonhomie*, and his unfailing readiness to do a friend, or even an acquaintance, a good turn; in short, of that *humanitas* which was one of his dominant characteristics.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM
AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DECIMUS TERTIUS

I

M. CICERO S. D. C. MEMMIO

Athenis, A.U.C. 703.

- 1 Etsi non satis mihi constiterat, cum aliquane animi mei molestia an potius libenter te Athenis visurus essem, quod iniuria, quam accepisti, dolore me afficeret, sapientia tua, qua fers iniuriam, laetitia,

^a Gaius Memmius was of plebeian family, though that family traced its origin to Trojan times and stamped the head of Romulus on their coins. As he served as quaestor in Spain during the war with Sertorius both before and after 77 B.C., he must have been born before 104. In 66 he opposed the triumph of L. Lucullus, and as praetor in 58 he strenuously resisted Caesar's laws. In 57 he was propraetor of Bithynia, where he won the title of *imperator*, but failed, according to Catullus (x. 9-13, and xxviii.), to promote the pecuniary interests of his staff, of whom Catullus was one. In 54 he sought the Consulship, and was even supported by Caesar, whose favour he again lost by disclosing some scandal in the election, and was himself accused of bribery. To save himself he accused of bribery Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey, but was forced to drop the accusation, and went into exile at Athens. Here, by a decree

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK XIII

I

CICERO GREETES GAIUS MEMMIUS ^a

Athens, June or July, 51 B.C.

THOUGH I had not quite made up my mind whether I was going to meet you at Athens with a certain feeling of distress or rather with pleasure (since, grieved as I was at the injustice you have suffered, I rejoiced at the philosophical spirit with which you

of the Areopagus, he obtained possession of a ruinous house, once Epicurus's, intending to pull it down and build on the site, but subsequently abandoned that intention. The Epicureans at Athens wished to get the house back, but Memmius refused to give it up, and quarrelled about it with Patro, the head of the Epicurean Society. When Cicero visited Athens on his way to Cilicia, Patro begged him to get the house from Memmius, who had now gone to Mitylene. Hence this letter, written, as Cicero tells Atticus, with care (*accurate*).

But Memmius's chief claim to distinction is that it was to him that Lucretius addressed his great poem *De Rerum Natura*. Munro remarks that on all the coins of the Memmii we find Venus crowned by Love, and this gives special point to Lucr. i. 26-27 :

Memmiadae nostro, quem tu, dea, tempore in omni
omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.

CICERO

tamen vidisse te mallet. Nam quod est molestiae, non sane multo levius est, cum te non video ; quod esse potuit voluptatis. certe, si vidissem te, plus fuisset. Itaque non dubitabo dare operam, ut te videam, cum id satis commode facere potucro. Interea, quod per litteras et agi tecum et, ut arbitror, confici
2 potest, agam nunc. Ac te illud primum rogabo, ne quid invitus mea causa facias ; sed id, quod mea intelleges, tua nullam in partem multum interesse, ita mihi des, si tibi, ut id libenter facias, ante persuaseris. Cum Patrone Epicureo mihi omnia sunt ; nisi quod in philosophia vehementer ab eo dissentio. Sed et initio Romae, cum te quoque et tuos omnes observabat, me coluit in primis, et nuper, cum ea, quae voluit, de suis commodis et praemiis consecutus est, me habuit suorum defensorum et amicorum fere principem ; et iam a Phaedro, qui nobis, cum pueri essemus, antequam Philonem cognovimus, valde ut philosophus, postea tamen, ut vir bonus et suavis et officiosus probabatur, traditus mihi commendatusque
3 est. Is igitur Patro cum ad me Romam litteras misisset, uti te sibi placarem peteremque, ut nescio quid illud Epicuri parietinarum sibi concederes, nihil

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. 1.

bear it), for all that I should prefer to have seen you. For as far as the distress goes, it is not very much alleviated when you are out of my sight; whereas whatever pleasure was possible would have been undoubtedly enhanced by my having seen you. I shall not hesitate, therefore, to make every effort to see you, if I can do so with any reasonable convenience. Meanwhile, whatever business can be discussed with you and, as I believe, settled by correspondence, that I will discuss here.

And first of all I shall make this request of you— 2
to do nothing for my sake against your will; but if you perceive that what I ask is of importance to me, while of no great importance from any point of view to yourself, not to grant me even that favour unless you have previously persuaded yourself to do so with your whole heart.

With Patro the Epicurean I am in complete accord, except that I emphatically disagree with him in philosophy. But not only in the early days at Rome, while he showed deference to you too and all your friends, did he cultivate my acquaintance in a special degree, but lately also, when he realized all his wishes in the way of privileges and rewards, he regarded me as practically the leading man among his defenders and friends; and now again he has been introduced and recommended to me by Phaedrus, of whom, when I was a boy, before I knew Philo, I entertained a high opinion as a philosopher, but afterwards as an honest, amiable, and obliging man.

This Patro, then, sent me a letter when I was at 3
Rome, asking me to make his peace with you, and beg of you to yield possession to him of some tumble-down house or other (you know it), which once belonged to

CICERO

scripsi ad te ob eam rem, quod aedificationis tuae consilium mea commendatione nolebam impediri. Idem, ut veni Athenas, cum idem, ut ad te scriberem, rogasset, ob eam causam impetravit, quod te abieciſſe illam aedificationem constabat inter omnes
4 amicos tuos. Quod si ita est, et si iam plane tua nihil interest, velim, si qua offensiuncula facta est animi tui perversitate aliquorum (novi enim gentem illam), des te ad lenitatem, vel propter tuam summam humanitatem vel etiam honoris mei causa. Equidem, si quid ipse sentiam quaeris, nec cur ille tanto opere contendat video, nec cur tu repugnes, nisi tamen multo minus tibi concedi potest, quam illi, laborare sine causa. Quamquam Patronis et orationem et causam tibi cognitam esse certo scio. Honorem, officium, testamentorum ius, Epicuri auctoritatem, Phaedri obtestationem, sedem, domicilium, vestigia summorum hominum, sibi tuenda esse dicit. Totam hominis vitam rationemque, quam sequitur in philosophia, derideamus licet, si hanc eius contentionem volumus reprehendere. Sed mehercules, quando illi ceterisque, quos illa delectant, non valde inimici sumus, nescio an ignoscendum sit huic, si tanto opere

• Probably a *clique* of Epicurean extremists.

• *i.e.*, Memmius is too important a person to be troubled with such trifles.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. 1.

Epicurus ; but I wrote nothing to you for the simple reason that I did not want your scheme of building to be interfered with by any recommendation of mine. But when he also asked me, on my arrival at Athens, to write to you to the same effect, he had his request granted to him for no other reason than because your friends were unanimously agreed that you had thrown to the winds all that building scheme of yours.

If that is so, and it is now of absolutely no importance to you, I should like you, if your feelings have been ever so slightly hurt by the wrong-headedness of certain persons (I know that coterie^a), to allow yourself to incline towards leniency, whether because of your own exceptional kindness, or even as a compliment to myself.

For my part, if you ask me what my own opinion is, I fail to see either why he is so obstinately set upon it, or why you are so stoutly opposing him, except, of course, that one could far less easily allow *you* than *him* to be so needlessly troubled.^b

And yet I am well aware that you know all about Patro's petition and the merits of his case. He avers that he must keep intact his own honour and responsibility, the sanctity of testamentary dispositions, the authority of Epicurus, the solemn injunction of Phaedrus, the residence, the domicile, the very footprints of the most illustrious men. If we are inclined to find fault with the object of his present efforts, we may as well make mock of the poor fellow's whole life and the principles he follows in philosophy. But, on my oath, since I bear no particular grudge against the great man and those others who are fascinated by such doctrines, I think perhaps that we ought to forgive Patro, if he is so much troubled ;

CICERO

laborat : in quo etiamsi peccat, magis ineptiis quam
5 improbitate peccat. Sed ne plura (dicendum enim
aliquando est), Pomponium Atticum sic amo, ut
alterum fratrem. Nihil est illo mihi nec carius nec
iucundius. Is (non quo sit ex istis ; est enim omni
liberali doctrina politissimus ; sed valde diligit
Patronem, valde Phaedrum amavit) sic a me hoc
contendit, homo minime ambitiosus, minime in
rogando molestus, ut nihil unquam magis ; nec
dubitat, quin ego a te nutu hoc consequi possem,
etiam si aedificaturus esses. Nunc vero, si audierit,
te aedificationem deposuisse, neque tamen me a te
impetrasse, non te in me illiberalem, sed me in se
neglegentem putabit. Quamobrem peto a te, ut
scribas ad tuos, posse tua voluntate decretum illud
Areopagitarum, quem ὑπομνηματισμόν illi vocant,
6 tolli. Sed redeo ad prima. Prius velim tibi per-
suadeas, ut hoc mea causa libenter facias, quam ut
facias. Sic tamen habeto : si feceris, quod rogo,
fore mihi gratissimum.

^a ὑπομνηματισμός was the recognized term for a decree of the Areopagus, which in the time of Cicero was the chief administrative body in Athens.

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even if he is mistaken in being so, it is a mistake due to lack of sense more than lack of morality.

But to waste no more words (I must say it sooner 5 or later), I love Pomponius Atticus as a second brother. He is to me the dearest and most delightful man in the world. Now Atticus—not that he is one of that lot, being a man of most refined erudition in every branch of liberal learning, but he *has* a great esteem for Patro, and *had* a great affection for Phaedrus—Atticus, I say, the least self-seeking of men, and the least importunate in making requests, entreats me to do this with as much earnestness as he has ever evinced; and he has no doubt that I could get you to grant him this favour by a single nod, even if it were still your intention to build. Now, however, if he hears that you have abandoned that intention, and that even so I have failed to get from you what I want, he will not suspect you of shabbiness to me, but me of lack of consideration for him. And that is why I beg of you to write to your friends, saying that with your full consent that decree of the Areopagites, which they themselves call a *mémoire*,^a may be rescinded.

But I return to what I said at first. Before per- 6 suading yourself to do this at all, I would have you persuade yourself to do it readily, as a kindness to myself. Anyhow, let me tell you this—if you do what I ask, it will give me the greatest pleasure.

CICERO

II

CICERO MEMMIO S.

Laodiceae, (?) A.U.C. 704.

C. Aviano Evandro, qui habitat in tuo sacrario, et ipso multum utor, et patrono eius M. Aemilio familiarissime. Peto igitur a te in maiorem modum, quod sine tua molestia fiat, ut ei de habitatione accomodes. Nam propter opera instituta multa multorum subitum est ei remigrare Kal. Quint. Impedior verecundia, ne te pluribus verbis rogem; neque tamen dubito, quin, si tua nihil aut non multum intersit, eo sis animo quo ego essem, si quid tu me rogares. Mihi certe gratissimum feceris.

III

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. MEMMIO

Laodiceae, (?) A.U.C. 704.

A. Fufium, unum ex meis intimis, observantissimum studiosissimumque nostri, eruditum hominem et summa humanitate tuaque amicitia dignissimum, velim ita tractes, ut mihi coram recepisti. Tam gratum mihi id erit, quam quod gratissimum. Ipsum praeterea summo officio et summa observantia tibi in perpetuum devinxeris.

^a A freedman of M. Aemilius Avianus (xiii. 27). He was a distinguished sculptor, and Cicero had dealings with him (vii. 23. 1).

^b Avianus was permitted by Memmius to work in the shrine in which the Memmii celebrated their *sacra gentilitia*.

^c Nothing more is known of this man.

II

CICERO TO MEMMIUS

Laodicea, May (?), 50 B.C.

I am on intimate terms with C. Avianius Evander^a himself, who is lodging in your family shrine,^b and very much so with his patron M. Aemilius. I therefore beg of you, with more earnestness than usual, so far as it can be done without inconvenience to yourself, to accommodate him in the matter of his residence. For he has so many commissions on hand for a number of people that it would hurry him to have to move to his old quarters on July 1. My modesty prevents me from preferring my request at greater length, and yet I doubt not that, if it makes little or no difference to you, you will be as obliging as I should be, were you to make any request of me. At any rate you will have done me a great favour.

III

CICERO TO MEMMIUS

Laodicea, 50 B.C.

A. Fufius,^c one of my most intimate friends, shows me the greatest deference and devotion. He is an accomplished man and exceedingly kind-hearted, and in every way worthy of your friendship. I should be glad if you would treat him as you promised to do when we met. That will give me as much pleasure as anything in the world. You will besides bind the man himself to you for ever by the strongest ties of obligation and respect.

CICERO

IV

M. T. C. S. D. Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE, LEG. PROPRAET.

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1^o Cum municipibus Volaterranis mihi summa necessitudo est. Magno enim meo beneficio affecti, cumulatissime mihi gratiam rettulerunt; nam nec in honoribus meis nec in laboribus umquam defuerunt. Cum quibus si mihi nulla causa intercederet, tamen, quod te vehementissime diligo, quodque me a te plurimi fieri sentio, et monerem te et hortarer, ut eorum fortunis consuleres, praesertim cum prope praecipuam causam haberent ad ius obtinendum; primum, quod Sullani temporis acerbitatem, deorum immortalium benignitate, subterfugerunt; deinde, quod summo studio populi Romani a me in consulatu
2 meo defensi sunt. Cum enim¹ tribuni plebis legem iniquissimam de eorum agris promulgavissent, facile senatui populoque Romano persuasi, ut eos cives, quibus fortuna pepercisset, salvos esse vellent. Hanc actionem meam C. Caesar primo suo consulatu in

¹ *Added by Victorius.*

^a Orca had been praetor in 57, and supported the recall of Cicero. In 56 he was governor of Africa (xiii. 6A. 2). He was now one of the Land Commissioners for carrying out Caesar's allotments of land to his veterans. This and the following letter show the difficulties which confronted the Commissioners.

^b Volaterrae, in Etruria, was besieged and captured by Sulla for having given shelter to some of those who had been proscribed. Sulla declared their lands confiscated and their Roman citizenship annulled, but the Roman courts

IV

CICERO TO Q. VALERIUS ORCA ^a

Rome, autumn, 45 B.C.

M. T. Cicero warmly greets Q. Valerius Orca, son of Quintus, legate with rank of Praetor.

I have the closest possible connexion with the 1
townsmen of Volaterrae. Having received some considerable kindness at my hands, they have proved their gratitude to me in overflowing measure; for never once have they failed me either in my triumphs or in my troubles. And indeed, had no such relations been in existence between us, nevertheless, in view of my own warm affection for you and my appreciation of your very high esteem for me, I should both advise and exhort you to promote their best interests, especially as their claim to have their rights maintained is practically paramount, first because by the mercy of heaven they succeeded in escaping the barbarities of the days of Sulla,^b and secondly because my defence of them in my consulship was enthusiastically applauded by the people of Rome.

For when the tribunes of the plebs ^c proposed a 2
most iniquitous law about their lands, I had no difficulty in persuading the Senate and people of Rome to be willing that those citizens, whom fortune had spared, should retain their rights. This policy of mine was heartily approved in the land-law of his first consulship by C. Caesar,^d who freed the district and refused to recognize the deprivation of citizenship, and the lands were never confiscated. Watson and Tyrrell.

^c Rullus and Flavius.

^d Caesar would favour the Volaterrans as representing the proscribed Marians.

CICERO

lege agraria comprobavit agrumque Volaterranum et oppidum omni periculo in perpetuum liberavit, ut mihi dubium non sit, quin is, qui novas necessitudines adiungat, vetera sua beneficia conservari velit. Quamobrem est tuae prudentiae aut sequi eius auctoritatem, cuius sectam atque imperium summa cum tua dignitate secutus es, aut certe illi integram omnem causam reservare. Illud vero dubitare non debes, quin tam grave, tam firmum, tam honestum municipium tibi tuo summo beneficio 3 in perpetuum obligari velis. Sed haec, quae supra scripta sunt, eo spectant, ut te horter et suadeam. Reliqua sunt, quae pertinent ad rogandum, ut non solum tua causa tibi consilium me dare putes, sed etiam, quod mihi opus sit, me a te petere et rogare. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris, si Volaterranos omnibus rebus integros incolumesque esse volueris. Eorum ego domicilia, sedes, rem, fortunas, quae a dis immortalibus et a praestantissimis in nostra republica civibus, summo senatus populique Romani studio, conservatae sunt, tuae fidei, iustitiae bonitati- 4 que commendo. Si pro meis pristinis opibus facultatem mihi res hoc tempore daret, ut ita defendere possem Volaterranos, quemadmodum consuevi tueri meos, nullum officium, nullum denique certamen, in

town of Volaterrae from any such danger for all time; so that I have no doubt that one who is seeking to acquire new connexions wishes that the privileges he granted long ago should be preserved. For that reason it is for you, in your wisdom, either to follow the authority of one whose party and authority you have already, with no impairment of your high personal position, followed, or at all events to keep the whole case open for Caesar's decision. Of this, however, you should entertain no doubt—that it should be your desire, by bestowing upon it the highest favour in your power, to attach to yourself for all time a municipality so respectable, so staunch, and so honourable.

In what I have written above I have no other ³ object in view than to urge and persuade you. There remains what is concerned with a personal request, so that you may infer that I am not only offering you advice for your own sake, but that I am also making a petition and a request for what I have need of myself. You will do me the greatest possible favour therefore, if it is your pleasure to leave the people of Volaterrae in every respect untouched and their rights undiminished. Their domiciles and abodes, their property and estates, preserved to them by the immortal gods and the most eminent members of our commonwealth—all these I commend to your honesty, sense of justice, and goodness of heart.

Were circumstances to offer me at the present ⁴ moment the power, on the scale of my former resources, to protect the people of Volaterrae to the same extent as I have always defended my own people, there is no act of devotion, no strenuous

CICERO

quo illis prodesse possem, praetermitterem. Sed quando apud te nihilo minus hoc tempore valere me confido, quam valuerim semper apud omnes, pro nostra summa necessitudine parique inter nos et mutua benevolentia abs te peto, ut ita de Volaterranis mereare, ut existiment, eum quasi divino consilio isti negotio praepositum esse, apud quem unum nos, eorum perpetui defensores, plurimum valere possemus.

V

M. T. C. S. P. D. Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE, LEG. PROPRAET.

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

- 1 Non moleste fero eam necessitudinem, quae mihi tecum est, notam esse quam plurimis; neque tamen ob eam causam (quod tu optime existimare potes) te impedio, quo minus susceptum negotium, pro tua fide et diligentia, ex voluntate Caesaris, qui tibi rem magnam difficilemque commisit, gerere possis. Nam cum multi a me petant multa, quod de tua erga me voluntate non dubitent, non committo, ut ambitione
2 mea conturbem officium tuum. C. Curtio ab ineunte
20

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. iv.-v.

effort, I should omit, whereby I might be of service to them. But since I am confident that I have no less influence with you at the present moment than I have always had with everybody, I beg of you in the name of our very close connexion and our mutual goodwill, so evenly balanced between us, to serve the people of Volaterrae in such a way as to give them the impression that, as if by some divine providence, the man who has been put at the head of the commission on which you are now engaged is the very man of all others with whom I, their unfailing defender, could exercise the greatest possible influence.

V

CICERO TO VALERIUS ORCA

Rome, autumn, 45 B.C.

M. T. Cicero warmly greets Q. Valerius Orca, son of Quintus, legate with rank of Praetor.

I have no objection to any number of people being aware of the close relationship between us; and yet I would not for that reason (and you can best appreciate what I say) hinder you from being able to conduct the business you have undertaken with your usual probity and thoroughness, and to the satisfaction of Caesar, who has entrusted you with a commission as important as it is difficult; for though I am besieged by petitions from a host of men because they confidently rely upon your goodwill towards me, I am not so inconsiderate as to embarrass you in the performance of your duty by any self-seeking on my own account.

CICERO

aetate familiarissime sum usus. Eius et Sullani temporis iniustissima calamitate dolui, et cum iis, qui similem iniuriam acceperant, amissis omnibus fortunis, reditus tamen in patriam voluntate omnium concedi videretur, adiutor incolumitatis fui. Is habet in Volaterrano possessionem, cum in eam, tamquam e naufragio, reliquias contulisset. Hoc autem tempore eum Caesar in senatum legit, quem ordinem ille, ista possessione amissa, tueri vix potest. Gravissimum autem est, cum superior factus sit ordine, inferiorem esse fortuna; minimeque convenit, ex eo agro, qui Caesaris iussu dividatur, eum moveri, qui
3 Caesaris beneficio senator sit. Sed mihi minus libet multa de aequitate rei scribere, ne causa potius apud te valuisse videar, quam gratia. Quamobrem te in maiorem modum rogo, ut C. Curti rem meam putes esse; quidquid mea causa faceres, ut, id C. Curti causa cum feceris, existimes, quod ille per me habuerit, id me habere abs te. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

• Nothing more is known of this C. Curtius.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. v.

I have been on very intimate terms with C. 2
Curtius^a from the days of our youth. Not only did I
resent his most unjust degradation in Sulla's time,
but when it appeared that those who had suffered
similar wrong, though they had lost all their fortunes,
were yet permitted by universal consent to return to
their country, I have assisted in his rehabilitation.

Now Curtius has a holding in the territory of
Volaterrae into which, just as though he had been
shipwrecked, he had collected all that was left to
him. But just at this moment Caesar has chosen
him to be a member of the Senate—a rank, which, if
he loses that holding of his, he cannot easily main-
tain. Now it is very hard upon him that, though he
has been raised higher as regards rank, he should be
in a lower position as regards means; and it is
shockingly inconsistent that the very man who is a
senator by Caesar's favour should be ejected from
land that is being distributed by Caesar's order.

But I am less inclined to write at any length on the 3
equity of the case, for fear it should be thought that
what strengthened my hands in pleading with you
was not so much my personal influence as the justice
of my plea. I therefore beg you, with more than
usual urgency, to regard C. Curtius's affair as my
own; and in whatever you do for my sake, although
you may have done it for C. Curtius's sake, to believe
that any favour he obtains through me is a favour
conferred upon me by yourself. This I beg of you
again and again in all earnestness to do.

CICERO

VIA

M. T. C. S. P. D. Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

1 Si vales, bene est, valeo. Credo te memoria tenere, me et coram P. Cuspio tecum locutum esse, cum te prosequerer paludatum, et item postea pluribus verbis tecum egisse, ut, quoscumque tibi eius necessarios commendarem, haberes eos in numero meorum necessariorum. Id tu pro tua summa erga me benevolentia perpetuaque observantia mihi liberalissime
2 atque humanissime recepisti. Cuspius, homo in omnes suos officiosissimus, mirifice quosdam homines ex ista provincia tuetur et diligit, propterea quod fuit in Africa bis cum maximis societatis negotiis praeeset. Itaque hoc eius officium, quod adhibet erga illos, ego mea facultate et gratia soleo, quantum possum, adiuvere. Quare Cuspianorum omnium commendationis causam hac tibi epistula exponendam putavi. Reliquis epistulis tantum faciam, ut notam apponam eam, quae mihi tecum convenit, et simul
3 significem, de numero esse Cuspi amicorum. Sed hanc commendationem, quam his litteris consignare volui, scito esse omnium gravissimam. Nam P.

^a Chronologically, this letter precedes *Epp.* 4 and 5, in which Cicero drops the formal opening (S.V.B.E.) which he uses here.

^b Only mentioned in this letter and in xvi. 17. 2.

^c It was customary for a magistrate to wear his *paludamentum* (general's cloak) when proceeding to his province. Cf. xv. 17. 3. Tyrrell.

^d See Preliminary Note *ad fin.*

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. *via.*

VIA ^a

CICERO TO VALERIUS ORCA, PROCONSUL.

Rome, about the middle of 56 B.C.

M. T. Cicero warmly greets Q. Valerius Orca, son of Quintus, Proconsul.

If you are well, all is right ; I am well. I believe 1
it is within your recollection that I said something
to you in the presence of P. Cuspius,^b as I was
escorting you when in your official uniform,^c and
that afterwards also I pleaded with you at greater
length, to reckon among my own connexions any
whom I might recommend to you as being his. That,
consistently with your sincere affection for me and
the respect you have invariably shown me, you very
handsomely and courteously undertook to do for me.

Now Cuspius, a man most ready to help all those 2
associated with him, shows an amazingly benevolent
interest in certain persons within your province,
because he has twice been in Africa, presiding over
the highly important negotiations of his society.
And so I am in the habit of supporting, with such
resources and influence as I can, this readiness to
help which he displays towards them. I therefore
thought it incumbent upon me to explain to you in
this letter the reason why I recommend all the friends
of Cuspius. In future letters I shall do no more
than append the mark agreed upon between you
and me, and indicate at the same time that it is one
of Cuspius's friends.^d

But as for the recommendation I have been willing 3
to sign in this letter, I would have you know that it is
more important than any ; for Cuspius has urged me

CICERO

Cuspius singulari studio contendit a me, ut tibi quam diligentissime L. Iulium commendarem. Eius ego studio vix videor mihi satisfacere posse, si utar verbis iis, quibus, cum diligentissime quid agimus, uti solemus. Nova quaedam postulat, et putat me eius generis artificium quoddam tenere. Ei ego pollicitus sum me ex intima nostra arte deprompturum mirificum genus commendationis. Id quoniam assequi non possum, tu re velim efficias, ut ille genere mearum litterarum incredibile quiddam
4 perfectum arbitretur. Id facies, si omne genus liberalitatis, quod et ab humanitate et potestate tua proficisci poterit, non modo re, sed etiam verbis, vultu denique exprompseris; quae quantum in provincia valeant, vellem expertus esses, sed tamen suspicor. Ipsum hominem, quem tibi commendo, perdignum esse tua amicitia, non solum, quia mihi Cuspius dicit, credo (tametsi id satis esse debebat), sed quia novi eius iudicium in hominibus et amicis
5 deligendis. Harum litterarum vis quanta fuerit, propediem iudicabo, tibi que, ut confido, gratias agam. Ego, quae te velle, quaeque ad te pertinere arbitror, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo. Cura, ut valeas.

^a Sc. "te mox experturum esse."

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. *via.*

with exceptional earnestness to recommend to you with the utmost possible particularity one L. Julius. I hardly think I can satisfy his eagerness by using such words as I usually do, even when dealing with anything most impressively. He insists upon something out of the common, and imagines that I possess a certain artistry in that style. Well, I have promised him to fetch up from the depths of my art a style of recommendation that will amaze him. Being unable to reach that standard, I should be glad if you would so act as to give him the impression that the effect of my style of letter has been something beyond all belief.

This you will do if you exhibit every form of 4 generosity which your kindness of heart and your official opportunities can suggest, not only in deed but also in word, and, let me add, even in look. How important these things are in a province, I only wish you knew by experience—I have an inkling, however, that you soon will.^a

As to the subject of my recommendation himself, I believe him to be thoroughly worthy of your friendship, not only because Cuspius tells me so (though that ought to be enough), but also because I know Cuspius's shrewdness in estimating men and choosing his friends.

What effect this letter has produced I shall be able 5 to judge at an early date, and I feel sure I shall have to thank you. For my part, I shall attend with zeal and assiduity to whatever I think that you desire, or that effects your interests. Mind you keep well.

CICERO

VI_B

CICERO VALERIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

P. Cornelius, qui tibi has litteras dedit, est mihi a P. Cuspio commendatus; cuius causa quanto opere cuperem deberemque, profecto ex me facile cognosti. Vehementer te rogo, ut cures, ut ex hac commendatione mihi Cuspium quam maximas, quam primum, quam saepissime gratias agat. Vale.

VII

M. T. C. S. P. D. CLUVIO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Cum in Galliam proficiscens pro nostra necessitudine tuaque summa in me observantia ad me domum venisses, locutus sum tecum de agro vectigali municipi Atellani, qui esset in Gallia; quantoque opere eius municipi causa laborarem, tibi ostendi. Post tuam autem protectionem, cum et maxima res municipi honestissimi mihique coniunctissimi, et summum meum officium ageretur, pro tuo animo in

^a Not the banker at Puteoli, who died earlier in this year (*Att.* xiii. 46), but probably the Cluvius who was Caesar's *praefectus fabrum* in Spain in the early part of this year.

^b Atella was in Campania, between Naples and Capua. It was there that the *fabulae Atellanae* (popular farces or Harlequinades) were first produced.

Another instance of a Latin municipality owning property

VI_B

CICERO TO VALERIUS ORCA

Rome, sometime in 56 B.C.

P. Cornelius, who delivers this letter to you, has been recommended to me by P. Cuspius; and how much it is my desire, as it is my duty, to do for his sake, I am sure you have easily recognized from what I have said. I earnestly beg of you to see to it that the thanks I receive from Cuspius as a result of this recommendation may be as cordial, as prompt, and as frequent as possible.

VII

CICERO TO GAIUS CLUVIUS ^a

Rome, autumn, 45 B.C.

When on setting out for Gaul, in accordance with our intimacy and your extreme courtesy towards myself, you visited me at my house, I spoke to you about the land in Gaul which paid rent to the municipality of Atella,^b and I showed you how greatly distressed I was on that municipality's account. Since your departure, however, when a question arose of vital importance to that municipality, most honourable as it is and very closely connected with myself—a question too of the performance of my own duty in the highest sense,—I thought it incumbent on me, considering your extraordinary kindness to me, to in a distant land is Arpinum, which held land in Gaul (xiii. 11. 1).

me singulari existimavi, me oportere ad te accuratius scribere ; etsi non sum nescius, et quae temporum ratio, et quae tua potestas sit, tibi que negotium datum esse a C. Caesare, non iudicium, praeclare intellego. Quare a te tantum peto, quantum et te facere posse, et libenter mea causa facturum esse
 2 arbitror. Et primum velim existimes, quod res est, municipi fortunas omnes in isto vectigali consistere ; his autem temporibus hoc municipium maximis oneribus pressum, summis affectum esse difficultatibus. Hoc etsi commune videtur esse cum multis, tamen mihi crede singulares huic municipio calamitates accidisse : quas idcirco non commemoro, ne, de miseriis meorum necessariorum conquerens, homines,
 3 quos nolo, videar offendere. Itaque, nisi magnam spem haberem, C. Caesari nos causam municipi probaturos, non erat causa, cur a te hoc tempore aliquid contenderem. Sed quia confido mihi que persuasi, illum et dignitatis municipi, et aequitatis, etiam voluntatis erga se habiturum esse rationem, ideo a te non dubitavi contendere, ut hanc causam
 4 illi integram conservares. Quod etsi nihilominus a te peterem, si nihil audivissem te tale fecisse, tamen maiorem spem impetrandi nactus sum, posteaquam

* Tyrrell thinks these must be the partisans of Caesar, who seem to have acted harshly.

write to you with greater particularity—although of course I am fully aware how you are circumstanced and how far your powers extend, and distinctly understand that what Caesar has assigned to you is not so much judicial discretion, as the transaction of a definite business. For that reason I confine myself to asking you to do what I believe you have both the power and the will to do, for my sake.

And first of all I would have you bear in mind—² and it is the fact—that the rent in question comprises the whole wealth of the municipality, and moreover, that as things now are, this same municipality is oppressed with very heavy burdens and involved in very serious difficulties. Although it would appear that such evils are shared with many others, still you must accept my assurance that the disasters suffered by this municipality are exceptional : and the reason I do not specify them is my fear lest by lamenting the misfortunes of those personally connected with me I should offend people I do not wish to offend.^a

It follows that unless I had strong hopes of our ³ establishing the cause of the municipality with C. Caesar, there was no reason why I should make any such urgent request of you at the present time. But because I feel sure and have convinced myself that he will give full consideration to the fair claims of the municipality and the justice of its plea, and also to its friendliness towards himself, for that reason, I say, I have not hesitated to urge you to keep this case open for his decision.

But although, even if I had never heard of your ⁴ doing anything of the kind, I should none the less make this request of you, still my hope of obtaining it has been strengthened since I was told that you had

CICERO

mihī dictum est, hoc idem a te Regienses impetra-
visse. Qui etsi te aliqua necessitudine attingunt,
tamen tuus amor in me sperare me cogit, te, quod
tuis necessariis tribueris, idem esse tributurum meis,
praesertim cum ego pro his unis petam, habeam
autem, qui simili causa laborent, complures neces-
sarios. Hoc me non sine causa facere, neque aliqua
levi ambitione commotum a te contendere, etsi te
existimare arbitror, tamen mihi affirmanti credas
velim, me huic municipio debere plurimum ; nullum
unquam fuisse tempus neque honorum neque
5 laborum meorum, in quo non huius municipi studium
atque etiam, pro nostra summa coniunctione proque
tua in me perpetua et maxima benevolentia, maiorem
in modum peto atque contendo, ut, cum fortunas
agi eius municipi intellegas, quod sit mihi necessi-
tudine, officiis, benevolentia coniunctissimum, id
mihi des ; quod erit huiusmodi, ut, si a Caesare, quod
speramus, impetrarimus, tuo beneficio nos id con-
secutos esse iudicemus ; sin minus, pro eo tamen id
habeamus, cum a te data sit opera, ut impetraremus.
Hoc cum mihi gratissimum feceris, tum viros optimos,
homines honestissimos eodemque gratissimos et

^a Regium Lepidi, a Roman colony on the *Via Aemilia*, between Mutina and Parma.

^b In other words, "if we obtain what we hope for from Caesar, we shall give you all the credit ; if not, we shall have instead the pleasure of knowing that you did your best, *i.e.*, we shall be indebted to you in either case."

granted the same request to the inhabitants of Regium^a; and although they are attached to you by a certain connexion, yet I am impelled by your affection for me to hope that you will grant those connected with me the same favour as you have granted to those connected with yourself, especially as I am pleading for these people exclusively, whereas I have several others connected with me, who are in a similar sad plight. Now, although I credit you with believing that I am not doing this without good reason, and not pressing you under the influence of some paltry spirit of self-seeking, nevertheless I should like you to believe me when I asseverate that there is no municipality to which I am more deeply indebted; that there has never been a time either in the days of my triumph or of my trouble when the devotion shown to me by this municipality did not stand out as something wholly out of the common.

And therefore, in view of our very intimate attach- 5
ment and your affection for me, as unfailling as it is remarkable, I entreat and beseech you with more than usual urgency (since you must see that the fortunes of a municipality most closely bound to me by the ties of friendship, mutual services, and goodwill, are at stake), to grant me a favour which will amount to this—I mean that, if we obtain what we hope for from Caesar, we should believe that we have secured it only by your kindness; if we do not, then at any rate that we should have instead of that the conviction that you did *your* utmost to help us to succeed.^b

Not only will you have given me the greatest possible pleasure by so doing, but by an inestimable service you will have laid under an everlasting obliga-

CICERO

tua necessitudine dignissimos, summo beneficio in perpetuum tibi tuisque devinxeris.

VIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. M. RUTILIO

Romae, A U C. 709.

- 1 Cum et mihi conscius essem, quanti te facerem, et tuam erga me benevolentiam expertus essem, non dubitavi a te petere, quod mihi petendum esset. P. Sestium quanti faciam, ipse optime scio, quanti autem facere debeam, et tu et omnes homines sciunt. Is cum ex aliis te mei studiosissimum esse cognosset, petivit a me, ut ad te quam accuratissime scriberem de re C. Albini senatoris, cuius ex filia natus est L. Sestius, optimus adolescens, filius P. Sesti. Hoc idcirco scripsi, ut intellegeres, non solum me pro P. Sestio laborare debere, sed Sestium etiam pro Albinio. Res autem est haec: a M. Laberio C. Albinus praedia in aestimationem accepit, quae praedia Laberius emerat a Caesare de bonis Plotianis. Ea si dicam non esse e republica dividi, docere te

^a There is no other reference in these letters to this Rutilius.

^b Quaestor in 63, and tribune of the plebs in 57, when he strongly supported Cicero's recall; in 56 he was accused of *vis* on account of the violence with which he had opposed P. Clodius in the preceding year, but was defended by Cicero (*Pro Sestio*) and acquitted. His son L. Sestius is the "*O beate Sesti*" in Horace's ode, i. 4.

^c For *aestimatio* see note to ix. 16. 7.

^d *Dividere* here, and below, = *divendere*, "to disperse by selling piecemeal," when the original ownership would disappear.

tion to yourself and yours men of excellent character, and thoroughly honourable gentlemen, who are at the same time full of gratitude, and most worthy of being connected with you.

VIII

CICERO TO MARCUS RUTILIUS ^a

Rome, autumn, 45 B.C.

Knowing in my heart how highly I valued you, ¹ and having learnt by experience your friendly feeling for me, I have not hesitated to ask that of you which it was my duty to ask. How highly I value P. Sestius ^b is best known to myself; how highly I ought to do so is known both to you and to the world in general. Having been informed by others that you were my very devoted friend, he begged of me to write to you with the utmost particularity about the affair of C. Albinus the senator, whose daughter is the mother of L. Sestius, an admirable young man, son of P. Sestius. My purpose in writing you this letter was to convince you that not only is it right and proper that I should feel anxious on behalf of P. Sestius, but that he also should feel so on behalf of Albinus.

Now the circumstances are these: C. Albinus has ² received certain estates from M. Laberius at a valuation ^c—estates which Laberius had purchased from Caesar out of the property of one Plotius. If I were to tell you that the dispersal ^d of such properties is not to the public interest, you would think that I am not so much asking a favour of you, as proffering you

CICERO

videar, non rogare. Sed tamen cum Caesar Sullanas venditiones et assignationes ratas esse velit, quo firmiores existimentur suae, si ea praedia dividantur, quae ipse Caesar vendidit, quae tandem in eius venditionibus esse poterit auctoritas? Sed hoc quale sit, tu pro tua prudentia considerabis. Ego te plane rogo, atque ita, ut maiore studio, iustiore de causa, magis ex animo rogare nihil possim, ut Albinio pareas, praedia Laberiana ne attingas. Magna me affeceris non modo laetitia, sed etiam quodammodo gloria, si P. Sestius homini maxime necessario satisfecerit per me, ut ego illi uni plurimum debeo. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Maius mihi dare beneficium nullum potes. Id mihi intelleges esse gratissimum.

IX

M. T. C. S. P. D. CRASSIPEDI

In Cilicia, ad finem A.U.C. 703.

1 Quamquam tibi praesens commendavi, ut potui diligentissime, socios Bithyniae, teque cum mea com-

^a *i.e.*, sales and allotments of property confiscated in connexion with proscriptions of Sulla. If not "ratified," Caesar's title to his own estates would be invalidated, and he would have no power to sell them.

^b The second husband of Tullia, whom he married in 56, and divorced about 53.

^c The companies (*societates*) of *publicani* undertook State contracts for roads, buildings, etc., but especially for the collection of taxes. Each *societas* generally confined its

instruction. At all events, seeing that Caesar desires the ratification of Sulla's sales and assignments,^a so that his own may be regarded as more secure, if those very estates which Caesar himself has sold are dispersed, what possible right of property, I ask you, can his sales carry? But you, with your usual penetration, will consider the matter in all its bearings.

I ask you frankly—and I could not do so with ³ more earnestness, in a more righteous cause, or more from my heart—to spare Albinus, and have nothing to do with the estate of Laberius. You will give me not only much pleasure, but also, in a sense, something to boast about, if it turns out that it was I who enabled P. Sestius to satisfy the claims of one so closely connected with him, as *I* owe *him* more than any other man alive. This I beg of you again and again to do. You can grant me no greater favour, and you will find that I appreciate it most highly.

IX

CICERO TO P. FURIUS CRASSIPES ^b

Cilicia, probably towards the end of 51 B.C.

Although when I met you I recommended to you ¹ as particularly as I could the Bithynian company,^c and understood that not only because of my recom-

operations to a single province, or to a particular tax (*decuma*, *scriptura*, *portoria*, etc.), though one *societas* might farm several taxes. Cicero's staunch support of the *equites* was one of the main features of his political life, and the *publicani* were drawn from the *equites*.

mendatione, tum etiam tua sponte intellexi cupere ei societati, quibuscumque rebus posses, commodare, tamen, cum ii, quorum res agitur, magni sua interesse arbitrarentur, me etiam per litteras declarare tibi, qua essem erga ipsos voluntate, non dubitavi haec
 2 ad te scribere. Volo enim te existimare, me, cum universo ordini publicanorum semper libentissime tribuerim, idque magnis eius ordinis erga me meritis facere debuerim, tum in primis amicum esse huic Bithynicae societati; quae societas ordine ipso et hominum genere pars est maxima civitatis; constat enim ex ceteris societatibus; et casu permulti sunt in ea societate valde mihi familiares, in primisque is, cuius praecipuum officium agitur hoc tempore, P. Rupilius, P. F. Menenia, qui est magister in ea
 3 societate. Quae cum ita sint, in maiorem modum a te peto, Cn. Pupium, qui est in operis eius societatis, omnibus tuis officiis atque omni liberalitate tuare, curesque, ut eius operae (quod tibi facile factu est) quam gratissimae sint sociis, remque et utilitatem sociorum (cuius rei quantam potestatem quaestor habeat, non sum ignarus) per te quam maxime defensam et auctam velis. Id cum mihi gratissimum

* The bidding for the contract and the furnishing of security, etc., were carried out by a *manceps* at Rome, but the management was entrusted to an annually elected local director (*magister*), who had charge of the accounts and correspondence. See note *b* on *Ep.* 65. 1.

mendation, but also because that was your own inclination, you were anxious to accommodate that company in any way you could, still when those whose interests are in question thought it of paramount importance to them that I should make it plain to you by letter also how I felt towards them, I have not hesitated to write to you as I do.

I would have you believe that while it has always ² been the greatest pleasure to me to make much of the order of *publicani* as a whole, and, considering the great services that order has rendered me, it has been my duty to do so, I am in a special sense a friend to this Bithynian company—a company which by the very fact of its connexions with the order in general, and owing to the class of men of whom it is composed, made up as it is of members of all the other companies, constitutes a most important factor in the State; and, as it happens, a large proportion of it are on very intimate terms with myself, especially the man who at this moment occupies the position of its chief, P. Rutilius to wit, son of Publius of the Menenian tribe, who is director ^a of that company.

Such being the case, I entreat you with more than ³ usual urgency to support with every kindness and all your generosity Cn. Pupius, who is in the company's employ, and to see to it that his services (you will find it easy to do so) are as acceptable as possible to the partners, and to show your desire (and how much it is in the power of a quaestor to effect in that connexion, I am well aware) that the property and interests of those partners should prove to have been protected and enhanced as far as possible by your efforts.

CICERO

feceris, tum illud tibi expertus promitto et spondeo, te socios Bithyniae, si iis commodaris, memores esse et gratos cogniturum.

X

CICERO M. IUNIO BRUTO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum ad te tuus quaestor, M. Varro, proficisceretur, commendatione egere eum non putabam. Satis enim commendatum tibi eum arbitrabar ab ipso more maiorum, qui, ut te non fugit, hanc quaesturae coniunctionem liberorum necessitudini proximam voluit esse. Sed cum sibi ita persuasisset ipse meas de se accurate scriptas litteras maximum apud te pondus habituras, a meque contenderet, ut quam diligentissime scriberem, malui facere, quod meus familiaris 2 tanti sua interesse arbitraretur. Ut igitur debere me facere hoc intellegas, cum primum M. Terentius in forum venit, ad amicitiam se meam contulit. Deinde, ut se corroboravit, duae causae accesserunt, quae meam in illum benevolentiam augerent: una, quod versabatur in hoc studio nostro, quo etiam nunc maxime delectamur, et cum ingenio, ut nosti, nec sine industria; deinde, quod mature se contulit in

^a M. Brutus was now governor of Cisalpine Gaul, as will appear from the next letter, § 1.

^b Not the great Varro, but a man known as M. Terentius Varro Gibba. As tribune of the plebs in 43, when the great Varro was proscribed he was much laughed at for publishing a notice declaring that he was not that Varro but another (Dio Cassius, xlvii. 11. 3).

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Not only will you greatly oblige *me* by so doing, but I also promise you and pledge myself as a result of my own experience, that, if you oblige them, you will find the Bithynian partners neither forgetful nor ungrateful.

X

CICERO TO M. JUNIUS BRUTUS ^a

Rome, early in 46 B.C.

When your quaestor, M. Varro,^b was setting out to 1 join you, I did not think he required a recommendation. I considered him sufficiently recommended by the practice of our ancestors, which assumed that a quaestor's connexion with his chief closely approximated to that of a son to his father. But since he had convinced himself that a carefully written letter from me would carry the greatest weight with you and pressed me to write—with the utmost particularity, I thought it better to do what my friend imagined to be of so much importance to him.

To prove to you therefore that it is my duty to do 2 this, from the moment M. Terentius entered the forum ^c he devoted himself to winning my friendship; afterwards, when he had established himself, I found two additional reasons for feeling more warmly disposed towards him; one was that he took up the same pursuit as myself—that which even now gives me most delight—and that with ability, as you know, and with considerable industry; the other was that at an early stage he attached himself to the companies

^a *i.e.*, began to practise in the law-courts.

- societates publicanorum, quod quidem nollem ; maximis enim damnis affectus est. Sed tamen causa communis ordinis mihi commendatissimi fecit amicitiam nostram firmiorem. Deinde versatus in utrisque subselliis optima et fide et fama iam ante hanc commutationem reipublicae petitioni sese dedit honoremque honestissimum existimavit fructum laboris sui.
- 3 His autem temporibus a me Brundisio cum litteris et mandatis profectus ad Caesarem est ; qua in re et amorem eius in suscipiendo negotio perspexi, et in conficiendo ac renuntiando fidem. Videor mihi, cum separatim de probitate eius et moribus dicturus fuisset, si prius causam, cur eum tanto opere diligere, tibi exposuisset, in ipsa causa exponenda satis etiam de probitate dixisse. Sed tamen separatim promitto in meque recipio, fore eum tibi et voluptati et usui. Nam et modestum hominem cognoscens, et pudentem, et a cupiditate omni remotissimum, praeterea magni laboris summaeque industriae.
- 4 Neque ego haec polliceri debeo, quae tibi ipsi, cum bene cognoris, iudicanda sunt ; sed tamen in omnibus novis coniunctionibus interest, qualis primus aditus sit, et qua commendatione quasi amicitiae fores aperiantur. Quod ego his litteris efficere volui, etsi id ipsa per se necessitudo quaesturae effecisse debet.

^a Either as barrister and juryman, or as counsel for the defence and for the prosecution.

^b Brought about by Caesar's victory over the Pompeian army at Thapsus. (See Chron. Summ. for 46 B.C.)

which manage State-contracts, and I only wish he hadn't; for he suffered very heavy losses. Be that as it may, his sharing my interest in an order I so highly esteemed tended to strengthen our friendship. Subsequently, after practising as a barrister on both benches ^a with admirable honesty and distinction, just before this transformation of public affairs ^b he became a candidate for public office, which he regarded as the most honourable fruit of his labours.

Moreover, at this crisis he has travelled from Brun- 3
disium with my letter and messages for Caesar; and in that I have had clear proof of his devotion in undertaking the business at all, and of his trustworthiness in carrying it through and reporting to me. It seems to me that, though I had intended dwelling separately on his integrity and character, if I should have fully explained to you why I was so greatly drawn to him, by giving that very explanation I should have dwelt enough upon his integrity also; but for all that I promise and pledge my word in a separate statement that he will be a source of both pleasure and profit to you. You will find him an unassuming and modest fellow, far removed from any thought of self-seeking, and I may add, hard-working and extremely industrious.

Although it is no business of mine to make pro- 4
fessions which you can verify for yourself when you have got to know him well, still in forming any new connexions it is important to consider the details of the first approach, and the value of the recommendation that throws open, so to speak, the door of friendship. That is what I wished to effect by this letter, though indeed the bond of quaestorship should have had that effect of itself. Anyhow the latter consideration

CICERO

Sed tamen nihilo infirmius illud, hoc addito. Cura igitur, si me tanti facis, quanti et Varro existimat, et ipse sentio, ut quam primum intellegam, hanc meam commendationem tantum illi utilitatis attulisse, quantum et ipse sperarit nec ego dubitarim.

XI

M. T. C. S. P. D. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

- 1 Quia semper animadverti studiose te operam dare, ut ne quid meorum tibi esset ignotum, propterea non dubito, quin scias, non solum cuius municipi sim, sed etiam quam diligenter soleam meos municipes, Arpinates, tueri. Quorum quidem omnia commoda omnesque facultates, quibus et sacra conficere et sarta tecta aedium sacrarum locorumque communium tueri possint, consistunt in his vectigalibus, quae habent in provincia Gallia. Ad ea visenda pecuniasque, quae a colonis debentur, exigendas totamque rem et cognoscendam et administrandam legatos equites Romanos misimus, Q. Fufidium, Q. F.,
2 M. Faucium, M. F., Q. Mamercum, Q. F. Peto a te in maiorem modum pro nostra necessitudine, ut tibi ea res curae sit, operamque des, ut per te quam commodissime negotium municipi administretur quam primumque conficiatur; ipsosque, quorum nomina

^a See *Ep.* 7. 1 above, note *b*.

will be no whit weakened by the former. Therefore, if you value me as highly as Varro supposes, and I feel that you do, pray see to it that I have the earliest possible intelligence that this recommendation of mine has proved of as much advantage to him as he himself has hoped, and I have never doubted.

XI

CICERO TO M. BRUTUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I have always noticed that you take the greatest 1 pains to be informed of anything that concerns my interests, and I have therefore no doubt that you are aware not only to what municipality I belong, but also how conscientiously it is my habit to support my fellow-citizens, the inhabitants of Arpinum. Now it is a fact that all their income and all the means at their disposal for the maintenance of public worship and the repairs of their sacred edifices and public buildings consist in the rents they receive from their estates in the province of Gaul.^a To visit those estates, to call in the moneys still owed by the tenants, and to investigate and arrange for the management of the whole business, we have sent a commission of Roman knights—Q. Fufidius the younger, M. Faucius the younger, and Q. Mamercus the younger.

In view of our close intimacy, I appeal to you with 2 more than ordinary urgency to charge yourself with the matter, and to do your utmost to see that the business of our town, so far as you yourself are concerned, is managed as happily, and settled as speedily, as possible, and to treat the gentlemen themselves,

scripsi, ut quam honorificentissime pro tua natura et
 3 quam liberalissime tractes. Bonos viros ad tuam
 necessitudinem adiunxeris municipiumque gratissi-
 mum beneficio tuo devinxeris; mihi vero etiam
 gratius feceris, quod cum semper tueri municipes
 meos consuevi, tum hic annus praecipue ad meam
 curam officiumque pertinet. Nam constituendi muni-
 cipi causa hoc anno aedilem filium meum fieri volui,
 et fratris filium et M. Caesium, hominem mihi
 maxime necessarium; is enim magistratus in nostro
 municipio, nec alius ullus creari solet; quos co-
 honestaris, in primisque me, si res publica municipi
 tuo studio, diligentia, bene administrata erit. Quod
 ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

XII

M. T. C. S. P. D. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Alia epistula communiter commendavi tibi legatos
 Arpinatium, ut potui diligentissime; hac separatim
 Q. Fufidium, quocum mihi omnes necessitudines
 sunt, diligentius commendo, non ut aliquid de illa

^a Cf. § 1 in the next letter.

^b Three aediles, one of whom apparently administered the
 finances (*cf. Att. xv. 15. 1*), were the only regular magistrates
 at Arpinum. (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, x. 5679 and*
5682, quoted by How.)

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whose names I have given you, as indeed you naturally would, with all possible courtesy and generosity.

You will find that you have added some men of ³ excellent character to the list of your intimate friends, and that by your kindness you have laid under obligation a most grateful municipality, while the gratitude I shall owe you will be even greater, since not only have I always made a practice of protecting the interests of my fellow-townsmen, but this year they claim in a special degree my attention and services. The fact is that this year, with a view to putting the municipality on a sound basis, I have recommended for election my son, and also my brother's son, and M. Caesius,^a a very intimate friend of mine, as aediles—for aediles are the magistrates, and no others, whom it is customary to elect^b in our municipality. Now you will have done due honour to them and to myself in particular, if it turns out that the public business of the township has been, thanks to your zealous assiduity, well managed. And this is what I earnestly and again and again beg of you to do.

XII

CICERO TO M. BRUTUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

In another letter I commended to you as earnestly ¹ as I could the representatives of the Arpinates *in general*; in this I commend with even greater earnestness Q. Fufidius, to whom I am bound by all sorts of ties, in *particular*, not so as to detract in any

CICERO

commendatione deminuam, sed ut hanc addam. Nam et privignus est M. Caesi, mei maxime et familiaris et necessari, et fuit in Cilicia mecum tribunus militum : quo in munere ita se tractavit, ut accepisse ab eo beneficium viderer, non dedisse. Est praeterea (quod apud te valet plurimum) a nostris studiis non abhorrens. Quare velim eum quam liberalissime complectare operamque des, ut in ea legatione, quam suscepit contra suum commodum, secutus auctoritatem meam, quam maxime eius excellat industria. Vult enim, id quod optimo cuique natura tributum est, quam maximam laudem cum a nobis, qui eum impulimus, tum a municipio consequi ; quod ei continget, si hac mea commendatione tuum erga se studium erit consecutus.

XIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

L. Castronius Paetus, longe princeps municipi Lucensis, est honestus, gravis, plenus officii, bonus plane vir et cum virtutibus, tum etiam fortuna, si quid hoc ad rem pertinet, ornatus ; meus autem est familiarissimus, sic prorsus, ut nostri ordinis observet

* In Etruria.

way from my former recommendation, but so as to add this to it. He is the stepson of M. Caesius, my most intimate and familiar friend, and he was with me in Cilicia as military tribune; and he so conducted himself in that capacity as to make me feel that I had received a kindness from him rather than conferred one.

He is, moreover—and this carries great weight with you—no enemy to our favourite pursuits. And that is why I would have you welcome him as handsomely as possible, and do all you can to ensure the utmost possible success of his efforts on that commission which he has undertaken, to the detriment of his own convenience, in deference to my authority. It is his desire—and it is the natural characteristic of all good men—to win the highest possible credit, not only for me, who pressed this service upon him, but from the municipality also; and he will succeed in doing so, if, thanks to this recommendation of mine, he enlists your enthusiastic support.

XIII

CICERO TO M. BRUTUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

L. Castronius Paetus, by far the most important member of the municipality of Luca,^a is an honourable, sterling, and most obliging man, a thoroughly good fellow, and graced not only with all the virtues, but also, if that has anything to do with the matter, with a handsome fortune. Besides he is on very familiar terms with me, so much so indeed that there

CICERO

neminem diligentius. Quare ut et meum amicum et tua dignum amicitia tibi commendo. Cui quibuscumque rebus commodaveris, tibi profecto iucundum, mihi certe erit gratum. Vale.

XIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 L. Titio Strabone, equite Romano in primis honesto et ornato, familiarissime utor. Omnia mihi cum eo intercedunt iura summae necessitudinis. Huic in tua provincia pecuniam debet P. Cornelius. Ea res a Volcatio, qui Romae ius dicit, reiecta in
2 Galliam est. Peto a te hoc diligentius, quam si mea res esset, quo est honestius de amicorum pecunia laborare, quam de sua, ut negotium conficiendum cures. Ipse suscipias, transigas operamque des, quoad tibi aequum et rectum videbitur, ut quam commodissima condicione libertus Strabonis, qui eius rei causa missus est, negotium conficiat ad nummosque perveniat. Id et mihi gratissimum erit, et tu ipse L. Titium cognosces amicitia tua dignissimum. Quod ut tibi curae sit, ut omnia solent esse, quae me velle scis, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

^a L. Volcatius Tullus, who became consul in 33. This year he was praetor at Rome.

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is no member of my order to whom he pays more particular attention. I therefore commend him to you as being both my friend and worthy of your friendship; and whatever you do to oblige him will assuredly give pleasure to yourself, and in any case be a favour to me.

XIV

CICERO TO M. BRUTUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I am on the most intimate terms with L. Titius 1
Strabo, an eminently honourable and distinguished
Roman knight. There is no bond of the closest
relationship that does not subsist between us. A
sum of money is owing to him in your province from
P. Cornelius. The *praetor urbanus* Volcatius^a has
passed on the case for trial in Gaul.

I beg of you all the more earnestly than if the case 2
were my own, in proportion as it is more a point of
honour to take pains in the matter of one's friends'
money than one's own, to see to it that the business
is carried through. Take it on your own shoulders,
settle it, and do what you can consistently with what
you deem right and proper, to ensure that Strabo's
freedman, who has been dispatched for the purpose,
may conclude the business on the most favourable
terms possible, and get at the money. Not only will
that give *me* the greatest pleasure, but you yourself
too will find L. Titius fully worthy of your friendship.
That you should interest yourself in this matter, as
you generally do in everything you know to be my
wish, I earnestly beg of you again and again.

CICERO

XV

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CAESARI IMP.

Asturæ, A.U.C. 709.

1 Praecilium tibi commendo unice, tui necessarii, mei familiarissimi, viri optimi filium; quem cum adolescentem ipsum propter eius modestiam, humanitatem, animum et amorem erga me singularem mirifice diligo, tum patrem eius re doctus intellexi et didici mihi fuisse semper amicissimum. En, hic ille est [de illis]¹ maxime qui irridere atque obiurgare me solitus est, quod me non tecum, praesertim eum abs te honorificentissime invitarer, coniungerem.

Ἄλλ' ἐμὸν οὐ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐπειθεν.

Audiebam enim nostros proceres clamitantes,

ἄλκιμος ἔσσι', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἶπη.
ὡς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.

2 Sed tamen iidem me consolantur; et iam hominem perustum inani gloria volunt incendere; atque ita loquuntur:

μὴ μὰν ἀσπυδι γέ καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην,
ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πνέσθαι.

¹ *A doubtful insertion, omitted in H. Pal.*

^a This letter was written within two months after Tullia's death, and Tyrrell and Purser remark that "it has a strained and unnatural tone of gaiety."

^b Hom. *Od.* vii. 258.

^c *Ib.* i. 302.

^d *Ib.* xxiv. 315. The chieftains cried aloud to Cicero to be brave, but a cloud of woe enveloped him—his remorse for having ever opposed Caesar.

^e Hom. *Il.* xxii. 304-5.

XV

CICERO GREET'S C. JULIUS CAESAR, IMPERATOR

Astura, end of March, 45 B. C.^a

I most particularly commend to you Praecilius, the 1
son of a very excellent gentleman who is your close,
and my own very intimate, friend. I am amazingly
fond of the young man himself on account of his
sobriety of conduct, his refinement, and his remark-
ably affectionate feeling for myself; and his father
too, as practical experience has taught me and con-
vinced me beyond all doubt, was always my very
sincere friend. Why, he was the man who more than
anybody used to scoff at and scold me because
I did not attach myself to you, especially when you
invited me to do so in the most complimentary terms:

But with his words never swayed he the heart that beats
in my bosom.^b

For I heard our chieftains crying aloud:

“Stand thou undaunted, that men e’en in ages to come
may extol thee.”^c

So spake he, but the other a black cloud of anguish
enveloped.^d

But still those same men offer me comfort, and 2
even now they would set on fire a poor fellow already
scorched with the flames of a futile ambition; and this
is the sort of thing they say:

Not without effort of mine, and not without fame, would
I perish,

But having done such a deed as will ring through the ages
for ever.^e

CICERO

Sed minus iam movent, ut vides. Itaque ab Homeri magniloquentia confero me ad vera praecepta *Ἐπιπέδον*

μισῶ σοφιστήν ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός

quem versum senex Praecilius laudat egregie, et ait, posse eundem et ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσω videre, et tamen nihilominus

αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

3 Sed, ut redeam ad id, unde coepi, vehementer mihi gratum feceris, si hunc adolescentem humanitate tua, quae est singularis, comprehenderis, et ad id, quod ipsorum Praeciliorum causa te velle arbitror, addideris cumulum commendationis meae. Genere novo sum litterarum ad te usus, ut intellegeres, non vulgarem esse commendationem.

XVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CAESARI IMP.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 P. Crassum ex omni nobilitate adulescentem dilexi plurimum; et de eo cum ab incunte eius aetate perbene¹ speravissen, tum praecelare² existimare

¹ *Schütz*: bene *Nobbe*.

² *Klotz*: per me *Nobbe*.

^a Eur. Frag 905, ed Nauck, p. 652.

^b Hom. *Il.* i. 343; *Od.* xxiv. 452.

^c Hom. *Il.* vi. 208; xi. 784. Praecilius seems to have meant that a man may be a "sage," and yet attain pre-eminence in practical life.

^d Son of the triumvir. He served with distinction as a *legatus* of Caesar in Gaul. He fell with his father at the

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But they have less effect upon me now, as you see ; and so I turn from the grandiloquence of Homer, and betake myself to the practical precepts of Euripides :

The sage, no sage for his own ends, I loathe,^a

a verse that Praecilius senior enthusiastically applauds, and declares that a man may be able " to see before as well as behind " ^b and yet nevertheless

Ever to prove himself best, and unrivalled to stand above others.^c

But to return to the point with which I began : you ³ will oblige me very greatly if you extend to this young man the courtesy you possess in so remarkable a degree, and to add to what I imagine you would like to do for the sake of the Praecilii themselves the further weight of my recommendation.

I have adopted a new style of letter in writing to you, so that you may understand that this is no stereotyped recommendation.

XVI

CICERO TO JULIUS CAESAR

Rome (?), early in 45 B.C.

Out of all our nobility the young man for whom ¹ I have the highest regard is P. Crassus ^d ; and while I had entertained great hopes of him from his earliest years, I began to have quite a brilliant impression of battle of Carrhae. Cicero eulogized him in *Brut.* 282. *Cf. Fam.* v. 8. 4. His widow Cornelia afterwards became the wife of Pompey.

CICERO

coepi, eximiis¹ iudiciis, quae de eo feceras,² cognitis. Eius libertum Apollonium iam tum equidem, cum ille viveret, et magni faciebam et probabam. Erat enim et studiosus Crassi, et ad eius optima studia vehementer aptus; itaque ab eo admodum diligebatur. Post mortem autem Crassi eo mihi etiam dignior visus est, quem in fidem atque amicitiam meam reciperem, quod eos a se observandos et colendos putabat, quos ille dilexisset et quibus carus fuisset. Itaque et ad me in Ciliciam venit multisque in rebus mihi magno usui fuit et fides eius et prudentia, et, ut opinor, tibi in Alexandrino bello, quantum studio et fidelitate consequi potuit, non defuit.

3 Quod cum speraret te quoque ita existimare, in Hispaniam ad te, maxime ille quidem suo consilio, sed etiam me auctore est profectus. Cui ego commendationem non sum pollicitus; non quin eam valituram apud te arbitrarer, sed neque mihi egere commendatione videbatur, qui et in bello tecum fuisset, et propter memoriam Crassi de tuis unus esset, et, si uti commendationibus vellet, etiam per alios eum videbam id consequi posse. Testimonium mei de eo iudici, quod et ipse magni aestimabat, et ego apud te valere eram expertus, ei libenter dedi.

4 Doctum igitur hominem cognovi et studiis optimis

¹ *Klotz*: ex iis *Nobbe*.

² *Madvig*: feceram *Nobbe*.

him when the highly favourable opinions you had formed of him became known to me. His freedman Apollonius I used to esteem highly and think well of, even when Crassus was alive ; for he was devoted to Crassus, and adapted himself extremely well to his highest pursuits, and was therefore much beloved by him.

After Crassus's death, however, he struck me as 2 being all the more worthy of admittance into my confidence and friendship, inasmuch as he considered it incumbent upon him to pay respect and attention to those whom Crassus had been fond of, and who had won his affection. And so he joined me in Cilicia, and his loyalty and sagacity were of material service to me in many respects, and he never failed you, I imagine, in the Alexandrine war, so far as his zeal and fidelity enabled him to do so.

And, since he hoped that you thought so too, he 3 set out to join you in Spain, mainly, it is true, by your advice, but partly also at my instance. A recommendation, however, I did not promise him—not that I supposed it would carry no weight with you, but it seemed to me that he stood in need of no recommendation at all, seeing that he had been with you during the war, and (since you could never forget Crassus) was numbered among your intimates ; and besides, if he desired to avail himself of recommendations, I saw that there were others too through whom he could get what he wanted. This testimony to my opinion of him, which he himself values highly, and which I know by experience carries weight with you, I have gladly given him.

Well then, I have found him to be a man of learning 4 and devoted to the most intellectual pursuits, and

CICERO

deditum, idque a puero. Nam domi meae cum Diodoto Stoico, homine meo iudicio eruditissimo, multum a puero fuit. Nunc autem, incensus studio rerum tuarum, eas litteris Graecis mandare cupit. Posse arbitror; valet ingenio; habet usum; iam pridem in eo genere studi litterarumque versatur; satisfacere immortalitati laudum tuarum mirabiliter cupiebat. Habes opinionis meae testimonium; sed tu hoc facilius multo, pro tua singulari prudentia, iudicabis. Et tamen, quod negaveram, commendo tibi eum. Quidquid ei commodaveris, erit id maiorem in modum gratum.

XVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. SER. SULPICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

- 1 M'. Curius, qui Patris negotiatur, multis et magnis de causis a me diligitur. Nam et amicitia pervetus mihi cum eo est, ut primum in forum venit, instituta, et Patris cum aliquoties antea, tum proxime hoc miserrimo bello domus eius tota mihi patuit; qua si opus fuisset, tam essem usus, quam mea. Maximum

^a For an account of this eminent jurist and friend of Cicero see note *a* on iv. 1. 1. Sulpicius had recently been appointed Proconsul of Achaia by Caesar, *cf.* iv. 3.

^b vii. 28 is a letter from Cicero to him, and vii. 29 one from him to Cicero.

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that from a boy. For he was constantly at my house from his boyhood in the company of Diodotus the Stoic, in my judgment the most erudite of men. At the present moment, however, fired with enthusiastic admiration of your exploits, he desires to record them in the Greek language. I think he is competent to do so, he has great ability, he has had experience, he has been engaged for some time past in that kind of literary effort, and his eagerness to do justice to the immortal glory of your achievements is quite amazing.

Here then is the considered expression of my opinion; but such is your extraordinary penetration that you will far more easily decide the matter on your own account. And here am I, after all, doing what I said I would not do, in recommending him to you!

Whatever favour you do him will be a more than ordinary gratification to myself.

XVII

CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS ^a

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I have many strong reasons for my regard for **1** Manius Curius ^b who has a banking business at Patrae. A friendship of very long standing subsists between us, which began when he first entered the Forum, and at Patrae not only on several previous occasions, but also very lately, during this most lamentable war, his house has been unreservedly thrown open to me; had there been need, I should have used it as my own.

autem mihi vinculum cum eo est quasi sanctioris
cuiusdam necessitudinis, quod est Attici nostri fami-
liarissimus cumque unum praeter ceteros observat
2 ac diligit. Quem si tu iam forte cognosti, puto me
hoc, quod facio, facere serius. Ea est enim humanitate
et observantia, ut cum tibi iam ipsum per se com-
mendatum putem. Quod tamen si ita est, magno
opere a te quaeso, ut ad eam voluntatem, si quam in
illum ante has meas litteras contulisti, quam maximus
3 postea commendatione cumulus accedat. Sin autem
propter verecundiam suam minus se tibi obtulit, aut
nondum eum satis habes cognitum, aut quae causa
est, cur maioris commendationis indigeat, sic tibi
eum commendo, ut neque maiore studio quemquam,
neque iustioribus de causis commendare possim.
Faciamque id, quod debent facere ii, qui religiose
et sine ambitione commendant. Spondebo enim tibi,
vel potius spondeo in meque recipio, eos esse M'.
Curii mores eamque cum probitatem, tum etiam
humanitatem, ut eum et amicitia tua, et tam accurata
commendatione, si tibi sit cognitus, dignum sis
existimaturus. Mihi certe gratissimum feceris, si
intellexero, has litteras tantum, quantum scribens
confidebam, apud te pondus habuisse.

The strongest tie that binds us however is one that I may almost call a more sacred relationship—the fact that he is a most intimate friend of my dear Atticus, whom he respects and esteems more than anybody else in the world.

If you happen to have made his acquaintance ² already, I expect I am too late in doing what I do; for such is his courtesy and civility, that I expect he has already been his own recommendation to you. But even if this be so, I earnestly beg you, that, whatever goodwill you may have shown him before the receipt of this letter, my recommendation, now that you have received it, may as far as possible enhance it.

If, however, his bashfulness has prevented his ³ obtruding himself upon you, or if you are not sufficiently acquainted with him, or if there be any reason for his requiring some stronger recommendation, well, then, I hereby recommend him to you so emphatically that I could not possibly recommend any man with greater enthusiasm or for sounder reasons; and I shall do what those do who submit their recommendations conscientiously and disinterestedly, that is to say, I shall pledge my word to you, or rather give you my promise and solemn undertaking, that such is M'. Curius's character, such his integrity and his kindness combined, that if you make his acquaintance, you will assuredly deem him worthy both of your friendship and of so elaborate a recommendation. At any rate you will have done me a great favour if I have reason to know that this letter has carried as much weight with you as I felt sure it would when I wrote it.

CICERO

XVIII

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Non concedam, ut Attico nostro, quem elatum laetitia vidi, iucundiores tuae suavissime ad eum et humanissime scriptae litterae fuerint, quam mihi. Nam etsi utrique nostrum prope aequae gratiae erant, tamen ego admirabar magis te, qui, si rogatus, aut certe admonitus, liberaliter Attico respondisses¹ (quod tamen dubium nobis, quin ita futurum fuerit, non erat), ultro ad eum scripsisse, eique nec opinanti voluntatem tuam tantam per litteras detulisse. De quo non modo rogare te, ut eo studiosius mea quoque causa facias, non debeo (nihil enim cumulatius fieri potest, quam polliceris), sed ne gratias quidem agere, 2 quod tu et ipsius causa et tua sponte feceris. Illud tamen dicam, mihi id, quod fecisti, esse gratissimum. Tale enim tuum iudicium de homine eo, quem unice diligo, non potest mihi non summe esse iucundum. Quod cum ita sit, esse gratum necesse est. Sed tamen, cum mihi pro coniunctione nostra vel peccare apud te in scribendo licet, utrumque eorum, quae

¹ *Something, necessary to complete the sentence, has fallen out after respondisses, e.g., as Lohmann suggests, gratum nobis fecisses.*

XVIII

CICERO TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

Never shall I admit that that most charming and 1
 courteous letter you wrote to him gave our friend
 Atticus, who, I could see, was in an ecstasy of delight,
 more pleasure than it gave myself. For though the
 pleasure it gave us was about equally divided between
 us, it was I who felt the greater admiration, seeing
 that you, who, had you been requested or at any rate
 advised to do so, would have couched your reply to
 Atticus in handsome terms (and, of course, I had
 never any doubt that it would have proved so),
 actually wrote to him spontaneously, and laid at his
 feet all your abounding goodwill through the medium
 of a letter. And in this connexion not only ought I
 to refrain from requesting you to write all the more
 cordially because I too am interested (for nothing
 that can be done would exceed the overflowing
 measure of your promises), but even from thanking
 you for what you had done both in Atticus's own
 interest, and of your own free will.

This much, however, I will say, that what you have 2
 done is most gratifying to me. For such an opinion
 on your part of a man who stands alone in my
 affection cannot but give me the highest degree of
 pleasure; and that being so, I cannot help but be
 grateful. But anyhow, since our attachment is so
 close, that I am privileged even to blunder in a letter
 to you, I shall do both of the things I declared I

CICERO

negavi mihi facienda esse, faciam. Nam et ad id, quod Attici causa te ostendisti esse facturum, tantum velim addas, quantum ex nostro amore accessionis fieri potest, et, quod modo verebar tibi gratias agere, nunc plane ago, teque ita existimare volo, quibuscumque officiis in Epiroticis reliquisque rebus Atticum obstrinxeris. iisdem me tibi obligatum fore.

XIX

M. T. C. S. P. D. SER. SULPICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum Lysons Patrensi est mihi quidem hospitium vetus, quam ego necessitudinem sancte colendam puto, sed ea causa etiam cum aliis compluribus, familiaritas tanta nullo cum hospite, et ea cum officiis eius multis, tum etiam consuetudine quotidiana sic est aucta, ut nihil sit familiaritate nostra coniunctius. Is cum Romae annum prope ita fuisset, ut mecum viveret, etsi eramus in magna spe, te meis litteris commendationeque diligentissime facturum id quod fecisti, ut eius rem et fortunas absentis tuerere, tamen, quod in unius potestate erant omnia,

^a Though Cicero speaks somewhat slightly of Lyso elsewhere (xvi. 4. 2), he seems to have had a very high regard for him; and Lyso himself seems to have been something more than the ordinary "hotel proprietor" which Tyrrell and Mahaffy assume him to have been.

^b *Hospes*, like the Greek *ξένος*, originally meant a *stranger*; then it became used for a *guest*, and finally also for a *host*, and which of those two meanings it bears can only be inferred from its context.

Hospitium (*ξενία*) is the relationship between host and guest, for which we have no one word in English, and which we have to render by some such paraphrase as "the ties

ought not to do. Firstly, I would have you make such an addition to what you have already shown you are about to do for Atticus's sake as it is possible, in view of our mutual affection, to make; and secondly, though a moment ago I was afraid to thank you, I now do so in specific terms, and I would impress this upon you—that by whatever kind offices you put Atticus under an obligation in dealing with affairs in Epirus and elsewhere, for those same services shall I be beholden to you myself.

XIX

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

Between myself and Lyso of Patrae^a are long-standing ties of hospitality,^b and such ties should, I think, be religiously fostered. This is of course the case with several others, but never have I been so intimate with any other friend of that type; and so much has that intimacy been increased, not only by many services on his part, but also by our daily intercourse, that we are on the most intimate terms in the world. When he stayed a year at Rome, which practically meant living at my house, although we were in great hopes that, in view of my letter of recommendation, you would be most assiduous in doing what, as a matter of fact, you did—I mean in protecting his estate and possessions—for all that, seeing that one man^c was all-powerful, and that of hospitality” or “friendship based on mutual entertainment.”

^a The reference of course is to Caesar.

et quod Lyso fuerat in nostra causa nostrisque praesidiis, quotidie aliquid timebamus. Effectum tamen est et ipsius splendore et nostro reliquorumque hospitem studio, ut omnia, quae vellemus, a Caesare impetrarentur; quod intelleges ex iis litteris, quas

2 Caesar ad te dedit. Nunc non modo non remittimus tibi aliquid ex nostra commendatione, quasi adepti iam omnia, sed eo vehementius a te contendimus, ut Lysonem in fidem necessitudinemque tuam recipias, cuius dubia fortuna timidius tecum agebamus, verentes, ne quid accideret eiusmodi, ut ne tu quidem mederi posses; explorata vero eius incolumitate, omnia a te summo studio summaque cura peto. Quae ne singula enumerem, totam tibi domum commendo; in his adulescentem filium eius, quem C. Maenius Gemellus, cliens meus, cum in calamitate exsili sui Patrensis civis factus esset, Patrensi legibus adoptavit; ut eius ipsius hereditatis ius causamque tueare.

3 Caput illud est, ut Lysonem, quem ego virum optimum gratissimumque cognovi, recipias in necessitudinem tuam. Quod si feceris, non dubito quin in eo diligendo ceterisque postea commendando idem, quod ego, sis iudici et voluntatis habiturus. Quod cum fieri vehementer studeo, tum etiam illud vereor, ne, si minus cumulate videbere fecisse aliquid eius causa, me ille neglegenter scripsisse putet, non te

Lyso had been on our side and under our aegis, we were in daily dread of something happening. His own distinction, however, and the hearty support of myself and his other friends of that type have ended in our obtaining from Caesar all we wanted, as indeed you will infer from Caesar's letter to you.

In this letter not only do I make no abatement in the strength of my recommendation to you, as if I had now got all I wanted, but I press you all the more earnestly to admit Lyso into your confidence and intimacy. When his fortunes were in the balance, I felt a little timid in pleading with you, fearing something so serious might happen that not even you could rectify it; but now that his civil status is assured, I beg of you in all earnestness and solicitude to carry out all my requests. To avoid a detailed list of them, I commend to you his whole family, including his young son, whom my client C. Maenius Gemellus, when in the dark days of his exile he was made a citizen of Patrae, adopted according to the laws of that town; I ask you to maintain the rights of his cause in respect of that inheritance.

The main point is that you should admit Lyso, whom I have found to be a most excellent and grateful person, to your close intimacy. If you do so, I have no doubt that, in making much of him and afterwards recommending him to others, you will arrive at the same opinion and conceive the same goodwill towards him as I do. But intensely anxious as I am that this should be done, I am at the same time afraid lest if it appears that in some particular respect you have failed to display a superabundance of energy on his behalf, he may suspect *me* of not having written warmly enough, and not *you* of having forgotten me.

CICERO

oblitum mei. Quanti enim me faceres, cum ex sermonibus quotidianis meis, tum ex epistulis etiam tuis potuit cognoscere.

XX

CICERO SERVIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

Asclapone Patrensi, medico, utor valde familiariter, eiusque cum consuetudo mihi iucunda fuit, tum ars etiam, quam sum expertus in valetudine meorum; in qua mihi cum ipsa scientia, tum etiam fidelitate benevolentiaque satisfacit. Hunc igitur tibi commendo, et a te peto, des operam, ut intellegat, diligenter me scripsisse de sese, meanque commendationem usui magno sibi fuisse. Erit id mihi vehementer gratum.

XXI

M. T. C. S. P. D. SER. SULPICIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

- 1 M. Aemilius Avianius ab ineunte adolescentia me observavit semperque dilexit, vir cum bonus, tum perhumanus et in omni genere officii diligendus.

^a He was a patron of the sculptor C. Avianius Evander mentioned in xiii. 2, and of the C. Avianius Hammonius mentioned in § 2 below. Freedmen generally adopted the *praenomen* and *nomen* of their patron in addition to their own, as did foreigners also when made citizens of Rome through the influence of some great Roman.

For he must have been able to discover how highly you esteem me, not only from my daily talks, but also from your letters.

XX

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I am on very familiar terms with the physician Asclapo of Patrae, and not only has my intercourse with him been a pleasure to me, but also his skill, which I have tested in the illnesses of my household; at those times he gave me every satisfaction by his medical knowledge, as well as by his trustworthiness and goodness of heart. I therefore recommend him to you, and I beg of you to do what you can to convince him that I have taken special care in writing about him, and that my recommendation has been of substantial service to him. It will be a great gratification to me.

XXI

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

M. Aemilius Avianius ^a has always regarded me with respect and esteem from his earliest youth. He is a good, and at the same time an exceedingly courteous man, and in the performance of every kind of duty worthy of esteem. If I thought he was

CICERO

Quem si arbitrarer esse Sicyone, et nisi audirem, ibi eum etiam nunc, ubi ego reliqui, Cibyrae commorari, nihil esset necesse, plura me ad te de eo scribere. Perficeret enim ipse profecto suis moribus suaque humanitate, ut sine cuiusquam commendatione diligeretur abs te non minus, quam et a me et a ceteris
2 suis familiaribus. Sed cum illum abesse putem, commendo tibi in maiorem modum domum eius, quae est Sicyone, remque familiarem, maxime Gaium Avianium Hammonium, libertum eius, quem quidem tibi etiam suo nomine commendo. Nam cum propterea mihi est probatus, quod est in patronum suum officio et fide singulari, tum etiam in me ipsum magna officia contulit, mihiq̄ue molestissimis temporibus ita fideliter benevoleque praesto fuit, ut si a me manumissus esset. Itaque peto a te, ut eum Hammonium et in patroni eius negotio sic tueare, ut eius procuratorem, quem tibi commendo, et ipsum suo nomine diligas, habeasque in numero tuorum. Hominem pudentem et officiosum cognosces, et dignum, qui a te diligatur.

XXII

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 T. Manlium, qui negotiatur Thespiis, vehementer diligo. Nam et semper me coluit diligentissimeque

^a Situated on the river Asopus in the N.E. of the Peloponnese.

^b In Phrygia; Cicero left him there when returning home from Cilicia.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. XXI.—XXII.

at Sicyon ^a and were not informed that he is still staying at Cibyra, ^b where I left him, there would have been no necessity for my writing to you about him at any greater length. For I feel sure that he would succeed by his own character and culture, unaided by anybody's recommendation, in winning your esteem no less than mine, and that of all his other intimate friends.

But, believing him to be away, I commend to you ² with more than customary earnestness his family (they live in Sicyon) and his private property, and particularly Gaius Avianius Hammonius, his freedman, whom I also commend to you on his own account. For not only has he won my approval by his remarkable sense of duty and loyalty to his patron, but he has also conferred great obligations upon myself, and in the days of my greatest trouble he stood by me as faithfully and affectionately as though it were I who had manumitted him. I therefore beg of you to give that Hammonius not only your support in his patron's business, as being the agent of the man I am recommending to you, but also your regard on his own account, and put him on the list of your friends. You will find him a modest and obliging person, and worthy of your regard.

XXII

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

T. Manlius, who has a banking business at Thespieae, ¹ is a man I am extremely fond of; for he has always cultivated my acquaintance and shown me very

CICERO

observavit, et a studiis nostris non abhorret. Accedit eo, quod Varro Murena magno opere eius causa vult omnia; qui tamen existimavit, etsi suis litteris, quibus tibi Manlium commendabat, valde confideret, tamen mea commendatione aliquid accessionis fore. Me quidem cum Manli familiaritas, tum Varronis studium commovit, ut ad te quam accuratissime 2 scriberem. Gratissimum igitur mihi feceris, si huic commendationi meae tantum tribueris, quantum cui tribuisti plurimum, id est, si T. Manlium quam maxime, quibuscumque rebus honeste ac pro tua dignitate poteris, iuveris atque ornaveris, ex ipsiusque praeterea gratissimis et humanissimis moribus confirmo tibi, te eum, quem soles fructum a bonorum virorum officiis expectare, esse capturum.

XXIII

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 L. Cossinio, amico et tribuli tuo, valde familiariter utor. Nam et inter nosmet ipsos vetus usus intercedit et Atticus noster maiorem etiam mihi cum Cossinio consuetudinem fecit. Itaque tota Cossini domus me diligit, in primisque libertus eius, L. Cossinius

^a A. Terentius Varro Murena, son of L. Licinius, was adopted by A. Terentius Varro. A partisan of Pompey, he was pardoned by Caesar. In 22 he conspired against Augustus with Fannius Caepio, and put to death. Dio Cassius (*Liv.* iii. 4) describes him as being offensively and violently outspoken, and Horace appropriately addressed to him his ode on "the golden mean" (*Od.* ii. 10).

By his adoption he became brother to Terentia, wife of Maecena, and also to Proculus (*Hor. Od.* ii. 2. 5).

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. XXII.—XXIII.

marked respect ; and he is no enemy to our literary pursuits. I should add that Varro Murena ^a cordially wishes him well in every respect ; and Varro, although he had every confidence in the letter he wrote commending Manlius to you, thought none the less that something further would be gained by a recommendation from myself ; and not only my intimacy with Manlius, but my anxiety on behalf of Varro, has stimulated me to write to you with the utmost earnestness.

You will oblige me very greatly then if you attach **2** to this recommendation the highest possible importance, in other words, if you promote the interests and honour of T. Manlius as much as possible in whatever respect you can do so consistently with what is honourable and with your own high position ; and, moreover, judging by the man's own very grateful and courteous character, I assure you that you will reap the reward you usually expect for services done to men of merit.

XXIII

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I am on very intimate terms with your friend and **1** fellow-tribesman, L. Cossinius ; for not only is there an acquaintance of long standing between us to start with, but the bond that binds me to Cossinius has been strengthened by our friend Atticus. Consequently Cossinius's whole family is fond of me, and especially his freedman, L. Cossinius Anchialus, a

CICERO

Anchialus, homo et patrono et patroni necessariis,
2 quo in numero ego sum, probatissimus. Hunc tibi
ita commendo, ut, si meus libertus esset, eodemque
apud me loco esset, quo est apud patronum suum,
maiore studio commendare non possem. Quare per-
gratum mihi feceris, si eum in amicitiam tuam
receperis, atque eum, quod sine molestia tua fiat, si
qua in re opus ei fuerit, iuveris. Id et mihi ve-
hementer gratum erit, et tibi postea iucundum.
Hominem enim summa probitate, humanitate ob-
servantiaque cognosces.

XXIV

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum antea capiebam ex officio meo voluptatem,
quod memineram, quam tibi diligenter Lysonem,
hospitem et familiarem meum, commendassem, tum
vero, posteaquam ex litteris eius cognovi, tibi eum
falso suspectum fuisse, vehementissime laetatus sum,
me tam diligentem in eo commendando fuisse. Ita
enim scripsit ad me, sibi meam commendationem
maximo adiumento fuisse, quod ad te delatum dice-
ret, sese contra dignitatem tuam Romae de te loqui
2 solitum esse. De quo etsi pro tua facilitate et
humanitate purgatum se tibi scribit esse, tamen

* See xiii. 19.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. XXIII.—XXIV.

man very highly thought of by his patron and his patron's friends, of whom I am one. So warmly do I commend him to you that if he were my own freedman and stood in the same relation to me as he does to his patron, I could not commend him more enthusiastically. You will therefore do me a great favour if you admit him into your friendship, and, if he needs it in any way, give him such assistance as you can without inconvenience to yourself. That will be both gratifying to me and subsequently a pleasure to yourself; for you will find him a man of the highest integrity, most courteous too, and most respectful.

XXIV

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I previously derived pleasure from an act of kindness on my part, when I remembered how warmly I had recommended to you my host and guest and intimate friend Lyso,^a and now that I have gathered from his letter that he had been falsely suspected by you, I rejoiced exceedingly that my recommendation of him had been so warmly worded. He told me in his letter that my recommendation had been of the greatest assistance to him, because (as he says) a report had reached your ears that he had been in the habit of speaking about you at Rome to the prejudice of your high position.

Now although he writes that, as might have been expected from your good nature and kindness, he has cleared himself in your eyes, still in the first place,

CICERO

primum, ut debeo, tibi gratias ago, cum tantum litterae meae potuerunt, ut, his lectis, omnem offensionem suspicionis, quam habueras de Lysons, deponeres; deinde credas mihi affirmanti velim, me hoc non pro Lysons magis, quam pro omnibus scribere, hominem esse neminem, qui unquam mentionem tui sine tua summa laude fecerit. Lyso vero cum mecum prope quotidie esset unaque viveret, non solum, quia me libenter audire arbitratur, sed quia libentius ipse loquebatur, omnia mihi tua et facta et
3 dicta laudabat. Quapropter etsi a te ita tractatur, ut iam non desideret commendationem meam, unisque se litteris meis omnia consecutum putet, tamen a te peto in maiorem modum, ut eum etiam atque etiam tuis officiis et liberalitate complectare. Scriberem ad te, qualis vir esset, ut superioribus litteris feceram, nisi eum iam per se ipsum tibi satis esse notum arbitrarer.

XXV

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

Hegesaretus Larissaeus, magnis meis beneficiis ornatus in consulatu meo, memor et gratus fuit, meque postea diligentissime coluit. Eum tibi magno

^a Probably the head of the Pompeian faction in Thessaly.

^b In Thessaly.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. XXIV.—XXV.

I express my gratitude to you that my letter has had such influence with you that on perusing it you put away from you all the feeling of offence caused by the suspicion you entertained of Lyso; and secondly I would have you believe me when I asseverate that I am writing this not more on Lyso's than on every other man's behalf—that there is no man alive who has ever mentioned your name without praising you up to the skies. As for Lyso, when he was in my company almost every day and lived with me, he used to praise in my presence your every word and deed—not only because it was a pleasure to me to listen, but because it was an even greater pleasure to him to say so.

For that reason, although he is being so treated by 3 you that he no longer desires any recommendation of mine, and imagines that my single letter has enabled him to get all he wants, yet I beg of you with more than usual earnestness to show your appreciation of him by your kind services and generosity. I should write and tell you what sort of a man he is, as I did in previous letters, were I not convinced that he is by this time sufficiently well known to you on his own account.

XXV

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

Hegesaretus ^a of Larissa, ^b whom I honoured with some considerable kindnesses during my consulship, has proved himself neither forgetful nor ungrateful, and has subsequently paid me marked attention. I

CICERO

opere commendo, ut et hospitem meum et familiarem, et gratum hominem, et virum bonum, et principem civitatis suae, et tua necessitudine dignissimum. Pergratum mihi feceris, si dederis operam, ut is intellegat hanc meam commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse.

XXVI

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

- 1 L. Mescinius ea mecum necessitudine coniunctus est, quod mihi quaestor fuit. Sed hanc causam, quam ego, ut a maioribus accepi, semper gravem duxi, fecit virtute et humanitate sua iustiore. Itaque eo sic utor, ut nec familiaris ullo nec libentius. Is quamquam confidere videbatur, te sua causa, quae honeste posses, libenter esse facturum, magnum esse tamen speravit apud te meas quoque litteras pondus habituras. Id cum ipse ita iudicabat, tum pro familiari consuetudine saepe ex me audierat, quam suavis esset inter nos et quanta coniunctio.
- 2 Peto igitur a te, tanto scilicet studio, quanto intellegis debere me petere pro homine tam mihi necessario et tam familiari, ut eius negotia, quae sunt in Achaia,

* L. Mescinius Rufus, one of Cicero's quaestors in Cilicia.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. xxv.—xxvi.

strongly recommend him to you as being a guest and friend of mine with whom I am familiar, a grateful fellow of excellent character, the chief man of his State, and altogether worthy of your intimacy. You will do me a great favour if you make a point of giving him reason to know that this recommendation of mine has had great weight with you.

XXVI

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

The explanation of my close connexion with L. 1 Mescinius^a is that he was my quaestor. But that reason for intimacy, strong as I have always, in accordance with ancestral tradition, held it to be, he has further justified by his own merits and courtesy. It follows that there is no one with whom I am on more intimate terms, or with more pleasure. Now although he appeared to be confident that you would willingly do what you could for him, without compromising yourself, for his own sake, at the same time he hoped that a letter from me too would have great weight with you. Not only did he think so himself, but he had also (such is the intimacy of our intercourse) often heard me say how delightful and how close is my connexion with you.

I therefore entreat you with all that earnestness, 2 believe me, with which I am bound to entreat you on behalf of one so closely connected and intimate with me, to facilitate and expedite the business affairs he has in Achaia (arising from the fact that he

CICERO

ex eo, quod heres est M. Mindio, fratri suo, qui Eli¹ negotiatus est, explices et expedias, cum iure et potestate, quam habes, tum etiam auctoritate et consilio tuo. Sic enim praescripsimus iis, quibus ea negotia mandavimus, ut omnibus in rebus, quae in aliquam controversiam vocarentur, te arbitro, et, quod commodo tuo fieri posset, te disceptatore uterentur. Id ut honoris mei causa suscipias, vehementer te
3 etiam atque etiam rogo. Illud praeterea, si non alienum tua dignitate putabis esse, feceris mihi pergratum, si qui difficiliore erunt, ut rem sine controversia confici nolint, si eos, quando cum senatore res est, Romam reieceris. Quod quo minore dubitatione facere posses, litteras ad te a M. Lepido consule, non quae te aliquid iuberent (neque enim id tuae dignitatis esse arbitramur), sed quodam modo
4 quasi commendaticias sumpsimus. Scriberem, quam id beneficium bene apud Mescinium positurus esses, nisi et te scire confiderem et mihi peterem. Sic enim velim existimes, non minus me de illius re laborare, quam ipsum de sua. Sed cum illum studeo quam facillime ad suum pervenire, tum illud laboro, ut non minimum hac mea commendatione se consecutum arbitretur.

¹ *MSS., as also in N.D. 59: Elide Lambinus.*

^a If a Roman citizen, especially a senator, complained against a subject or subject community, the governor could order the latter to appear either personally or by counsel (*edicti*) at Rome. The transference of the case to Rome, which entailed much expense, was a hardship to the provincials, who generally preferred to compromise.

^b Caesar and Lepidus were consuls in 46.

is heir to his cousin M. Mindius, who was a banker at Elis) by means not only of your lawful powers but also of your weighty influence and advice. For my instructions to those to whom I entrusted those business affairs were as follows: "that in anything brought forward as admitting of any dispute they should employ you to arbitrate, and (so far as it could be done without inconveniencing you) to settle the case once for all." This I press you again and again to undertake to do in the interests of my honour.

This too is another great favour you will do me, if ³ you do not consider it incompatible with your position—that if any of those concerned are so obstinately intractable as to having the matter settled without a trial, you should refer them, since a senator is involved in the case, to Rome.^a And to enable you to do so with the less hesitation, I have in my hands a despatch to you from the consul M. Lepidus,^b not such as to lay any injunction upon you (that, I consider, would be inconsistent with your position) but which conveys in a sort of way what may be called a recommendation.

I should go on to tell you how sound an investment ⁴ you would be likely to make in doing Mescinius this favour, were not I sure that you are aware of it, and were it not that this request of mine is really a selfish one; for I would have you believe that I am no less anxious about his interests than he is himself. But while I desire that he should come by his own with the least possible difficulty, I am also anxious to give him the impression that this recommendation of mine has not been the most negligible factor in his success.

CICERO

XXVII

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

- 1 Licet eodem exemplo saepius tibi huius generis litteras mittam, cum gratias agam, quod meas commendationes tam diligenter observes (quod feci in aliis, et faciam, ut video, saepius), sed tamen non parcam operae, et ut vos soletis in formulis, sic ego in
2 epistulis *de eadem re alio modo*. C. Avianius igitur Hammonius incredibiles mihi gratias per litteras egit, et suo et Aemili Aviani, patroni sui, nomine, nec liberalius, nec honorificentius potuisse tractari nec se praesentem nec rem familiarem absentis patroni sui. Id mihi cum iucundum est eorum causa, quos tibi ego summa necessitudine et summa coniunctione adductus commendaveram, quod M. Aemilius unus est ex meis familiarissimis atque intimis maxime necessarius homo et magnis meis beneficiis devinctus, et prope omnium, qui mihi debere aliquid videntur, gratissimus, tum multo iucundius, te esse in me tali voluntate, ut plus prosis amicis meis, quam ego praesens fortasse prodessem, credo, quod magis ego dubitarem, quid illorum causa facerem, quam tu,
3 quid mea. Sed hoc non dubito, quin existimes mihi

^a A formula used by lawyers, "cum ostenderent eiusdem rei consequendae vias complures esse," "when they indicated that there were several ways of obtaining the same result." Brissonius, quoted by Tyrrell.

^b This cognomen is added to distinguish him from the more celebrated C. Avianius Evander. See xiii. 21. 2.

XXVII

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

It is excusable to use exactly the same terms over 1
and over again in sending you letters of this kind,
thanking you for so punctiliously attending to my
recommendations ; I have done so in other cases, and
shall do so, I foresee, ever so often ; but for all that I
shall make every effort to do in my letters what you
lawyers habitually do in your *formulae*, and that is,
“ *to put the same case in a different way.*”^a

Well then, C. Avianus, I mean Hammonius,^b has 2
in a letter to me expressed himself amazingly grate-
ful, in his own name as well as in that of his patron
Aemilius Avianus, saying that neither he, who was
on the spot, nor the personal affairs of his patron, who
was away, could possibly have been dealt with either
more generously or with more distinguished con-
sideration. This is a joy to me, in view of the interests
of those whom I had been induced by the closest
bonds of familiarity and fellowship to commend to
you, because M. Aemilius stands alone among all my
most intimate associates as my closest friend and
most beholden to me for considerable kindnesses, and
perhaps the most grateful of those who, I suppose,
owe me something ; but it is a far greater joy to me
that you are so well disposed towards me as to be of
more service to my friends than perhaps I should be
myself, were I on the spot, because, I imagine, I should
be in greater doubt as to what I should do in their
interests, than you as to what you should do in mine.

Of this, however, I have no doubt—that you believe 3

CICERO

esse gratum. Illud te rogo, ut illos quoque gratos homines esse putes; quod ita esse tibi promitto atque confirmo. Quare velim, quidquid habent negoti, des operam, quod commodo tuo fiat, ut te
4 obtinente Achaïam conficiant. Ego cum tuo Servio iucundissime, coniunctissime vivo magnamque cum ex ingenio eius singularique studio, tum ex virtute et probitate voluptatem capio.

XXVIII A

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Etsi libenter petere a te soleo, si quid opus est meorum cuiquam, tamen multo libentius gratias tibi ago, cum fecisti aliquid commendatione mea, quod semper facis. Incredibile est enim, quas mihi gratias omnes agant, etiam mediocriter a me tibi commendati, quae mihi omnia grata, sed de L. Mescinio gratissimum. Sic enim est mecum locutus, te, ut meas litteras legeris, statim procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse omnia; multo vero plura et maiora fecisse. Id igitur (puto enim etiam atque etiam mihi
2 dicendum esse) velim existimes mihi te fecisse gratis-

EPIST. AD FAMILIARES, XIII. xxvii.—xxviii^a.

me to be grateful ; and I beg of you to regard them too as not ungrateful ; that such is the case I promise and assure you. I would therefore have you do your best, so far as you conveniently can, to enable them to conclude whatever business they have on hand while you are governor of Achaia.

I am living on delightful and most sociable terms ⁴ with your son Servius, whose ability and incomparable application, not to mention his excellent character and integrity, are a source of extreme pleasure to me.

XXVIII^A

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

Although it is always a pleasure to me to make a ¹ request of you, if any of my friends want anything, it is a far greater pleasure to thank you when you have done something on my recommendation, and you are always doing so. For you could not believe how cordially they all thank me, yes, even those I have only moderately recommended ; and this is gratifying to me in every case, but most gratifying of all in the case of L. Mescinius ; for this is what he told me in conversation—that as soon as ever you read my letter you promised his agents all they wanted, but that in number and importance your deeds went far beyond your words. I would therefore have you believe (and I think I ought to say so again and again) that what you have done has been a great gratification to me.

And I rejoice at this all the more heartily because ² I foresee that you will get a great deal of enjoyment out of Mescinius himself ; you will find in him a man

CICERO

et summum officium summaque observantia, tum studia illa nostra, quibus antea delectabamur, nunc etiam vivimus. Quod reliquum est, velim augeas tua in eum beneficia omnibus rebus, quae te erunt dignae; sed duo quidem te nominatim rogo: primum, ut, si quid satisfidendum erit, **AMPLIUS EO NOMINE NON PETI**, cures, ut satisfidetur fide mea; deinde, cum fere consistat hereditas in iis rebus, quas avertit Oppia, quae uxor Mendi fuit, adiuves, in easque rationem, quemadmodum ea mulier Romam perducatur. Quod si putarit illa fore, ut opinio nostra est, negotium conficiemus. Hoc ut assequamur, te vehementer **3** etiam atque etiam rogo. Illud, quod supra scripsi, id in me recipio, te ea, quae fecisti Mescini causa, quaeque feceris, ita bene collocaturum, ut ipse iudices, homini te gratissimo, iucundissimo benigne fecisse. Volo enim, ad id, quod mea causa fecisti, hoc etiam accedere.

XXVIII^B

CICERO SERVIO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Nec Lacedaemonios dubitare arbitror, quin ipsi sua maiorumque suorum auctoritate satis commendati sint fidei et iustitiae tuae, et ego, qui te

86

of virtue and integrity, most willing to serve you and most respectful, and at the same time devoted to those literary pursuits which were formerly my amusement, but are now my very life. For the future I would have you even increase your favours to him in any way that is worthy of you. Two requests indeed I make of you specifically: first, that if any security has to be given “against any further claims on that score,” you should see to it that I am held responsible for that security; secondly, since his inheritance practically consists of property fraudulently appropriated by Oppia, who was the wife of Mindius, you should come to his assistance, and take steps to ensure that lady’s safe-conduct to Rome. If she once realizes that it will be so, it is my opinion that the business will be settled; and that is the object I earnestly beg of you again and again to enable us to attain.

What I wrote above I take upon myself to guarantee—that in what you have done and will do for Mescinius you will make so profitable an investment as to compel your independent conviction that the recipient of your favours is a very grateful and a very charming man. I would add this also as a sort of corollary to what you have done for me.

XXVIII^B

CICERO TO SULPICIUS

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

I do not suppose that the Lacedaemonians are in any doubt as to their having been already sufficiently recommended to your sense of loyalty and justice by their own high claims and those of their ancestors, nor

optime novissem, non dubitavi, quin tibi notissima et iura et merita populorum essent. Itaque cum a me peteret Philippus Lacedaemonius, ut tibi civitatem commendarem, etsi memineram, me ei civitati omnia debere, tamen respondi, commendatione Lacedaemonios apud te non egere. Itaque sic velim existimes, me omnes Aethiopiae civitates arbitrari, pro horum temporum perturbatione, felices, quod his tu praesidis; eundemque me ita iudicasse,¹ te, quod unus optime nosset non nostra solum, sed etiam Graeciae monumenta omnia, tua sponte amicis Lacedaemoniis et esse et fore. Quare tantum a te peto, ut, cum ea facies Lacedaemoniorum causa, quae tua fides, amplitudo, iustitia postulabit, iis,² si tibi videbitur, significes, te non moleste ferre, quod intellegas ea, quae facias, mihi quoque grata esse. Pertinet enim ad officium meum, eos existimare, curae mihi suas res esse. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

XXIX

M. T. C. S. D. L. PLANCO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Non dubito, quin scias, in iis necessariis, qui tibi a patre relictis sunt, me tibi esse vel coniunctissimum,

¹ *Wesenberg*: indicare *Nobbe* and *mss.*

² postulabit, iis *Wesenberg*: postulat ut his *Nobbe*.

^a Plancus (for whom see note *a* on x. 1) was now serving with Caesar in Africa.

have I myself, because I know you so very well, ever doubted that you were thoroughly acquainted with the rights and merits of nationalities. And so, when asked by Philippus, the Lacedaemonian, to recommend that state to you, although I remembered that I was under every obligation to that state, yet I replied that the Lacedaemonians stood in no need of any recommendation with you.

I would therefore have you believe that I consider all the states of Achaia, in view of the disturbed state of the times, happy in having you for their governor, and I have, moreover, convinced myself that you, because you are better acquainted than any living man, not only with our own history, but also with the whole history of Greece, are now, and ever will be, of your own choice a friend to Lacedaemonians. For that reason I merely beg of you, when you do for the Lacedaemonians all that your conscience, dignity, and sense of justice shall demand, to convey to them, if you please, the impression that it is by no means disagreeable to you to feel that what you do will be gratifying also to myself. Indeed, it touches my sense of duty that they should be made to believe that I charge myself with their interests. This I earnestly beg of you again and again to do.

XXIX

CICERO TO L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS ^a

Rome, early in 46 B.C.

I have no doubt you are aware that among the 1
intimate friends bequeathed to you by your father,

non his modo causis, quae speciem habent magnae coniunctionis, sed iis etiam, quae familiaritate et consuetudine tenentur, quam scis mihi iucundissimam cum patre tuo et summam fuisse. Ab his initiis noster in te amor profectus auxit paternam necessitudinem, et eo magis, quod intellexi, ut primum per aetatem iudicium facere potueris, quanti quisque tibi faciendus esset, me a te in primis coeptum esse observari, coli, diligi. Accedebat non mediocre vinculum cum studiorum, quod ipsum est per se grave, tum eorum studiorum earumque artium, quae per se ipsae eos, qui voluntate eadem sunt, etiam familiaritate devinciunt. Exspectare te arbitror, haec tam longe repetita principia quo spectent. Id primum ergo habeto, non sine magna iustaque causa hanc a me commemorationem esse factam. C. Ateio Capitone utor familiarissime. Notae tibi sunt varietates meorum temporum. In omni genere et honorum et laborum meorum et animus et opera et auctoritas et gratia, etiam res familiaris, C. Capitonis praesto fuit et paruit et temporibus et fortunae meae.

3 Huius propinquus fuit T. Antistius; qui cum sorte quaestor Macedoniam obtineret, neque ei successum esset, Pompeius in eam provinciam cum exercitu

* Notorious for having published prodigies of ill omen when Crassus was setting out for Syria; he was always an opponent of the Triumvirs.

I am quite the most closely attached to you, not only on such grounds as give the appearance of close attachment, but on those also which are established by familiarity and intercourse; and my intercourse with your father was, as you are aware, in the fullest sense as agreeable as it was close. That was the origin of my affection for you, which has enhanced this hereditary association, and all the more so because I realized that as soon as your years enabled you to form an estimate as to the regard in which you should hold each of your acquaintances, it was I who began to be the special object of your respect, esteem, and affection. Then there was added the bond (no slight one), not only of common pursuits—a bond which carries weight of itself—but also of such pursuits and accomplishments as firmly unite men of identical tastes in what becomes intimacy as well.

You are curious to know, I am sure, what is the ² drift of a preamble that stretches so far back. Well then, let me immediately assure you that I have not entered into this recapitulation of facts without good and sufficient reason. I am on very intimate terms with C. Ateius Capito.^a The vicissitudes of my fortunes are familiar to you. In every phase of my career, whether distinguished or distressful, C. Capito has ever been at hand to help me with his courage, energy, influence, popularity, and even his purse, and to obey the call of every crisis in my fortunes.

He had a relative, one T. Antistius; and when ³ this man was holding Macedonia as quaestor according to lot, and had not yet been succeeded, Pompey arrived in that province with an army. Antistius

CICERO

venit. Facere Antistius nihil potuit. Nam, si potuisset, nihil ei fuisset antiquius, quam ad Capitonem, quem ut parentem diligebat, reverti, praesertim cum sciret, quanti is Caesarem faceret semperque fecisset. Sed oppressus tantum attigit negoti, quantum recusare non potuit. Cum signaretur argentum Apolloniae, non possum dicere eum praefuisse, neque possum negare adfuisse, sed non plus duobus aut tribus mensibus. Deinde abfuit a castris; fugit omne negotium. Hoc mihi ut testi velim credas; meam enim ille maestitiam in illo bello videbat, mecum omnia communicabat. Itaque abdidit se in intimam Macedoniam, quo potuit longissime a castris, non modo ut non praecesset ulli negotio, sed etiam ut ne interesset quidem. Is post proelium se ad hominem necessarium, A. Plautium, in Bithyniam contulit. Ibi eum Caesar cum vidisset, nihil aspere, nihil acerbe dixit. Romam iussit venire. Ille in morbum continuo incidit, ex quo non convaluit. Aeger Coreyram venit; ibi est mortuus. Testamento, quod Romae Paulo et Marcello consulibus fecerat, heres ex parte dimidia et tertia est Capito; in sextante sunt ii, quorum pars, sine ulla cuiusquam querella, publica potest esse; ea est ad HS [xxx]. Sed de hoc Caesar viderit. Te, mi Plance, pro paterna necessitudine,

^aOf Pharsalia in 48 B.C.

^b*i.e.*, in 50 B.C.

^c*i.e.*, 3000 *sestertia*, about £27,000.

could do nothing. Had he been able to do so, nothing would have been more to his advantage than to return to Capito, whom he loved as a father, especially as he knew how highly Capito was, and always had been, esteemed by Caesar. But, taken by surprise as he was, he only engaged in such business as he could not possible evade.

When silver was being stamped at Apollonia, I ⁴ cannot say that he presided over the business, nor can I deny that he was on the spot, but it could only have been for two (or was it three ?) months. After that he absented himself from the camp, and ran away from all business. I would have you take my word for this as being that of a witness, since, seeing how despondent I was during that war, he used to talk everything over with me. So he hid himself away in the heart of Macedonia, as far from the camp as he possibly could, so as to avoid not only taking a leading part in any transaction, but even taking any part in it at all. After the battle ^a he retired into Bithynia, where he joined an intimate friend of his, one A. Plautius. When Caesar saw him there, he said nothing harsh, nothing bitter, but simply ordered him to Rome. Immediately after that Antistius contracted an illness from which he never recovered. He was a sick man when he reached Corcyra, and there he died. By a will which he had made at Rome in the consulship of Paullus and Marcellus,^b Capito was made heir to five-sixths of his estate ; those who came in for one-sixth are men whose share can be confiscated without a word of complaint from anybody ; it amounts to 3,000,000 sesterces.^c But that is for Caesar to see to.

Now I ask you, my dear Plancus, in the name of ⁵

CICERO

pro nostro amore, pro studiis et omni cursu nostro totius vitae simillimo, rogo (et a te ita peto, ut maiore cura, maiore studio nullo possim), ut hanc rem suscipias ; meam putes esse ; enitare, contendas, efficias, ut mea commendatione, tuo studio, Caesaris beneficio, hereditatem propinqui sui C. Capito obtineat. Omnia, quae potui in hac summa tua gratia ac potentia a te impetrare, si petiissem, ultro te ad me
6 detulisse putabo, si hanc rem impetravero. Illud fore tibi adiumento spero, cuius ipse Caesar esse optimus iudex potest : semper Caesarem Capito coluit et dilexit. Sed ipse huius rei testis est ; novi hominis memoriam. Itaque nihil te doceo ; tantum tibi sumito pro Capitone apud Caesarem, quantum ipsum
7 meminisse senties. Ego, quod in meipso experiri potui, ad te deferam. In eo quantum sit ponderis, tu videbis. Quam partem in republica causamque defenderim, per quos homines ordinesque steterim, quibusque munitus fuerim, non ignoras. Hoc mihi velim credas : si quid fecerim hoc ipso in bello minus ex Caesaris voluntate (quod intellexi¹ scire ipsum Caesarem, me invitissimum fecisse), id fecisse aliorum

¹ *Tyrrell, with most editors: intellexerim Nobbe.*

^a *i.e., the senatorial and the equestrian.*

our hereditary connexion, our mutual affection, our common pursuits, and the close resemblance of our whole lives throughout their course (and I could not make this request with more solicitude and earnestness than I do), to account the matter mine, to spare no effort, no endeavour, and so to bring it about that through my recommendation, your own assiduity, and the kindness of Caesar, Capito may make good his claim to his relative's legacy. If I prevail upon you to do this, I shall consider that you have bestowed upon me unasked all the favours I might have prevailed upon you to grant me, had I but sought them, in this, the zenith of your popularity and power.

I hope that this fact will be of assistance to you—6 a fact of which Caesar himself can best judge—that Capito has consistently respected and esteemed Caesar. But Caesar himself can testify to this; I know what a memory he has. I have therefore no instructions to give you; but in speaking to Caesar on Capito's behalf you must limit what you take upon yourself to say to what you perceive to be within Caesar's own recollection.

For my own part, I shall just lay before you what I 7 have been able to prove by personal experience; the significance of it you will see for yourself. What side and what cause I have always championed in politics, what individuals and what orders^a in the State have enabled me to hold my ground, and by whom I have been protected—all that you know perfectly well. Now I would have you take my word for this—that if in this very war I did anything in the slightest degree offensive to Caesar (and I was aware that Caesar himself knew that I did so with the utmost reluctance),

CICERO

consilio, hortatu, auctoritate; quod fuerim moderatior temperatorque, quam in ea parte quisquam, id me fecisse maxime auctoritate Capitonis; cuius similes si reliquos necessarios habuissem, reipublicae fortasse nonnihil, mihi certe plurimum profuissem. Hanc rem, mi Plance, si effeceris, meam de tua erga me benevolentia spem confirmaveris, ipsum Capitonem, gratissimum, officiosissimum, optimum virum, ad tuam necessitudinem tuo summo beneficio adiunxeris.

XXX

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 L. Manlius est Sosis. Is fuit Catinensis: sed est, una cum reliquis Neapolitanis, civis Romanus factus decurioque Neapoli; erat enim ascriptus in id municipium ante civitatem sociis et Latinis datam. Eius frater Catinae nuper mortuus est. Nullam omnino arbitramur de ea hereditate controversiam eum habiturum, et est hodie in bonis. Sed, cum habet praeterea negotia vetera in Sicilia sua, et hanc hereditatem fraternam, et omnia eius tibi commendo, in primisque ipsum virum optimum mihi que familiarissi-

^a He was a *legatus* of Caesar, and was in command at Oricum in 48. Some time between 48 and 45 (it is not clear when) he was proconsul of Sicily. Cicero refers with gratitude to Acilius's kindness to him during his unhappy year at Brundisium; but Acilius had reason to be grateful to Cicero for having twice successfully defended him *de capite* (vii. 30. 3).

^b *i.e.*, before 90 B.C., when the full Roman citizenship was offered them by L. Julius Caesar.

that I did by the advice and at the urgent instance of others ; but in so far as I showed more moderation and self-restraint than anybody else on that side, I did so mainly at the instance of Capito ; and had the others with whom I was closely associated been like him, I should perhaps have benefited the commonwealth to some extent, and should at any rate have benefited myself very greatly.

If you succeed in doing what I ask, my dear ^s Plancus, you will confirm my anticipations of your kindly feeling for myself, and also bind Capito, that most grateful, obliging, and excellent of men, in the bonds of friendship to yourself by your own signal good service.

XXX

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL ^a

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

There is a certain L. Manlius Sosis. He was formerly a citizen of Catina, but together with the other Neapolitans he was made a Roman citizen, and is in the Senate at Naples, having been enrolled in that municipality before the citizenship was granted to allies and Latins.^b This man's brother has lately died at Catina. I do not think that he will find that there is any dispute about the inheritance here, and he is to-day in full possession of his goods. But since he has besides business matters of long standing to attend to in his native Sicily, I commend to your notice both this inheritance from his brother, and all his interests, and in particular the man himself, as a most excellent fellow and a most intimate friend of mine,

mum, his studiis litterarum doctrinaeque praeditum,
 2 quibus ego maxime delector. Peto igitur abs te, ut
 eum, sive adierit, sive non venerit in Siciliam, in meis
 intimis maximeque necessariis scias esse, itaque tractes,
 ut intellegat, meam sibi commendationem magno
 adiumento fuisse.

XXXI

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 C. Flavio, honesto et ornato equite Romano, utor
 valde familiariter. Fuit enim generi mei, C. Pisonis,
 pernecessarius, meque diligentissime observat et ipse
 et L. Flavius, frater eius. Quapropter velim honoris
 mei causa, quibus rebus honeste et pro tua dignitate
 poteris, quam honorificentissime et quam liberalis-
 sime C. Flavium tractes. Id mihi sic erit gratum, ut
 2 gratius esse nihil possit. Sed praeterea tibi affirmo
 (neque id ambitione adductus facio, sed cum familiari-
 tate et necessitudine, tum etiam veritate), te ex C.
 Flavi officio et observantia, et praeterea splendore
 atque inter suos gratia, magnam voluptatem esse
 capturum. Vale.

^a M. Brutus's *praefectus fabrum*, who was killed at Philippi. It was this Flavius who suggested to Atticus that the *equites* should raise a fund in support of the tyrannicides, and Brutus blamed Atticus for refusing to accept the suggestion. See *Ad Brut.* i. 17. 3 and i. 6. 4.

^b C. Piso Frugi, Tullia's first husband.

blessed too with those tastes in literature and learning which give me most pleasure.

I beg of you then to recognize that, whether he is 2 on the spot or has not yet arrived in Sicily, the man is among my most intimate and closest associates, and so to treat him as to give him reason to believe that my recommendation has been of material assistance to him.

XXXI

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I am on very familiar terms with C. Flavius,^a an 1 honourable and distinguished Roman knight; for he was a very intimate friend of my son-in-law, C. Piso,^b and both he himself and his brother L. Flavius show me most marked respect. For that reason I should like you, as a compliment to myself, to treat C. Flavius in the most complimentary and generous manner possible, in whatever respect you can do so without prejudice to your honour and position. That will give me more pleasure than anything you could possibly do.

But I further assure you (and this I do impelled by 2 no interested motive, but by our close intimacy and friendship, and even by truth itself) that C. Flavius's obliging and respectful demeanour, and moreover his distinction and popularity among his own friends, will be a source of great pleasure to you.

CICERO

XXXII

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

- 1 In Halesina civitate tam lauta tamque nobili
coniunctissimos habeo et hospitio et familiaritate
M. et C. Clodios, Archagathum et Philonem. Sed
vereor ne, quia complures tibi praecipue commendo,
exaequare videar ambitione quadam commendationes
meas. Quamquam a te quidem cumulate satisfit et
2 mihi et meis omnibus. Sed velim sic existimes, hanc
familiam et hos mihi maxime esse coniunctos vetu-
state, officii, benevolentia. Quamobrem peto a te
in maiorem modum, ut his omnibus in rebus, quantum
tua fides dignitasque patietur, commodes. Id si
feceris, erit mihi vehementissime gratum.

XXXIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

Cn. Otacilio Nasone utor familiarissime, ita prorsus,
ut illius ordinis nullo familiarius. Nam et humanitate
cius et probitate in consuetudine quotidiana magno
opere delector. Nihil iam opus est expectare te,

^a In the middle of the N. coast of Sicily. Having been the first Sicilian state to join the Romans in the First Punic War, it was favourably treated in the settlement of the island.

^b *i.e.*, "I meant no reflection upon *you* in what I have just said; no, *you* always regard my recommendations as genuine, and respond accordingly."

^c *i.e.*, the equestrian order.

XXXII

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

In the community of Halesa ^a—and a highly refined 1 and distinguished community it is—I am closely united by bonds of both hospitality and intimacy with the two Clodii, M. Archagathus and C. Philo. But I am afraid that, because I am *most particularly* recommending so many people to you, I may be suspected of making all my recommendations equally strong as a sort of bid for popularity—though indeed, as far as you are concerned, both I and all my friends are abundantly satisfied with what you do.^b

But I would really have you believe that this 2 family, and these members of it, are very closely bound to me by long-standing friendship, and mutual services, and goodwill. For that reason I beg of you with more than ordinary earnestness to do all you can for them in every possible way, so far as your honour and position permit. If you do so, I shall be extremely grateful.

XXXIII

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I am on very familiar terms with Cn. Otacilius Naso—indeed as much so as with any member of that order.^c I am immensely delighted both with his kindness and his integrity in our daily intercourse. So now there is no need for your waiting to see what words

CICERO

quibus eum verbis tibi commendem, quo sic utar, ut scripsi. Habet is in provincia tua negotia, quae procurant liberti, Hilarus, Antigonus, Demonstratus, quos tibi negotiaque omnia Nasonis non secus commendo, ac si mea essent. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si intellexero hanc commendationem magnum apud te pondus habuisse.

XXXIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

Avitum mihi hospitium est cum Lysone, Lysonis filio, Lilybitano, valdeque ab eo observor, cognovique dignum et patre et avo ; est enim nobilissima familia. Quapropter commendo tibi maiorem in modum rem domumque eius ; magnoque opere abs te peto, cures, ut is intellegat, meam commendationem maximo sibi apud te et adiumento et ornamento fuisse.

XXXV

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

- 1 C. Avianius Philoxenus antiquus est hospes meus, et praeter hospitium valde etiam familiaris, quem

^a Cicero was quaestor of Lilybaeum in 75-74 B.C. under the praetor Sext. Peducaeus.

^b As Philoxenus seems to have been made a Roman citizen at Cicero's request, he should have taken the name of M. Tullius ; but as Cicero had probably been actuated by Avianius's advice, Philoxenus preferred to take the name of the latter. (*Cf.* xiii. 79.)

I use in commending to you one with whom I am on such terms as I have just set down. He has some business affairs in your province which are being attended to by his freedmen, Hilarus, Antigonus, and Demonstratus; and them I commend to you, and also all Naso's affairs, precisely as if they were my own. You will have gratified me extremely if I have reason to think that this recommendation of mine has had great weight with you.

XXXIV

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I am bound by ties of hospitality, dating from the days of his grandfather, with Lyso of Lilybaeum ^a; he pays me marked attention, and I have found him worthy both of his father and of his grandfather; for he comes of a very noble family. That is why I commend him to you, and his household also, with more than ordinary earnestness, and I beg of you very particularly to give him reason to know that my recommendation has been of great assistance as well as a great compliment to him.

XXXV

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

C. Avianus Philoxenus ^b is an old friend and guest of mine, and apart from the ties of hospitality, he is very intimate with me; it was as a favour to me that

CICERO

Caesar meo beneficio in Novocomenses rettulit. Nomen autem Aviani secutus est, quod homine nullo plus est usus, quam Flacco Aviano, meo, quemadmodum te scire arbitror, familiarissimo. Quae ego omnia collegi, ut intellegeres, non vulgarem esse commendationem hanc meam. Peto igitur abs te, ut omnibus rebus, quod sine molestia tua facere possis, ei commodes, habeasque in numero tuorum; perficiasque, ut intellegat has litteras meas magno sibi usui fuisse. Erit id mihi maiorem in modum gratum.

XXXVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

1 Cum Demetrio Mega mihi vetustum hospitium est, familiaritas autem tanta, quanta cum Siculo nullo. Ei Dolabella rogatu meo civitatem a Caesare impetravit: qua in re ego interfui. Itaque nunc P. Cornelius vocatur. Cumque propter quosdam sordidos homines, qui Caesaris beneficia vendebant, tabulam, in qua nomina civitate donatorum incisae essent, revelli iussisset, eidem Dolabellae me audiente Caesar dixit nihil esse, quod de Mega vereretur;

^a Novum Comum was a colony established by Caesar, who regarded it as being specially under his protection.

^b *i.e.*, Megas took Dolabella's name just as Philoxenus (see the preceding letter) had taken that of Avianus, and now called himself P. Cornelius Megas.

Caesar enrolled him among the citizens of Novum Comum.^a He has however adopted the name of Avianius, because he was on more intimate terms with nobody than with Flaccus Avianius, who is, as I believe you are aware, a very dear friend of mine. I have put together all these details to convince you that this recommendation of mine is something out of the common.

I therefore beg of you to do all you can for him in **2** every respect, so far as you may without inconvenience to yourself, to count him as one of your friends, and to convince him without fail that this letter of mine has been of material service to him. Your doing so will give me more than ordinary pleasure.

XXXVI

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I have ties of hospitality of long standing with **1** Demetrius Megas, and I am more intimate with him than with any other Sicilian. It was for him that Dolabella, at my request, obtained the citizenship from Caesar, and I myself took part in the transaction, so now he goes by the name of P. Cornelius.^b And when, on account of certain disreputable persons, who used to sell his favours, Caesar gave orders that the tablet on which were engraved the names of those presented with citizenship should be torn down, Caesar assured that same Dolabella in my hearing that there was no reason why he should be appre-

2 beneficium suum in eo manere. Hoc te scire volui, ut eum in civium Romanorum numero haberes, ceterisque in rebus tibi eum ita commendo, ut maiore studio neminem commendarim. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si eum ita tractaris, ut intellegat, meam commendationem magno sibi ornamento fuisse.

XXXVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

Hippiam, Philoxeni filium, Calactinum, hospitem et necessarium meum, tibi commendo in maiorem modum. Eius bona, quemadmodum ad me delata res est, publice possidentur alieno nomine, contra leges Calactinorum. Id si ita est, etiam sine mea commendatione ab aequitate tua res ipsa impetrare debet, ut ei subvenias. Quoquo modo autem se res habet, peto a te, ut honoris mei causa eum expedias, tantumque ei commodes et in hac re et in ceteris, quantum tua fides dignitasque patietur. Id mihi vehementer gratum erit.

• Καλή 'Ακτὴ on the N. coast of Sicily, east of Halesa.

hensive about Megas, adding that the favour he had conferred upon him held good.

I was anxious that you should know this, so that you might count him among the citizens of Rome, and in all other respects I commend him to you with as much earnestness as I have ever commended anybody. You will give me extreme pleasure if you so treat him as to make him feel that my recommendation has conferred great distinction upon him.

XXXVII

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I commend to you with more than ordinary warmth Hippias of Calacte,^a son of Philoxenus, as being closely bound to me by ties of hospitality. His property, as the matter has been reported to me, is being held by the State, in contravention of the laws of Calacte, on account of a debt for which he is not responsible. If that is so, the circumstances themselves, even without any recommendation of mine, ought to prevail upon a man with your sense of justice to give him your assistance. But howsoever the matter stands, I beg of you for my credit's sake to release him from his difficulties, and to oblige him both in this and in every other respect so far as is compatible with your honour and position. Your doing so will give me extreme pleasure.

CICERO

XXXVIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

L. Bruttius, eques Romanus, adulescens omnibus rebus ornatus, in meis familiarissimis est meque observat diligentissime, cuius cum patre magna mihi fuit amicitia iam inde a quaestura mea Siciliensi. Omnino nunc ipse Bruttius Romae mecum est; sed tamen domum eius et rem familiarem et procuratores tibi sic commendo, ut maiore studio commendare non possim. Gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut intellegat Bruttius—id quod ei recepi—hanc meam commendationem sibi magno adiumento fuisse.

XXXIX

M. T. C. S. P. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 709.

Cum familia Titurnia necessitudo mihi intercedit vetus, ex qua reliquus est M. Titurnius Rufus, qui mihi omni diligentia atque officio est tuendus. Est igitur in tua potestate, ut ille in me satis sibi praesidi putet esse. Quapropter eum tibi commendo in maiorem modum, et abs te peto, efficias, ut is commendationem hanc intellegat sibi magno adiumento fuisse. Erit id mihi vehementer gratum.

^a See note *a* on 34 above.

XXXVIII

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

L. Bruttius, a Roman knight and in every respect a distinguished young man, is among my most intimate friends, and is most punctilious in his attentions to me ; and I have been great friends with his father ever since my Sicilian quaestorship.^a To be sure Bruttius himself is at Rome with me, but I none the less commend to you him, his house, his estate, and his agents, with as much warmth as I could put into any recommendation. It will give me extreme pleasure if you make a point of convincing Bruttius (and I have pledged my word to him that it will be so) that this recommendation of mine has been of material assistance to him.

XXXIX

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO, PROCONSUL

Rome (?), 45 B.C.

I have a close connexion of long standing with the Titurnian family, and the only survivor of that family is M. Titurnius Rufus, whom it is my duty to support with all the assiduity and civility I possibly can. It is within your power then to make him believe that the protection he looks for in me is adequate. For that reason I recommend him to you with more than ordinary warmth, and beg of you so to act as to convince him that this recommendation of him has been of material assistance to him. Your doing so will give me no little pleasure.

CICERO

XL

M. T. C. S. P. D. Q. ANCIARIO Q. F. PROC.

Romae, A.U.C. 699.

L. et C. Aurelios, L. filios, quibus et ipsis et patre eorum, viro optimo, familiarissime utor, commendo tibi maiorem in modum, adulescentes omnibus optimis artibus ornatos, meos pernecessarios, tua amicitia dignissimos. Si ulla mea apud te commendatio valuit—quod scio multas plurimum valuisse—haec ut valeat, rogo. Quod si eos honorifice liberaliterque tractaris, et tibi gratissimos optimosque adulescentes adiunxeris, et mihi gratissimum feceris.

XLI

M. T. C. S. P. D. L. CULLEOLO

Romae, A.U.C. 695.

- 1 Quae fecisti L. Luceei causa, scire te plane volo te homini gratissimo commodasse, et cum ipsi, quae fecisti, pergrata sunt, tum Pompeius, quotiescumque me videt (videt autem saepe), gratias tibi agit singulares. Addo etiam illud, quod tibi iucundissimum

^a Tribune of the plebs in 59, when he opposed Caesar. He was praetor in 56, and proconsul of Macedonia in 55.

^b Tyrrell remarks that the title of proconsul does not necessarily imply that Culleolus had been consul. It was sometimes given to a provincial governor in command of an army.

^c This is the Luceius whom Cicero urged to write an account of the Catilinian conspiracy (v. 12).

XL

CICERO TO Q. ANCHARIUS,^a PROCONSUL

Rome, 55 B.C.

I recommend to you with more than ordinary warmth Lucius and Gaius Aurelius, the sons of Lucius, with whom, as with their father, a most excellent man, I am exceedingly intimate ; they are young men distinguished in all the best accomplishments, very closely associated with myself, and in every way worthy of your friendship. If any recommendation of mine has ever had any influence with you—and, as to that, I know that many have had the greatest influence—I ask you to let this do so. If you treat them honourably and handsomely, you will not only win the attachment of two very grateful and excellent young men, but you will also give me the greatest possible pleasure.

XLI

CICERO TO L. CULLEOLUS, PROCONSUL^b

Rome, 59 (?) B.C.

As regards what you have done for L. Luceius,^c I wish you distinctly to understand that you have obliged the most grateful of men ; and while all you have done gives great pleasure to Luceius himself, Pompey also, whenever he sees me (and he sees me often), thanks you with quite unusual warmth. This much too I may add—and I am perfectly sure you

CICERO

esse certo scio, me ipsum ex tua erga Lucecium benignitate, maxima voluptate affici. Quod superest, quamquam mihi non est dubium, quin cum antea nostra causa, nunc iam etiam tuae constantiae gratia, mansurus sis in eadem ista liberalitate, tamen abs te vehementer etiam atque etiam peto, ut ea, quae initio ostendisti deincepsque fecisti, ad exitum augeri et cumulari per te velis. Id et Luceio et Pompeio valde gratum fore, teque apud eos praeclare positurum confirmo et spondeo. De republica, deque his negotiis cogitationibusque nostris perscripseram ad te diligenter paucis ante diebus, easque litteras dederam pueris tuis. Vale.

XLII

M. T. C. S. P. D. L. CULLEOLO PROC.

Romae, A.U.C. 695.

1 L. Lucecius meus, homo omnium gratissimus, mirificas tibi apud me gratias egit, cum diceret, omnia te cumulatissime et liberalissime procuratoribus suis pollicitum esse. Cum oratio tua tam ei grata fuerit, quam gratam rem ipsam existimas fore, cum, ut spero, quae pollicitus es, feceris? Omnino ostenderunt Bulliones, sese Luceio Pompei arbitrato

^a It appears that the inhabitants of Bullis (a town on the coast of Illyria, S. of Apollonia) owed money to Lucecius, and had promised to pay it, but Culleolus's official authority would increase the prospects of its being paid.

will be delighted to hear it—that your generosity to Luceius is a very great pleasure to myself.

As to what remains, although I have no doubt ² that as previously for my sake, so now on behalf of your own consistency also you will persevere in the same generosity, none the less I earnestly beg of you again and again to prove your desire that the promises you originally made, and in due course fulfilled, should by your instrumentality be even improved upon and brought to a completely successful issue. That this will be highly gratifying to both Luceius and Pompey, and that you will be making a brilliant investment in them, I solemnly pledge my word. As to the political situation and the business going on here, and our reflections thereon, I wrote to you fully and painstakingly a few days ago, and handed the letter to your servants. Farewell.

XLII

CICERO TO L. CULLEOLUS, PROCONSUL

Rome, 59 B.C.

My friend L. Luceius, the most grateful of men, ¹ expressed to me his amazingly cordial gratitude to you when he told me that you had promised everything to his agents with quite unbounded generosity. Seeing that your words gave him such pleasure, what pleasure do you suppose your acts will give him, when, as I hope, you have fulfilled your promises? The inhabitants of Bullis at all events have indicated that they will satisfy Luceius's claims according to Pompey's award.^a

CICERO

2 satisfacturos. Sed vehementer opus est nobis, et voluntatem et auctoritatem et imperium tuum accedere. Quod ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo. Illudque mihi gratissimum est, quod ita sciunt Lucei procuratores, et ita Luceius ipse ex litteris tuis, quas ad eum misisti, intellexit, hominis nullius apud te auctoritatem aut gratiam valere plus, quam meam. Id ut re experiatur, iterum et saepius te rogo.

XLIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. QUINTIO GALLO

Romae, A.U.C. 696 (?).

1 Etsi plurimis rebus spero fore, ut perspiciam, quod tamen iampridem perspicio, me a te amari, tamen nunc ea causa tibi datur, in qua facile declarare possis tuam erga me benevolentiam. L. Oppius, M. F., Philomeli negotiatur, homo mihi familiaris. Eum tibi unice commendo, eoque magis, quod cum ipsum diligo, tum quod negotia procurat L. Egnati Rufi, quo ego uno equite Romano familiarissime utor, et qui cum consuetudine quotidiana, tum officiis
2 plurimis maximisque mihi coniunctus est. Oppium igitur praesentem ut diligas, Egnati absentis rem ut tueare, aequae a te pecto ac si mea negotia essent.

^a Probably a *legatus* of Marcus Philippus, who seems to have been governor of Asia, but in what year it is not known.

^b See ii. 16. 7.

^c A town between Synnada and Iconium.

^d Both Marcus and Quintus Cicero had money dealings with Egnatius. (*Att.* vii. 18. 4.)

But there is pressing need for our having the additional advantage of your goodwill, and of your personal and official influence, and I beg you again and again not to refuse us that. It is also extremely gratifying to me that Lucecius's agents have learnt, and Lucecius himself has inferred from the letter you sent him, that there is nobody in the world who carries more weight with you, or is personally more acceptable to you, than myself. I beg you once more, and repeatedly, to give him practical proof of that. 2

XLIII

CICERO TO QUINTIUS GALLUS ^a

Rome, 58 (?) B.C.

Although there are numberless circumstances in which I hope I may have clear proof—and indeed I have long since had proof enough—of your affection for me, yet here you have a case offered you in which you can easily make manifest your kindly feeling for me. Lucius Oppius,^b the son of Marcus, is a banker at Philomelium^c and an intimate friend of mine. I commend him to you most particularly, and all the more because not only do I esteem him for himself, but he is also in charge of the affairs of L. Egnatius Rufus, a man with whom I am on more familiar terms than with any other single Roman knight, and who is closely associated with me both by daily intercourse and by services as numerous as they are important.

I therefore beg of you to make much of Oppius,² who is with you, and to protect the interests of Egnatius,^d who is not, just as much as if his affairs

CICERO

Velim, memoriae tuae causa, des litterarum aliquid, quae tibi in provincia reddantur ; sed ita conscribas, ut tum, cum eas leges, facile recordari possis huius meae commendationis diligentiam. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

XLIV

CICERO GALLO S.

Romae, A.U.C. 696 (?).

Etsi ex tuis et ex L. Oppi, familiarissimi mei, litteris cognovi, te memorem commendationis meae fuisse, idque, pro tua summa erga me benevolentia proque nostra necessitudine, minime sum admiratus, tamen etiam atque etiam tibi L. Oppium praesentem et L. Egnati, mei familiarissimi, absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque, ut, si mea res esset, non magis laborarem. Quapropter gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut is intellegat, me a te tantum amari, quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Idque ut facias, vehementer te rogo.

* Sc. Oppius.

were my own. To assist your memory, I should be glad if you would send him^a something in the shape of a letter to be handed back to you in the province, but please draw it up in such a way that, when you read it, you can at once recall the care I have taken in writing this recommendation. This I earnestly beg of you again and again to do.

XLIV

CICERO TO QUINTIUS GALLUS

Rome, 58 (?) B.C.

Although your own letter and that of my very dear friend L. Oppius have convinced me that you have not been forgetful of my recommendation (and I am not in the least surprised at that, considering your extremely kind feeling for me and the closeness of our connexion), still I commend to you again and again L. Oppius, who is with you, and the affairs of my very dear friend L. Egnatius, who is not. So close is my connexion and intimacy with him that I should not feel more anxious if the business were my own. That is why you will do me a very great favour if you make a point of giving him reason to know that your affection for me is as sincere as I myself believe it to be. Nothing that you can do would give me greater pleasure, and I earnestly beg of you to do so.

CICERO

XLV

M. T. C. S. P. D. APPULEIO PROQUAESTORI

Romae, A.U.C. 696 (?).

L. Egnatio uno equite Romano vel familiarissime utor. Eius Anchialum servum negotiaque, quae habet in Asia, tibi commendo non minore studio, quam si rem meam commendarem. Sic enim existimes velim, mihi cum eo non modo quotidianam consuetudinem summam intercedere, sed etiam officia magna et mutua nostra inter nos esse. Quamobrem etiam atque etiam a te peto, ut cures, ut intellega t me ad te satis diligenter scripsisse. Nam de tua erga me voluntate non dubitabat. Id ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

XLVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. APPULEIO PROQUAESTORI

Romae, A.U.C. 696 (?).

L. Nostius Zoilus est coheres meus, heres autem patroni sui. Ea re utrumque scripsi, ut et mihi cum illo causam amicitiae scires esse, et hominem probum existimares, qui patroni iudicio ornatus esset. Eum tibi igitur sic commendo ut unum ex nostra domo.

^a *i.e.*, to Marcius Philippus (see *Ep.* 43, note *a*).

^b Zoilus was a freedman of L. Nostius, whose name he took according to the usual practice.

XLV

CICERO TO APPULEIUS, PROQUAESTOR ^a

Rome, 58 (?) B.C.

Of all the Roman knights the one man I am most intimate with is L. Egnatius. It is his slave Anchialus, together with his banking business in Asia, that I commend to you with no less warmth than if the business I commend to you were my very own. For I would have you believe not only that our daily intercourse is of the closest nature, but that we are bound together by important mutual services. For that reason I beg of you again and again to make a point of satisfying him that I have written to you with no lack of careful elaboration; for of your goodwill towards me he has never entertained a doubt. I ask you again and again to do so.

XLVI

CICERO TO APPULEIUS, PROQUAESTOR

Rome, 58 (?) B.C.

L. Nostius Zoilus ^b is co-heir with me, but also the heir of his patron. My reasons for telling you these two facts are firstly, to let you know that there are grounds for my friendship with him, and secondly, to convince you that he is a man of integrity, seeing that he has been so complimented by the deliberate act of his patron. I therefore commend him to you as warmly as if he were of my own household. It will

CICERO

Valde mihi gratum erit, si curaris, ut intellegat, hanc commendationem sibi apud te magno adiumento fuisse.

XLVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. SILIO

Romae, A.U.C. 703 (?).

Quid ego tibi commendem cum quem tu ipse diligis? Sed tamen, ut scires, eum a me non diligere solum, verum etiam amari, ob eam rem tibi haec scribo. Omnium tuorum officiorum, quae et multa et magna sunt, mihi gratissimum fuerit, si ita tractaris Egnatium, ut sentiat, et se a me, et me a te amari. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Illa nostra scilicet ceciderunt. Utamur igitur vulgari consolatione, *quid si hoc melius?* Sed haec coram. Tu fac, quod facis, ut me ames, teque amari a me scias.

XLVIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. SENTILIO RUFO QUAEST.

Romae, A.U.C. 704-707.

Omnes tibi commendo Cyprios, sed magis Paphios; quibus tu quaecumque commodaris, erunt mihi gratissima. Eoque facio libentius, ut eos tibi commendem,

^a Probably P. Silius Nerva, propraetor of Bithynia and Pontus in 51.

^b Probably some efforts of Cicero to escape from provincial government.

^c Rufus seems to have been sent out to Cyprus as proquaestor by Caesar in 49. We hear of him later as commander of the fleet of Cassius in 43.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. XLVI.—XLVIII.

give me great pleasure if you make a point of satisfying him that my recommendation has been of material assistance to him.

XLVII

CICERO TO SILIUS ^a

Rome, 51 (?) B.C.

Why should I commend to you a man whom you like on your own account? But anyhow the reason I write thus to you is to let you know that I not only like but even love him. Of all your services to me (and they are many and great) what will give me most pleasure is your so treating Egnatius as to make him feel that I love him and you love me. This I earnestly beg of you again and again to do. Oh yes, those plans of ours have fallen through.^b Let us then comfort ourselves with the well-known formula "Perhaps it is all for the best." But of this when we meet. It is for you to see to it (and you do) that you love me, and are assured that I love you.

XLVIII

CICERO TO GAIUS SEXTILIUS RUFUS, QUÆSTOR ^c

Rome, between 50 and 47 B.C.

I commend to you all the inhabitants of Cyprus, and more particularly those of Paphos, and whatever favours you bestow upon them will be most gratifying to myself; and I do so with all the more pleasure—I mean commend them to you—because I think

CICERO

quod et tuae laudi, cuius ego fautor sum, conducere arbitror, cum primus in eam insulam quaestor veneris, ea te instituere, quae sequantur alii; quae, ut spero, facilius consequere, si et P. Lentuli, necessarii tui, legem, et ea, quae a me constituta sunt, sequi volueris. Quam rem tibi confido magnae laudi fore.

XLIX

CICERO S. P. D. CURIO PROC.

(Anno incerto.)

Q. Pompeius, Sext. F., multis et veteribus causis necessitudinis mihi coniunctus est. Is, cum antea meis commendationibus et rem et gratiam et auctoritatem suam tueri consuerit, nunc profecto, te provinciam obtinente, meis litteris assequi debet, ut nemini se intellegat commendatiorem umquam fuisse. Quamobrem a te maiorem in modum peto, ut, cum omnes meos aequae ac tuos observare, pro nostra necessitudine, debeas, hunc in primis ita in tuam fidem recipias, ut ipse intellegat, nullam rem sibi maiori usui aut ornamento quam meam commendationem esse potuisse. Vale.

^a P. Lentulus Spinther, governor of Cilicia 56-53 (i. 1. 1, note *a*).

^b When governor of Cilicia (in 51 and 52), for at that time Cyprus was part of the province of Cilicia, and remained so until 47, when it was handed over to Arsinoe and Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Auletes (Dio Cass. xiii. 35. 5).

that it will conduce to your own reputation also (which I always have at heart), if when you reach that island as its first quaestor, you set precedents for others to follow; and this I hope you will the more easily accomplish if you decide to follow the code of your relative P. Lentulus,^a and the regulations I instituted myself.^b Such a policy will, I am confident, do you much credit.

XLIX

CICERO TO CURIUS ^c

(Date uncertain.)

There are many reasons of long standing for the close attachment of Q. Pompeius, son of Sextus, to myself. As in the past it is in my recommendations that he has got into the habit of finding support for his fortunes, his reputation, and influence, he certainly ought just now, when you are governor of the province, to profit by my letter so far as to be assured that there is nobody to whom he has ever been more highly commended. For that reason I beg of you with exceptional earnestness, since in view of our close association it is incumbent upon you to show my friends as much respect as your own, to admit this gentleman to your special friendship in such a way as to convince him that nothing could possibly have been of more service or more of a distinction to him than my recommendation. Farewell.

^c See ii. 19. 2. It is not known what province he governed, or when.

CICERO

L

M. T. C. S. D. ACILIO PROC.

Romae (?), A.U.C. 710.

- 1 Sumpsi hoc mihi, pro tua in me observantia, quam penitus perspexi, quamdiu Brundisi fuimus, ut ad te familiariter et quasi pro meo iure scriberem, si quae res esset de qua valde laborarem. M'. Curius, qui Patris negotiatur, ita mihi familiaris est, ut nihil possit esse coniunctius. Multa illius in me officia, multa in illum mea, quodque maximum est, summus
2 inter nos amor et mutuus. Quae cum ita sint, si ullam in amicitia mea spem habes, si ea, quae in me officia et studia Brundisi contulisti, vis mihi etiam gratiora efficere (quamquam sunt gratissima), si me a tuis omnibus amari vides, hoc mihi da atque largire, ut M'. Curium sartum et tectum, ut aiunt, ab omnique incommodo, detrimento, molestia sincerum integrumque conserves. Et ipse spondeo, et omnes hoc tibi tui pro me recipient, ex mea amicitia et ex tuo in me officio maximum te fructum summamque voluptatem esse capturum.

^a See note *a* to *Ep.* 30 above.

^b The stock phrase for a building in good repair.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. L.

L

CICERO TO MANIUS ACILIUS GLABRIO,^a PROCONSUL

Rome (?), January, 44 B.C.

In view of your respect for me, of which I had convincing proof all the time I was at Brundisium, I have presumed so far as to address you with familiarity, and as though I had the right to do so, if there were anything that caused me serious anxiety.

M'. Curius, who has a banking business at Patrae, is so intimate with me that no association could possibly be closer. His services to me have been many, and so have mine been to him, and (what is most important of all) our affection for each other is as sincere as it is mutual.

That being so, if you have anything to hope for from my friendship, if you would even enhance my gratitude, profound as it already is, for the cordial kindnesses you heaped upon me at Brundisium, if you observe that all your friends regard me with affection, then I say, grant me of your bounty this one favour—keep M'. Curius “water-tight and weather-proof”^b as they say, free from the slightest taint and touch of disaster, damage, or distress. I myself guarantee, and all your friends will pledge themselves to you on my behalf, that you will find the combination of my friendship for you with your kindness to me a source of immense profit and infinite pleasure to you.

CICERO

LI

M. T. C. S. D. P. CAESIO

Romae, anno incerto.

P. Messienum, equitem Romanum, omnibus rebus ornatum meumque perfamiliarē, tibi commendo ea commendatione, quae potest esse diligentissima. Peto a te et pro nostra et pro paterna amicitia, ut eum in tuam fidem recipias eiusque rem famamque tueare. Virum bonum tuaque amicitia dignum tibi adiunxeris mihiq̄ue gratissimum feceris.

LII

CICERO S. D. REGI

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

A. Licinius Aristoteles Melitensis antiquissimus est hospes meus, et praeterea coniunctus magno usu familiaritatis. Haec cum ita sint, non dubito, quin tibi satis commendatus sit. Etenim ex multis cognosco, meam commendationem plurimum apud te valere. Hunc ego a Caesare liberavi. Frequens enim fuerat nobiscum, atque etiam diutius in causa est, quam nos, commoratus, quo melius te de eo

• Propraetor of Sicily in 46.

^b *i.e.*, the Pompeian cause.

LI

CICERO TO P. CAESIUS

Rome, date uncertain.

P. Messenius is a Roman knight, possessed of every accomplishment, and a very dear friend of mine ; I commend him to you, and my recommendation is as strong as the strongest that can be. I beg of you in the name of our own friendship and that of our fathers to admit him into your confidence, and to protect his interests and reputation. You will have won the attachment of a good man and one worthy of your friendship, and at the same time earned my most sincere gratitude.

LII

CICERO TO Q. MARCIUS REX ^a

Rome, 46 B.C.

Aulus Licinius Aristoteles of Melite is a friend of mine by virtue of very long-standing ties of hospitality, and he is moreover attached to me by constant and familiar association. Such being the case, I have no doubt that he is already sufficiently commended to you ; for I have been told by many that a recommendation from me has very great influence with you. He is the man whose freedom I secured from Caesar ; he had been associated with us on many occasions, and indeed maintained his adherence to the cause ^b even longer than I did, and I imagine you

CICERO

existimaturum arbitror. Fac igitur, mi Rex, ut intellegat, has sibi litteras plurimum profuisse.

LIII

CICERO THERMO PROPR. 8.

In Cilicia, ad fin. A.U.C. 703.

1 L. Genucilio Curvo iampridem utor familiarissime, optimo viro et homine gratissimo. Eum tibi penitus commendo atque trado; primum, ut omnibus in rebus ei commodus, quoad fides tua dignitasque patietur; (patietur autem in omnibus), nihil enim abs te unquam, quod sit alienum tuis aut etiam suis
2 moribus, postulabit. Præcipue autem tibi commendo negotia eius, quæ sunt in Hellesponto, primum, ut obtineat id iuris in agris, quod ei Pariana civitas decrevit et dedit, et quod semper obtinuit sine ulla controversia; deinde, si quid habebit cum aliquo Hellespontio controversiæ, ut in illam *διοίκησιν* reicias. Sed non mihi videor, cum tibi totum hominem diligentissime commendarim, singulas ad te eius causas perscribere debere. Summa illa sit: quidquid officii, benefici, honoris in Genucilium contuleris, id te existimabo in me ipsum atque in rem meam contulisse.

^a A thorough-going optimiate, who was tribune of the plebs in 62, and prætor between that year and 57. He was governor of Asia in 51 and 50.

^b A town a little E. of Lampsacus in the *διοίκησις* (department) of the Hellespont. It was made a colony by Augustus.

will think all the better of him for that. Be sure then, my dear Rex, to give him the impression that this letter has proved of invaluable service to him.

LIII

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS,^a PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably towards the end of 51 B.C.

I have for long been on the most intimate terms 1 with L. Genucilius Curvus, a most excellent man, and a very grateful fellow. I commend him to you most heartily, and I introduce him to you first of all in order that you may serve him in every respect, so far as your honour and position permit (and they will permit you in every respect); for there is no demand he will ever make of you that is incompatible with your character—and, I may add, with his own.

Especially, however, do I commend to you his 2 business affairs on the Hellespont, first so that you should ensure his maintaining those rights in regard to land which the community of Parium^b granted him by decree, and which he has always maintained without dispute; and secondly, should he have anything in the nature of a dispute with a Hellespontian, you should refer the matter to the above-mentioned department. But seeing that I have commended the man to you so very earnestly in his entirety, it does not seem to me necessary to set out his claims piecemeal. Let me sum up thus: whatever obligation, kindness, or honour you bestow upon Genucilius, I shall consider you to have bestowed upon myself and my interests.

CICERO

LIV

M. T. C. S. D. THERMO PROPR.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

Cum multa mihi grata sunt, quae tu adductus mea commendatione fecisti, tum in primis, quod M. Marcilium, amici atque interpretis mei filium, liberalissime tractavisti. Venit enim Laodiceam et tibi apud me mihique propter te gratias maximas egit. Quare, quod reliquum est, a te peto, cum apud gratos homines beneficium ponis, ut eo libentius his commodos operamque des, quoad fides tua patietur, ut socrus adulescentis rea ne fiat. Ego cum antea studiose commendabam Marcilium, tum multo nunc studiosius, quod in longa apparitione singularem et prope incredibilem patris Marcili fidem, abstinentiam, modestiamque cognovi.

LV

M. T. C. S. D. THERMO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

1 Etsi mihi videor intellexisse, cum tecum Ephesi de re M. Annei, legati mei, locutus sum, te ipsius causa

^a Nothing more is known of him.

^b It is interesting to note that Cicero had to employ an interpreter in his province.

^c One of Cicero's *legati*, and a distinguished military officer. The *legati* were officers who accompanied Roman generals on their campaigns as brigadiers or aides-de-camp, and in later times the governors of provinces also to be employed in either a civil or a military capacity. Pompey, when in Asia, had 15 *legati*; Cicero had 4. See Introductory Note to this Book.

LIV

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

While I am grateful for much that you have been induced to do by my recommendation, I am especially so for your most generous treatment of M. Marcilius,^a the son of my friend and interpreter.^b He visited me at Laodicea and expressed the warmest gratitude to you in my presence, and to me also because of you. So there remains just this much—that I beg of you, since those in whom you are investing your generosity are a grateful set of people, to oblige them all the more readily, and to make every effort, compatible with your honour, to prevent the threatened prosecution of the young man's mother-in-law. While I was previously enthusiastic in my recommendation of him, I am now far more enthusiastic, because, during his long spell of service as my official servant, I have appreciated the extraordinary and almost inconceivable trustworthiness, and disinterested and unassuming character, of Marcilius's father.

LV

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

Although I seem to have gathered from our conversation at Ephesus on the matter of my legate, M. Anneius,^c that you were extremely anxious to

CICERO

vehementer omnia velle, tamen et M. Anneium tanti facio, ut mihi nihil putem praetermittendum, quod illius intersit, et me a te tanti fieri puto, ut non dubitem, quin ad tuam voluntatem magnus cumulus accedat commendationis meae. Nam cum iam diu diligerem M. Anneium, deque eo sic existimarem, ut res declarat, quod ultro ei detulerim legationem, cum multis petentibus denegassem, tum vero, posteaquam mecum in bello atque in re militari fuit, tantam in eo virtutem, prudentiam, fidem, tantamque erga me benevolentiam cognovi, ut hominem neminem pluris faciam. Eum cum Sardianis habere controversiam scis; causam tibi exposuimus Ephesi, quam
2 tu tamen coram facilius meliusque cognosces. De reliquo mihi, mehercule, diu dubium fuit, quid ad te potissimum scriberem. Ius enim quemadmodum dicas, clarum et magna cum tua laude notum est. Nobis autem in hac causa nihil aliud opus est, nisi te ius instituto tuo dicere. Sed tamen cum me non fugiat, quanta sit in praetore auctoritas, praesertim ista integritate, gravitate, clementia, qua te esse inter omnes constat, peto abs te, pro nostra coniunctissima necessitudine plurimisque officiis paribus ac mutuis, ut voluntate, auctoritate, studio tuo perficias, ut M.

^a See Introd. Note.

^b In Lydia.

further his interests in every way for his own sake, still, so highly do I esteem M. Anneius that I think I should omit nothing which is of importance to him, and I think too that you esteem me highly enough to make me feel sure that my recommendation will add enormously to your good wishes for him. For though my liking for M. Anneius was of long standing, and my previous opinion of him is abundantly proved by my having conferred upon him the post of *legatus*,^a without his asking for it, after refusing it to many who did, yet, ever since he was associated with me in the war and in military affairs, I discovered in him such courage, sagacity, and loyalty, and such goodwill towards myself, that there is now nobody in the world I esteem more highly. Well, as you are aware, he has a dispute with the people of Sardis^b; the merits of the case I explained to you at Ephesus; you will investigate it, however, more easily and thoroughly in person.

For the rest, I declare to you that I have long been ² in doubt as to just what it would be best to put in a letter to you. Your administration of justice is brilliant; it is a matter of common knowledge, and greatly to your credit. In this case, however, we have need of nothing but that you should administer justice according to your established usage. But for all that, since I do not forget how much influence is vested in a praetor, especially in one of such integrity, firmness, and leniency, as you are known by everybody to possess, I beg of you in view of our very close association and the numberless good services we have rendered each other with equal advantage to both, so to manage matters by your kind feeling, influence, and devotion, as to convince M. Anneius not only of

CICERO

Anneius intellegat te et sibi amicum esse, quod non dubitat (saepe enim mecum locutus est), et multo amiciorem his meis litteris esse factum. In tuo toto imperio atque provincia nihil est, quod mihi gratius facere possis. Iam, apud ipsum gratissimum hominem atque optimum virum quam bene positurus sis studium tuum atque officium, dubitare te non existimo.

LVI

M. T. C. S. D. THERMO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

- 1 Cluvius Puteolanus valde me observat valdeque est mihi familiaris. Is ita sibi persuadet, quod in tua provincia negoti habeat, nisi te provinciam obtinente meis commendationibus confecerit, id se in perditis et desperatis habiturum. Nunc, cum mihi ab amico officiosissimo tantum oneris imponitur, ego quoque tibi imponam pro tuis in me summis officiis, ita tamen, ut tibi nolim molestus esse. *Μυλασεῖς* et *Ἀλαβανδεῖς* pecuniam Cluvio debent. Dixerat mihi Euthydemus, cum Ephesi essem, se curaturum, ut *ecdici* Mylasii Romam mitterentur. Id factum non est. Legatos audio missos esse; sed malo *ecdicos*, ut aliquid con-

^a The Cluvii were a Campanian family, one of whom (*cf.* Livy xxvi. 33. 8) supplied Roman captives with provisions in 215. This Cluvius (M.) was a wealthy banker of Puteoli. He made Cicero one of his heirs.

^b Mylasa (or Mylassa) was an inland town of Caria, and a free town under the Romans.

^c Alabanda was also a free town in Caria.

^d *Ecdici* were counsel sent by a provincial town to defend their cause at Rome. They were generally preferred to *legati*, as the latter could only make a request, whereas

your existing friendship for him—of that, as he has often told me, he has no doubt—but also of the enhancement of that friendship by this letter of mine. In the whole sphere of your official authority and of your province there is nothing you can do that would give me more pleasure. And now I do not think you can doubt how profitably you will be investing your cordial kindness in one who is himself a most grateful fellow and a very excellent man.

LVI

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

Cluvius of Puteoli ^a is exceedingly devoted to me and exceedingly intimate with me. He is under the conviction that he will have to reckon as lost and hopeless whatever interests he has in your province, unless he secures them through a commendatory letter from me, while you are governor of the province. Just now then, having so heavy a burden laid upon me by my most obliging friend, I too shall lay a burden upon you, counting upon the signal services you have already done me—though indeed I should be sorry to be a nuisance to you.

The people of Mylasa ^b and Alabanda ^c owe money to Cluvius. Euthydemus told me, when I was at Ephesus, that he would see that *ecdici* ^d were sent by the people of Mylasa to Rome. That was not done, and now I hear that legates have been sent, but I prefer *ecdici*, so that something definite may be done. *ecdici* could plead at law, but the cost of sending them was almost prohibitive. See note *a* on *Ep.* 26. 3 above.

fieri possit. Quare peto a te, ut et eos et Ἀλαβανδεῖς
 2 iubeas ecdicos Romam mittere. Praeterea Philotes
 Alabandensis ὑποθήκας Cluvio dedit. Hae com-
 missae sunt. Velim cures, ut aut de hypothecis
 decedat easque procuratoribus Cluvi tradat aut
 pecuniam solvat. Praeterea Heracleotae et Barga-
 lietae, qui item debent, aut pecuniam solvant aut
 3 fructibus suis satisfaciant. Caunii praeterea debent ;
 sed aiunt se depositam pecuniam habuisse. Id velim
 cognoscas ; et, si intellexeris, eos neque ex edicto
 neque ex decreto depositam habuisse, des operam,
 ut usurae Cluvio instituto tuo conserventur. His
 de rebus eo magis laboro, quod agitur res Cn. Pom-
 pei, etiam nostri necessarii ; et quod is magis etiam
 mihi laborare videtur, quam ipse Cluvius ; cui satis-
 factum esse a nobis valde volo. His de rebus te
 vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

LVII

CICERO THERMO PROPR. 5.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Quo magis quotidie ex litteris nuntiisque bellum
 magnum esse in Syria cognosco, eo vehementius a
 te pro nostra necessitudine contendo, ut mihi M.
 Anneium legatum primo quoque tempore remittas.

^a The inhabitants of Heraclea (also called Salbace) in Caria.

^b Also in Caria.

^c An unhealthy town in Caria, famous for its figs.

^d An edict was in general terms, a decree more specific.

^e See note *c* on *Ep.* 55. 1 above.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. LVI.—LVII.

And that is why I beg of you to order them, and the people of Alabanda, to send *ecclidi* to Rome.

Furthermore Philotes of Alabanda has given ² Cluvius a mortgage, and that mortgage has lapsed. I should be glad if you would see that he either surrenders the mortgaged property and hands it over to Cluvius's agent, or else pays the money; and moreover that the people of Heraclea ^a and Bargylia, ^b who are also his debtors, should either pay him the money owed, or else satisfy his claims by allowing him a charge on their income.

The people of Caunus ^c are also in his debt but ³ they declare that they have the money lying on deposit. Please inquire into the matter, and if you arrive at the conclusion that they have not had the money deposited either by edict or by decree, ^d do your best by your ruling to secure the interest thereon for Cluvius. I am the more worried on account of all this because the interests of our friend Cn. Pompeius are at stake, and because he strikes me as being even more worried than even Cluvius himself, and I am most anxious that we should satisfy his claims. I earnestly beg of you again and again to attend to these matters.

LVII

CICERO TO Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, PROPRAETOR

Laodicea, March, 50 B.C.

The more clearly I recognize day after day that ¹ there is a great war on in Syria, the more urgently do I implore you in the name of our close association to send my legate M. Anneius ^e back to me at the first

Nam eius opera, consilio, scientia rei militaris vel maxime intellego me et rempublicam adiuvari posse. Quod nisi tanta res eius ageretur, nec ipse adduci potuisset, ut a me discederet, neque ego, ut eum a me dimitterem. Ego in Ciliciam proficisci cogito circiter Kal. Mai. Ante eam diem Anneius ad me ² redeat oportet. Illud quod tecum et coram et per litteras diligentissime egi, id et nunc etiam atque etiam rogo curae tibi sit, ut suum negotium, quod habet cum populo Sardonio, pro causae veritate et pro sua dignitate conficiat. Intellexi ex tua oratione, cum tecum Ephesi locutus sum, te ipsius M. Annei causa omnia velle. Sed tamen sic velim existimes, te mihi nihil gratius facere posse, quam si intellexero, per te illum ipsum negotium ex sententia confecisse; idque quam primum ut efficias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

LVIII

M. CICERO C. TITIO L. F. RUFO PR. URBANO S.

Laodiceae, A. U. C. 704.

L. Custidius est tribulis et municeps et familiaris meus. Is causam habet; quam causam ad te deferet. Commendo tibi hominem, sicuti tua fides et meus pudor postulat, tantum, ut faciles ad te aditus

possible opportunity. For I realize that by his activity, shrewdness, and skill in military affairs he can be of the very greatest assistance to the Republic and myself. Had not such important interests of his been at stake, neither could he himself have ever been induced to leave me, nor I to let him go. My own intention is to set out for Cilicia about May 1st. It is imperative that Anneius should rejoin me before that date.

What I most pressingly pleaded with you to do, ² both in person and by letter, that I now beg of you again and again to do—to make it your business to enable him to conclude his negotiation with the people of Sardis in a manner befitting the justice of his case and his own position. I understood from what you said when I interviewed you at Ephesus that you were anxious to promote M. Anneius's interests in every way on his own account. But none the less I would have you believe that you can do nothing that would please me more than to convince me that he has settled his business to his own satisfaction through your instrumentality; and I beg of you to get that done as soon as possible.

LVIII

CICERO TO C. TITIUS RUFUS, PRAETOR URBANUS

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

L. Custidius is a fellow-tribesman, a fellow-townsmen, and an intimate friend of mine. He has a case at law, and that case he will lay before you. I commend the man to you, but only, as your probity and my modesty demand, so far as to ask you to let him

habeat; quae aequa postulabit, ut libente te impetret; sentiatque meam sibi amicitiam, etiam cum longissime absim, prodesse in primis apud te.

LIX

M. T. C. C. CURTIO PEDUCAEANO, PRAETORI S. D.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

M. Fadium unice diligo, summaque mihi cum eo consuetudo et familiaritas est pervetus. In eius controversiis quid decernas, a te non peto (servabis, ut tua fides et dignitas postulat, edictum et institutum tuum), sed ut quam facillimos ad te aditus habeat, quae erunt aequa, libente te impetret; ut meam amicitiam sibi, etiam cum procul absim, prodesse sentiat, praesertim apud te. Hoc te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

LX

M. T. C. S. D. C. MUNATIO C. F.

Anno incerto.

- 1 L. Livineius Trypho est omnino L. Reguli, familiarissimi mei, libertus; cuius calamitas etiam officio-

^a One of the Peducaei, adopted into the Curtian family.

^b M. Fadius Gallus, a great friend of Cicero, who addressed to him vii. 23-36.

^c The customary public announcement of a praetor on entering office, in which he specified the rules by which he would be guided in administering justice. Out of such edicts was evoked an important part of the body of Roman law.

have easy access to you, to grant him without reluctance his reasonable demands, and to make him feel that my friendship, even when I am very far away, is of benefit to him, especially with you.

LIX

CICERO TO CURTIUS PEDUCAEANUS,^a PRAETOR

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

I am exceptionally fond of M. Fadius^b; I have constant intercourse with him, and our intimacy is of very long standing. In his various suits I make no request as to your decisions (you will, as your credit and position demand, observe your edict^c and your established rule of administration) but this I do ask you—to let him have as easy access to you as is possible, to grant him without reluctance such requests as are right and proper, and to make him feel that my friendship, even though I am far away, is of service to him, especially with you. That is what I beg of you again and again to do.

LX

CICERO TO C. MUNATIUS

Date uncertain.

L. Livineius Trypho is, in any case,^d the freedman of my very intimate friend L. Regulus, whose misfortune^e makes me more ready than ever to serve him;

^d Or, "to say the least of it," whatever other claims he may have upon me. Shuckburgh translates it "to begin with."

^e Probably exile, but the circumstances are not known.

CICERO

siorem me facit in illum. Nam benevolentior, quam semper fui, esse non possum. Sed ego libertum eius per se ipsum diligo ; summa enim eius erga me officia extiterunt his nostris temporibus, quibus facillime benevolentiam¹ hominum et fidem perspicere potui.
2 Eum tibi ita commendo, ut homines grati et memores bene meritos de se commendare debent. Pergratum mihi feceris, si ille intellexerit, se, quod pro salute mea multa pericula adierit, saepe hieme summa navigarit, pro tua erga me benevolentia gratum etiam tibi fecisse.

LXI

M. T. C. S. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

T. Pinnio familiarissime me usum esse, scire te arbitror, quod quidem ille testamento declaravit, qui me cum tutorem, tum etiam secundum heredem instituerit. Eius filio mire studioso et erudito et modesto pecuniam Nicaeenses grandem debent, ad HS octogies, et, ut audio, in primis ei volunt solvere. Pergratum igitur mihi feceris, quando non modo reliqui tutores, qui sciunt, quanti me facias, sed etiam puer ipse sibi persuasit, te omnia mea causa facturum esse, si dederis operam, quoad tua fides

¹ *Nobbe and others have bonam before benevolentiam, but Klotz rightly, I think, rejects it, as the collocation is un-Ciceronian.*

^a Proprætor of Bithynia and Pontus in 51. For a lawsuit in which he was engaged see vii. 21.

^b *i.e.*, the next heir, in the event of the first heir dying. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 45-50.

^c About £70,000.

more friendly in my feeling for him than I always have been I cannot be. But I esteem this freedman of his for his own sake; his services to me were conspicuous at that crisis in my life when I was able most easily to appraise the goodwill and loyalty of my fellow-men.

I therefore commend him to you as men who are ² grateful and not forgetful are bound to commend those who have deserved well of them. You will have done me a great kindness if he is led to believe that by frequently risking his own safety for mine, and often taking ship in the depth of winter, he did what was acceptable to you also, since you wish me well.

LXI

CICERO TO P. SILIUS,^a PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

I believe that you are aware that I was on very intimate terms with T. Pinnius, and indeed he showed that plainly by his will, since he made me not only his trustee, but also his heir in the second degree.^b His son, a remarkably studious, crude, and unassuming youth, is owed a large sum of money (about eight million sesterces^c), by the people of Nicaea^d; and, according to what I hear, they are desirous of paying him among their first creditors. You will therefore do me a great kindness (and the other trustees who know how highly you esteem me, as well as the youth himself, are fully persuaded that there is nothing you will not do for me), if you make

^a Nicaea was one of the twelve townships into which Bithynia was divided.

dignitasque patietur, ut quam plurimum pecuniae Pinnio solvatur Nicaeensium nomine.

LXII

M. T. C. S. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

Et in Atili negotio te amavi (cum enim sero venissem, tamen honestum equitem Romanum beneficio tuo conservavi), et mehercule semper sic in animo habui, te in meo aere esse propter Lamiae nostri coniunctionem et singularem necessitudinem. Itaque primum tibi ago gratias, quod me omni molestia liberas; deinde impudentia prosequor; sed idem sarciam. Te enim semper sic colam et tuebor, ut quem diligentissime. Quintum fratrem meum, si me diligis, eo numero cura ut habeas, quo me. Ita magnum beneficium tuum magno cunulo auxeris.

LXIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Non putavi fieri posse, ut mihi verba deessent; sed tamen in M. Laenio commendando desunt. Itaque

^a Reading *quam plurimum pecuniae* with MH. Another reading is *quam primum pecunia* D and Cratander, "that the money should be paid at the earliest possible date," which is borne out by *in primis* above.

^b It is not known what this was; it was probably the recovery of some heavy debt.

^c *i.e.*, "entirely at my disposal," lit. "part of my own property."

^d For Lamia see xi. 16. 2 and xii. 29.

^e Lit. "patch it up."

^f See xiv. 4. 2.

every effort, so far as your integrity and position permit, to get as much of the money as possible ^a paid to Pinnius on behalf of the people of Nicaea.

LXII

CICERO TO P. SILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

I blessed you for what you did in the business of Atilius ^b (for though I came late, I was yet able, thanks to your kindness, to save an honourable Roman knight), and as a matter of fact I have always taken it for granted that I had you "in my pocket," ^c since our friend Lamia ^d had bound us together in so peculiarly close an association. So in the first place I thank you for freeing me from all awkwardness, and then I go further in shamelessness (but I shall make it good ^e; for I shall always honour and uphold *you* more conscientiously than anybody). It is about my brother Quintus; if you have any regard for me, see that you put him in the same category of regard as you do myself. So will you enhance your already great kindness by a great and crowning addition.

LXIII

CICERO TO P. SILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Laodicea, February, 50 B.C.

I never thought it could happen that words would fail me, but they do fail me nevertheless in commending M. Laenius.^f I shall therefore explain the matter

CICERO

rem tibi exponam paucis verbis; sed tamen, ut plane perspicere possis voluntatem meam. Incredibile est, quanti faciamus et ego et frater meus, qui mihi carissimus est, M. Laenium. Id fit cum plurimis eius officiis, tum summa probitate et singulari modestia. Eum ego a me invitissimus dimisi, eum propter familiaritatem et consuetudinis suavitatem, tum quod consilio eius fideli ac bono libenter utebar.

2 Sed vereor, ne iam mihi superesse verba putes, quae dixeram defutura. Commendo tibi hominem, sicut intellegis me, de quo ea supra scripserim, debere commendare; a teque vehementer etiam atque etiam peto, ut, quod habet in tua provincia negoti, expedias, quod tibi videbitur rectum esse, ipsi dicas. Hominem facillimum liberalissimumque cognosces. Itaque te rogo, ut eum solutum, liberum, confectis eius negotiis per te, quam primum ad me remittas. Id mihi fratique meo gratissimum feceris.

LXIV

M. T. C. S. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

1 Nero meus mirificas apud me tibi gratias egit, prorsus incredibiles, ut nullum honorem sibi haberi

* Tiberius Claudius Nero, father of the emperor Tiberius, impeached Gabinius in 54 (*Q.F.* iii. 1. 15, and 2. 1). He visited Cicero in Cilicia to arrange a marriage with Tullia, but she had already become betrothed to Dolabella. Nero afterwards married Livia Drusilla, whom he had to resign in later life to be the wife of Augustus.

to you in a few words, and yet in such a way as to give you a clear appreciation of my friendly feeling for him. You cannot believe how highly both my brother, who is very dear to me, and myself esteem M. Laenius. It is the result not only of his numerous services to me, but also of his unimpeachable integrity, and singularly unassuming demeanour. I parted with him with the greatest reluctance, not only on account of our intimacy and the charm of our intercourse, but also because it was a pleasure to me to avail myself of his counsel, as honest as it was sound.

But I fear you will think I have a superfluity of 2 words after saying that I should run short of them. Well, I commend the man to you as heartily as I am bound to commend one of whom I have written such words as the above; and I earnestly beg of you again and again to expedite such business as he has in your province, and to give him personally such information as you think proper. You will find him a most affable and gentlemanly fellow. And so I ask you to send him back to me as soon as you can, unembarrassed, free, and with all his business settled as far as you are concerned in it. Your doing so will greatly gratify my brother and myself.

LXIV

CICERO TO P. SILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

My friend Nero ^a has expressed to me his gratitude 1 to you in terms of amazing, nay, absolutely unimaginable warmth, declaring that no honour could

potuisse diceret, qui a te praetermissus esset. Magnum fructum ex ipso capies; nihil est enim illò adolescente gratius. Sed mehercule mihi quoque gratissimum fecisti; pluris enim ex omni nobilitate neminem facio. Itaque, si ea feceris, quae ille per me tecum agi voluit, gratissimum mihi feceris. Primum de Pausania Alabandensi, sustentens rem, dum Nero veniat. Vehementer eius causa cupere eum intellexi; itaque hoc valde te rogo. Deinde Nysaeos, quos Nero in primis habet necessarios diligentissimeque tuetur ac defendit, habeas tibi commendatissimos; ut intellegat illa civitas, sibi in Neronis patrocínio summum esse praesidium. Strabonem Servilium tibi saepe commendavi; nunc eo facio id impensius, quod eius causam Nero suscepit. Tantum a te petimus, ut agas eam rem, ne relinquo hominem innocentem ad alicuius tui dissimilis quaestum. Id cum gratum mihi erit, tum etiam existimabo, te humanitate tua esse usum.

2 Summa huius epistolae haec est, ut ornes omnibus rebus Neronem, sicut instituisti atque fecisti. Magnum theatrum habet ista provincia, non ut haec nostra, ad adolescentis nobilis, ingeniosi, abstinentis commendationem atque gloriam. Quare, si te fautore usus erit, sicuti profecto et utetur et usus est,

* The people of Nysa in Caria.

possibly have been done him which you omitted to do him. You will gain much by personal intercourse with him, for that young man is the most grateful fellow in the world. But I positively assure you that you have done me too the greatest favour ; for there is nobody among the aristocracy I esteem more highly. If, therefore, you do what he wished to get done through my pleading with you, you will have done me the greatest possible favour. First then, as to Pausanias of Alabanda, hold the matter open until Nero arrives. I gathered that he was extremely anxious to promote Pausanias's interests ; so this is a request I strongly urge upon you. In the next place regard the Nysaeans ^a as warmly commended to you, for Nero regards them as his particular friends, and supports and protects them with the utmost devotion. Do this to make that State believe that their main defence lies in the patronage of Nero. Strabo Servilius I have often commended to you ; I do so now all the more emphatically because Nero has taken up his case. All I ask of you is to press the business on so as not to leave an innocent man to the mercies of some avaricious governor unlike yourself. Not only will that be a favour to me, but I shall also consider that you have exhibited your customary kindness.

The whole point of this letter is, that you should ² promote Nero's honour in every respect, as indeed you have done from the beginning. Your province, unlike this of mine, affords a prominent stage for the applause and glorification of a youth of high birth, ability, and unselfish character. If, therefore, he has the advantage of your patronage, as he assuredly will have, and has had in the past, it will enable him

CICERO

amplissimas clientelas, acceptas a maioribus, confirmare poterit et beneficiis suis obligare. Hoc in genere si eum adiuveris eo studio, quo ostendisti, apud ipsum praeclarissime posueris, sed mihi etiam gratissimum feceris.

LXV

M. T. C. S. D. P. SILIO PROPR.

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 703.

- 1 Cum P. Terentio Hispone, qui operas in scriptura pro magistro dat, mihi summa familiaritas consuetudoque est, multaque et magna inter nos officia paria et mutua intercedunt. Eius summa existimatio agitur in eo, ut pactiones cum civitatibus reliquis conficiat. Non me praeterit, nos eam rem Ephesi expertos esse, neque ab Ephesiis ullo modo impetrare potuisse. Sed quoniam, quemadmodum omnes existimant, et ego intellego, tua cum summa integritate, tum singulari humanitate et mansuetudine consecutus es, ut, libentissimis Graecis, nutu, quod velis, consequare, peto a te in maiorem modum, ut honoris mei
- 2 causa hac laude Hispanem affici velis. Praeterea cum

^a A connexion of Cicero's through his wife Terentia.

^b Such part of the *ager publicus* as could not be cultivated was let out for grazing. It was let out by the censors to the grazing company of the *publicani*, called *scripturarii*, from *scriptura*, as the tax was called, paid by provincials for the right of grazing, since they had to register (*scribere*) their names and the number and kind of animals. All such companies of the *publicani* had a chairman at Rome (*maniceps*, or *princeps societatis*), an annually elected managing director (*magister societatis*) at Rome, and a deputy-manager (*promagistro*) in the provinces or where the *scriptura* was collected. Tyrrell.

to strengthen, and by his acts of kindness to oblige, highly influential bodies of clients bequeathed to him by his ancestors. If in this connexion you assist him with that devotion you have shown him in the past, you will have made a brilliant investment as regards the young man himself, but more than that, you will have done me too a special favour.

LXV

CICERO TO P. SILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Cilicia, probably late in 51 B.C.

P. Terentius Hispo,^a who is employed in the collection of grazing-dues as deputy-manager,^b is a man with whom I am on the most familiar terms and in constant communication, and we have done each other many a good service with equal advantage to each of us. His reputation mainly depends upon his settling his contracts with the rest of the states. It does not slip my memory that we experienced that difficulty at Ephesus, and that we could elicit no response whatever from the Ephesians. But now that, as everybody believes and I am convinced, you have so managed matters by your perfect integrity as well as by your exceptional courtesy and gentleness that you can obtain whatever you desire by a single nod with the heartiest consent of the Greeks, I beg of you with more than ordinary earnestness, out of compliment to myself, to be good enough to let Hispo have the benefit of this praiseworthy achievement.

There is this too ; I am myself closely associated 2

sociis scripturae mihi summa necessitudo est, non solum ob eam causam, quod ea societas universa in mea fide est, sed etiam quod plerisque sociis utor familiarissime. Ita et Hispanem meum per me ornaris et societatem mihi coniunctiorem feceris, tuque ipse et ex huius observantia gratissimi hominis, et ex sociorum gratia, hominum amplissimorum, maximum fructum capies, et me summo beneficio affeceris. Sic enim velim existimes, ex tota tua provincia omnique isto imperio, nihil esse, quod mihi gratius facere possis.

LXVI

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO PROPR.

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

- 1 A. Caecinam maxime proprium clientem familiae vestrae non commendarem tibi, cum scirem qua fide in tuos, qua clementia in calamitosos soleres esse, nisi me et patris eius, quo sum familiarissime usus, memoria, et huius fortuna ita moveret, ut hominis omnibus mecum studiis officiisque coniunctissimi movere debebat. A te hoc omni contentione peto, sic, ut maiore cura, maiore animi labore petere non possim, ut ad ea, quae tua sponte sine cuiusquam

* P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, son of the Servilius who gained the title by his victory over the pirates of Isauria in 78, was in his earlier days an aristocrat and a follower of Cato. He was praetor in 54, and in 48 he was consul with Caesar and opposed the revolutionary projects of Caelius Rufus. In 46 he was governor of Asia.

^b For A. Caecina see vi. 5-9.

with the partners in the grazing company, not only because I am the confidential adviser of the whole body, but also because I am on the most familiar terms with the majority of the partners. You will thus have conferred distinction on my friend Hispo at my intercession, and bound the company more closely to me, and you yourself will reap a rich reward in the respectful regard of this most grateful of men, as well as in the gratitude of partners who are men of the highest position, while you will have done me the greatest possible kindness. Indeed, I would have you believe that in the whole of your province and in the whole sphere of your imperial government there is nothing you could do that would give me greater pleasure.

LXVI

CICERO TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS,^a PROPRAETOR

Rome, probably in January, 45 B.C.

Being well aware how loyal to your friends and how merciful to those who have lost their civil rights you have always been, I should not think it necessary to commend to you A. Caecina,^b a client in a very special sense of your own family, were it not that the memory of his father, a very intimate friend of mine, as well as his own ill-fortune, affected me in such a way as the ill-fortune of one so closely connected with me by every sort of common interest and service was bound to affect me. This is what I implore you with all possible urgency to do (and I could make no appeal with greater sincerity or more solicitude of soul) that over and above all you would do of your own

CICERO

commendatione faceres in hominem tantum et talem calamitosum, aliquem afferant cumulum meae litterae, quo studiosius eum, quibuscumque rebus possis, 2 iuves. Quod si Romae fuisses, etiam salutem A. Caecinae essemus (ut opinio mea fert) per te consecuti. De qua tamen magnam spem habemus, freti elementia collegae tui. Nunc, cum tuam iustitiam secutus tutissimum sibi portum provinciam istam esse duxit, etiam atque etiam te rogo atque oro, ut eum et in reliquiis veteris negotiationis colligendis iuves, et ceteris rebus tegas atque tueare. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes.

LXVII

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO PROPR.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Ex provincia mea Ciliciensi, cui scis τρεῖς διοικήσεις Asiaticas attributas fuisse, nullo sum familiaris usus, quam Androne, Artemonis filio, Laodicensi, eumque habui in ea civitate cum hospitem, tum vehementer ad meae vitae rationem et consuetudinem accommodatum. Quem quidem multo etiam pluris postea, quam decessi, facere coepi, quod multis rebus expertus sum gratum hominem meique memorem.

^a Caesar, who was Servilius's colleague, both as augur, and in 48 as consul.

^b *Viz.* Synnada, Cibyra, and Apamea, *cf.* iii. 8. 5. διοίκησις was an assize-district.

accord, without any extraneous recommendation, for one so eminent and so deserving, now that he is under a cloud you should allow my letter to add a sort of stimulus to your generosity, and induce you to assist him even more assiduously in whatever way you can.

Now had you been at Rome, we should have ² actually brought about the recall of A. Caecina (as I am inclined to think) through your instrumentality. Of that, however, I am still very hopeful, because I believe in your colleague's ^a clemency. Now that, attracted by the beacon of your justice, he has decided that he can find no safer haven than your province, I ask and implore you again and again not only to help him in gathering together what is left of his old business, but also to shield and protect him in all other respects. There is nothing you can do that will give me greater pleasure.

LXVII

CICERO TO P. SERVILIUS, PROPRAETOR

Rome, some time in 46 B.C.

In all my province of Cilicia—and you are aware ¹ that three Asiatic dioceses ^b have been assigned to it—I have been more intimate with nobody than with Andro of Laodicea, the son of Artemo, and in that community I found in him not only a hospitable friend, but a man extraordinarily well suited to my habitual scheme of life; though it is true that since I quitted my province I have begun to value him a great deal more highly, having had many proofs of his gratitude and unforgetfulness of what I had done for him. It

CICERO

Itaque eum Romae libentissime vidi. Non te enim fugit, qui plurimis in ista provincia benigne fecisti, quam multi grati reperiantur. Haec propterea scripsi, ut et me non sine causa laborare intellegeres, et tu ipse eum dignum hospitio tuo iudicares. Feceris igitur mihi gratissimum, si ei declararis, quanti me facias, id est, si receperis eum in fidem tuam et, quibuscumque rebus honeste ac sine molestia tua poteris, adiueris. Hoc mihi erit vehementer gratum, idque ut facias, te etiam atque etiam rogo.

LXVIII

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO ISAUURICO PROC. COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Gratae mihi vehementer tuae litterae fuerunt, ex quibus cognovi cursus navigationum tuarum. Significabas enim memoriam tuam nostrae necessitudinis, qua mihi nihil poterat esse iucundius: Quod reliquum est, multo etiam erit gratius, si ad me de republica, id est, de statu provinciae, de institutis tuis familiariter scribes. Quae quamquam ex multis pro tua claritate audiam, tamen libentissime ex tuis

^a *i.e.*, "how few."

^b Cicero, Servilius, and Caesar were colleagues in the College of Augurs, *cf.* § 2.

EPIST. AD FAMILIARES, XIII. LXVII.—LXVIII.

follows that it was a great pleasure to me to see him at Rome. For you cannot have failed to notice (you who have shown generosity to such numbers of people in your province) what proportion of them are found to be grateful.^a

I have a double object in writing thus—so that ² you may understand that I have good reason for taking the trouble, and so that you yourself may deem the man worthy of your hospitality. You will therefore do me the greatest favour if you make it manifest to him how highly you value me—in other words, if you take him under your protection and assist him in whatever way you can consistently with your honour and convenience. That will give me extreme pleasure, and I ask you again and again to do so.

LXVIII

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE ^b P. SERVILIUS, PROCONSUL

Rome, September, 46 B.C.

I was exceedingly pleased with your letter which ¹ gave me the routes of your various voyagings; for you implied thereby that you had not forgotten our close association, which was the greatest joy of my life. As to the future, it will give me even greater pleasure if you write and tell me in a friendly way all about public affairs,—in other words, about the situation in your province, and the particulars of your administration; and although, celebrated man as you are, I shall be told all this by many others, I should like best of all to get the information out of a letter from you.

CICERO

2 litteris cognoscam. Ego ad te, de reipublicae summa quid sentiam, non saepe scribam, propter periculum eiusmodi litterarum. Quid agatur autem, scribam saepius. Sperare tamen videor, Caesari, collegae nostro, fore curae et esse, ut habeamus aliquam rempublicam; cuius consiliis magni referebat te interesse. Sed si tibi utilius est, id est gloriosius, Asiae praeesse et istam partem reipublicae male affectam tueri, mihi quoque idem, quod tibi et laudi
3 tuae profuturum est, optatius debet esse. Ego, quae ad tuam dignitatem pertinere arbitrabor, summo studio diligentiaque curabo, in primisque tuebor omni observantia clarissimum virum, patrem tuum; quod et pro vetustate necessitudinis, et pro beneficiis vestris, et pro dignitate ipsius facere debeo.

LXIX

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 C. Curtius Mithres est ille quidem, ut scis, libertus Postumi, familiarissimi mei; sed me colit et observat aequae atque illum ipsum patronum suum. Apud eum ego sic Ephesi fui, quotiescumque fui, tamquam domi meae; multaque acciderunt, in quibus et

^a Consul in 79; he gained the title of Isauricus in the following year. See *Ep.* 66. 1 note *a* above.

For my own part, I shall not often write and tell ² you what I think about politics in general, since a letter of that sort has its dangers ; but about what is actually going on, I shall write more often. In spite of all, I am not, I think, without hope that our colleague Caesar will be, and indeed is, anxious that we should have a constitution worthy the name ; and it was of great importance that you should play your part in his deliberations. But if it is more to your advantage, by which I mean, more to your honour and glory, that you should be governor of Asia and look after that part of the Republic, a part which has suffered so cruelly, I too ought to pray preferably for just that which is likely to be of benefit both to yourself and to your reputation.

I shall attend with the utmost zeal and assiduity ³ to whatever I consider affects your prestige, and most particularly shall I uphold in all reverence the dignity of that most distinguished man, your father ^a ; and indeed it is no less than my duty to do so, considering our long-standing friendship, the kindnesses you have both done me, and the honour due to your father himself.

LXIX

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE P. SERVILIUS

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

C. Curtius Mithres is, of course, as you are aware, ¹ the freedman of my very dear friend Postumus, but he has as much respect and regard for me as he has for his patron himself. At Ephesus, whenever I happened to be there, I was as much at home in his house as in my own, and many things have occurred

benevolentiam eius erga me experirer et fidem. Itaque si quid aut mihi, aut meorum cuiquam in Asia opus est, ad hunc scribere consuevi, huius cum opera et fide, tum domo et re uti, tamquam mea. Haec ad te eo pluribus scripsi, ut intellegeres, me non vulgari more,¹ nec ambitiose, sed ut pro homine intimo ac
 2 mihi pernecessario scribere. Peto igitur a te, ut in ea controversia, quam habet de fundo cum quodam Colophonio, et in ceteris rebus, quantum fides tua patietur, quantumque tuo commodo poteris, tantum et honoris mei causa commodes; etsi, ut eius modestiam cognovi, gravis tibi nulla in re erit. Si et mea commendatione et sua probitate assecutus erit, uti de se bene existimes, omnia se adeptum arbitrabitur. Ut igitur eum recipias in fidem, habeasque in numero tuorum, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Ego, quae te velle, quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor, omnia studiose diligenterque curabo.

LXX

M. T. C. S. P. D. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

Quia non est obscura tua in me benevolentia, sic fit ut multi per me tibi velint commendari. Ego

¹ *Klotz*: vulgariter *Nobbe*.

to afford me proof of his kindly feeling and loyalty towards me. And so, if either I or any of my friends want anything done in Asia, I have got into the habit of writing to him, and of availing myself of his services and devotion, and indeed of his house and purse, as though they were my own. I have written all this to you at greater length than usual in order to impress upon you that I am not writing in a conventional sort of way or with any interested motives, but simply on behalf of a man with whom I am very intimate and very closely associated.

I therefore beg of you, in the lawsuit he has on hand ² with a certain Colophonian about some landed property, to serve his interests (and it will be a compliment to myself also) so far as you possibly can compatibly with your probity, and without trouble to yourself; though, from what I know of his propriety of conduct, you will not find him anything of an incubus. If through my recommendation and his own integrity he succeeds in winning your good opinion, he will think that he has got all he wants. I therefore earnestly urge you again and again to take him under your wing, and count him among the number of your friends. As for myself, I shall attend devotedly and punctiliously to whatever I think you desire, or whatever concerns your interests.

LXX

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE P. SERVILIUS

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

Because your friendly feeling for me is manifest to all, it naturally follows that many people desire that I should be the medium of their recommendation to

CICERO

autem tribuo nonnumquam in vulgus, sed plerumque necessariis, ut hoc tempore. Nam cum T. Ampio Balbo mihi summa familiaritas necessitudoque est. Eius libertum, T. Ampium Menandrum, hominem frugi et modestum et patrono et nobis vehementer probatum, tibi commendo maiorem in modum. Vehementer mihi gratum feceris, si, quibuscumque rebus sine tua molestia poteris, ei commodaris. Quod ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

LXXI

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A U.C. 708.

Multos tibi commendem necesse est, quoniam omnibus nota nostra necessitudo est tuaque erga me benevolentia. Sed tamen etsi omnium causa, quos commendo, velle debeo, tamen cum omnibus non eadem mihi causa est. T. Agusius et comes meus fuit illo miserrimo tempore et omnium itinerum, navigationum, laborum, periculorum meorum socius; neque hoc tempore discessisset a me, nisi ego ei permissem. Quare sic tibi eum commendo, ut unum de meis domesticis et maxime necessariis. Pergratum mihi feceris, si eum ita tractaris, ut intellegat, hanc commendationem sibi magno usu atque adiumento fuisse.

^a The *tuba belli civilis*; see ii. 16. 3.

you. Now I do sometimes confer this favour indiscriminately, but I do so for the most part on my particular friends, as on the present occasion. I am extremely familiar and closely associated with T. Ampius Balbus ^a; his freedman T. Ampius Menander, a sterling and unassuming fellow, is greatly esteemed both by his patron and myself, and I commend him to you with more than ordinary warmth. You will do me a particular favour if you serve his interests in whatever way you can without inconveniencing yourself, and I earnestly beg you again and again to do so.

LXXI

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE P. SERVILIUS

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

Now that our intimacy and your goodwill towards me is a matter of common knowledge, I find myself obliged to recommend ever so many people to you. But although all whom I recommend ought to have my best wishes, I have not the same reason for such wishes in every case. T. Agusius was not only my companion during the most miserable period of my life, but also shared with me all my journeys, voyages, troubles, and dangers; nor would he have left my side at the present time, had I not given him permission. That is the reason I recommend him to you as being one of my own household, and one of those most closely attached to me. You will do me a very great favour by so treating him as to convince him that this recommendation has been of material service and assistance to him.

M. T. C. S. D. P. SERVILIO COLLEGAE

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

- 1 Caerelliae, necessariae meae, rem, nomina, possessiones Asiaticas commendavi tibi praesens in hortis tuis, quam potui diligentissime; tuque mihi, pro tua consuetudine, proque tuis in me perpetuis maximisque officiis, omnia te facturum liberalissime recepisti. Meminisse te id spero; scio enim solere. Sed tamen Caerelliae procuratores scripserunt, te propter magnitudinem provinciae multitudinemque negotiorum etiam atque etiam esse commonefaciendum.
- 2 Peto igitur, ut memineris, te omnia, quae tua fides pateretur, mihi cumulate recepisse. Equidem existimo, habere te magnam facultatem (sed hoc est tui consili et iudici) ex eo senatus consulto, quod in heredes C. Vennoni factum est, Caerelliae commodandi. Id senatus consultum tu interpretabere pro tua sapientia. Scio enim eius ordinis auctoritatem semper apud te magni fuisse. Quod reliquum est, sic velim existimes, quibuscumque rebus Caerelliae benigne feceris, mihi te gratissimum esse facturum.

^a A rich and accomplished lady frequently mentioned by Cicero in his letters to Atticus. She copied out the *De Finibus*. It appears from *Att.* xii. 51. 3 that Cicero once borrowed money from her, which Atticus considered unworthy of his position.

^b Tyrrell thinks this was a *senatus consultum* passed to meet a special case in violation of the laws, another instance of which is described in *Att.* v. 21. 12.

LXXII

CICERO TO HIS COLLEAGUE P. SERVILIUS

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

As regards the estate, investments, and Asiatic 1
possessions of my intimate friend Caerellia,^a I com-
mended them to you as particularly as I could when
I was with you in your pleasure-garden ; and you, in
accordance with your custom, and your unfailing and
substantial services to me, most handsomely guaran-
teed that you would do everything you could. I hope
you remember that ; I know you don't often forget.
But, be that as it may, Caerellia's agents have written
to me that, on account of the size of your province,
and your numerous business engagements, you have
to be reminded of that promise again and again.

I therefore beg of you to remember that you guaran- 2
teed to me that you would do everything compatible
with your honour without any reserve whatever.
Now I believe you have an excellent opportunity
(though it is a matter for your own deliberation and
judgment) of obliging Caerellia, arising out of that
decree of the Senate which was passed in reference
to the heirs of C. Vennonius.^b In the interpretation
of that decree you will use your own wisdom. I know
that the authority of that order has always been of
importance in your eyes. As to what remains to be
done, I would have you believe that in whatever
respects you prove your kindness to Caerellia you will
do me the greatest possible favour.

M. T. C. S. D. Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS.

Anno incerto.

1 Gratulor tibi, quod ex provincia salvum te ad tuos recepisti, incolumi fama et republica. Quod si Romae te vidissem, coram gratias egissem, quod tibi L. Egnatius, familiarissimus meus absens, L. Oppius
 2 praesens curae fuisset. Cum Antipatro Derbete mihi non solum hospitium, verum etiam summa familiaritas intercedit. Ei te vehementer succensuisse audivi, et moleste tuli. De re nihil possum iudicare, nisi illud mihi certe persuadeo, te, talem virum, nihil temere fecisse. A te autem, pro vetere nostra necessitudine, etiam atque etiam peto, ut eius filios, qui in tua potestate sunt, mihi potissimum condones, nisi quid existimas in ea re violari existimationem tuam. Quod ego si arbitrarer, numquam te rogarem, mihique tua fama multo antiquior esset, quam illa necessitudo est. Sed mihi ita persuadeo (potest fieri, ut fallar), eam rem laudi tibi potius quam vituperationi fore. Quid fieri possit, et quid mea causa facere possis (nam, quin velis, non dubito), velim, si tibi grave non erit, certiozem me facias.

^a Q. Marcius Philippus appears to have been governor of Asia, though in what year is unknown.

^b Both he and L. Oppius were bankers in Philippus's province. See *Epp.* 44 and 45 above.

^c Derbe was in Lycaonia. Nothing more is known of Antipater.

LXXIII

CICERO TO Q. PHILIPPUS,^a PROCONSUL

Year uncertain.

I congratulate you on your safe return from your 1 province with your reputation unimpaired and the commonwealth intact. But had I seen you at Rome, I should have thanked you in person for having shown a kindly interest in my very intimate friend, L. Egnatius,^b who was not on the spot, and in L. Oppius, who was.

With Antipater of Derbe ^c I have ties not only of 2 mutual hospitality but also of the closest intimacy. I am told that you have been exceedingly angry with him, and it distressed me. As for the facts, I am not in a position to pass any judgment, but of this I am very sure, that being the man you are, you have done nothing without due consideration. Anyhow, in view of our long-standing association, I beg of you again and again, as a special favour to myself, to refrain from taking any action against his sons, who are at your mercy—unless of course you think that to do so involves an outrage upon your reputation. If I thought so, I should never make this request, and your fair name would weigh far more with me than the association I have mentioned. But I try to persuade myself (it is possible that I may be mistaken) that your doing so will prove a credit to you rather than a handle for abuse.

As to what can be done, and what you can do for me (of your willingness I have no doubt), I should like you, if it will be no trouble to you, to send me word.

CICERO

LXXIV

M. T. C. S. D. Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 699 (?).

Etsi non dubito, pro tua in me observantia, proque nostra necessitudine, quin commendationem meam memoria teneas, tamen etiam atque etiam eundem tibi L. Oppium, familiarem meum, praesentem, et L. Egnati, familiarissimi mei, absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque, ut, si mea res esset, non magis laborarem. Quapropter gratissimum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut is intellegat, me a te tantum amari, quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Itaque ut facias, te vehementer rogo.

LXXV

M. T. C. S. D. T. TITIO T. F. LEGATO

Romae, A.U.C. 701.

1 Etsi non dubito, quin apud te mea commendatio prima satis valeat, tamen obsequor homini familiarissimo, C. Aviano Flacco, cuius causa omnia tum cupio, tum meherecule etiam debeo. De quo et praesens tecum egi diligenter, cum tu mihi humanissime respondisti, et scripsi ad te accurate

^a This Titius was a *legatus* of Pompey, when the latter was *praefectus annonae* (Minister of the Corn Supply).

^b Avianius was apparently a corn-factor who had enjoyed under Pompey certain privileges as to the time and place for the delivery of corn, which privileges Cicero asks Titius to enable Avianius to retain.

LXXIV

CICERO TO Q. PHILIPPUS, PROCONSUL

Rome, (?) in 55 B.C.

Although I doubt not, considering the deference you show me and our close association, that you bear my recommendation in mind, yet I commend to you again and again my dear friend, that same L. Oppius who is with you, as also the business affairs of my dear friend, L. Egnatius, who is not. So close is my association and intimacy with him that I could not be more anxious if it were my own affair. On that account you will do me the greatest favour if you make a point of giving him the impression that your affection for me is as sincere as I myself believe it to be. There is nothing you can do that would please me more ; and so I earnestly beg of you to do it.

LXXV

CICERO TO T. TITIUS, LEGATUS ^a

Rome, 53 B.C.

Although I doubt not that my first recommendation carries quite enough weight with you, I nevertheless accede to the request of C. Avianius Flaccus ^b with whom I am on most intimate terms, and I wish him every success, as indeed I am bound to do. It was about him that I urgently pleaded with you in person, when you replied to me with the utmost courtesy, and in a previous letter to you I gave you full particulars ;

CICERO

antea; sed putat interesse sua, me ad te quam saepissime scribere. Quare velim mihi ignoscas, si illius voluntati obtemperans minus videbor meminisse constantiae tuae. A te idem illud peto, ut de loco, quo deportet frumentum, et de tempore Aviano commodes; quorum utrumque per eundem me obtinuit triennium, dum Pompeius isti negotio praefuit. Summa est, in quo mihi gratissimum facere possis, si curaris, ut Avianus, quoniam se a me amari putat, me a te amari sciat. Erit id mihi pergratum.

LXXVI

M. T. C. S. D. QUATT. VIRIS ET DECURIONIBUS

Romae, anno incerto.

1 Tantae mihi cum Q. Hippio causae necessitudinis sunt, ut nihil possit esse coniunctius quam nos inter nos sumus. Quod nisi ita esset, uterer mea consuetudine, ut vobis nulla in re molestus essem. Etenim vos mihi optimi testes estis, cum mihi persuasum esset, nihil esse, quod a vobis impetrare non possem, numquam me tamen gravem vobis esse
2 voluisse. Vehementer igitur vos etiam atque etiam rogo, ut honoris mei causa liberalissime C. Valgium

^a The time and place of the delivery was of course of the utmost importance, and Avianus seems to have been given *carte blanche* in both respects.

^b That this letter is addressed to some *municipium* or other is evident from the terms used, *Viri* and *decuriones*, the latter being the senators of a *municipium*; but we know no more. Tyrrell suggests that it might have been

but he imagines it to be of importance to him that I should write to you as frequently as possible. So please forgive me if in thus complying with his wishes I lead you to suspect that my recollection of your constancy is not as clear as it should be.

I also make this further request of you—to accom-²modate Avianius as regards both the place and the time at which he is to discharge his corn.^a It was through me also that he secured both these privileges for a term of three years, when Pompey was in chief charge of that business. The main point is this (and you might greatly oblige me in that respect), that you should make it your object to convince Avianius, since he already assumes my affection for him, of your affection for me. That will give me great pleasure.

LXXVI

CICERO TO THE QUATTUORVIRI AND DECURIONES ^b

Rome, date uncertain.

So strong are the reasons for my association with ¹ Q. Hippius that nothing could be closer than the ties which bind us. Were it not so, I should observe my usual practice and avoid giving you the slightest trouble. Indeed, you yourselves can best testify to the fact that, though I was convinced I could make no request of you which you would not grant, it has never been my wish to impose a burden upon you.

I therefore earnestly beg you again and again to ² pay me the compliment of treating C. Valgius

Fabrateria, a restoration of Fregellae (on the Liris in Latium), under a new name.

CICERO

Hippianum tractetis, remque cum eo conficiatis, ut, quam possessionem habet in agro Fregellano, a vobis emptam, eam liberam et immunem habere possit. Id si a vobis impetraro, summo me beneficio vestro affectum arbitrabor.

LXXVII

M. T. C. S. D. P. SULPICIO IMP.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Cum his temporibus non sane in senatum ventitarem, tamen, ut tuas litteras legi, non existimavi me salvo iure nostrae veteris amicitiae multorumque inter nos officiorum facere posse, ut honori tuo deessem. Itaque adfui, supplicationemque tibi libenter decrevi; nec reliquo tempore ullo aut rei aut existimationi aut dignitati tuae deero. Atque, hoc ut tui necessarii sciant, hoc me animo erga te esse, velim facias eos per litteras certiores, ut, si quid tibi opus sit, ne dubitent mihi iure suo
2 denuntiare. M. Bolanum, virum bonum et fortem et omnibus rebus ornatum, meumque veterem amicum, tibi magno opere commendo. Pergratum mihi feceris, si curaris, ut is intellegat, hanc commendationem sibi magno adiumento fuisse. Ip-

^a The son of the distinguished jurist (for whom see iv. 1. 1, note *a*). This Sulpicius was commander-in-chief of the forces in Illyricum during 46, as Vatinius was in 45 and 43 (v. 9 *sqq.*).

^b Nothing more is known of him.

Hippianus as handsomely as you can, and so arrange matters with him that his tenure of the estate which he holds after purchase from you in the territory of Fregellae may be free of charge and clear of obligations. If you accede to this request of mine, I shall consider that you have done me a very great kindness.

LXXVII

CICERO WITH HEARTIEST GREETINGS TO P. SULPICIUS
RUFUS,^a IMPERATOR

Rome, Autumn, 46 B.C.

Although in these days I am not very regular in my attendance at the Senate, yet, after reading your letter, I did not think I could possibly fail to support your claims to honour without prejudice to our long-standing friendship and our many mutual services. That being so, I was in my place, and it gave me pleasure to vote for a *supplicatio* in your honour ; and on no occasion in the future shall I fail to support your interests, reputation, or position. Moreover, so that your relatives may be assured of this feeling I have for you, I should like you to write and tell them so, in order that, if you have any need of help, they may not hesitate to give me a clear intimation to that effect, as they have a perfect right to do.

M. Bolanus ^b is a person I warmly commend to you, as being a good and gallant man, possessing every accomplishment, and an old friend of mine. You will do me a favour if you take care to make him feel that this recommendation has proved of material service to

CICERO

sumque virum optimum gratissimumque cognosces. Promitto tibi, te ex eius amicitia magnam voluptatem esse capturum. Praeterea a te peto in maiorem modum pro nostra amicitia et pro tuo perpetuo in me studio, ut in hac re etiam elaborēs: Dionysius, servus meus, qui meam bibliothecam multorum nummorum tractavit, cum multos libros surripisset nec se impune laturum putaret, aufugit. Is est in provincia tua. Eum et M. Bolanus, familiaris meus, et multi alii Naronae viderunt; sed cum se a me manumissum esse diceret, crediderunt. Hunc tu si mihi restituendum curaris, non possum dicere, quam mihi gratum futurum sit. Res ipsa parva, sed animi mei dolor magnus est. Ubi sit, et quid fieri possit, Bolanus te docebit. Ego si hominem per te reciperaro, summo me a te beneficio affectum arbitrabor.

LXXVIII

M. T. C. S. D. ALLIENO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

1 Democritus Sicyonius non solum hospes meus est, sed etiam, quod non multis contigit, Graecis praesertim, valde familiaris. Est enim in eo summa probitas, summa virtus, summa in hospites liberalitas

^a On the coast of Illyria, between Histria and Dyrrachium.

^b Of Sicily. In 60 Allienus was one of Cicero's *legati* in Asia, and in 49 was a praetor. In 43 he was a *legatus* of Dolabella, but surrendered to Cassius. See xii. 11. 1 and 12. 1.

EPIST. AD FAMILIARES, XIII. LXXVII.—LXXVIII.

him. And you will find the man himself too an excellent fellow and full of gratitude. I promise you that you will get no little pleasure out of your friendship with him.

There is this too ; I beg of you more earnestly ³ than usual, in the name of our friendship and your unvarying devotion to me, to take particular pains in the following matter also : my slave Dionysius, who had the charge of my very costly library, having stolen a lot of books, and thinking that he would be punished for the theft, has absconded. He is in your province. Both my friend Bolanus and several others saw him at Narona,^a but when he declared that I had given him his freedom, they took his word for it. If you charge yourself with the business of getting him back for me, I cannot tell you how delighted I shall be. It is a small thing in itself, but my annoyance is great. Bolanus will inform you where he is, and what can be done. If you are the means of my getting the rascal back, I shall consider that you have done me a very great kindness.

LXXVIII

CICERO TO AULUS ALLIENUS, PROCONSUL ^b

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

Democritus of Sicyon is not only on hospitable ¹ terms, but also (and this does not happen in many such cases, especially if they are Greeks) on very intimate terms with me ; for he is exceedingly honourable, exceedingly conscientious, and exceedingly generous

CICERO

et observantia, meque praeter ceteros et colit et observat et diligit. Eum tu non modo suorum civium, 2 verum paene Achaiae principem cognosces. Huic ego tantummodo aditum ad tuam cognitionem patefacio et munio; cognitum per te ipsum, quae tua natura est, dignum tua amicitia atque hospitio iudicabis. Peto igitur a te, ut, his litteris lectis, recipias eum in tuam fidem, polliceare omnia te facturum mea causa. De reliquo, si, id quod confido, fore dignum eum tua amicitia hospitioque cognoveris, peto, ut eum complectare, diligas, in tuis habeas. Erit id mihi maiorem in modum gratum. Vale.

LXXIX

M. T. C. S. P. D. ALLIENO PROCOS.

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

Et te scire arbitror, quanti fecerim C. Avianium Flaccum, et ego ex ipso audieram, optimo et gratisimo homine, quam a te liberaliter esset tractatus. Eius filios, dignissimos illo patre meosque necessarios, quos ego unice diligo, commendo tibi sic ut maiore studio nullos commendare possim. C. Avia-

* See *Epp.* 35 and 75 in this book.

and deferential in the dispensing of hospitality, and, as for myself, he venerates, respects, and esteems me more than he does anybody else. You will find him to be the chief man, not only among his fellow-citizens, but almost in the whole of Achaia.

Such is the man for whom I am merely opening the ² door and paving the way to your acquaintance; when you know him, you will, with your innate sense of justice, pronounce him worthy of your friendship and hospitality on your own account.

I therefore beg of you, when you have perused this letter, to take him under your protection, and promise to do all you can for him for my sake. For the rest, if, as I am confident you will, you find that he is likely to be worthy of your friendship and hospitality, I beg of you to give him a hearty welcome, make much of him, and count him among your friends. That will give me more than ordinary pleasure.

LXXIX

CICERO TO A. ALLIENUS, PROCONSUL

Rome, month uncertain, 46 B.C.

I believe you know how highly I ever esteemed C. Avianius Flaccus,^a and besides I have heard from his own lips, excellent and grateful man that he is, how generously he has been treated by you. It is his sons I now commend to you as being most worthy of such a father, and close friends of my own, of whom I am particularly fond, and there are no men I could commend to you with greater enthusiasm. C.

CICERO

nus in Sicilia est. Marcus est nobiscum. Ut illius dignitatem praesentis ornes, rem utriusque defendas te rogo. Hoc mihi gratius in ista provincia facere nihil potes. Idque ut facias, te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIII. LXXIX.

Avianius is in Sicily, Marcus is with us. I ask you to advance the claims of the former, whom you have with you, and to protect the interests of both. There is nothing you can do in your province that would please me better, and I earnestly beg of you again and again to do so.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM
AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DECIMUS QUARTUS

I

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SVAE, TULLIOLAE SVAE,
CICERONI SUO

Incohata Thessalonicae, finita Dyrrachi, A.U.C. 696.

- 1 Et litteris multorum et sermone omnium perfertur ad me, incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse teque nec animi, neque corporis laboribus defatigari. Me miserum ! te, ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate, in tantas aerumnas propter me incidisse ! Tulliolamque nostram, ex quo patre tantas voluptates capiebat, ex eo tantos percipere luctus ! Nam quid ego de Cicerone dicam ? qui cum primum sapere coepit, acerbissimos dolores miseriasque percepit. Quae si, ut tu scribis, fato facta putarem, ferrem paullo facilius ; sed omnia sunt mea culpa commissa, qui ab iis me amari putabam, qui invidebant, eos non

* All the letters in this book are from Cicero to his wife Terentia and his family in Rome. Nothing is known of Terentia before her marriage with Cicero. She was a woman of sound common sense and firmness of character. It is doubtful whether Cicero's suspicions of her extravagance

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK XIV

I

CICERO TO TARENTIA AND HIS FAMILY ^a

Begun at Thessalonica, finished at Dyrrachium,
Nov. 25, 58 B.C.

I am kept informed by the letters of many and the conversation of everybody that your courage and fortitude, Tarentia, are beyond belief, and that you are not exhausted by your troubles either of mind or body. Woe is me! To think that you of all people, virtuous, faithful, upright, and generous as you are, should have fallen into such a morass of misery all on my account! And that our darling Tullia should feel that the very father who was her greatest delight is now the source of her greatest griefs! As to Cicero, why should I talk about *him*, since from the very dawn of his intelligence he has known the bitterest pangs of sorrow and misery? Could I but imagine that all this is (as you write) the work of destiny, I should bear it a little more easily; but it has all been brought about by my own fault, because I thought myself beloved by those who were and dishonesty were justified. His letters show a gradual waning of his affection for her, and he divorced her in 46 B.C.

CICERO

2 sequebar, qui petebant. Quod si nostris consiliis
usi essemus, neque apud nos tantum valuisset sermo
aut stultorum amicorum aut improborum, beatissimi
viveremus. Nunc, quoniam sperare nos amici iubent,
dabo operam, ne mea valetudo tuo labori desit. Res
quanta sit, intellego, quantoque fuerit facilius manere
domi, quam redire. Sed tamen, si omnes tribunos
plebis habemus, si Lentulum tam studiosum, quam
videtur, si vero etiam Pompeium et Caesarem, non
3 est desperandum. De familia, quomodo placuisse
amicis scribis, faciemus. De loco nunc quidem iam
abiit pestilentia; sed quamdiu fuit, me non attigit.
Plancius, homo officiosissimus, me cupit esse secum
et adhuc retinet. Ego volebam loco magis deserto
esse in Epiro, quo neque Piso¹ veniret nec milites;
sed adhuc Plancius me retinet. Sperat posse fieri,
ut mecum in Italiam decedat. Quem ego diem si
videro et si in vestrum complexum venero ac si et vos
et me ipsum recuperaro, satis magnum mihi fructum
videbor percepisse et vestrae pietatis et meae.
4 Pisonis humanitas, virtus, amor in omnes nos tantus
est, ut nihil supra possit. Utinam ea res ei voluptati
sit! gloriae quidem video fore. De Q. fratre nihil

¹ *Manutius, Drumann: ipse Nobbe: Hispo Vett.*

^a He is perhaps alluding to Caesar, who had offered him a *legatio* in his army.

^b Consul designate for 57 B.C. See i. 1. 1.

^c Quaestor of Macedonia. Cicero never forgot his kindness and successfully defended him when accused of *ambitus* in 54.

^d L. Piso, father of Caesar's wife Calpurnia, consul this year, would be coming to Macedonia as proconsul in 57. He was one of Cicero's bitterest enemies.

^e C. Piso, who married Cicero's daughter Tullia in 63.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. 1.

jealous of me, and turned away from those who sought me.^a

Had I but followed my own judgment, and not 2
 been so unduly influenced by the talk of either misguided or unscrupulous friends, I should now be living in perfect happiness. As it is, since my friends bid me have hope, I shall do my best to prevent my health from failing to further your efforts. I quite understand how difficult the thing was, and how much easier remaining at home was than returning. However, if we can count on all the tribunes and if on Lentulus's ^b being as enthusiastic as he appears to be, if above all on Pompey and Caesar, then there is no reason to despair.

In the matter of our slaves, we shall do what you 3
 say our friends think best. As to this place, the epidemic, it is true, has now passed away, but even while it lasted it did not touch me. That most obliging fellow Plancius ^c desires me to live with him and won't let me go yet. My own wish was to be in some less frequented spot in Æpirus where Piso ^d and his soldiers might not come, but Plancius won't let me go yet. He hopes it may be possible for him to leave for Italy in my company. If ever I see that day, and find myself in your arms, and feel that I have regained all of you as well as myself, I shall think that both your loyalty, and mine too, have met with an adequate reward.

Piso's ^e kindness, excellence of conduct, and affec- 4
 tion for us all cannot possibly be exceeded. I pray that it may be a source of pleasure to him; that it will be a source of pride to him I feel sure. As to He strenuously supported his father-in-law's recall from exile, but died before his return.

CICERO

ego te accusavi ; sed vos, cum praesertim tam pauci
5 sitis, volui esse quam coniunctissimos. Quibus me
voluisti agere gratias, egi, et me a te certiore factum
esse scripsi. Quod ad me, mea Terentia, scribis, te
vicum vendituram, quid, obsecro te (me miserum!)
quid futurum est ? Et, si nos premet eadem fortuna,
quid puero misero fiet ? Non queo reliqua scribere
(tanta vis lacrimarum est), neque te in eundem fletum
adducam. Tantum scribo : si erunt in officio amici,
pecunia non deerit ; si non erunt, tu efficere tua
pecunia non poteris. Per fortunas miseras nostras,
vide, ne puerum perditum perdamus. Cui si aliquid
erit, ne egeat, mediocri virtute opus est, et mediocri
6 fortuna, ut cetera consequatur. Fac valeas et ad me
tabellarios mittas, ut sciam, quid agatur, et vos quid
agatis. Mihi omnino iam brevis expectatio est.
Tulliolarum et Ciceroni salutem dic. Valete. D. a. d.
vi. Kalendas Decembres Dyrrachi.

7 Dyrrachium veni, quod et libera civitas est, et in
me officiosa et proxima Italiae. Sed si offendet me
loci celebritas, alio me conferam et ad te scribam.

* The circumstances of this disagreement are unknown.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. 1.

my brother Quintus,^a I make no charge against you, but it has ever been my wish that all of you, especially as there are so few of you, should be as closely united as possible.

I have thanked those whom you wished me to 5
thank, and have written that you were my informant. You tell me, my dear Terentia, that you intend selling your house-property; in that case, what, I implore you (I am sadly worried about it), what is going to happen? And if we are dogged by the same ill-fortune, what will become of our poor boy? I cannot write what remains to be written, so irrepressible are my tears, and I would not make you too weep as bitterly. This much I do write—that if our friends remain loyal, money will be forthcoming; if they do not, your own money will not enable you to do what you want. In the name of our own pitiful misfortunes, beware lest we ruin our already ruined boy. With something to stave off actual want, all he needs to attain everything else is a fair share of merit, and a fair share of luck.

Be sure you keep well, and send me letter-carriers 6
to let me know what is being done, and how you all are. In any case I have not now long to wait. Give my love to my dearest Tullia and Cicero. Good-bye. Dyrrachium, Nov. 25th.

I have come to Dyrrachium, because it is not only 7
a free state, but devoted to me, and is also the nearest point to Italy. But if the place is too crowded for my liking, I shall betake myself elsewhere, and send you word.

CICERO

II

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE, TULLIOLAE ET
CICERONI SUIS

Thessalonicae, A.U.C. 696.

1 Noli putare me ad quemquam longiores epistolas scribere, nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit, cui puto rescribi oportere. Nec enim habeo, quid scribam, nec hoc tempore quidquam difficilius facio. Ad te vero et ad nostram Tulliolam non queo sine plurimis lacrimis scribere. Vos enim video esse miserimas, quas ego beatissimas semper esse volui, idque praestare debui et, nisi tam timidi fuissemus, praestitissim.
2 sem. Pisonem nostrum merito eius amo plurimum. Eum, ut potui, per litteras cohortatus sum gratiasque egi, ut debui. In novis tribunis plebis intellego spem te habere. Id erit firmum, si Pompei voluntas erit; sed Crassum tamen metuo. A te quidem omnia fieri fortissime et amantissime video, nec miror; sed maereo casum eiusmodi, ut tantis tuis miseriis meae miseriae sublevantur. Nam ad me P. Valerius, homo officiosus, scripsit, id quod ego maximo cum fletu legi, quemadmodum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam ducta esses. Hem, mea lux, meum desiderium, unde omnes opem petere solebant! te

^a See note *e* on *Ep.* 1. 4.

^b Terentia seems to have taken refuge on Cicero's departure in the temple of Vesta, where her half-sister Fabia was among the Vestal Virgins.

^c It is more probable that this was a tribunal for the administration of justice than (as some take it to be) a bank, and that Terentia was taken there to make an affidavit about her property which would be to Cicero's interest. If it was

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. II.

II

CICERO TO TARENTIA AND HIS FAMILY

Thessalonica, Oct. 5, 58 B.C.

You must never think that I write longer letters to 1 anybody unless somebody has written to me at unusual length, and I think it my duty to answer him. For I don't know what to write, and just now there is nothing I find greater difficulty in doing. But to you and our darling Tullia I cannot write without a flood of tears. I see that both of you are utterly wretched, you, whom I have always wished to be completely happy—a happiness it was my duty to have secured, and I should have secured it, had I not been so timorous.

For our friend Piso ^a I have a profound affection, 2 and it is no more than he deserves. I have done my best to urge him on by letter, and have thanked him as I was bound to do. I gather that you have hopes of the new tribunes of the plebs. On that we may rely, if we can rely on Pompey's friendliness; and yet I have my fears of Crassus. | As for yourself, I see that you are acting in every respect most courageously and lovingly, nor does it surprise me; but what saddens me is the nature of a calamity in which my own miseries can only be alleviated at the cost of such miseries to you. For that most obliging of men, P. Valerius, had described in a letter to me (and I wept bitterly as I read it) how you were haled from the temple of Vesta ^b to the Valerian Office.^c Alas, light of my life, for whom I yearn, to whom all used a bank, she must have gone there to borrow money, though this is inconsistent with *ducta esses*.

CICERO

nunc, mea Terentia, sic vexari, sic iacere in lacrimis et sordibus ! idque fieri mea culpa, qui ceteros servavi, ut nos periremus ! Quod de domo scribis, hoc est de area, ego vero tum denique mihi videbor restitutus, si illa nobis erit restituta. Verum haec non sunt in nostra manu. Illud doleo, quae impensa facienda est, in eius partem te miseram et despoliatam venire. Quod si conficitur negotium, omnia consequemur ; sin eadem nos fortuna premet, etiamne reliquias tuas misera proicies ? Obsecro te, mea vita, quod ad sumptum attinet, sine alios, qui possunt, si modo volunt, sustinere, et valetudinem istam infirmam, si me amas, noli vexare. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris. Omnes labores te excipere video : timeo, ut sustineas. Sed video in te esse omnia. Quare, ut id, quod speras et quod
4 agis, consequamur, servi valetudini. Ego, ad quos scribam, nescio, nisi ad eos, qui ad me scribunt, aut ad eos, de quibus ad me vos aliquid scribitis. Longius, quoniam ita vobis placet, non discedam ; sed velim, quam saepissime litteras mittatis, praesertim, si quid est firminus, quod speremus. Valetate, mea desideria, valetate. A. d. III. Nonas Octobr. Thessalonica.

^a On the day he went into exile, Cicero's house on the Palatine was burnt down, so that nothing but the site was left.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. II.

to look for help, to think that now, Terentia mine, you are thus harassed, thus laid low in tears and unseemly humiliation! And to think that it is all my fault, who have saved others to perish myself!

As to what you write about our house,^a or rather **3** its site, I assure you that I shall never feel myself fully restored until that has been restored to me. These things however are not in our hands. What distresses me is, that whatever expenditure has to be incurred, you, in your unhappy and impoverished circumstances, should be let in for part of it. Of course, if the business of my restoration is carried through, we shall get all we want; but if we are to be dogged by the same ill-fortune as heretofore, will you, my poor wife, throw away the little that is left to you? I implore you, my darling, as far as expense is concerned, to let others, who can if they only will, bear the burden, and do not, as you love me, tax that indifferent health of yours. Day and night you are ever before my eyes. I see you taking upon yourself all our troubles, and I fear it is too much for you. But I also see that everything depends upon you; and for that reason, in order that we may succeed in what you are hoping and striving for, obey the dictates of health.

I know not to whom I should write, unless it is to **4** those who write to me, or to those about whom you and Tullia say anything in your letters to me. Since that is your wish, I am not going farther away; but I should like you to send me a letter as often as possible, especially if we have any better foundation for our hopes. Good-bye, you dear ones for whom I long, good-bye. Thessalonica, Oct. 5th.

CICERO

III

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET
CICERONI SUIS

Dyrrachi, A.U.C. 696.

1 Accepi ab Aristocrito tres epistulas, quas ego
lacrimis prope delevi. Conficior enim maerore, mea
Terentia, nec meae me miseriae magis excruciant,
quam tuae vestraeque. Ego autem hoc miserior
sum, quam tu, quae es miserrima, quod ipsa calamitas
communis est utriusque nostrum, sed culpa mea
propria est. Meum fuit officium vel legatione vitare
periculum, vel diligentia et copiis resistere, vel cadere
fortiter. Hoc miserius, turpius, indignius nobis nihil
2 fuit. Quare cum dolore conficior, tum etiam pudore.
Pudet enim me uxori meae optimae, suavissimis
liberis virtutem et diligentiam non praestitisse.
Nam mihi¹ ante oculos dies noctesque versatur squalor
vester et maeror et infirmitas valetudinis tuae; spes
autem salutis pertenuis ostenditur. Inimici sunt
multi, invidi paene omnes. Eicere nos magnum fuit,
excludere facile est. Sed tamen quamdiu vos eritis
in spe, non deficiam, ne omnia mea culpa cecidisse
3 videantur. Ut tuto sim, quod laboras, id mihi nunc
facillimum est, quem etiam inimici volunt vivere in
his tantis miseriis. Ego tamen faciam, quae prae-

¹ mi *Nobbe*.

^a Offered him by Caesar in 59 (*Att.* ii. 18). Cicero's refusal to accept this well-meant offer caused Caesar great offence. Cicero's acceptance of it would have altered the whole course of his political life.

^b Or, possibly, "has failed."

III

CICERO TO TERENCE AND HIS FAMILY

Dyrrachium, Nov. 29th, 58 B.C.

Aristocritus has handed me three letters which I 1
 have almost blotted out with my tears. I am over-
 whelmed with grief, my dear Terentia, and I am not
 more tortured by my own miseries, than by yours
 and those of my children. But, most miserable as
 you are, I am more miserable than you, in that, while
 my own downfall itself is common to both of us, the
 fault is entirely my own. It was my duty either to
 avoid danger by accepting the *legatio*,^a or to resist it
 with what devotion and resources I could, or to fall
 courageously. Nothing was more pitiful, more dis-
 honourable, or more unworthy of myself than what
 I did.

And that is why I am overcome not only by sorrow 2
 but also by shame. I am ashamed of not having
 given assurance of my courage and devotion to my
 best of wives and my sweetest of children. Night
 and day there flit before my eyes the mourning garb
 and melancholy of all of you, and your own feeble
 health, and slender indeed is any hope of recall that
 I can see. My enemies are many, almost everybody
 is jealous of me. To eject me was a big business, to
 keep me out is easy. However, as long as you have
 hope, I shall not falter, lest it should seem that
 everything has happened^b through my fault.

As to your anxiety that I should be personally safe, 3
 that presents no difficulty at all to me just now,
 when even my enemies wish me to go on living in
 this hopeless misery. I shall act, however, according

CICERO

cipis. Amicis, quibus voluisti, egi gratias, et eas litteras Dexippo dedi, meque de eorum officio scripsi a te certiore esse factum. Pisonem nostrum mirifico esse studio in nos et officio, et ego perspicio et omnes praedicant. Di faxint, ut tali genero mihi praesenti tecum simul et cum liberis nostris frui liceat ! Nunc spes reliqua est in novis tribunis plebis et in primis quidem diebus ; nam si inveterarit, actum
4 est. Ea re ad te statim Aristocritum misi, ut ad me continuo initia rerum et rationem totius negoti posses scribere ; etsi Dexippo quoque ita imperavi, statim ut recurreret ; et ad fratrem misi, ut crebro tabellarios mitteret. Nam ego eo nomine sum Dyrrhachi hoc tempore, ut quam celerrime, quid agatur, audiam, et sum tuto ; civitas enim haec semper a me defensa est. Cum inimici nostri venire dicentur, tum in
5 Epirum ibo. Quod scribis, te, si velim, ad me venturam, ego vero, cum sciam magnam partem istius oneris abs te sustineri, te istic esse volo. Si perficitis, quod agitis, me ad vos venire oportet ; sin autem— : sed nihil opus est reliqua scribere. Ex primis aut summum secundis litteris tuis constituere poterimus,

to your advice. I have thanked those friends whom you desired me to thank and I have put the letters in Dexippus's hands ; and I have told him that it was you who informed me of their kindness. That our friend Piso has proved himself amazingly zealous and obliging on our behalf is very evident to me, and, besides, everybody is telling me about it. God grant that I may be privileged, together with you and our children, personally to enjoy the society of such a son-in-law ! For the time, the only hope left us is in the new tribunes of the plebs and indeed in the first days of their office ; if once the matter gets stale, it is the end of all things.

My reason for sending Aristocritus to you immediately was to enable you to write and tell me forthwith the first formal steps taken and the general outline of the whole business ; though I gave instructions to Dexippus also to hurry back immediately, and I sent a message to my brother to despatch letter-carriers at frequent intervals. For the excuse I make for being at Dyrrachium just now is, that I may hear with the least possible delay how matters are going on, and I am in no personal danger, since this is a community I have always defended. It will be time enough to go to Epirus when the approach of my enemies is reported.

As to your suggestion that, if I wish it, you will join me here, I assure you that, knowing the great proportion of this burden you are bearing on your own shoulders, my wish is that you should stay where you are. If you all succeed in your aims, it is for me to come to you ; but if you do not—well, there is no need to write the rest. Your first, or at least your second letter will give me a clue, and enable me to

CICERO

quid nobis faciendum sit. Tu modo ad me velim omnia diligentissime perscribas ; etsi magis iam rem, quam litteras debeo expectare. Cura, ut valeas et ita tibi persuadeas, mihi te carius nihil esse, nec unquam fuisse. Vale, mea Terentia, quam ego videre videor, itaque debilitor lacrimis. Vale. Pridie Kalendas Decembr.

IV

TULLIUS S. P. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET
CICERONI SUIS

Brundisi, A.U.C. 696.

1 Ego minus saepe ad vos do litteras, quam possum, propterea quod cum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera, tum vero, cum aut scribo ad vos aut vestras lego, conficior lacrimis, sic ut ferre non possim. Quod utinam minus vitae cupidi fuissetus ! certe nihil, aut non multum in vita mali vidissetus. Quod si nos ad aliquam alieuius commodi aliquando recuperandi spem fortuna reservavit, minus est erratum a nobis ; sin haec mala fixa sunt, ego vero te quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre et in tuo complexu emori, quando neque di, quos tu castissime coluisti, neque homines, quibus ego semper servivi, nobis gratiam
2 rettulerunt. Nos Brundisi apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies XIII fuimus, virum optimum, qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit,

^a It was to this M. Laenius Flaccus that Cicero, when governor of Cilicia, refused the post of *praefectus* on the ground that he was a banker. Tyrrell thinks that it was another man of the same name, but it is highly improbable

decide what I must do. All I should like you to do is to write me a full and particular account of all that happens ; though indeed I ought now to be awaiting some definite action rather than a letter. Mind you keep well and assure yourself that nothing is, or ever has been, dearer to me than are you. Good-bye Terentia mine ! I seem to see your very face, and so I break down and weep. Good-bye ! Nov. 29th.

IV

CICERO TO TARENTIA AND HIS FAMILY

Brundisium, April 29th, 58 B.C.

Yes, I do send you a letter less often than I might, 1 because, while every hour of my life is a misery to me, yet, when I either write to you, or read a letter from any of you, I am so overcome with weeping that I cannot bear it. Would that I had been less eager to live ! At any rate I should have seen no sorrow, or not much of it, in my life. But if fortune has in reserve for me any hope at all of getting back any benefit at any time, the mistake I made is not so serious ; if, however, these ills can never be removed, I assure you, my dearest, that my desire is to see you as soon as possible and die in your arms, since neither the gods, whom *you* have so virtuously worshipped, nor the men, whom *I* have ever served, have shown us any gratitude.

I have been for thirteen days at Brundisium, at 2 the house of M. Laenius Flaccus,^a an excellent man, who has shown no thought for his fortunes and civil that there should be two men of that name in the East at the same time.

neque legis improbissimae poena deductus est, quo minus hospiti et amicitiae ius officiumque praestaret. Huic utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus! 3 habebimus quidem semper. Brundisio profecti sumus pridie Kalendas Maias. Per Macedoniam Cyzicum petebamus. O me perditum! O afflictum! quid nunc rogem te, ut venias, mulierem aegram, et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem? sine te igitur sim? Opinor, sic agam; si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves; sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes, ad me fac venias. Unum hoc scito: si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid de Tulliola mea fiet? iam id vos videte; mihi deest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et famae serviendum est. Quid? Cicero meus quid aget? Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo. Non quoco plura iam scribere; impedit maeror. Tu quid egeris, nescio; utrum aliquid teneas, an, quod metuo, plane 4 sis spoliata. Pisonem, ut scribis, spero fore semper nostrum. De familia liberata nihil est, quod te moveat. Primum, tuis ita promissum est, te facturam esse, ut quisque esset meritus. Est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus; praeterea magno opere

status as compared with my safety, and has not been deterred by the penalty of a most scandalous law from fulfilling the claims and duties of hospitality and friendship. I pray that I may some day be able to show my gratitude to him,—a gratitude I shall never cease to feel.

I set out from Brundisium on April 29th. I am making for Cyzicus through Macedonia. Ruined, alas, and prostrate as I am, why should I now ask you to come here, you, an invalid lady, exhausted in body and mind? Should I not ask you? Am I then to be without you? This, I think, is what I shall plead—if there is any hope of my return, encourage it and assist the matter; but if, as I fear, it is over and done with, make every effort to come here in any way you can. This one thing I would have you know—if I have you, I shall not think that I am absolutely lost. But what will become of my dearest Tullia? It is now for you to see to that; I have no suggestion to make. But in any case, however matters turn out, we must do all we can for that poor little damsel's matrimonial settlement and reputation. Again, what will my boy Cicero do? *He* I hope may always be in my bosom and between my arms. I cannot now write more; grief stays my pen. How you have fared I know not,—whether you retain anything or have been, as I fear, utterly despoiled.

Piso will, as you write, always, I hope, be our friend. As to the liberation of the slaves, there is nothing to upset you. In the first place yours have been promised that you will act as each of them severally deserves. Orpheus so far is doing his duty, nobody else in any marked degree. As regards the

nemo. Ceterorum servorum ea causa est, ut, si res a nobis abisset, liberti nostri essent, si obtinere potuissent; sin ad nos pertinerent, servirent, praeterquam oppido pauci. Sed haec minora sunt. Tu quod me hortaris, ut animo sim magno et spem habeam recuperandae salutis, id velim sit eiusmodi, ut recte sperare possimus. Nunc, miser, quando tuas iam litteras accipiam? quis ad me perferet? quas ego exspectassem Brundisi, si esset licitum per nautas, qui tempestatem praetermittere noluerunt. Quod reliquum est, sustenta te, mea Terentia, ut potes, honestissime. Viximus;¹ floruimus; non vitium nostrum, sed virtus nostra nos afflixit. Peccatum est nullum, nisi quod non una animam cum ornamentis amisimus. Sed si hoc fuit liberis nostris gratius, nos vivere, cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atque ego, qui te confirmo, ipse me non possum. Clodium Philetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediabatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Sallustius officio vincit omnes. Pescennius est perbenevolus nobis; quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sicca dixerat, se mecum fore, sed Brundisio discessit. Cura, quoad potes, ut valeas; et sic existimes, me vehementius tua miseria, quam mea commoveri. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola, et spes reliqua nostra, Cicero, valete. Pridie Kalendas Maias Brundisio.

¹ ut potes. Honestissime viximus *Baiter and Nobbe, and perhaps they are right.*

^a "Against those who might urge that the penalties of confiscation were being thus evaded." Tyrrell.

^b Clodius, Sallustius, and Pescennius were probably freedmen of Cicero.

^c A friend of Cicero's who had a villa at Vibro in Bruttium.

other slaves the arrangement is this : that if my estate passed out of my hands they were to be my freedmen, provided they could make good this claim^a; but if the estate still remains in my hands, that they should continue to be my slaves, with the exception of an extremely small number. But these are minor points.

As to your exhorting me to be of good courage and not to abandon the hope of recovering my civil rights, I could only wish that matters were such as to justify the hope. As it is, poor wretch, when shall I at last get a letter from you? Who will bring it me? I should have awaited one at Brundisium, had the sailors allowed it, but they did not want to miss the favourable weather. For the rest, bear up, Terentia mine, with all the dignity you can. We have lived; we have had our day. It was not our failings, but our virtues, that laid us low; I am guilty of no wrong, except that I did not forfeit my life when I forfeited my honours. But if our children preferred that I should live, let us bear all else, unbearable though it be. But there—I, who am encouraging you, cannot encourage myself.

That faithful fellow, Clodius Philetaerus,^b I have sent home, because he was incapacitated by a weakness of the eyes. Sallustius^b takes the prize for good service. Pescennius^b is most cordially inclined towards me, and I hope he will always be attentive to you. Sicca^c had declared his intention of remaining with me, but he left me at Brundisium. Take as much care as possible to keep well, and always remember that your misery causes me more distress than my own. Terentia mine, the most faithful and best of wives, and my very dear little daughter and Cicero, our last remaining hope, good-bye. Brundisium, April 29th.

CICERO

V

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE ET TULL. SUIB

Athenis, A.U.C. 704.

- 1 Si tu et Tullia, lux nostra, valetis, ego et suavissimus Cicero valemus. Pridie Idus Octobres Athenas venimus, cum sane adversis ventis usi essemus tardeque et incommode navigassemus. De nave exeuntibus nobis Acastus cum litteris praesto fuit uno et vicesimo die, sane strenue. Accepi tuas litteras, quibus intellexi te vereri, ne superiores mihi redditae non essent. Omnes sunt redditae diligentissimeque a te perscripta sunt omnia, idque mihi gratissimum fuit. Neque sum admiratus hanc epistulam, quam Acastus attulit, brevem fuisse. Iam enim me ipsum exspectas, sive nos ipsos, qui quidem quam primum ad vos venire cupimus; etsi, in quam rempublicam veniamus, intellego. Cognovi enim ex multorum amicorum litteris, quas attulit Acastus, ad arma rem spectare, ut mihi, cum venero, dissimulare non liceat, quid sentiam. Sed, quando subeunda fortuna est, eo citius dabimus operam, ut veniamus,
- 2 quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. Tu velim, quod commodo valetudinis tuae fiat, quam longissime
- 3 poteris, obviam nobis properes. De hereditate Preciana, quae quidem mihi magno dolori est (valde

^a A slave of Cicero, often mentioned in his letters to Tiro and Terentia.

^b This may have been either the Lucius Precius of Panormus, mentioned by Cicero in *Verr.* v. 62, or the Precianus mentioned in *Fam.* vii. 8. 2. It appears from *auctio* that Cicero had decided to dispose of the estate bequeathed to him by selling it. Pomponius is, of course, Atticus.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. v.

V

CICERO TO TERENCEIA AND TULLIA

Athens, Oct. 16, 50 B.C.

If you and Tullia, the light of my life, are well, so 1
am I and my darling boy Cicero. We arrived at
Athens on Oct. 14th, having found the winds dead
against us and having had a slow and uncomfortable
passage. As we were disembarking Acastus^a was
there to meet us with letters on the twenty-first day
after he started—very smart work. I got a letter
from you from which I gathered that you fear your
previous letter had not reached me. All your letters
have reached me, and you have given me a full and
most painstaking account of everything, and I am
extremely obliged to you. And as for this letter
brought by Acastus, I am not surprised at its brevity,
since you are on the look out for my, or rather, our
arrival in person; and indeed we are anxious to get
to you as soon as possible, though I quite understand
what the public situation will be when I come. I
learn from many friends' letters brought by Acastus
that things look like war, so that, when I arrive, it
will be impossible for me to conceal my real senti-
ments. Anyhow, since we must face our fate, I shall
make all the more effort to hasten my arrival, so as
to have a better chance of considering the whole
situation.

I should like you, so far as you may without detri- 2
ment to your health, to come as far to meet me as
you possibly can.

As regards the legacy left by Precius,^b which, I 3
assure you, is a sore grief to me (for I had a great

enim illum amavi), hoc velim cures: si auctio ante meum adventum fiet, ut Pomponius aut, si is minus poterit, Camillus nostrum negotium euret. Nos cum salvi venerimus, reliqua per nos agemus; sin tu iam Roma profecta eris, tamen curabis, ut hoc ita fiat. Nos si di adiuvabunt, circiter Idus Novembres in Italia speramus fore. Vos, mea suavissima et optatissima Terentia et Tulliola, si nos amatis, curate ut valeatis. Athenis, a. d. xv. Kalendas Novembr.

VI

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIAE

Dyrrachi, A.U.C. 706.

Nec saepe est, cui litteras demus, nec rem habemus ullam, quam scribere velimus. Ex tuis litteris, quas proxime accepi, cognovi praedium nullum venire potuisse. Quare videatis velim, quomodo satisfiat ei, cui scitis me satisfieri velle. Quod nostra tibi gratias agit, id ego non miror te mereri, ut ea tibi merito tuo gratias agere possit. Pollicem, si adhuc non est profectus, quam primum fac extrudas. Cura, ut valeas. Idibus Quintil.

^a Cicero's lawyer friend, for whom he had a high regard. Cf. *Fam.* v. 20. 3. Pomponius is T. Pomponius Atticus.

^b A servant of Cicero.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. v.-vi.

affection for him), please see that this is done—if the auction takes place before my arrival, let Pomponius, or failing him, Camillus,^a manage the business for us. As soon as I have got safe home, I shall do what remains to be done myself; but even if you have already started from Rome you will still please see that what I have indicated is done. With heaven's help, we hope to be in Italy about Nov. 13th. My dearest and sweetest Terentia, and my darling Tullia, as you love me, take care of your health. Athens, Oct. 16th.

VI

CICERO TO TARENTIA AND TULLIA

Dyrrachium, July 15th, 48 B.C.

There is not often anybody to whom I could entrust a letter, and I have nothing that I should care to write. I learn from the letter I last received from you that no estate could be sold, so please consider, both of you, how the claims of that person are to be satisfied, who, as you both know, I am anxious should be satisfied. As to our daughter's thanking you, I am not surprised that your services are such as to enable her to thank you with good reason. If Pollex^b has not yet started, be sure you give him a push out as soon as possible. Mind you keep well. July 15th.

CICERO

VII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENCEIAE SUAE ET TULL.

Ad Formias, A.U.C. 705.

- 1 Omnes molestias et sollicitudines, quibus et te miserrimam habui, id quod mihi molestissimum est, Tulliolamque, quae nobis nostra vita dulcior est, deposui et eieci. Quid causae autem fuerit, postridie intellexi, quam a vobis discessi—*χολήν ἄκρατον* noctu eieci. Statim ita sum levatus, ut mihi deus aliquis medicinam fecisse videatur. Cui quidem tu deo, quemadmodum soles, pie et caste satisfacias,
- 2 id est Apollini et Aesculapio. Navem spero nos valde bonam habere; in eam simulatque conscendi, haec scripsi. Deinde conscribam ad nostros familiares multas epistulas, quibus te et Tulliolam nostram diligentissime commendabo. Cohortarer vos, quo animo fortiore essetis, nisi vos fortiores cognossem, quam quemquam virum. Et tamen eiusmodi spero negotia esse, ut et vos istic commodissime sperem esse, et me aliquando cum similibus
- 3 nostri rempublicam defensurum. Tu primum valetudinem tuam velim cures; deinde, tibi si videbitur, villis iis utere, quae longissime aberunt a militibus. Fundo Arpinati bene poteris uti cum familia urbana, si annona carior fuerit. Cicero bellissimus tibi

^a The words *id . . . Aesculapio* read like, and probably are, a gloss on the text.

^b Provisions would be cheaper in Arpinum than in Rome.

VII

CICERO TO TERENTIA AND TULLIA

Off Formiae, June 11th, 49 B.C.

All the troubles and anxieties, with which I kept 1 both you in a state of utter misery (which troubles me more than anything) and dear Tullia too, who is sweeter to us both than our very lives—all those, I say, I have put away and got rid of. What the reason was I discovered the day after I left you; it was *undiluted bile*; I got rid of it all that night. My immediate relief was such that I fancied some god or other had doctored me, and to that god I beg you to pay due tribute with piety and purity as you always do—I mean to Apollo and Aesculapius.^a

I am confident that we have a right good ship; I 2 wrote this as soon as I had got on board. Later on I shall write a number of letters to our friends, and commend *you* and our darling Tullia to their care with all the warmth in the world. I should exhort you both to show a more courageous spirit, had I not discovered that you have more courage than any *man* of us all. Yet, after all, I trust that affairs are such that I may hope not only that you two will be extremely comfortable where you are, but also that one day I shall have men like myself at my side to defend the Republic.

As for yourself, I would have you, first of all, take 3 care of your health; in the next place, if it so please you, you will make use of those villas which will be farthest away from men-in-arms. You can conveniently occupy the farm at Arpinum with our town staff of servants, if the price of provisions has risen.^b

CICERO

salutem plurimam dicit. Etiam atque etiam vale.
D. III. Idus Iun.

VIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est ; ego valeo. Valetudinem tuam velim cures diligentissime. Nam mihi et scriptum et nuntiatum est, te in febrim subito incidisse. Quod celeriter me fecisti de Caesaris litteris certiolem, fecisti mihi gratum. Item posthac, si quid opus erit, si quid acciderit novi, facies ut sciam. Cura, ut valeas. Vale. D. IV. Nonas Iun.

IX

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 706.

Ad ceteras meas miserias accessit dolor e Dolabellae valetudine et Tulliae. Omnino de omnibus rebus, nec quid consili capiam, nec quid faciam, scio. Tu velim tuam et Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

^a Born in 65, Cicero's son, Marcus, was now 16 years of age.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. VII.-IX.

Cicero, fine lad that he is,^a sends you his very best love. Again and again, good-bye. June 11th.

VIII

CICERO TO TARENTIA

Brundisium, June 2nd, 47 B.C.

If you are in good health, all is well ; so am I. I would have you pay most particular attention to your health ; for I have been told both by letter and word of mouth that you have had a sudden attack of fever. You did me a kindness in informing me so quickly of Caesar's letter. From now on also, if there be any need, if anything new has occurred, you will please see that I am apprised of it. Take care to keep well. Good-bye. June 2nd.

IX

CICERO TO TARENTIA

Brundisium, probably Dec. 17th, 48 B.C.

To all my other woes must now be added the sorrow caused me by the ill-health of Dolabella and Tullia. Looking all round at everything, I don't know in the world what steps to take, or what to do. Please take care of your own and Tullia's health. Good-bye.

CICERO

X

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENCEIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Quid fieri placeret, scripsi ad Pomponium serius, quam oportuit. Cum eo si locuta eris, intelleges, quid fieri velim. Apertius scribi, quando ad illum scripseram, necesse non fuit. De ea re et de ceteris rebus quam primum velim nobis litteras mittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. Septimo Idus Quintil.

XI

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENCEIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est: ego valeo. Tullia nostra venit ad me pridie Idus Iunias; cuius summa virtute et singulari humanitate graviore etiam sum dolore affectus, nostra factum esse negligentia, ut longe alia in fortuna esset atque eius pietas ac dignitas postulabat. Nobis erat in animo, Ciceronem ad Caesarem mittere, et eum eo Cn. Sallustium. Si profectus erit, faciam te certiolem. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. xvii. Kalendas Quintil.

^a Otherwise unknown.

X

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, July 9th, 47 B.C.

I wrote to tell Pomponius what my wishes were later than I should have done. When you have a talk with him, you will understand what I should like to be done. Since I have already written to him, there is no necessity to write here more openly. I should like you to send me a letter as soon as possible about that and everything else. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. July 9th.

XI

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, June 14th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. Our daughter Tullia joined me on June 12th. Her consummate excellence and exceptional kindness have aggravated my regret that my own carelessness is to blame for her being in very different circumstances from what her filial affection and her position demanded. It is my intention to send Cicero to Caesar, and Cn. Sallustius ^a with him. If he sets out I shall inform you. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. June 14th.

CICERO

XII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 706.

Quod nos in Italiam salvos venisse gaudes, perpetuo gaudeas velim. Sed, perturbati dolore animi magnisque iniuriis, metuo ne id consili ceperimus, quod non facile explicare possimus. Quare, quantum potes, adiuva. Quid autem possis, mihi in mentem non venit. In viam quod te des hoc tempore, nihil est; et longum est iter, et non tutum; et non video, quid prodesse possis, si veneris. Vale. D. prid. Nonas Novemb. Brundisio.

XIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Quod scripsi ad te proximis litteris de nuntio remittendo, quae sit istius vis hoc tempore, et quae concitatio multitudinis, ignoro. Si metuendus iratus est, quies tamen¹ ab illo fortasse nascetur. Totum

¹ quiesces: tamen *MD*, followed by Tyrrell. I have retained Nobbe's reading, as being a better order of words, and supplying nascetur with a subject.

^a To Tullia's husband, Dolabella; *nuntium remittere*, "to send back a message" was the regular phrase for a notice of divorce; the technical form of the message was *tuas res tibi habeto*, "keep what belongs to you," *i.e.*, "act independently of me."

XII

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Nov. 4th, 48 B.C.

You are glad that I have arrived safe in Italy ; I could wish that you may never cease to be so. But agitated as I was by anguish of mind and the cruel wrongs I had suffered, I fear I adopted a policy from which I cannot easily extricate myself. You must give me all the assistance you can. But what you can do I have no idea. That you should take to the road at this particular time is sheer nonsense. The journey is not only long, but unsafe ; and I fail to see of what good you can be if you do come. Good-bye. Brundisium, Nov. 4th.

XIII

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, July 10th, 47 B.C.

I wrote to you in my last about sending a notice of divorce ^a ; well, I don't quite know what force he has behind him at the moment, and what means of rousing the populace.^b Even if he is to be feared in his anger, he will after all perhaps take the initiative in a peaceful settlement. You will, I am sure, take a

^b At the head of an angry mob, Dolabella would have every opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on Tullia. Dolabella was now openly favouring Caesar, and indeed acting under his orders.

CICERO

iudicabis, quale sit ; et quod in miserrimis rebus minime miserum putabis, id facies. Vale. VI. Idus Quintil.

XIV

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

Minturnis, A.U.C. 705.

- 1 Si vos valetis, nos valemus. Vestrum iam consilium est, non solum meum, quid sit vobis faciendum. Si ille Romam modeste venturus est, recte in praesentia domi esse potestis ; sin homo amens diripiendam Urbem daturus est, vereor, ut Dolabella ipse satis nobis prodesse possit. Etiam illud metuo, ne iam intercludamur, ut, cum velitis exire, non liceat. Reliquum est, quod ipsae optime considerabitis, vestri similes feminae sintne Romae. Si enim non sunt, videndum est, ut honeste vos esse possitis. Quomodo quidem nunc se res habet, modo ut haec nobis loca tenere liceat, bellissime vel mecum, vel in nostris praediis, esse poteritis. Etiam illud verendum est,
- 2 ne brevi tempore fames in Urbe sit. His de rebus velim cum Pomponio, cum Camillo, cum quibus vobis videbitur, consideretis ; ad summam, animo forti
- 212

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. XIII.—XIV.

comprehensive view of the whole matter, and you will do what you think to be least distressing in these most distressing circumstances. Good-bye. July 10th.

XIV

CICERO TO TERENCE AND TULLIA

Minturnae, June 23rd, 49 B.C.

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

If you two are well, so are we. It lies with you I now, and not with me alone, to consider what we should do. If Caesar is going to enter Rome in an orderly manner, you can quite well remain at home for the present; but if in his frenzy the man is going to give up the city to plunder, I fear that even Dolabella may not be able to help us enough. I am afraid also that we may be presently cut off from you, so that when you wish to leave the city, you may not be allowed to do so. There remains the question, which nobody can discuss better than yourselves, whether ladies like you are staying in Rome. For if they are not, we must consider whether *you* can do so with any propriety. As matters now stand, provided I am allowed to retain those places of mine, you can quite nicely stay either with me, or on one of our estates. Another reason for apprehension is, that before long there may be a famine in the city.

I should like you both to consider these matters 2 with Pomponius, with Camillus, with whomever you think best; above all be of good courage. Labienus

CICERO

sitis. Labienus rem meliorem fecit. Adiuvat etiam Piso, quod ab Urbe discedit et sceleris condemnat generum suum. Vos, meae carissimae animae, quam saepissime ad me scribite, et vos quid agatis, et quid istic agatur. Quintus pater et filius et Rufus vobis salutem dicunt. Valete. VIII. Kalend. Quintil. Minturnis.

XV

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENCEIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est. Constitueramus, ut ad te antea scripseram, obviam Ciceronem Caesari mittere; sed mutavimus consilium, quia de illius adventu nihil audiebamus. De ceteris rebus, etsi nihil erat novi, tamen, quid velimus et quid hoc tempore putemus opus esse, ex Sicea poteris cognoscere. Tulliam adhuc mecum tenco. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. XII. Kalendas Quintil.

XVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENCEIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est; valeo. Etsi eiusmodi tempora nostra sunt, ut nihil habeam, quod aut a te litterarum

^a By joining the Pompeians, Labienus, Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul, and subsequently governor of Gallia Togata (Southern Cisalpine Gaul), had now deserted to Pompey. He fought against Caesar at Pharsalia, in Africa, and at Munda, where he was killed.

^b L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, father of Caesar's wife Calpurnia. See note *d* on *Ep.* 1. 3.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. XIV.—XVI.

has improved the position.^a Piso ^b too is helping us by quitting the city and condemning his own son-in-law of criminal conduct. You, the darlings of my soul, must write to me as often as possible, and tell me how you are and what is going on at Rome. Quintus and his son and Rufus ^c send you their regards. Good-bye. Minturnae, June 23rd.

XV

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, June 19th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right. I had determined, as I wrote to you before, to send Cicero to meet Caesar, but I have changed my intention, because I could hear nothing about the latter's arrival. About everything else, although there is nothing new, you will yet be able to learn from Sicca what my wishes are and what I think must be done at this juncture. I am still keeping Tullia with me. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. June 19th.

XVI

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Jan. 4th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right ; I am well. Although I am so circumstanced as to have nothing to look forward to in the way of a letter from you, or to

^c Mescinius Rufus, who had been Cicero's quaestor in Cilicia. (See v. 19-21.)

CICERO

expectem aut ipse ad te scribam, tamen nescio quomodo et ipse vestras litteras expecto, et scribo ad vos, cum habeo, qui ferat. Volumnia debuit in te officiosior esse, quam fuit, et id ipsum, quod fecit, potuit diligentius facere et cautius. Quamquam alia sunt, quae magis curemus magisque doleamus, quae me ita conficiunt, ut ii voluerunt, qui me de mea sententia detruserunt. Cura, ut valeas. Pridie Nonas Ianuar.

XVII

M. T. C. S. D. TERENCEIAE SVAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 706.

S.v.b.e.v. Si quid haberem, quod ad te scriberem, facerem id et pluribus verbis et saepius. Nunc quae sint negotia, vides. Ego autem quomodo sim affectus, ex Lepta et Trebatio poteris cognoscere. Tu fac, ut tuam et Tulliae valetudinem cures. Vale.

XVIII

TULLIUS TERENCEIAE SVAE ET PATER SVAISS. FILIAE
TULLIOLAE, CICERO MATRI ET SORORI S. P. D.

Formiis, A.U.C. 705.

1 Considerandum vobis etiam atque etiam, animae meae, diligenter puto, quid faciatis—Romaene sitis,

^a Who this lady was is unknown. She may have been the sister or daughter of P. Volumnius Entrapelus (vii. 32).

^b They had come to see Cicero at Brundisium and then left for Rome. Q. Lepta was Cicero's *praefectus fabrum*, "engineer-in-chief," in Cilicia. Trebatius was Cicero's familiar friend, the young juriconsult, so often mentioned in his letters. Cf. vii. 6-22.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. XVI.—XVIII.

write to you myself, yet somehow or other I do both look forward to getting letters from you myself, and I write to you whenever I find anybody to take you a letter. Volumnia ^a ought to have been more obliging to you than she was, and to have done the little she did with more tact and caution. And yet there are other things to cause me greater anxiety and greater grief—things that distress me as much as those persons desired who forced me to abandon my original conviction. Take care to keep well. Jan. 4th.

XVII

CICERO TO TERENCEIA

Brundisium, Dec. 15th, 48 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I am well. Had I anything to write to you, I should do so, both at greater length and more frequently. The present state of affairs you can see for yourself; how they affect me, you can learn from Lepta and Trebatius.^b Be sure you take care of your own and Tullia's health. Good-bye.

XVIII

CICERO TO TERENCEIA AND TULLIA

Formiae, Jan. 22nd, 49 B.C.

Fullius sends his best love to his wife Terentia, and her father to his sweetest of daughters, his darling Tullia, as does Cicero to his mother and sister.

I think you ought carefully to consider again and again, my dearest ones, what you should do—whether

CICERO

an mecum in aliquo tuto loco. Id non solum meum consilium est, sed etiam vestrum. Mihi veniunt in mentem haec: Romae vos esse tuto posse per Dolabellam, eamque rem posse nobis adiumento esse, si quae vis, aut si quae rapinae fieri coeperint. Sed rursus illud me movet, quod video, omnes bonos abesse Roma, et eos mulieres suas secum habere. Haec autem regio, in qua ego sum, nostrorum est cum oppidorum, tum etiam praediorum; ut et multum esse mecum, et, cum abieritis, commode et
2 in nostris esse possitis. Mihi plane non satis constat adhuc, utrum sit melius. Vos videte, quid aliae faciant isto loco feminae, et ne, cum velitis, exire non liceat; id velim diligenter etiam atque etiam vobiscum et cum amicis consideretis. Domus ut propugnacula et praesidium habeat, Philotimo dicetis. Et velim tabellarios instituatis certos, ut quotidie aliquas a vobis litteras accipiam. Maxime autem date operam, ut valeatis, si nos vultis valere. ix. Kal. Febr. Formiis.

XIX

M. T. C. S. D. TERENCEIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 706.

In maximis meis doloribus exeruciat me valetudo Tulliae nostrae. De qua nihil est, quod ad te plura

^a By Caesar's orders. Dolabella was on Caesar's side, but would be able to help Terentia and Tullia.

^b A freedman of Cicero's, not Terentia's dishonest steward.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. XVIII.—XIX.

to stay in Rome or in some place of safety with me. That is not a question for me alone, but also for you. What suggests itself to me is this—that, thanks to Dolabella, you can safely stay in Rome, and that his kindness might be of assistance to us if violence or lootings begin.^a On the other hand I am impressed by the evidence I have that all loyalists have left Rome, and have their ladies with them. Now the district in which I am consists not only of towns devoted to me, but also of estates belonging to me, so that you could be constantly with me, and, if you went away, could be housed comfortably, and on our own property. I have not myself quite definitely decided which is the better course. Please observe what other ladies of your standing are doing, and beware lest when you want to get out of Rome, you are not allowed to do so. I would have you seriously consider this again and again among yourselves and with your friends. Please tell Philotimus^b to get the house barricaded and guarded. I would also have you establish a regular succession of letter-carriers, so that I may get some sort of a letter from you every day. But the main point is to do all you can to keep well, if you wish me to do so. Formiae, Jan. 22nd.

XIX

CICERO TO TERENTIA

Brundisium, Nov. 27th, 48 B.C.

Amid all my other overwhelming sorrows, I am kept on the rack by our dear Tullia's ill-health; but there is no reason why I should write to you further

CICERO

scribam ; tibi enim aeque magnae curae esse certo scio. Quod me propius vultis accedere, video ita esse faciendum. Etiam ante fecissem ; sed me multa impediverunt, quae ne nunc quidem expedita sunt. Sed a Pomponio exspecto litteras, quas ad me quam primum perferendas cures velim. Da operam, ut valeas.

XX

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Venusiae, A.U.C. 707.

In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Nonis aut postridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata. Plures enim fortasse nobiscum erunt, et, ut arbitror, diutius ibi commorabimur. Labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit. Item cetera, quae sunt ad victum et ad valetudinem necessaria. Vale. Kal. Octobr. de Venusino.

XXI

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SUAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est ; valeo. Da operam, ut convalescas. Quod opus erit, ut res tempusque postulat, provideas atque administres, et ad me de omnibus rebus quam saepissime litteras mittas. Vale.

^a This is Cicero's last letter to Terentia, whom he divorced shortly afterwards. Curt, casual, and inconsiderate in its vagueness, it is enough to madden any self-respecting housewife and hostess. As Long remarks, "A gentleman would write a more civil letter to his housekeeper."

^b The *labrum* (λούτηρ) was a large round basin raised about three feet from the ground, in which the bathers

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XIV. XIX.—XXI.

about it, for I am quite sure that your own anxiety is just as great. You both want me to get nearer to you, and I see that I must do so. I should have done so even before ; but I was hindered by many difficulties, which are even now unsolved. But I am waiting for a letter from Pomponius, which please take care is delivered to me as soon as possible. Do your best to keep well.

XX

CICERO TO TARENTIA ^a

Venusia, Oct. 1st, 47 B.C.

I think I shall arrive at my Tusculan villa either on the 7th inst. or on the day after. See that everything is ready there ; for perhaps I shall have several others with me, and I expect we shall stay there for some considerable time. If there is no basin ^b in the bath, see that there is one, and so with everything else necessary for everyday life and health. Good-bye. The district of Venusia, Oct. 1st.

XXI

CICERO TO TARENTIA

Brundisium, June, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right ; I am well. Make every effort to recover your health. Provide for and take charge of any necessary business, as time and circumstances demand, and send me letters about everything as often as possible. Good-bye.

washed themselves before they immersed themselves in the *piscina*.

CICERO

XXII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE SVAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est ; valeo. Nos quotidie tabellarios nostros exspectamus ; qui si venerint, fortasse erimus certiores, quid nobis faciendum sit, faciemusque te statim certiozem. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. Kalendis Septemb.

XXIII

M. T. C. TERENTIAE SVAE S. P. D.

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est ; valeo. Redditae mihi tandem sunt a Caesare litterae satis liberales, et ipse opinione celerius venturus esse dicitur. Cui utrum obviam procedam, an hic eum exspectem, cum constituero, faciam te certiozem. Tabellarios mihi velim quam primum remittas. Valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. Vale. D. pridie Idus Sext.

XXIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. TERENTIAE

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

Si vales, bene est ; valeo. Nos neque de Caesaris adventu, neque de litteris, quas Philotimus habere dicitur, quidquam adhuc certi habemus. Si quid erit certi, faciam te statim certiozem. Valetudinem tuam fac ut cures. Vale. III. Idus Sextiles.

^a See note *b* to *Ep.* 18 above.

XXII

CICERO TO TERENCE

Brundisium, Sept. 1st, 47 B.C.

If you are well all is right ; I am well. I am expecting letter-carriers every day, and if they arrive perhaps I shall get to know what I ought to do, and I shall let you know at once. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. Sept. 1st.

XXIII

CICERO TO TERENCE

Brundisium, Aug. 12th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right ; I am well. A letter has at last been handed me from Caesar, quite handsomely worded ; and it is said that he will arrive in person more quickly than was expected. When I have made up my mind whether to go out and meet him, or wait for him here, I shall let you know. I should like you to send back my letter-carriers as soon as possible. Take particular care of your health. Good-bye. Aug. 12th.

XXIV

CICERO TO TERENCE

Brundisium, Aug. 11th, 47 B.C.

If you are well, all is right ; I am well. I have no certain information as yet either about Caesar's arrival or about the letter which Philotimus^a is said to have in his hands. If I have such information, I shall let you know at once. Be sure you take care of your health. Good-bye. Aug. 11th.

BOOK XV

NOTE ON CICERO'S GOVERNORSHIP OF CILICIA

CICERO left Rome for Cilicia in 51 B.C. as reluctantly as Macaulay left London for India in 1834. Both were profoundly devoted to their respective mother-cities, and loved city life; both dreaded the friendless solitude of what they regarded as banishment in a distant land; and both apprehended a fatal break in the continuity of their political careers at home.

Cicero arrived in Laodicea at the end of July, having with him as his *legati*^a his brother Quintus, C. Pomptinus, M. Anneius, and L. Tullius. His province, besides Cilicia proper, included Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Isauria, Lycaonia, and three departments (*διοικήσεις*) north of Taurus, the chief towns of which were Cibyra, Synnada, and Apamea.

As a civil administrator he appears to have had every desire to improve the conditions of the provincials and undo the harm wrought by his predecessor, the "tigerish" Appius Claudius Pulcher; but his good intentions were too often neutralized

^a A governor's *legati*, selected by himself, but with the approval of the Senate, performed any service he thought fit to assign them, whether civil or military.

CICERO

by his eagerness to support at all costs the *publicani*, who were mainly drawn from the Order to which he himself belonged, and which he consistently championed—the Order of Knights (*equester ordo*), and also by his anxiety to meet the views of his influential friends at home ; with the result that, on the civil side, his administration was no more than moderately successful, and he left the province little better than he found it.

In his military capacity, on the other hand, he showed surprising ability and resolution. Shortly after his arrival his province was threatened by an invasion of the Parthians ; but so well did his forces acquit themselves, especially on Mt. Amanus and at Pindenissus—operations described by himself in simple and lucid language—that, had he not been forestalled by Cassius, who brilliantly repulsed the Parthians at Antioch (an achievement he somewhat ill-naturedly minimizes), he might have claimed the credit of having avenged the death of Crassus at Carrhae in 53.

Moreover, all through this critical period, with little or no support from Rome, though he repeatedly appealed for it, Cicero checked all revolt in his province, and kept the feudatory and allied potentates quiet and well-disposed.

In view of these laudable achievements there is little doubt that his application for a triumph would have been granted, had it not been opposed by no less a man than M. Porcius Cato, who gives his reasons for doing so in an elaborate and highly complimentary letter (*Ep.* 5), which is, however, not without a touch of sarcasm, and Cicero's reply is a model of courtesy and self-restraint under considerable provocation.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XV.

Cato, however, did not oppose, though he refrained from voting for, a *supplicatio* to Cicero ; on the other hand, he secured a *supplicatio* of greater length (20 days) for his own incapable and worthless son-in-law, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, Governor of Syria, who (according to Cicero) “ never stirred out of the well-fortified and well-provisioned town of Antioch during the whole time the Parthians were in his province.” It was this, as Dr. Strachan Davidson remarks, even more than his failure to obtain a triumph, that roused Cicero’s resentment and indignation.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM
AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DECIMUS QUINTUS

I

M. TULLIUS CICERO, PROCOS. S. P. D. COSS.
PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SENATUI

In Cilicia, A.U.C. 708.

- 1 S.v.v.b.e.e.q.v. Etsi mihi non dubie nuntiabatur Parthos transisse Euphraten cum omnibus fere suis copiis, tamen, quod arbitrabar a M. Bibulo proconsule certiora de his rebus ad vos scribi posse, statuebam mihi non necesse esse publice scribere ea quae de alterius provincia nuntiarentur. Postea vero quam certissimis auctoribus, legatis, nuntiis, litteris sum certior factus, vel quod tanta res erat, vel quod nondum audieramus Bibulum in Syriam venisse, vel quia administratio huius belli mihi cum Bibulo paene est communis, quae ad me delata essent
2 scribenda ad vos putavi. Regis Antiochi Commageni

^a Cicero was now proconsul of Cilicia, and Bibulus of Syria.

^b The most north-easterly district of Syria.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK XV

I

M. TULLIUS CICERO, THE PROCONSUL,^a SENDS GREETINGS
TO THE CONSULS, PRAETORS, TRIBUNES OF THE
PLEBS AND SENATE

Near Cybistra in Cilicia, 51 B.C.

IF you are well, all is right ; I and the army are well. 1
Although I kept receiving no uncertain intelligence
that the Parthians had crossed the Euphrates with
practically all their forces, still, because I believed
that more definite despatches on these matters
could be sent to you by the proconsul Bibulus, I de-
cided that it was not necessary for me to insert in a
public despatch what was reported about the province
of another. When, however, I was informed on the
most trustworthy authority, by envoys, messengers,
and letters—whether because of the importance of
the matter, or because I had not yet heard of Bibulus'
arrival in Syria, or owing to the fact that the conduct
of this war was almost as much in my hands as in those
of Bibulus—for anyone of these reasons I considered
it my duty to send you a despatch on what had
reached my ears.

The envoys of King Antiochus of Commagene ^b 2

legati primi mihi nuntiarunt, Parthorum magnas copias Euphraten transire coepisse. Quo nuntio allato, cum essent nonnulli, qui ei regi minorem fidem habendam putarent, statui expectandum esse, si quid certius afferretur. A. d. XIII. Kalendas Octobr. cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem, in finibus Lyeaoniae et Cappadociae mihi litterae redditae sunt a Tarecondimoto, qui fidelissimus socius trans Taurum amicissimusque populi Romani existimatur; Pacorum, Orodi, regis Parthorum, filium, cum permagno equitatu Parthico transisse Euphraten, et castra posuisse Tybae, magnumque tumultum esse in provincia Syria excitatum. Eodem die ab Iamblichō, phylarcho Arabum, quem homines opinantur bene sentire amicumque esse reipublicae nostrae, litterae de eisdem
 3 rebus mihi redditae sunt. His rebus allatis, etsi intellegebam socios infirme animatos esse et novarum rerum expectatione suspensos, sperabam tamen, eos, ad quos iam accesseram, quique nostram mansuetudinem integritatemque perspexerant, amiciores populo Romano esse factos; Ciliciam autem firmiter fore, si aequitatis nostrae particeps facta esset. Et ob eam causam, et ut opprimerentur ii, qui ex Cilicum gente in armis essent, et ut hostis is, qui esset in Syria, sciret exercitum populi Romani

^a This king, established on his throne by Pompey in 64, reigned in Mount Amanus. He fought on the side of Pompey at Pharsalia, and though pardoned by Caesar in 42, fought for Cassius, and died at Actium, fighting for Antony, in 31.

^b A doughty warrior who gave much trouble to Rome in the East; *cf.* Hor. *Od.* iii. 6. 9.

^c Son of Sampsiceramus, with whom he shared the

were the first to report to me that large forces of the Parthians had begun to cross the Euphrates. On receipt of this report, seeing that there were certain persons who did not consider that king altogether to be trusted, I came to the conclusion that I ought to wait for more definite information. On the 18th September, as I was marching my army into Cilicia, on the frontier line between Lycaonia and Cappadocia I received a despatch from Tarcondimotus,^a who is regarded as our most loyal ally beyond Mount Taurus, and the best friend of the Roman people. He reported that Pacorus,^b son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, had crossed the Euphrates with a very strong force of Parthian cavalry, and pitched his camp at Tyba, and that a serious uprising had been stirred up in the province of Syria. On the same day I received a despatch dealing with the same incidents from Jamblichus,^c the leading tribesman of the Arabs, a man who is generally considered to be loyally disposed and friendly to our Republic.

On the receipt of this information, although I fully 3 understood that our allies had no firmly established opinions, and were wavering in expectation of a revolution, yet I hoped that those whom I had already approached, and who had had clear proof of my clemency and probity, had now become more friendly to the Roman people; and that Cilicia, moreover, would be confirmed in its loyalty if allowed to share the fruits of my equitable administration. For that reason, and also with the intention of crushing those of the Cilician people who had taken up arms and of convincing our enemy in Syria that the army dynasty of Emesa and Arethusa. He was put to death by Antony just before the battle of Actium.

non modo non cedere his nuntiis allatis, sed etiam propius accedere, exercitum ad Taurum institui
4 ducere. Sed, si quid apud vos auctoritas mea ponderis habet, in iis praesertim rebus, quas vos audistis, ego paene cerno, magno opere vos et hortor et moneo, ut his provinciis serius vos quidem, quam decuit, sed aliquando tamen consulatis. Nos quemadmodum instructos et quibus praesidiis munitos ad tanti belli opinionem miseritis, non estis ignari; quod ego negotium non stultitia oboecatus, sed verecundia deterritus, non recusavi. Neque enim umquam ullum periculum tantum putavi, quod subterfugere malletm,
5 quam vestrae auctoritati obtemperare. Hoc autem tempore res sese sic habet, ut, nisi exercitum tantum, quantum ad maximum bellum mittere soletis, mature in has provincias miseritis, summum periculum sit, ne amittendae sint omnes hae provinciae, quibus vectigalia populi Romani continentur. Quamobrem autem in hoc provinciali delectu spem habeatis aliquam, causa nulla est. Neque multi sunt, et diffugiunt, qui sunt, metu oblato; et, quod genus hoc militum sit, iudicavit vir fortissimus M. Bibulus in Asia, qui, quum vos ei permisissetis delectum habere, noluerit. Nam sociorum auxilia propter acerbiteriam atque iniurias imperi nostri aut ita imbecilla sunt, ut non multum nos iuvare possint, aut ita alienata a
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of the Roman people, so far from giving way on receiving this intelligence, was actually drawing nearer, I determined to march my army up to Mount Taurus.

But if my authority carries any weight with you 4 (especially in those matters which you know by hearsay only, whereas I have almost ocular demonstration of them), I strongly urge and advise you to take precautions for the safety of these provinces, rather later, it is true, than you should have done, but at all events before it is too late. You are well aware how poorly equipped, and how inadequately safeguarded I was when you despatched me to deal with a war that was expected to be on so great a scale; that responsibility I accepted, not because I was blindly infatuated, but because a sense of honour made me shrink from declining it. For never have I considered any danger so formidable as to desire to shirk it rather than defer to your authority.

At this juncture, however, the situation is such that, 5 unless you speedily despatch to these provinces as powerful an army as it is your practice to despatch to deal with a war of the first importance, there is every danger of our being forced to give up these provinces upon which the revenues of the Roman people depend. But you have no justification at all for basing any hopes upon a levy in this province; there are not many men, and such men as there are scatter at the first approach of danger; and in Asia that very gallant officer, M. Bibulus, has indicated his opinion of this type of soldier by declining to hold a levy when you gave him permission to do so. In fact, owing to the harshness and injustice of Roman rule, the auxiliaries among our allies are either so feeble that they cannot give us much assistance, or else so estranged

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nobis, ut neque expectandum ab iis neque committendum iis quidquam esse videatur. Regis Deiotari et voluntatem et copias, quantaecumque sunt, nostras esse duco. Cappadocia est inanis. Reliqui reges tyrannique neque opibus satis firmi, nec voluntate sunt. Mihi in hac paucitate militum animus certe non deerit; spero, ne consilium quidem. Quid casurum sit, incertum est. Utinam saluti nostrae consulere possimus! Dignitati certe consulemus.

II

M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO PROCOS. S. P. D.
COSS. PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SENAT.

Ad Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

1 S.v.v.b.e.e.q.v. Cum pridie Kalend. Sext. in provinciam venissem, neque maturius propter itinerum et navigationum difficultatem venire potuissem, maxime convenire officio meo, rei publicae conducere putavi, parare ea, quae ad exercitum, quaeque ad rem militarem pertinerent. Quae cum essent a me cura magis et diligentia quam facultate et copia constituta, nuntiique et litterae de bello a Parthis in provinciam Syriam illato quotidie fere afferrentur, iter mihi faciendum per Lycaoniam et per Isauros et

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from us that it looks as though we ought neither to expect anything of them nor to entrust anything to their keeping. As to the friendliness and the forces, 6 whatever their strength, of King Deiotarus, I regard them as being on our side. Cappadocia is an empty husk. The other kings and autocrats are not quite to be trusted in respect of either resources or friendliness. As to myself, numerically weak as are my military forces, I shall assuredly not be found wanting in courage, and I hope not in strategy either. What will happen nobody can tell. Pray heaven we may be able to take measures for our safety; for our honour we assuredly shall.

II

M. TULLIUS CICERO, THE PROCONSUL, SENDS GREETINGS
TO THE CONSULS, PRAETORS, TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS
AND SENATE

Cybistra, September 21 or 22, 51 B.C.

If you are well, all is right; I and the army are well. When I arrived in the province on the last day of July, having failed to arrive earlier on account of the difficulty of travelling both by land and sea, I considered it most consonant with my office and conducive to the public welfare to get ready whatever concerned the army and appertained to military affairs in general. When I had settled all that, more by careful assiduity on my part than with proper means and resources, and when I was almost daily receiving messengers and letters about the war forced upon the province of Syria by the Parthians, I thought it advisable to march my army through Lycaonia, Isauria, and

CICERO

per Cappadociam arbitratus sum ; erat enim magna suspicio, Parthos, si ex Syria egredi atque irrupere in meam provinciam conarentur, iter eos per Cappadociam, quod ea maxime pateret, esse facturos.

- 2 Itaque cum exercitu per Cappadociae partem eam, quae cum Cilicia continens est, iter feci, castraque ad Cybistra, quod oppidum est ad montem Taurum, locavi, ut Artavasdes, rex Armenius, quocumque animo esset, sciret non procul a suis finibus exercitum populi Romani esse, et Deiotarum, fidelissimum regem atque amicissimum reipublicae nostrae, maxime coniunctum haberem, cuius et consilio et opibus adiuvari
- 3 posset respublica. Quo cum in loco castra haberem equitatumque in Ciliciam misissem, ut et meus adventus iis civitatibus, quae in ea parte essent, nuntiatus firmiores animos omnium faceret, et ego mature, quid ageretur in Syria, scire possem, tempus eius tridui quod in his castris morabar in magno
- 4 officio et necessario mihi ponendum putavi. Cum enim vestra auctoritas intercessisset, ut ego regem Ariobarzanem, Eusebem et Philorhomaem, tuerer, eiusque regis salutem, incolunitatem, regnumque defenderem, regi regnoque praesidio essem, adiunxissetisque, salutem eius regis populo senatui-

* A staunch ally of Rome in the Mithridatic wars, he was rewarded with the title of king, and the addition to his dominions of Armenia Minor. He fought for Pompey at Pharsalia, and was deprived by Caesar of part of his dominions, but allowed to retain his regal title. Accused in 45 by his grandson Castor of having plotted against Caesar's life in Galatia, he was defended by Cicero in his speech *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. He died at a great age in 42.

^b Ariobarzanes III., who sided with Pompey against Caesar, but was generously treated by the latter, and

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Cappadocia, as I had strong grounds for suspecting that if the Parthians tried to issue out of Syria and burst their way into my province, they would advance through Cappadocia, as offering least resistance.

I accordingly marched with my army through that 2 part of Cappadocia which adjoins Cilicia, and pitched my camp near Cybistra, a town at the foot of Mount Taurus, so as to let Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, whatever his attitude of mind might be, know that there was an army of the people of Rome not far from his frontier, and so as to have Deiotarus,^a a most loyal king and the best of friends to our Republic, in close contact with me, so that the Republic might have the assistance of his counsel and resources.

Having encamped at this spot, and having des- 3 patched my cavalry into Cilicia, in order that the announcement of my arrival to the communities in that district might confirm them all in their loyalty, and also that I myself might have early information as to what was going on in Syria, I thought it incumbent upon me to spend the three days of my stay in that camp in the performance of an important and necessary duty.

For since you had intervened with a resolution 4 that I should protect King Ariobarzanes,^b entitled "Eusebes" and "Philorhomaeus," and defend that monarch's personal safety and the stability of his realm, and in short, safeguard both king and kingdom, and since you had added that the security of that king was a matter of grave anxiety to the people and

opposed the Liberators, but was put to death by Cassius. The titles of Eusebes, "the Dutiful," and Philorhomaeus, "the Lover of Rome," must have been given him by the Pompeian party.

CICERO

que magnae curae esse, quod nullo umquam de rege decretum esset a nostro ordine, existimavi, me iudicium vestrum ad regem deferre debere eique praesidium meum et fidem et diligentiam polliceri, ut, cum salus ipsius, incolumitas regni mihi commenda-
5 data esset a vobis, diceret, si quid vellet. Quae cum essem in consilio meo cum rege locutus, initio ille orationis suae vobis maximas, ut debuit, deinde etiam mihi gratias egit, quod ei permagnum et perhonorificum videbatur, s.p.q.r. tantae curae esse salutem suam; meque tantam diligentiam adhibere, ut et mea fides et commendationis vestrae auctoritas perspici posset. Atque ille primo, quod mihi maximae laetitiae fuit, ita mecum locutus est, ut nullas insidias neque vitae suae neque regno diceret se aut intellegere fieri, aut etiam suspicari. Cum ego ei gratulatus essem, idque me gaudere dixissem, et tamen adulescentem essem cohortatus, ut recordaretur casum illum interitus paterni, et vigilanter se tueretur, atque admonitu senatus consuleret saluti suae, tum a me discessit in oppidum Cybistra.
6 Postero autem die cum Ariarathe, fratre suo, et cum paternis amicis, maioribus natu, ad me in castra venit, perturbatusque et flens, cum idem et frater faceret

^a Ariobarzanes II. had fallen a victim to a conspiracy shortly before Cicero arrived in the East.

Senate—a decree which had never been passed by our order in reference to any other king—I decided that I was bound to report your pronouncement to the king and promise him my protection and loyalty and devotion, in order that, inasmuch as his personal security and the stability of his kingdom had been entrusted by you to me, he might tell me if he wished to have anything done.

When I had explained all this to the king in 5 the presence of my council, at the beginning of his speech in reply he expressed his profound gratitude to you as in duty bound, and then to me also, because he thought it a very high and significant compliment that the Senate and people of Rome should be so keenly interested in his personal security, and that I too should show such assiduity as to make it impossible to doubt either my own sincerity or the weight of your authority. And, indeed, on this first occasion, his conversation with me was such as to convey the impression (and I was much pleased to hear it) that he neither knew of any plots being hatched against either his life or his kingdom, nor even suspected any. When I had congratulated him and assured him that I was glad of it, and had none the less urged him, young man as he was, not to forget the calamity of his father's assassination,^a to be vigilant in self-defence and, according to the advice of the Senate, to take measures for his personal security, he left me and returned to the town of Cybistra.

On the following day, however, he visited me in my 6 camp in company with his brother Ariarathes and some elderly men, friends of his father. He was extremely agitated and in tears, as were also his brother and his friends, and fell to imploring the fulfilment of

et amici, meam fidem, vestram commendationem implorare coepit. Cum admirarer, quid accidisset novi, dixit ad se indicia manifestarum insidiarum esse delata, quae essent ante adventum meum occultata, quod ii, qui ea patefacere possent, propter metum reticuisissent; eo autem tempore, spe mei praesidi, complures ea, quae scirent, audacter ad se detulisse; in his amantissimum sui, summa pietate praeditum, fratrem dicere ea, quae is me quoque audiente dicebat, se sollicitatum esse, ut regnare vellet; id vivo fratre suo accipere non potuisse; se tamen ante illud tempus eam rem numquam in medium, propter periculi metum, protulisse. Quae cum esset locutus, monui regem, ut omnem diligentiam ad se conservandum adhiberet; amicosque, patris eius atque avi iudicio probatos, hortatus sum, regis sui vitam, docti casu acerbissimo patris eius, 7 omni cura custodiaque defenderent. Cum rex a me equitatum cohortesque de exercitu meo postularet, etsi intellegebam, vestro senatus consulto non modo posse me id facere, sed etiam debere, tamen, cum respublica postularet, propter quotidianos ex Syria nuntios, ut quam primum exercitum ad Ciliciae fines adducerem, cumque mihi rex, patefactis iam insidiis, non egere exercitu populi Romani, sed posse se suis opibus defendere videretur, illum cohortatus

the pledge I had given, and the trust you had imposed upon me. When I wondered what new turn things had taken, he told me "that information of a plot proved beyond doubt had been brought to his ears—information which had been concealed before my arrival because those who might have disclosed it had kept silent about it through fear; but that now, hoping that I would protect them, several persons had boldly put this knowledge at his disposal, and that among them his brother, who was very fond of him and of a most affectionate disposition, told him (and the brother repeated the words in my hearing) that he had been worked upon to aim at the throne; that as long as his brother was alive he could not have entertained the suggestion; and that anyhow he had not until then given publicity to the matter because he dreaded the danger."

When he had thus spoken I advised the king to take every precaution for his own preservation, and I urged his friends, men who had won the considered approbation of his father and grandfather, to protect their king's life with all care and vigilance, warned as they had been by the very tragic fall of his father.

When the king demanded of me some cavalry and 7 cohorts out of my army, although I had no doubt that according to your decree of the Senate I not only had the power to give him them, but that it was even my duty to do so, yet, since the public interests, in view of daily messages from Syria, demanded that I should bring my army as soon as possible into the territory of Cilicia, and as it seemed to me that the king, now that the plot had been revealed, stood in no need of an army of Roman people, but could defend himself with his own resources, I urged him to learn to play

sum, ut in sua vita conservanda primum regnare disceret ; a quibus perspexisset sibi insidias paratas, in eos uteretur iure regio ; poena afficeret eos, quos necesse esset ; reliquos metu liberaret ; praesidio exercitus mei ad eorum, qui in culpa essent, timorem potius, quam ad contentionem uteretur ; fore autem, ut omnes, cum senatusconsultum nossent, intellegerent, me regi, si opus esset, ex auctoritate vestra
8 praesidio futurum. Ita confirmato illo, ex eo loco castra movi, iter in Ciliciam facere institui, cum hac opinione e Cappadocia discederem, ut consilio vestro, casu incredibili ac paene divino, regem, quem vos honorificentissime appellassetis, nullo postulante, quemque meae fidei commendassetis, et cuius salutem magnae vobis curae esse decrevissetis, meus adventus praesentibus insidiis liberarit. Quod ad vos a me scribi non alienum putavi, ut intellegeretis ex iis, quae paene acciderunt, vos multo ante, ne ea acciderent, providisse ; eoque vos studiosius feci certiores, quod in rege Ariobarzane ea mihi signa videor virtutis, ingeni, fidei, benevolentiaeque erga vos perspexisse, ut non sine causa tantam curam diligentiamque in eius vos salutem videamini contulisse.

the part of king by first of all ensuring the preservation of his own life ; to exercise his royal rights upon those by whom he was now convinced that the plot against him had been concocted ; to punish those whom it was essential to punish, and relieve the fears of the rest ; to take advantage of the protection of my army to intimidate those who were to blame rather than to foster strife ; assuring him at the same time that all his subjects, on ascertaining the decree of the Senate, would understand that according to your resolution I should be there, if the need arose, to protect the king.

Having encouraged him so far, I struck camp from 8 there, and began my march into Cilicia, leaving Cappadocia with this impression upon my mind, that thanks to your policy, by a wonderful and almost providential accident, a king upon whom you had spontaneously and in the most complimentary manner conferred that title, a king whom you had entrusted to my protection, a king whose personal safety you had declared by your decree to be a source of serious anxiety to yourselves, has been delivered from an imminent conspiracy by my arrival on the scene. This much I thought it not irrelevant for me to write to you, so that you might gather from what has nearly happened that you had provided long before against its happening ; and I have all the more pleasure in informing you, because I believe I have discerned in King Ariobarzanes such evidence of moral worth, capacity, good faith and friendly feeling for you, as to make it seem that you have good reason for having bestowed so much care and attention upon his welfare.

CICERO

III

M. T. C. S. D. M. CATONI

In castris ad Iconium, A.U.C. 703.

1 Cum ad me legati, missi ab Antiocho Commageno, venissent in castra ad Iconium a. d. III. Kal. Septembr., iique mihi nuntiassent, regis Parthorum filium, quocum esset nupta regis Armeniorum soror, ad Euphraten cum maximis Parthorum copiis multarumque praeterea gentium magna manu venisse, Euphratenque iam transire coepisse, dicique Armenium regem in Cappadociam impetum esse facturum, putavi, pro nostra necessitudine, me hoc ad te scribere oportere. 2 Publice propter duas causas nihil scripsi; quod et ipsum Commagenum legati dicebant ad senatum statim nuntios litterasque misisse, et existimabam, M. Bibulum proconsulem, qui circiter Idus Sextiles ab Epheso in Syriam navibus profectus erat, quod secundos ventos habuisset, iam in provinciam suam pervenisse; cuius litteris omnia certiora perlatum iri ad senatum putabam. Mihi, ut in huiusmodi re tantoque bello, maximae curae est, ut, quae copiis et opibus tenere vix possimus, ea mansuetudine et continentia nostra, sociorum fidelitate teneamus. Tu velim, ut consuesti, nos absentes diligas et defendas.

^a Cato had returned from Cyprus in 56, and was now in Rome.

III

CICERO TO M. CATO ^a

Camp at Iconium, August 28, 51 B.C.

Ambassadors sent to me by Antiochus of Comma- 1
 gene having arrived at my camp near Iconium on the
 28th August, and having reported to me that the son
 of the king of the Parthians, whom the sister of the
 king of the Armenians had married, had reached the
 banks of the Euphrates with very large Parthian
 forces and a large army of many other nations besides,
 and that it was said that the Armenian king intended
 making an attack upon Cappadocia, I thought that,
 considering our intimate connexion, it was incumbent
 upon me to send you this letter.

I sent no public despatch for two reasons, because 2
 the ambassadors told me that the Commagenian him-
 self had immediately sent messengers with a despatch
 to the Senate, and because I thought that the pro-
 consul, M. Bibulus, who had set out from Ephesus to
 Syria by sea about the 13th of August, having found the
 winds in his favour, had already arrived in his province,
 and I supposed that his despatches would convey more
 definite information on all points to the Senate. For
 myself, in view of the present situation, and the
 gravity of the war, my chief concern is to secure by
 my leniency and moderation and by the fidelity of the
 allies what I am scarcely strong enough to secure
 with the forces at my disposal. I would have you, on
 your part, show your regard for me and defend me,
 as you have always done, in my absence.

CICERO

IV

M. T. C. IMP. S. D. M. CATONI

Tarsi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Summa tua auctoritas fecit, meumque perpetuum
de tua singulari virtute iudicium, ut magni mea
interesse putarem, et res eas, quas gessissem, tibi
notas esse, et non ignorari a te, qua aequitate et
continentia tuerer socios provinciamque administra-
rem. His enim a te cognitis, arbitrabar facilius me
2 tibi, quae vellem, probaturum. Cum in provinciam
pridie Kal. Sext. venissem, et propter anni tempus
ad exercitum mihi confestim esse eundem viderem,
biduum Laodiceae fui, deinde Apameae quatrimum,
triduum Synnadis, totidem dies Philomeli. Quibus
in oppidis cum magni conventus fuissent, multas
civitates acerbissimis tributis et gravissimis usuris et
falso aere alieno liberavi. Cumque ante adventum
meum seditione quadam exercitus esset dissipatus,
quinque cohortes sine legato, sine tribuno militum,
denique etiam sine centurione ullo apud Philomelium
consedissent, reliquus exercitus esset in Lycaonia,
M. Anneio legato imperavi, ut eas quinque cohortes
ad reliquum exercitum duceret, coactoque in unum
locum exercitu, castra in Lycaonia apud Iconium
3 faceret. Quod cum ab illo diligenter esset actum,

^a Laodicea was on the coast of Syria, about 50 miles south of Antioch; Apamea on the banks of the Maeander in Phrygia; Synnada in the north of Phrygia Salutaris; and Philomelium in Phrygia Parorius, on the borders of Lycaonia and Pisidia, also mentioned in iii. 8. 5. 6.

^b See the Introductory note to this Book.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XV. iv.

IV

CICERO TO M. CATO

Tarsus, January, 50 B.C.

Your supreme influence and my own unwavering 1
opinion of your exceptional merit have given me the
impression that it is greatly to my interest not only
that you should be cognisant of my past achievements,
but also that you should not be ignorant of the fair
dealing and moderation that have characterized my
protection of our allies and my administration of this
province. For if these facts were brought to your
knowledge, I thought I should find it easier to win
your approbation of what I proposed to do.

When I entered my province on the last day of July 2
and saw that the season of the year necessitated my
joining the army without delay, I spent two days at
Laodicea, then four days at Apamea, three days at
Synnada and as many at Philomelium.^a Having held
important assizes at all those towns, I succeeded in
delivering a large number of communities from very
harsh taxation, exorbitant interest, and fraudulent
debt-claims. And finding that, prior to my arrival,
the army had been scattered by what I may almost
call a mutiny and that five cohorts, without a *legatus*,
without a military tribune, and (would you believe it?)
without even a single centurion, had bivouacked at
Philomelium, while the rest of the army was in Lyca-
onia, I ordered my *legatus*, M. Anneius,^b to bring those
five cohorts to join the rest of the army, and after con-
centrating the army in one spot, to pitch his camp at
Iconium in Lycaonia.

When he had punctiliously carried out that order, I 3

ego in castra a. d. vii. Kal. Septemb. veni, cum interea superioribus diebus ex senatusconsulto et evocatorum firmam manum, et equitatum sane idoneum, et populorum liberorum regumque sociorum auxilia voluntaria comparavissem. Interim cum, exercitu lustrato, iter in Ciliciam facere coepissem, iii. Kal. Septemb. legati, a rege Commageno ad me missi, pertumultuose, neque tamen non vere, Parthos
 4 in Syriam transisse nuntiaverunt. Quo audito, vehementer sum commotus cum de Syria, tum de mea provincia, de reliqua denique Asia. Itaque exercitum mihi ducendum per Cappadociae regionem eam, quae Ciliciam attingeret, putavi. Nam si me in Ciliciam demissem, Ciliciam quidem ipsam propter montis Amani naturam facile tenuissem (duo sunt enim aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria, quorum uterque parvis praesidiis propter angustias intercludi potest, nec est quidquam Cilicia contra Syriam munitius); sed me Cappadocia movebat, quae patet a Syria regesque habet finitimos, qui, etiamsi sunt amici nobis, tamen aperte Parthis inimici esse non audent. Itaque in Cappadocia extrema non longe a Tauro apud oppidum Cybistra castra feci, ut et Ciliciam tuerer et, Cappadociam tenens, nova finitimorum consilia impedirem.
 5 Interea in hoc tanto motu tantaque expectatione maximi belli rex Deiotarus, cui non sine causa plurimum semper et meo et tuo et senatus iudicio

myself arrived at the camp on Aug. 24th, having meanwhile, according to the decree of the Senate, got together during the preceding days a trustworthy body of reserves, a quite adequate corps of cavalry, and volunteer auxiliaries from the free peoples and the allied kings. Meantime, when, after reviewing the army, I had begun my march into Cilicia, on Aug. 28th some envoys sent to me by the king of Commagene reported, in a terrible state of agitation, but not without some truth, that the Parthians had crossed over into Syria.

On hearing this I was greatly disturbed about 4 Syria as well as about my province, and in short about the rest of Asia ; so I thought it necessary to march my army through that district of Cappadocia which touches on Cilicia ; for had I once descended into Cilicia, it is true that I should easily have held Cilicia itself, because of the natural advantage of Mt. Amanus—for there are two approaches to Cilicia from Syria, either of which is so narrow that it can be closed by quite a small garrison, and Cilicia is the best possible fortification against Syria—but on the other hand, I was concerned about Cappadocia, which lies open to Syria and has on its frontiers kings who, though they are secretly on friendly terms with us, yet do not dare to show overt hostility to the Parthians. I therefore encamped in the extreme south of Cappadocia, not far from Mt. Taurus, at the town of Cybistra, so as to protect Cilicia, and at the same time, by holding Cappadocia, to check any fresh designs on the part of the border tribes.

Meanwhile, amid all this commotion and excited 5 anticipation of a very serious war, King Deiotarus, to whose merits I and you and the Senate have always,

CICERO

tributum est, vir cum benevolentia et fide erga populum Romanum singulari, tum praestanti magnitudine et animi et consili, legatos ad me misit, se cum omnibus suis copiis in mea castra esse venturum. Cuius ego studio officioque commotus egi ei per litteras gratias, idque ut maturaret, hortatus sum.

- 6 Cum autem ad Cybistra propter rationem belli quinque dies essem moratus, regem Ariobarzanem, cuius salutem a senatu te auctore commendatam habebam, praesentibus insidiis necopinantem liberavi; neque solum ei saluti fui, sed etiam curavi, ut cum auctoritate regnaret. Metram, et eum, quem tu diligenter mihi commendaras, Athenaeum, importunitate Athenaidis exsilio multatos, in maxima apud regem auctoritate gratiaque constitui. Cumque magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se, quod facturus putabatur, defenderet, adulescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus, ego tuto¹ iis, qui novari aliquid volebant, perfeci, ut e regno ille discederet, rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulae communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret.
- 7 Interea cognovi multorum litteris atque nuntiis, magnas Parthorum copias atque Arabum ad oppidum Antiochiam accessisse, magnumque eorum equitatum, qui in Ciliciam transsisset, ab equitum meorum turmis

¹ ego tuto *is Tyrrell's convincing emendation*: actutum Nobbe, et alii alia.

^a The queen-mother, daughter of Mithridates the Great.

^b The chief priest of the temple of Comana, said to have been dedicated by Orestes to Artemis Taurica. The priest's authority in Cappadocia was second only to that of the king.

and not without reason, paid the fullest tribute, a man remarkable for his friendliness and fidelity to the people of Rome, as well as for his conspicuous gallantry and sagacity—Deiotarus, I say, sent me an embassy to the effect that he would join me in my camp with all his forces. Profoundly moved by his devotion and courtesy, I expressed my gratitude to him by letter and urged him to hasten the fulfilment of his offer.

When, however, my plan of campaign compelled 6 me to stay for five days near Cybistra, I delivered King Ariobarzanes, whose safety had been entrusted to me by the Senate at your instance, from an imminent plot of which he was not aware, and I not only saved his life, but also took pains to establish his authority as king. Metras and that very Athenaeus whom you yourself had particularly commended to me, punished with banishment as they both had been by the ruthless hostility of Athenais,^a were established by me in a position of the highest influence and favour with the king. And seeing that a serious war was being stirred up in Cappadocia in the event of the priest,^b a young man well equipped with horse and foot and funds, defending himself with arms (and he was thought likely to do so), without compromising those who were bent upon a revolution, I contrived that the priest should leave the kingdom, and that the king without riot and without recourse to arms, and with the full authority of the court safeguarded, should remain in dignified possession of his kingdom.

Meanwhile I was informed by written and oral 7 messages from many quarters that strong forces of Parthians and Arabs had approached the town of Antioch, and that a large body of their cavalry which had crossed over into Cilicia had been cut to pieces by

et a cohorte praetoria, quae erat Epiphaneae praesidi causa, occidione occisum. Quare cum viderem a Cappadocia Parthorum copias aversas non longe a finibus esse Ciliciae, quam potui maximis itineribus ad Amanum exercitum duxi. Quo ut veni, hostem ab Antiochia recessisse, Bibulum Antiochiae esse cognovi; Deiotarumque confestim, iam ad me venientem cum magno et firmo equitatu et peditatu, et cum omnibus suis copiis, certiolem feci, non videri esse causam, cur abesset a regno, meque ad eum, si quid novi forte accidisset, statim litteras nuntiosque misurum esse. Cumque eo animo venissem, ut utrique provinciae, si ita tempus ferret, subvenirem, tum id quod iam ante statueram, vehementer interesse utriusque provinciae, pacare Amanum et perpetuum hostem ex eo monte tollere, agere perrexi. Cumque me discedere ab eo monte simulassem, et alias partes Ciliciae petere, abessemque ab Amano iter unius diei, et castra apud Epiphaneam fecissem, a. d. quartum Idus Octobres, cum advesperasceret, expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut a. d. tertium Idus Octobres, cum lucisceret, in Amanum ascenderem, distributisque cohortibus et auxiliis, cum aliis Q. frater, legatus, mecum simul, aliis C. Pomptinus, legatus, reliquis M. Anneius et L. Tullius, legati, praessent, plerosque nec opinantes oppressimus, qui occisi capti-

^a On the S.E. border of Cilicia, probably so called after its restoration by Antiochus Epiphanes.

^b See the Introductory note to this Book.

some squadrons of my horse and a praetorian cohort which was on garrison duty at Epiphanea.^a Seeing therefore that the Parthian forces having been headed off from Cappadocia were not far from the frontiers of Cilicia, I marched my army, covering as much ground as I could by forced marches, to Amanus. When I got there I received the intelligence that the enemy had retired from Antioch, and that Bibulus was there ; so I informed Deiotarus, who was by this time hurrying to join me with a large and strong body of horse and foot and all his available forces, that I did not think there was any reason why he should absent himself from his kingdom, and that if perchance anything fresh occurred, I would immediately communicate with him by letter and messengers.

Having arrived with the intention of coming to the 8 aid of each of the two provinces, should circumstances necessitate it, I then proceeded to perform a task which I had some time previously decided was of paramount importance to both provinces—the pacification of Amanus and the dislodging from that mountain of a perpetual foe. Having made a feint of leaving that mount, and directing my attention to other parts of Cilicia, when I was one day's march from Amanus and had pitched my camp near Epiphanea on the 12th of October, as the evening was drawing in, with a lightly equipped army I covered so much ground by a night march that, as the dawn was breaking on the 13th, I was making my way up Amanus. When I had duly disposed my cohorts and auxiliaries, some being commanded by my brother Quintus, my *legatus*, and myself, others by C. Pomptinus, and the rest by M. Anneius and L. Tullius, all three my *legati*,^b we surprised and crushed the greater number of them, who

que sunt, interclusi fuga. Eranam autem, quae fuit non vici instar, sed urbis, quod erat Amani caput, itemque Sepyram et Commorin, acriter et diu repugnantes, Pomptino illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore usque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hostium occisa, cepinus, castella-
 9 que vi¹ capta complura incendimus. His rebus ita gestis, castra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud Aras Alexandri quatrimum, et in reliquiis Amani delendis agrisque vastandis, quae pars eius montis meae provinciae est, id tempus omne consumpsimus.
 10 Confectis his rebus, ad oppidum Eleutherocilicum Pindenissum exercitum abduxi; quod cum esset altissimo et munitissimo loco, ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne regibus quidem unquam paruissent, cum et fugitivos reciperent, et Parthorum adventum acerrime exspectarent, ad existimationem imperi pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam: quo facilius etiam ceterorum animi, qui alieni essent ab imperio nostro, frangerentur. Vallo et fossa circumdedi; sex castellis, castrisque maximis sepsi; aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi; ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo, sine ulla molestia sumptuve sociorum, septimo quinquagesimo die rem confeci: ut, omnibus partibus

¹ *Madrig*: sex (vi) *MSS.*

^a Near Issus, in the S.E. extremity of Cilicia. See ii. 10. 3.

^b Pindenissus was a town on a spur of Mt. Amanus.

were killed or captured, being cut off from flight. Erana, moreover, which was not so much a village as a city in size, and the capital of Amanus, and also Sepyra and Commoris, though the inhabitants offered a stout and prolonged resistance from before dawn to four in the afternoon (Pomptinus occupying that part of Amanus), after a large number of the enemy had fallen, were taken by us ; and we carried by assault and set fire to several fortresses.

Having thus completed these operations, we stayed 9 in camp for four days near the Altars of Alexander,^a and all that time we spent in effacing the last traces of Amanus, and ravaging the lands on that part of the mountain which is included in my province.

When this was finished I marched my army off to 10 Pindenissus,^b a town of the Eleutherocilices ; and because the town was on a very elevated and strongly fortified site, and was inhabited by men who had never submitted even to the kings, and not only harboured fugitives but were also looking forward with the utmost eagerness to the coming of the Parthians, I considered it of importance to the prestige of the Empire that I should put a stop to their audacity ; and this would make it all the easier to break the spirit of all the other tribes who showed hostility to our rule.

I surrounded the town with a stockade and trench ; I fenced it in with six forts and extensive encampments ; I attacked it with earthworks, mantlets, and towers, and by means of a large number of catapults and a strong force of bowmen, with no little personal exertion, without causing any trouble or expense to our allies, I completed the operation in fifty-seven days, so that when every quarter of the city had been

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urbis disturbatis aut incensis, compulsi in potestatem meam pervenirent. His erant finitimi pari scelere et audacia Tebarani; ab his, Pindenisso capto, obsides accepi; exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. fratrem negotio praeposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut male
11 pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Nunc velim tibi sic persuadeas, si de his rebus ad senatum relatum sit, me existimaturum summam mihi laudem tributam, si tu honorem meum sententia tua comprobaris. Idque, etsi talibus de rebus gravissimos homines et rogare solere et rogari scio, tamen admonendum potius te a me, quam rogandum puto. Tu es enim is, qui meis sententiis saepissime ornasti, qui oratione, qui praedicatione, qui summis laudibus in senatu, in concionibus ad caelum extulisti, cuius ego semper tanta esse verborum pondera putavi, ut uno verbo tuo, cum mea laude coniuncto, omnia assequi me arbitrarer. Te denique memini, cum cuidam clarissimo atque optimo viro supplicationem non decerneres, dicere, te decreturum, si referretur ob eas res, quas is consul in urbe gessisset. Tu idem mihi supplicationem decrevisti togato, non ut multis, re-

^a Distinguished senators "recorded their votes" by making a speech, as opposed to those "*qui pedibus in sententiam ibant*."

^b The consul referred to is no doubt Lentulus Spinther, whose application for a *supplicatio* was opposed by Cato, who said he would support it if it were on the grounds of Lentulus's services to the State in advocating Cicero's recall as consul in 57. See note *a* to i. 1.

either dismantled or burnt, they were driven to extremities and surrendered to me unconditionally. Their next neighbours were the inhabitants of Tebara, as ruffianly and daring as themselves ; from these, on the capture of Pindenissus, I received hostages, and then I dismissed my troops to their winter quarters. I put my brother Quintus in command, to arrange that the army should be stationed in villages that had either been taken or not completely quelled.

And now I would have you assure yourself, that, 11 should these matters be brought before the Senate, I shall consider myself the recipient of the highest possible encomium if any honour offered me meets with the approval of your vote. And as regards that, although in connexion with such matters I am well aware that even men of the greatest weight often both make and have to listen to requests, still I think that what I ought to do in your case is merely to remind you rather than address you a request. For you are the man who has so repeatedly complimented me in recording your vote,^a who, in conversation, in public commendation, in the very high eulogies spoken in the Senate and in public meetings, has extolled me to the skies ; you are he, the weight of whose words I have ever so respected as to feel that a single word of yours, if spoken in my praise, fulfilled all my aspirations. It was you, yes, you who, when declining to vote for a *supplicatio* in honour of a certain most illustrious and excellent person, declared, I remember, that you would vote for it, if only the motion were confined to what that person had done in the city in the days of his consulship.^b It was you also who voted for a *supplicatio* in my honour when a mere civilian, not, as in many cases “ for sound administration of the

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publica bene gesta, sed, ut nemini, republica con-
12 servata. Mitto, quod invidiam, quod pericula, quod
omnes meas tempestates et subieris, et multo etiam
magis, si per me lieuisset, subire paratissimus fueris,
quod denique inimicum meum tuum inimicum pu-
taris; cuius etiam interitum, ut facile intellegerem,
mihi quantum tribueres, Milonis causa in senatu
defendenda, approbaris. A me autem haec sunt
profecta, quae ego in benefici loco non pono, sed in
veri testimoni atque iudici, ut praestantissimas tuas
virtutes non tacitus admirarer (quis enim in te id
non facit?) sed in omnibus orationibus, sententiis
dicendis, causis agendis, omnibus scriptis, Graecis,
Latinis, omni denique varietate litterarum mearum,
te non modo iis, quos vidissemus, sed iis, de quibus
13 audissemus, omnibus anteferrem. Quaeres fortasse,
quid sit, quod ego hoc nescio quid gratulationis et
honoris a senatu tanti aestimem. Agam iam tecum
familiariter, ut est et studiis et officiis nostris mutuis
et summa amicitia dignum, et necessitudine etiam
paterna. Si quisquam fuit umquam remotus et
natura, et magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire
videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude et
sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum. Testis est
consulatus meus, in quo, sicut in reliqua vita, fateor

^a Clodius.

Republic," but, as in no other single case, "for having preserved the Republic."

I pass over the fact that you not only faced the un- 12 popularity, the perils, and the brunt of the storms that broke upon me, but were also perfectly ready to go even further, much further, in facing them, had I permitted it; the fact, in short, that you regarded my enemy ^a as an enemy to yourself, and that, by pleading the cause of Milo in the Senate, you showed your approval of even that enemy's death, so that I could easily recognize your high appreciation of me. What I have done on my side however—and I do not classify it under the head of favours conferred, but under that of true testimony and deliberate opinion—amounts to this, that in my admiration of your outstanding merits (and who does not admire them?) I have not been silent, but in all my speeches, both in the Senate and at the bar, in all my writings, Greek or Latin, in short, in all my various literary works, I have ranked you not only above all whom I ever met, but above all of whom I ever heard.

You will perhaps ask why it is that I so highly prize 13 this undefinable something in the way of congratulation and honour that I look for from the Senate. Well, I shall now talk to you in a familiar way, as befits our common tastes, our mutual good offices, our sincere friendship, and also the close intimacy of our fathers.

If ever there was a man who by natural disposition, and even more, as I seem to feel, by reasoned judgment and education, stood aloof from empty plaudits and vulgar talk, that man is assuredly myself. Witness my consulship, in the course of which, as in the rest of my life, I admit that I eagerly pursued what-

ea me studiose secutum, ex quibus vera gloria nasci posset; ipsam quidem gloriam per se numquam putavi expetendam. Itaque et provinciam ornatam et spem non dubiam triumphi neglexi. Sacerdotium denique, cum (quemadmodum te existimare arbitror) non difficillime consequi possem, non appetivi. Idem post iniuriam acceptam (quam tu reipublicae calamitatem semper appellas, meam non modo non calamitatem, sed etiam gloriam), studui quam ornatissima senatus populique Romani de me iudicia intercedere. Itaque et augur postea fieri volui, quod antea neglexeram, et eum honorem, qui a senatu tribui rebus bellicis solet, neglectum a me olim, nunc mihi
 14 expetendum puto. Huic meae voluntati, in qua inest aliqua vis desiderii ad sanandum vulnus iniuriae, ut faveas adiutorque sis, quod paullo ante me negaram rogaturum, vehementer te rogo, sed ita, si non ieiunum hoc nescio quid, quod ego gessi, et contemnendum videbitur, sed tale atque tantum, ut multi, nequaquam paribus rebus, honores summos a senatu consecuti sint. Equidem etiam mihi illud animum advertisse videor (scis enim, quam attente te audire soleam), te non tam res gestas, quam mores,

^a *i.e.*, the augurate. Cicero might have accepted the augurate in 59 had it been offered him, but he did not ask for it. He was elected augur in 53, in the place of Crassus, killed at Carrhae.

^b His banishment in 58.

^c *i.e.*, a triumph.

ever might be a source of true glory ; glory, in and for itself, I have never thought worth the seeking. So I shut my eyes to the lure of a province with all its official appanages, and, by so doing, to the certain hope of a triumph. And finally, as to the priesthood,^a although I might have obtained it without much difficulty (and that I believe is your opinion also), I never applied for it. And yet, for all that, after the injustice I had suffered^b—an injustice which you always refer to as a degradation to the State, though not only no degradation, but even an honour, to myself—I was anxious that there should follow decisions of the Senate and Roman people regarding myself of the most distinguished character. And so I subsequently set my heart on what I had previously regarded with indifference—my election as augur ; and furthermore, as to the honour^c usually conferred by the Senate for services in the field, though I never troubled about it in the old days, I now think I should make an effort to secure it.

Mingled with this aspiration of mine is a sort of intense longing to heal the wound I suffered in the injustice done me ; and I earnestly beg of you (as a moment ago I declared I never would) to give it your countenance and support, but only if you think that whatever this achievement of mine may have been, it was not meagre and contemptible, but such in quality and extent that many, whose exploits were by no means comparable with mine, have obtained the highest honours from the Senate. This too I seem to have noticed (and you know how attentively I listen to you), that in the award or non-award of honours, it is not the achievements themselves that it is your practice to keep before your eyes so much as the

instituta, atque vitam imperatorum spectare solere in habendis aut non habendis honoribus. Quod si in mea causa considerabis, reperies, me exercitu imbecillo, contra metum maximi belli, firmissimum praesidium habuisse aequitatem et continentiam. His ego subsidiis ea sum consecutus, quae nullis legionibus consequi potuissem, ut ex alienissimis sociis amicissimos, ex infidelissimis firmissimos redderem, animosque novarum rerum exspectatione suspensos
 15 ad veteris imperi benevolentiam traducerem. Sed nimis haec multa de me, praesertim ad te, a quo uno omnium sociorum querellae audiuntur; cognosces ex iis, qui meis institutis se recreatos putant. Cumque omnes uno prope consensu de me apud te ea, quae mihi optatissima sunt, praedicabunt, tum duae maximae clientelae tuae, Cyprus insula et Cappadociae regnum, tecum de me loquentur, puto etiam regem Deiotarum, qui uni tibi est maxime necessarius. Quae si etiam maiora sunt, et in omnibus saeculis pauciores viri reperti sunt, qui suas cupiditates, quam qui hostium copias vincerent, est profecto tuum, cum ad res bellicas haec, quae rariora et difficiliora sunt, genera virtutis adiunxeris, ipsas etiam illas res
 16 gestas illustriores¹ et maiores putare. Extremum illud est, ut, quasi diffidens rogationi meae, philo-

¹ *Manutius*: iustiores *Nobbe and mss.*

^a He refers to his success in winning over the province by his wisdom and moderation, which he says is something greater than mere military success, but which, if combined with military success, should so enhance the value of that success as to make it worthy of a triumph.

character, principles, and everyday life of the commanders. And if you consider my case in like manner, you will find that, weak as my army was, I found my strongest safeguard against the threat of a most serious war in my fair-dealing and moderation. With these forces to aid me, I succeeded, where no legions could have enabled me to succeed, in converting the most disaffected allies into the most devoted, the most disloyal into the most trustworthy, and in bringing back hearts that wavered in anticipation of a change of rule into a feeling of friendliness for the old régime.

But this is too much about myself, especially in 15 writing to you, the one and only man who gives ear to the complaints of all our allies; you will learn all about it from those who attribute their restoration to life to my administration. And not only will everybody almost with one consent make such remarks about me in your hearing as are all I could pray for, but also two of your largest client-communities, the island of Cyprus and the kingdom of Cappadocia, will speak to you about me; and so too, I fancy, will King Deiotarus, who is more attached to you than to any man alive.

And if all this is something of greater importance,^a and if throughout the ages fewer men have been found who could conquer their own desires than could conquer the enemy's forces, you are surely bound, when you have added these rarer and more difficult forms of moral excellence to success on the field, to regard that very success itself as being enhanced in distinction and consequence.

My last resource is this—to send you, as if distrust- 16
ing my own appeal, a representative to plead for me—

CICERO

sophiam ad te allegem, qua nec mihi carior ulla unquam res in vita fuit, nec hominum generi maius a dis munus ullum est datum. Haec igitur, quae mihi tecum communis est, societas studiorum atque artium nostrarum, quibus a pueritia dediti ac devincti, soli propemodum nos philosophiam illam veram et antiquam, quae quibusdam otii esse ac desidia videtur, in forum atque in rempublicam atque in ipsam aciem paene deduximus, tecum agit de mea laude, cui negari a Catone fas esse non puto. Quamobrem tibi sic persuadeas velim, si mihi tua sententia tributus honos ex meis litteris fuerit, me sic existimaturum, cum auctoritate tua, tum benevolentia erga me, mihi quod maxime cupierim contigisse. Vale.

V

M. CATO S. P. D. M. T. C. IMP.

Romae, A.U.C. 704.

- 1 Quod et respublica me et nostra amicitia hortatur, libenter facio, ut tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam, cognitam in maximis rebus domi togati, armati foris pari industria administrari gaudeam. Itaque, quod pro meo iudicio facere potui, ut innocentia consilioque tuo defensam provinciam, servatum

^a This letter is an answer to the last. Cato voted against the motion for a *supplicatio* in Cicero's honour, though he proposed a complimentary vote, and here gives his reasons for doing so. For this and the two following letters see the Introductory Note to this Book.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XV. iv.—v.

none other than philosophy, than which nothing in life has ever been more precious to myself, no greater boon ever bestowed by the gods upon mankind. That partnership then which we share in our pursuits and attainments, to which we have so strictly bound and devoted ourselves from boyhood that we stand practically alone in having introduced that true philosophy of the ancients, regarded by some as the hobby of the leisured and indolent, into the forum, into political life, yes, almost into the field of battle itself—that partnership, I say, now pleads with you the cause of my renown, and it is, to me, unthinkable that the plea should not be accepted by a Cato. I would, therefore, have you assure yourself of this, that if in consequence of my despatch that honour is conferred upon me by your vote, I shall consider it is due to your influence combined with your goodwill that I have been blessed with the attainment of my heart's desire. Farewell.

V

M. CATO TO CICERO ^a

Rome, end of April, 50 B.C.

It is a pleasure to me to do what both the public interests and our friendship prompt me to do—to rejoice, I mean, that the courage, integrity, and energy you have already evinced as a civilian in the gravest crisis of your career at home are now being applied with equal assiduity to your military command abroad. What therefore I could conscientiously do, that I did; that is to say, I extolled by speech and vote the integrity and judgment you have shown in protecting a

CICERO

Ariobarzanis cum ipso rege regnum, sociorum revocatam ad studium imperi nostri voluntatem, 2 sententia mea et decreto laudarem, feci. Supplicationem decretam, si tu, qua in re nihil fortuito, sed summa tua ratione et continentia, reipublicae provisum est, dis immortalibus gratulari nos, quam tibi referre acceptum mavis, gaudeo. Quod si triumphi praerogativam putas supplicationem, et idcirco casum potius, quam te laudari mavis, neque supplicationem sequitur semper triumphus, et triumpho multo clarius est, senatum iudicare, potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris provinciam, quam vi militum aut benignitate deorum retentam atque conservatam 3 esse; quod ego mea sententia censebam. Atque haec ego idcirco ad te contra consuetudinem meam pluribus scripsi, ut, quod maxime volo, existimes me laborare, ut tibi persuadeam me et voluisse de tua maiestate, quod amplissimum sim arbitratus, et quod tu maluisti, factum esse gaudere. Vale, et nos dilige, et instituto itinere severitatem diligentiamque sociis et reipublicae praesta.

* This is surely the bitterest sarcasm, which Cicero either does not see, or wisely ignores. Cato plainly insinuates that Cicero, while posing as a pious man, profoundly grateful to the gods (for *casus* here is synonymous with *dī immortales* above), has his eye all the time on the triumph that he thinks will follow, *i.e.*, on his own personal advancement, and nothing else.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XV. v.

province, in saving the kingdom and person of King Ariobarzanes, and in winning back the hearts of our allies to an enthusiastic acceptance of our rule.

As to the *supplicatio* having been decreed, if, in a 2
 matter wherein the interests of the State were secured not in any degree by chance, but by your own consummate statesmanship and self-restraint, you yourself prefer that we should render thanks to the immortal gods, rather than credit you with that success—well then I am glad of it. But if you imagine that a *supplicatio* is a sure earnest of a triumph, and if that be your reason for wishing good luck to get all the praise rather than yourself,^a let me tell you that a triumph does not invariably follow a *supplicatio*, and that it is a much more splendid thing than any triumph to have the deliberate declaration of the Senate that the retention and preservation of the province was due to the gentle rule and probity of its commander, rather than to military force or the favour of heaven ; and that was my conviction when I recorded my vote.

Now my reason for having written to you at such 3
 length in defiance of my usual practice is to induce you to believe (and I am most anxious you should) that I am making every effort to convince you of two facts—that I gave my support to that course which I considered most effectively conducive to your honour, and that at the same time I rejoice at the adoption of the course you personally preferred.

Farewell, and maintain your esteem for me, and, following the path upon which you have entered, assure to the allies and the Republic the continuance of your strict devotion to duty.

CICERO

VI

M. T. C. S. P. D. M. CATONI

Rhodi, A.U.C. 704.

1 *Laetus sum laudari me,*

inquit Hector, opinor, apud Naevium,

abs te, pater, a laudato viro.

Ea est enim profecto iucunda laus, quae ab iis proficiscitur, qui ipsi in laude vixerunt. Ego vero vel gratulatione litterarum tuarum, vel testimoniis sententiae dictae, nihil est, quod me non assecutum putem. Idque mihi cum amplissimum, tum gratissimum est, te libenter amicitiae dedisse, quod liquido veritati dares. Et, si non modo omnes, verum etiam multi Catones essent in civitate nostra, in qua unum exstitisse mirabile est, quem ego currum, aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Nam ad meum sensum et ad illud sincerum ac subtile iudicium nihil potest esse laudabilius, quam ea tua oratio, quae
2 est ad me perscripta a meis necessariis. Sed causam meae voluntatis, non enim dicam cupiditatis, exposui tibi superioribus litteris; quae etiamsi parum iusta tibi visa est, hanc tamen habet rationem, non ut nimis concupiscendus honos, sed tamen, si deferatur a senatu, minime aspernandus esse videatur. Spero autem illum ordinem, pro meis ob rempublicam

^a *i.e.*, to a triumph. Cf. *Ep.* 4. 14 above.

VI

CICERO TO M. CATO

Tarsus or Rhodes, about August 10, 50 B.C.

“*Right glad am I to win the praise,*” as Hector says, 1 if I am not mistaken, in Naevius, “*of one so praised as thou, my sire*”; for that is undoubtedly pleasant praise which comes from those who have themselves lived in an atmosphere of praise. Yes, I assure you, whether because of your letter of congratulation, or the testimony of your expression of opinion in the Senate, I feel there is nothing left for me to attain. And what is at once most complimentary and most gratifying to me is, that you cheerfully conceded to friendship what you unhesitatingly conceded to truth. And if, I don't say everybody, but even a fair number of folk were Catos in our state, in which the epiphany of a single Cato is a miracle, what triumphal car or what laurel wreath could I compare with a panegyric from you? For whether I regard my own feelings or the conspicuous sincerity and penetration of your judgment, there can be no higher panegyric than that speech of yours, a full copy of which has been sent to me by my friends.

Now the reason of my aspiration ^a (I shall not call it a 2 passionate desire) I have explained to you in a former letter; and although it has struck you as being hardly strong enough, it still has this much justification, that while it seems that the honour is not one to be greedily coveted, yet, if bestowed by the Senate, one that should by no means be treated with contempt. I hope, however, that in consideration of the labours I

CICERO

susceptis laboribus, me non indignum honore, usitato praesertim, existimaturum. Quod si ita erit, tantum ex te peto, quod amicissime scribis, ut, cum tuo iudicio, quod amplissimum esse arbitraris, mihi tribueris, si id, quod maluero, acciderit, gaudeas. Sic enim fecisse te, et sensisse, et scripsisse video: resque ipsa declarat, tibi illum honorem nostrum supplicationis iucundum fuisse, quod scribendo adfuisti. Haec enim senatus consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis eius, cuius de honore agitur, scribi solere. Ego, ut spero, te propediem videbo; atque utinam republica meliore, quam timeo!

VII

M. T. C. PROCOS. S. P. D. C. MARCELLO COS. DES.

Inter Iconium et Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

Maxima sum laetitia affectus, cum audivi te consulem factum esse, eumque honorem tibi deos fortunare volo, atque a te pro tua parentisque tui dignitate administrari. Nam cum te semper amavi dilexique, tum mei amantissimum cognovi in omni varietate rerum mearum, tum patris tui pluribus beneficiis, vel defensus tristibus temporibus vel orna-

^a Consul in 50 with Lucius Paullus. For the three Marcelli see note *b* on iv. 7. 6.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XV. VI.—VII.

have undertaken in the public interests, that order will not deem me unworthy of such an honour, especially as its bestowal would be according to custom. If it so turns out, all I ask you to do is (to quote your very friendly words), since you have paid me what you consider the highest possible compliment by the opinion you expressed, that you should feel glad if what I have preferred comes to pass. That you have so acted, so felt, and so written, is evident to me, and the very fact of your being party to the drafting of the decree, clearly proves that the great honour done me by the *supplicatio* was a pleasure to you. For I am well aware that such decrees of the Senate are usually drafted by the greatest friends of the recipient of the honour. I shall see you, I hope, at an early date, and I pray that the political situation may then be better than I fear it will be.

VII

CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS, CONSULT ELECT^a

Between Iconium and Cybistra, early in September, 51 B.C.

I was extremely delighted to hear that you had been made consul, and I pray that heaven may prosper your office, and that you may administer it in accordance with your own and your father's honourable position. For not only have I always loved and esteemed you, but I have also found you sincerely devoted to myself through all the vicissitudes of my fortunes. Moreover, because of the repeated good services of your father, when he either defended me in the days of my gloom or honoured me in the days of

CICERO

tus secundis, et sum totus vester et esse debeo; cum praesertim matris tuae, gravissimae atque optimae feminae, maiora erga salutem dignitatemque meam studia, quam erant a muliere postulanda, perspexerim. Quapropter a te peto in maiorem modum, ut me absentem diligas atque defendas.

VIII

M. T. C. PROC. S. P. D. MARCELLO COLLEGAE

Inter Iconium et Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

Marcellum tuum consulem factum, teque ea laetitia affectum esse, quam maxime optasti. mirandum in modum gaudeo, idque cum ipsius causa, tum quod te omnibus secundissimis rebus dignissimum iudico, cuius erga me singularem benevolentiam vel in labore meo vel in honore perspexi, totam denique domum vestram vel salutis vel dignitatis meae studiosissimam cupidissimamque cognovi. Quare gratum mihi feceris, si uxori tuae Iuliae, gravissimae atque optimae feminae, meis verbis eris gratulatus. A te id, quod consuesti, peto, me absentem diligas atque defendas.

^a Father of the C. Marcellus addressed in the preceding letter.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XV. VII.-VIII.

my glory, I am, and I am bound to be, heart and soul at the disposal of all of you, especially as I am fully conscious of the energetic support (more than should have been demanded of any woman) given to my welfare and position by that most sterling and excellent lady, your mother. And that is my justification for entreating you with special earnestness to show your esteem for me by defending me in my absence.

VIII

CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS,^a HIS BROTHER AUGUR

Between Iconium and Cybistra, early in September, 51 B.C.

That your son Marcellus has been made consul, and that you have felt that thrill of joy for which you most devoutly prayed, is an inexpressible pleasure to me, and that not only on his own account, but because I consider that you also richly deserve all that the happiest fortune can bestow. For I have had convincing proof of your incomparable goodness of heart towards me whether in my troubles or in my triumphs; in short I have found your whole family most enthusiastic and eager in their support of my civil standing or official distinction (call it which you will). For that reason you will do me a kindness if you pass on my congratulations to that most sterling and excellent lady, your wife Junia. I beg of you to do what you always have done—to show your regard for me and defend me in my absence.

CICERO

IX

M. T. C. PROCOS. S. P. D. M. MARCELLO COS.

Inter Iconium et Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

1 Te et pietatis in tuos et animi in rempublicam et clarissimi atque optimi consulatus, C. Marcello consule facti, fructum cepisse, vehementer gaudeo. Non dubito, quid praesentes sentiant; nos quidem longinqui, et a te ipso missi in ultimas gentes, ad caelum mehercule te tollimus verissimis ac iustissimis laudibus. Nam cum te a pueritia tua unice dilexerim, tuque me in omni genere semper amplissimum esse et volueris et iudicaris, tum hoc vel tuo facto, vel populi Romani de te iudicio, multo acrius vehementiusque diligo, maximaque laetitia afficior, cum ab hominibus prudentissimis virisque optimis, omnibus dictis, factis, studiis, institutis, vel me tui similem
2 esse audio vel te mei. Unum vero si addis ad praeclarissimas res consulatus tui, ut aut mihi succedat quam primum aliquis, aut ne quid accedat temporis ad id, quod tu mihi et senatus consulto et lege finisti, omnia me per te consecutum putabo. Cura ut valeas, et me absentem diligas atque defendas.

^a Marcus Marcellus, consul in 51 with Servius Sulpicius Rufus: he was cousin, not brother, to C. Marcellus, consul designate for the succeeding year (50). For a further account of the Marcelli see Indices to Vols. I and II.

^b According to one of the provisions of the *Lex Pompeia de Provinciis* the consuls were empowered to bring before the people a *lex de Imperio* in the case of each governor, determining the length of his tenure of office, etc.

IX

CICERO TO MARCUS MARCELLUS,^a CONSUL

Between Iconium and Cybistra, early in September, 51 B.C.

I am highly delighted that by the election of Gaius 1
 Marcellus to the consulship you have gathered the
 fruit of your affection for your family, of your devotion
 to the commonwealth, and of your own most illus-
 trious and admirable consulship. I have no doubt as
 to the sentiments of those on the spot, when I myself,
 far away as I am, and despatched by yourself to the
 ends of the earth, am extolling you, I vow, up to
 the skies, and my praises are as sincere as they are
 well deserved. For while I have had a particular
 affection for you from my boyhood, and you have ever
 desired, and indeed deemed me to possess the widest
 influence in every direction, my affection for you has
 been greatly deepened and enhanced by this achieve-
 ment of yours, or shall I call it this pronouncement of
 the Roman people in your favour? And I feel a thrill
 of pure delight when I am told by people of un-
 common shrewdness and men of the highest character
 that in every word and deed, pursuit and principle, I
 am like you, or you are like me (whichever you prefer).

If, however, you add to the brilliant achievements 2
 of your consulship by contriving either that somebody
 may succeed me at the earliest possible date, or that
 no addition is made to the time you definitely fixed for
 me both by a decree of the Senate and by the law,^b—
 well, then I shall consider that there is nothing you
 have not enabled me to secure. Take care of your
 health, and show your regard for me and defend me
 in my absence.

CICERO

3 Quae mihi de Parthis nuntiata sunt, quia non putabam a me etiam nunc scribenda esse publice, propterea ne pro familiaritate quidem nostra volui ad te scribere; ne, cum ad consulem scripsissem, publice viderer scripsisse.

X

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. C. MARCELLO C. F. COS.

Tarsi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Quoniam id accidit, quod mihi maxime fuit optatum, ut omnium Marcellorum, Marcellinorum etiam (mirificus enim generis ac nominis vestri fuit erga me semper animus). quoniam ergo ita accidit, ut omnium vestrum studio tuus consulatus satisfacere posset, in quem meae res gestae, lausque et honos earum potissimum incideret, peto a te id, quod facillimum factu est, non aspernante, ut confido senatu, ut quam honorificentissimum senatus consultum, litteris meis recitatis, faciendum cures. Si mihi tecum minus esset, quam est cum tuis omnibus, allegarem ad te illos, a quibus intellegis me praecipue diligi. Patris tui beneficia in me sunt amplissima; neque enim saluti meae neque honori amicior quisquam dici potest. Frater tuus quanti me faciat

2

^a The Marcellini were a branch of the Marcellus family.

^b What he means is, to put it shortly, that his being made consul gives C. Marcellus an opportunity of making good all that this devotion of his family to Cicero deserved.

Dr. Page remarks that in these unblushing requests Cicero always veils himself in obscurity, and that this long sentence is *deliberately embarrassed*.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XV. IX.—X.

As for the reports I have received about the 3
Parthians, I thought that I ought not even now to
make them the subject of a public despatch, and that
is the reason why in spite of our intimacy I did not
wish to write to you, lest, when I had written to a
consul, it might be supposed that I had written
officially.

X

CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS, CONSUL

Tarsus, January, 50 B.C.

Since, as I have most earnestly desired, it has so 1
happened that the devotion of all the Marcelli, and
Marcellini ^a too (for the kindly feeling your family and
those of your name have ever shown me is something
amazing)—since, as I say, it has so happened that
the devotion you have all felt can find its full ex-
pression in your consulship because with that parti-
cular consulship my achievements and such praise and
honour as attach to them coincide ^b—for that reason I
beg of you (and it is a thing most easily done, for the
Senate, I am confident, is not likely to reject it) to see
that after the reading of my despatch, the decree of
the Senate should be drafted in the most compli-
mentary terms possible.

Had I less to do with you than with all your folk, I 2
should commission those to present my case to you,
whom you know to be particularly attached to me.
Your father's services to me are magnificent, and no
man can be said to be a more friendly supporter of my
welfare or my public position. How highly your
brother values and has always valued me, there is no

CICERO

semperque fecerit, esse hominem, qui ignoret, arbitror neminem. Domus tua denique tota me semper omnibus summis officiis prosecuta est. Neque vero tu in me diligendo cuiquam concessisti tuorum. Quare a te peto in maiorem modum, ut me per te quam ornatisimum velis esse, meamque et in supplicatione discernenda, et in ceteris rebus existimationem satis tibi esse commendatam putes.

XI

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. C. MARCELLO COS.

Tarsi, A.U.C. 704.

- 1 Quantae curae tibi meus honos fuerit, et quam idem exstiteris consul in me ornando et amplificando, qui fueras semper cum parentibus tuis et cum tota domo, etsi res ipsa loquebatur, cognovi tamen ex meorum omnium litteris. Itaque nihil est tantum, quod ego non tua causa debeam, facturusque sim
2 cum studiose tum libenter. Nam magni interest, cui debeas; debere autem nemini malui, quam tibi, cui me cum studia communia, beneficia paterna tuaque iam ante coniunxerant, tum accedit mea quidem sententia maximum vinculum, quod ita rempublicam geris atque gessisti, qua mihi carius nihil
278

man living, I believe, who does not know. In fine your whole family has never ceased to honour me with the highest favours of every kind ; nor have you yourself yielded place to any of your family in affection for me. And that is why I beg of you with no ordinary earnestness to wish me the highest possible honour as far as you are yourself concerned, and to consider that my reputation, both in the voting for a *supplicatio* and in all other matters, needs no further recommendation in your eyes.

XI

CICERO TO GAIUS MARCELLUS, CONSUL

Tarsus, July, 50 B.C.

Although the facts spoke for themselves, none the less from the letters of every one of my friends I have learned fully how much pains you took about the honour done me, and how, in conferring as consul this distinction and eminence upon me, you showed yourself to be just the same as, in common with your parents and all your family, you always have been. Consequently there is no service so great that I do not owe you as a debt, and that I am not ready to discharge with as much devotion as pleasure.

For it matters greatly to whom one is indebted ; but there is nobody to whom I had rather be indebted than to you, to whom I had not only been previously united by identity of tastes and your own and your father's services to me, but there exists besides what is in my opinion the strongest bond of all—the fact that your past and present administration of the Republic (to me the most precious thing in the

CICERO

est, ut, quantum tibi omnes boni debeant, quo minus tantumdem ego unus debeam, non recusem. Quamobrem tibi velim hi sint exitus, quos mereris et quos fore confido. Ego, si me navigatio non morabitur, quae incurrebat in ipsos Etesias, propediem te, ut spero, videbo.

XII

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. L. PAULLO COS. DES.

Inter Iconium et Cybistra, A.U.C. 703.

1 Etsi mihi nunquam fuit dubium, quin te populus Romanus, pro tuis summis in rempublicam meritis et pro amplissima familiae dignitate, summo studio, cunctis suffragiis consulem facturus esset, tamen incredibili laetitia sum affectus, cum id mihi nuntiatum est; eumque honorem tibi deos fortunare volo, a teque ex tua maiorumque tuorum dignitate
2 administrari. Atque utinam praesens illum diem mihi optatissimum videre potuissem, proque tuis amplissimis erga me studiis atque beneficiis tibi operam meam studiumque navare! Quam mihi facultatem quoniam hic necopinatus et improvisus provinciae casus eripuit, tamen, ut te consulem, rempublicam pro tua dignitate gerentem, videre possim, magno opere a te peto, ut operam des efficiasque, ne quid mihi fiat iniuriae, neve quid temporis ad meum

^a Winds that blow from the N.W. for forty days in the Levant.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XV. XI.—XII.

world) has been and is such that I do not shrink from taking upon myself alone the full amount of the debt owed you by all good citizens put together. I may therefore hope that things will result as you deserve, and as I am confident they will.

For myself, unless I am delayed on my voyage, which exactly coincides with the Etesian winds,^a I shall see you, I hope, at an early date.

XII

CICERO TO LUCIUS AEMILIUS PAULLUS, CONSUL ELECT

Between Iconium and Cybistra, September, 51 B.C.

Although I never had any doubt that the people of 1 Rome, in consideration of your magnificent services to the Republic, and the highly influential position of your family, would elect you consul with the greatest enthusiasm and unanimity of voting, I had yet a thrill of inconceivable joy when the news reached me ; and I pray the gods to prosper your high office, and that you may administer it in a manner befitting your own and your ancestors' position.

And would that I had been able to be on the spot 2 and see that eagerly desired day, and in return for all your splendid devotion and kindness to me to render you my aid and active support ! But since that opportunity has been snatched from me by the unexpected and unforeseen incident of my provincial appointment, nevertheless, so that I may have the chance of seeing you a consul administering the Republic as befits your position, I earnestly beg of you to make every effort to prevent my suffering any injustice, or any exten-

CICERO

annuum munus accedat. Quod si feceris, magnus ad tua pristina erga me studia cumulus accedet.

XIII

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. L. PAULO COS.

Tarsi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Maxime mihi fuit optatum Romae esse tecum multas ob causas, sed praecipue, ut et in petendo, et in gerendo consulatu meum tibi debitum studium perspicere posses. Ac petitionis quidem tuae ratio mihi semper fuit explorata; sed tamen navare operam volebam. In consulatu vero cupio equidem te minus habere negoti; sed moleste fero, me consulem studium tuum adolescentis perspexisse, te meum, cum
2 id aetatis sim, perspicere non posse. Sed ita, fato nescio quo, contigisse arbitror, ut tibi ad me ornandum semper detur facultas, mihi ad remunerandum nihil suppetat praeter voluntatem. Ornasti consulatum, ornasti reditum meum. Incidit meum tempus rerum gerendarum in ipsum consulatum tuum. Itaque eum et tua summa amplitudo et dignitas, et meus magnus honos magnaue existimatio postulare vi-

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sion of time being added to my year's term of office. If you do that, an overwhelming addition will be made to all your previous services to me.

XIII

CICERO TO L. AEMILIUS PAULLUS, CONSUL

Tarsus, January, 50 B.C.

It has been my most earnest desire to be with you 1 in Rome for many reasons, but particularly in order that you might have clear proof both in your candidature and in the administration of your consulship of that devotion which I owed you. And as to your candidature, the result to my mind was always perfectly clear; but all the same I wished to give you my utmost assistance. In your consulship, on the other hand, I am, of course, anxious that you should have less trouble than I, but I am quite distressed that, whereas I, as consul, had clear proof of your devotion when a young man, you can have no clear proof of that on my part, at my time of life.

But I suppose by some mysterious fate it has so 2 happened that, while you are always given the opportunity of enhancing my honour, I have nothing to fall back upon by way of requiting you except the desire to do so. You added distinction to my consulship, you added distinction to my recall. My present period of active service has happened to coincide with the very year of your consulship. And so, although it would seem to be demanded both by your most exalted and eminent position and by my own high office and high reputation that I should earnestly importune

CICERO

deatur, ut a te plurimis verbis contendam ac petam, ut quam honorificentissimum senatus consultum de meis rebus gestis faciendum cures, non audeo vehementer a te contendere, ne aut ipse tuae perpetuae consuetudinis erga me oblitus esse videar, aut te
3 oblitum putem. Quare, ut te velle arbitror, ita faciam, atque ab eo, quem omnes gentes sciunt de me optime meritum, breviter petam. Si alii consules essent, ad te potissimum, Paulle, mitterem, ut eos mihi quam amicissimos redderes. Nunc, cum tua summa potestas summaque auctoritas, notaque omnibus nostra necessitudo sit, vehementer te rogo, ut et quam honorificentissime cures decernendum de meis rebus gestis, et quam celerrime. Dignas res esse honore et gratulatione, cognosces ex iis litteris, quas ad te et collegam et senatum publice misi; omniumque mearum reliquarum rerum maximeque existimationis meae procurationem susceptam velim habeas. In primisque tibi curae sit, quod abs te superioribus quoque litteris petivi, ne mihi tempus prorogetur. Cupio te consulem videre, omniaque, quae spero, cum absens, tum etiam praesens, te consule assequi. Vale.

you with no economy of words to ensure that the decree of the Senate concerning my achievements should be couched in the most complimentary terms possible, yet I do not venture to lay undue stress upon my petition to you, lest I should either appear to have forgotten your habitual and uninterrupted kindness to me, or to imagine that you have forgotten it.

I shall therefore do as I believe you would have me ³ do, and use but few words in making a request of one who, as all the nations of the world are aware, has deserved extremely well of me. Were there other consuls, you are the first man, Paullus, to whom I should send, requesting you to enlist their warmest friendship on my side. As it is, seeing that you possess the highest power and influence, and that our close connexion is known to all men, I ask you in all earnestness to ensure that the decree concerning my achievements is couched in the most complimentary terms possible, yes, and as speedily as possible too. That those services are deserving of honour and congratulation you will discover from the despatch I sent in my public capacity to yourself and your colleague and the Senate; and I should be glad if you would undertake to look after all my other interests, and most especially my reputation, and particularly to see to it, as I asked you to do in a former letter also, that there is no extension of my term of office.

I am anxious to see you while you are consul, and during your consulship to secure all I hope for, not only here but at home.

CICERO

XIV

M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. C. CASSIO PROQUAEST.

Ad aras Alexandri, A.U.C. 703.

1 M. Fadium quod mihi amicum tua commendatione
das, nullum in eo facio quaestum. Multi enim anni
sunt, cum ille in aere meo est, et a me diligitur
propter summam humanitatem et observantiam. Sed
tamen, quod ab eo te egregie diligi sensi, multo
amicior ei sum factus. Itaque quamquam profecerunt
litterae tuae, tamen aliquanto plus commendationis
apud me habuit animus ipsius erga te mihi perspectus
2 et cognitus. Sed de Fadio faciemus studiose quae
rogas; tu multis de causis vellem me convenire
potuisses, primum, ut te, quem iamdiu plurimi facio,
tanto intervallo viderem; deinde, ut tibi, quod feci
per litteras, possem praesens gratulari; tum, ut, qui-
bus de rebus vellemus, tu tuis, ego meis inter nos
communicaremus; postremo, ut amicitia nostra, quae
summis officiis ab utroque culta est, sed longis inter-
vallis temporum interruptam consuetudinem habuit,

^a Cassius had been quaestor to Crassus, after whose death he commanded what remained of the Roman army in Syria as *proquaestor propraetore*. *Proquaestor* was the title of the *quaestor* of the previous year who retained his position between the expiration of his own term of office and the arrival of the new *quaestor*. Again, if the governor left his province, he usually delegated his powers to the *quaestor*, who was then entitled *quaestor* (or as here, *proquaestor*) *propraetore*. He defeated the Parthians under Pacorus before Antioch (ii. 10. 2) this year (51).

^b M. Fadius Gallus, to whom Cicero addressed *Epp.* 23-26 in Bk. VII.

XIV

CICERO TO GAIUS CASSIUS LONGINUS, PROQUAESTOR OF SYRIA ^a

Arae Alexandri, near Issus, between the 14th and 15th of October, 51 B.C.

By your recommendation you present M. Fadius ^b 1 to me as a friend ; well, I gain nothing by that. As a matter of fact he has been for many years entirely at my disposal, and I have liked him for his extreme kindness and the respect he shows me. But for all that the discovery that you are extraordinarily fond of him has made me much more of a friend to him. And so, although your letter has had its effect, yet what recommends him a great deal more is that I have come fully to see and understand his kindly feelings for yourself.

But in the matter of Fadius I will do what you ask ² with hearty goodwill ; as for yourself, I only wish for many reasons that you had been able to meet me, in the first place so that I might see you after so long an interval—you whom I have for long past valued so highly ; secondly, that I might congratulate you ^c in person as I have done by letter ; furthermore, that we might share our views about whatever matters we wished, you about your affairs, I about mine ; and lastly, that our friendship which has been fostered on either side by the most notable good services, but has had its continuity broken by long periods of interruption, might be more effectually strengthened.

^c On his victory over Pacorus (see note *a* above).

3 confirmaretur vehementius. Id quoniam non accidit, utemur bono litterarum, et eadem fere absentes, quae, si coram essemus, consequemur. Unus scilicet ille fructus, qui in te videndo est, percipi litteris non potest. Alter gratulationis, est is quidem exilior, quam si tibi teipsum intuens gratularer; sed tamen et feci ante, et facio nunc, tibi que cum pro rerum magnitudine, quas gessisti, tum pro opportunitate temporis gratulor, quod te de provincia decedentem summa laus et summa gratia provinciae prosecuta
4 est. Tertium est, ut id, quod de nostris rebus coram communicassemus inter nos, conficiamus idem litteris. Ego ceterarum rerum causa tibi Romam properandum magno opere censeo. Nam et ea, quae reliqui, tranquilla de te erant, et hac tua recenti victoria tanta clarum adventum tuum fore intellego. Sed si quae sunt onera tuorum, si tanta sunt, ut ea sustinere possis, propera; nihil tibi erit lautius, nihil gloriosius; sin maiora, considera, ne in alienissimum tempus cadat adventus tuus. Huius rei totum consilium tuum est. Tu enim scis, quid sustinere possis. Si potes, laudabile atque populare est. Sin plane non potes,
5 absens hominum sermones facilius sustinebis. De me autem idem tecum his ago litteris, quod superioribus

^a See note *a* on *Ep.* 14 above.

^b Prosecutions of his friends for extortion and other offences, especially of his brother, Q. Cassius, who had been quaestor to Pompey.

Since that has not come to pass, we will avail our- 3
selves of the boon of letters, and so secure almost the
same objects in our separation as if we were together.
That one preeminent gratification, doubtless, which
consists in seeing you, cannot be enjoyed by letter ;
the other, which consists in congratulating you, is
less satisfying, it is true, than if I were to do so
with my eyes upon your face ; still I have done so
before, and I do so now, and congratulate you not only
on the magnificence of your achievements, but also on
their being so opportune in point of time, since on your
departure from your province you had the honourable
escort of its praise, as unqualified as its gratitude.

There is a third course—to carry out by correspond- 4
ence the consultations we should have held on our re-
spective affairs if we had met. For every other reason
also I am emphatically of opinion that you should
hasten to Rome. For the situation I left behind me
was one of complete calm as regards yourself, and
thanks to your recent victory ^a (and a glorious one it
was), I can see that your arrival will be a memorable
event. But supposing your relatives have any
burdens ^b to bear, if they are only such as you can
shoulder, hurry home ; it will be the most splendid
and glorious thing you can do. But if those burdens
are too heavy for you, pause to think, lest your
arrival may happen at a most untoward moment. On
this point the whole decision lies with you, for you
alone know what your shoulders can bear. If you have
the strength, it is a praiseworthy and popular thing to
do ; if you absolutely lack that strength, you will find
it easier to stand people's gossip if you stay away.

Now as to myself, I make the same request of you 5
in this letter as I did in a previous one—that you

CICERO

egi, ut omnes tuos nervos in eo contendas, ne quid mihi ad hanc provinciam, quam et senatus et populus annuam esse voluit, temporis prorogetur. Hoc a te ita contendo, ut in eo fortunas meas positas putem. Habes Paullum nostrum nostri cupidissimum; est Curio, est Furnius. Sic velim enitare, quasi in eo
6 sint mihi omnia. Extremum illud est de iis, quae proposueram, confirmatio nostrae amicitiae; de qua pluribus verbis nihil opus est. Tu puer me appetisti; ego autem semper ornamento te mihi fore duxi. Fuisti etiam praesidio tristissimis meis temporibus. Accessit post tuum discessum familiaritas mihi cum Bruto tuo maxima. Itaque in vestro ingenio et industria mihi plurimum et suavitatis et dignitatis constitutum puto. Id tu ut tuo studio confirmes, te vehementer rogo, litterasque ad me et continuo mittas, et, cum Romam veneris, quam saepissime.

XV

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Brundisi, A.U.C. 707.

1 Etsi uterque nostrum, spe pacis et odio civilis sanguinis, abesse a belli pertinacia voluit, tamen, quoniam eius consili princeps ego fuisse videor, plus

^a Cassius had married Brutus's sister.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XV. XIV.—XV.

should strain every nerve to prevent any prolongation of my term of office as governor of the province—a term which both the Senate and the people decreed should be for one year only. I urge this upon you so strongly that I feel all my prospects depend upon it. You have our friend Paullus on your side, a warm friend of mine, and there is Curio, and Furnius too. I pray you to make every effort just as though all I have were staked upon it.

My last point bears upon what I have already put ⁶ before you ; it is the strengthening of our friendship, as to which there is no need of further words. You, when a boy, sought me out, while I felt that you would always be a source of distinction to me. You were also a protection to me in the days of my deepest gloom. There came too, after your departure, my intimacy with your relative Brutus,^a and it was of the closest. It is therefore in the ability and energy of you two that I have stored up for myself an unlimited fund of delight and distinction. I ask you in all earnestness to confirm that impression by your devotion to me, and to send me a letter not only immediately, but, on your arrival at Rome, as often as possible.

XV

CICERO TO CASSIUS

Brundisium, latter half of August, 47 B.C.

Although both of us in our hope of peace and loathing for civil bloodshed wished to have nothing to do with the obstinate prosecution of war, still, since I seem to have taken the lead in that policy, I am

fortasse tibi praestare ipse debeo, quam a te expectare. Etsi, ut saepe soleo mecum recordari, sermo familiaris meus tecum, et item mecum tuus, adduxit utrumque nostrum ad id consilium, ut uno proelio putarem, si non totam causam, at certe nostrum iudicium definiri convenire. Neque quisquam hanc nostram sententiam vere umquam reprehendit, praeter eos, qui arbitrantur melius esse, deleri omnino rempublicam, quam imminutam et debilitatam manere. Ego autem ex interitu eius nullam spem scilicet mihi proponebam, ex reliquiis magnam.

2 Sed ea sunt consecuta, ut magis mirum sit, accidere illa potuisse, quam nos non vidisse ea futura, nec, homines cum essemus, divinare potuisse. Equidem fateor, meam coniecturam hanc fuisse, ut, illo quasi quodam fatali proelio facto, et victores communi saluti consuli vellent, et victi suae; utrumque autem positum esse arbitrabar in celeritate victoris. Quae si fuisset, eandem elementiam experta esset Africa, quam cognovit Asia, quam etiam Achaia, te, ut opinor, ipso allegato ac deprecatore. Amisissis autem temporibus, quae plurimum valent, praesertim in bellis civilibus, interpositus annus alios induxit, ut victoriam sperarent, alios, ut ipsum vinci contemnerent. Atque horum malorum omnium culpam

^a The former by offering easy terms, the latter by laying down their arms. Watson. The "great battle" is that of Pharsalia in 48.

^b This refers to the Pompeian refugees in those countries, many of whom had been forgiven by Caesar.

perhaps more bound to justify it to you, than to expect such justification from you. And yet, as I frequently remind myself, my observations to you and yours to me in our friendly talks led us both to this conclusion—we thought it right and proper that, if not the whole quarrel, at any rate our judgment of it, should be determined by the issue of a single battle. And not a soul has ever rightly found fault with this opinion of ours, except those who think it better that the commonwealth should be utterly destroyed than survive in an impaired and enfeebled condition. I, on the contrary, pictured to myself no hope of course in its destruction, much in any remnants that were left.

But the events which followed were such that it is ² more of a surprise that they could have happened at all, than that we should not have seen them coming and have failed, being but human, to prognosticate them. For my part I confess that what I conjectured was this—I thought that after the great battle, fraught as it were with the issues of fate, had been fought, the victors would desire measures to be taken in the interests of the community, and the vanquished in their own ;^a but I held that both the former and the latter depended upon the promptitude with which the victor acted. Had he shown that promptitude, Africa would have experienced the same leniency as was witnessed by Asia, yes, and by Achaia too, you yourself, as I take it, being their emissary and intercessor.^b But those days of vital importance, especially in civil wars, having been wasted, the year that intervened tempted some to hope for victory, others to think lightly of defeat itself. And the blame for all these evils is on the shoulders of fortune.

CICERO

fortuna sustinet. Quis enim aut Alexandrini belli tantam moram huic bello adiunctum iri, aut nescio quem istum Pharnacem Asiae terrorem illaturum
3 putaret? Nos tamen, in consilio pari, casu dissimili usi sumus. Tu enim eam partem petisti, ut et consiliis interesses, et, quod maxime curam levat, futura animo prospicere posses. Ego, qui festinavi, ut Caesarem in Italia viderem (sic enim arbitrabamur), eumque multis honestissimis viris conservatis, red-
euntem ad pacem currentem, ut aiunt, incitarem, ab illo longissime et absum et abfui. Versor autem in gemitu Italiae, et in Urbis miserrimis querellis, quibus aliquid opis fortasse ego pro mea, tu pro tua,
4 pro sua quisque parte ferre potuisset, si auctor ad-
fuisset. Quare velim pro tua perpetua erga me benevolentia scribas ad me, quid videas, quid sentias, quid exspectandum, quid agendum nobis existimes. Magni erunt mihi tuae litterae; atque utinam primis illis, quas Luceria miseris, paruissem! sine ulla enim molestia dignitatem meam retinuissem. Vale.

^a This refers to Caesar's long and doubtful struggle, in the autumn of 48, with Arsinoe, younger sister of Ptolemy, who was supported by the people of Alexandria.

^b Pharnaces, king of Pontus, was defeated by Caesar at Zela in August, 47, when the latter sent his famous despatch "*Veni, vidi, vici.*"

^c Written probably from the headquarters of Pompey at Luceria in Apulia before he crossed over to Greece, in which Cassius advised Cicero not to leave Italy.

For who would imagine that the war would be protracted or cause so long a delay as that caused by the Alexandrian war,^a or that this Pharnaces,^b whoever he may be, would intimidate Asia?

You and I, however, though our policy was identical, 3 have found a difference in our fortunes; for while you took a line which enabled you to share his counsels, and so being able to foresee (and that is a potent alleviation of anxiety) what was going to happen, I, who hastened to meet Caesar in Italy (for that is what I supposed) and "to spur the willing horse," as the adage has it, when, after sparing so many of our most distinguished men, he was actually returning to the ways of peace, I on the contrary, both am and have been kept utterly apart from him. I spend my life, moreover, amid the groans of Italy, and the piteous lamentations of the city; and we might perhaps have done something to alleviate them, I in my way, you in yours, everybody in his own, if only the man in authority had been there.

I should like you, therefore, consistently with your 4 unfailling kindness to me, to write and tell me what your impressions and your feelings are, what you think we should wait for, and what you think we should do. I shall greatly value a letter from you; and how I wish I had followed the advice contained in that first letter^c you sent me from Luceria! I should then have retained my position without any friction at all. Farewell.

CICERO

XVI

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Puto te iam suppedere, cum haec tertia iam epistula ante te oppresserit, quam tu scidam aut litteram. Sed non urgeo. Longiores enim exspectabo, vel potius exigam. Ego, si semper haberem, cui darem, vel ternas in hora darem. Irit enim nescio qui, ut quasi coram adesse videare, cum scribo aliquid ad te: neque id κατ' εἰδώλων φαντασίας, ut dicunt tui amici novi, qui putant etiam διανοητικὰς φαντασίας spectris Catianis excitari (nam, ne te fugiat, Catus Insuber, Epicureus, qui nuper est mortuus, quae ille Gargettius, etiam ante Democritus, εἶδωλα, his spec-

2 tra nominat). His autem spectris etiamsi oculi possint feriri, quod vel ipsa occurrunt,¹ animus qui possit, ego non video. Doceas tu me oportebit, cum salvus veneris, in meane potestate sit spectrum tuum, ut, simul ac mihi collibitum sit de te cogitare, illud occurrat; neque solum de te, qui mihi haeres in medullis, sed, si insulam Britanniam coepero cogitare,

3 eius εἶδωλον mihi advolabit ad pectus? Sed haec

¹ quod quae velis ipsa incurrunt *Tyrrell*; nolis velis ("whether you wish it or not") ipsa accurrunt *Koch*. I retain *Nobbe's* reading.

^a Literally "a letter of the alphabet."

^b The Epicureans, whom Cassius had recently joined.

^c Epicurus, who belonged to the deme of Gargettus, near Athens.

^d "The Epicureans accounted for sight by supposing that all bodies were continually giving off films or images (εἶδωλα), which impinged upon the eye, and that produced a "vision" (φαντασία), which in its turn struck the mind, and became a "mental vision" (διανοητικὴ φαντασία).

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XVI

CICERO TO CASSIUS

Rome, January, 45 B.C.

I expect you must be just a little ashamed of yourself now that this is the third letter that has caught you before you have sent me a single leaf or even a line.^a But I am not pressing you, for I shall look forward to, or rather insist upon, a longer letter. As for myself, if I always had somebody to trust with them, I should send you as many as three an hour. For it somehow happens, that whenever I write anything to you, you seem to be at my very elbow; and that, not by way of "*visions of images*," as your new friends^b term them, who believe that even "*mental visions*" are conjured up by what Catius calls "*spectres*" (for let me remind you that Catius the Insubrian, an Epicurean, who died lately, gives the name of "*spectres*" to what the famous Gargettian,^c and long before that Democritus, called "*images*").

But, even supposing that the *eye* can be struck by these "*spectres*" because they run up against it quite of their own accord, how the *mind* can be so struck is more than I can see. It will be your duty to explain to me, when you arrive here safe and sound, whether the "*spectre*" of you is at my command to run up against me as soon as the whim has taken me to think about you—and not only about you, who always occupy my inmost heart, but suppose I begin thinking about the Isle of Britain, will the "*image*" of that wing its way to my consciousness? ^d

Cicero cannot understand how this second effect is produced, or why, directly he chooses to think of Cassius, the εἰδωλον should "run up against him."

CICERO

posterius. Tempto enim te, quo animo accipias. Si enim stomachabere et moleste feres, plura dicemus postulabimusque, ex qua *αἰπέσει* vi hominibus armatis deiectus sis, in eam restituare. In hoc interdicto non solet addi, *in hoc anno*. Quare si iam biennium aut triennium est, cum virtuti nuntium remisisti, delinitus illecebris voluptatis, in integro res nobis erit. Quamquam quicum loquor? cum uno fortissimo viro, qui, posteaquam forum attigisti, nihil fecisti, nisi plenissimum amplissimae dignitatis. In ista ipsa *αἰπέσει*, metuo, ne plus nervorum sit, quam ego putarim, si modo eam ut probas. Qui id tibi in mentem venit? inquires. Quia nihil habebam aliud, quod scriberem. De republica enim nihil scribere possum: neque enim, quod sentio, libet scribere.

XVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Praeposteros habes tabellarios; etsi me quidem non offendunt; sed tamen, cum a me discedunt, flagitant litteras; cum ad me veniunt, nullas afferunt. Atque id ipsum facerent commodius, si mihi aliquid spatii ad scribendum darent; sed petasati

^a "Cicero represents Cassius as having been ousted from the Stoic philosophy by the arms of Caesar, and having embraced the Epicurean tenets of the latter." Tyrrell.

^b From which the previous words are quoted.

^c The *summum bonum* of the Epicureans.

^d Literally "with their travelling caps on."

But of this later on. I am only sounding you now to 3 see in what spirit you take it. For if you are angry and annoyed, I shall have more to say, and shall insist upon your being reinstated in that school of philosophy, out of which you have been ousted “*by violence and an armed force.*”^a In this interdict of the praetor^b the words “*within this year*” are not usually added ; so even if it is now two or three years since, bewitched by the blandishments of Pleasure,^c you sent a notice of divorce to Virtue, I am free to act as I like. And yet to whom am I talking ? To you, the most gallant gentleman in the world, who, ever since you set foot in the forum, have done nothing but what bears every mark of the most impressive distinction. Why, in that very school you have selected I apprehend there is more vitality than I should have supposed, if only because it has your approval. “How did the whole subject occur to you ?” you will say. Because I had nothing else to write. About politics I can write nothing, for I do not care to write what I feel.

XVII

CICERO TO CASSIUS

Rome, early in January, 45 B.C.

The letter-carriers you employ are behaving pre- 1 posterously—not that they are lacking in civility to me, but, all the same, when they leave me they importune me for a letter, but when they come to me they bring no letter with them. And even so they would cause me less inconvenience if they would only allow me some reasonable time for writing ; but they come ready dressed for travelling,^d

veniunt ; comites ad portam exspectare dieunt. Ergo ignosces ; alteras habebis has breves ; sed exspecta πάντα περι πάντων. Etsi quid ego me tibi purgo, cum tui ad me inanes veniant, ad te eum epistulis
 2 revertantur ? Nos hic (tamen ad te scribam aliquid) P. Sullam patrem mortuum habebamus. Alii a latronibus, alii cruditate dicebant. Populus non curabat. Combustum enim esse constabat. Hoc tu pro sapientia tua feres aequo animo. Quamquam πρόσπονον πόλεως amisimus. Caesarem putabant moleste laturum, verentem, ne hasta refrixisset. Mindius macellarius¹ et Attius pigmentarius valde gaudebant
 3 se adversarium perdidisse. De Hispania novi nihil ; sed exspectatio valde magna ; rumores tristiores, sed ἀδέσποτοι. Pansa noster paludatus a. d. III. Kalend. Ian. profectus est, ut quivis intellegere posset id, quod tu nuper dubitare coepisti, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετόν esse. Nam quod multos miseriis levavit, et quod se in his malis hominem praebuit, mirabilis eum virorum
 4 bonorum benevolentia prosecuta est. Tu quod adhuc Brundisi moratus es, valde probo et gaudeo ; et

¹ *The ingenious conjecture of Weiske and Madvig: Marcellus MSS., and it is true that Caesar had a friend named Mindius Marcellus (Appian, B.C. v. 102).*

^a Nephew of the Dictator. He was accused in 62 of being privy to Catiline's conspiracies, but was defended by Cicero and Hortensius and acquitted. He did a large business in buying up the confiscated goods of Caesar's enemies, and Cicero always speaks of him in his letters with contempt. He must, however, have been an officer of some distinction, as he was in joint command with Caesar himself of the right wing at Pharsalia.

^b Or "that he has passed through the fire," an allusion perhaps to his having been "singed" (*cf. ambustus*) in the law-courts.

and tell me that their mates are waiting for them at the gate. You will therefore forgive me ; this is now the second short note you will have, but you may live in hopes of *omnia de omnibus rebus*. And yet why am I excusing myself to you, when your men come to me empty-handed, and return to you with letters ?

Here (I'll send you something of a letter after all) ² we have on our hands the death of P. Sulla senior ^a ; some say it was brigands, others indigestion. The people don't care a straw, since there is no doubt as to his cremation.^b You, with your usual philosophy, will bear this with resignation. And yet we have lost a figure-head in the city. People think that Caesar will be annoyed because he apprehends a " slump " in his sales. Mindius the victualler and Attius the paint-seller are highly delighted at having dropped a rival bidder.^c

There is no news about Spain, but it is very eagerly ³ awaited. There are rather depressing rumours, but they are unauthenticated. Our friend Pansa set out in military uniform on December the 29th, so that even the man in the street might grasp the fact which you had lately begun to question—that "*the good must be chosen for its own sake.*"^d For because he relieved many of their afflictions, and because he proved his humanity amid all these disasters, he was escorted on his way by a marvellous manifestation of kindly feeling on the part of honest men. As to your ⁴ having stayed at Brundisium until now, I strongly approve of it and am glad of it ; and, upon my word, I

^c They also were bidders at the auctions of proscribed goods mentioned in note *a*.

^d Cassius had lately turned Epicurean (see the preceding letter) and therefore repudiated the Stoic dogma here quoted.

CICERO

mehercule puto te sapienter facturum, si ἀκενόσπουδος fueris. Nobis quidem, qui te amamus, erit *gratum*. Et, amabo te, cum dabis posthac aliquid domum litterarum, mei memineris. Ego numquam quemquam ad te, cum sciam, sine meis litteris ire patiar.

XVIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

- 1 Longior epistula fuisset, nisi eo ipso tempore petita esset a me, cum iam iretur ad te; longior etiam, si φλύαρον aliquem habuisset; nam σποιδάζειν sine periculo vix possumus. Ridere igitur, inquis, possumus. Non mehercule facillime. Verumtamen aliam aberrationem a molestiis nullam habemus. Ubi igitur, inquis, philosophia? Tua quidem iucunda, mea molesta¹ est: pudet enim servire. Itaque facio me
- 2 alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. De Hispania nihil adhuc certi, nihil omnino novi. Te abesse, mea causa moleste fero, tua gaudeo. Sed flagitat tabellarius. Valebis igitur, meque, ut a puero fecisti, amabis.

¹ *Tyrrell* has tua quidem in culina, mea molesta est in his text, rejecting *Manutius's* in palaestra for molesta; later on he proposes iucunda for in culina, which, as making an obscure passage intelligible, I have adopted.

^a Such as attempting to restore the free state. But Cassius was not the man to take Cicero's advice.

^b Or, as the phrase came to mean, "to be careless and indifferent." Cicero is referring to his teaching rhetoric and declamation to Hirtius and Dolabella, and his other diversions in 46. See the preliminary note to Bk. XIII.

think you will act wisely if you “*shun vain pursuits.*”^a Certainly to me who love you, it will be a gratification, and for the future when you send home a budget of letters, remember me, and I’ll bless you. For my own part I shall never allow anybody, if I know it, to go to you without a letter from me.

XVIII

CICERO TO CASSIUS

Rome, towards the end of 46 B.C.

My letter would have been longer had not I been 1 asked for it at the very moment when a post to you was starting; longer too, had it contained some amount of persiflage; as for speaking seriously, we can hardly do so without risk. “Well then,” you say, “we can have a laugh.” No, I positively assure you, not very easily. And yet, that is the one and only thing we have to distract us from our troubles. “How about our philosophy then?” you will say. Well, yours is one of pleasure, but mine troubles me, because I am ashamed of being a slave. So I pretend to busy myself with other things,^b to prevent Plato’s emphatic reproach from ringing in my ears.^c

There is nothing certain so far about Spain, indeed 2 no news at all. Your absence troubles me for my own sake, but I am very glad of it for yours. But there goes your importunate letter-carrier. Fare you well then, and continue to love me as you have from a boy.

^c Plato, *Rep.* iii. 387 B of false teaching which must not be listened to by boys and men οὐς δεῖ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, δουλείαν θανάτου μᾶλλον πεφοβημένους.

CICERO

XIX

C. CASSIUS S. P. D. M. T. C.

Brundisi, A.U.C. 709.

- 1 S.v.b. Non mehercule in hac mea peregrinatione quidquam libentius facio, quam scribo ad te ; videor enim cum praesente loqui et iocari. Nec tamen hoc usu venit propter spectra Catiana, pro quo tibi proxima epistula tot rusticos Stoicos regeram, ut
- 2 Catium Athenis natum esse dicas. Pansam nostrum secunda voluntate hominum paludatum ex Urbe exisse, cum ipsius causa gaudeo, tum mehercule etiam omnium nostrorum. Spero enim homines intellecturos, quanto sit omnibus odio crudelitas, et quanto sit amorì probitas et clementia ; atque ea, quae maxime mali petant et concupiscant, ad bonos pervenire. Difficile est enim persuadere hominibus, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ αἰρετόν esse ; ἡδονήν vero et ἀταραξίαν virtute, iustitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, et verum et probabile est. Ipse enim Epicurus, a quo omnes Catii et Amafinii, mali verborum interpretes, profici-

^a See *Ep.* 16 § 1 above.

^b *i.e.*, "a man of education and culture," and not such a boor after all as many of *your* Stoic friends, indifferent translator of Greek as he may be (and this Cassius admits at the end of § 2).

Pro quo refers to Cicero's special piece of information in *Ep.* 16. 1, that Catius called εἰδωλα *spectra*. Cassius affects to resent Cicero's sneer, and threatens to overwhelm him with a crowd of *Stoic* boors, which will make Catius, poor Grecian as he is, seem a very angel of light.

^c See *Ep.* 17. 3. Pansa appears to have made a

XIX

CASSIUS TO CICERO

Brundisium, latter half of January, 45 B.C.

If you are well, all is right. I assure you that on 1
 this tour of mine there is nothing that gives me more
 pleasure to do than to write to you ; for I seem to be
 talking and joking with you face to face. And yet that
 does not come to pass because of your "*Catian*
spectres"^a ; and, by way of retaliation for *that*, in
 my next letter I shall let loose upon you such a
 rabble of Stoic boors that you will proclaim Catius a
 true-born Athenian.^b

I am glad that our friend Pansa was sped on his way 2
 by universal goodwill when he left the city in military
 uniform,^c and that not only on my own account, but
 also, most assuredly, on that of all our friends. For I
 hope that men generally will come to understand how
 much all the world hates cruelty, and how much it loves
 integrity and clemency, and that the blessings most
 eagerly sought and coveted by the bad ultimately
 find their way to the good. For it is hard to convince
 men that "*the good is to be chosen for its own sake*" ;
 but that "*pleasure*" and "*tranquillity of mind*" is
 acquired by virtue, justice, and "*the good*," is both
 true and demonstrable. Why, Epicurus himself, from
 whom all the Catiuses and Amafiniuses^d in the
 world, incompetent translators of terms as they are,
 journey to Caesar in Spain, to which both passages refer.
 He returned, however, to Rome before he took up the
 governorship of Cisalpine Gaul in March, 45.

^d C. Amafinius's books on Epicureanism had a great
 vogue, though written in an uncouth style.

seuntur, dicit : οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ἄνευ τοῦ καλῶς καὶ
 3 δίκαιως ζῆν. Itaque et Pansa, qui ἡδονήν sequitur,
 virtutem retinet, et ii, qui a vobis φιλήθοι vocantur,
 sunt φιλόκαλοι καὶ φιλοδίκαιοι, omnesque virtutes et
 colunt et retinent. Itaque Sulla, cuius iudicium pro-
 bare debemus, cum dissentire philosophos videret,
 non quaesit, quid bonum esset, sed omnia bona
 coëmit ; cuius ego mortem forti mehercules animo
 tuli. Nec tamen Caesar diutius nos eum desiderare
 patietur. Nam habet damnatos, quos pro illo nobis
 restituat, nec ipse sectorem desiderabit, cum filium
 4 viderit. Nunc, ut ad rempublicam redeam, quid in
 Hispaniis geratur, rescribe. Peream, nisi sollicitus
 sum, ac malo veterem et clementem dominum habere,
 quam novum et crudelem experiri. Scis, Gnaeus
 quam sit fatuus ; scis, quomodo crudelitatem virtutem
 putet ; scis, quam se semper a nobis derisum putet.
 Vereor, ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀντιμυκτηρίσαι.
 Quid fiat, si me diligis, rescribe. Hui, quam velim
 scire, utrum ista sollicito animo an soluto legas !
 sciam enim eodem tempore, quid me facere oporteat.
 Ne longior sim, vale ; me, ut facis, ama. Si Caesar
 vicit, celeriter me exspecta.

• See note a on *Ep.* 17. 2 above.

• Pompey's son.

derive their origin, lays it down that “ *to live a life of pleasure is impossible without living a life of virtue and justice.*”

Consequently Pansa, who follows “ *pleasure,*” keeps 3 his hold on virtue, and those also whom you call “ *pleasure-lovers* ” are “ *lovers of what is good* ” and “ *lovers of justice,*” and cultivate and keep all the virtues. And so Sulla, whose judgment we ought to accept, when he saw that the philosophers were at sixes and sevens, did not investigate the nature of “ *the good,*” but bought up all the *goods* there were; ^a and I frankly confess that I bore his death without flinching. Caesar, however, will not let us feel his loss too long; for he has a lot of condemned men to restore to us in his stead, nor will he himself feel the lack of someone to bid at his auctions when once he has cast his eye on Sulla junior.

And now to return to politics; please write back and 4 tell me what is being done in the two Spains. May I die if I am not full of anxiety, and I would sooner have the old and lenient master, than make trial of a new and cruel one. You know what an idiot Gnaeus ^b is; you know how he deems cruelty a virtue; you know how he thinks that we have always scoffed at him. I fear that in his boorish way he will be inclined to reply by wiping our turned-up noses with the sword. Write back as you love me, and tell me what is doing. Ah! how I should like to know whether you read all this with an anxious mind or a mind at ease! For I should know at the same time what it is my duty to do. Not to be too long-winded, I bid you farewell. Continue to love me as you do. If Caesar has conquered, look out for my speedy arrival.

CICERO

XX

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. TREBONIO

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

- 1 *Oratorem* meum (sic enim inscripsi) Sabino tuo commendavi. Natio me hominis impulit, ut ei recte putarem ; nisi forte, candidatorum licentia hic quoque usus, hoc subito cognomen arripuit ; etsi modestus eius vultus sermoque constans habere quiddam a
2 Curibus videbatur. Sed de Sabino satis. Tu, mi Treboni, quando ad amorem meum aliquantum olei¹ discedens addidisti, quo tolerabilius feramus igniculum desiderii tui, crebris nos litteris appellato ; atque ita, si idem fiet a nobis. Quamquam duae causae sunt, cur tu frequentior in isto officio esse debeas, quam nos ; primum, quod olim solebant, qui Romae erant, ad provinciales amicos de republica scribere ; nunc tu nobis scribas oportet. Res enim publica istic est. Deinde, quod nos aliis officiis tibi absenti satisfacere possumus, tu nobis, nisi litteris, non video,
3 qua re alia satisfacere possis. Sed cetera scribes ad nos postea. Nunc haec primo cupio cognoscere, iter

¹ *Krauss and Koch*: olim *mss.*

^a C. Trebonius, who in 55 proposed the law giving to Pompey the government of Spain, and to Crassus that of Syria, for five years.

^b It appears that Ventidius Bassus (see note on x. 18. 3) was about this time canvassing for the quaestorship, and falsely assumed the name of Sabinus, and it is to this that Cicero here refers.

^c An ancient town of the Sabines, the birthplace of T. Tatius and Numa Pompilius (Livy, i. 13).

XX

CICERO SENDS WARM GREETINGS TO TREBONIUS ^a

Rome, January (?), 45 B.C.

I have entrusted my *Orator* (for I have so entitled it) to your servant Sabinus. Considering the man's nationality, I could not help thinking that I was right in doing so; unless, of course, he too has availed himself of the licence given to candidates, and suddenly seized upon this particular surname ^b; and yet his modest expression of face and the calmness of his speech seems to have something derived from Cures ^c in it. But enough about Sabinus.

You, however, my dear Trebonius, since your departure added no little fuel to the fire of my affection for you, to enable me the more easily to endure the intense ardency of my longing for you, be sure you ply me with a rapid succession of letters, on the understanding that I shall do likewise. And yet there are two reasons why you should perform that duty with more regularity than I—firstly because in olden days it was the custom for those who were at Rome to write about the Republic to their friends in the provinces; now it is for you to write to us, for the Republic is where you are.^d Secondly, because while I can do you many other services in your absence, I fail to see how you can serve me in any other way than by writing letters.

But on all other matters you will write to me later. Just now what I am anxious to know before anything

^a In the person of Caesar, now in Spain. This establishes the date of this letter.

CICERO

tuum cuiusmodi sit ; ubi Brutum nostrum videris ; quamdiu simul fueris ; deinde, cum processeris longius, de bellicis rebus, de toto negotio, ut existimare possimus, quo statu simus. Ego tantum me scire putabo, quantum ex tuis litteris habebō cognitum. Cura ut valeas, meque ames amore illo tuo singulari.

XXI

M. T. C. S. P. D. C. TREBONIO

Romae, A.U.C. 708.

- 1 Et epistolam tuam legi libenter, et librum libentissime ; sed tamen in ea voluptate hunc accepi dolorem, quod, cum incendisses cupiditatem meam consuetudinis nostrae augendae (nam ad amorem quidem nihil poterat accedere), tum discedis a nobis, meque tanto desiderio afficis, ut unam mihi consolationem relinquant, fore ut utriusque nostrum absentis desiderium crebris et longis epistulis leniatur. Quod ego non modo de me tibi spondere possum, sed de te etiam mihi. Nullam enim apud me reliquisti
2 dubitationem, quantum me amares. Nam, ut illa omittam, quae civitate teste fecisti, cum mecum inimicitias communicasti, cum me contionibus tuis defendisti, eum quaestor in mea atque in publica

^a This probably refers to his meeting with Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul in 46.

^b A collection Trebonius had made and sent to Cicero of "Ciceroniana," which elicited this letter of thanks.

^c "Trebonius, as quaestor in 60, had vigorously supported the consuls, Afranius and Metellus Celer, in opposing the tribune, C. Herennius, who brought forward a law in favour of the transference of Clodius to the plebeians. Who Trebonius's colleague was is not certainly known." Tyrrell.

else is what sort of a journey you are having ; where it was you saw our friend Brutus,^a and how long you were with him ; after that, when you have got further on your journey, write about military affairs, and indeed about the whole business, so that we can have some idea as to where we stand. I shall regard my knowledge of affairs as being in exact proportion to the information I have got from your letters.

Take care of your health, and continue to love me, as you do, with a love beyond compare.

XXI

CICERO TO TREBONIUS

Rome, towards the end of 46 B.C.

I read your letter with pleasure, and your book ^b 1 with extreme pleasure ; and yet amid all that pleasure it caused me a pang of sorrow, that when you had intensified my desire to tighten the bonds of our intimacy—to our affection, of course, no addition was possible—at that very moment you depart from me and plunge me into so deep a regret as to leave me but one single consolation—the thought that our yearning for one another in our separation may be assuaged by long and frequent letters. And that I can guarantee not only as from me to you, but also as from you to me. For you have left no shadow of doubt in my mind as to your affection for me.

For to omit what the whole state can testify to your ² having done, when you shared my enmities with me, when you defended me in your public addresses, when as quaestor,^c in my own, as well as the public interests,

CICERO

causa consulum partes suscepisti, cum tribuno plebis quaestor non paruisti, cui tuus praesertim collega pareret; ut haec recentia, quae meminero semper, obliviscar, quae tua sollicitudo de me in armis, quae laetitia in reditu, quae cura, qui dolor, cum ad te curae et dolores mei perferrentur! Brundisium denique te ad me venturum fuisse, nisi subito in Hispaniam missus esses; ut haec igitur omittam, quae mihi tanti aestimanda sunt, quanti vitam aestimo et salutem meam, liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui! primum, quod tibi facetum videtur, quidquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item; deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt sive secus,¹ fiunt, narrante te, venustissima. Quin etiam ante, quam ad me veniatur, risus omnis paene consumitur. Quod si in iis scribendis nihil aliud, nisi, quod necesse fuit, de uno me tamdiu cogitavisses, ferreus essem, si te non amarem. Cum vero ea, quae scriptura persecutus es, sine summo amore cogitare non potueris, non possum existimare, plus quemquam a se ipso, quam me a te amari. Cui quidem ego amori utinam ceteris rebus possem! amore certe respondebo; quo tamen ipso tibi confido futurum satis.

4 Nunc ad epistulam venio, cui copiose et suaviter scriptae nihil est quod multa respondeam. Primum

¹ *Corradus, for sic ("so, so") in the MSS.*

you sided with the consuls, when as quaestor again you refused to obey the tribune of the plebs, especially when your own colleague obeyed him—to forget all these more recent services (which I shall ever remember), what solicitude you showed for me in the war, what ecstasy in my recall, what anxiety, what grief, when my own anxieties and griefs reached your ears!—and finally the fact that you would have come to me in Brundisium, had you not been suddenly sent to Spain;—to omit all those services then, which I am bound to value as highly as I value my own life and welfare, here is this book you have sent me; what a revelation it is of your affection for me! First, because whatever I have said seems brilliant to you (not so perhaps to anybody else), and secondly, because those *mots* of mine, be they brilliant or be they not, become perfectly beautiful when you are the teller. Why, even before my name is reached, people have hardly a laugh left in them.

But if this compilation proves (and it must have ³ been so) that you had been thinking of nothing else but of me, and me alone, for so long, I should indeed have a heart of stone if I did not love you. Seeing, however, that unless your affection sprang from the heart you could never have thought out what you have elaborated in writing, I cannot conceive anybody's loving himself more than you love me. And would that I could reciprocate that love in every other direction! At any rate, as far as my love goes, I shall do so; and after all I am confident that you will find that enough of itself.

And now I come to your letter, in which you express ⁴ yourself with exuberance and charm; but there is no reason why I should write much in reply. In the first

enim ego illas Calvo litteras misi, non plus, quam has, quas nunc legis, existimans exituras. Aliter enim scribimus, quod eos solos, quibus mittimus, aliter, quod multos lecturos putamus. Deinde ingenium eius melioribus extuli laudibus, quam tu id vere potuisse fieri putas. Primum, quod ita iudicabam; acute movebatur; genus quoddam sequebatur; in quo iudicio lapsus, quo valebat, tamen assequebatur, quod probaret. Multae erant et reconditae litterae; vis non erat. Ad eam igitur adhortabar. In excitando autem et in acuendo plurimum valet, si laudes eum, quem cohortere. Habes de Calvo iudicium et consilium meum—consilium, quod hortandi causa laudavi; iudicium, quod de ingenio eius valde existimavi
 5 bene. Reliquum est, ut tuam perfectionem amore prosequar, redivitum spe exspectem, absentem memoria colam, omne desiderium litteris mittendis accipiendisque leniam. Tu velim tua in me studia et officia multum tecum recordere, quae cum tibi liceat, mihi nefas sit oblivisci, non modo virum bonum me existimabis, verum etiam te a me amari plurimum iudicabis. Vale.

^a C. Licinius Macer Calvus, a distinguished orator and poet. His most famous case was that against Vatinius, when the latter was defended by Cicero in 54. Calvus was then only 27 years of age. His poems were classed by the ancients with those of Catullus. He was so short in stature that Catullus (liii. 5) says he heard him called *Salaputium disertum*, "the eloquent Tom Thumb." Calvus himself had no high opinion of Cicero, whom he thought *solutus et enervis*, "sloppy and flabby," just as Cicero says of him here that "he lacked force."

^b I have adopted Dr. J. S. Reid's admirable rendering of *acute movebatur*.

place, when I sent that letter to Calvus,^a I had no idea that it would get abroad any more than the one you are now reading. You see, I have one way of writing what I think will be read by those only to whom I address my letter, and another way of writing what I think will be read by many. In the next place I eulogized his genius in terms of higher praise than you think could have been done with truth. To begin with, it was because I really thought so ; he was a man of keen mental activity^b ; he pursued a certain definite style, and although in that he committed an error of judgment—and yet judgment was his strong point—he none the less did capture the style of his choice. He was a man of wide and abstruse reading, but he lacked force. That is therefore what I pressed him to acquire. Now in rousing and stimulating a man's energies there is nothing more efficacious than to praise him while you urge him on. So there you have my judgment of Calvus, and my object in expressing it—my object was that I praised him with a view to encouraging him ; my judgment, that I had an exceedingly high opinion of his natural abilities.

It only remains for me to speed your departure⁵ with my love, to look forward to your return with hope, to cherish your memory in your absence, and to alleviate our mutual yearnings as long as they last by the interchange of letters. On your part I should like you constantly to call to mind your acts of devotion and service to me ; and though it is open to you (it would be a crime in me) to forget them, you will have reason not only to regard me as an honest man, but also to conclude that my affection for you is of the strongest.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM
AD FAMILIARES

LIBER DECIMUS SEXTUS

I

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

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

- 1 Paullo facilius putavi posse me ferre desiderium tui, sed plane non fero; et quamquam magni ad honorem nostrum interest, quam primum ad Urbem me venire, tamen peccasse mihi videor, qui a te discesserim; sed quia tua voluntas ea videbatur esse, ut prorsus, nisi confirmato corpore, nolles navigare, approbavi tuum consilium, neque nunc muto, si tu in eadem es sententia. Sin autem postea quam cibum cepisti, videris tibi posse me consequi, tuum consilium est. Marionem ad te eo misi, ut aut tecum ad me

* Marcus Tullius Tiro was a slave of Cicero, manumitted by him in 54 or 53. He was a man of amiable disposition and of more than ordinary intellectual ability, and was much beloved by his patron. He was Cicero's amanuensis and literary assistant, and was himself an author of some reputation, among his works being a defensive biography of his patron, a treatise on grammar, and some poetry (xvi. 18. 3). Tiro was the chief agent in compiling and arranging Cicero's

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS

BOOK XVI

I

CICERO TO TIRO ^a

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

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

I imagined I could bear the loss of your company ¹ somewhat easily, but I simply cannot bear it; and although it is highly important in view of my triumph that I should reach the City as soon as possible, still I think it was a mistake on my part to have left your side; and as you seemed to be absolutely unwilling to take ship except when you had recovered your strength, I approved your decision, and I am not now changing my mind, if you are still of the same opinion. If however, after you have taken nourishment, you think you can catch me up, well, that is for you to decide. My object in sending Mario ^b to you was in order that he might join me as soon as possible and

work, and in preserving his correspondence. After Cicero's death he bought a farm near Puteoli, where, in spite of his weak health, he reached the age of 100.

^b A slave of Cicero. Cf. *Ep.* 3. 2.

CICERO

quam primum veniret, aut, si tu morarere, statim ad
2 me rediret. Tu autem hoc tibi persuade, si commodo
valetudinis tuae fieri possit, nihil me malle, quam
te esse mecum; si autem intelleges opus esse te
Patris convalescendi causa paullum commorari, nihil
me malle, quam te valere. Si statim navigas, nos
Leucade consequere; sin te confirmare vis, et comites
et tempestates et navem idoneam ut habeas, dili-
genter videbis. Unum illud, mi Tiro, videto, si me
amas, ne te Marionis adventus et hae litterae mo-
veant. Quod valetudini tuae maxime conducet, si
feceris, maxime obtemperaris voluntati meae. Haec
pro tuo ingenio considera. Nos ita te desideramus,
ut amemus; amor, ut valentem videamus, hortatur.
desiderium, ut quam primum. Illud igitur potius.
Cura ergo potissimum, ut valeas; de tuis innumerabi-
libus in me officiis erit hoc gratissimum. III. Nonas
Novembres.

II

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Alyziae, A.U.C. 704.

Non queo ad te nec lubet scribere, quo animo sim
affectus; tantum scribo, et tibi et mihi maximae
voluptati fore, si te firmum quam primum videro.

^a A town on the coast of Acarnania, midway between
Astacus and Anactorium.

bring you with him, or else, if you made any stay, that that he might immediately return to me.

You must, however, convince yourself of this, that if ² it can be managed without detriment to your health, nothing would please me more than to have you with me ; if, on the other hand, you feel sure that a short stay at Patrae is essential to your convalescence, that nothing would please me more than to have you well. If you take ship at once, you will catch me up at Leucas ; but if you desire to establish your health, you must see to it very carefully that you get the fellow-passengers, the weather, and the ship that exactly suit you. Be particularly mindful, my dear Tiro, as you love me, not to let Mario's arrival, and this letter, influence your plans. If you do what is most conducive to your health, you will best obey my wishes. Think it over, and use your own judgment. For myself, I long for your presence, but it is as one who loves you ; love urges " Let me see you in good health " ; longing " Let it be with all speed." The former consideration then should come first. Above everything, therefore, take care of your health ; of all your countless kindnesses to me this will be the most gratifying. Nov. 3rd.

II

CICERO TO TIRO

Alyzia,^o November 5, 50 B.C.

I have neither the power nor the inclination to write and tell you what my feelings are ; I only tell you that the greatest pleasure either you or I can enjoy will be my seeing you in robust health as soon as may be.

CICERO

Tertio die abs te ad Alyziam accesseramus. Is locus est citra Leucadem stadia cxx. Leucade aut te ipsum, aut tuas litteras a Marione putabam me accepturum. Quantum me diligis, tantum fac ut valeas, vel quantum te a me scis diligi. Nonis Novembr. Alyzia.

III

TULLIUS ET CICERO TIRONI SUO S. D. ET Q. PATER
ET Q. FILIUS

Alyziae, A.U.C. 704.

1 Nos apud Alyziam, ex quo loco tibi litteras ante
dederamus, unum diem commorati sumus, quod
Quintus nos consecutus non erat. Is dies fuit Nonae
Novembr. Inde ante lucem proficiscentes, ante diem
viii. Idus Novembr. has litteras dedimus. Tu, si nos
omnes amas et praecipue me, magistrum tuum, con-
2 firma te. Ego valde suspensio animo exspecto, pri-
mum te scilicet, deinde Marionem cum tuis litteris.
Omnes cupimus, ego in primis, quam primum te
videre, sed, mi Tiro, valentem. Quare nihil propera-
ris: satis, quo te die videro, si valebis. Utilitatibus
tuis possum carere; te valere, tua causa primum
volo, tum mea, mi Tiro. Vale.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. II.—III.

We arrived at Alyzia on the third day after leaving you. The place is 120 stades on your side of Leucas. At Leucas I am expecting either to welcome yourself in person, or to receive a letter from you, brought by Mario. Let your eagerness to be well be as great as your affection for me, or (if you prefer it) as great as you know my affection for you to be. Alyzia, November 5.

III

CICERO TO TIRO

Alyzia, November 6, 50 B.C.

I, Tullius, and Cicero, and Quintus, father and son, send greetings to our Tiro.

We stayed at Alyzia—that is the place from which I despatched a letter to you—for one day, because Quintus had not caught us up. That was November 5. We are despatching this letter just as we are setting out from here before dawn on November 6. As you love us all, and especially myself, who taught you, get strong again.

I am looking forward with the greatest anxiety, first of all, of course, to seeing you, and in the next place to seeing Mario with a letter from you. We all desire to see you, I in particular, as soon as possible, but only, my dear Tiro, if you are well. So do not hurry at all; it will be enough, if on the day I see you, you are well. I can dispense with the advantage of your services; I want you to be well, my dear Tiro, first for your own sake, and then for mine. Farewell.

CICERO

IV

TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q. FR. ET Q. FIL.
S. P. D. TIRONI S.

Leucade, A.U.C. 704.

- 1 Varie sum affectus tuis litteris ; valde priore pagina perturbatus, paullum altera recreatus. Quare nunc quidem non dubito, quin, quoad plane valeas, te neque navigationi neque viae committas. Satis te mature videro, si plane confirmatum videro. De medico et tu bene existimari scribis, et ego sic audio. Sed plane curationes eius non probo. Ius enim dandum tibi non fuit, cum *κακοστόμαχος* esses ; sed tamen et ad illum scripsi accurate, et ad Lysonem.
- 2 Ad Curium vero, suavissimum hominem et summi officii summaeque humanitatis, multa scripsi ; in his etiam, ut, si tibi videretur, te ad se transferret. Lyso enim noster, vereor, ne negligentior sit ; primum, quia omnes Graeci ; deinde, quod, cum a me litteras accepisset, mihi nullas remisit. Sed cum tu laudas. Tu igitur, quid faciendum sit, iudicabis. Illud, mi Tiro, te rogo, sumptu ne parcas ulla in re, quod ad valetudinem opus sit. Scripsi ad Curium, quod

^a His name was Asclapo (xiii. 20).

^b The hotel proprietor at Patrae. See note *a* on xiii. 19. 1.

^c Manius Curius, a money-lender at Patrae. See xiii. 17. 1.

IV

CICERO TO TIRO

Leucas, November 7, 50 B.C.

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

I was variously affected by your letter, being 1 seriously disturbed by the first page, but a little reassured by the second. I am now therefore in no doubt whatever that, until you are perfectly well, you should not trust yourself to any journeyings by sea or land. I shall see you quite soon enough, when I see you in robust health. About your doctor,^a you yourself write that he is well thought of, and I am told so myself. But as for his treatment of you, I am not at all satisfied with it. For instance, you should never have been given soup, when your stomach was out of order; anyhow, I have written to him with particular care, and also to Lyso.^b

To Curius^c however, that most charming, most 2 obliging and most courteous of men, I have written at great length; among other things too, that if it be your pleasure, he should take you over into his house. For I am afraid our friend Lyso is a bit casual, first, because all Greeks are so, and secondly, because when he had had a letter from me, he sent me no letter in reply. But you speak highly of him; so you are the best judge as to what should be done. This one thing, my dear Tiro, I beg of you to do—spare no expense in any respect, if it be necessary for your health. I have written to Curius to advance you

CICERO

dixisses, daret. Medico ipsi puto aliquid dandum
3 esse, quo sit studiosior. Innumerabilia tua sunt in
me officia, domestica, forensia, urbana, provincialia;
in re privata, in publica, in studiis, in litteris nostris.
Omnia viceris, si, ut spero, te validum videro. Ego
puto, te bellissime, si recte erit, cum quaestore
Mescinio decursurum. Non inhumanus est, teque, ut
mihi visus est, diligit. Et cum valetudini tuae diligen-
tissime consulueris, tum, mi Tiro, consulito naviga-
4 nisi ut salvus sis. Sic habeto, mi Tiro, neminem
esse, qui me amet, quin idem te amet; et cum tua et
mea maxime interest te valere, tum multis est eurae.
Adhuc, dum mihi nullo loco deesse vis, numquam te
confirmare potuisti. Nunc te nihil impedit. Omnia
depone; corpori servi. Quantam diligentiam in vale-
tudinem tuam contuleris, tanti me fieri a te iudicabo.
Vale, mi Tiro, vale, vale, et salve. Lepta tibi salutem
dicit et omnes. Vale. vii. Idus Novembr. Leueade.

^a Mescinius Rufus, Cicero's quaestor in Cilicia, to whom
are addressed v. 19 and 20. Cicero had no high opinion of
him as quaestor, but wrote of him in complimentary terms
in xiii. 26.

^b Cicero's *praefectus fabrum*. See iii. 7. 4.

whatever sum you should name. I think something should be given to the doctor himself, to quicken his interest in you.

Your services to me are past all reckoning—at 3 home, in the forum, in the City, in my province, in private as in public affairs, in my literary pursuits and performances. You will surpass them all, if I only see you, as I hope to do, in good health. If all goes well, I think you will have a perfectly charming voyage home with the quaestor Mescinius.^a He is no churl, and he has always seemed to me to be fond of you. And when you have given the most careful consideration to your health, consider how you may best undertake a voyage. In no respect whatever would I now have you hurry yourself. My one anxiety is for your safety.

Take it as a fact, my dear Tiro, that there is nobody 4 who loves me, who does not also love you ; and while your health is of the highest importance to you and me, it is a matter of solicitude to many. So far, in your desire never to fail me anywhere, you have never been able to recover your strength. Now there is nothing to hinder you. Put everything aside ; be the slave of your body. I shall measure your esteem for me by the amount of care you bestow upon your health. Good-bye, my dear Tiro, good-bye, good-bye, and good health to you ! Lepta ^b sends you his best wishes, and so do all of us. Good-bye ! Leucas, November 7.

CICERO

V

TULLIUS ET CICERO ET Q. Q. S. P. D. TIRONI
HUMANISS. ET OPT.

Leucade, A.U.C. 704.

1 Vide, quanta sit in te suavitas. Duas horas Thyrraei fuimus. Xenomenes hospes tam te diligit, quam si vixerit tecum. Is omnia pollicitus est, quae tibi essent opus. Facturum puto. Mihi placebat, si firmior esses, ut te Leucadem deportaret, ut ibi te plane confirmares. Videbis, quid Curio, quid Lysoni, quid medico placeat. Volebam ad te Marionem remittere : quem, cum meliuscule tibi esset, ad me mitteres ; sed cogitavi, unam litteram Marionem afferre
2 posse, me autem crebras expectare. Poteris igitur, et facies, si me diligis, ut quotidie sit Acastus in portu. Multi erunt, quibus recte litteras dare possis, qui ad me libenter perferant. Equidem Patras euntem neminem praetermittam. Ego omnem spem tui diligenter curandi in Curio habeo. Nihil potest illo fieri humanius, nihil nostri amantius. Ei te totum trade. Malo te paullo post valentem, quam statim imbecillum videre. Cura igitur nihil aliud, nisi ut tu

^a In Acarnania, a little south of the Ambracian Gulf.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. v.

V

CICERO TO TIRO

Off Leucas, November 7, 50 B.C.

Tullius, and Cicero, and the two Quinti, send warmest greetings to that most kindly and best of men, Tiro.

See what an attractive person you are ! We have 1
been two hours at Thyrræum.^a Xenomenes, my host,
is as fond of you as if he had been your life-com-
panion. He has promised to do everything that you
require, and I think he will do so. My view was that,
should you now be stronger, he should land you in
Leucas, so that you might get perfectly well there.
You will see what are the views of Curius, of Lyso,
and of your doctor. I wanted to send Mario back to
you, so that when things are a little better with
you, you should send him to me ; but I reflected that
Mario could bring me but a single letter, while I
was looking forward to a budget.

You can therefore, and, if you love me, you 2
will arrange to have Acastus in attendance at the
harbour every day. There will be many to whom
you can properly entrust a letter, and who would
deliver it to me with pleasure. For my own part
I shall not pass over anybody who is going to
Patrae. I put all my hopes of your being properly
attended to in Curius. Nothing can be kinder or
more devoted to me than he is. Put yourself
entirely in his hands. I had rather see you well
a little later on, than poorly in the immediate
present. Let your health be your only care :

CICERO

valeas ; cetera ego curabo. Etiam atque etiam vale.
Leucade proficiscens, vii. Idus Novembr.

VI

M. TULLIUS CIC. PATER ET FIL. ET Q. Q. S. P. D. TIRONI

Acti, A.U.C. 704.

1 Tertiam ad te hanc epistulam scripsi eodem die,
magis instituti mei tenendi causa, quia nactus eram,
cui darem, quam, quo haberem, quod scriberem.
Igitur illa ; quantum me diligis, tantum adhibe in
te diligentiae. Ad tua innumerabilia in me officia
adde hoc, quod mihi erit gratissimum omnium. Cum
valetudinis rationem, ut spero, habueris, habeto etiam
2 navigationis. In Italiam euntibus omnibus ad me
litteras dabis, ut ego euntem Patras neminem praeter-
mitto. Cura, cura te, mi Tiro ; quando non contigit,
ut simul navigares, nihil est, quod festines, nec
quidquam cures, nisi ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam
vale. vii. Idus Novembr. Actio, vesperi.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. v.-vi.

leave everything else to my care. Good-bye again and again. Just setting out from Leucas. Nov. 7th.

VI

CICERO TO TIRO

Actium, November 7 (evening), 50 B.C.

I Tullius and Cicero, and the two Quinti, send warmest greetings to Tiro.

This is the third letter I have written to you on 1 the same day, more for the sake of keeping to my established practice (having found a man to whom I may entrust it), than because I have anything to write. So I only say this: show as much regard for yourself as is your regard for me. Add this to your countless kindnesses to me, and it will be the most acceptable of them all; when you have given full consideration to your health, as I hope you will, then give consideration to your voyage also.

Please give letters to me to all who are on their 2 way to Italy; I never pass over anybody who is on his way to Patrae. Take care, take care of yourself, my dear Tiro. Since you were not fortunate enough to sail in my company, there is no reason why you should hurry, no reason why you should take thought for anything but your health. Again and again, good-bye! Actium, November 7th, in the evening.

CICERO

VII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Coreyrae, A.U.C. 704.

Septimum iam diem Coreyrae tenebamur ; Quintus autem pater et filius Buthroti. Solliciti eramus de tua valetudine mirum in modum ; nec mirabamur, nihil a te litterarum. Iis enim ventis istinc navigatur, qui si essent, nos Coreyrae non sederemus. Cura igitur te et confirma et, cum commode et per valetudinem et per anni tempus navigare poteris, ad nos, amantissimos tui, veni. Nemo nos amat, qui te non diligat ; carus omnibus exspectatusque venies. Cura, ut valeas. Etiam atque etiam, Tiro noster, vale. xv. Kalend. Decembr. Coreyra.

VIII

Q. C. TIRONI S.

Formiis, A.U.C. 705.

1 Magnae nobis est sollicitudini valetudo tua. Nam, tametsi qui veniunt, ἀκίνδυνα μὲν, χρονιώτερα δὲ nuntiant, tamen in magna consolatione ingens inest sollicitudo, si diutius a nobis afuturus est is, cuius usum et suavitatem desiderando sentimus. Ac tamen

^a The south-east wind, which would facilitate a crossing from Coreyra to Italy, would also bring a letter from Patrae.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. VII.—VIII.

VII

CICERO TO TIRO

Coreyra, November 16, 50 B.C.

This is the seventh day I have been held up at Coreyra, but Quintus (father and son) at Buthrotum. It would surprise you how anxious I am about your health ; but I am not surprised that there is nothing in the way of a letter from you, for ships sail from where you are when they have just such winds as, if they blew now, would not necessitate our lingering at Coreyra.^a Take care of yourself then, and get strong, and when your health and the season of the year enable you to sail in comfort, come to us, the best friends you have. Nobody loves me who is not fond of you. Dear as you are to us all, your arrival is eagerly awaited. Take care of your health. Again and again, Tiro mine, good-bye.

Coreyra, November 16th.

VIII

QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO

Formiae, February 2 (?), 49 B.C.

Your health is causing us great anxiety. For although those who come from you report that your illness is not dangerous but will last some time, yet, great as that consolation may be, it is marred by an overwhelming anxiety, if we are to be separated for too long a time from one whose usefulness and charm we appreciate the better for missing them. And yet, although my every thought

CICERO

quamquam videre te tota cogitatione cupio, tamen te penitus rogo, ne te tam longae navigationi et viae per hiemem, nisi bene firmum, committas; neve naviges, nisi explorete. Vix in ipsis tectis et oppidis frigus infirma valetudine vitatur, nedum in mari et via sit facile abesse ab iniuria temporis.

Ψῦχος δὲ λεπτῶ χρωτὶ πολεμιώτατον,

inquit Euripides. Cui tu quantum credas, nescio. Ego certe singulos eius versus singula testimonia puto. Effice, si me diligis, ut valeas, et ut ad nos firmus ac valens quam primum venias. Ama nos, et vale. Q. F. tibi salutem dicit.

IX

M. T. ET C. ET Q. S. P. D. TIRONI

Brundisi, A.U.C. 704.

1 Nos a te, ut seis, discessimus a. d. iv. Non. Novembr.; Leucadem venimus a. d. viii. Idus Novembr.; a. d. vii. Actium; ibi propter tempestatem a. d. vi. Idus morati sumus. Inde a. d. quintum Idus Corecyram bellissime navigavimus. Corecyrae fuimus usque a. d. xvi. Kalend. Decembr., tempestatibus retenti. A. d. xv. Kalend. Decembr. in portum Corecyraeorum ad Cassiopen stadia cxx processimus. Ibi retenti ventis sumus usque a. d. ix. Kalendas. Interea, qui

^a This quotation cannot be traced.

^b A town in the north of Corecyra.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. VIII.—IX.

is a desire to see you, I beg you from my heart not to entrust yourself to so long a journey by sea and land unless you are quite strong, and not to sail at all without carefully weighing the chances.

Even in houses and towns it is difficult to avoid ² the cold when one is in poor health ; far less easy is it to escape the cruelty of the winter weather when travelling by sea or land. And "*Cold is the tender skin's most bitter foe,*" as Euripides^a says. How much *you* believe in him I don't know. I, at any rate, regard all his lines, one after the other, as so many declarations on oath. As you love me, make sure of your health, and of joining us as soon as possible, strong and well. Continue to love us, and good-bye. My son Quintus sends you his greeting.

IX

CICERO TO TIRO

Brundisium, November 26, 50 B.C.

I Tullius and Cicero and Quintus send warmest greetings to Tiro.

We left, as you are aware, on November 2nd. We ¹ arrived at Leucas on November 6th, at Actium on the 7th. There, on account of the weather, we stayed during the 8th. From there we had a particularly nice passage on the 9th to Coreyra. We were at Coreyra until November 15th, being held up by storms. On November 16th we proceeded 120 stades to Cassiope,^b a harbour of the Coreyreans. There we were held up by contrary winds right up to the 22nd. Meanwhile those who impatiently put to sea, and many did so, were shipwrecked.

2 cupide profecti sunt, multi naufragia fecerunt. Nos eo die cenati solvimus. Inde austro lenissimo, caelo sereno, nocte illa et die postero in Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus, eodemque vento postridie (id erat a. d. vii. Kalend. Decembr.) hora quarta Brundisium venimus; eodemque tempore simul nobiscum in oppidum introiit Terentia, quae te facit plurimi. A. d. v. Kalend. Decembr. servus Cn. Planci Brundisi tandem aliquando mihi a te exspectatissimas litteras reddidit, datas Idibus Novembr., quae me molestia valde levarunt; utinam omnino liberassent! Sed tamen Asclapo medicus
 3 plane confirmat, propediem te valentem fore. Nunc quid ego te hortor, ut omnem diligentiam adhibeas ad convalescendum? Tuam prudentiam, temperantiam, amorem erga me novi; scio te omnia facturum, ut nobiscum quam primum sis. Sed tamen ita velim, ut ne quid properes. Symphoniam Lysonis vellem vitasses, ne in quartam hebdomada incideres. Sed quoniam pudori tuo maluisti obsequi, quam valedudini, reliqua cura. Curio misi, ut medico honos haberetur, et tibi daret, quod opus esset; me, cui iussisset, curaturum. Equum et mulum Brundisi tibi

• Now Otranto.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. IX.

On that day, after dinner, we weighed anchor. ²
 Sailing thence with a very gentle breeze from the south, and a cloudless sky, in the course of that night and the following day we reached Hydrunt^a on the coast of Italy in quite a frolicsome mood, and with the same wind on the day after (that is on November 24) at 10 A.M. we arrived at Brundisium, and at the same time, simultaneously with ourselves, Terentia entered the town; she values you very highly. On the 26th at Brundisium the slave of Cn. Plancius at last put into my hands your most eagerly awaited letter, dated November 13th. It greatly relieved my distress; would that it had freed me from it altogether! But anyhow Asclapo, the doctor, declares positively that you will soon be well again.

As things now are, why should I urge you to ³
 devote yourself with all possible assiduity to your convalescence? I know your common sense, your self-restraint, and your affection for me, and I have no doubt you will move heaven and earth to join us as soon as possible. But my wish that you should do so is qualified by another—that you should not hurry yourself at all. I should have liked you to have refused to attend Lyso's musical party, for fear you might have a fourth attack of your weekly fever. But since you preferred to consider your sense of obligation rather than your health, be more careful for the future. I am sending directions to Curius that your doctor should be given a *douceur*, and that he should let you have any money you require, adding that I shall see to its repayment to any agent he may name. I am leaving a horse and a mule for you at Brundisium. I am afraid there will be

CICERO

reliqui. Romae vereor, ne ex Kal. Ian. magni tu-
4 multus sint. Nos agemus omnia modice. Reliquum
est, ut te hoc rogem et a te petam, ne temere naviges.
Solent nautae festinare quaestus sui causa. Cautus
sis, mi Tiro. Mare magnum et difficile tibi restat. Si
poteris, cum Mescinio ; caute is solet navigare. Si
minus, cum honesto aliquo homine, cuius auctoritate
navicularius moveatur. In hoc omnem diligentiam si
adhibueris, teque nobis incolumem stiteris, omnia a
te habebo. Etiam atque etiam, noster Tiro, vale.
Medico, Curio, Lysoni de te scripsi diligentissime.
Vale, salve.

X

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Cumis, A.U.C. 701 vel 700.

1 Ego vero cupio te ad me venire, sed viam timeo.
Gravissime aegrotasti ; inedia et purgationibus et vi
ipsius morbi consumptus es. Graves solent offensiones
esse ex gravibus morbis, si quae culpa commissa est.
Iam ad id biduum, quod fueris in via, dum in
Cumanum venis, accedent continuo ad reditum dies
336

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. IX.-X.

serious disturbances at Rome after January 1st. As for myself, I shall act with moderation in all things.

It remains for me to request you, nay, to entreat ⁴ you, not to be too hasty in taking ship. Sailors are apt to hurry things with an eye to their own gain. Be cautious, my dear Tiro. You have yet a good bit of sea, and a difficult one, to cross. If you possibly can, come across with Mescinius: he is always cautious in making a voyage. Failing that, have some man of standing with you who can exercise some authority over the shipowner. If you take every precaution in this respect, and put in an appearance among us safe and sound, you will have given me all I want. Again and again, Tiro mine, good-bye. I am writing with the utmost particularity about you to your doctor, to Curius, and to Lyso. Good-bye, and good health to you.

X

CICERO TO TIRO

Cumae, April 17, 54 or 53 B.C.

Yes indeed, I am anxious that you should join me, ¹ but I am afraid of your travelling. You have been very seriously ill, and you are exhausted from fasting, and taking purgatives, and the violence of the attack itself. Serious illnesses are apt to be followed by serious complications, if any mistake is made. Then, again, to the two days you will have been on the road to Cumae there will be added the five succeeding days needed for your return. I want to

CICERO

quinque. Ego in Formiano a. d. III. Kalend. esse volo.
2 Ibi te ut firmum offendam, mi Tiro, effice. Litterulae
meae, sive nostrae, tui desiderio oblanguerunt. Hac
tamen epistula, quam Acastus attulit, oculos paullum
sustulerunt. Pompeius erat apud me, cum haec
scribebam, hilare et libenter. Ei cupienti audire
nostra dixi sine te omnia mea muta esse. Tu Musis
nostris para ut operas reddas. Nostra ad diem dictam
fient. Docui enim te, fides ἔτιμνον quod haberet. Fac
plane ut valeas. Nos adsumus. Vale. xiv. Kal.

XI

M. T. ET C., TERENTIA ET TULLIA, Q. FRATER ET
Q. F. S. P. D. TIRONI

Ad Urbem, A.U.C. 705.

1 Etsi opportunitatem operae tuae omnibus locis
desidero, tamen non tam mea, quam tua causa doleo,
te non valere. Sed cum in quartanam conversa vis est
morbi (sic enim scribit Curius), spero te, diligentia
adhibita, etiam firmiorem fore. Modo fac, id quod
est humanitatis tuae, ne quid aliud cures hoc tempore,
nisi ut quam commodissime convalescas. Non ignoro,
quantum ex desiderio labores, sed erunt omnia facilia,

^a "Cum fit quod dicitur," "when what is said is done."
Rep. iv. 21. But in *Off.* i. 21 he fears the derivation is
durius, "a little hard to swallow."

^b *i.e.*, "ready to be called upon," a term borrowed from
the law-courts.

be at Formiae on the 28th inst. See to it, my dear Tiro, that I find you there in robust health.

My poor little studies (or if you like, *ours*) have 2 simply pined away from longing for you. But this letter which Acastus brought me has made them lift up their eyes a little. Pompey is staying with me as I write these words ; he is in good spirits and enjoying himself. When he expresses a desire to hear something of mine, I tell him that, without you, I am altogether dumb. Please be ready to render due services to our Muses. My promise will be fulfilled on the appointed day (I have given you the etymology of the word *fides*).^a Mind you make a complete recovery. We are "in attendance"^b here. Good-bye ! April 17.

XI

CICERO TO TIRO

Before Rome, January 12, 49 B.C.

I Tullius and my son, Terentia, Tullia, and Quintus and his son, send warmest greetings to Tiro.

Although I miss your timely assistance at every 1 turn, yet it is not on my own account so much as on yours that your illness grieves me. But now that your violent attack has turned into a quartan fever, according to Curius's letter, I hope that with proper care you will recover your strength. Only be sure, and it is no more than your duty as a man, to give your undivided attention during these days to getting well again with all the comfort you can command. I am well aware how much you are harassed by your longing to be with us, but if you only recover your health,

CICERO

si valebis. Festinare te nolo, ne nauseae molestiam
2 suscipias aeger, et periculose hieme naviges. Ego ad
Urbem accessi pridie Nonas Ianuar. Obviam mihi sic
est proditum, ut nihil potuerit fieri ornatius. Sed
incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiae vel potius
belli; cui cum euperem mederi et, ut arbitror,
possem, cupiditates certorum hominum (nam ex utra-
que parte sunt, qui pugnare cupiant) impedimento
mihi fuerunt. Omnino et ipse Caesar, amicus noster,
minaces ad senatum et acerbas litteras miserat, et erat
adhuc impudens, qui exercitum et provinciam invito
senatu teneret, et Curio meus illum incitabat. An-
tonius quidem noster et Q. Cassius, nulla vi expulsi,
ad Caesarem cum Curione profecti erant, postea quam
senatus consulibus, praetoribus, tribunis plebis et
nobis, qui proconsules sumus, negotium dederat, ut
curaremus, ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet.
3 Numquam maiore in periculo civitas fuit, numquam
improbi cives habuerunt paratiorem duem. Omnino
ex hac quoque parte diligentissime comparatur. Id
fit auctoritate et studio Pompei nostri, qui Caesarem
sero coepit timere. Nobis inter has turbas senatus
tamen frequens flagitavit triumphum; sed Lentulus
consul, quo maius suum beneficium faceret, simul
atque expedisset, quae essent necessaria de republica,

^a See Chron. Summ. for 49 B.C.

all difficulties will vanish. I would not have you hurry yourself, lest you should have to suffer the agonies of sea-sickness in your feeble state, and lest a winter voyage should prove dangerous.

I approached the City on January 4. Nothing ² could be more complimentary than the way I was met by a procession. But my arrival coincided with a very conflagration of civil discord, or rather civil war; and though I had the eager desire, and I believe, the power, to find a remedy for it, I was thwarted by the passionate desires of certain men; for there are those on both sides who desire to fight. To sum up, Caesar himself too, our former friend, has sent a threatening and disagreeable despatch to the Senate, and is still so insolent as to defy the Senate in retaining his army and province; and my old friend Curio eggs him on. Our friend Antony indeed and Q. Cassius, though no violence was used in expelling them, set out in Curio's company to join Caesar, as soon as the Senate had formally charged the consuls, praetor, tribunes of the plebs, and us proconsuls with the duty of seeing that "the Republic suffered no injury."

Never was the State in greater danger; ^a never ³ have disloyal citizens had a better prepared man at their head. On the whole very careful preparations are being made on our side also. That is due to the influence and activity of our old friend Pompey, who, now that it is too late, is beginning to be afraid of Caesar. Amid all these disturbing occurrences a full Senate none the less demanded that I should have a triumph, but Lentulus, the consul, in order to enhance the value of his own services, said that, as soon as he had despatched the necessary public

CICERO

dixit se relaturum. Nos agimus nihil cupide, eoque
4 est nostra pluris auctoritas. Italiae regiones de-
scriptae sunt, quam quisque partem tueretur. Nos
Capuam sumpsimus. Haec te scire volui. Tu etiam
atque etiam cura, ut valeas. litterasque ad me mittas,
quotiescumque habebis, cui des. Etiam atque etiam
vale. D. pridie Idus Ian.

XII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Capuae, A.U.C. 705.

1 Quo in discrimine versetur salus mea et bonorum
omnium atque universae reipublicae, ex eo scire
potes, quod domos nostras, et patriam ipsam vel
diripiendam vel inflammandam reliquimus. In eum
locum res deducta est, ut, nisi qui deus vel casus
2 aliquis subvenerit, salvi esse nequeamus. Equidem
ut veni ad Urbem, non destiti omnia et sentire et
dicere et facere, quae ad concordiam pertinerent ; sed
mirus invaserat furor non solum improbis, sed etiam
his, qui boni habentur, ut pugnare cuperent, me
clamante, nihil esse bello civili miserius. Itaque cum
Caesar amentia quadam raperetur et, oblitus nominis
atque honorum suorum, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Anco-
342

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. XI.—XII.

business, he would bring forward a motion on the subject. I am doing nothing in a spirit of self-aggrandizement, and my influence is by so much the more esteemed. Italy has been marked out into 4 districts, showing what part is under the charge of each of us. I have chosen Capua. That is all I wanted you to know. Again and again I beg you to take care of your health, and to send me a letter whenever you find a man to entrust with one. Again and again, good-bye. January 12.

XII

CICERO TO TIRO

Capua, *January 27, 49 B.C.*

The extreme peril to which my own personal safety 1 and that of all loyal citizens, and indeed that of the whole body politic is exposed, you may infer from our having abandoned our homes and our very country to either rapine or conflagration. To such a pass have things come, that unless some god, or some chance or other, comes to our aid, we cannot escape ruin.

For myself, never, since I came to the city, have I 2 ceased by thought, word, and deed, to help the cause of harmony ; but a mysterious madness had possessed not only the disloyal, but those also who are regarded as loyal, making them eager to fight, in spite of my outcries that the worst of all miseries is a civil war. Consequently, when Caesar was seized with a sort of insanity, and, forgetting his name, and the honours he held, had occupied Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona,

CICERO

nam, Arretium occupavisset, Urbem reliquimus; quam sapienter aut quam fortiter, nihil attinet disputare. Quo quidem in casu simus, vides. Feruntur omnino condiciones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam; delectus, qui sunt habiti, et praesidia nostra dimittantur; se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Considio Noniano (his enim obtigerunt) traditurum; ad consulatus petitionem se venturum; neque se iam velle, absente se, rationem haberi sui; se praesentem trinum nundinum petiturum. Accipimus condiciones; sed ita, ut removeat praesidia ex his locis, quae occupavit, ut sine metu de iis ipsis condicionibus Romae senatus haberi possit. Id ille si fecerit, spes est pacis non honestae; leges enim imponuntur. Sed quidvis est melius, quam sic esse, ut sumus. Sin autem ille suis condicionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est; eiusmodi tamen, quod sustinere ille non possit, praesertim cum a suis condicionibus ipse fugerit; tantummodo ut eum intercludamus, ne ad Urbem possit accedere; quod sperabamus fieri posse. Delectus enim magnos habebamus; putabamusque illum metuere, si ad Urbem ire coepisset, ne Gallias amitteret; quas ambas habet inimicissimas, praeter Transpadanos; ex Hispania-

^a L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.

^b Probably the man who was praetor in 52.

^c A *nundinum* being a period of eight days, three *nundina* would be twenty-four days, the time required by law for the *professio* (public declaration or manifesto) of a candidate for office. *Trinum nundinum*, originally a gen. plur., came to be used (like *sestertium*) as a neuter singular, and is here an accusative of duration of time.

and Arretium, we left the city; the wisdom or courage of that course it is now useless to discuss.

At any rate you see our position. These, broadly speaking, are the terms Caesar offers—that Pompey should go to Spain, that the recently levied troops, and our garrisons, should be disbanded, that upon this he will surrender Northern Gaul to Domitius,^a and Southern Gaul to Considius Nonianus^b (for it was to them that those provinces have been allotted); that he will return to canvass for the consulship, that he no longer wishes his candidature to be admitted in his absence, and that he will be a candidate on the spot for the period covering three *nundina*.^c These terms we have accepted, but only on condition that he withdraws his garrisons from the places he has occupied, so that the Senate may meet in Rome to discuss these same terms with no sense of apprehension.

If he does so, there is some hope of peace, though not with honour; for they are orders that are laid upon us. But anything is better than that our present plight should continue. If, however, he refuses to stand by his own terms, war is ready at hand, but such a war as he could not possibly face (especially after abandoning his own conditions), if only we cut him off from all chance of approaching the city; and that we hope can be done, as we are holding levies on an extensive scale; and we believe that he is afraid, if once he begins to march upon the city, of losing the two Gauls, both of which he finds extremely hostile to him, with the exception of the Transpadani.^d From

^d Whose claims to the franchise had been warmly supported by Caesar, who carried them into effect when he came to Rome in April.

CICERO

que sex legiones et magna auxilia, Afranio et Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi; modo ut urbe salva! Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus, socius sceleris esse noluit; reliquit illum et nobiscum est; multique
5 idem facturi esse dicuntur. Ego adhuc orae maritimae praesum a Formiis. Nullum maius negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meae litterae cohortationesque ad pacem valerent. Sin autem erit bellum, video me castris et certis legionibus praefuturum. Habeo etiam illam molestiam, quod Dolabella noster apud Caesarem est. Haec tibi nota esse volui; quae cave ne te perturbent et impediant
6 valetudinem tuam. Ego A. Varroni, quem cum amantissimum mei cognovi, tum etiam valde tui studiosum, diligentissime te commendavi, ut et valetudinis tuae rationem haberet et navigationis, et totum te susciperet ac tueretur; quem omnia facturum confido. Recepit enim, et mecum locutus est suavissime. Tu, cum eo tempore mecum esse non potuisti, quo ego maxime operam et fidelitatem desideravi tuam, cave festines aut committas, ut aut aeger aut hieme naviges. Numquam sero te venisse

^a T. Labienus was afterwards slain at Munda.

^b Caesar.

^c For this Varro see note *a* on xiii. 22. 1.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. XII.

the direction of Spain too he has six legions and a strong force of auxiliaries under the command of Afranius and Petreius, threatening his rear. Should he play the madman, it looks as though he might be crushed,—if only he could be, and Rome still safe! The heaviest blow he has had, however, is that the man who held the most influential position in his army, T. Labienus,^a has refused to associate himself with his chief's misdeeds; he has left him and come over to us, and it is said that many others are likely to do the same.

Myself I am still in command of all the sea-coast, ⁵ south of Formiae; I was disinclined to undertake any greater responsibility, so that my letters and remonstrances might carry greater weight with our friend ^b in favour of peace. If there be a war, however, I foresee that I shall be given the command of a camp and certain legions. I have this also to worry me, that my son-in-law Dolabella is in Caesar's camp. I wanted you to be apprised of all this, but take care that it does not put you out, or stand in the way of your recovery.

I have commended you very earnestly to A. Varro,^c ⁶ whom I have found to be not only a very true friend to myself, but also sincerely devoted to you, asking him to interest himself in your health and voyage, and take you entirely under his charge and protection. All this I feel sure he will do; for he guaranteed that he would, and spoke to me most charmingly. Since you could not be with me at the very time when I chiefly missed your faithful services, mind you do not hurry now, or make the mistake of sailing when you are ill, or the weather is bad. I shall never think you have come too late, if you are safe and sound when you do

CICERO

putabo, si salvus veneris. Adhuc neminem videram, qui te postea vidisset quam M. Volusius, a quo tuas litteras accepi; quod non mirabar; neque enim meas puto ad te litteras tanta hieme perferri. Sed da operam, ut valeas; et, si valebis, cum recte navigari poterit, tum naviges. Cicero meus in Formiano erat, Terentia et Tullia Romae. Cura, ut valeas. iv. Kalendas Febr. Capua.

XIII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Cumis, A.U.C. 700 vel 701.

Omnia a te data mihi putabo, si te valentem videro. Summa cura exspectabam adventum Menandri, quem ad te miseram. Cura, si me diligis, ut valeas et, cum te bene confirmaris, ad nos venias. Vale. iv. Idus April.

XIV

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Cumis, A.U.C. 700 vel 701.

1 Andricus postridie ad me venit quam exspectaram. Itaque habui noctem plenam timoris ac miseriae. Tuis litteris nihilo sum factus certior, quomodo te haberes; sed tamen sum recreatus. Ego omni de-

^a For Volusius see v. 20. 3.

^b Some editors read *Andrici* here; others leave *Menandri* and read *Menander* at the beginning of the next letter.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. XII.—XIV.

come. Up to the present I have seen nobody who saw you since M. Volusius ^a did, from whose hands I received your letter, and I am not surprised at it, for I don't think my own letters to you reach their destination in such wintry weather. But do all you can to get well, and if you are well, only sail when a voyage can be made with safety. My boy Cicero is in my house at Formiae, Terentia and Tullia at Rome. Take care of your health. Capua, January 27.

XIII

CICERO TO TIRO

Cumae, April 10, 54 or 53 B.C.

I shall consider that you have done me every possible favour, if I see you in good health. I await with the greatest anxiety the arrival of Menander,^b whom I sent to you. As you love me, take care of your health, and mind you join us when you have made a complete recovery. Good-bye. April 10th.

XIV

CICERO TO TIRO

Cumae, April 10, 54 or 53 B.C.

Andricus did not join me until the day after I expected him; so I had a night full of fear and misery. Your letter added nothing at all to my information as to your condition, but all the same it relieved me. I have nothing to amuse me, no

CICERO

lectatione litterisque omnibus careo; quas ante quam te videro, attingere non possum. Medico mercedis, quantum poscet, promitti iubeto. Id scripsi ² ad Ummium. Audio te animo angi, et medicum dicere ex eo te laborare. Si me diligis, excita ex somno tuas litteras humanitatemque, propter quam mihi es carissimus. Nunc opus est te animo valere, ut corpore possis. Id cum tua, tum mea causa facias, a te peto. Acastum retine, quo commodius tibi ministretur. Conserva te mihi; dies promissorum adest, quem etiam repraesentabo,—si adveneris. Etiam atque etiam vale. IV. Idus hora VI.

XV

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

CUMIS, A.U.C. 700 vel 701.

1 Aegypta ad me venit pridie Idus Apriles. Is etsi mihi nuntiavit, te plane feбри carere et belle habere, tamen, quod negavit te potuisse ad me scribere, euram mihi attulit, et eo magis, quod Hermia, quem eodem die venire oportuerat, non venerat. Incredibili sum sollicitudine de tua valetudine; qua si me liberaris, ego te omni cura liberabo. Plura scriberem, si iam putarem libenter te legere posse. Ingenium tuum, quod ego maximi facio, confer ad te mihi

^a Perhaps Cicero's *dispensator*, household steward, at Tusculum.

^b To manumit you.

^c Formerly a slave, now a freedman, of Cicero.

^d Probably a slave of Cicero. Cf. *Q. Fr.* i. 2. 12.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. xiv.—xv.

literary work on hand; I cannot bring myself to touch it, until I see you. Please give orders that your doctor shall be promised whatever fee he asks. I am writing to that effect to Ummius.^a

I am told that you are distressed in mind, and ² that your doctor says that you are suffering in health as a result of it. As you love me, arouse from slumber your literary talents, and that culture which makes you so precious to me. You must now be well in mind, so as to be so in body. I beg of you to ensure this as much for my sake as for your own. Retain Acastus's services, so that you may be waited upon with greater comfort. Keep yourself safe for me; the day of my promise ^b is at hand—indeed, I shall definitely fix it now—it will be the day you arrive. Again and again, good-bye. Noon, April 10.

XV

CICERO TO TIRO

Cumae, April 12, 54 or 53 B.C.

Aegypta ^c joined me here on April 12th. Al- ¹ though he reported that you were entirely rid of your fever and were going on nicely, yet his telling me that you had been unable to write caused me some anxiety; and all the more so, because Hermia, ^d who ought to have arrived on the same day, has not done so. You could not believe how anxious I am about your health: if you relieve me from that anxiety, I will relieve you of all your duties. I should write a longer letter if I thought you were now able to enjoy the reading of it. Concentrate your wits, of which I have the highest opinion,

CICERO

tibique conservandum. Cura te etiam atque etiam
2 diligenter. Vale. Scripta iam epistula, Hermia venit.
Accepi tuam epistulam, vacillantibus litterulis ; nec
mirum, tam gravi morbo. Ego ad te Aegyptam misi,
quod nec inhumanus est et te visus est mihi diligere ;
ut is tecum esset ; et cum eo coquum, quo uterere.
Vale.

XVI

Q. C. S. P. D. M. CICERONI FRATRI

In Gallia (?), A.U.C. 700 vel 701.

1 De Tirone, mi Marce, ita te meumque Ciceronem
et meam Tulliolam tuumque filium videam, ut mihi
gratissimum fecisti, cum eum, indignum illa fortuna,
nobis amicum quam servum esse maluisti. Mihi
crede, tuis et illius litteris perlectis, exsilii gaudio.
2 Tibi et ago gratias et gratulor. Si enim mihi Stati
fidelitas est tantae voluptati, quanti esse in isto
haec eadem bona debent, additis litteris, sermonibus,
humanitate, quae sunt his ipsis commodis potiora !
Amo te omnibus equidem maximis de causis, verum
etiam propter hanc, vel quod mihi sic, ut debuisti,

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. xv.-xvi.

upon keeping yourself safe for my benefit, as well as your own. Use every care (I say it again and again) in looking after your health. Good-bye.

P.S. Since the above was written Hermia has turned up. I have got your letter, though your poor handwriting is very shaky; and no wonder, after so serious an illness. I send you Aegypta to stay with you, because he is not without culture, and is, I believe, fond of you; and with him a cook, for you to make use of. Good-bye.

XVI

QUINTUS CICERO TO MARCUS CICERO

Rome, or on his way to, or in Transalpine Gaul,
54 or 53 B.C.

In the matter of Tiro, my dear Marcus, as surely 1
as I hope to see you, and my son Cicero, and my
darling Tullia, and your son, you have done what
gave me extreme pleasure, when you preferred
that he whose position was so unworthy of him
should be our friend rather than a slave. Believe me,
when I had perused your letter, and his, I jumped
for joy, and I not only thank, but I congratulate
you too.

For if Statius's faithful service is so constant a 2
pleasure to me, how inestimable should such good
qualities be in your man, when we think too of his
literary and conversational powers, and his refine-
ment—merits which outweigh even those qualities
which minister to our personal comfort. I have every
reason, and each the strongest possible, to love you,
and I have this reason also, I mean that you sent me

nuntiasti. Te totum in litteris vidi. Sabini pueris et promisi omnia, et faciam.

XVII

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Asturæ, A.U.C. 709.

Video, quid agas : tuas quoque epistulas vis referri in volumina. Sed heus tu, qui *κακῶν* esse meorum scriptorum soles, unde illud tam *ἄκυρον*, *valetudini fideliter inserviendō*? Unde in istum locum *fideliter* venit? cui verbo domicilium est proprium in officio, migrationes in alienum multæ. Nam et doctrina et domus et ars et ager etiam *fidelis* dici potest, ut sit, quomodo Theophrasto placet, verecunda tralatio. Sed hæc coram. Demetrius venit ad me, quo quidem comitatu *ἀφομίλησα*, satis scite.¹ Tu eum videlicet non potuisti videre. Cras aderit; videbis igitur. Nam ego hinc perendie mane cogito. Valetudo tua

¹ *H.F.D.* : satis scis *Nobbe*.

^a The news of Tiro's manumission.

^b See xv. 20. 1.

^c *κακῶν* = Lat. *norma*, the standard by which what is correct is tested. *ἄκυρον* = "an unauthorized or obsolete expression."

^d Cicero's objection seems to us hypercritical: he appears to argue that because *fidelis* implies unselfish service to others, its application to the selfish care of one's own health is a contradiction in terms, a confusion of the objective with the subjective. But that *fideliter* can be used in the wider sense

the news ^a in precisely the proper way. All of you was revealed to me in your letter. I have promised Sabinus's ^b serving-men to do all they asked, and I shall do so.

XVII

CICERO TO TIRO

Astura, July 29, 45 B.C.

I see what you are up to; you want your own letters also to be put into book form. But look you here, sir, you who love to be the "rule" ^c of *my* writings, where did you get such a solecism as "*faithfully* ministering to your health"? How comes *fideliter* ^d to be used in such a connexion? That word's proper home is in the province of duty, though its migrations to foreign territory are frequent—for instance, learning, a house, art, or even a field, can all be called "*faithful*," provided, as Theophrastus holds, that its metaphorical application is not shockingly extravagant. But of this when we meet.

Demetrius ^e came to see me, but I was clever enough to extricate myself from that companionship. You evidently could not have seen him. He will be in Rome to-morrow, so you will see him then. My own intention is not to leave this place till the morning after next.

Your health is a great anxiety to me; but go on of "thoroughly" or "conscientiously" is proved by Ovid's "*ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes Emollit mores.*"

^e Perhaps this is Demetrius of Sadara, a favourite freed-man of Pompey's. Tyrrell.

CICERO

me valde sollicitat, sed inservi, et fac omnia. Tum te mecum esse, tum mihi cumulatissime satisfacere putato. Cuspido quod operam dedisti, mihi gratum est. Valde enim eius causa volo. Vale.

XVIII

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI

Romae, A.U.C. 709.

1 Quid igitur? non sic oportet? Equidem censeo sic. Addendum etiam *suo*. Sed, si placet, invidia vitetur; quam quidem ego saepe contempsi. Tibi *διαφόρησιν* gaudeo profuisse. Si vero etiam Tusculanum, di boni! quanto mihi illud erit amabilius! Sed, si me amas, quod quidem aut facis aut perbelle simulas, quod tamen in modum procedit; sed utut¹ est, indulge valetudini tuae, cui quidem tu adhuc, dum mihi deservis, servisti non satis. Ea quid postulet, non ignoras—*πέψιν, ἀκοπίαν, περίπατον σύμμετρον, τρῖψιν*,²

¹ *Manutius and Lambinus*: ut *Nobbe*.

² *HDF*: *τρψινM*: *others read τέρψιν*.

^a Probably the Cuspido referred to in xiii. 6a. 1.

^b Cicero anticipates Tiro's objection to being addressed without his *praenomen* (Marcus), as being too familiar and unsuited to their respective positions. Cicero would go a step further in familiarity and write "*Tullius Tironi suo*." For the omission of the *praenomen* as a mark of intimacy see vii. 32. 1.

“ministering” to it, and do all you can for it. It is then you are at my side, it is then you give me the most unbounded satisfaction; remember that.

I am thankful to you for all the assistance you have given Cuspius,^a for I heartily wish him success. Good-bye.

XVIII

TULLIUS GREETs TIRO

Rome, late in December, 45 B.C.

Well, what of it?^b Should it not be so? I think it should be so myself, and that even “*his dear*” should be added. But, since you wish it, let us avoid provoking unfavourable comment, which, I must say, I have often treated with contempt. I am delighted that the sudorifics have done you good. But if my Tusculan villa has done so too, good heavens, how much more charming the place will be to me! But as you love me—and indeed you either do so, or make a very pretty pretence of doing so, in which, I admit, you succeed very well^c—but however that may be, give your health fair play; hitherto, while ministering so devotedly to me, you have not ministered to it enough. What it demands you are well aware—good digestion, avoidance of fatigue, a proper amount of walking,

^c Dr. Reid translates it “which pretence, however, I must say answers your wishes,” adding that *procedere in modum* denotes undisturbed rhythmical movement, hence movement in accordance with one’s wishes.



CICERO

ἐὐλασίαν κοιλίας. Fac bellus revertare. Non modo
2 te, sed etiam Tusculanum nostrum plus amem. Pare-
drum excita, ut hortum ipse conducat. Sic holitorem
ipsum commovebis. Helico¹ nequissimus HS CIO
dabat, nullo aprico horto, nullo emissario, nulla ma-
ceria, nulla casa. Iste nos tanta impensa derideat?
Calface hominem, ut ego Mothonem. Itaque abundo²
3 coronis. De Crabra quid agatur, etsi nunc quidem
etiam nimium est aquae, tamen velim scire. Horo-
logium mittam et libros, si erit sudum. Sed tu
nullosne tecum libellos? an pangis aliquid Sopho-
cleum? Fac opus appareat. A. Ligurius, Caesaris
familiaris, mortuus est, bonus homo et nobis amicus.
Te quando exspectemus, fac ut sciam. Cura te dili-
genter. Vale.

XIX

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Tusculi, A.U.C. 709.

Exspecto tuas litteras de multis rebus, te ipsum

¹ Salaco *Schütz*: Helluo *Reid*.

² *Boot and Reid*: abutor *Tyrrrell and others*.

^a Some editors read *τέρψω*, "amusement."

^b Cicero wishes Tiro to urge one Paredrus, a market-gardener, to rent Cicero's garden, and so stir up the present gardener, who is paying a ridiculously small rent, in spite of the improvements Cicero had recently made in it.

^c Apparently another market-gardener.

^d The present gardener.

^e An aqueduct extending from Tusculum to Rome, for the use of which Cicero paid a tax.

massage,^a and free action of the bowels. Mind you return in fine fettle. It would make me fonder, not only of you, but of my Tusculan house.

Wake up Paredrus^b to hire the garden for himself. Your doing so will give the present gardener a shaking-up. Why, that hopeless rascal Helico^c used to pay me 1000 sesterces, when there was no sunny-corner, no water-drain, no wall, no garden-shed. Is he^d to have the laugh of us, when we have gone to all that expense? Warm the fellow up, as I do Motho here, with the result that I get a glut of cut flowers.

As to the Crabra,^e although at present we have 3 more water than we need, still I should like to know what is being done about it. I shall send you the sun-dial and the book, if we have dry weather. But about yourself, have you no light literature with you? Or are you composing something in the style of Sophocles? Let us see what you have done.

A. Ligurius,^f the friend of Caesar, is dead—a good man and friendly disposed to me. Be sure to let me know when we are to expect you. Take particular care of yourself. Good-bye.

XIX

CICERO TO TIRO

Tusculum, early in August, 45 B.C.

I am looking forward to a letter from you on many points, but far more to seeing you in person.

^f Mentioned in *Q. Fr.* iii. 7. 2.

CICERO

multo magis. Demetrium redde nostrum, et aliud, si quid potest boni. De Aufidiano nomine nihil te hortor. Scio tibi curae esse. Sed confice. Et, si ob eam rem moraris, accipio causam ; si id te non tenet, advola. Litteras tuas valde exspecto. Vale.

XX

M. T. C. S. P. D. TIRONI

Romæ, A.U.C. 709.

Sollicitat, ita vivam, me tua, mi Tiro, valetudo : sed confido, si diligentiam, quam instituisti, adhibueris, cito te firmum fore. Libros compone, indicem, cum Metrodoro lubebit, quando eius arbitrato vivendum est. Cum holitore, ut videtur. Tu potes Kalendis spectare gladiatores, postridie redire ; et ita censeo. Verum ut videbitur. Cura te, si me amas, diligenter. Vale.

^a Who seems to have taken umbrage at Cicero's avoidance of him.

^b Probably a citizen of Tusculum who owed Cicero money.

Send me back my Demetrius,^a and send me anything else you can, if it is good. In the matter of Aufidius's^b debt, I put no pressure upon you. I know it is an anxiety to you. But settle the business. If that is what detains you, I accept the excuse; if that is not holding you back, come here post-haste. I am eagerly awaiting a letter from you. Good-bye.

XX

CICERO TO TIRO

Rome, end of 45 B.C.

Upon my life, my dear Tiro, your health worries me; but I feel sure that if you devote that attention to it which you have begun to do, you will soon be well again. Please arrange my books and make a catalogue of them when Metrodorus^c has no objection: since you have got to live according to his injunctions. Settle with the gardener^d as you think proper. You can see the gladiators on January 1st, and return the next day, and that is what I think you ought to do. But just as you please. Take particular care of yourself, as you love me. Good-bye.

^c Tiro's physician.^d See the last letter.

CICERO

XXI

C. FIL. S. P. D. TIRONI SUO DULCISS.

Athenis, A.U.C. 710.

1 Cum vehementer tabellarios expectarem quotidie, aliquando venerunt post diem v. et xl. quam a vobis discesserant; quorum mihi fuit adventus optatissimus. Nam cum maximam cepissem laetitiam ex humanissimi et carissimi patris epistula, tum vero iucundissimae tuae litterae cumulum mihi gaudi attulerunt. Itaque me iam non paenitebat, intercapedinem scribendi fecisse, sed potius laetabar. Fructum enim magnum humanitatis tuae capiebam

^a Marcus the younger, Cicero's only son, was born in 65, and was thus nine years younger than his sister Tullia. In 51 Cicero took him and his nephew Quintus with him to Cilicia, with the excellent but irascible Dionysius as their tutor. Writing of the boys to Atticus, Cicero says that Quintus needs the curb, and Marcus the spur; and this was Marcus's characteristic through life. In 49 his father gave him the *toga virilis* at Arpinum. He accompanied his father to Greece, and though he was not yet 16 years old, Pompey put him in command of a squadron of cavalry. After Pharsalia he returned with his father to Brundisium. In 46, through Cicero's influence, both he and his cousin Quintus were appointed aediles at Arpinum; and Marcus, now 20 years old, was sent by his father to study philosophy at Athens under Cratippus, with a handsome allowance of something equivalent to £800 a year. Under the evil influence of an unprincipled Greek teacher Gorgias, he became extravagant and idle, and his father wrote peremptorily ordering him to have nothing more to do with Gorgias. Marcus replied, not to his father, but to Tiro, in this interesting and self-revealing letter, which speaks for itself.

XXI

M. CICERO JUNIOR ^a GREETES HIS SWEETEST TIRO

Athens, August or early in September, 44 B.C.

Although I was anxiously on the look out for your letter-carriers every day, they only came at last forty-six days after they had left you, and their arrival was most welcome to me. For though my most kindly and well-beloved father's epistle gave me the greatest possible pleasure, still it was your most delightful letter that crowned my joy. So I no longer regret having made a break in my correspondence, but rather rejoice at it; for the silence of my pen has brought me the rich reward

Brutus, who had made his acquaintance at Athens, made him commander of a squadron of cavalry, in which capacity he served with some credit against Antony. About this time Cicero desired to see his son among the Pontifices, but decided that he should not return to Italy unless accompanied by Brutus; it thus fell out that he escaped the proscription, in which perished his father, his uncle, and his cousin. He fought at Philippi in 42, and after that battle fled to Sextus Pompeius, who made much of him. He returned to Rome in 39 and was handsomely treated by Octavian, who in 30 made him *consul suffectus*; and it was while holding that office that Marcus had the statues of Antony overthrown, and carried a decree that from that day no Antonius should bear the name of Marcus. Thus it came to pass that, in the words of Plutarch (*Cic.* 49), "Heaven ($\tau\acute{o}$ δαιμόνιον) delivered over to the house of Cicero the final punishment of Antony."

Some years later Marcus became proconsul of Asia, and afterwards *legatus* of Syria.

Though he inherited some of his father's wit, Marcus was a man of mediocre intellect and little ambition; but that he must have possessed considerable military and administrative ability is proved by his fairly successful career.

ex silentio mearum litterarum. Vehementer igitur gaudeo, te meam sine dubitatione accepisse excusa-
 2 tionem. Gratos tibi optatosque esse, qui de me rumores afferuntur, non dubito, mi dulcissime Tiro : praestaboque et enitar, ut in dies magis magisque haec nascens de me duplicetur opinio. Quare quod polliceris, te buccinatorem fore existimationis meae, firmo id constantique animo facias licet. Tantum enim mihi dolorem cruciatumque attulerunt errata aetatis meae, ut non solum animus a factis, sed aures quoque a commemoratione abhorreant. Cuius te sollicitudinis et doloris participem fuisse, notum exploratumque est mihi : nec id mirum. Nam cum omnia mea causa velles mihi successa, tum etiam tua. Socium enim te meorum commodorum semper
 3 esse volui. Quod igitur tum ex me doluisti, nunc, ut duplicetur tuum ex me gaudium, praestabo. Cratippo me, scito, non ut discipulum, sed ut filium esse coniunctissimum. Nam cum audio illum libenter, tum etiam propriam eius suavitatem vehementer amplector. Sum totos dies cum eo, noctisque saepe numero partem. Exoro enim, ut mecum quam saepissime cenet. Hac introducta consuetudine, saepe inscientibus nobis et cenantibus obrepit sublataque severitate philosophiae humanissime nobiscum iocatur. Quare da operam, ut hunc talem, tam iucundum,

° A philosopher of Mitylene, for whom Cicero had a high regard. He accompanied Pompey in his flight after Pharsalia in 48, and afterwards settled at Athens. Through Cicero's influence he obtained from Caesar the Roman citizenship.

of your kindness. I am, therefore, highly delighted at your unhesitating acceptance of my excuse.

That the rumours, which reach you about me, are ² gratifying and welcome to you, I have no doubt at all, my dearest Tiro; and I shall make every effort to guarantee that this opinion of me which is springing up more distinctly every day becomes twice as good. For that reason you may with unshaken confidence fulfil your promise of being the trumpeter of my reputation. For the errors of my youth have caused me such grief and agony that not only do my thoughts shrink from what I have done, but my very ears shrink from hearing it talked about. And that you have had your share in that anxiety and grief is well known to me as an ascertained fact; and I am not surprised at it. For when you wished me every success on my account, you did so at the same on your own, since it has ever been my wish that you should be a partner in any prosperity of mine.

Since at that time I caused you grief, I shall ³ now guarantee that the joy I give you is double as much.

I must tell you that my close attachment to Cratippus ^a is not so much that of a pupil as that of a son. For not only do I attend his lectures with enjoyment, but I am greatly fascinated also by the charm of his personality. I spend whole days with him, and often a part of the night. Indeed I implore him to dine with me as often as possible. Now that we have become so intimate, he often strolls in upon us when we least expect him and are at dinner, and throwing to the winds all austerity as a philosopher, he bandies jokes with us in the most genial manner possible. Lay yourself out, there-

4 tam excellentem virum videas quam primum. Nam quid ego de Bruttio dicam? quem nullo tempore a me patior discedere; cuius cum frugi severaque est vita, tum etiam iucundissima convictio. Non est enim sciunctus iocus a φιλολογίῃ et quotidiana συζητήσει. Huic ego locum in proximo conduxī, et, ut possum, ex meis angustiis illius sustento tenuitatem.

5 Praeterea declamitare Graece apud Cassium institui; Latine autem apud Bruttium exerceri volo. Utor familiaribus et quotidianis convictoribus, quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus et doctis et illi probatissimis. Multum enim mecum est Epicrates, princeps Atheniensium, et Leonides et

6 horum ceteri similes. Τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡμᾶς τάδε. De Gorgia autem quod mihi scribis, erat quidem ille in quotidiana declamatione utilis; sed omnia postposui, dummodo praeceptis patris parerem. Διαρρήδην enim scripserat, ut eum dimitterem statim. Tergiversari nolui, ne mea nimia σπουδὴ suspicionem ei aliquam importaret. Deinde illud etiam mihi succurrebat,

7 grave esse, me de iudicio patris iudicare. Tuum tamen studium et consilium gratum acceptumque est mihi. Excusationem angustiarum tui temporis

^a We know nothing more of Bruttius.

^b It was he who sent Cicero unsatisfactory accounts of Marcus's progress and conduct.

^c Loose liver as he was (see note on § 1), Gorgias was a distinguished rhetorician and wrote the treatise Περὶ σχημάτων διανοίας καὶ λέξεως of which we still possess the translation by Rutilius Lupus.

fore, to win the acquaintance of such a man—so delightful and so distinguished as he is.

As to Bruttius,^a why should I mention him at all? 4
There is never a moment when I allow him to leave my side. He leads a simple and austere life, but at the same time he is a most delightful man to live with. For there is no ban upon merry talk in our literary discussions and our daily joint researches. I have hired lodgings for him next door, and, as far as I can, alleviate his penury out of my own narrow means.

Besides all this I have begun to practise declaim- 5
ing in Greek with Cassius; but I like practising in Latin with Bruttius. I have as daily and intimate companions the men whom Cratippus brought with him from Mitylene—men of learning and highly esteemed by him. Epicrates, for instance, the leading man among the Athenians, is much with me, and so is Leonides,^b and others of that stamp. So much then about myself.

As to what you write about Gorgias,^c it is true 6
I found him useful in my practice in declamation: but I thought everything else of secondary importance, provided I obeyed my father's instructions, who had written to me in explicit terms to get rid of Gorgias at once. I did not want to temporize, for fear my making too much of the business might strike my father as somewhat suspicious; and besides it occurred to me that it was a serious thing for me to pass judgment on the judgment of my father.

Anyhow your interest and advice is welcome and 7
acceptable to me. I accept the excuse that your

CICERO

accipio; scio enim, quam soleas esse occupatus. Emisse te praedium vehementer gaudeo, feliciterque tibi rem istam evenire cupio. Hoc loco me tibi gratulari, noli mirari. Eodem enim fere loco, tu quoque, emisse te, fecisti me certiolem. Habes.¹ Deponendae tibi sunt urbanitates. Rusticus Romanus factus es. Quomodo ego mihi nunc ante oculos tuum iucundissimum conspectum propono! Videor enim videre ementem te rusticas res, cum villico loquentem, in lacinia servantem ex mensa secunda semina. Sed quod ad rem pertinet, me tum tibi defuisse, aequae ac tu doleo. Sed noli dubitare, mi Tiro, quin te sublevaturus sim, si modo fortuna me; praesertim cum sciam, communem nobis emptum esse istum fundum. De mandatis quod tibi curae fuit, est mihi gratum. Sed peto a te, ut quam celerrime mihi librarius mittatur, maxime quidem Graecus; multum mihi enim eripitur operae in exscribendis hypomnematis. Tu velim in primis cures, ut valeas, ut una *συμφιλολογεῖν* possimus. Anterum tibi commendo. Vale.

¹ rem habes *Reid* (supposing rem to have been lost after certiolem): habes deponendae ubi sint *Graecius*.

^a For this absolute use of *habere* cf. *Att.* xii. 23. 3 "habet in Ostiensi Cotta." But see note on the text.

time is strictly limited, being well aware how busy you always are. (That you have bought a farm is a great joy to me, and it is my sincere wish that the transaction may turn out happily for you. You must not be surprised at my congratulating you at this point in my letter; for it was practically at the same point in yours that you informed me of your purchase. Why, you are a land-owner!^a You have got to drop your city ways. You have become a Roman country gentleman. How I call you up before my eyes this very moment—and a very charming picture it is! I seem to see you buying rural implements, hobnobbing with your steward, or keeping the pips after dessert in the corner of your cloak.^b But as regards the money part of it, I am as sorry as you are that I was not forthcoming at the time. You must never doubt, however, my dear Tiro, that I shall come to your assistance, if only fortune comes to mine; especially as I know that that farm of yours was bought as our joint-investment.

For taking such trouble about my commissions, ⁸ I am grateful to you. But I beg of you to see that a secretary is sent me as quickly as possible—best of all a Greek; for that will relieve me of a lot of trouble in writing out lecture-notes.^c Above all, I would have you take care of your health, so that we may have some literary talk together. I commend Anterus^d to you. Farewell.

^b In order to sow them.

^c A characteristic request.

^d The slave who brought the letter.

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI

Asturæ, A.U.C. 709.

- 1 Spero ex tuis litteris, tibi melius esse ; cupio certe. Cui quidem rei omni ratione cura ut inservias, et cave suspiceris, contra meam voluntatem te facere, quod non sis mecum. Mecum es, si te curas. Quare malo te valetudini tuæ servire, quam meis oculis et auribus. Etsi enim et audio te et video libenter, tamen hoc multo erit, si valebis, iucundius. Ego hic cesso, quia ipse nihil scribo ; lego autem libentissime. Tu istic, si quid librarii mea manu non intellegent, monstrabis. Una omnino interpositio difficilior est, quam ne ipse quidem facile legere soleo, de quadrimo Catone. De triclinio cura, ut facis. Tertia aderit,
- 2 modo ne Publius rogatus sit. Demetrius iste nunquam omnino Phalereus fuit ; sed nunc plane Billienus est. Itaque te do vicarium. Tu eum observabis.

^a The story was in all probability that told of Cato Uticensis when a boy, by Plutarch (*Cat. Min.* 2). One Pompaedius Silo tried to induce the little Cato to influence his uncle, Livius Drusus, to advocate the granting of the franchise to the Italians. On the boy's refusing to do so, Pompaedius held him out of window, and threatened to drop him if he would not do as he was told, but the boy remained ἀνέκπλακτος καὶ ἀδείης, "undismayed and fearless." It is true that Cato was born in 95, and was therefore just four years old just before the Social War of 91. This is the story which Cicero added to his work on Cato the younger, written in 46, but in so cramped a hand that he always found it hard to make out what he had himself written.

^b Probably Tertia, or Tertulla, wife of Cassius, and Publius is Dolabella ; but this is mere surmise.

XXII

CICERO TO TIRO

Astura, July 27, 45 B.C.

Your letter makes me hope that you are better ; 1 that, at any rate, is what I desire. Make every thing subservient to that one object, and on no account be apprehensive that you are acting contrary to my wishes in not being at my side. You *are* at my side if you are taking care of yourself ; and for that reason I had rather have you the slave of your own health than the slave of my eyes and ears. For though it is a pleasure to me to hear and see you, it will be far more delightful to do so if you are well. I am idling here, because I am not writing anything myself, but reading is a great pleasure to me. Being where you are, I am sure you will explain anything the copyists cannot make out on account of my handwriting. There is certainly one rather difficult inserted passage, which even I myself always find it hard to decipher, about Cato at the age of four.^a About the dinner-table, please see to it, as I am sure you do. Tertia^b will be there, provided Publius has not been asked.

That Demetrius^c of yours was never a Demetrius of Phalerum at all, but now he is an absolute Billienus. I therefore appoint you my representative. Please show him some attention. “ *And*

^a See *Epp.* 17. 2, and 19. Demetrius of Phalerum was a very different man—cultured and erudite. The name Demetrius suggests the Demetrius whose slave Billienus strangled Domitius at Album Intimilium. For the story see viii. 15. 2.

CICERO

“*Etsi*,” “*verumtamen*,” “*de illis*”—nosti cetera. Sed tamen, si quem cum eo sermonem habueris, scribes ad me, ut mihi nascatur epistulae argumentum, et ut tuas quam longissimas litteras legam. Cura, mi Tiro, ut valeas. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. Vale.

XXIII

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Tusculi, A.U.C. 710.

- 1 Tu vero confice professionem, si potes. Etsi haec pecunia ex eo genere est, ut professione non egeat. Verum tamen . . . Balbus ad me scripsit, tanta se ἐπιφορᾷ oppressum, ut loqui non possit. Antonius de lege “quod egerit.” Liceat modo rusticari. Ad 2 Bithynicum scripsi. De Servilio tu videris, qui senectutem non contemnis. Etsi Atticus noster, quia quondam me commoveri παρικοῖς intellexit, idem semper putat, nec videt, quibus praesidiis philosophiae septus sim; et herele. quod timidus ipse est, θορῖβοποιεῖ. Ego tamen Antoni inveteratam sine nulla offensione amicitiam retinere sane volo, scribamque ad eum, sed

^a Cicero is evidently mocking at Demetrius's *staccato* way of talking.

^b Tyrrell thinks that this was probably the *Lex Agraria* of Lucius Antonius, passed in June of this year. The elliptical phrase *quod egerit* (sc. *id actum habebo*) = “whatever he does I shall regard as done,” *i.e.* “for all I care, let him do what he likes.” The phrase also occurs in the next letter.

^c The writer of vi. 16, where see note.

^d Servilius Isauricus, who had just died at an advanced age.

^e *i.e.*, that I am afraid of death.

yet!” “*But nevertheless!*” “*As for them!*” You know how he goes on.^a Anyhow, if you have any talk with him, please write to me, so that I may have the germ of a theme for a letter, and may have as long a letter as possible to read from you. Take care of your health, my dear Tiro. Nothing you can do will give me greater pleasure than that. Good-bye.

XXIII

CICERO TO TIRO

Tusculum, about June 21, 44 B.C.

Yes, certainly; finish making up the tax-return 1 if you possibly can; although this particular money is not under a heading which requires a return. But that is as may be . . . Balbus writes that he has had such an attack of catarrh that he has lost his voice. As for what Antony has done about the law, for all I care, let it stand.^b Only let me be free to enjoy the country. I have written to Bithynicus.^c

About Servilius^d you will have your own opinion 2 —you, who have a deep respect for old age. And yet our friend Atticus, because he once noticed that I was upset by panic, always thinks the same of me,^e and does not see with what safeguards of philosophy I am hedged round; and, on my oath, he is so timid himself, that he causes general consternation. For all you say, I am very anxious to keep up my friendship with Antony, which has lasted so long without our falling out, and I shall write to him, but not before I have seen you—not

CICERO

non ante quam te videro. Nec tamen te avoco asyngrapha; γόνυ κνήμης. Cras exspecto Leptam et N. . . ., ad cuius rutam pulegio mihi tui sermonis utendum est. Vale.

XXIV

TULLIUS S. P. D. TIRONI

Arpini, A.U.C. 710.

1 Etsi mane Harpalum miseram, tamen, cum haberem, cui recte darem litteras, etsi novi nihil erat, iisdem de rebus volui ad te saepius scribere; non quin confiderem diligentiae tuae, sed rei me magnitudo movebat. Mihi prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi, ut rationes nostras explicares. Ofillio et Aurelio utique satis fiat. A Flamma, si non potes omne, partem aliquam velim extorqueas: in primisque, ut expedita sit pensio Kalendis Ian. De attributione conficies. De repraesentatione videbis. De domesticis rebus haecenus.

^a Which Cicero held.

^b Lit. "the knee is nearer home than the shin" (γόνυ κνήμης ἔγγιον, Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* ix. 8. 2). Cf. ἀπωτέρω ἢ γόνυ κνάμα, Theocrit. xvi. 18. The Latin equivalent is *tunica proprior pallio*, "the coat is nearer than the cloak." Cf. English "near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin." There is a Welsh proverb very like the Greek, "*Nes elin nag arddiwrn.*" "the elbow is nearer than the wrist."

^c Cf. vi. 18 and 19.

^d "N." probably stands for "nostrum," i.e., the younger Quintus, so spoken of by Cicero in *Att.* xv. 29. 2 also.

^e Lit. "to whose rue I must apply the pennyroyal of your conversation."

^f Or "the Alpha and Omega" as Tyrrell renders it, and he quotes Dio Chrys. xxxvii. p. 120 R. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἔστε νῦν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πρῶρα καὶ πρῶμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

that I would have you forget the payment of your bond^a;—"charity begins at home."^b To-morrow I am expecting Lepta^c and N.^d too—and I shall have to avail myself of the sweetness of your conversation to assuage the bitterness of his.^e

XXIV

CICERO TO TIRO

Arpinum, middle of November, 44 B.C.

Although I had sent Harpalus earlier in the day, I still, finding that I had a trustworthy letter-carrier, although there is nothing new, I wanted to write to you again and again on the same subjects—not that I have lost confidence in your application, but the importance of the matter makes me restless. The "stem and stern"^f (as the Greek proverb goes) of my sending you away from me was that you might straighten out my financial affairs. It is imperative that Ofillius^g and Aurelius^h should have their claims satisfied. I should like you to wring out of Flamma, if not all the debt, at least some portion it; and especially to see that the instalmentⁱ is cleared off on January 1st. As to the assignment of debts, make some settlement; and please see to their paying ready money. So much for my private affairs.

^g A co-heir with Cicero to the estate of Cluvius of Puteoli.

^h An agent of one Montanus, who had become surety to Plancus for Flaminius Flamma, and was now obliged to meet Flamma's liabilities.

ⁱ *i.e.*, of Tullia's dowry by Dolabella.

CICERO

2 De publicis omnia mihi certa; quid Octavius, quid Antonius; quae hominum opinio; quid futurum putes. Ego vix teneor, quin accurram. Sed sto¹; litteras tuas exspecto; et scito Balbum tum fuisse Aquini, cum tibi est dictum, et postridie Hirtium. Puto utrumque ad aquas; sed "quod egerint." Dolabellae procuratores fac admoneantur. Appellabis etiam Papiam. Vale.

XXV

CICERO FIL. S. P. D. TIRONI

Athenis, A.U.C. 710.

Etsi iusta et idonea usus es excusatione intermissionis litterarum tuarum, tamen, id ne saepius facias, rogo. Nam etsi de republica rumoribus et nuntiiis certior fio, et de sua in me voluntate semper ad me perscribit pater, tamen de quavis minima re scripta a te ad me epistula semper fuit gratissima. Quare cum in primis tuas desiderem litteras, noli committere, ut excusatione potius expleas officium scribendi, quam assiduitate epistularum. Vale.

¹ st! *Manutius and Edd., but sto is obviously suggested, I think, by the preceding words.*

^a See note on the text.

^b See note *b* on § 1 of the last letter.

^c About the repayment of Tullia's dowry.

^d Nothing more is known of Papia.

^e See note at the beginning of *Ep.* 21.

EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES, XVI. xxiv.—xxv.

On public affairs let me have every possible ² information that can be trusted—what Octavianus, and what Antony is up to, what is generally thought, and what you suppose is going to happen. I can hardly keep myself from coming to you hot-foot. But I stand still;^a I patiently await a letter from you; and let me tell you that Balbus was at Aquinum on the day you were told, and Hirtius on the next day. I imagine both were going there for the waters; but it is no business of mine!^b See that Dolabella's agents have their memories jogged.^c Send a reminder to Papia^d also. Good-bye.

XXV

MARCUS CICERO JUNIOR ^e TO TIRO

Athens, September or October, 44 B.C.

Although the excuse you offer for the break in your correspondence is a fair and proper one, still I beg you not to make too much of a practice of it. Although rumours and messages keep me informed about the political situation, and my father is always writing to me, and fully too, about his friendly feeling for you, for all that a letter written by you to me about anything, however trivial, has always been most welcome to me. For that reason, seeing that I miss your letters more than anything, don't make the mistake of discharging the obligations of correspondence by making excuses rather than by assiduity in letter-writing. Good-bye.

CICERO

XXVI

Q. CICERO S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Romae (?), A.U.C. 710.

- 1 Verberavi te cogitationis tacito dumtaxat convicio, quod fasciculus alter ad me iam sine tuis litteris perlatus est. Non potes effugere huius culpae poenam, te patrono. Marcus est adhibendus; isque diu et multis lucubrationibus commentata oratione, vide ut
- 2 probare possit, te non peccasse. Plane te rogo, sicut olim matrem nostram facere memini, quae lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquae fuisse, quae furtim essent exsiccatae, sic tu, etiamsi, quod scribas, non habebis, scribito tamen, ne furtum cessationis quaesivisse videaris. Valde enim mihi semper et vera et dulcia tuis epistulis nuntiantur. Ama nos et vale.

XXVII

Q. C. S. P. D. TIRONI SUO

Romae, A.U.C. 710.

- 1 Mirificam mihi verberationem cessationis epistula tua¹ dedisti. Nam, quae parcius frater perscripserat,

¹ tua *added by Wesenberg, since epistula by itself cannot mean "by letter," as litteris can.*

^a His brother, the orator.

^b Or, as Tyrrell translates it, "that you may not be suspected of stealing a holiday."

XXVI

QUINTUS CICERO SENIOR TO TIRO

Rome (?), autumn (?), 44 B.C.

I have just given you a thrashing (so far as I 1 could with the strong but inaudible language of thought), because this is now the second packet that has reached me without a letter from you. That is an offence for which you cannot escape punishment—that is, if you undertake your own defence. No, Marcus ^a must be called in ; and when he has spent much time and many a night elaborating his speech by lamplight, don't be so sure that even he can prove your innocence.

I make a plain request of you ; just as in the old 2 days I remember my mother used to do—she used to seal up her wine-jars even when she had emptied them, so as to prevent its being said that any were empty which had been drained of their contents by a thief ; on the same principle, I ask you, even if you have nothing to write, to write all the same, and so avoid the suspicion of having tried to get a day off by stealing it.^b I assure you, I always find the news in your letters as trustworthy as it is charmingly told. Keep on loving me, and good-bye.

XXVII

QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO

Rome, late in December, 44 B.C.

You have given me in your letter a jolly good 1 thrashing for my laziness ;—for what my brother

verecundia videlicet et properatione, ea tu sine assentatione, ut erant, ad me scripsisti, et maxime de consulibus designatis : quos ego penitus novi libidinum et languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos : qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est. Incredibile est, quae ego illos scio, oppositis Gallorum castris, in aestivis fecisse, quos ille latro, nisi aliquid firmitus fuerit, societate vitiorum deleniet. Res est aut tribuniciis aut privatis consiliis munienda. Nam isti duo vix sunt digni, quibus alteri Caesenam, alteri Cossutianarum tabernarum fundamenta credas. Te, ut dixi, fero oculis.¹ Ego vos a. d. III. Kalend. videbo, tuosque oculos, etiamsi te veniens in medio foro videro, dissuaviabor. Me ama. Vale.

¹ in oculis Tyrrell, following Ernesti.

^a Hirtius and Pansa : what the hot-headed Quintus says of them here and in § 2 must be taken *cum grano salis*. Whatever their weaknesses (and Quintus doubtlessly exaggerates them), both fell fighting manfully for the Republic.

^b Antony.

^c Hirtius, with the custody of the insignificant little town Caesena, 20 miles north-west of Ariminum, and near the Rubicon.

^d Pansa, with the cellars of the taverns of Cossutius (of whom we know nothing more).

had told me in his letter with some reserve, evidently being modest about it, and also in a hurry, all that you have written to me, stating the facts without sycophancy; and particularly as regards the consuls-designate,^a who I am absolutely assured are tainted with sensualism and a weak-mindedness that is essentially womanish; and unless they resign the helm, there is every danger of universal shipwreck.

You could never believe what I know those men ² did in summer quarters, when the camp of the Gauls was right opposite them—men whom that scoundrel,^b unless firmer measures are taken, will captivate by making them share in his vices. Things must be buttressed up by either the tribunes or private persons taking counsel together. For as to those two fellows, they are hardly fit to be entrusted, the one with *Caesena*,^c and the other with the vaults under *Cossutius's* wine-shops.^d As I said, I have you ever before my face.^e I shall see you all on the 30th, and as for that face of yours, even if I see you in the middle of the forum on my arrival, I shall smother it with kisses. Keep on loving me. Good-bye.

^e Lit. "eyes," here and lower down: but a literal translation would be open to objection.

CICERO'S

LETTERS TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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A SHORT LIFE OF QUINTUS TULLIUS CICERO

QUINTUS TULLIUS CICERO was born in 102 B.C., and was therefore four years younger than his brother Marcus, the orator. The two brothers were brought up together at Arpinum, until their father, recognizing their intellectual ability, and desiring better educational opportunities for them, moved with his family to Rome, where one of the boys' teachers was the poet Archias of Antioch.

In 67 B.C., at the age of thirty-five, Quintus became aedile, and in 62 praetor, and for the next three years governed the province of Asia as propraetor. It was during this time that Marcus wrote Book I. of his letters, *Ad Quintum Fratrem*. Returning to Rome in 58, Quintus exerted himself to procure his brother's recall from banishment, though he had enemies of his own who threatened to prosecute him for malpractices. In 56 he went to Sardinia on the staff of Pompey, who had been appointed *curator annonae*, "Minister of the Corn Supply"; and in 55 joined Caesar as his *legatus* in Gaul, where he greatly distinguished himself by gallantly resisting with one legion a vastly superior force of Gauls in the country of the Nervii. In 51 he accompanied his brother as one of his *legati* to Cilicia. When the civil

CICERO

war broke out in 49 he joined Pompey. After the battle of Pharsalia, Caesar, who had a high regard for him, treated him with great leniency and kindness, as indeed he did Marcus. Just at this time, when visiting Patrae in Achaia in Marcus's company, Quintus, for some reason unknown to us, developed a bitter hostility to his brother, who shortly afterwards at Brundisium intercepted a packet of Quintus's letters, addressed to various friends, full of malicious reflections upon himself, and threatening to denounce him to Caesar. So far from taking action against Quintus for his treachery, Marcus actually wrote to Caesar, absolving Quintus from any suspicion of having instigated his own opposition to Caesar, and begging of him to befriend the brother who had behaved so badly to himself. "It seems to us," as Tyrrell rightly remarks, "that this is an act of large nobleness and truly chivalrous feeling, quite startling when we remember the times in which Cicero lived"; indeed we cannot but be impressed with the more than paternal gentleness and patience with which Cicero treated his impulsive and irascible younger brother as long as they lived; and "in death they were not divided," for Quintus, together with his son, was proscribed by the last Triumvirate (Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus) and put to death in Rome a few days before the murder of Marcus in December, 43.

Quintus was a man of ungovernable temper and harshly over-bearing in his treatment of those under his authority, but just, honest, and free from all taint of self-seeking as administrator of a province, while his gallantry as a soldier was proved beyond all question in Gaul. Apart from the unpleasant episode after Pharsalia, his attitude towards Marcus was, in the

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LIFE OF QUINTUS TULLIUS CICERO

main, one of loyalty and affection. He wrote much (including four tragedies, said to have been written in sixteen days), but all that has come down to us is his *brochure* to his brother, *De petitione consulatus*. He married Pomponia, a sister of Atticus, a somewhat arrogant person. Their married life was not a happy one, and ended in his divorcing her.

M. TULLI CICERONIS
EPISTULARUM AD QUINTUM FRATREM
LIBER PRIMUS

I

M. C. S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 694.

1 I. Etsi non dubitabam, quin hanc epistolam multi
nuntii, fama denique esset ipsa sua celeritate supera-
tura, tuque ante ab aliis auditurus esses, annum
tertium accessisse desiderio nostro, et labori tuo,
tamen existimavi a me quoque tibi huius molestiae
nuntium perferri oportere. Nam superioribus litte-
ris, non unis, sed pluribus, cum iam ab aliis desperata
res esset, tamen ego tibi spem maturae decessionis
afferebam. non solum, ut quam diutissime te iucunda
opinionem oblectarem, sed etiam quia tanta adhibe-
batur et a nobis et a praetoribus contentio, ut rem
2 posse confici non diffiderem. Nunc quoniam ita
accidit, ut neque praetores suis opibus, neque nos
nostro studio quidquam proficere possemus, est omni-

^a Who was now at the beginning of his third year as propraetor of Asia.

^b A vacancy in provincial government was of interest to the praetors, one of whom might get the appointment.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS

BOOK I

I

CICERO TO QUINTUS ^a

Rome, end of 60 B.C.

I. Although I have no doubt that many a messenger, and indeed rumour itself with its usual rapidity, is likely to outstrip this letter, and that you are likely to be told by others of the addition of a third year to my longing for you, and to the period of your work, yet I thought it right that I too should convey to you the news of this annoying fact. For in my previous letters, not in one, but several, though others had by that time despaired of such a possibility, I still persevered in feeding you with the hope of quitting your province at an early date, not only that I might keep on cheering you as long as possible with an agreeable expectation, but also because both the praetors and I were making such strenuous efforts that I never lost faith in the possibility of the arrangement.

As it is, since it has so happened that neither the ² praetors ^b with all their influence, nor I with all my zeal, have been able to do any good, it is indeed hard

no difficile non graviter id ferre ; sed tamen nostros animos maximis in rebus et gerendis et sustinendis exercitatos frangi et debilitari molestia non oportet. Et quoniam ea molestissime ferre homines debent, quae ipsorum culpa contracta sunt, est quiddam in hac re mihi molestius ferendum, quam tibi. Factum est enim mea culpa, contra quam tu mecum et proficiscens et per litteras egeras, ut priore anno non succederetur. Quod ego, dum sociorum saluti consulo, dum impudentiae nonnullorum negotiatorum resisto, dum nostram gloriam tua virtute augeri expeto, feci non sapienter, praesertim cum id commiserim, ut ille alter annus etiam tertium posset
 3 adducere. Quod quoniam peccatum meum esse confiteor, est sapientiae atque humanitatis tuae curare et perficere, ut hoc, minus sapienter a me provisum, diligentia tua corrigatur. Ac si te ipse vehementius ad omnes partes bene audiendi excitaris, non ut cum aliis, sed ut tecum iam ipse certes, si omnem tuam mentem, curam, cogitationem ad excellentem omnibus in rebus laudis cupiditatem incitaris, mihi crede, unus annus additus labori tuo, multorum annorum laetitiam nobis, immo vero etiam
 4 posteris nostris afferet. Quapropter hoc te primum rogo, ne contrahas ac demittas animum, neve te obrui, tamquam fluctu, sic magnitudine negoti sinas, contraque erigas ac resistas sive etiam ultro

^a The *socii* are the provincials, as opposed to the *cives*, Romans dwelling in the province, such as *publicani* and *negotiatores*.

^b Certain bankers, who out of private animosity opposed the reappointment of Quintus, probably Paconius and Tuscanus referred to in § 19.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. I.

not to resent it ; but, for all that, it is not right that our minds, trained as they have been in the management and maintenance of affairs of the utmost importance, should be crushed and weakened by a mere sense of annoyance. And since men ought to feel most annoyed with what has been brought about by their own fault, there is an element in this business which should cause me more annoyance than you. For it was entirely my fault—and you pleaded with me against it both on your departure and subsequently by letter—that you were not given a successor last year. And in that, in my anxiety to promote the interests of the allies,^a and to resist the shameless policy of certain dealers,^b and in my strong desire to see our country's glory enhanced by your excellent rule, I acted unwisely, especially since by my mistake I made it possible for that second year to bring a third also in its train.

And now that I admit that the error was mine, it ³ lies with you, in your wisdom and humanity, to see to it and ensure that this lack of wise foresight on my part is rectified by your careful administration. Indeed, if you rouse yourself in all earnestness to win golden opinions in all quarters—not in order to rival others, but to be henceforth your own rival—if you direct your whole mind, your every care and thought, into a predominating desire to be well spoken of in every respect, then, take my word for it, one single year added to your labours will bring us, and indeed those who come after us also, many a year of joy.

For that reason I beg of you, first and foremost, not ⁴ to let your heart shrink or sink, and not to allow yourself to be overwhelmed, as by a wave, by the greatness of your task, but, on the contrary, to lift up your

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occurras negotiis. Neque enim eiusmodi partem reipublicae geris, in qua fortuna dominetur, sed in qua plurimum ratio possit et diligentia. Quod si tibi, bellum aliquod magnum et periculosum administranti, prorogatum imperium viderem, tremere animo, quod eodem tempore esse intellegerem
5 etiam fortunae potestatem in nos prorogatam. Nunc vero ea pars tibi reipublicae commissa est, in qua aut nullam, aut perexiguam partem fortuna tenet, et quae mihi tota in tua virtute ac moderatione animi posita esse videatur. Nullas, ut opinor, insidias hostium, nullam proeli dimicationem, nullam defectionem sociorum, nullam inopiam stipendi aut rei frumentariae, nullam seditionem exercitus pertimescimus, quae persaepe sapientissimis viris acciderunt, ut, quemadmodum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic illi fortunae impetum superare non possent. Tibi data est summa pax, summa tranquillitas; ita tamen, ut ea dormientem gubernatorem
6 vel obruere, vigilantem etiam delectare possit. Constat enim ea provincia primum ex eo genere sociorum, quod est ex hominum omni genere humanissimum; deinde ex eo genere civium, qui aut, quod publicani sunt, nos summa necessitudine attingunt, aut, quod ita negotiantur, ut locupletes sint, nostri consulatus beneficio se incolumes fortunas habere arbitrantur.

• See note *a* on § 2.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. 1.

heart and to face, or even hurry forward to meet, your responsibilities. As a matter of fact, the department of the State you are administering is not one in which fortune plays a ruling part, but one in which a reasoned policy combined with assiduity carries the greatest power; whereas if I saw that the prolongation of your government happened during your management of some great and dangerous war, I should shudder in spirit because it would be evident to me that at the same time fortune's power over us had been prolonged.

As it is, however, you have been entrusted with a ⁵ department of the State in which fortune holds no part, or a very insignificant one, and which, it would seem to me, depends entirely upon your own virtue and self-control. We need fear, I take it, no ambushes of enemies, no clash of swords in battle, no revolt of allies, no lack of tribute or corn-supply, no mutiny in the army,—evils which have befallen the wisest of men, so that, just as the best of helmsmen cannot defy the violence of a tempest, neither can they defy the assault of fortune. What has been granted you is perfect peace, perfect tranquillity, with the reservation, however, that such a calm can even overwhelm the helmsman if he sleeps, while it can give him positive pleasure if he keeps awake.

For your province consists, in the first place, of that ⁶ type of ally ^a which of all types of humanity is the most civilized; and secondly, of that type of citizen ^a who, either because they are *publicani*, are attached to us by the closest ties, or, because their trade is such that they have amassed riches, consider that the security of the fortunes they enjoy is due to the blessing of my consulship.

7 II. At enim inter hos ipsos existunt graves controversiae, multae nascuntur iniuriae, magnae contentiones consequuntur. Quasi vero ego id putem, non te aliquantum negoti sustinere. Intellego, permagnum esse negotium et maximi consili. Sed memento, consili me hoc negotium esse magis aliquanto, quam fortunae, putare. Quid est enim negoti, continere eos, quibus praesis, si te ipse contineas? Id autem sit magnum et difficile ceteris, sicut est difficillimum; tibi et fuit hoc semper facillimum, et vero esse debuit, cuius natura talis est, ut etiam sine doctrina videatur moderata esse potuisse: ea autem adhibita doctrina est, quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere possit. Tu cum pecuniae, cum voluptati, cum omnium rerum cupiditati resistes, ut facis, erit, credo, periculum, ne improbum negotiatorem, paullo cupidiores publicanum comprimere non possis! Nam Graeci quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur, ut quemdam ex annalium memoria, aut etiam de caelo divinum
8 hominem esse in provinciam delapsam putent. Atque haec nunc, non ut facias, sed ut te facere et fecisse gaudeas, scribo. Praeclarum est enim, summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia triennium, sic ut nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cuiusquam. nulla

* *Credo* marks the statement as ironical.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. 1.

II. "Ah! but," it may be objected, "among these 7 very men serious disputes arise, numerous wrongs spring up, and great conflicts are the result." As though I supposed for a moment that you had not a lot of trouble on your shoulders! I fully understand that your trouble is very great, and calls for the soundest possible judgment. But remember that, in my opinion, this trouble of yours depends far more upon judgment than upon fortune. For what trouble is it to control those whom you rule, if you control yourself? For others, I grant, that may be a great and difficult thing to do, and it is indeed most difficult; but for you it has always been the easiest thing in the world, and indeed was bound to be so, since your nature is such that I think it would have been capable of self-restraint even without education; but you have had such an education as might well ennoble the most depraved nature. While you yourself still resist money, and pleasure, and every form of desire, as you do resist them, there will, I imagine,^a be danger of your being unable to restrain some unscrupulous trader or some rather too rapacious tax-collector! For as to the Greeks, living as you do, they will so gaze upon you as to deem you someone celebrated in their own annals, or even think that a deified mortal has dropped down from heaven into their province.

And I write thus not to make you act, but to make 8 you rejoice that you are acting, and have acted, in this way. It is a glorious thought that you should have been three years in Asia in supreme command, and not been tempted by the offer of any statue, picture, plate, garment, or slave, by any fascination of human beauty, or any pecuniary proposals—

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condicio pecuniae (quibus rebus abundat ista provincia) ab summa integritate continentiaque deduxerit. Quid autem reperiri tam eximium, aut tam expetendum potest, quam istam virtutem, moderationem animi, temperantiam, non latere in tenebris, neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asiae, in oculis clarissimae provinciae, atque in auribus omnium gentium ac nationum esse positam? non itineribus tuis perterrerit homines? non sumptu exhauriri? non adventu commoveri? esse, quocumque veneris, et publice et privatim maximam laetitiam, cum urbs custodem, non tyrannum, domus hospitem, non expilatorem, recepisse videatur?

10 III. His autem in rebus iam te usus ipse profecto erudivit, nequaquam satis esse ipsum haeec habere virtutes, sed esse circumspiciendum diligenter, ut in hac custodia provinciae non te unum, sed omnes ministros imperi tui, sociis, et civibus, et reipublicae praestare videare. Quamquam legatos habes eos, qui ipsi per se habituri sint rationem dignitatis suae; de quibus honore, et dignitate, et aetate praestat Tubero, quem ego arbitror, praesertim cum scribat historiam, multos ex suis annalibus posse deligere, quos velit et possit imitari; Allienus autem noster est cum animo et benevolentia, tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi. Nam quid ego de Gratidio

• L. Aelius Tubero was highly esteemed for his literary ability by Cicero, who refers to him in *Pro Plancio* as *necessarius meus*.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. 1.

temptations with which that province of yours abounds—to deviate from the path of strict integrity and sobriety of conduct.

But what can one find so excellent or so desirable 9 as that your virtue, your restraint of passion, and your self-control, should not lurk in the shadows or be hidden out of sight, but set in the light of Asia, before the eyes of a most distinguished province, to ring in the ears of all the nations and tribes of the earth? That men are not trampled underfoot in your progresses, not drained by expenditure, not struck with panic at your approach? That, wheresoever you come, there is an ecstasy of joy, both in public and in private, since it would seem that the city has taken unto herself no tyrant, but a guardian, the home no plunderer, but a guest?

III. In these matters, however, experience itself 10 has by this time taught you that it is by no means sufficient to possess these virtues yourself, but that you must keep diligent watch around you so that in this guardianship of your province it may appear that you are responsible to the allies, the citizens, and the State, not for yourself alone, but for all the officials of your government. And yet you have as *legati* men who are likely to consider their reputation on their own account; and of them, in rank, position, and age, Tubero ^a stands first; and I imagine, especially as he writes history, that he can select many characters from his own annals whom he would wish and be able to emulate. Allienus ^b moreover is our good friend in spirit and friendly feeling as well as in his adaptation of himself to our rules of life. About

^a A. Allienus, praetor in 49, and proconsul in Sicily in 46. *Fam.* xiii. 78 and 79 are addressed to him.

dicam? quem certo scio ita laborare de existimatione sua, ut propter amorem in nos fraternum etiam
 11 de nostra laboret. Quaestorem habes, non tuo iudicio delectum, sed eum, quem sors dedit. Hunc oportet et sua sponte esse moderatum et tuis institutis ac praeceptis obtemperare. Quorum si quis forte esset sordidior, ferres eatenus, quoad per se neglegeret eas leges, quibus esset astrictus, non ut ea potestate, quam tu ad dignitatem permisisses, ad quaestum uteretur. Neque enim mihi sane placet, praesertim cum hi mores tantum iam ad nimiam lenitatem et ad ambitionem incubuerint, scrutari te omnes sordes, excutere unum quemque eorum, sed, quanta sit in quoque fides, tantum cuique committere. Atque inter hos, eos, quos tibi comites et adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa res-
 12 praescripsi. IV. Quos vero aut ex domesticis convictionibus aut ex necessariis apparitionibus tecum esse voluisti, qui quasi ex cohorte praetoris appellari solent, horum non modo facta, sed etiam dicta omnia praestanda nobis sunt. Sed habes eos tecum, quos possis recte facientes facile diligere, minus con-

^a M. Gratidius was a brother of Cicero's grandmother Gratidia. If the Gratidius here mentioned was M. Gratidius's grandson, he would be Cicero's cousin (*frater* is often used for cousin).

^b His name is unknown.

Gratidius ^a I need say nothing ; I am well assured that he is so anxious about his own reputation that, if only out of cousinly affection for us, he is anxious about ours. Your quaestor ^b is not a man of your own deliberate selection, but one assigned you by lot. He ought to be a man of instinctive self-control, and should also comply with your policy and instructions. 11

Among these men, should it happen that anyone could not show a clean sheet of conduct, you would put up with him so long as he defied the regulations which bound him in his private capacity only, and not to the extent of abusing for purposes of private lucre the powers you had vouchsafed him for the maintenance of his public position. For it does not at all commend itself to me (especially in view of the distinct bias of modern morality in favour of undue laxity of conduct, and even of self-seeking) that you should investigate every ugly charge, and turn every single one of the charged inside out ; no, but that you should apportion your confidence in every case to the trustworthiness of the man to whom you give it. And among all these you will be responsible for those whom the State itself has assigned to you as your *attachés* and assistants in public business, at least within the limits I have laid down above.

IV. As for those, however, whom you have chosen to be about you, either in your domestic *entourage* or on your train of personal attendants, generally spoken of as a sort of "praetor's retinue," in *their* case we have to be responsible not only for their every act, but for their every word. But you have with you the kind of men whom you may easily make friends of when they act aright, and very easily check when they show 12

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sulentes existimationi tuae, facillime coercere : a quibus, rudis cum esses, videtur potuisse tua liberalitas decipi ; nam ut quisque est vir optimus, ita difficillime esse alios improbos suspicatur ; nunc vero tertius hic annus habeat integritatem eandem, quam superiores, cautiorem etiam ac diligentiore.

- 13 Sint aures tuae eae, quae id, quod audiunt, existimentur audire, non in quas ficte et simulate quaestus causa insusurretur. Sit anulus tuus non ut vas aliquod, sed tamquam ipse tu, non minister alienae voluntatis, sed testis tuae. Accensus sit eo etiam numero, quo eum maiores nostri esse voluerunt ; qui hoc non in benefici loco, sed in laboris ac muneris, non temere nisi libertis suis deferebant, quibus illi quidem non multo secus ac servis imperabant. Sit licitor non suae, sed tuae lenitatis apparitor ; maioraque praeferant fascis illi ac secures dignitatis insignia, quam potestatis. Toti denique sit provinciae cognitum, tibi omnium, quibus praesis, salutem, liberos, famam, fortunas esse carissimas. Denique haec opinio sit, non modo iis, qui aliquid acceperint, sed iis etiam, qui dederint, te inimicum (si id cognoveris) futurum. Neque vero quisquam dabit, cum erit hoc perspectum, nihil per eos, qui simulant se apud te
- 14 multum posse, abs te solere impetrari. Nec tamen

^a The *accensus* was an official of low rank who attended upon a consul, proconsul, or praetor, at Rome or abroad ; his duties were to summon parties to court, and maintain order there. He was generally the freedman of the magistrate he served.

^b This is a warning to Quintus against the undue ascendancy of his freedman Statius.

^c Cicero alludes to the lictors' practice of taking bribes to mitigate the severity of the punishment it was their duty to inflict. Tyrrell.

too little consideration for your good name—men who might very likely have taken you in, when you were a mere novice, generous soul that you are (for the better a man is, the more difficult it is for him to suspect others of being unscrupulous), but, as it is, let the third year show the same standard of integrity as the preceding two, but even an increase in caution and in diligence.

Let your ears be such as are reputed to hear only 13 what they do hear, and not such as are open to false and interested whispers prompted by the hope of profit. Let not your signet-ring be a sort of utensil, but, as it were, your very self—not the servant of another's will, but the witness of your own. Let your beadle ^a hold the rank which he was intended to hold by our ancestors, who, regarding that post not as a lucrative sinecure but as one of work and duty, were slow to confer it upon any but their own freedmen, over whom they exercised much the same authority as over their slaves.^b Let your licitor be the dispenser not of his own, but of your clemency,^c and let the *fascēs* and axes they carry before them be more the symbols of rank than of power. In a word, let it be recognized by the whole province that the welfare, children, reputation, and fortunes of all whom you govern are most precious to you. Finally, let it be the general impression that you will regard with disfavour not only those who have taken a bribe, but also those who have given one, if ever you get to know of it. And, as a matter of fact, there will be no giving of bribes when it is made perfectly clear that, as a rule, nothing is got out of you through the machinations of persons pretending to have great influence with you.

est haec oratio mea huiusmodi, ut te in tuos aut durum esse nimium, aut suspiciosum velim. Nam si quis est eorum, qui tibi bienni spatio numquam in suspicionem avaritiae venerit, (ut ego Caesium et Chaerippum et Labconem et audio, et, quia cognovi, existimo,) nihil est, quod non et iis, et si quis est alius eiusdemmodi, et committi et credi rectissime putem. Sed si quis est, in quo iam offenderis, de quo aliquid senseris, huic nihil credideris, nullam

15 partem existimationis tuae commiseris. V. In provincia vero ipsa, si quem es nactus, qui in tuam familiaritatem penitus intrarit, qui nobis ante fuerit ignotus, huic quantum credendum sit, vide; non quin possint multi esse provinciales viri boni, sed hoc sperare licet, iudicare periculosum est. Multis enim simulationum involueris tegitur, et quasi velis quibusdam obtenditur unius cuiusque natura; frons, oculi, vultus persaepe mentiuntur, oratio vero saepissime. Quamobrem, qui potes reperire ex eo genere hominum, qui pecuniae cupiditate adducti carcant his rebus omnibus, a quibus nos divulsi esse non possumus, te autem, alienum hominem, ament ex animo, ac non sui commodi causa simulent? Mihi quidem permagnum videtur; praesertim si iidem homines privatim non fere quemquam, praetores

^a *i.e.*, the delights of life and society in Rome.

And yet by this discourse I do not mean that I 14
 would have you be either unduly harsh or suspicious in
 dealing with your subordinates. For if anyone of
 them in the course of two years has never given you
 reason to suspect him of rapacity (and I am not only
 told this, but, because I know them, believe it of
 Caesius and Chaerippus and Labeo), I should think
 that there is nothing which might not be most
 properly entrusted or confided to them, or anybody
 else of the same sort. But if there is anyone whom
 you have already found reason to suspect, or about
 whom you may have discovered something, put no
 confidence in that man, entrust him with no fraction
 of your reputation.

V. In the province itself, however, if you have 15
 found anyone who has become thoroughly intimate
 with you without our having known him before, take
 care how far you give him your confidence; not that
 many provincials may not be quite good men, but
 while we may hope so, it is dangerous to be positive.
 For there are many wrappings and pretences under
 which each individual's nature is concealed and
 overspread, so to speak, with curtains; the brow, the
 eye, and the face very often lie, but speech most
 often of all. How, therefore, among that class of
 men who, tempted by their greed for money, are
 ready to dispense with all the amenities ^a from which
we cannot tear ourselves, how, I ask, can you
 discover any who yet have a sincere affection for
 you, a mere stranger, and are not simply pretend-
 ing to have it in order to gain their own ends? I
 think you would find it extremely hard, especially
 when those same persons show affection for hardly
 anybody who is not in office, but are always at one in

semper omnes amant. Quo ex genere si quem forte
 tui cognosti amantiorem (fieri enim potuit) quam
 temporis, hunc vero ad tuorum numerum libenter
 ascribito; sin autem id non perspicias, nullum erit
 genus in familiaritate cavendum magis, propterea
 quod et omnes vias pecuniae norunt, et omnia
 pecuniae causa faciunt, et, quicum victuri non sunt,
 16 eius existimationi consulere non curant. Atque
 etiam e Graecis ipsis diligenter cavendae sunt quae-
 dam familiaritates, praeter hominum perpaucorum,
 si qui sunt vetere Graecia digni. Isti¹ vero fallaces
 sunt permulti et leves, et diuturna servitute ad
 nimiam assentationem eruditi; quos ego universos
 adhiberi liberaliter, optimum quemque hospitio
 amicitiaque coniungi dico oportere; nimiae familiari-
 tates eorum neque tam fideles sunt, (non enim audent
 adversari nostris voluntatibus,) et invident non nostris
 17 solum, verum etiam suis. VI. Iam qui in eiusmodi
 rebus, in quibus vereor etiam ne durior sim, cautus
 esse velim ac diligens, quo me animo in servos esse
 censes? quos quidem cum omnibus in locis, tum
 praecipue in provinciis regere debemus. Quo de
 genere multa praecipui possunt; sed hoc et brevis-
 simum est, et facillime teneri potest, ut ita se gerant

¹ *Tyrrell*: sic *MSS.*

their affection for praetors. But if you happen to have found any member of the class to be fonder of you (and it might have occurred) than of your position at the moment, by all means gladly add him to the list of your friends ; if however you are not quite certain about it, there is no class of man you will have to be more on your guard against in the matter of intimacy, for the simple reason that they are up to all the ways of making money, and stick at nothing to make it, and have no consideration for the good name of one with whom they are not going to spend their lives.

And further among the Greeks themselves there are 16 certain intimacies against which you must be strictly on your guard, except intimacy with the very few, if any, who are worthy of ancient Greece. In your province, however, there are a great many who are deceitful and unstable, and trained by a long course of servitude to show an excess of sycophancy. What I say is, that they should all of them be treated as gentlemen, but that only the best of them should be attached to you by ties of hospitality and friendship ; unrestricted intimacies with them are not so much to be trusted, for they dare not oppose our wishes, and they are jealous not only of our countrymen, but even of their own.

VI. And now, since in matters of this kind, in 17 which, though I would be merely cautious and careful, I am afraid I am somewhat too strict, what do you suppose are my sentiments in regard to slaves ? Well, it is our duty to keep them in hand everywhere, but particularly in the provinces. In this connexion a number of rules may be laid down, but the shortest as well as the easiest to remember is this—let them

in istis Asiaticis itineribus, ut si iter Appia via faceres; neve interesse quidquam putent, utrum Tralles an Formias venerint. At, si quis est ex servis egregie fidelis, sit in domesticis rebus, et privatis; quae res ad officium imperi tui atque ad aliquam partem reipublicae pertinebunt, de his rebus ne quid attingat. Multa enim, quae recte committi servis fidelibus possunt, tamen sermonis et vituperationis vitandae causa committenda non sunt. Sed, nescio quo pacto, ad praecipienda rationem delapsa est oratio mea, cum id mihi propositum initio non fuisset. Quid enim ei praecipiam, quem ego in hoc praesertim genere intellegam prudentia non esse inferiorem quam me. usu vero etiam superiorem? Sed tamen si ad ea, quae faceres, auctoritas accederet mea, tibi ipsi illa putavi fore iucundiora. Quare sint haec fundamenta dignitatis tuae, tua primum integritas et continentia; deinde omnium, qui tecum sunt, pudor; delectus in familiaritatibus, et provincialium hominum et Graecorum, percautus et diligens; familiae gravis et constans disciplina.

19 Quae cum honesta sint in his privatis nostris quotidianisque rationibus, in tanto imperio, tam depravatis moribus, tam corruptrice provincia, divina videantur necesse est. Haec institutio atque haec

^a A commercial town of Lydia in Asia Minor, used here of any "out-of-the-way" foreign place, as in *Juv. i. 3. 70* ("hic Trallibus aut Alabandis").

^b See note *a* on § 2.

conduct themselves on your progresses in Asia exactly as if they were travelling by the Appian Way, and don't let them imagine that it makes any difference whether their destination is Tralles^a or Formiae. Of course, if anyone of your slaves stands above the rest in trustworthiness, employ him in your domestic and private affairs; but with matters belonging to your office as governor, or with any State department,—with such matters don't let him meddle. For there are many things which may quite properly be entrusted to honest slaves, but which, for all that, in order to avoid tittle-tattle and fault-finding, should not be so entrusted.

But somehow or other my discourse has dropped 18 into a scheme of instruction, though that is not what I had in view when I began. For why should I instruct one who, especially in this department, is, I well know, not inferior to myself in wisdom, and in experience my superior also? But I thought, nevertheless, that if your actions had the additional ratification of my approval, you yourself would find a deeper satisfaction in them. Let these, therefore, be the foundations of your public position,—first of all, your own integrity and self-restraint; secondly, the respectful treatment of those about you, an extremely cautious and careful choice, in the matter of intimacy, of both provincials^b and Greeks, and a strict and consistent system of discipline in dealing with slaves.

Such characteristics are honourable even in our 19 private and daily business here at home; in so important a command, where morals are so debased, and provincial life so corrupting, they must needs seem godlike. The establishment of such principles,

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disciplina potest sustinere in rebus statuendis discernendisque eam severitatem, qua tu in iis rebus usus es, ex quibus nonnullas simultates cum magna mea laetitia susceptas habemus. Nisi forte me Paconi nescio cuius, hominis ne Graeci quidem, at Mysii aut Phrygis potius, querellis moveri putas, aut Tuscei, hominis furiosi ac sordidi, vocibus, cuius tu ex impurissimis faucibus inhonestissimam cupiditatem
20 eripuisti summa cum aequitate. VII. Haec, et cetera plena severitatis, quae statuisti in ista provincia, non facile sine summa integritate sustinere-
mus. Quare sit summa in iure dicundo severitas, dummodo ea ne varietur gratia, sed conservetur aequabilis. Sed tamen parvi refert abs te ipso ius dici aequabiliter et diligenter, nisi idem ab iis fiet, quibus tu eius muneris aliquam partem concesseris. Ac mihi quidem videtur non sane magna varietas esse negotiorum in administranda Asia, sed ea tota iurisdictione maxime sustineri. In qua scientiae praesertim provincialis ratio ipsa expedita est; constantia est adhibenda et gravitas, quae resistat non
21 solum gratiae, verum etiam suspicioni. Adiungenda etiam est facilitas in audiendo, lenitas in discernendo, in satisfaciendo ac disputando diligentia. His rebus nuper C. Octavius iucundissimus fuit, apud quem

^a See note *b* on § 2.

^b The father of Augustus, now praetor in Macedonia, but the above passage refers to what he did when praetor at Rome before he left for Macedonia.

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and such discipline, may well justify that severity in the settlement and decision of affairs which you yourself have practised in certain matters, in consequence of which we have incurred several personal animosities with no little happiness to myself,—unless of course you imagine that I pay any heed to the complaints of some Paconius ^a or other, a fellow who is not even a Greek, but more of a Mysian or Phrygian, or to the ejaculations of Tusenius, ^a a crazy fellow of the baser sort, from whose disgustingly filthy jaws you snatched the prey of his most discreditable cupidity ; and you were absolutely right.

VII. These and all the other precedents of notable 20 severity you have established in your province we should not easily justify except by the most perfect probity. For that reason be as severe as you please in administering justice, provided that your severity is not varied by partiality, but kept on the same level of consistency. However, it is of little importance that your own administration of justice is consistent and careful, unless it be so administered by those also to whom you have yielded any portion of that duty. And indeed it seems to me that there is no great variety of transactions in the government of Asia, but that the entire government mainly depends upon the administration of justice ; and, being thus limited, the theory of government itself, especially in the provinces, presents no difficulty ; you only need show such consistency and firmness as to withstand not only favouritism, but the very suspicion of it.

In addition to this there must be civility in hearing, 21 clemency in deciding, a case, and careful discrimination in the satisfactory settlement of disputes. It was by acting thus that C. Octavius ^b lately made himself

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primum¹ lictor quievit, tacuit accensus, quoties quisque voluit, dixit, et quam voluit diu. Quibus ille rebus fortasse nimis lenis videretur, nisi haec lenitas illam severitatem tueretur. Cogebantur Sullani homines, quae per vim et metum abstulerant, reddere. Qui in magistratibus iniuriose decreverant, eodem ipsis privatis erat iure parendum. Haec illius severitas acerba videretur, nisi multis condimentis
22 humanitatis mitigaretur. Quod si haec lenitas grata Romae est, ubi tanta arrogantia est, tam immoderata libertas, tam infinita hominum licentia, denique tot magistratus, tot auxilia, tanta vis populi, tanta senatus auctoritas, quam iucunda tandem praetoris comitas in Asia potest esse, in qua tanta multitudo civium, tanta sociorum, tot urbes, tot civitates unius hominis nutum intuentur? ubi nullum auxilium est, nulla conquestio, nullus senatus, nulla contio? Quare cum semper² magni hominis est, et cum ipsa natura moderati, tum vero etiam doctrina atque optimarum artium studiis eruditi, sic se adhibere in tanta potestate, ut nulla alia potestas ab iis, quibus ipse
23 praesit, desideretur. VIII. Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus, sed ad effigiem iusti

¹ *Malaspina*: primus *mss.*

² *Boot*: cum permagni *M.*

^a *Sullani homines* or *Sullani possessores* was the regular term for the illegal proprietors of land confiscated by Sulla—men who had obtained possession of the land by buying it from the soldiers to whom it had been assigned, or encroached on any land unassigned; for Sulla had confiscated more land than was necessary to satisfy the soldiers.

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most popular ; it was in his court, for the first time, that the lictor made no fuss, and the beadle held his tongue, while everyone spoke as often as he pleased, and as long as he pleased. It is possible that by so doing he gave one the impression of being too gentle, were it not that this very gentleness served to counteract such an instance of severity as the following: certain "men of Sulla"^a were compelled to restore what they had carried off by violence and intimidation, and those who, when in office, had passed unjust decrees, were themselves, when private citizens, obliged to bow to the same rulings. This severity on his part might seem a bitter pill to swallow, were it not coated with the honey of many a kindness.

But if this gentleness is popular at Rome, where ²² such arrogance is to be found, such unrestricted liberty, such unbounded licence on every side, and in short, so many magistrates, so many sources of aid, such power in the people, such authority in the Senate, how welcome, I ask you, must the courteousness of a praetor be in Asia, where so vast a multitude of citizens and allies, so many cities and communities concentrate their gaze upon the nod of a single man; where there is no succour for the oppressed, no facility for protest, no senate, no popular assembly? It must, therefore, ever be the privilege of some great man, and a man not only instinctively self-controlled, but also refined by learning and the study of all that is best in the arts, so to conduct himself in the possession of so vast a power that the absence of any other power may never be regretted by his subjects.

VIII. The great Cyrus was portrayed by Xenophon ²³ not in accord with historical truth, but as a model of

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imperii ; cuius summa gravitas ab illo philosopho cum singulari comitate coniungitur ; (quos quidem libros non sine causa noster ille Africanus de manibus ponere non solebat ; nullum est enim praetermissum in his officium diligentis et moderati imperi ;) eaque, si sic coluit ille, qui privatus futurus numquam fuit, quonam modo retinenda sunt iis, quibus imperium ita datum est, ut redderent, et ab his legibus datum
24 est, ad quas revertendum est ? Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda iis, qui praesunt aliis, ut ii, qui erunt eorum in imperio, sint quam beatissimi ; quod tibi et esse antiquissimum, et ab initio fuisse, ut primum Asiam attigisti, constante fama atque omnium sermone celebratum est. Est autem non modo eius, qui sociis et civibus, sed etiam eius, qui servis, qui mutis pcedibus praesit, eorum,
25 quibus praesit, commodis utilitatique servire. Cuius quidem generis constare inter omnes video abs te summam adhiberi diligentiam ; nullum aes alienum novum contrahi civitatibus ; vetere autem magno et gravi multas abs te esse liberatas ; urbes complures, dirutas ac paene desertas, (in quibus unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnasum,) per te esse recreatas ; nullas esse in oppidis

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just government, and the impressive dignity of his character is combined in that philosopher's description of him with a matchless courtesy ; and indeed it was not without reason that our great Africanus did not often put those books out of his hands, for there is no duty belonging to a painstaking and fair-minded form of government that is omitted in them. And if Cyrus, destined as he was never to be a private citizen, so assiduously cultivated those qualities, how carefully, I ask, should they be preserved by those to whom supreme power is only given on the condition that it must be surrendered, and given too by those very laws to the observance of which those rulers must return ?

And my personal opinion is, that those who govern 24 others must gauge their every act by this one test—the greatest possible happiness of the governed ; and that this principle is and has been from the beginning, from the moment you set foot in Asia, of primary importance in your eyes is a fact bruited abroad by unvarying report and the conversation of all. And indeed it is the duty not only of one who governs allies and citizens, but also of one who governs slaves and dumb animals, to be himself a slave to the interests and well-being of those he governs.

And in this respect I see that there is universal 25 agreement as to the extraordinary pains you are taking ; I see that no new debt is being contracted to burden the states, whereas many of them have been relieved by you of a big and heavy debt of long standing ; that several cities, dismantled and almost deserted (one of them the most famous city in Ionia, the other in Caria—Samos and Halicarnassus) have been rebuilt through your instrumentality ; that

seditiones, nullas discordias ; provideri abs te, ut civitates optimatum consiliis administrantur ; sublata Mysiac latrocinia ; caedes multis locis repressas ; pacem tota provincia constitutam ; neque solum illa itinerum atque agrorum, sed multo etiam plura et maiora oppidorum et fanorum furta et latrocinia esse depulsa ; remotam a fama et a fortunis et ab otio locupletum illam acerbissimam ministram praetorum avaritiae, calumniam : sumptus et tributa civitatum ab omnibus, qui earum civitatum fines incolant, tolerari aequabiliter ; facillimos esse aditus ad te ; patere aures tuas querellis omnium, nullius inopiam ac solitudinem, non modo illo populari accessu ac tribunali, sed ne domo quidem et cubiculo esse exclusam ; tuo toto denique imperio nihil acerbum esse, nihil crudele, atque omnia plena clementiae, mansuetudinis, humanitatis.

26 IX. Quantum vero illud est beneficium tuum, quod iniquo et gravi vectigali aedilicio, magnis nostris simultatibus, Asiam liberasti ! Enimvero, si unus homo nobilis queritur palam, te, quod edixeris, NE AD LUDOS PECUNIAE DECERNERENTUR, HS CC. sibi eripuisse, quanta tandem pecunia penderetur, si om-

^a *i.e.*, taxation imposed by the aediles to defray the expenses of the games.

there are no insurrections, no civil discords in the towns ; that you are providing for the government of the states by councils of their leading men ; that brigandage has been exterminated in Mysia, murder suppressed in various places, and peace established throughout the province ; that thefts and robberies, not only those on the highways and in the country, but also those (and they are far more frequent and serious) in towns and temples, have been effectually checked ; that the good name, the possessions, and the peace of mind of the rich has been delivered from that most pernicious instrument of praetorian greed—prosecution on a false charge ; that the incidence of expenditure and taxation in the states bears in equal proportion upon all those who dwell within the boundaries of those states ; that it is the easiest thing in the world to get access to you ; that your ears are open to the complaints of all ; that no man's lack of means or of friends has ever shut him out, nor ever will, from approaching you, not only in public and on the tribunal, but even in your very house and bed-chamber ; in short, that in the whole sphere of your command there is nothing harsh, nothing brutal, and, look where we will, we see nothing but clemency, gentleness, and kindness of heart.

IX. But what am I to say of the service you have 26
done us in freeing Asia from the heavy and iniquitous tribute imposed by the aediles,^a though it cost us some bitter animosities ! For to speak plainly, if a single man of noble rank complains without any concealment that by your edict, "*that no sums of money should be voted for the games,*" you actually robbed him of 200,000 sesterces, how much money, I should like to know, would be paid if a grant were made to the

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nium nomine, quicumque Romae ludos facerent, quod erat iam institutum, erogaretur? Quamquam has querellas hominum nostrorum illo consilio oppres-
simus, quod in Asia nescio quo modo, Romae quidem non mediocri cum admiratione laudatur, quod, cum ad templum monumentumque nostrum civitates pecunias decrevissent; cumque id et pro magnis meis meritis, et pro tuis maximis beneficiis summa sua voluntate fecissent, nominatimque lex exciperet, **UT AD TEMPLUM MONUMENTUMQUE CAPERE LICERET;** cumque id, quod dabatur, non esset interiturum, sed in ornamentis templi futurum, ut non mihi potius, quam populo Romano ac dis immortalibus datum videretur; tamen id, in quo erat dignitas, erat lex, erat eorum, qui faciebant, voluntas, accipiendum non putavi, cum aliis de causis, tum etiam, ut animo aequiore ferrent ii, quibus nec deberetur
27 nec liceret. Quapropter incumbe toto animo et studio omni in eam rationem, qua adhuc usus es, ut eos, quos tuae fidei potestatique senatus populusque Romanus commisit et credidit, diligas, et omni ratione tueare, ut esse quam beatissimos velis. Quod si te sors Afris aut Hispanis aut Gallis prae-
fecisset, immanibus ac barbaris nationibus, tamen esset humanitatis tuae, consulere eorum commodis,
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account of everyone who gave games at Rome—a practice that had already become established? Anyhow our good friends had their complaints forced down their throats by what I decided to do—a decision which, however it is received in Asia, meets with no little admiration and applause at Rome—I mean that when the states had voted their contributions to a temple and monument in our honour, and though they had done so with the heartiest goodwill in view of my great deserts and your even greater services, and though the law contained a specific exception legalizing “the receipt of funds for a temple and a monument,” and though the money offered was not going to be thrown away, but was to be spent on the ornamentation of a temple, so that the offer seemed to be made not so much to myself as to the people of Rome and the immortal gods,—in spite of all that I did not consider that such an offer, justified as it was by meritorious achievement, by the law, and by the goodwill of those who made it, should after all be accepted. And I did this for other reasons, but especially in order that those, in whose case such an honour was neither due nor legal, might bear their disappointment with greater resignation.

Therefore throw your whole heart and soul into the 27 policy you have hitherto adopted, treating as friends those whom the Senate and people of Rome have committed and entrusted to your honour and authority, protecting them in every possible way, and desiring their greatest possible happiness. Why, if the drawing of lots had given you the government of the Africans or the Spaniards or the Gauls, uncouth and barbarous nations, it would still be incumbent upon a man of your humane character to study their

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et utilitati salutique servire. Cum vero ei generi hominum praesimus, non modo in quo ipsa sit, sed etiam a quo ad alios pervenisse putetur humanitas, certe iis eam potissimum tribuere debemus, a quibus
28 accepimus. Non enim me hoc iam dicere pudebit, praesertim in ea vita atque iis rebus gestis, in quibus non potest residere inertiae aut levitatis ulla suspicio, nos ea, quae consecuti sumus, his studiis et artibus esse adeptos, quae sint nobis Graeciae monumentis disciplinisque traditae. Quare praeter communem fidem, quae omnibus debetur, praeterea nos isti hominum generi praecipue debere videmur, ut, quorum praeceptis eruditi simus, apud eos ipsos,
29 quod ab iis didicerimus, velimus expromere. X. Atque ille quidem princeps ingeni et doctrinae, Plato, tum denique fore beatas respublicas putavit, si aut docti ac sapientes homines eas regere coepissent, aut, qui regerent, omne suum studium in doctrina ac sapientia collocassent. Hanc coniunctionem videlicet potestatis ac sapientiae saluti censuit civitatibus esse posse. Quod fortasse aliquando universae reipublicae nostrae, nunc quidem profecto isti provinciae contigit, ut is in ea summam potestatem haberet, cui in doctrina, cui in virtute atque humanitate percipienda plurimum a pueritia studi fuisset et
30 temporis. Quare cura, ut hic annus, qui ad laborem tuum accessit, idem ad salutem Asiae prorogatus esse videatur. Quoniam in te retinendo fuit Asia

^a Weaknesses not unknown in the Greek character, which Cicero claims to have avoided.

^b *De Rep.* 473 D.

interests, and consider their welfare and security. But seeing that we are governing that race of mankind in which not only do we find real civilization, but from which it is also supposed to have spread to others, it is at any rate our duty to bestow upon them, above all things, just that which they have bestowed upon us.

For at this point, especially as my life and achievements leave no room for the slightest suspicion of indolence or frivolity,^a I shall not be ashamed to assert that I am indebted for whatever I have accomplished to the arts and studies transmitted to us in the records and philosophic teachings of Greece. And that is why, over and above the common honesty due to all, yes, over and above that, it seems to me that we owe a special debt to that race of men, and that is, among those very people whose precepts have rescued us from barbarism, to be the willing exponents of the lessons we have learnt from them.

X. And indeed Plato, that foremost of men in genius and learning, thought that states would only then be prosperous when learned and wise men began to rule them, or when those who ruled them devoted all their mental energies to learning and wisdom.^b He was evidently of opinion that this combination of power and wisdom would be the salvation of states — a blessing which some day perhaps will befall our whole Republic, as it has assuredly now befallen your province, in that it has as its supreme ruler one who had from his very boyhood devoted the maximum of zeal and time to absorbing the principles of philosophy, of virtue, and of philanthropy.

See to it, then, that this year which has been added to your period of work may be regarded as having been a prolongation of welfare to Asia. Since Asia

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felicior, quam nos in deducendo, perfice, ut laetitia provinciae desiderium nostrum leniatur. Etenim si in promerendo, ut tibi tanti honores haberentur, quanti haud scio an nemini, fuisti omnium diligentissimus, multo maiorem in his honoribus tuendis ad-
31 hibere diligentiam debes. Et quidem de isto genere honorum quid sentirem, scripsi ad te ante. Semper eos putavi, si vulgares essent, viles, si temporis causa constituerentur, leves; si vero (id quod ita factum est) meritis tuis tribuerentur, existimabam multam tibi in his tuendis operam esse ponendam. Quare quoniam in istis urbibus cum summo imperio et potestate versaris, in quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in deorum numero collocatas vides, in omnibus rebus, quas statues, quas decernes, quas ages, quid tantis hominum opinionibus, tantis de te iudiciis, tantis honoribus debeas, cogitabis. Id autem erit eiusmodi, ut consulas omnibus, ut medeare incommodis hominum, provideas saluti, ut te parentem
32 Asiae et dici et haberi velis. XI. Atqui huic tuae voluntati ac diligentiae difficultatem magnam afferunt publicani; quibus si adversamur, ordinem de nobis optime meritum et per nos cum republica coniunctum et a nobis et a republica diiungemus; sin autem

has been more successful in keeping her hold on you than I have in bringing you home, so manage matters that my own sense of loss may be lightened by the rejoicings of the province. For if, in earning the bestowal upon you of such honours as, I am inclined to think, have been bestowed upon no other, you have been the most assiduous of men, far greater is the assiduity you ought to display in justifying those honours.

And what I feel about honours of that sort I have 31 told you in previous letters ; if given indiscriminately, I have always thought them cheap ; if designed to meet some difficulty of the moment, paltry ; if on the other hand, as in this case, they were a tribute to your deserts, I have always thought that you were bound to take particular pains to justify them. Therefore, now that you are engaged in a position of supreme command and authority in cities where, as you see, your virtues are hallowed and held up as being nothing less than divine, well then, in all your decisions, decrees, and official acts, you will, I am sure, consider what you owe to the high opinions men have of you, to their flattering judgments about you, and to the distinguished honours conferred upon you. And what you owe is just this—to bear in mind the interests of all, to redress the ills of men, to provide for their welfare, and to make it your ambition to be not only entitled, but also esteemed, “ the father of Asia.”

XI. And yet to all your goodwill and devotion to 32 duty there is a serious obstacle in the *publicani* ; if we oppose them, we shall alienate from ourselves and from the commonwealth an order that has deserved extremely well of us, and been brought through our instrumentality into close association with the

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omnibus in rebus obsequemur, funditus eos perire patiemur, quorum non modo salutem, sed etiam commodis consulere debemus. Haec est una (si vere cogitare volumus) in toto imperio tuo difficultas. Nam esse abstinentem, continere omnes cupiditates, suos coercere, iuris aequabilem tenere rationem, facilem se in rebus cognoscendis, in hominibus audiendis admittendisque praebere, praeclarum magis est, quam difficile. Non est enim positum in labore aliquo, sed in quadam inductione animi atque
33 voluntate. Illa causa publicanorum quantam acerbissimam afferat sociis, intelleximus ex civibus, qui nuper in portoriis Italiae tollendis, non tam de portorio, quam de nonnullis iniuriis portitorum querebantur. Quare non ignoro, quid sociis accidat in ultimis terris, cum audierim in Italia querellas civium. Hic te ita versari, ut et publicanis satisfacias, praesertim publicis male redemptis, ac socios perire non sinas, divinae cuiusdam virtutis esse videtur, id est, tuae. Ac primum Graecis, id quod acerbissimum est, quod sunt vectigales, non ita acerbum videri debet, propterea quod sine imperio populi Romani, suis institutis, per se ipsi ita fuerunt. Nomen autem publicani

^a By Q. Metellus Nepos.

^b Employed by the *publicani* to collect their dues.

^c The syndicate which had bought the right to farm the taxes of Asia had made an excessive bid for them; indeed Cicero tells Atticus that they actually "demanded a cancellation of the assignment" ("ut induceretur locatio postulerunt"), *Att.* i. 17. 9.

commonwealth; and yet, if we yield to them in everything, we shall be acquiescing in the utter ruin of those whose security, and indeed whose interests, we are bound to protect. This is the one outstanding difficulty (if we would face the question honestly) in the whole sphere of your command. For as to one's being unselfish, curbing all one's passions, keeping one's staff in check, maintaining a consistently uniform policy in legal proceedings, conducting oneself with kindly courtesy in investigating cases and in giving audience to suitors and not shutting one's door to them,—all that is magnificent rather than difficult to do; for it depends not upon any strenuous exertion, but upon making up one's mind, and setting one's will in a certain direction.

What bitterness of feeling this question of the 33 *publicani* causes the allies we have gathered from those citizens who recently, on the abolition of port-dues in Italy,^a complained not so much of that duty itself as of certain malpractices on the part of the custom-officers.^b I therefore know pretty well what happens to allies in distant lands from the complaints I have heard from citizens in Italy. So to conduct yourself in this connexion as to satisfy the *publicani*, especially when they took over the collection of taxes at a loss,^c and at the same time not to permit the ruin of the allies, seems to demand a sort of divine excellence—in other words, an excellence such as yours. Let us take the Greeks first; their greatest grievance is that they are subject to taxation; but they should not regard that as so very much of a grievance, for the simple reason that they put themselves in that position of their own free will by their own enactment, quite apart from the rule of the Roman people. More-

- aspernari non possunt, qui pendere ipsi vectigal sine publicano non potuerunt, quod his aequaliter Sulla descriperat. Non esse autem leniores in exigendis vectigalibus Graecos, quam nostros publicanos, hinc intellegi potest, quod Caunii nuper, omnesque ex insulis, quae erant ab Sulla Rhodiis attributae, confugerunt ad senatum, nobis ut potius vectigal, quam Rhodiis penderent. Quare nomen publicani neque ii debent horrere, qui semper vectigales fuerunt, neque ii aspernari, qui per se pendere vectigal non potuerunt, neque ii recusare, qui postulaverunt.
- 34 Simul et illud Asia cogitet, nullam a se neque belli externi, neque discordiarum domesticarum calamitatem abfuturam fuisse, si hoc imperio non teneretur. Id autem imperium cum retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, aequo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam redimat atque otium.
- 35 XII. Quod si genus ipsum et nomen publicani non iniquo animo sustinebunt, poterunt iis, consilio et prudentia tua, reliqua videri mitiora. Possunt in pactionibus faciendis non legem spectare censoriam, sed potius commoditatem conficiendi negoti et liberationem molestiae. Potes etiam tu id facere, quod

^a Caunus was one of the chief cities of Caria, on its south coast, founded by the Cretans, but made subject to the Rhodians in 300 B.C. It was unhealthily situated, but famous for its dried figs.

^b These words are strikingly applicable to India under British rule.

^c The provincials might make special arrangements, not in strict accord with the censorian law, with the *publicani*; they might, for instance, substitute an immediate payment of the tax for that enjoined by the law, and thereby facilitate business, and escape the constant dunning of the tax-farmers. Tyrrell.

over they cannot afford to disdain the name of *publicanus*, since without the aid of that *publicanus* they themselves could never have paid the assessment imposed by Sulla as a poll-tax on all alike. But that the Greek collectors are no more gentle in enforcing the payment of taxes than our own *publicani* may be inferred from the fact that the Caunians^a and all the islands that had been made tributary by Sulla to the Rhodians quite recently fled for protection to our Senate, begging that they might pay to us rather than to the Rhodians. It follows, therefore, that neither ought those who have always been subject to the tax to shudder at the name of a *publicanus*, nor those to disdain it who have been unable to pay the tax by themselves, nor those to reject his services who have applied for them.

Let Asia at the same time bear this in mind, that 34 were she not under our government, there is no disaster in the way of either foreign war or intestine discords which she would have been likely to escape.^b Seeing, however, that such government cannot possibly be maintained without taxes, she should not resent having to pay for perpetual peace and tranquillity with some portion at least of what her soil produces.

XII. If they will but accept without resentment 35 the mere existence of such a class, and the name *publicanus*, all else, owing to your counsel and wisdom, may possibly seem to them less oppressive. They have the power in making agreements not to regard the *lex censoria* so much as convenience in the settlement of the business and freeing themselves from annoyance.^c You too are able to do what you

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et fecisti egregie et facis, ut commemores, quanta sit in publicanis dignitas, quantum nos illi ordini debeamus, ut remoto imperio ac vi potestatis et fascium publicanos cum Graecis gratia atque auctoritate coniungas, et ab iis, de quibus optime tu meritus es, et qui tibi omnia debent, hoc petas, ut facilitate sua nos eam necessitudinem, quae est nobis cum publicanis, obtinere et conservare patiantur.

36 Sed quid ego te haec hortor, quae tu non modo facere potes tua sponte sine cuiusquam praeceptis, sed etiam magna iam ex parte perfecisti? Non enim desistunt nobis agere quotidie gratias honestissimae et maximae societates; quod quidem mihi ideo iucundius est, quod idem faciunt Graeci. Difficile est autem, ea, quae commodis, utilitate et prope natura diversa sunt, voluntate coniungere. At ea quidem, quae supra scripta sunt, non ut te instituerem, scripsi, (neque enim prudentia tua cuiusquam praecepta desiderat,) sed me in scribendo commemoratio tuae virtutis delectavit; quamquam in his litteris longior fui, quam aut vellem, aut quam

37 me putavi fore. XIII. Unum est, quod tibi ego praecipere non desinam, neque te patiar (quantum in me erit) cum exceptione laudari. Omnes enim,

• *i.e.*, of publicani.

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have done, and are doing, in the most admirable way,—you can remind everybody of the high responsibilities imposed upon the *publicani*, and our own great indebtedness to that order, so that, waiving your official command and the might of your power with all its symbols, you may unite the *publicani* with the Greeks by means of the regard and respect they have for you personally, and entreat those Greeks whom you have so admirably served, and who owe you everything, to allow us, by showing a compliant temper, to maintain and preserve the intimate connexion which already subsists between us and the *publicani*.

But why am I thus urging you to do what you can not only do on your own initiative without anybody's instructing you, but have also to a large extent succeeded in doing? For the most honourable and important companies^a never cease expressing their gratitude to me day after day; and that gives me all the more pleasure because the Greeks do the same. And it is no easy task to harmonize in mutual goodwill elements in respect of interests and expediency, and indeed almost intrinsically, irreconcilable.

All, however, that I have written above I have not written for the purpose of instructing you—for your good sense needs no schooling by anybody—but the rehearsal of your virtues in writing has been a pleasure to me, though I have certainly been more prolix in this letter than I could have wished to be, or ever thought I should be.

XIII. There is one lesson I shall never cease to impress upon you, and (so far as in me lies) I am not going to allow your praises to be qualified by a single reservation. The fact is that all who come from your

qui istine veniunt, ita de tua virtute, integritate, humanitate commemorant, ut in tuis summis laudibus excipiant unam iracundiam. Quod vitium cum in hac privata quotidianaque vita levis esse animi atque infirmi videtur, tum vero nihil est tam deforme, quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturae adiungere. Quare illud non suscipiam, ut, quae de iracundia dici solent a doctissimis hominibus, ea tibi nunc exponam, cum et nimis longus esse nolim, et ex multorum scriptis ea facile possis cognoscere; illud, quod est epistolae proprium, ut is, ad quem scribitur, de iis rebus, quas ignorat, certior

38 fiat, praetermittendum esse non puto. Sic ad nos omnes fere deferunt, nihil, cum absit iracundia, te fieri posse iucundius; sed cum te alicuius improbitas perversitasque commoverit, sic te animo incitari, ut ab omnibus tua desideretur humanitas. Quare quoniam in eam rationem vitae nos non tam cupiditas quaedam gloriae, quam res ipsa ac fortuna deduxit, ut sempiternus sermo hominum de nobis futurus sit, caveamus, quantum efficere et consequi possumus, ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur. Neque ego hoc nunc contendo, quod fortasse cum in omni natura, tum iam in nostra aetate difficile est, mutare animum et, si quid est penitus insitum moribus, id subito evellere; sed te illud admoneo, ut, si hoc plane vitare non potes, quod ante occupatur animus ab iracundia, quam pro-

province, while they dwell upon your virtues, your integrity, and your kindness, do make one reservation, and that is your irascibility. Now not only does that failing seem to betray a capricious and feeble mind, in this private and everyday life of ours, but there is nothing so repulsive as this intrusion into supreme command of acerbity of temper. I shall not therefore take upon myself to lay before you now the repeated utterances of the greatest philosophers on the subject of irascibility, as I should not like to be tedious, and you can easily discover them in many writers; but the special purpose of a letter—the enlightenment of the recipient on matters of which he has no knowledge—that purpose, I think, should not be overlooked.

Well, what practically everybody reports of you is 38 this—that, as long as you keep your temper, they find you the pleasantest person in the world; but when you are upset by some fellow's rascality or wrong-headedness, you become so exasperated that everybody sighs for your vanished kindness. Therefore, since we have been brought, not so much by any kind of desire for glory as by the mere force of circumstances and by fortune, into such a position of life that men are likely to talk about us for all time, let us be careful, to the best of our ability and power, to avoid its being said of us that we had any particularly notorious failing. And I am not now urging you to do what is perhaps difficult in human nature at any time, but especially at our time of life, and that is to change one's disposition and suddenly to pluck out some evil deeply ingrained in the character; but this much advice I do give you, that if you cannot possibly avoid it, because anger takes possession of the mind

videre ratio potuit, ne occuparetur, ut te ante compares, quotidieque meditare, resistendum esse iracundiae; cumque ea maxime animum moveat, tum tibi esse diligentissime linguam continendam; quae quidem mihi virtus non interdum minor videtur, quam omnino non irasci. Nam illud non solum est gravitatis, sed nonnumquam etiam lentitudinis; moderari vero et animo et orationi, cum sis iratus, aut etiam tacere et tenere in sua potestate motum animi et dolorem, etsi non est perfectae sapientiae,

39 tamen est non mediocris ingeni. Atque in hoc genere multo te esse iam commodiorem mitioremque nuntiant. Nullae tuae vehementiores animi concitationes, nulla maledicta ad nos, nullae contumeliae perferuntur; quae cum abhorrent a literis, ab humanitate, tum vero contraria sunt imperio ac dignitati. Nam si implacabiles iracundiae sint, summa est acerbitas; sin autem exorabiles, summa levitas; quae tamen (ut in malis) acerbitati antep

40 ponenda est. XIV. Sed quoniam primus annus habuit de hac reprehensione plurimum sermonis, credo propterea, quod tibi hominum iniuriae, quod avaritiae, quod insolentia praeter opinionem accidebat et intolerabilis videbatur, secundus autem multo lenior, quod et consuetudo et ratio et (ut ego arbitror)

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before reason has been able to prevent its being so possessed, in that case you should prepare yourself beforehand, and reflect daily that what you have to fight against is anger, and that when the mind is most under its influence is just the time when you should be most careful to bridle your tongue; and indeed I sometimes think that this is as great a virtue as not feeling anger at all. For the latter is not exclusively a sign of strength of character, but also occasionally of a phlegmatic habit of mind; while to govern one's mind and speech when angry, or even to hold one's tongue and retain one's sway over mental perturbation and resentment, that, though not a proof of perfect wisdom, is at any rate a mark of no slight natural ability.

And even in this respect they tell me that you are now far more amenable and mild. I receive no reports of any unduly violent outbursts of temper on your part, of any abusive or insulting language, which, while inconsistent with literary culture and refinement, are utterly incompatible with a position of high command. For where paroxysms of anger cannot be pacified, you will there find extreme harshness; where they yield to remonstrances, an extremely changeable mind; though of course the latter, as a choice of evils, is to be preferred to harshness.

XIV. But since it was in your first year that there was the most talk about this subject of censure (I suppose because the cases of injustice and rapacity and the general insolence you came across took you by surprise, and struck you as intolerable), while your second year was much milder, because you improved in tolerance and mildness as the result of getting used to things and reasoning things out, and also, I do

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meae quoque litterae te patientiorem lenioremque fecerunt, tertius annus ita esse debet emendatus, ut ne minimam quidem rem quisquam possit ullam
41 reprehendere. Ac iam hoc loco non hortatione neque praeceptis, sed precibus tecum fraternis ago, totum ut animum, curam, cogitationemque tuam ponas in omnium laude undique colligenda. Quod si in mediocri statu sermonis ac praedicationis nostrae res essent, nihil abs te eximium, nihil praeter aliorum consuetudinem postularetur. Nunc vero, propter earum rerum, in quibus versati sumus, splendorem et magnitudinem, nisi summam laudem ex ista provincia assequimur, vix videmur summam vituperationem posse vitare. Ea nostra ratio est, ut omnes boni cum faveant, tum etiam a nobis omnem diligentiam virtutemque et postulent et expectent, omnes autem improbi (quod cum his bellum suscepimus sempiternum) vel minima re ad reprehendum
42 contenti esse videantur. Quare quoniam eiusmodi theatrum tuis virtutibus est datum, celebritate referatissimum, magnitudine amplissimum, iudicio eruditissimum, natura autem ita resonans, ut usque Romam significationes vocesque referantur, contende, quaeso, atque elabora, non modo ut his rebus dignus fuisse, sed etiam ut illa omnia tuis artibus superasse
43 videre. XV. Et quoniam mihi casus urbanam in
432

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believe, of reading my letters, well, then, your third year ought to be so free from blemish that nobody could possibly find the slightest fault with it.

And here I no longer plead with you by exhortation 11 and precept, but by beseeching you in brotherly fashion to devote all your mind, attention, and meditation to the winning of praise from every man's lips in every quarter. Now if our sphere of action were so limited as to elicit no more than ordinary talk and comment, nothing extraordinary, nothing beyond the common practice of others, would be demanded of you. As it is, however, owing to the splendour and magnitude of the affairs in which we have had a hand, if we fail to secure the highest praise for the administration of your province, it seems hardly possible for us to escape the bitterest vituperation. We are in such a position that all loyal men, though they support us, at the same time demand and expect of us every devotion to duty and every virtue, while all the disloyal on the other hand, since with them we are engaged in a war that knows no ending, seem to be satisfied with the most trivial pretext for censuring us.

Since, therefore, you have been assigned a theatre 12 such as this, crowded with such multitudes, so ample in its grandeur, so subtle in its criticism, and by nature possessed of such an echo that its manifestations of feeling and ejaculations reach Rome itself, for that reason, I implore you, struggle and strive with all your might, not merely to prove yourself to have been worthy of the task allotted to you, but also to prove that by the excellence of your administration you have surpassed all that has ever been achieved in Asia.

XV. And now that fortune has assigned the 43

magistratibus administrationem reipublicae, tibi provincialem dedit, si mea pars nemini cedit, fac ut tua ceteros vineat. Simul et illud cogita, nos non de reliqua et sperata gloria iam laborare, sed de parta dimicare, quae quidem non tam expetenda nobis fuit, quam tuenda est. Ac si mihi quidquam esset abs te separatum, nihil amplius desiderarem hoc statu, qui mihi iam partus est. Nunc vero res sic sese habet, ut, nisi omnia tua facta atque dicta nostris rebus istine respondeant, ego me meis tantis laboribus tantisque periculis, quorum tu omnium particeps fuisti, nihil consecutum putem. Quod si, ut amplissimum nomen consequeremur, unus praeter ceteros adiuvisi, certe idem, ut id retineamus, praeter ceteros elaborabis. Non est tibi his solis utendum existimationibus ac iudiciis, qui nunc sunt, hominum, sed iis etiam, qui futuri sunt; quamquam illorum erit verius iudicium, obtrectatione et malevolentia liberatum. Denique illud etiam debes cogitare, non te tibi soli gloriam quaerere; quod si esset, tamen non neglegeres, praesertim cum amplissimis monumentis consecrare voluisses memoriam nominis tui; sed ea tibi est communicanda mecum, prodenda liberis nostris. In qua cavendum est, ne, si negligentior

^a Though Cicero does not appear to have held any particular public office this year, his influence in the Senate and Forum was such that he might, had he so desired, have joined the famous coalition of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus. See Chron. Sum. for 60 B.C.

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management of public affairs to me among the magistrates in the city,^a and to you in a province, if I yield to no man in the part I have to play, see to it that you excel all others in yours. At the same time bear in mind that we are not now striving after a glory that remains to be won, and that we but hope to win, but fighting for a glory already ours—a glory which it was not so much our object to gain in the past, as it is to defend in the present. And indeed, if I could possess anything apart from you, I should desire nothing greater than the position which I have already won. As it is, however, the case stands thus : unless your every act and word in your province is in exact accord with my achievements, I consider that, great as have been my labours and dangers (and you have shared them all), they have brought me no gain whatever. But if it was you who helped me more than any other living man to win a highly honoured name, you will surely also exert yourself more than others to enable me to preserve that name. You must not only take the opinion and judgments of the present generation, but those also of the generations to come ; though the verdict of the latter will be the more accurate because it has got rid of disparagement and malice.

Finally, you should also bear in mind that you are 44 not seeking glory for yourself alone—though even so you would not be regardless of it, especially since it has ever been your desire to hallow the memory of your name with the most magnificent memorials—but you have to share that glory with me, and bequeath it to our children. And in that connexion you must beware lest, by your undue heedlessness, you create the impression that you have not only been

fueris, non solum tibi parum consuluisse, sed etiam
45 tuis invidisse videaris. XVI. Atque haec non eo
dicuntur, ut te oratio mea dormientem excitasse, sed
potius, ut currentem incitasse videatur. Facies enim
perpetuo, quae fecisti, ut omnes acquitatem tuam,
temperantiam, severitatem integritatemque lauda-
rent. Sed me quaedam tenet, propter singularem
amorem, infinita in te aviditas gloriae; quamquam
illud existimo, cum iam tibi Asia, sicut uni cuique
sua domus, nota esse debeat, cum ad tuam summam
prudentiam tantus usus accesserit, nihil esse, quod
ad laudem attineat, quod non tu optime perspicias
et tibi non sine cuiusquam hortatione in mentem
veniat quotidie. Sed ego, qui, cum tua lego, te
audire, et qui, cum ad te scribo, tecum loqui videor,
idcirco et tua longissima quaque epistula maxime
delector, et ipse in scribendo saepe sum longior.
46 Illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor, ut, tamquam
poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in
extrema parte et conclusione muneris ac negoti tui
diligentissimus sis, ut hic tertius annus imperi tui,
tamquam tertius actus, perfectissimus atque orna-
tissimus fuisse videatur. Id facillime facies, si me
(cui semper uni magis, quam universis, placere
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neglectful of your own interests, but also to have cast an evil eye on those of your friends.

XVI. And I do not speak thus to make it appear 45 that my discourse has roused you from sleep, but rather that it has spurred you on in your career. For you will never cease to act as you have done, in such a way as to win all men's praise for your fairness, self-restraint, strictness, and integrity. Indeed, such is my extraordinary affection for you that I am possessed by a sort of insatiable desire for your glory; and yet it is my belief that since Asia ought now to be as well known to you as his own house is known to every man, and since so long an experience has now been added to the consummate wisdom you have always shown, it is my belief, I say, that there is nothing appertaining to a high reputation of which you have not the clearest apprehension, and which does not occur daily to your mind without the aid of anybody's exhortation.

But I, who seem to be listening to you whenever I read your communications, and to be talking to you whenever I write to you, for that very reason am more pleased the longer every letter of yours is, and am myself often somewhat prolix in writing to you.

I end my letter by imploring and urging you that 46 —after the fashion of good poets and hard-working actors—you should take particular pains with the last phase and *finale* of your office and employment; so that this third year of your rule may, like the third act of a play, be recognized as having been the most highly finished and brilliantly staged of the three. You will do so most easily if you imagine that I, the one man whose approbation you have ever desired

CICERO

voluisti) tecum semper esse putabis et omnibus iis rebus, quas dices ac facies, interesse. Reliquum est, ut te orem, ut valetudini tuae, si me et tuos omnes valere vis, diligentissime servias. Vale.

II

M. CICERO Q. FRATRI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 695.

- I. Staius ad me venit a. d. viii. Kalend. Novembr. Eius adventus, quod ita scripsisti, direptum iri te a tuis, dum is abesset, molestus mihi fuit. Quod autem exspectionem tui concursumque eum, qui erat futurus, si una tecum decederet, neque antea visus esset, sustulit, id mihi non incommode visum est accidisse. Exhaustus enim est sermo hominum, et multis emissae iam eiusmodi voces, ἀλλ' αἰεί τινα φῶτα μέγαν, quae te absente confecta esse laetor.
- 2 Quod autem idcirco a te missus est, mihi ut se purgaret, id necesse minime fuit. Primum enim numquam ille mihi fuit suspectus; neque ego, quae ad te de illo scripsi, scripsi meo iudicio, sed cum ratio salusque omnium nostrum, qui ad rempublicam accedimus, non veritate solum, sed etiam fama niteretur, sermones ad te aliorum semper, non mea

^a Staius was Quintus's freedman and secretary, whom people suspected of undue influence over him.

^b ἀλλ' αἰεί τινα φῶτα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν ἐδέγμην | ἐνθάδ' ἐλείσσεισθαι Hom. *Od.* ix. 513-14, "but ever it was some mighty man and fair to look upon, whose arrival here I awaited." They are the words of Polyphemus, who was disappointed in Odysseus's appearance, as people at Rome were in Staius's.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. I.—II.

above that of the whole world, am always at your side, and taking part in everything you say or do.

It only remains for me to implore you, if you wish me and all your family to keep well, to take every possible care to keep well yourself.

II

CICERO TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS

Rome, between October 25 and December 10, 59 B.C.

I. Statius^a reached my house on October 25th. His 1 arrival made me uneasy, because you wrote that during his absence you would be robbed in every direction by your domestics. But his balking the general expectation of seeing you and the eager crowding that would certainly have occurred if he left the province in your company, and nobody had ever seen him before,—that I thought to be a very fortunate incident; for all the gossip about it has run dry, and many have now done with uttering this sort of remark, “But ever it was some mighty man,”^b and I am right glad that it is all over and done with in your absence.

But as for his having been sent by you to clear 2 himself in my eyes, there was not the least necessity for that; in the first place I never suspected him, and again what I wrote to you about him was not the expression of my own judgment; when however the interests and safety of all those of us who take part in public affairs depended not on truth alone, but also on all the talk about us, I always wrote you a full account of what others were saying, and not what I

iudicia perscripsi. Qui quidem quam frequentes essent et quam graves, adventu suo Statius ipse cognovit. Etenim intervenit nonnullorum querellis, quae apud me de illo ipso habebantur; et sentire potuit, sermones iniquorum in suum potissimum
 3 nomen erumpere. Quod autem me maxime movere solebat, cum audiebam, illum plus apud te posse, quam gravitas illius aetatis et imperi prudentia postularret,—quam multos enim mecum egisse putas, ut se Statio commendarem? quam multa autem ipsum ἀφελῶς mecum in sermone ita protulisse—“*Id mihi non placuit,*” “*monui,*” “*suasi,*” “*deterrui*”? Quibus in rebus etiamsi fidelitas summa est, (quod prorsus credo, quoniam tu ita iudicas,) tamen species ipsa tam gratiosi liberti aut servi dignitatem habere nullam potest,—atque hoc sic habeto, (nihil enim nec temere dicere, nec astute reticere debeo,) materiam omnem sermonum eorum, qui de te detrudere velint, Statium dedisse; antea tantum intellegi potuisse, iratos tuae severitati esse nonnullos; hoc manumisso, iratis, quod loquerentur, non defuisse.

4 II. Nunc respondebo ad eas epistulas, quas mihi reddidit L. Caesius, (cui, quoniam ita te velle intellego, nullo loco deero,) quarum altera est de Blaudeno Zeuxide, quem scribis certissimum matricidam tibi a

^a A town in Mysia.

felt myself; and how sinister and general that talk was, Statius on his arrival discovered for himself. In fact he came in when some people were complaining at my house about that very thing, and could not but feel that the malevolent were venting their obloquy upon himself in particular.

But as to what used to aggravate me most when 3 told that he had more influence with you than was called for by the weight of your years and your wisdom in government—why, how many persons do you suppose have pleaded with me to recommend them to Statius? and again, how often do you suppose he himself in conversation with me has used with the utmost *naïveté* such expressions as “*I could not agree to that,*” “*I lectured him,*” “*I argued with him,*” “*I cautioned him*”? And although all this only proves how perfectly honest he is (and I quite believe it, since that is what you think), still the mere appearance of a freedman or slave possessing such influence cannot fail to be utterly undignified—and indeed you may take it from me (for it is my duty neither to say anything without weighing my words, nor to keep anything back in a crafty way) that all the material for the gossip of those who would disparage you has been furnished by Statius; that previously nothing more could be gathered than that certain persons were angry with you for your strictness, but that this man's manumission gave those who were angry plenty to talk about.

II. I shall now reply to the letters delivered to me 4 by L. Caesius (a man whom I shall never in any circumstances cease to serve, since I understood that to be your wish), one of which is about Zeuxis of Blandus,^a whom you say I particularly recommended to you, though he had most undoubtedly murdered

me intime commendari. Qua de re, et de hoc genere toto, ne forte me in Graecos tam ambitiosum factum esse mirere, pauca cognosce. Ego cum Graccorum querellas nimium valere sentirem, propter hominum ingenia ad fallendum parata, quoscumque de te queri audivi, quacumque potui ratione placavi. Primum Dionysopolitas, qui erant inimicissimi mei, lenivi; quorum principem Hermippum non solum sermone meo, sed etiam familiaritate devinxi. Ego Apameensem Hephaestum, ego levissimum hominem, Megaristum Antandrium, ego Niciam Smyrnaeum, ego nugas maximas omni mea comitate sum complexus, Nymphontem etiam Colophonium. Quae feci omnia, non quo me aut ii homines, aut tota natio delectaret; pertaesum est levitatis, assentationis, animorum non officiis, sed temporibus servientium.

5 Sed, ut ad Zeuxim revertar, cum is de M. Cascelli sermone secum habito, quae tu scribis, ea ipsa loqueretur, obstiti eius sermoni, et hominem in familiaritatem recepi. Tua autem quae fuerit cupiditas tanta, nescio, quod scribis cupiisse te, quoniam Smyrnae duo Mysos insuisses in culeum, simile in superiore parte provinciae edere exemplum severitatis tuae, et idcirco Zeuxim elicere omni ratione voluisse; quem adductum in iudicium fortasse dimitti

^a The conversation with Cascellius had evidently been unfavourable to Quintus.

^b Parricides or matricides, for whom the regular punishment was to be tied up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a snake, and an ape, and then cast into the sea or worried by wild beasts. Quintus wished to make an example of Zeuxis (*certissimus matricida*) in the same way.

his mother. About this, and about the whole subject generally, pray listen to a few words of explanation, lest you should happen to be surprised at my having become so ready to make up to the Greeks. Because I felt that the complaints of the Greeks were carrying undue weight, since that nation has a natural aptitude for deceit, I used every means in my power to pacify whoever of them I was told were complaining about you. First I mollified the Dionysopolitans who were most hostile; and their chief man Hermippus I made my humble servant, not only by the way I talked to him, but also by making an intimate friend of him. I welcomed with open arms and with all the courtesy I could command Hephaestus of Apamea, that weather-cock of a fellow Megaristus of Antandros, Nicias of Smyrna, yes, and that most despicable of men also, Nymphon of Colophon. And all this I did, not because either those particular individuals or the nation as a whole had any attraction for me; no, I was heartily sick of their fickleness, their fawning, their spirit of subservience not to duty but to the advantage of the moment.

But to go back to Zeuxis. When, in describing the conversation M. Cascellius had had with him, he used the very words in your letter, I put a stop to his talking,^a and admitted the fellow into familiarity. What you meant, however, by that extraordinarily strong desire of yours I have no idea—I mean your writing that, having already sewn up in a sack two Mysians at Smyrna,^b you desired to give a similar example of your strict discipline in the more inland part of your province, and for that purpose had been anxious to inveigle Zeuxis into the open by every means in your power. Well, if he had been brought

CICERO

non oportuerat ; conquiri vero, et elici blanditiis (ut tu scribis) ad iudicium, necesse non fuit ; eum praesertim hominem, quem ego et ex suis civibus, et ex multis aliis quotidie magis cognosco nobiliorem esse prope, quam civitatem suam. At enim Graecis solis indulgeo. Quid ? L. Caecilium nonne omni ratione placavi ? quem hominem ! qua ira ! quo spiritu ! Quem denique, praeter Tuscenium, cuius causa sanari non potest, non mitigavi ? Ecce supra caput homo levis ac sordidus, sed tamen equestri censu, Catienus ; etiam is lenietur. Cuius tu in patrem quod fuisti asperior, non reprehendo ; certo enim scio, te fecisse cum causa. Sed quid opus fuit eiusmodi litteris, quas ad ipsum misisti ? illum crucem sibi ipsum constituere, ex qua tu eum ante detraxisses ; te curaturum, in furno¹ ut combureretur, plaudente tota provincia. Quid vero ad C. Fabium, nescio quem ? (nam eam quoque epistulam T. Catienus circumgestat). Renuntiari tibi Licinium plagiarium cum suo pullo milvino tributa exigere ? Deinde rogas Fabium, ut et patrem et filium vivos comburat, si possit ; sin minus, ad te mittat, uti iudicio comburantur. Hae litterae abs te per iocum missae ad C. Fabium, si modo sunt tuae, cum leguntur,

¹ fumo libri : furno Ursinus : in furno Wesenberg.

^a Cf. i. 1. 19.

^b Quintus had previously forgiven Catienus for some offence or other.

up for trial, perhaps it would not have been right that he should be let off; but that there should be a hue and cry for the man, and that he should be inveigled with wheedling words into court (as you yourself put it), all that was quite unnecessary, especially in the case of one who, as I learn more clearly every day from his own fellow-citizens and many others, is of a nobler character perhaps than any of his community.

But, you will say, it is to the Greeks alone that I show indulgence. What? Did I not take every means to pacify L. Caecilius? And what a man he is! How passionate, how presumptuous! In short, with the exception of Tusenius^a (an incurable case), whom did I fail to mollify? And just see, we have our sword of Damocles in the shape of that shifty, disreputable rascal, who is yet assessed as a knight. Catienus; I shall appease even him. For having been somewhat harsh in your treatment of his father I do not blame you; I am quite sure you did not act without some good reason. But what need was there for the sort of a letter that you sent the man himself? "That the man was putting up for himself the cross from which you yourself had pulled him down on a previous occasion^b; that you would take care to have him burnt up in a furnace amid the applause of the whole province." Why again that letter to C. Fabius, whoever he may be (for that letter also is being carried about by T. Catienus), "that the kidnapper Licinius, assisted by his chick of the old kite, is reported to you as collecting taxes," and you go on to ask Fabius to burn both father and son alive, if he can; if he can't, to send them to you to be burnt by order of the court. That letter you sent by way of a jest to C. Fabius (if indeed it is yours) conveys to

7 invidiosam atrocitatem verborum habent. Ac, si omnium mearum litterarum praecepta repetes, intelleges, nihil esse a me, nisi orationis acerbicatem et iracundiam et, si forte, raro litterarum missarum indiligentiam reprehensam. Quibus quidem in rebus si apud te plus auctoritas mea, quam tua sive natura paullo acrior, sive quaedam dulcedo iracundiae, sive dicendi sal facetiaeque valuissent, nihil sane esset, quod nos poeniteret. Et mediocri me dolore putas affici, cum audiam, qua sit existimatione Vergilius, qua tuus vicinus C. Octavius? Nam si te interioribus vicinis tuis, Ciliciensi et Syriaco, anteponis, valde magni facis. Atque is dolor est, quod cum ii, quos nominavi, te innocentia non vincant, vincunt tamen artificio benevolentiae colligendae, qui neque Cyrum Xenophontis neque Agesilaum noverint; quorum regum summo in imperio nemo umquam verbum ullum asperius audivit. Sed haec a principio tibi 8 praecipiens, quantum profecerim, non ignoro. III. Nunc tamen decedens (id quod mihi iam facere videris) relinque, quaeso, quam iucundissimam memoriam tui. Successorem habes perblandum; cetera valde illius adventu tua requirentur. In litteris mittendis (ut saepe ad te scripsi) nimium te exorabilem praebuisti. Tolle omnes, si potes, iniquas,

^a Cf. Hom. *Il.* xviii. 109 (χόλος) ὅστε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο, "(anger) which is far sweeter than dripping honey."

^b Vergilius and C. Octavius were governors, as propraeors, of Sicily and Macedonia respectively.

^c The governor of Syria was now Lentulus Marcellinus. Who was the governor of Cilicia is not known.

^d Perhaps C. Fabius Adrianus, but it is uncertain.

^e *i.e.*, "requisitionary letters," of which we have an example in § 10.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. II.

the reader an impression of brutality of language that must prejudice your reputation.

Now if you recall the injunctions in any of my 7 letters, you will find that I have found fault with nothing but your bitter and angry way of talking, and possibly once or twice a lack of due caution in the letters you write. And as regards that, had my influence with you triumphed over your somewhat hasty nature, or a sort of pleasurable thrill^a you find in anger, or your gift of pungent and sparkling speech, I should have no reason whatever for dissatisfaction. And do you suppose I am no more than slightly saddened when I hear of the high reputation of Vergilius, and of your neighbour C. Octavius^b? If you only think yourself better than your neighbours in the interior, in Cilicia and Syria,^c you have a mighty high standard! And what hurts me is this—that, though the men I have mentioned do not excel you in purity of conduct, they do excel you in the art of winning friends, though they know nothing about Xenophon's Cyrus, or his Agesilaus, kings from whose lips nobody ever heard a single harsh word, supreme sovereigns though they were.

But I have been lecturing you in this way from the beginning, and what effect it has had I am perfectly well aware.

III. None the less, now that you are quitting your 8 province, I entreat you to leave behind you (as indeed I think you are doing) as pleasant a memory of yourself as possible. You have as your successor^d a man of very seductive manners; all your other characteristics will be greatly missed when he arrives. In sending out letters^e you have shown yourself too easily worked upon. Destroy, if possible, any that

tolle inusitatas, tolle contrarias. Statius mihi narravit, scriptas ad te solere afferri, ab se legi, et, si iniquae sint, fieri te certiolem; antequam vero ipse ad te venisset, nullum delectum litterarum fuisse; ex eo esse volumina selectarum epistularum, quae
 9 reprehendi solerent. Hoc de genere nihil te nunc quidem moneo. Sero est enim, ac scire potes, multa me varie diligenterque monuisse. Illud tamen, quod Theopompo mandavi, cum essem admonitus ab ipso, vide per homines amantes tui, quod est facile, ut haec genera tollantur epistularum, primum iniquarum, deinde contrariarum, tum absurde et inusitate scriptarum, postremo in aliquem contumeliosarum. Atque ego haec tam esse quam audio, non puto, et si sunt occupationibus tuis minus animadversa, nunc perspice et purga. Legi epistulam, quam ipse scripsisse Sulla nomenclator dictus est, non pro-
 10 bandam; legi nonnullas iracundas. Sed tempore ipso de epistulis. Nam cum hanc paginam tenerem, L. Flavius, praetor designatus, ad me venit, homo mihi valde familiaris. Is mihi, te ad procuratores suos litteras misisse, quae mihi visae sunt iniquissimae — ne quid de bonis, quae L. Octavi Nasonis fuissent, cui L. Flavius heres est, deminuerent ante quam

^a A *nomenclator* ("name-caller") was a slave who attended his master, especially when canvassing, to tell him the names of those he met in the street.

^b Probably the tribune who had proposed an agrarian law in 60. Tyrrell.

are inequitable, eccentric, or inconsistent with others. Statius told me that they were often brought to your house ready written, and that he read them and informed you if they contained anything inequitable ; but that before he entered your service there had never been any sifting of letters, with the result that there were volumes of despatches picked out which lent themselves to adverse criticism.

In this connexion I offer you no advice now ; it is 9 too late, and you must be aware that I have often advised you already in various ways and with much particularity. Still, to repeat the message I gave to Theopompus, acting on a hint he had himself given me, pray do see to it (and it is easy enough) that, through the agency of those who are really devoted to you, all letters of that kind are destroyed—first those that are inequitable, next those that are inconsistent with others, then those that are written in bad taste, and lastly those that are insulting to anyone. At the same time I do not believe that things are as bad as I am told they are ; and if owing to pressure of work you have not given enough attention to certain things, now is the time to look into them and give them a winnowing. I have, for instance, read a letter alleged to have been written by your *nomenclator* ^a Sulla on his own authority, and I cannot say I like it ; and I have read some that show temper. Indeed this is just the 10 moment to talk about your letters ; for while this very page was under my hand, who should call upon me but L. Flavius,^b our praetor-elect, a man on very familiar terms with me. He told me you had sent his agents a letter which struck me as most unjust, instructing them not to take anything out of the property of the late L. Octavius Naso, whom L. Flavius succeeds as

C. Fundanio pecuniam solvissent. Itemque misisse ad Apollonidenses, ne de bonis, quae Octavi fuissent, deminui paterentur, priusquam Fundanio debitum solutum esset. Haec mihi verisimilia non videntur. Sunt enim a prudentia tua remotissima. Ne deminuat heres? Quid si infitiatur? Quid si omnino non debetur? Quid? praetor solet iudicare deberi? Quid? ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum? non misericordia moveor? Nemo magis; sed via iuris eiusmodi est quibusdam in rebus, ut nihil sit loci gratiae. Atque ita mihi dicebat Flavius scriptum in ea epistula, quam tuam esse dicebat, te aut quasi amicis tuis gratias acturum, aut quasi inimicis in-
 11 commoda laturum. Quid multa? ferebat graviter, id vehementer mecum querebatur, orabatque, ut ad te quam diligentissime scriberem; quod facio, et te prorsus vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et procuratoribus Flavi remittas de deminuendo, et de Apollonidensibus, ne quid praescribas, quod contra Flavium sit, amplius, et Flavi causa et scilicet Pompei, facies omnia. Nolo medius fidius ex tua iniuria in illum tibi liberalem me videri; sed id te oro, ut tu ipse auctoritatem et monumentum aliquod decreti

^a A town in Lydia, between Pergamum and Sardis.

heir, until they had paid a certain sum of money to C. Fundanius ; and that you had written in similar terms to the people of Apollonis,^a telling them not to allow any deduction to be made from the estate of the late L. Octavius Naso until a debt had been paid to Fundanius. This does not seem to me to be at all likely ; it is so utterly foreign to your usual cautious behaviour. Not let the heir touch the property ! What if he denies the debt ? What if there is no debt at all ? What ? Is it usual for the praetor to decide whether there is a debt or not ? What ? Am I not kindly disposed to Fundanius ? Am I not his friend ? Do I not sincerely sympathize with him ? Nobody more so. Yes, but in certain matters the path of justice is so strait that there is no room in it for favouritism. And moreover Flavius told me that the letter (and he declared that it was yours) was so written as to leave no doubt that you would either express your gratitude to them as your friends, or else make things unpleasant for them as your enemies.

To cut the story short, he was much annoyed ; he 11 complained of it to me in bitter terms, and implored me to write to you as impressively as possible ; I am doing so, and I ask you again and again in all earnestness to make a concession to Flavius's agents about impairing the property, and, as regards the people of Apollonis, to give them no further instructions in a sense unfavourable to Flavius ; and you will, I am sure, do all you can in the interests of Flavius, and of course of Pompey. On my word of honour, I have no desire that you should think me generous to him at the cost of any injustice on your part ; but this I do ask of you, that you should yourself leave behind you some official declaration, or some record, in the

aut litterarum tuarum relinquant, quod sit ad Flavi rem et ad causam accommodatum. Fert enim graviter homo, et mei observantissimus et sui iuris dignitatisque retinens, se apud te neque amicitia neque iure valuisse; et. ut opinor, Flavi aliquando rem et Pompeius et Caesar tibi commendarunt, et ipse ad te scripserat Flavius, et ego certe. Quare si ulla res est, quam tibi me faciendam petente putes, haec ea sit. Si me amas, cura, elabora, perfice, ut Flavius et tibi et mihi quam maximas gratias agat. Hoc te ita rogo, ut maiore studio rogare non possim.

12 IV. Quod ad me de Hermia scribis, mihi mehercule valde etiam molestum fuit. Litteras ad te parum fraterne conscripseram: quas oratione Diodoti, Luculli liberti, commotus, de pactione statim quod audieram, iracundius scripseram et revocare cupiebam. Huic tu epistulae, non fraterne scriptae, 13 fraterne debes ignoscere. De Censorino, Antonio, Cassiis, Scaevola, te ab his diligi (ut scribis) vehementer gaudeo. Cetera fuerunt in eadem epistula graviora quam vellem, — ὀρθὰν τὴν ναῦν, et ἀπιξέθαι. Maiora ista erunt; meae obiurgationes fuerunt amoris plenissimae; quaerunt¹ nonnulla, sed tamen mediocria, et parva potius. Ego te numquam

¹ quae sunt *ms.*: quaerunt (?) *Tyrrell, which I have adopted.*

^a Probably a slave of M. Cicero.

^b The details of this incident are unknown.

^c Quintus appears to have meant "that he would keep the ship (of office) on an even keel, or on a straight course, even if he had to sink her," *i.e.*, "he would go down with colours flying." The proverb was ἴσθι ὅτι ὀρθὰν τὴν ναῦν καταδύσω.

^d Aeschylus, *P. V.* 769, has κρείσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν | ἢ τὰς ἀπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.

^e This is probably the meaning of *erunt*; *cf.* *Juv. i.* 126 *quiescet*, "you will find she is reposing."

forma of a decree or memorandum of your own, adapted to secure the interests of Flavius in this case. For the poor fellow, who is most attentive to me, but tenacious of his due rights and position, is bitterly pained that he has had no influence with you on the score of either friendship or justice ; and, if I am not mistaken, both Pompey and Caesar have at some time or other commended to your notice the interests of Flavius, and he had written to you himself, and so certainly had I. If there is anything, therefore, which you think you ought to do at my request, let it be this. As you love me, take every care and trouble in the matter, and ensure that Flavius has reason to express his most cordial thanks both to you and to me. I could make no request with greater earnestness than I do this.

IV. What you write to me about Hermias ^a has 12 been, I do assure you, a real vexation to me. I had written you a letter not quite in a brotherly spirit, upset as I was by what Diodotus, Lucullus's freedman, had told me, directly I had heard of the compact ^b ; I had written it in a fit of temper, and was anxious to recall it. Such a letter, though written in an unbrotherly way, you ought as a brother to forgive.

As to Censorinus, Antonius, the Cassii, and 13 Scaevola, I am highly delighted that they like you as you write they do. The rest of that same letter was in stronger terms than I could have wished,—for instance your “keeping the ship on an even keel” ^c and “dying once for all.” ^d Those expressions, as you will find, ^e are needlessly vehement ; my reproaches teemed with affection ; they only ask you for a few things missing, and even they are of slight and indeed negligible importance. I should never have thought

ulla in re dignum minima reprehensione putassem, cum te sanctissime gereres, nisi inimicos multos haberemus. Quae ad te aliqua admonitione aut obiurgatione scripsi, scripsi propter diligentiam cautionis meae, in qua et maneo et manebo, et, idem
 14 ut facias, non desistam rogare. Attalus Hypaepenus mecum egit, ut se ne impedires, quo minus, quod ad Q. Publici statuam decretum est, erogaretur; quod ego te et rogo et admonco, ne talis viri, tamque nostri necessari, honorem minui per te aut impediri velis. Praeterea Aesopi tragoedi, nostri familiaris, Licinius servus, tibi notus, aufugit. Is Athenis apud Patronem Epicureum pro libero fuit; inde in Asiam venit. Postea Plato quidam Sardinianus, Epicureus, qui Athenis solet esse multum, et qui tum Athenis fuerat, cum Licinius eo venisset, cum eum fugitivum postea esse ex Aesopi litteris cognosset, hominem comprehendit et in custodiam Ephesi tradidit; sed in publicam, an in pistrinum, non satis ex litteris eius intellegere potuimus. Tu, quoquo modo potest, quoniam Ephesi est, hominem investigates velim, summaque diligentia . . .¹ vel tecum deducas. Noli spectare, quanti homo sit: parvi enim preti est, qui tam nihil sit²; sed tanto dolore Aesopus est affectus propter servi scelus et audaciam, ut nihil ei gratius facere

¹ *The lacuna may be filled by some such words as vel Romam mittas.*

² *Orelli: iam nihili sit Nobbe.*

^a Hypaepa was in Lydia.

^b Probably a Roman knight, but we know nothing more of him.

^c Whom Horace calls "gravis Aesopus," *Ep.* ii. 1. 82.

^d *Cf. Fam.* xiii. 1.

^e Where slaves were forced to grind corn.

you deserved the smallest reproof in any respect, so absolutely blameless was your conduct, were it not that we had a multitude of enemies. Whatever I have written to you in a tone of admonition and reproof, that I have written on account of my anxious watchfulness, which I maintain and ever shall maintain, and I shall never cease urging you to do so also.

Attalus of Hypaepa^a has pleaded with me that you should not stand in his way, and prevent the money decreed for the statue of Q. Publicius^b being paid out of the public treasury; and as regards that, I both request and strongly advise you not to allow any honour paid to a man of his standing, and one so closely attached to us, to be impaired or obstructed as far as you are concerned.

There is, moreover, the case of Licinius, the slave of Aesopus, the tragic actor,^c and my friend; you know the fellow; well, he has run away. He posed as a freedman at Athens with Patro, the Epicurean,^d and came from there into Asia. Later on one Plato of Sardis, an Epicurean, who spends much of his time at Athens, and happened to be there when Licinius arrived, on learning by a subsequent letter from Aesopus that he was a runaway slave, had the fellow arrested and handed over into custody at Ephesus; but whether it was into a public prison or a private mill^e I could not quite gather from his letter. In whatever way it is possible, since he is now at Ephesus, I should be glad if you would trace the man and be particularly careful [either to send him to Rome] or to bring him home with you. Don't stop to consider what the fellow is worth; he is of no great value, seeing that he is a mere nobody; but Aesopus is so grieved at his slave's criminal audacity

- 15 possis, quam si illum per te recuperarit. V. Nunc ea cognosce, quae maxime exoptas. Rempublicam funditus amisimus; adeo ut Cato, adulescens nullius consili, sed tamen civis Romanus et Cato, vix vivus effugerit; quod, cum Gabinium de ambitu vellet postulare, neque praetores diebus aliquot adiri possent vel potestatem sui facerent, in contionem ascendit et Pompeium privatus dictatorem appellavit. Propius nihil est factum, quam ut occideretur. Ex hoc, qui sit status totius reipublicae, videre potes.
- 16 Nostrae tamen causae non videntur homines defuturi. Mirandum in modum profitentur, offerunt se, pollicentur. Equidem cum spe sum maxima, tum maiore etiam animo; spe, superiores fore nos; animo, ut in hac republica ne casum quidem ullum pertimescam; sed tamen res sic se habet.¹ Si diem nobis Clodius dixerit, tota Italia concurret, ut multiplicata gloria discedamus; sin autem vi agere conabitur, spero fore, studiis non solum amicorum, sed etiam alienorum, ut vi resistamus. Omnes et se et suos liberos, amicos, clientes, libertos, servos, pecunias denique suas pollicentur. Nostra antiqua manus bonorum ardet studio nostri atque amore. Si qui antea aut alieniores fuerant, aut languidiores, nunc horum

¹ *The arrangement of the sentence from Equidem to habet is Madvig's.*

^a C. Porcius Cato, tribune in 56.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. II.

that you could do him no greater favour than by helping him to get the man back.

V. And now let me tell you what you most desire 15 to know. The constitution is completely lost to us,—so much so that Cato,^a a young man of no judgment, but still a citizen of Rome and a Cato, barely escaped with his life, because, when he wished to ask for leave to prosecute Gabinius for bribery, and the praetor could not be approached for several days, and granted no opportunity for an interview, he ascended the platform at a public meeting, and, in a private capacity, called Pompey a dictator. His assassination was the nearest thing that ever was. From this you may see the condition of the Republic as a whole.

And yet it seems that people are not likely to 16 desert our cause. It amazes me how they profess their loyalty, offer their services, and make promises. Indeed, high as is my hope, my courage is even higher—hope, that we shall be victorious; courage, in that, as public affairs now stand, I have no fear of even any accident. Be that as it may, this is how the matter stands: if Clodius gives notice of an action against me, the whole of Italy will rally round me, so that we shall leave the court with tenfold glory; but if he attempts to carry things through by violence, the enthusiasm not of friends alone, but also of strangers, leads me to hope that I may oppose force to force. All men are promising to put at my disposal themselves and their children, their friends, clients, freedmen, slaves, and, to end up with, their purses. My old group of supporters is fired with enthusiasm and affection for me. If there are any who before were inclined to be either unfriendly or lukewarm,

CICERO

regum odio se cum bonis coniungunt. Pompeius omnia pollicetur et Caesar; quibus ego ita credo, ut nihil de mea comparatione deminuum. Tribuni plebis designati sunt nobis amici. Consules se optime ostendunt. Praetores habemus amicissimos et acerrimos cives, Domitium, Nigidium, Memmium, Lentulum; bonos etiam alios; sed hos singulares. Quare magnum fac animum habeas et spem bonam. De singulis tamen rebus, quae quotidie gerantur, faciam te crebro certiolem.

III

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Thessalonicae, A.U.C. 696.

1 Mi frater, mi frater, mi frater, tune id veritus es, ne ego iracundia aliqua adductus pueros ad te sine litteris miserim? aut etiam ne te videre noluerim? Ego tibi irascerer? tibi ego possem irasci? Scilicet; tu enim me affixisti: tui me inimici, tua me invidia, ac non ego te misere perdidit. Meus ille laudatus consulatus mihi te, liberos, patriam, fortunas, tibi velim ne quid eripuerit, praeter unum me. Sed certe a te mihi omnia semper honesta et iucunda ceciderunt; a me tibi luctus meae calamitatis, metus

^a *i.e.*, the consuls elect, L. Piso and A. Gabinius.

^b *Praetores designatos*, the praetors elect.

^c F. Nigidius Figulus. See note on *Fam.* iv. 13. 1.

^d See note on *Fam.* xiii. 1. 1.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. II.—III.

their hatred of these tyrants is such that they are now joining the ranks of the loyal. Pompey makes all sorts of promises, and so does Caesar ; but my belief in them does not go so far as to make me drop any of my own preparations. The tribunes designate are friendly to me ; the consuls ^a are showing up excellently. Among the praetors ^b I have some very warm friends and fellow-citizens of energy in Domitius, Nigidius, ^c Memmius, ^d and Lentulus, and other sound men also, but these stand out by themselves. So have a good heart and high hopes. Anyhow I shall inform you at frequent intervals of any such particular events as may occur from day to day.

III

CICERO TO QUINTUS ON HIS WAY TO ROME

Thessalonica, June 13, 58 B.C.

Brother mine, brother mine, brother mine, were you I really afraid that some fit of anger prompted me to send my men to you without a letter ? or that I did not want to see you ? *I* be angry with *you* ? *Could* I be angry with you ? Oh yes, to be sure, it was you who brought me low ; it was your enemies, your unpopularity, that ruined me, and not I (the misery of it !) that ruined you ! Yourself, my children, my country, my fortune,—that is what that highly-lauded consulship of mine has torn away from me ; from you I could wish that it has torn away nothing more than myself. At any rate in you I have always found all that is honourable and pleasant ; in me you have found grief for my degradation, apprehen-

tuae, desiderium, maeror, solitudo. Ego te videre noluerim? Immo vero me a te videri nolui. Non enim vidisses fratrem tuum; non eum, quem reliqueras; non eum, quem noras; non eum, quem flens flentem, prosequentem proficiscens dimiseras; ne vestigium quidem eius, nec simulacrum, sed quamdam effigiem spirantis mortui. Atque utinam me mortuum prius vidisses aut audisses! utinam te non solum vitae, sed etiam dignitatis meae superstitem 2 reliquissem! Sed testor omnes deos, me hac una voce a morte esse revocatum, quod omnes in mea vita partem aliquam tuae vitae repositam esse dicebant. Quare peccavi scelerateque feci. Nam si occidissem, mors ipsa meam pietatem amoremque in te facile defenderet. Nunc commisi, ut vivo me careres, vivo me aliis indigeres; mea vox in domesticis periculis potissimum occideret, quae saepe alienissimis praesidio fuisset. Nam quod ad te pueri sine litteris venerunt, quoniam vides non fuisse iracundiam causam, certe pigritia fuit, et quaedam infinita 3 vis lacrimarum et dolorum. Haec ipsa me quo fletu putas scripsisse? Eodem, quo te legere certo scio. An ego possum aut non cogitare aliquando de te, aut umquam sine lacrimis cogitare? Cum enim te

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EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. III.

sion of your own, yearning, mourning, abandonment. *I* not want to see you? No, it was rather that I did not want to be seen by you. For it is not your brother you would have seen, not him you had left behind, not him you knew, not him you parted from with tears on either side, when he escorted you on your setting forth; no, not a trace or likeness of *him*, but something resembling one dead, but breathing. And would that you had seen me dead, or heard of my being so, before you went! Would that I had left you behind me to look back not upon my life alone, but upon my prestige unimpaired!

But I call all the gods to witness that the one ² argument which called me back from death was everybody's saying that no small portion of your life was vested in mine. And so I behaved like a fool and a criminal. For had I died, my death in itself would be sufficient proof of my brotherly affection for you. As it is, I have made the mistake of depriving you of my aid while I am yet alive, and causing you, while I am yet alive, to need the aid of others, so that my voice, which had so often been the salvation of the most complete strangers, should fail of all times in the hour of domestic danger.

As for my servants having come to you without a letter, since you see that anger was not the reason, it was certainly due to the numbing of my faculties, and what I may call an overwhelming deluge of tears and sorrows.

How do you suppose I am weeping as I write these ³ very words? Just as you are weeping, I am sure, as you read them. Can I for a moment cease from thinking about you, or ever think of you without tears? When I miss you, is it only a brother that I

CICERO

desidero, fratrem solum desidero? Ego vero suavitate fratrem prope aequalem, obsequio filium, consilio parentem. Quid mihi sine te umquam aut tibi sine me iucundum fuit? Quid, quod eodem tempore desidero filiam? qua pietate, qua modestia, quo ingenio? effigiem oris, sermonis, animi mei? Quid filium venustissimum mihi que dulcissimum? quem ego ferus ac ferreus e complexu dimisi meo, sapientio rem puerum quam vellem. Sentiebat enim miser iam, quid ageretur. Quid vero tuum filium? quid imaginem tuam, quam meus Cicero et amabat ut fratrem et iam ut maiorem fratrem verebatur? Quid, quod mulierem miserrimam, fidelissimam coniugem, me prosequi non sum passus, ut esset, quae reliquias communis calamitatis, communes liberos, 4 tueretur? Sed tamen, quoquo modo potui, scripsi, et dedi litteras ad te Philogono, liberto tuo, quas credo tibi postea redditas esse; in quibus idem te hortor et rogo, quod pueri tibi verbis meis nuntiarunt, ut Romam protinus pergas et properes. Primum enim te in¹ praesidio esse volui, si qui essent inimici, quorum crudelitas nondum esset nostra calamitate satiata. Deinde congressus nostri lamentationem pertimui; digressum vero non tulissem; atque etiam id ipsum, quod tu scribis, metuebam, ne a me distrahi non posses. His de causis hoc maximum

¹ *Inserted by Madvig; te praesidio MSS.*

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. III.

miss ? No, it is one who in affection is almost a twin, in deference a son, in counsel a father. What has ever given me pleasure without your sharing it, or you without my sharing it ? And what of the fact that at the same time I miss a daughter, and how affectionate a daughter, how unassuming, how talented—the very replica of myself in face, speech, and spirit ? And, moreover, a son, the bonniest boy, and my very darling ? Harsh and hard-hearted as I was, I put him away from my embrace, a wiser boy than I could wish ; for he already sensed what was afoot. But what of my missing your son, the image of yourself, whom my Cicero loved as a brother, and was just beginning to revere as an elder brother ? What of the fact that I refused to allow that most miserable of women, my most loyal wife, to follow me into exile, so that there might be somebody to look after all that is left to us out of our common disaster, the children we have in common ?

But for all that I wrote to you as best I could, ⁴ and gave the letter to Philogonus, your freedman, to deliver to you, and I believe that it was so delivered later on ; in it I urge and entreat you to do exactly what my slaves repeated to you as from myself—that you should proceed on your journey to Rome, and make haste about it. In the first place I wished you to be on guard, in the event of there being any enemies, whose bloodthirstiness had not even yet been glutted by my fall. In the next place I dreaded the lamentation our meeting would cause ; indeed our parting would have been more than I could bear, and I also feared the very thing you mention in your letter—that you could not tear yourself away from me. For these reasons the crowning misfortune of my not

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malum, quod te non vidi, quo nihil amantissimis et
coniunctissimis fratribus acerbius ac miserius videtur
accidere potuisse, minus acerbum, minus miserum
fuit, quam fuisset cum congressio, tum vero digressio
5 nostra. Nunc, si potes, id quod ego, qui fortis tibi
semper videbar, non possum, erige te et confirma, si
qua subeunda dimicatio crit. Spero, si quid mea
spes habet auctoritatis, tibi et integritatem tuam, et
amorem in te civitatis, et aliquid etiam miseri-
cordiam nostri praesidi laturam. Sin eris ab isto
periculo vacuus, ages scilicet, si quid agi posse de
nobis putabis. De quo scribunt ad me quidem multi
multa, et se sperare demonstrant: sed ego, quid
sperem, non dispicio, cum inimici plurimum valeant,
amici partim deseruerint me, partim etiam prodide-
rint, qui in meo reditu fortasse reprehensionem sui
sceleris pertimescant. Sed ista qualia sint, tu velim
perspicias mihi que declares. Ego tamen, quamdiu
tibi opus erit, si quid periculi subeundum videbis,
vivam. Diutius in hac vita esse non possum. Neque
enim tantum virium habet ulla aut prudentia aut
6 doctrina, ut tantum dolorem possit sustinere. Scio
fuisse et honestius moriendi tempus, et utilius, sed
non hoc solum, multa alia praetermisi; quae si
queri velim praeterita, nihil agam, nisi ut augeam

^a The prosecution for malversation in his province with which he was threatened by Appius Claudius, nephew of Clodius. Tyrrell.

having seen you—and it seems to me that nothing more bitter and more depressing than that could have befallen brothers so devoted to each other and so closely united—was less bitter and less depressing than would have been first our meeting, and then our parting.

And now, if you can, do what I, brave as you have 5
 always thought me, cannot do—rouse yourself and show your strength, if there be any conflict you have to face. I hope, if there are any grounds for my so hoping, that your own integrity, and the love the State bears you, and to some extent even pity for me, will prove a protection to you. But if you are free from your own particular danger,² you will of course do whatever you think can be done in my interests. And as to that, there are many who write long letters to me and make it plain that they have their hopes ; but I cannot discern myself what I am to hope for, seeing that my enemies are exceedingly powerful, while my friends have in some cases deserted, in others actually betrayed me, perhaps because they are terribly afraid that my recall would imply a censure upon their scandalous conduct. But as to your own troubles, I should like you to get a clear idea of them, and explain them to me. Whatever happens, as long as you have need of me, or see any danger ahead, so long shall I remain alive ; longer than that I cannot brook my present life. No wisdom, no philosophy, is strong enough to bear such a weight of woe.

That there has occurred a more honourable and 6
 more advantageous moment for dying, I am well aware ; but that is not my only sin of omission, it is but one of many ; and if I am going to bewail past opportunities, I shall do no more than aggravate your

dolorem tuum, indicem stultitiam meam. Illud quidem nec faciendum est, nec fieri potest, me diutius, quam aut tuum tempus aut firma spes postulabit, in tam misera tamque turpi vita commorari, ut, qui modo fratre fuerim, liberis, coniuge, copiis, genere ipso pecuniae beatissimus, dignitate, auctoritate, existimatione, gratia non inferior, quam qui unquam fuerunt amplissimi, is nunc, in hac tam afflicta perditaque fortuna, neque me neque meos lugere
 7 diutius possim. Quare quid ad me scripsisti de permutatione? quasi vero nunc me non tuae facultates sustineant. Qua in re ipsa video miser et sentio, quid sceleris admiserim, cum tu de visceribus tuis et fili tui satisfactorius sis, quibus debes, ego acceptam ex aerario pecuniam tuo nomine frustra dissiparim. Sed tamen et M. Antonio, quantum tu scripseras, et Caepioni tantumdem solutum est; mihi ad id, quod cogito, hoc, quod habeo, satis est. Sive enim restituimur sive desperamur, nihil amplius opus est. Tu, si forte quid erit molestiae, te ad Crassum et ad
 8 Calidium conferas, censeo. Quantum Hortensio credendum sit, nescio. Me summa simulatione amoris summaque assiduitate quotidiana sceleratissime insidiosissimeque tractavit, adiuncto quoque Arrio; quorum ego consiliis, promissis, praeceptis destitutus, in hanc calamitatem incidi. Sed haec occultabis, ne

^a Which chiefly consisted of large legacies left him by clients whom he had successfully defended.

^b Which Quintus had offered to negotiate for Cicero in Rome, so that he might have the benefit of it at Thessalonica.

^c Both were creditors of Quintus.

^d M. Calidius, who as praetor in 57 supported Cicero's recall. (*Cf. Fam. viii. 4. 1 and Index II.*)

grief and divulge my own folly. But this I am not bound to do, nor can it be done—I mean my tarrying, any longer than either your needs or any trustworthy hope shall necessitate, in a life so abject and ignominious, that I who was lately so highly blessed in brother, children, wife, and wealth, yes, in the very nature of my riches,^a and not inferior in position, influence, reputation and popularity to any who have ever stood highest in those respects,—that I, I say, should now, in this down-trodden and desperate condition of life, be any longer able to go on lamenting my own lot and that of my family.

Why, then, did you write to me about a bill of exchange ^b? As though I was not being supported as it is by your resources. And it is just there that I see and feel, alas, what a crime I have committed, seeing that you are forced to satisfy your creditors by drawing upon your own and your son's very life-blood, while I have squandered to no purpose the money I had received from the treasury on your account. Anyhow the amount you mentioned in your letter has been paid to M. Antonius, and the same amount to Caepio.^c For myself the sum I now have in hand is sufficient for what I have in view. For whether I am restored or given up in despair, I shall need nothing more. As to yourself, if there is any trouble, you should, I think, apply to Crassus and to Calidius.^d

How far Hortensius is to be trusted I don't know. 8
Myself, with the most misleading pretence of affection and the most assiduous daily attention, he treated most atrociously and with the basest treachery, with Arrius at his side; and it was because I was left helpless through their advice, their promises, and their directions, that I fell into this degradation. But this

CICERO

quid obsint. Illud caveto (et eo puto, per Pomponium fovendum tibi esse ipsum Hortensium), ne ille versus, qui in te erat collatus, cum aedilitatem petebas, de lege Aurelia, falso testimonio confirmetur. Nihil enim tam timeo, quam ne, cum intellegant homines, quantum misericordiae nobis tuae preces et tua salus allatura sit, oppugnent te vehementius.

9 Messalam tui studiosum esse arbitror; Pompeium etiam simulatorem puto. Sed haec utinam ne experiare! quod precarer deos, nisi meas preces audire desissent. Verumtamen precor, ut his infinitis nostris malis contenti sint, in quibus non modo tamen nullius inest peccati infamia, sed omnis dolor est, quod optime factis poena est maxima constituta.

10 Filiam meam et tuam, Ciceronemque nostrum, quid ego, mi frater, tibi commendem? Quin illud maerco, quod tibi non minorem dolorem illorum orbitas afferet, quam mihi. Sed, te incolumi, orbi non erunt. Reliqua, ita mihi salus aliqua detur, potestasque in patria moriendi, ut me lacrimae non sinunt scribere. Etiam Terentiam velim tuare, mihi que de omnibus rebus rescribas. Sis fortis, quoad rei natura patietur. Idibus Iuniis, Thessalonica.

^a Which gave the *iudicia* to the Senate, the *equites*, and the *tribuni aerarii*. We do not know what the epigram was, or whether Quintus really wrote it.

^b Consul with M. Piso in 61.

you will keep dark for fear they do you some injury. You must beware particularly of this—and with that object I think you should get Pomponius to help you to make love to Hortensius himself—that your authorship of that epigram about the *Lex Aurelia*^a which was attributed to you when you were a candidate for the quaestorship, is not established by some false testimony. There is nothing I fear so much as this, that when people realize how much compassion for me is likely to be excited by your supplications combined with your acquittal, they will attack you all the more fiercely.

I imagine that Messala^b is devoted to you; Pompey is even now, I suspect, merely affecting to be so. But may you never have to test the truth of all this! I should pray to the gods for that, had they not ceased to listen to any prayers of mine. However, I do pray that they may rest content with these endless calamities of ours—calamities in which, after all, not only is there no dishonouring taint of wrongdoing, but in which is concentrated all that there is of anguish, since what was done for the best has been visited with the heaviest penalty.

As to my daughter (who is yours), and my little Cicero, why should I commend them to you, my own brother? Not but that I grieve that their bereavement will cause you no less sorrow than myself. But, as long as you are safe, they will not be bereft. As for what remains to be said, as surely as I hope for some measure of restitution, and the chance of ending my days in my fatherland, so surely am I not allowed to write it by my tears. Terentia also I would have you protect, and pray reply to me on every point. Be as brave as the nature of the case permits. Thessalonica, June 13.

CICERO

IV

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Thessalonicae, A. U. C. 696.

- 1 Amabo te, mi frater, ne, si uno meo fato et tu et omnes mei corruistis, improbitati et sceleri meo potius, quam imprudentiae miseriaeque assignes. Nullum est meum peccatum, nisi quod iis credidi, a quibus nefas putaram esse me decipi, aut etiam, quibus ne id expedire quidem arbitrabar. Intimus, proximus, familiarissimus quisque aut sibi pertimuit, aut mihi invidit. Ita mihi nihil misero praeter fidem
2 amicorum, cautum meum consilium defuit. Quod si te satis innocentia tua et misericordia hominum vindicat hoc tempore a molestia, perspicias profecto, eequaenam nobis spes salutis relinquatur. Nam me Pomponius et Sestius et Piso noster adhuc Thessalonicae retinuerunt, cum longius discedere propter nescio quos motus vetarent. Verum ego magis exitum illorum litteris, quam spe certa exspectabam. Nam quid sperem, potentissimo inimico, dominatione obtrectatorum, infidelibus amicis, pluribus invidis?
3 De novis autem tribunis plebis est ille quidem in me

IV

CICERO TO QUINTUS

Thessalonica, early in August, 58 B.C.

I entreat you, by my love, my dear brother, do not, 1
 if through my fate I alone have brought ruin upon
 you and all who are mine, do not attribute it to any
 criminality or guilt on my part, so much as to a pitiable
 lack of foresight. I plead guilty to nothing more
 than having trusted those by whom I had thought it
 inconceivably base that I should be deceived, and
 indeed imagined that it was not even to their own
 interest. All my most intimate, my nearest, and my
 dearest friends, were either panic-struck on their own
 account, or were jealous of me. So I lacked nothing,
 poor wretch, but fair dealing on the part of my
 friends and cautious counsel on my own.

But if your own integrity and the compassion 2
 generally felt for you have delivered you from per-
 secution at the present juncture, you are surely in a
 position to know whether there is left to me any hope
 whatever of being recalled. Pomponius and Sestius
 and my son-in-law Piso have so far held me back at
 Thessalonica, forbidding me to go further afield on
 account of some developments or other; but it was
 their letters rather than any definite hope of my own
 that induced me to await the issue of those develop-
 ments. For what hope have I left, with a most power-
 ful enemy, with my detractors in supreme command,
 my friends faithless, and so many envious of me?

However, of the new tribunes, Sestius, it is true, is 3
 most sincerely devoted to me, and so, I hope, are

CICERO

officiosissimus Sestius, et, spero, Curius, Milo, Fadius, Fabricius, sed valde adversante Clodio, qui etiam privatus eadem manu poterit contiones concitare; 4 deinde etiam intercessor parabitur. Haec mihi proficiscenti non proponebantur, sed saepe triduo summa cum gloria dicebar esse rediturus. Quid tu igitur? inquires. Quid? multa convenerunt, quae mentem exturbarent meam—subita defectio Pompei, alienatio consulum, etiam praetorum, timor publicanorum, arma. Lacrimae meorum me ad mortem ire prohibuerunt, quod certe et ad honestatem et ad effugiendos intolerabiles dolores fuit aptissimum. Sed de hoc scripsi ad te in ea epistula, quam Phaethonti dedi. Nunc tu, quoniam in tantum luctum et laborem detrusus es, quantum nemo unquam, si relevare potes communem casum misericordia hominum, scilicet incredibile quiddam assequeris; sin plane occidimus, (me miserum!) ego omnibus meis exitio fuero, quibus ante dedecori non 5 eram. Sed tu, ut ante ad te scripsi, perspice rem et pertenta, et ad me, ut tempora nostra, non ut amor tuus fert, vere perscribe. Ego vitam, quoad putabo tua interesse, aut ad spem servandam esse, retinebo. Tu nobis amicissimum Sestium cognosces; credo tua causa velle Lentulum, qui erit consul. Quamquam

* Perhaps the M. Curius who was quaestor in 61 and tribune of the plebs in 57. See *Fam.* xiii. 49 and Index II.

^b See *Fam.* v. 18. One of the tribunes who promoted Cicero's recall.

^c Piso and Gabinius, who were at first, or seemed to be, inclined to befriend Cicero, but afterwards became hostile to him.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. IV.

Curius,^a Milo, Fadius,^b and Fabricius; but Clodius is bitterly opposed to me, and even in his private capacity will be able to rouse the passions of public gatherings with the same old gang; and again there is this too—someone will be put up to veto the bill.

All this was not put before me as I was leaving ⁴ Rome, but it was repeatedly stated that I should be returning in three days' time with the greatest glory. "Why did you go, then?" you will say. Why? Well, many things occurred together to upset my mental balance—the sudden defection of Pompey, the estrangement of the consuls,^c and of the praetors also, the timid attitude of the *publicani*, the gangs of armed roughs. The tears of my family prevented me from putting myself to death, which was certainly the course best adapted to the retention of my honour and my escape from unendurable sufferings. But I wrote to you on this point in the letter I gave Phaethon. As it is, now that you have been thrust into such a morass of grief and trouble as no man ever was before, if you, by exciting the compassion of the world, can be the means of mitigating our common misfortune, you will undoubtedly win a success of unimaginable importance; but if we are both irrevocably ruined (woe is me!), I shall prove to have brought destruction upon all my people, to whom previously I was no discredit.

But, as I wrote to you before, scrutinize and probe ⁵ the situation thoroughly, and report to me fully and truthfully, as our actual position and not your affection for me dictates. I shall keep my hold on life as long as I think that it is to your interest, or that it should be preserved for the possibility of hope. You will find Sestius a true friend to us, and I believe Lentulus wishes you all success, and he will be consul. And

CICERO

sunt facta verbis difficiliora. Tu et quid opus sit, et quid sit, videbis. Omnino si tuam solitudinem communemque calamitatem nemo dispexerit, aut per te confici aliquid, aut nullo modo poterit. Sin te quoque inimici vexare coeperint, ne cessaris. Non enim gladiis tecum, sed litibus agetur. Verum haec absint velim. Te oro, ut ad me de omnibus rebus scribas, et in me animi potius aut consili putes minus esse, quam antea, amoris vero et officii non minus.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, I. iv.

yet it is easier to talk than to act. You will see what is needful, and how things really are.

To sum up, if nobody casts a calculating eye upon your unprotected position and our common calamity, it is through you, or not at all, that something may be accomplished. But if our enemies begin to harass you as well as myself, you must be up and doing ; for their weapons against you won't be swords, but suits. However, I trust there will be none of that.

I implore you to write to me about everything, and to believe that though perhaps my courage and powers of decision are less than in the old days, there is no diminution of my love and loyalty.

M. TULLI CICERONIS
EPISTULARUM AD QUINTUM FRATREM
LIBER SECUNDUS

I

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 697.

1 Epistolam, quam legisti, mane dederam. Sed fecit humaniter Licinius, quod ad me, misso senatu, vespere venit, ut, si quid esset actum, ad te, si mihi videretur, perscriberem. Senatus fuit frequentior, quam putabamus esse posse mense Decembri sub dies festos. Consulares nos fuimus P. Servilius, M. Lucullus, Lepidus, Volcatius, Glabrio, duo consules designati, praetores. Sane frequentes fuimus; omnino ad ducentos. Commorat expectationem Lupus. Egit causam agri Campani sane accurate. Auditus est magno silentio. Materiam rei non ignoras.

^a Isauricus, consul with Appius Claudius Pulcher in 79.

^b M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul in 73.

^c M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Volcatius Tullus were consuls in 66.

^d M. Acilius Glabrio, consul with C. Calpurnius Piso in 67.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS

BOOK II

I

CICERO TO QUINTUS (ON HIS WAY TO SARDINIA)

Rome, December, 57 B.C.

The letter you have just read I sent off this morning. But Licinius was so courteous as to visit me in the evening after the dismissal of the Senate, so that, if I thought good, I might write you a full account of anything that had been done there. The Senate was better attended than I thought possible in the month of December so near the holidays. Of us consulars there were P. Servilius,^a M. Lucullus,^b Lepidus,^c Volcatius,^c Glabrio,^d the two consuls designate, and the praetors. We made quite a full house, being about 200 altogether. Lupus^e had roused our expectations. He discussed the question of the Campanian land with extreme particularity, and was listened to in profound silence. You are well aware what material it offers for a speech. He omitted

* Publius Rutilius Lupus, who was strongly opposed to Caesar's law for the division of the Campanian land.

CICERO

Nihil ex nostris actionibus praetermisit. Fuerunt nonnulli aculei in C. Caesarem, contumeliae in Gellium, expostulationes cum absente Pompeio. Causa sero perorata. sententias se rogaturum negavit, ne quod onus simultatis nobis imponeret. Ex superiorum temporum conviciis, et ex praesenti silentio, quid senatus sentiret, se intellegere dixit. Ilico coepit dimittere,² cum Marcellinus, noli, inquit, ex taciturnitate nostra, Lupe, quid aut probemus hoc tempore aut improbemus, iudicare. Ego, quod ad me attinet, idemque arbitror ceteros, idcirco taceo, quod non existimo, cum Pompeius absit, causam agri Campani agi convenire. Tum ille se senatum negavit tenere. Racilius surrexit, et de iudiciis referre coepit. Marcellinum quidem primum rogavit. Is cum graviter de Clodianis incendiis, trucidationibus, lapidationibus questus esset, sententiam dixit, ut ipse iudices praetor urbanus¹ sortiretur; iudicium sortitione facta, comitia haberentur; qui iudicia impedivisset, eum contra rempublicam esse facturum. Approbata valde sententia, C. Cato contra dixit, et Cassius maxima acclamatione senatus, cum comitia iudiciis anteferet. Philippus assensit Lentulo. Postea

¹ *Manutius*: per praetorem urbanum *MSS.*

² *Orelli*: intellegere. Dixit Milo. Coepit dimittere. Tum *MSS.*

^a Gellius Poplicola, an adherent of Clodius.

^b Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, consul designate for the following year, 56.

^c L. Racilius, a tribune and a staunch supporter of Cicero.

^d As consul designate.

^e *i.e.*, without the assistance of the quaestors.

^f A tribune; *cf. Q. Fr. i. 9. 15.*

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. 1.

nothing of the measures I had taken. There were some stinging references to C. Caesar, some abuse of Gellius,^a some remonstrances with the absent Pompey. As he was late in bringing his speech to a conclusion, he said he would not ask for our votes, for fear of burdening us with a personal wrangle. He said that he clearly inferred the feelings of the Senate from the loud protests of earlier days and its present silence. He proceeds at once to dismiss the Senate, when Marcellinus^b says, "You must not judge by our silence, Lupus, what we approve, or do not approve, at the present moment. As far as I am concerned, and I think it is the case with the rest of us, my reason for not speaking is, that I do not consider it right and proper that the question of the Campanian land should be discussed in Pompey's absence." Then Lupus said that he had no further business for the Senate.

Racilius^c got up and began to raise the question of the proposed prosecutions. Marcellinus was of course the first he called upon^d; and he, after seriously protesting against the burnings, killings, and stonings of Clodius, proposed a resolution "that the *praetor urbanus* should himself^e draw the lots for the jury, that the elections should not be held until after the allotment of the jurors, and that whoever obstructed the trials would be acting against the commonwealth." The proposal having met with hearty approval, C. Cato^f spoke against it, and so did Cassius,^g the Senate loudly protesting when he gave the elections precedence in time over the trials. Philippus agreed with Lentulus.^h

^c A tribune.

^a *i.e.*, Marcellinus, the consul designate.

CICERO

Racilius de privatis me primum sententiam rogavit. Multa feci verba de toto furore atrocinoque P. Clodi: eum, tamquam reum, accusavi, multis et secundis admurmurationibus cuncti senatus. Orationem meam collaudavit satis multis verbis, non mehercule indiserte, Vetus Antistius; isque iudiciorum causam suscepit, antiquissimamque se habiturum dixit. Ibatur in eam sententiam. Tum Clodius rogatus, diem dicendo eximere coepit. Furebat, a Racilio se contumaciter inurbaneque¹ vexatum. Deinde eius operae repente a Graecostasi et gradibus clamorem satis magnum sustulerunt, opinor, in Q. Sextilium et amicos Milonis incitatae. Eo metu iniecto, repente magna querimonia omnium, discessimus. Habes acta unius diei. Reliqua, ut arbitror, in mensem Ianuarium reicientur. De tribunis plebis longe optimum Racilium habemus. Videtur etiam Antistius amicus nobis fore. Nam Plancius totus noster est. Fac, si me amas, ut considerate diligenterque naviges de mense Decembri.

¹ Müller, following ed. Rom.: urbaneque Tyrrell, "with polished insolence."

^a A tribune.

^b A platform near the Curia Hostilia and the Comitium where Greek, and afterwards other, ambassadors listened to the debates in the Senate, a sort of "strangers' gallery."

EPISTULÆ AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. 1.

After that Racilius called upon me first of the 3 unofficial senators for my opinion. I spoke at great length on all the insane and murderous acts of P. Clodius; I arraigned him as though he were in the dock, amid the frequent approving murmurs of the whole Senate. My speech was praised at quite sufficient length and, I assure you, with no little eloquence, by Vetus Antistius,^a who also took upon himself the defence of the priority of the trials—a priority he said he would regard as being of capital importance. The senators were crossing the floor in favour of this opinion, when Clodius, being called upon, set about talking out the sitting. He declared in a frenzy of rage that Racilius had worried him in an insulting and unmannerly way. Thereupon his hired ruffians on the Graecostasis^b and the steps of the senate-house raised quite a fierce yell, incited, I suppose, to attack Q. Sestilius and Milo's friends. Under the cloud of that sudden alarm, we breke up, with strong protests on every side. So much for the transactions of a single day. What remains to be done will, I imagine, be put off to the month of January. Among the tribunes of the plebs by far the best man we have is Racilius. It seems likely that Antistius too will be friendly to us. As for Plancius,^c he is with us heart and soul. As you love me, see to it that you are deliberate and careful about taking ship now that December is with us.

^c Cn. Plancius who, as quaestor of Macedonia, showed great kindness to Cicero during his banishment.

CICERO

II

MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

1 Non occupatione, qua eram sane impeditus, sed parvula lippitudine adductus sum, ut dictarem hanc epistulam et non, ut ad te soleo, ipse scriberem. Et primum me tibi excuso in eo ipso, in quo te accuso. Me enim adhuc nemo rogavit, "num quid in Sardiniam vellem"; te puto saepe habere, qui, "num quid Romam velis," quaerant. Quod ad me Lentuli et Sesti nomine scripsisti, locutus sum cum Cincio. Quoquo modo res se habet, non est facillima, sed habet profecto quiddam Sardinia appositum ad recordationem praeteritae memoriae. Nam, ut ille Gracchus augur, posteaquam in istam provinciam venit, recordatus est, quid sibi, in campo Martio comitia consulum habenti, contra auspicia accidisset, sic tu mihi videris in Sardinia de forma Numisiana et de nominibus Pomponianis in otio recogitasse. Sed ego adhuc emi nihil. Culleonis auctio facta est. Tusculano emptor nemo fuit. Si condicio valde bona
2 fuerit, fortasse non omittam. De aedificatione tua Cyrum urgere non cesso. Spero eum in officio fore. Sed omnia sunt tardiora, propter furiosae aedilitatis expectationem. Nam comitia sine mora futura videntur. Edicta sunt a. d. xi. Kal. Febr. Te tamen

^a An agent of Atticus.

^b The father of the Gracchi; the story is told by Cicero in *Nat. Deor.* ii. 11.

^c An architect.

^d Another architect.

^e *i. e.*, of P. Clodius.

II

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN SARDINIA

Rome, January 17, 56 B.C.

It was not pressure of business (though I am sorely 1 hampered in that respect), but a slight inflammation of the eyes that induced me to dictate this letter instead of writing it, as I generally do when corresponding with you, with my own hand. And first of all I excuse myself to you on the very point on which I accuse you. For nobody so far has asked me whether I have any commands for Sardinia, while you, I fancy, often have people inquiring whether you have any commands for Rome. You wrote to me on behalf of Lentulus and Sestius; well, I have spoken to Cincius.^a However the matter stands, it is not of the easiest. But assuredly there is something in Sardinia peculiarly conducive to recalling past memories; for just as the great Gracchus,^b the augur, on his arrival in that province, recollected what had happened to him when holding the consular elections in the Campus Martius contrary to the auspices, so it seems to me that you in your moments of leisure in Sardinia have bethought yourself afresh of the house-plan of Numisius^c and your debts to Pomponius. So far I have bought nothing. Culleo's auction is over and done with; my Tusculan property found no purchaser. If I have a very favourable offer for it, it is just possible I may not let it slip.

As regards your building, I never cease hurrying 2 on Cyrus.^d I hope he will do his duty; but everything hangs fire owing to the prospect of a madcap aedileship^e; for the elections seem likely to be held without delay. They are announced for January 20.

CICERO

sollicitum esse nolo. Omne genus a nobis cautionis
3 adhibebitur. De rege Alexandrino factum est senatus consultum, cum multitudine eum reduci periculosum reipublicae videri. Reliqua cum esset in senatu contentio, Lentulusne an Pompeius reduceret, obtinere causam Lentulus videbatur. In ea nos et officio erga Lentulum mirifice, et voluntati Pompei praeclare satisfacimus. Sed per obtrectatores Lentuli res calumnia extracta est. Consecuti sunt dies comitiales, per quos senatus haberi non poterat. Quid futurum sit latrocinio tribunorum, non divino; sed tamen suspicor per vim rogationem Caninium perlaturum. In ea re Pompeius quid velit, non dispicio. Familiares eius quid cupiant, omnes vident. Creditores vero regis aperte pecunias suppeditant contra Lentulum. Sine dubio res a Lentulo remota videtur esse, cum magno meo dolore. Quamquam multa fecit, quare, si fas esset, iure ei succensere possemus. Tu, si ita expedit, velim quam primum bona et certa tempestate conscendas ad meque venias. Innumerabiles enim res sunt, in quibus te quotidie in omni genere desiderem. Tui nostrique valent.
xiv. Kal. Febr.

^a Ptolemy Auletes; *cf. Fam.* i. 1 and 2, where the whole story is told.

^b Cicero blames Lentulus for his indifference, if it was not jealousy, in the matter of fixing Cicero's indemnity.

However I do not want you to be anxious. I shall exercise every kind of caution.

In the matter of the Alexandrine king,^a a decree 3 of the Senate has been passed to the effect that his restoration by the employment of "*a host of men*" seems fraught with danger to the commonwealth. In what remained to be discussed in the Senate—the question whether he should be restored by Lentulus or Pompey—it seemed that Lentulus was making good his case, a case in which I was amazingly successful in discharging my obligations to Lentulus, and brilliantly so in satisfying the wishes of Pompey—but Lentulus's case was protracted by the spiteful obstruction of his detractors. Then followed the comitial days, during which a meeting of the Senate could not be held. What result the ruffianly conduct of the tribunes will have, I cannot predict; anyhow I suspect Caninius will force his bill through by violence. In all this I have no clear idea as to what Pompey wants; what his particular friends desire, nobody can fail to see. Those who are financing the king make no secret of supplying sums of money to fight Lentulus. It is beyond doubt that the business seems to have been taken out of Lentulus's hands, and it is a great grief to me. And yet he has done many things for which I might be justly angry with him,^b were such a thing conceivable. If it suits your interests, I should like you to take ship when the weather is fair and settled, and join me as soon as possible. For there are numberless things in which I miss you daily in all sorts of ways. Your people and mine are well. January 17.

CICERO

III

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

- 1 Scripsi ad te antea superiora ; nunc cognosce, postea quae sint acta. A Kal. Febr. legationes in Idus Febr. reiciebantur. Eo die res confecta non est. A. d. iv. Non. Febr. Milo adfuit. Ei Pompeius advocatus venit. Dixit Marcellus, a me rogatus. Honeste discessimus. Producta dies est in viii. Id. Febr. Interim reiectis legationibus in Idus, referebatur de provinciis quaestorum et de ornandis praetoribus. Sed res, multis querellis de republica interponendis, nulla transacta est. Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentuli abrogando. Vestitum filius mutavit.
- 2 A. d. viii. Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius, sive voluit ; nam, ut surrexit, operae Clodianae clamorem sustulerunt ; idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut acclamatione, sed ut convicio et maledictis impediretur. Qui ut peroravit (nam in eo sane fortis fuit, non est deterritus, dixit omnia ; atque interdum etiam silentio cum auctoritate peregerat) sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius. Ei tantus

^a *i.e.*, of Cilicia. His son assumed mourning (as was often done in such circumstances) to excite sympathy with his father.

III

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN SARDINIA

Rome, February 12 and 15, 56 B.C.

I have already told you in my letter what occurred earlier ; now let me inform you of what has been done since that. On February 1, it was proposed to postpone the reception of foreign deputations until February 13. The postponement was not carried on that day. On February 2, Milo appeared to stand his trial. Pompey came to support him. Marcellus was called upon by me, and spoke. We came off with the honours of war. The trial was adjourned to the 6th. Meanwhile the deputations having been put off until the 13th, the question of assigning provinces to the quaestors and of supplying the praetors with the proper officers and forces was brought before the house ; but so many complaints of the state of public affairs were interposed, that nothing was settled. C. Cato gave notice of a proposal to remove Lentulus from his government,^a and Lentulus's son put on mourning.

On the 6th Milo again appeared for trial. Pompey 2 spoke, or rather such was his intention ; for when he got up, Clodius's hired gangs raised a yell, and that is what he had to endure the whole time he was speaking, being interrupted not only with shouts, but with insults and abuse. When he had finished his speech (he showed great fortitude in the circumstances ; he never quailed, he said all he had to say, and now and then amid a silence compelled by his impressive personality), but, as I say, when he had finished his speech, up got Clodius. He was met with

clamor a nostris (placuerat enim referre gratiam), ut neque mente neque lingua neque ore consisteret. Ea res acta est, cum hora vi. vix Pompeius perorasset, usque ad horam viii., cum omnia maledicta, versus etiam obscenissimi in Clodium et Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos, in clamore ipso, quis esset, qui plebem fame necaret. Respondebant operae, "Pompeius." Quis Alexandriam ire cuperet. Respondebant, "Pompeius." Quem ire vellent. Respondebant, "Crassum." Is aderat tum, Miloni animo non amico. Hora fere ix., quasi signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare coeperunt. Exarsit dolor. Urgere illi, ut loco nos moverent. Factus est a nostris impetus; fuga operarum. Eiectus de rostris Clodius; ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba. Senatus vocatus in curiam; Pompeius domum. Neque ego tamen in senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem, aut in Pompeio defendendo (nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio) animos bonorum virorum offenderem. Res in posterum dilata est. Clodius in Quirinalia produxit 3 diem. A. d. vii. Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis fuit, ut Pompeius adesset. Acta res est graviter a Pompeio. Eo die nihil perfectum est. A. d. vi. Id. ad

^a For this rendering (from *lost* to *countenance*) I am indebted to Tyrrell.

^b February 17.

^c He was probably afraid to enter Rome on account of the mobs. It was not because he held *imperium*, as he had already entered Rome to speak for Milo (§ 2).

such a deafening shout from our side (for we had determined to give him as good as he gave), that he lost all control over his faculties, his voice, and his countenance.^a Such was the scene from the time when Pompey had barely finished his speech at noon, right up to two o'clock, when every kind of abuse, and even doggerel of the filthiest description, was vented upon Clodius and Clodia. Maddened and white with rage, he asked his partisans (and he was heard above the shouting) who the man was that starved the people to death; his rowdies answered "Pompey." Who was bent upon going to Alexandria? They answered "Pompey." Whom did they want to go? They answered "Crassus." (Crassus was there at the time, but with no friendly feeling for Milo.) About three o'clock the Clodians, as if at a given signal, began to spit upon our men. We resented it in a paroxysm of rage. They tried to hustle us and get us out. Our men charged them, and the roughs took to their heels. Clodius was flung off the *rostra*, and then we too fled, for fear of something happening in the *mêlée*. The Senate was summoned to the Curia; Pompey went home. I did not myself, however, attend the Senate, so as not, on the one hand, to keep silent on matters of such gravity, or, on the other, by defending Pompey (who was being attacked by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, and Servilius junior) to hurt the feelings of the loyalists. The business was adjourned to the following day. Clodius got the trial postponed until the Quirinalia.^b

On February 7 the Senate met in the temple of ³ Apollo, in order that Pompey might be present.^c He dealt with the matter impressively, but on that day nothing was done. On the 8th in the temple of Apollo

CICERO

Apollinis senatus consultum factum est, EA, QUAE FACTA ESSENT A. D. VIII. ID. Febr. CONTRA REMPUBLICAM ESSE FACTA. Eo die Cato est vehementer in Pompeium invectus, et eum oratione perpetua tamquam reum accusavit. De me multa, me invito, cum mea summa laude dixit. Cum illius in me perfidiam increparet, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei vehementer Pompeius Crassumque descripsit, dixitque aperte, se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore, quam Africanus fuisset, 4 quem C. Carbo interemisisset. Itaque magnae mihi res iam moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius haec intellegit, nobiscumque communicat, insidias vitae suae fieri; C. Catonem a Crasso sustentari; Clodius pecuniam suppeditari; utrumque et ab eo, et a Curione, Bibulo ceterisque suis obtrectatoribus confirmari; vehementer esse providendum, ne opprimatur, contionario illo populo a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non aequo senatu, iuventute improba. Itaque se comparat, homines ex agris arcessit. Operas autem suas Clodius confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur; in eo multo sumus superiores ipsius copiis. Sed magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia exspectatur, ut etiam Catonis rogationibus de Milone

^a They would not interrupt a speech likely to embroil Cicero with Pompey.

^b C. Papirius Carbo, to whom Pompey compares Crassus, was probably innocent of the murder of Africanus. See note *b* to *Fam.* ix. 21. 3.

a decree of the Senate was carried, "that what had been done on the 6th was against the interests of the State." On that day Cato vehemently inveighed against Pompey, and throughout his speech arraigned him as though he were in the dock. He spoke a great deal about me, much against my will, though in highly laudatory terms. When he denounced Pompey's treacherous conduct to myself, he was listened to amid profound silence on the part of my ill-wishers.^a Pompey replied to him in vehement terms, and made an obvious allusion to Crassus, openly declaring "that he himself would be better prepared to safeguard his own life than Africanus had been, who was murdered by C. Carbo."^b

So it appears to me that issues of great importance ⁴ are developing. For Pompey clearly understands this, and talks to me about it—that plots are being hatched against his life; that C. Cato is being backed up by Crassus; that Clodius is being supplied with money, and that both of them are being encouraged, not only by Crassus, but by Curio and Bibulus and the rest of his detractors; that he has to take strenuous measures to prevent being utterly crushed, with a speech-swallowing populace practically estranged from him, with a nobility hostile, a Senate unfairly prejudiced, and the youth of the country without principle. So he is making preparations, and calling up men from rural districts, while Clodius is strengthening his hired gangs. A regiment of them is being trained for the Quirinalia, to meet which date we are far superior in numbers, with Pompey's own forces; besides, a large contingent is expected from Picenum and Gaul, so that we may also oppose Cato's motions about Milo and Lentulus.

5 et Lentulo resistamus. A. d. iv. Id. Febr. Sestius ab indice Cn. Nerio, Pupinia, de ambitu est postulatus, et eodem die a quodam P. Tullio de vi. Is erat aeger. Domum (ut debuimus) ad eum statim venimus, eique nos totos tradidimus; idque fecimus praeter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei iure succensere putabant; ut humanissimi, gratissimique et ipsi et omnibus videremur; itaque faciemus. Sed idem Nerius index edidit ad allegatos Cn. Lentulum Vatiam et C. Cornelium.¹ Eodem die senatus consultum factum est, UT SODALITATES DECURIATIQUE DISCEDERENT; LEXQUE DE IIS FERRETUR, UT, QUI NON DISCESSISSENT, 6 EA POENA, QUAE EST DE VI, TENERENTUR. A. d. iiii. Id. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio maximo conventu, incidique in eum locum in dicendo, cum Sestius, multis in templo Castoris vulneribus acceptis, subsidio Bestiae servatus esset. Hic προφρονομησάμην quiddam ἐνκαίρως de his, quae in Sestium apparabantur crimina, et eum ornavi veris laudibus, magno assensu omnium. Res homini fuit vehementer grata. Quae tibi eo scribo, quod me de retinenda Sesti gratia 7 litteris saepe monuisti. Prid. Id. Febr. haec scripsi

¹ Cornelium: †ista ei Tyrrell: Wurde Fowler thinks ista ei may be a corruption of testes, a gloss explaining allegatos: Madvig suggests instare, "were threatening Sestius": I follow Nobbe in omitting ista ei altogether: Prof. R. Ellis conjectures adallegatos, "as being compromised as well."

^a P. Tullius Albinovanus.

^b Cicero was displeased with the bill Sestius drew up for his restoration (*cf.* *Att.* iii. 23. 4). We know of no other reason why Cicero should have been angry with Sestius.

^c The text is here incurably corrupt. See critical note above.

“ On February 10, Sestius was prosecuted by the 5
 informer, Cn. Nerius of the Pupinian tribe, for
 bribery, and on the same day by one P. Tullius^a for
 breaking the peace. He was ill. I immediately went
 to see him at his house, and put myself unreservedly
 at his disposal ; and what I did was more than most
 people expected, for they supposed that I was justly
 indignant with him,^b with the result that both he
 himself and the world in general thought me the
 most kind-hearted and grateful of men ; and that is
 how I mean to act. But that same informer Nerius
 also gave in the names of Cn. Lentulus Vatia and
 C. Cornelius as additional intermediaries.^c On
 the same day a decree of the Senate was passed
 “ that political clubs and caucuses should be broken
 up, and that a law concerning them should be
 proposed whereby all who refused to disband
 should be liable to the penalty fixed for breaking
 the peace.”

On the 11th I defended Bestia on a charge of 6
 bribery before the praetor, Cn. Domitius, in the
 middle of the forum, before a vast assembly ; and in
 the course of my speech, I incidentally dwelt upon the
 time when Sestius, covered with wounds in the temple
 of Castor, was only saved by the help of Bestia. At
 this point I adroitly seized the opportunity to make a
 sort of anticipatory refutation of the charges which
 are being trumped up against Sestius, and I paid him
 some compliments he really deserved, with the hearty
 approval of all present. It gave the poor fellow the
 greatest pleasure. I tell you this because you have
 often advised me in your letters to keep on good
 terms with Sestius.

I am writing this on the 12th, before day-break ; 7

CICERO

ante lucem. Eo die apud Pomponium in eius nuptiis eram cenaturus. Cetera sunt in rebus nostris huiusmodi (ut tu mihi fere diffidenti praedicabas) plena dignitatis et gratiae; quae quidem tua, mi frater, patientia, virtute, pietate, suavitate etiam, tibi mihique sunt restituta. Domus tibi ad lacum¹ Pisonis Liciniana conducta est. Sed, ut spero, paucis mensibus post Kalend. Quint. in tuam commigrabis. Tuam in Carinis mundi habitatores Lamiae conduxerunt. A te post illam Olbiensem epistulam nullas litteras accepi. Quid agas et ut te oblectes, scire cupio, maximeque te ipsum videre quam primum. Cura, mi frater, ut valeas; et quamquam est hiems, tamen Sardiniam istam esse cogites. xv. Kalend. Mart.

IV

M. CICERO Q. FRATRI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

- 1 Sestius noster absolutus est a. d. iv. Id. Mart.; et, quod vehementer interfuit reipublicae, nullam videri in eiusmodi causa dissensionem esse, omnibus sententiis absolutus est. Illud, quod tibi saepe curae esse intellexeram, ne cui iniquo relinqueremus vituperandi locum, qui nos ingratos esse diceret, nisi il-

¹ *Boot*: lacum *ms.*, but luci were generally dedicated to divinities.

^a Atticus's marriage to Pilia.

^b The chief port of Sardinia.

^c A notoriously unhealthy island in the summer months.

^d Sestius had kept a band of armed men during his tribunate in the preceding year to oppose P. Clodius and his roughs. He had therefore been accused of *vis* (breaking the peace), with the result here described. Cicero's speech on the occasion is still extant.

EPIST. AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. III.—IV.

this is the day on which I am going to dine with Pomponius to celebrate his marriage.^a

In all other respects my position is just what you assured me it would be, though I could hardly believe it—a position of dignity and popularity ; and all this has been restored to you and me, brother mine, by your patience, courage, and brotherly devotion, and, I must also add, by your charm of manner. A house has been taken for you that belonged to Licinius, near Piso's pool, but in a few months' time, say after July 1, you will move into your own. Your house in the Carinae has been taken on lease by some genteel tenants, the Lamiae. I have received no letter from you since the one you sent from Olbia.^b I am anxious to know how you are getting on, and how you amuse yourself, but most of all to see you in person as soon as possible. Take care of your health, my dear brother, and, although it is winter, yet bear in mind that the place you are living in is Sardinia.^c

IV

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN SARDINIA

Rome, March, 56 B.C.

Our friend Sestius was acquitted ^d on March 11, 1 and, moreover (and it is a matter of paramount importance to the State that there should be no appearance of difference of opinion in a case of this sort)—he was acquitted unanimously. As to what I had often gathered to be a cause of anxiety to you, that I should not leave a loophole for fault-finding to any ill-natured critic who might charge me with ingrati-

lius perversitatem quibusdam in rebus quam humanissime ferremus, scito hoc nos in eo iudicio consecutos esse, ut omnium gratissimi iudicaremur. Nam in defendendo moroso homini cumulatissime satisfacimus, et (id quod ille maxime cupiebat) Vatinium, a quo palam oppugnabatur, arbitrato nostro concidimus, dis hominibusque plaudentibus. Quin etiam Paullus noster cum testis productus esset in Sestium, confirmavit se nomen Vatini delaturum, si Macer Licinius cunctaretur; et Macer a Sesti subselliis surrexit, ac se illi non defuturum affirmavit. Quid quaeris? homo petulans et audax, Vatinius, valde
 2 perturbatus debilitatusque diseessit. Quintus tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animadverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. Domus utriusque nostrum aedificatur strenue. Redemptori tuo dimidium pecuniae curavi. Spero nos ante hiemem contubernales fore. De nostra Tullia, tui mehercule amantissima, spero cum Crassipede nos confecisse. Dies erant duo, qui post Latinas habentur
 3 religiosi; ceteroqui confectum Latiar erat. Ἀμφιλαφίαν autem illam, quam tu soles dicere, bono modo desidero, sic prorsus, ut advenientem excipiam liben-

^a For Vatinius see note *a* to *Fam.* i. 9. 4.

^b L. Aemilius Paullus, consul in 50.

^c C. Licinius Macer Calvus, orator and poet.

^d The houses of the two brothers adjoined each other.

^e ἀμφιλαφία (from ἀμφιλαφής, "taking in on either side, or with both hands") was apparently the term Quintus had used for the "unlimited means" required for his own and his brother's building operations. Cf. *Ep.* 15*b.* 3 of this Book. The metaphor in *excipere* is from a hunter who stands ready to *welcome* the game when it breaks cover. Cf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 12. 12 "latitantem fruticeto excipere aprum."

tude if I failed to put up with Sestius's wrong-headedness in certain matters as good-humouredly as possible, let me assure you that in this trial I succeeded in establishing my reputation as the most grateful man alive. For in my defence not only did I give immense satisfaction to a cross-grained man, but I also (and this was his dearest wish) made mince-meat of Vatinius,^a who was openly attacking him, just as the fancy took me, with the applause of gods and men. Furthermore, when our friend Paullus^b was brought forward as a witness against Sestius, he declared that he would lay information against Vatinius if Macer Licinius^c was slow about doing so; and Macer rose from the benches where sat the friends of Sestius, and declared that he would not fail to do as Paullus wished. To cut the story short, that aggressive and impudent fellow Vatinius left the court in a state of confusion and nervous collapse.

That excellent boy, your son Quintus, is being² admirably taught, and I notice it all the more now, because Tyrannio gives him his lessons at my house. The building of both our houses is going on vigorously. I have seen to it that your contractor has had half his money paid to him. I hope that before winter we shall be under the same roof.^d As to our daughter Tullia, who, I positively assure you, is very much attached to you, I hope we have settled her betrothal to Crassipes. There are two days which are reckoned as holidays after the Latin festival; otherwise the festival of Jupiter Latiaris has come to an end.

Now as to that "*opulence*"^e you so often talk about,³ I have a longing for it, but quite in moderation—just so far as gladly to welcome my quarry, if it comes my

ter latentem non excitem. Etiam nunc tribus locis aedifico, reliqua reconcinno; vivo paullo liberalius, quam solebam; opus erat. Si te haberem, paullisper fabris locum darem. Sed et haec (ut spero) brevi
 4 inter nos communicabimus. Res autem Romanae sese sic habent. Consul est egregius Lentulus, non impediente collega; sic, inquam, bonus, ut meliorem non viderim. Dies comitiales exemit omnes. Nam etiam Latinae instaurantur; nec tamen deerant
 5 supplicationes. Sic legibus perniciosissimis obsistitur, maxime Catonis; cui tamen egregie imposuit Milo noster. Nam ille vindex gladiatorum et bestiario- rum emerat de Cosconio et Pomponio bestiarios; nec sine his armatis unquam in publico fuerat. Hos alere non poterat. Itaque vix tenebat. Sensit Milo. Dedit cuidam non familiari negotium, qui sine sus- picione emeret eam familiam a Catone; quae simul atque abducta est, Racilius, qui unus est hoc tempore tribunus plebis, rem patefecit, eosque homines sibi emptos esse dixit (sic enim placuerat) et tabulam proscripsit, SE FAMILIAM CATONIANAM VENDITURUM. In eam tabulam magni risus consequebantur. Nunc igitur Catonem Lentulus a legibus removit, et eos, qui de Caesare monstra promulgarunt, quibus inter-

* Marcellinus, consul with Marcius Philippus. Acting in concert, in order to prevent C. Cato and his friends from bringing in bills to the prejudice of Lentulus Spinther and Milo, the two consuls had recourse to every possible political manoeuvre to cause delay in the elections, e.g. the celebration of the movable festival, the *feriae Latinae*, when they might more justifiably have held the *supplicationes* that were due, and would also have had the effect of delaying the elections.

way, but not to hunt it out, if it keeps under cover. Even as it is, I am building in three different places, and refurbishing my other houses. I am living rather more generously than I used to; I have to do so. If I had you with me, I should give the masons free scope for a while. But this too we shall shortly, I hope, talk over together.

The position at Rome is as follows: Lentulus^a is 4 an excellent consul, and his colleague does not stand in his way—so good, I repeat, that I have never seen a better. He has cancelled all the comitial days. Why, even the Latin festival is being celebrated anew; and yet he had the *supplicationes* to fall back upon.

By these means the most ruinous bills are being 5 resisted, especially that of C. Cato; but our friend Milo has played a splendid trick upon him. That champion of gladiators and beast-fighters had bought some beast-fighters from Cosconius and Pomponius, and had never appeared in public without them as an armed body-guard. He could not pay for their keep, so could hardly maintain his hold upon them. Milo got wind of it. He engaged a certain person, with whom he was not intimate, to buy the whole gang from Cato without exciting his suspicion. No sooner had they been marched off than Racilius, who just now stands alone as tribune of the plebs, divulged the whole affair, declared that the men had been bought for him (that is what they had agreed upon) and put up a notice "*that he had Cato's gang for sale.*" The result of that notice was laughter loud and long. So now Lentulus has prevented Cato, and those who promulgated outrageous proposals about Caesar, from carrying their laws, there being no

cederet nemo. Nam quod de Pompeio Caninius agit, sanequam refrixit. Neque enim res probatur, et Pompeius noster in amicitia P. Lentuli vituperatur, et hercule non est idem. Nam apud illam perditissimam atque infimam faciem populi propter Milonem suboffendit; et boni multa ab eo desiderant, multa reprehendunt. Marcellinus autem hoc uno mihi quidem non satisfacit, quod eum nimis aspere tractat; quamquam id senatu non invito facit; quo ego me libentius a curia et ab omni parte reipublicae sub-
 6 traho. In iudiciis ii sumus, qui fuimus. Domus celebratur ita, ut cum maxime. Unum accidit imprudentia Milonis incommode, de Sex. Clodio, quem neque hoc tempore, neque ab imbecillis accusatoribus mihi placuit accusari. Ei tres sententiae teterimo in consilio defuerunt. Itaque hominem populus revocat et retrahatur necesse est. Non enim ferunt homines. Et quia, cum apud suos diceret, paene damnatus est, vident damnatum. Ea ipsa in re Pompei offensio nobis obstitit. Senatorum enim urna copiose absolvit, equitum adaequavit, tribuni aerarii condemnarunt. Sed hoc incommodum consolantur quotidianae damnationes inimicorum, in quibus me

^a Probably a descendant of a freedman of the *gens Claudia*, a man of low repute, and P. Clodius's chief instrument in carrying out his schemes of violence and outrage.

^b The *iudices* consisted of three *decuriae*, made up respectively of senators, knights, and *tribuni aerarii* (probably persons of property, representing the classes below the knights). Each of the three *decuriae* had its separate balloting-urn.

tribune to intervene. For as to Caninius's proposal about Pompey, it has utterly collapsed. It is not a popular proposal in itself, and our friend Pompey is censured for his breach of friendship with Lentulus, and, upon my honour, he is not the man he was. For his support of Milo is not altogether agreeable to those who constitute the worst and lowest dregs of the people, while the patriotic party regret his sins of omission and blame him for his sins of commission, and there are plenty of both. Marcellinus, however, does not quite satisfy me in one regard—he treats him too harshly ; and yet he does so with no objection on the part of the Senate, which makes me all the more wishful to withdraw myself from the House and from all participation in politics.

In the courts I hold the same position as I did. My 6
house is as thronged as ever it was. There is one awkward incident due to Milo's lack of foresight in the matter of Sextus Clodius,^a of whose prosecution at this particular juncture, and by a feeble lot of accusers, I did not approve. Before a most corrupt jury Milo only failed to obtain a condemnation by three votes. The populace, therefore, are for having the fellow up again, and he must be dragged back into court. People cannot tolerate it, and because he was all but condemned when pleading before a jury of his own partisans, they look upon him as already condemned. Even in this matter the feelings of dislike for Pompey stood in our way. For the votes of the senators acquitted him with a handsome margin, those of the knights were equally divided, those of the *tribuni aerarii* were against him.^b But I am consoled for this misfortune by the daily condemnations of my enemies, among whom, to my

perlubente Servius allisus est, ceteri conciduntur. C. Cato contionatus est, comitia haberi non siturum, si sibi cum populo dies agendi essent exempti. Ap-
 7 pius a Caesare nondum redierat. Tuas mirifice litteras exspecto; atque adhuc clausum mare scio fuisse; sed quosdam venisse tamen Ostia dicebant, qui te unice laudarent, plurimique in provincia fieri dicerent. Eisdem aiebant nuntiare, te prima navigatione transmissurum. Id cupio; et, quamquam teipsum scilicet maxime, tamen etiam litteras tuas ante exspecto. Mi frater, vale.

V

MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

1 Dederam ad te litteras antea, quibus erat scriptum, Tulliam nostram Crassipedi prid. Non. April. esse desponsatam, ceteraque de re publica privataque perscripseram. Postea sunt haec acta. Non. Apr. senatus consulto Pompeio pecunia decreta est in rem frumentariam ad HS cccc. Sed eodem die vehementer actum de agro Campano clamore senatus

^a Probably Servius Pola; *cf. Fam.* viii. 12. 2.

^b Quintus was now employed in Sardinia as Pompey's *legatus* in the collection of corn-supplies.

^c About £340,000.

EPIST. AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. IV.—V.

great delight, Servius ^a has suffered shipwreck, and all the rest are being made mince-meat of. C. Cato announced at a public meeting that he would not permit the elections to be held should he have been deprived of the days for transacting business with the people. Appius has not yet returned from visiting Caesar.

It is wonderful how eagerly I await a letter from 7 you, and yet I know that the sea is still closed to navigation ; but for all that they tell me that certain persons have arrived at Ostia, who praised you above all men, and declared that you are most highly esteemed in the province.^b They say that it is reported by the same persons that you intend to cross as soon as ever it is possible to sail. That is just what I desire ; and although, of course, I look forward to seeing you in the flesh more than anything, still even a letter from you in the meantime is something to look forward to. Brother mine, good-bye.

V

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN SARDINIA

Rome, April 11, 56 B.C.

I sent you a letter before in which I wrote that our 1 daughter Tullia had been betrothed to Crassipes on April 4, and gave you a full account of everything else concerning our public and private affairs. This is what has happened subsequently. On April 5 by a decree of the Senate money was voted to Pompey for the corn-supply, amounting to 40,000 *sestertia*.^c But on the same day there was a heated debate on the Campanian land, when the Senate was nearly as

prope contionali. Acriorem causam inopia pecuniae
 2 faciebat et annonae caritas. Non praetermittam ne
 illud quidem—M. Furium Flaccum, equitem Roma-
 num, hominem nequam, Capitolini et Mercuriales de
 collegio eiecerunt, praesentem, ad pedes unius cuius-
 3 que iacentem. Exiturus a. d. viii. Id. Apr. sponsalia
 Crassipedi praebui. Huic convivio puer optimus,
 Quintus tuus meusque, quod perleviter commotus
 fuerat, defuit; a. d. vii. Id. April. veni ad Quintum,
 eumque vidi plane integrum, multumque is mecum
 sermonem habuit et perhumanum de discordiis
 mulierum nostrarum. Quid quaeris? nihil festivius.
 Pomponia autem etiam de te questa est. Sed haec
 4 coram agemus. A puero ut discessi, in aream tuam
 veni. Res agebatur multis structoribus. Longilium
 redemptorem cohortatus sum. Fidem mihi faciebat,
 se velle nobis placere. Domus erit egregia. Magis
 enim cerni iam poterat, quam quantum ex forma
 iudicabamus. Itemque nostra celeriter aedificabatur.
 Eo die cenavi apud Crassipedem. Cenatus in hortos
 ad Pompeium lectica latus sum. Luci eum convenire
 non potueram, quod abfuerat. Videre autem vole-
 bam, quod eram postridie Roma exiturus, et quod
 ille in Sardiniam iter habebat. Hominem conveni
 et ab eo petivi, ut quamprimum te nobis redderet.

^a A college which had charge of the Capitoline games.

^b A corporation of merchants; cf. Livy, ii. 27. 5.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. v.

noisy as a public meeting. The discussion of the question was embittered by the scarcity of money and the high price of provisions.

And even this is an incident I shall not omit ; the 2
Capitolini^a and the Mercuriales^b expelled from their respective colleges one M. Furius Flaccus, a Roman knight, but a rascal, he being present at the time, prostrating himself at the feet of each member of the college in turn.

On April 6, being about to leave Rome, I gave a 3
betrothal party to Crassipes. At that banquet that excellent boy Quintus (he is mine too) was not present, owing to his having been indisposed, though not at all seriously. On the 7th I went to see him and found him in perfect health, and he and I had a long and very affectionate talk about the squabbles of our women-folk ; to put it shortly, nothing could have been merrier. Pomponia, however, grumbled about you too ; but of this when we meet.

On leaving the boy I visited your building-site. 4
The work was being pressed on with a lot of builders. I urged Longilius the contractor to hasten. He convinced me that he was anxious to give every satisfaction. It will be a magnificent house ; we could now get a clearer idea of it than we could form from studying the plan. My own house, too, was being rapidly built. That day I dined with Crassipes. After dinner I rode in my litter to see Pompey at his pleasure. I had not been able to have an interview with him during the day, as he was not at home ; but I wanted to see him, because I am leaving Rome to-morrow, and he has to go to Sardinia. I had a talk with him, and begged of him to let us have you back as soon as possible. He said " without a moment's

CICERO

5 Statim dixit. Erat autem iturus (ut aiebat) a. d. III. Id. Apr., ut aut Labrone, aut Pisis conscenderet. Tu, mi frater, simul ut ille venerit, primam navigationem (dummodo idonea tempestas sit) ne omiseris. A. d. III. Id. April. ante lucem hanc epistulam conscripseram, eramque in itinere, ut eo die apud T. Titium in Anagnino manerem. Postridie autem in Laterio cogitabam; inde, cum in Arpinati quinque dies fuisset, ire in Pompeianum; rediens aspicere Cumanum, ut, quoniam in Non. Maias Miloni dies prodita est, prid. Non. Romae essem, teque, mi carissime et suavissime frater, ad eam diem (ut sperabam) viderem. Aedificationem Arcani ad tuum adventum sustentari placebat. Fac, mi frater, ut valeas quam primumque venias.

VIII *

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 698.

1 O litteras mihi tuas iucundissimas, expectatas, ac primo quidem cum desiderio, nunc vero etiam cum timore! Atque has scito litteras me solas accepisse

^a Labro is unknown, but possibly we should read (as Tyrrell suggests) Telamo, which, like Pisae, is on the coast of Etruria.

^b Titus Titius, a friend of Cicero's, who addressed to him *Fam.* xiii. 75. He had a villa at Anagnia in Latium.

^c The property of Quintus in Arpinum.

^d Also the property of Quintus, between Arpinum and Aquinum.

* The numbering of the Letters from this point (VIII., IX., etc., instead of VI., VII., etc.) is due to the adoption of Mommsen's admirable rearrangement of Letters IV.-VII.

EPIST. AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. v.-VIII.

delay." He intends to start (so he told me) on April 5 11, so as to take ship at Labro^a or Pisae. See to it, my dear brother, that as soon as he arrives you do not miss the first opportunity you have of sailing, provided only that the weather be suitable. I am putting together this letter on April 11 before dawn, and am just about to start on my journey, so that I may stay to-day with T. Titius^b at Anagnia; but to-morrow I intend to be at Laterium,^c and from there, after spending five days in Arpinum, to visit my Pompeian house, having a peep at my Cuman villa on my return, so that (since Milo's trial has been fixed for May 7) I may be at Rome on the 6th, and see you, my dearest and sweetest of brothers, I hope, on that day. I thought it best that the building operations at Arcanum^d should be held up until you return. Make a point of keeping well, my dear brother, and of joining me as soon as possible.

VIII *

CICERO TO QUINTUS, ON HIS WAY TO ROME FROM
SARDINIA

Rome, middle of May, 56 B.C.

Oh! what an intense pleasure your letter was to me, a letter long awaited, and at first with yearning only, but now with alarm also! And I would have you know that it was the only letter I had received (sadly muddled together in the mss.), which makes them coherent and intelligible. The numbering from this point retains the commonly accepted order of the rest of the Letters in this Book.

CICERO

post illas, quas tuus nauta attulit, Olbia datas. Sed cetera (ut scribis) praesenti sermoni reserventur. Hoc tamen non queo differre. Id. Maiis senatus frequens divinus fuit in supplicatione Gabinio deneganda. Adiurat Procilius hoc nemini accidisse. Foris valde plauditur. Mihi cum sua sponte iucundum, tum iucundius, quod me absente (est enim *εὐλικρινὲς* iudicium) sine oppugnatione, sine gratia nostra.

2 Fram Anti.¹ Quod Idibus et postridie fuerat dictum, de agro Campano actum iri, non est actum. In hac causa mihi aqua haeret. Sed plura quam constitueram. Coram enim. Vale, mi optime et optatissime frater, et advola. Idem te nostri rogant pueri; illud² scilicet, cenabis, cum veneris.

IX

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 699.

1 Placitum tibi esse librum meum suspicabar; tam valde placuisse, quam scribis, valde gaudeo. Quod me admones de nostra Urania, suadesque, ut me-

¹ *Manutius*: gratia nostra erat. Quod ante *Mommsen*.

² pueri. Illud *Purser*.

^a Now Governor of Syria. He had applied for a *supplicatio* either for his success in Palestine against Aristobulus and his son Alexander, or some previous victories over Arabs.

^b A tribune.

^c Literally "I have run dry," a metaphor from the damming of a stream, or possibly from the running down of the water allowance in the *clepsydra* (water-clock), meaning that Cicero had to stop speaking on so dangerous a subject.

^d Or, as *Purser* takes it, "Of course there is this—you will, etc." (putting a full-stop after "request of you").

^e His poem *De temporibus suis*.

since that which your sailor brought me, posted at Olbia. But, as you write, let everything else be kept back for personal conversation. This much, however, I cannot put off; on May 15 a full Senate acted gloriously in refusing a *supplicatio* to Gabinius.^a Procilius^b swears that this has never happened to anyone else. It is loudly applauded in the streets; to me it was not only delightful on its own account, but even more so because it was done in my absence (it was an unprejudiced decision) without any opposition or favour on my part. I was at Antium.

What, it has been alleged, was to be settled² on the 15th and the following day in the matter of the Campanian land, was never settled at all. In this business I am at a deadlock.^c But I have said more than I had intended to say; for we will talk it over when we meet. Good-bye, my best and most desirable of brothers, and wing your way to me. Our two boys make the same request of you; of course it is this^d—you will dine with us when you arrive.

IX

CICERO TO QUINTUS

Rome, February, 55 B.C.

I had an idea that my book^e would please you, 1 but that it should have pleased you as greatly as you say in your letter is a great joy to me. As to your reminding me of my *Urania*,^f and advising me to

^f The reference is obscure. Possibly it refers to a passage in Cicero's poem *De consulatu suo*, recommending literature and philosophy as against politics. "And yet," he goes on, "in spite of what I then wrote, I went to see Pompey."

mincrim Iovis orationem, quae est in extremo illo libro, ego vero memini, et illa omnia mihi magis
 2 scripsi, quam ceteris. Sed tamen postridie, quam tu es profectus, multa nocte cum Vibullio veni ad Pompeium, cumque ego egissem de istis operibus atque inscriptionibus, per mihi benigne respondit; magnam spem attulit. Cum Crasso se dixit loqui velle; mihiq;ue, ut idem facerem, suasit. Crassum consulem ex senatu domum reduxi; suscepit rem; dixitque esse, quod Clodius hoc tempore cuperet per se et per Pompeium consequi; putare se, si ego eum non impedirem, posse me adipisci sine contentione, quod vellem. Totum ei negotium permisi, meque in eius potestate dixi fore. Interfuit huic sermoni P. Crassus, adulescens nostri (ut scis) studiosissimus. Illud autem, quod cupit Clodius, est legatio aliqua—si minus per senatum, per populum—libera, aut Byzantium aut ad Brogitarum aut utrumque. Plena res nummorum. Quod ego non nimium laboro, etiamsi minus assequor, quod volo. Pompeius tamen cum Crasso locutus est. Videntur negotium suscepisse. Si perficiunt, optime;
 3 sin minus, ad nostrum Iovem revertamur. A. d. III. Id. Febr. senatus consultum est factum de ambitu in Afrani sententiam, quam ego dixeram, cum tu adesses; sed magno cum gemitu Senatus, consules non sunt

^a *Libera legatio* was an unofficial embassy, enabling a senator to travel abroad on his own private affairs at the expense of the State. Cf. *Fam.* xi. 1. 2.

^b Clodius, as tribune, had restored certain Byzantine exiles, and he had made Brogitarus, a Galatian and son-in-law of Deiotarus, priest of Cybele at Pessinus; and he was now going to those parts to raise the money for which he held bonds from the exiles and Brogitarus. Tyrrell.

^c Apparently that the praetors should be elected and enter upon office at once, and so evade the prosecution which Cato desired.

remember Jupiter's speech at the end of that book, I do indeed remember it, and I addressed all that to myself rather than to the rest of the world.

And yet, the day after you started, late at night, ² taking Vibullius with me, I paid Pompey a visit; and when I pleaded with him about the works and inscriptions in your honour, he responded with remarkable kindness, and greatly raised my hopes. He said he wanted to have a talk with Crassus, and urged me to do the same. I escorted Crassus as consul from the Senate to his house; he took the matter up, and told me that there was something which Clodius was anxious to get just now through his own and Pompey's instrumentality; and he thought that if I did not thwart Clodius's scheme, I could secure what I wanted without a fight. I put the whole business in his hands and assured him that I would be at his disposal. Publius Crassus, his young son, was present at this interview, and he is, as you are aware, devotedly attached to me. Now what Clodius is so anxious to get is some honorary embassy,^a if not by decree of the Senate, then by popular vote, either to Byzantium or to Brogitarus,^b or to both. There is a lot of money in it. I am not troubling myself unduly about the matter, even if I fail to get what I want. The fact remains that Pompey has spoken to Crassus, and it seems to me that they have taken the matter up. If they carry it through, nothing could be better; if not, let us return to my "Jupiter."

On February 11, a decree of the Senate was passed ³ concerning bribery, on the motion of Afranius,^c which I had explained to you when you were here with me. But, though the Senate groaned aloud at it, the consuls did not follow up the proposals of those

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persecuti eorum sententias qui, Afranio cum essent assensi, addiderunt, ut praetores ita crearentur, ut dies LX. privati essent. Eo die Catonem plane repudiaverunt. Quid multa? tenent omnia, idque ita omnes intellegere volunt.

X

MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

Cumani, A.U.C. 699.

1 Tu metuis, ne me interpellas? Primo, si in isto essem, tu scis, quid sit interpellare? An te Ateius? Mehercule mihi docere videbaris istius generis humanitatem, qua quidem ego nihil utor abs te. Tu vero, ut me et appelles et interpellas et obloquare et colloquare, velim. Quid enim mihi suavius? Non mehercule quisquam *μυσοπάτακτος* libentius sua recentia poemata legit, quam ego te audio quacumque de re, publica, privata, rustica, urbana. Sed mea factum est insulsa verecundia, ut te proficiscens non tollerem. Opposuisti semel *ἀναντίλεκτον* causam, Ciceronis nostri valetudinem; conticui: iterum Cicero-
2 ciones; quievi. Nunc mihi iucunditatis plena epistula hoc aspersit molestiae, quod videris, ne mihi

^a This would have suited Cato, since, as private citizens, they could be proceeded against. But the consuls would have none of it, and they were, as Cicero adds, "omnipotent."

^b Or "has Ateius been interrupting you?" Ateius being some notorious bore.

who, when they agreed to Afranius's motion, added a rider that the praetors should only be appointed with the proviso that they should remain private citizens for sixty days.^a On that day the consuls' repudiation of Cato was uncompromising. Why should I waste words? They have everything in their hands, and they want everybody to know it.

X

CICERO TO QUINTUS

Cumanum, April or May, 55 B.C.

You afraid that you will interrupt *me*? In the first 1 place, supposing I were as busy as you think, do you know what is meant by the term "*to interrupt*"? Is Ateius ^b your informant? Upon my word, it would seem that you are teaching me a form of courtesy peculiarly your own for which I have no use at all—coming as it does from *you*. Why, I should like to have you attract as well as distract my attention, talk *at* me as well as talk *to* me. What could delight me more? I solemnly aver that no muse-smitten poetaster ever recites his latest effusions with greater pleasure than I listen to you holding forth on any topic, be it public or private, rural or urban. But it was all the fault of my stupid reserve that I did not take you with me when I set out. Once you put me off with an unanswerable excuse—the health of my boy Cicero; I held my tongue; the second time it was both the young Ciceros; I raised no objection.

And now I have a letter as pleasant as could be, 2 with just this touch of annoyance—that you seem to

molestus esses, veritus esse atque etiam nunc vereri. Litigare tecum, fas si esset; sed mehercule istuc si umquam suspicatus ero, nihil dicam aliud, nisi verebor, ne quando ego tibi, cum sum una, molestus sim. Marium autem nostrum in lecticam mehercule coniecissem, non illam regis Ptolemaei Asicianam. Memini enim, cum hominem portarem ad Baias, Neapoli, octophoro Asiciano, machacrophoris centum sequentibus, miros risus nos edere. cum ille, ignarus sui comitatus, repente aperuit lecticam, et paene ille timore, ego risu corruui. Tunc, ut dico, certe sustulissem, ut aliquando subtilitatem veteris urbanitatis et humanissimi sermonis attingerem. Sed hominem infirmum in villam apertam, ac ne rudem quidem
 3 etiam nunc, invitare nolui. Hoc vero mihi peculiare fuerit, hic etiam isto frui. Nam illorum praediorum scito mihi vicinum Marium lumen esse. Apud Anicium videbimus ut paratum sit. Nos enim ita philologi sumus, ut vel cum fabris habitare possimus. Habemus hanc philosophiam non ab Hymetto, sed ab arce *Ψυρία*.¹ Marius et valetudine est et natura im-
 4 becillior. De interpellatione tantum sumam a vobis temporis ad scribendum, quantum dabitis. Utinam nihil detis, ut potius vestra iniuria, quam ignavia mea

¹ *Tunstall*: Abdera or Gargetto Dr. *Reid*: ab arce or arcula Cyrea *Tyrrell*.

^a For Marius see note *a* on *Fam.* vii. 1. 1.

^b Asicius seems to have been a close friend of Ptolemy Auletes, who either gave or sold him his capacious litter with its regular body-guard of a hundred swordsmen, the sight of whom frightened the nervous valetudinarian Marius.

^c Cicero elsewhere (*Att.* xvi. 13a. 2) refers to Arpinum as *νησος Ψυρία*. *Psyria* is an island in the Aegean sea mentioned by Homer (*Od.* iii. 171). He means that he is no effeminate valetudinarian, but a hardy hillman.

have been, and even now to be, afraid of being an annoyance to me. I should go to law with you, if such a thing were conceivable ; but I swear that if ever I suspect your harbouring such a thought—I'll say no more than this, that at any moment when I am in your company I shall be afraid of being a nuisance to you. As for our friend Marius,^a I declare I should have bundled him into my litter—not the one that Asicius ^b got from King Ptolemy. For I remember how when I was giving the fellow a lift from Naples to Baiæ in Asicius's eight-man litter, with a hundred swordsmen in our train, I can't tell you how I laughed when Marius, all unconscious of his escort, suddenly opened the litter and nearly collapsed with fright, and I with laughter. Well, as I say, I should certainly have picked him up then, so as to get into touch (better late than never) with that subtle charm of old-world courtesy and exquisitely refined conversation. But to invite a man in feeble health to a villa exposed to the weather and, up to the present, not even roughly finished—I simply hadn't the heart.

It would of course be a special treat to me to **3** enjoy his company here also ; for I would have you know that to have him for my neighbour is as the very light of the sun on that country seat of mine. I will see about his being put up at the house of Anicius. As for myself I am the sort of book-worm that can get along with workmen in the house. For that philosophy I have to thank, not Hymettus, but the heights of Arpinum.^c Marius is somewhat feeble both in health and character.

As for my being interrupted, I shall take from you **4** just so much time for writing as you allow me. I pray that you may allow me none, so that my doing no

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cessem! De republica nimium te laborare doleo; (video te ingemuisse; sic fit εὖ δ' ἐν αἴγῃ ἔζησας; nunquam enim dicam εὖ πᾶσας¹) et meliorem civem esse, quam Philoctetam, qui, accepta iniuria, illa spectacula quaerebat, quae tibi acerba esse video. Amabo te, advola; consolabor te et omnem abstergebo dolorem; et adduc, si me amas, Marium. Sed adproperate. Hortus domi est.

XI

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Epistulam hanc convicio efflagitarunt codicilli tui. Nam res quidem ipsa et is dies, quo tu es profectus, nihil mihi ad scribendum argumenti sane dabat. Sed quemadmodum, coram cum sumus, sermo nobis deesse non solet, sic epistulae nostrae debent interdum alucinari. Tenediorum igitur libertas securi Tenedia praecisa est, cum eos praeter me et Bibulum
2 et Calidium et Favonium nemo defenderet. De te a

¹ sc. μελεδῶνας *Lambinus*: τὰς μεληδῶνας *Ed. Crat.*

^a The source of this quotation is unknown, but the meaning seems to be "What would you have done, had you been on the spot? And indeed there is much to be anxious about."

^b No such passage appears in Sophocles' play.

^c *Codicilli* were tablets made of thin pieces of wood and covered with wax, used in cases of urgency and haste.

^d The inhabitants of Tenedos had petitioned the Senate for some measure of independence, which the Senate refused.

^e A proverbial expression for summary execution; Tenedos,

EPIST. AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. X.—XI.

work may be due to your wrong treatment of me rather than to my own indolence.

As to politics, I grieve that you are distressing yourself unduly (I notice you have groaned; well, there's no getting out of it, "Yet hadst thou but lived in the land"—I shall never add the words, "away with all sorrow and care"),^a and that you are a better citizen than Philoctetes,^b who, having suffered wrong, desired to see such sights as, I perceive, are painful to you.

I entreat you, wing your way here: I shall comfort you and wipe all sorrow from your eyes; and, as you love me, bring Marius with you. But hurry up, both of you. There is a garden attached to my house.

XI

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN SOME SUBURBAN RESIDENCE

Rome, February 10 or 11, 54 B.C.

This letter has been elicited by the strong and importunate language of your note.^c As to the actual business, and what occurred the day you set out, it affords no material at all to write about. But just as when we are together it is not often that we are at a loss for something to talk about, so our letters ought occasionally to ramble at random.

Well, then, the liberty of the Tenedians^d has been cut short with a Tenedian axe,^e since there was nobody to defend them except myself, Bibulus, Calidius, and Favonius.

"the fabled eponym" of the island, had established there an ultra-Draconian penal code.

Magnetibus ab Sipylo mentio est honorifica facta, cum te unum dicerent postulationi L. Sextii Pansae
 4 restitisse. Reliquis diebus, si quid erit, quod te scire opus sit, aut etiamsi nihil erit, tamen scribam quotidie aliquid. Prid. Id. neque tibi, neque Pomponio deero.
 5 Lucreti poemata, ut scribis, ita sunt,—multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis.¹ Sed cum veneris . . . Virum te putabo, si Sallusti *Empedoclea* legeris, hominem non putabo. Vale.

XII

MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Gaudeo tibi iucundas esse meas litteras, nec tamen habuissem scribendi nunc quidem ullum argumentum, nisi tuas accepissem. Nam prid. Id., cum Ap-

¹ *M*: multae etiam *Orelli*: multae tamen artis cum inveneris virum te putabo; si Sallusti *etc.* *H. A. J. Munro*: non multae tamen artis. Sed si ad umbilicum veneris, virum te putabo. Si Sallusti *etc.* *Bergk*.

^a Probably a *publicanus* against whose demands an appeal had been made by the Magnesians of Lydia (*ab Sipylo*).

^b Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura* had just been published, a few months after the poet's death. That the text (that of *M*) of this solitary and casual allusion by Cicero to Lucretius is probably corrupt would appear from the use of *poemata* for the singular, and the sudden change from the abl. *luminibus* to the gen. *artis*.

The text as it stands probably means that Lucretius shows the *genius* of the old school (*e.g.* Ennius, "ingenio maximus, arte rudis," and Attius), surprisingly combined (*tamen*) with much of the *ars*, the more polished craftsmanship, of the New, or Alexandrine, School (*e.g.* Catullus). But is there much of such *ars* in the *De Rerum Natura*?

EPIST. AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. XI.-XII.

The Magnesians from Sipylus made a complimentary reference to you, to the effect that you were the only man to stand up against the demand of L. Sextius Pansa.^a During the days that remain, if anything occurs which it is necessary for you to know, or even if nothing occurs, I shall nevertheless write something to you every day. On February 12, I shall not fail either you or Pomponius.

The poems of Lucretius are just as you write—with frequent flashes of genius, and yet exceedingly artistic.^b But when you come . . .^c If you get through Sallust's *Empedoclea*, I shall think you a fine fellow, but no ordinary mortal.

XII

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN THE COUNTRY

Rome, February 13, 54 B.C.

I am delighted that you were pleased with my letter; and yet I should not have had any material for a letter even then, had I not received yours. For,

Munro suggests another reading, which may be rendered "as for any great artistry, however, if you discover the poems to possess it, I shall think you a hero"; and Bergk yet another, meaning "They do *not*, however, show much artistry. But if you read them to the last page, I shall think you a hero." (See critical note.)

It is after all possible that the *ars* in our text may not mean "artistic finish" at all, but simply "the scientific treatment of a subject"—here *ars physica* (natural science), as we have *ars metrica*, *grammatica*, *rhetorica*. In that case the passage would mean "The poems contain 'purple patches' of genius in plenty, but for all that they are extremely *technical*,"—which is no unfair description of the *De Rerum Natura*.

* Supply some such words as "we can discuss the matter."

pius senatum infrequentem coegisset, tantum fuit
 2 frigus, ut pipulo¹ coactus sit nos dimittere. De Com-
 mageno, quod rem totam discusseram, mirifice mihi
 et per se et per Pomponium blanditur Appius. Videt
 enim, hoc genere dicendi si utar in ceteris, Februa-
 rium sterilem futurum; eumque lusi iocose satis,
 neque solum illud extorsi oppidulum, quod erat
 positum in Euphrati Zeugmate, sed praeterea togam
 sum eius praetextam, quam erat adeptus Caesare
 3 consule, magno hominum risu cavillatus. "Quod nos
 vult," inquam, "renovare honores eosdem, quo minus
 togam praetextam quotannis interpolet, decernen-
 dum nihil censeo. Vos autem homines nobiles, qui
 Bostrenum praetextatum non ferebatis, Commage-
 num feretis?" Genus vides et locum iocandi. Multa
 dixi in ignobilem regem; quibus totus est explosus.
 Quo genere commotus (ut dixi) Appius totum me
 amplexatur. Nihil est enim facilius, quam reliqua
 discutere. Sed non faciam, ut illum offendam, ne

¹ *An emendation (for populi convicio MSS.) adopted by Prof. Housman, who rejects convicio as a gloss on pipulo. Tyrrell reads pipulo, convicio asyndetically.*

^a Lit. "chirping of chickens," then used of demonstrations of restlessness at public meetings.

^b Antiochus, King of Commagene in Syria. He had received the little kingdom from Pompey at the end of the Mithridatic war.

^c Which Antiochus had impudently claimed.

^d Cicero's meaning is somewhat obscure, but, assuming the text to be right, it seems to be this: "As far as I am concerned, Antiochus is at liberty to have a clean *toga prae-*

on the 12th, after Appius had got together a sparsely attended Senate, the proceedings were so frosty, that he was forced by our whimperings ^a to dismiss us.

As to the Commagenian,^b because I had exploded ² the whole affair, it is amazing how Appius fawns upon me, both personally and through Pomponius ; for he sees that if I adopt the same style of speaking in all the other cases, February will be a barren month for him. And I made fun of Antiochus in quite a merry way, and not only made him take his hands off that tiny town situated in the territory of Zeugma on the Euphrates,^c but I moreover excited much general laughter by jeering at the fellow's *toga praetexta* which he had obtained in the consulship of Caesar.

“ As to his wishing us (I said) to renew those same ³ honours, it is my opinion that no decree at all is needed to forbid his furbishing up his *toga praetexta* every year. But will you, my noble friends, who did not tolerate the wearing of the *toga praetexta* by the Bostran, tolerate it in the case of this Commagenian ? ” ^d You see the style I adopted, and the opportunity I had for a bit of fun. I spoke a lot in condemnation of his scurvy majesty, with the result that he was hissed off the stage neck-and-crop. But that same style of mine greatly agitated Appius, and he embraces me like a mother. The rest of his proposals it is the easiest thing in the world to scatter to the winds. But I am not going so far as to offend him, for fear he implores the protection of Jupiter

texta as often as he pleases, but as for his wearing it in public you will not allow him to do so any more than you allowed the Bostran to do so.” Bostra (the Bozrah of Isaiah) was in Arabia Petraea. The reference is to some unknown tetrarch of that district.

imploret fidem Iovis Hospitalis, Graios omnes con-
 4 vocet, per quos mecum in gratiam rediit. Theopompo satisfaciemus. De Caesare fugerat me ad te scribere. Video enim, quas tu litteras exspectaris. Sed ille scripsit ad Balbum, fasciculum illum epistularum, in quo fuerat et mea et Balbi, totum sibi aqua madidum redditum esse, ut ne illud quidem sciat, meam fuisse aliquam epistulam. Sed ex Balbi epistola pauca verba intellexerat, ad quae rescripsit his verbis: "De Cicerone video te quiddam scripsisse, quod ego non intellexi; quantum autem coniectura con-
 5 sequerbar, id erat eiusmodi, ut magis optandum, quam sperandum putarem." Itaque postea misi ad Caesarem eodem illo exemplo litteras. Iocum autem illius de sua egestate ne sis aspernatus. Ad quem ego rescripsi, nihil esse, quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret; lusique in eo genere et familiariter et cum dignitate. Amor autem eius erga nos perfertur omnium nuntiis singularis. Litterae quidem ad id, quod exspectas, fere cum tuo reditu iungentur; reliqua singulorum dierum scribemus ad te, si modo tabellarios tu praebebis. Quamquam eiusmodi frigus impendebat, ut summum periculum esset, ne Appio suae aedes urerentur.

^a *i.e.*, Ζεὺς Ἡπιότατος. We can only conjecture that certain Greeks helped to effect a reconciliation between Cicero and Appius.

^b *i.e.*, Quintus. What Caesar gathered from Balbus's letter was probably that Quintus was prepared to desert Pompey and come over to him. Caesar thought the news was "too good to be true."

^c This sentence may be paraphrased thus: "And yet (there will be little to tell you because) Appius's proposals are so *coldly* received that there may be a *hot* reaction against him"—a pretty instance of *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*.

Hospitalis,^a and rouses a rally of all the Greeks, for it was through them that we became reconciled.

I shall satisfy Theopompus. I forgot to write to 4
you about Caesar ; for I see what sort of a letter you have been expecting. But he wrote to Balbus and told him that the whole packet of letters, in which were mine and Balbus's, was so soaked with water when he received it that he did not even know there was any letter from me. He had, however, made out a few words in Balbus's letter, to which he replied in the following words : " I see that you have written something about Cicero,^b which I could not understand, but as far as I could conjecture, it was the sort of thing that I thought more to be desired than hoped for." So later on I sent Caesar an exact duplicate of 5
my letter.

You must not be put off with that little joke of Caesar's about his lack of means. My reply to it was that there was no reason why he should in future make a mess of his affairs by relying on my money-chest ; and I kept up the joke with him in that sort of way, familiarly but without loss of dignity. His devotion to us, however, as reported by messages from all sides, is quite extraordinary. The letter bearing upon what you are waiting for will practically coincide with your return. Anything more that happens day by day I will let you know by letter, provided only that you furnish me with letter-carriers. And yet the political barometer is so near freezing-point that Appius is in extreme danger of having his house burnt about his ears.^c

Tyrrell takes *suae aedes urerentur* as meaning " his house may be frost-bitten," i.e., utterly deserted by *salutatores*, etc.

CICERO

XIII

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Risi "nivem atram," teque hilari animo esse et prompto ad iocandum valde me iuvat. De Pompeio assentior tibi, vel tu potius mihi. Nam, ut scis, iampridem istum canto Caesarem. Mihi crede, in
2 sinu est, neque ego discingor. Cognosce nunc Idus. Decimus erat Caelio dies. Domitius ad numerum iudices non habuit. Vereor, ne homo teter et ferus, Pola Servius, ad accusationem veniat. Nam noster Caelius valde oppugnatur a gente Clodia. Certi nihil est adhuc; sed veremur. Eodem igitur die Syriis¹ est senatus datus frequens; frequentes contra Syriaci publicani. Vehementer vexatus Gabinius; exagitati tamen a Domitio publicani, quod eum essent cum equis persecuti. L. noster Lamia paullo ferocius, cum Domitius dixisset, Vestra culpa haec acciderunt, equites Romani; dissolute enim iudicatis, Nos iudicamus, vos laudatis, inquit. Actum est eo die nihil;

¹ *M*²: Tyriis *MSS.*

^a The tenth day after his arraignment, ten days having, according to custom, to intervene between the arraignment and the trial of a person accused, here M. Caelius Rufus, Cicero's correspondent. This trial is referred to in *Fam.* viii. 12. 2.

^b L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the consul for the year (54).

^c A sort of professional prosecutor. Cf. *Fam.* viii. 12. 2.

^d Governor, as proconsul, of Syria; but he had quitted his province in order to restore Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt, with the result that Syria was harassed by pirates.

XIII

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN THE COUNTRY

Rome, February 14, 54 B.C.

Your "black snow" tickled me, and I am highly ¹ delighted that you are in a merry mood which prompts you to joke. As to Pompey, I quite agree with you, or rather you agree with me. For, as you are aware, I have long been singing the praises of your friend Caesar. Believe me, he is my bosom friend, and I never try to unbind "the hoops of steel."

Now let me tell you about the Ides. It was ² Caelius's tenth day.^a Domitius^b failed to get the requisite number of jurors. I am afraid that abominable and ruffianly fellow, Pola Servius,^c will turn up for the prosecution. For our friend Caelius is being bitterly attacked by the Clodian family. There is nothing certain so far; but I am apprehensive. On the same day then the Syrians were granted a full Senate; on the other side the *publicani* of Syria appeared in full force. Gabinius^d was fiercely abused; but the *publicani* on the other hand were denounced by Domitius for having (as he said) honoured Gabinius with an escort of cavalry. When Domitius said: "It is all your fault, Knights of Rome, that this happened, since your verdicts are lax," our friend L. Lamia^e rather too impetuously rejoined: "Yes, they are our verdicts, but it is you senators who vouch for a man's character." On that day nothing was done, and night broke off the discussion.

^a An *eques* who had befriended Cicero during his exile. Cf. *Fam.* xi. 16. 2 and xii. 29. 1.

- 3 nox diremit. Comitialibus diebus, qui Quirinalia sequuntur, Appius interpretatur, non impediri se lege Pupia, quo minus habeat senatum, et quod Gabinia sanctum sit, etiam cogi, ex Kal. Febr. usque ad Kal. Mart. legatis senatum quotidie dare. Ita putantur detrudi comitia in mensem Martium. Sed tamen his comitialibus tribuni plebis de Gabinio se acturos esse dicunt. Omnia colligo, ut novi scribam aliquid ad te.
- 4 Sed, ut vides, res me ipsa deficit. Itaque ad Callisthenem et ad Philistum redeo, in quibus te video volutatum. Callisthenes quidem vulgare et notum negotium, quemadmodum Graeci aliquot locuti sunt. Siculus ille capitalis, creber, acutus, brevis, paene pusillus Thucydides, sed utros eius habueris libros (duo enim sunt corpora), an utrosque, nescio. Me magis de Dionysio delectat. Ipse est enim veterator magnus, et perfamiliaris Philisto Dionysius. Sed quod aseribis, aggredierisne ad historiam? me auctore potes. Et, quoniam tabellarios subministras, hodierni diei res gestas Lupercalibus habebis. Oblecta tecum Cicerone nostro quam bellissime.

^a For this and the Gabinian law see note *c* on *Fam.* i. 4. 1.

^b *i.e.*, the legality of Gabinus's restoration of Ptolemy Auletes.

^c A native of Olynthus, who wrote a history of the Phocian War, and the campaigns of Alexander the Great, whom he accompanied to Asia. *Cf. Fam.* v. 12. 2. Callisthenes lived 387-327 B.C.

^d A Syracusan, born about 435 B.C., a great favourite of Dionysius the elder.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. XIII.

Appius takes the view that he is not prevented ³ by the Pupian law ^a from holding a Senate on the comitial days which follow the Quirinalia, and that by the provisions of the Gabinian law he is even compelled to grant a Senate to the emissaries every day from February 1 to March 1. So it is thought that the elections are being postponed till the month of March. For all that the tribunes of the plebs declare that they will settle the affair of Gabinius ^b in the course of these comitial days. I am collecting every scrap of news so that I may have something fresh to tell you. But, as you see, it is just material that fails me.

So I return to Callisthenes ^c and Philistus, ^d in both ⁴ of whom I see you have been wallowing. Callisthenes is a hackneyed and commonplace piece of goods, as several Greeks have remarked. The Sicilian is a first-class writer, pithy, pointed, and concise, almost a pocket-edition of Thucydides; but which of his books you have had in your hands (for there are two compilations), or whether you have had both, I don't know. The one on Dionysius gives me most pleasure; for Dionysius is a big rogue, and Philistus knows him thoroughly. But about your postscript—do you really intend taking up history? If I may say so, you have the ability. And now that you are supplying me with letter-carriers, you will hear to-day's achievements on the Lupercalia. Amuse yourself with our dear Cicero as agreeably as you can.

CICERO

XIV

MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

Cumis aut Pompeiis, A.U.C. 700.

- 1 Duas adhuc a te accepi epistulas ; earum alteram in ipso discessu nostro, alteram Arimino datam. Plures, quas scribis te dedisse, non acceperam. Ego me in Cumano et Pompeiano, praeterquam quod sine te, ceterum satis commode oblectabam ; et eram in iisdem locis usque ad Kal. Iun. futurus. Scribebam illa, quae dixeram, πολιτικά ; spissum sane opus et operosum ; sed si ex sententia successerit, bene erit opera posita ; sin minus, in illud ipsum mare deiciemus, quod spectantes scribimus. Aggrediemur alia,
- 2 quoniam quiescere non possumus. Tua mandata persequar diligenter et adiungendis hominibus et quibusdam non alienandis. Maximae mihi vero curae erit, ut Ciceronem tuum nostrumque videam, si licet¹, quotidie ; sed inspiciam, quid discat, quam saepissime ; et, nisi ille contemnet, etiam magistrum me ei profitebor ; cuius rei nonnullam consuetudinem nactus sum in hoc horum dierum otio, Cicerone nostro
- 3 minore producendo.² Tu, quemadmodum scribis, quod etiamsi non scriberes, facere te diligentissime tamen sciebam, facies scilicet, ut mea mandata digeras,

¹ Tyrrell: scilicet *edd.*, which Purser thinks is right, "of course ; but (more than that I shall, etc.)."

² Boot: perdocendo Nobbe.

XIV

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN GAUL

Cumae or Pompeii, middle of May, 54 B.C.

I have so far received two letters from you, one 1 of them at the very moment of my departure, the other posted at Ariminum ; the additional letters you write that you have sent me I have not received. I am enjoying myself quite comfortably, except that you are not with me, at my Cuman and Pompeian residences, and I intend being in these same spots till June 1. I am engaged upon the treatise I told you about, on the *Republic*—a very stiff and toilsome piece of work ; but if it succeeds to my satisfaction, the labour will have been well laid out ; if not, I shall hurl it down into that very sea I am gazing upon as I write. I shall apply myself to something else, since inactivity is more than I can stand.

I shall carry out your instructions to the letter, 2 both as regards conciliating certain people, and not estranging certain others. My chief anxiety, however, will be to see your Cicero (he belongs to both of us), if I may, every day, but I shall test his progress as often as possible, and, unless he disdains me, I shall even offer him my services as a teacher—a capacity in which I have acquired some amount of experience during these days of leisure in bringing on my own, I mean the younger, Cicero.

You will, of course, do as you write you will (and 3 even if you did not put it down on paper, I am none the less assured that you are most conscientious in doing so), I mean that you will arrange, follow out,

CICERO

persequare, conficias. Ego, cum Romam venero, nullum praetermittam Caesaris tabellarium, cui litteras ad te non dem. His diebus (ignosces) cui darem, fuit nemo ante hunc M. Orfium, equitem Romanum, nostrum et pernecessarium, et quod est ex municipio Atellano, quod scis esse in fide nostra. Itaque eum tibi commendo in maiorem modum, hominem domi splendidum, gratiosum etiam extra domum; quem fac ut tua liberalitate tibi obliges. Est tribunus militum in exercitu nostro. Gratum hominem observantemque cognosces. Trebatium ut valde ames, vehementer te rogo.

XVA

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

- 1 A. d. iv. Non. Iun., quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas litteras, datas Placentiae: deinde alteras postridie, datas Blandenone, cum Caesaris litteris, refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate. Sunt ista quidem magna, vel potius maxima. Habent enim vim magnam ad gloriam et ad summam dignitatem.

^a See *Fam.* xiii. 7. 1.

^b C. Trebatius Testa, Cicero's lawyer friend, to whom he wrote *Fam.* vii. 6-22, who was now serving with Quintus, under Caesar, in Gaul.

^c A town near Placentia in Cisalpine Gaul.

and execute my instructions. For myself, when I arrive in Rome, I shall allow no letter-carrier of Caesar's to pass by without giving him a letter for you. During these last days (pray forgive me) there has been no one to whom I might entrust a letter, until the present bearer turned up—M. Orfius, a knight of Rome, one who is my friend, not only on account of his very close connexion with me, but also because he comes from the municipality of Atella, which, as you are aware, is under my patronage.^a I accordingly commend him to you with more than ordinary warmth as a man of exalted position in his own town, and popular outside it too. Pray make a point of laying him under an obligation to you by treating him handsomely. He is a military tribune in your army. You will find him a grateful fellow, who will show you every attention. I earnestly beg of you to be a good friend to Trebatius.^b

XVA

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN GAUL

Rome, early in June, 54 B.C.

I received your letter posted at Placentia on June 1 2, the day I arrived in Rome; then, on the following day, I got another posted at Blandeno,^c together with a letter from Caesar, brimming over with every sort of kindness, assiduous attention, and charm. These expressions of goodwill on his part are significant or rather *most* significant; for they have a powerful influence in the direction of our honour and glory and exaltation in the State. But believe me (you know

CICERO

Sed mihi crede, quem nosti, quod in istis rebus ego plurimi aestimo, id iam habeo, te scilicet primum tam inservientem communi dignitati; deinde Caesaris tantum in me amorem, quem omnibus his honoribus, quos me a se exspectare vult, antepono. Litterae vero eius una datae cum tuis (quarum initium est, quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit, et recordatio veteris amoris, deinde, se effecturum, ut ego in medio dolore ac desiderio tui te, cum a me abesses, potissimum secum esse laetarer) incredibiliter delectarunt.

2 Quare facis tu quidem fraterne, quod me hortaris, sed mehercule currentem nunc quidem, ut omnia mea studia in istum unum conferam. Ego vero ardenti quidem studio hoc fortasse efficiam, quod saepe viatoribus, cum properant, evenit, ut, si serius, quam voluerunt, forte surrexerint, properando etiam citius, quam si de multa nocte vigilassent, perveniant, quo velint, sic ego, quoniam in isto homine colendo tam indormivi diu, te mehercule saepe excitante, cursu corrigam tarditatem, tum equis, tum vero (quoniam scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari) quadrigis poeticis. Modo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo. Sed quid ago? quod mihi

^a Probably one addressed to Caesar on his expedition to Britain.

me by this time) when I say that I already possess what I value most of all in the whole situation—I mean, first of all, your own efficient service in support of our common position, and, secondly, Caesar's extraordinary affection for me, which I set above all those honours he wishes me to anticipate at his hands. In fact, his letter, delivered simultaneously with yours (which begins with his saying how delighted he was with your arrival and the renewal of the memory of your old affection, and he goes on to say that he will so manage matters that in the midst of my sorrow and yearning for you, I should be cheered by your being, though away from me, in *his* company more than any other), that letter, I say, gave me more pleasure than you could possibly believe.

You are therefore acting, indeed, like a brother in 2 urging me (though at the present moment, upon my honour, you are but spurring a willing horse) to concentrate all my energies upon him alone. Yes, verily, so hot is my zeal that I shall perhaps succeed in doing what often occurs in the case of travellers, when they are in a hurry—I mean that, if they happen to get up later than they intended, by making extra haste they arrive at their destination even sooner than if they had woken up at dead of night; so I, since I have been asleep so long over the matter of paying court to your friend (though you, heaven knows, repeatedly tried to rouse me), shall make up for my slowness by galloping, not only on a relay of horses, but also (since you write that my poem ^a meets with his approval) by driving a four-horsed chariot of poesy. Only you people must give me Britain for a subject, so that I may paint it in your colours, but with my own brush. But what am I about? What

tempus, Romae praesertim, ut iste me rogat, manenti, vacuum ostenditur? Sed videro. Fortasse enim (ut
 3 fit) vincet tuus amor omnes difficultates. Trebatium quod ad se miserim, persalse et humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit. Negat enim, in tanta multitudine eorum, qui una essent, quemquam fuisse, qui vadium concipere posset. M. Curtio tribunatum ab eo petivi (nam Domitius se derideri putasset, si esset a me rogatus; hoc enim est eius quotidianum, se ne tribunum militum quidem facere; etiam in senatu lusit Appium collegam, propterea isse ad Caesarem, ut aliquem tribunatum auferret), sed in alterum
 4 annum. Id et Curtius ita volebat. Tu, quemadmodum me censes oportere esse in republica et in nostris inimicitis, ita et esse et fore auricula infima
 5 scito molliorem. Res Romanae se sic habebant. Erat nonnulla spes comitorum, sed incerta; erat aliqua suspicio dictaturae, ne ea quidem certa; summum otium forense, sed senescentis magis civitatis, quam acquiescentis. Sententia autem nostra in senatu eiusmodi, magis ut alii nobis assentiantur, quam nosmetipsi.

Τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται.

^a M. Curtius Postumus; Cicero calls himself his *patronus* in *Att.* ix. 6. 2.

^b Ahenobarbus, consul with Appius Claudius Pulcher for 54.

^c Possibly borrowed from Catullus (*mollior imula oricilla*, 25. 2), but as Cicero never once mentions Catullus (*cf.* 9. 2 above), it may only be, as Tyrrell suggests, an ordinary

prospect have I of a moment's leisure, especially if I stay, as he asks me to, in Rome? But I shall bear it in mind. Very likely, as usual, my love for you will surmount all difficulties.

For having sent him Trebatius he expresses his 3
gratitude to me very wittily and courteously too. He declares that in all that crowd who were on his staff there was not a single man who could draw up so much as a form of recognizance. I applied to him for a tribuneship for M. Curtius^a (as for Domitius,^b he would have suspected me of making fun of him had I asked him for it; indeed his daily joke is that he has not even the appointment of a military tribune; even in the Senate he twitted his colleague Appius with having gone to Caesar for the sole purpose of getting a tribuneship out of him), but for next year; and that is just what Curtius wanted.

As to what you think my behaviour should be in 4
politics and in dealing with my enemies, I would have you know that I am, and always will be, "softer than the lobe of your ear."^c

The position of affairs in Rome is as follows: there 5
is some hope of the elections being held, but it is a vague one; there is also some suspicion of a dictatorship, but even that has no certain foundation; the forum is profoundly tranquil, but that indicates senile decay, rather than acquiescence, on the part of the State, while the opinions I express in the Senate are such that others agree with them more than I do myself. "*Such is the havoc wrought by wretched war.*"^d

proverb. For *oricilla* = *auricilla* cf. *plostrum* = *plaustrum*.
Polla = *Paula* and *Clodius* = *Claudius*.

^d Eur. *Suppl.* 119.

CICERO

XV_B

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Calamo bono et atramento temperato, charta etiam dentata res agetur. Scribis enim, te meas litteras superiores vix legere potuisse; in quo nihil eorum, mi frater, fuit, quae putas. Neque enim occupatus eram, neque perturbatus nec iratus alicui; sed hoc facio semper, ut, quicumque calamus in manus meas
2 venerit, eo sic utar, tamquam bono. Verum attende nunc, mi optime et suavissime frater, ad ea dum rescribo, quae tu in hac eadem brevi epistula πραγματικῶς valde scripsisti. De quo petis, ut ad te, nihil occultans, nihil dissimulans, nihil tibi indulgens, germane fraterneque rescribam, id est, utrum advoles, ut dixerimus, an ad expediendum te, si causa sit, commorere—si, mi Quinte, parva aliqua res esset, in qua sciscitarere, quid vellem, tamen, cum tibi permissurus essem, ut faceres, quod velles, ego ipse, quid vellem, ostenderem. In hac vero re hoc profecto quaeris, cuiusmodi illum annum, qui sequitur, expectem; plane aut tranquillum nobis, aut certe munitissimum; quod quotidie domus, quod forum,

^a Polished or smoothed with the *dens* (tusk) of the elephant.

XVB

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN GAUL

Rome, July 27, 54 B.C.

For this letter I shall use a good pen, well-mixed ink, and ivory-polished ^a paper too. For you write that you could hardly read my last, but for that there were none of those reasons which you suspect, my dear brother. I was not busy, nor upset, nor angry with someone, but it is always my practice to use whatever pen I find in my hand as if it were a good one.

But now, my best and dearest of brothers, let me have your attention while I reply to what you have written in such a very business-like manner in this short letter I have before me. As to the matter about which you beg of me to write back to you, concealing nothing, withholding nothing, not sparing your feelings, but frankly, and as a brother should—I mean whether you are to wing your way home as we had arranged, or to stay on to clear yourself of liabilities, if there be any reason to do so—well, my dear Quintus, if the matter in regard to which you inquired what I wished were a small one, yet, though I should have allowed you to do what you wished, I should have shown you what I myself wished. In this matter, however, the real meaning of your inquiry is—what sort of a year do I expect next year to be? I expect it to be either an entirely tranquil one for us or, at any rate, an impregnable one in respect of my position; and this is clearly proved every day at my house, in the forum, and by manifestations of feeling

quod theatri significationes declarant, nec laboramus mea conscientia copiarum nostrarum, quod Caesaris, quod Pompei gratiam tenemus. Haec me, ut confidam, faciunt. Sin aliquis erumpet amentis hominis furor, omnia sunt ad eum frangendum expedita.

- 3 Haec ita sentio, iudico, ad te explore scribo. Dubitare te, non assentatorie, sed fraterne veto. Quare suavitatis equidem nostrae fruendae causa cuperem te ad id tempus venire, quod dixeras; sed illud malo tamen, quod putas magis e re tua; nam illa etiam magni aestimo—ἀμφιλαφίαν illam tuam, et explicationem debitorum tuorum. Illud quidem sic habeto, nihil nobis expeditis, si valebimus, fore fortunatius. Parva sunt, quae desunt, pro nostris quidem moribus, et ea sunt ad explicandum expeditissima, modo valeamus.
- 4 Ambitus redit immanis. Numquam fuit par. Idib. Quint. fenus fuit bessibus ex triente, coitione Memmi et consulum cum Domitio; hanc Scaurus utinam vinceret! Messalla flaccet. Non dico ὑπερβολικῶς; vel HS centies constituunt in praero-

^a P. Clodius.

^b Cf. Ep. 4. 3.

^c It must be remembered that the consuls for this year (54) were L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher. The candidates for the consulship in the ensuing year (53) were C. Memmius (for whom cf. Fam. xiii. 1), Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messalla, and M. Aemilius Scaurus. Memmius was favoured by Caesar, Scaurus at first, but not subsequently, by Pompey. To secure the existing consuls' influence in the coming election, Memmius and Domitius Calvinus made a disgraceful compact with them, pledging themselves to produce false testimony in the interests of the out-going consuls, giving them provinces with *imperium*, etc. Memmius, however, at Pompey's instigation, divulged the whole matter to the Senate, and

in the theatre ; and I am in no anxiety, conscious as I am of my resources, seeing that I retain the favour of Caesar and that of Pompey. This gives me confidence. If, on the other hand, there is any outburst of frenzy on the part of our demented friend,^a all preparations have been made to crush him.

These are my sentiments and my considered 3 opinions, and I send them to you with full assurance. I forbid you to have any doubt about it, not because I would tickle your ears, but because I am your brother. I should therefore desire you for my part to come at the time you mentioned, so that we may enjoy the pleasure of each other's society ; on the other hand, I prefer that other course even more—the course you consider more to your interest ; for I attach much importance to those other things also—the “*opulence*”^b you talk about, and getting rid of your liabilities. You may take my word for it that, once we are free of debt, if only we keep well, we shall be better off than anybody in the world. Our wants are trifling, considering the way we live, and those wants we are perfectly free to get rid of, if only we keep our health.

There is a horrible recrudescence of bribery and 4 corruption. Never has there been anything equal to it. On July 15, interest rose from 4 to 8 per cent, in consequence of the coalition arranged by Memmius and the consuls with Domitius :^c would that Scaurus could defeat it. Messalla has no backbone. I am not indulging in exaggerations ; they are contracting to distribute as much as 10,000 *sestertia*^d among the gained nothing thereby ; while Domitius Calvinus and the “*flabby*” Messalla were elected consuls for 53.

^d About £88,000.

CICERO

gativa pronuntiare. Res ardet invidia. Tribunicii candidati compromiserunt, HS quingenis in singulos apud M. Catonem depositis, petere eius arbitrato, ut, qui contra fecisset, ab eo condemnaretur. Quae quidem comitia gratuita si fuerint, ut putantur, plus unus Cato fuerit, quam omnes leges omnesque iudices.

XVI

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Cum a me litteras librari manu acceperis, ne paullum quidem otii me habuisse iudicato, cum autem mea, paullum. Sic enim habeto, numquam me a causis et iudiciis districtiorem fuisse, atque id anni tempore gravissimo et caloribus maximis. Sed haec (quoniam tu ita praescribis) ferenda sunt; neque committendum, ut aut spei aut cogitationi vestrae ego videar defuisse; praesertim cum, tametsi id difficilius fuerit, tamen ex hoc labore magnam gratiam magnamque dignitatem sim collecturus. Itaque, ut tibi placet, damus operam, ne cuius animum offendamus, atque ut etiam ab his ipsis, qui nos cum Caesare tam coniunctos dolent, diligamur, ab acquis vero, aut etiam a propensis in hanc partem, vehementer et

^a The century voting first at the *comitia centuriata* was called *centuria praerogativa*, and its vote would have a great moral effect on the voting of the other centuries.

^b More than £4000 each.

^c This was a great compliment to Cato's integrity. He was now praetor.

first century.^a The business is a blaze of scandal. The candidates for the tribuneship, having agreed to abide by arbitration, have deposited 500 *sestertia*^b apiece in the hands of M. Cato^c—they to canvass according to his instructions, and any of them failing to do so to be condemned by him. And if that election proves free from all corruption, as it is supposed it will, Cato will have proved himself more powerful than all the laws and jurors put together.

XVI

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN GAUL

Rome, end of August, 54 B.C.

When you receive a letter from me in my secretary's hand, you may be sure that I have not had even a moment's leisure; if in my own, that I have had just a little. For you may take it from me that I have never been more distracted by cases and trials, and that in the most unhealthy season of the year, and when the heat is most oppressive. But, since it is you who so instruct me, I must put up with it all, and never make the mistake of seeming to have disappointed either the expectations or the ideas you and Caesar have of me, especially since, however difficult it may have proved, it is nevertheless likely that the result of my effort will be no little gain in popularity and prestige. And so, as you would have me do, I shall take every care not to hurt anyone's feelings, but to win the esteem of even those who resent my having become so closely attached to Caesar, and the sincere respect and affection of those who are impartial, or even inclined to our side.

- 2 colamur et amemur. De ambitu cum atrocissime ageretur in senatu multos dies, quod ita erant progressi candidati consulares, ut non esset ferendum, in senatu non fui. Statui ad nullam medicinam rei-
 3 publicae sine magno praesidio accedere. Quo die haec scripsi, Drusus erat de praevaricatione a tribunis acriariis absolutus, in summa, quattuor sententiis, cum senatores et equites damnassent. Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatinius eram defensurus. Ea res facilis est. Comitia in mensem Sept. reiecta sunt. Scauri iudicium statim exercebitur, cui nos non deerimus. *Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους*, quamquam a te actam fabellam video esse festive, nullo modo probavi.
- 4 Venio nunc ad id, quod nescio an primum esse debuerit. O iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Timebam Oceanum, timebam litus insulae. Reliqua non equidem contemno, sed plus habent tamen spei, quam timoris, magisque sum sollicitus expectatione ea, quam metu. Te vero *ὑπόθεσιν* scribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes! Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis, adiuvabo et tibi

^a See the preceding letter.

^b Probably Livius Drusus Claudianus, father of Livia, mother of the emperor Tiberius.

^c *Praevaricatio*, a fraudulent mismanagement of the case by collusion of the parties. Cf. *Fam.* viii. 8. 2.

^d See note *b* on 4. 6 above.

^e At Caesar's pressing request. For the whole story see *Fam.* i. 9. 19.

^f Sophocles wrote a satyric drama, entitled *Σύνδειπνοι*, the theme being the anger of Achilles at being excluded from a banquet in Tenedos. Some *contretemps* of the kind had occurred in Caesar's camp in Gaul, and Cicero was

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, II. XVI.

There were very heated discussions for several 2 days in the Senate on the question of bribery and corruption, the candidates for the consulship having gone to such lengths as could no longer be tolerated ;^a but I was not in the House. I have made up my mind to make no move in the direction of remedying the ills of the State without a powerful backing.

On the day I am writing this, Drusus ^b has been 3 acquitted on a charge of *praevaricatio* ^c by the *tribuni aerarii* ^d by four votes in the final count, though the senators and knights had condemned him. This same afternoon I am going to defend Vatinius.^e That will be an easy matter. The *comitia* have been postponed to the month of September. Scaurus's trial will be brought on forthwith, and I shall not fail to support him. Your *Sophoclean Banquetters* ^f I don't at all like, though I see that you played your part with *éclat*.

I now come to a topic which I should perhaps have 4 taken first. Oh ! what a delightful letter was yours to me about Britain ! I dreaded the ocean, I dreaded the coast of that island. What remains of your enterprise I do not underrate, but it is more hopeful than alarming, and it is just the eager anticipation of it rather than apprehension that makes me restless. I can see, however, that you have glorious subject matter for your pen. What encampments, what natural characteristics of things and places, what manners and customs, what tribes, and what battles you have to write about, and, finally, what a man in your commander-in-chief himself ! I shall willingly assist you, as you ask me, in any way you wish, and perturbed at the incident, in which Quintus appears to have been involved.

CICERO

versus, quos rogas, γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας¹ mittam.
 5 Sed heus tu, celari videor a te. Quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Caesar? nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante, et prima sic, ut neget, se ne Graeca quidem meliora legisse. Reliqua ad quemdam locum ῥαθυμότερα. Hoc enim utitur verbo. Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum, aut χαρακτήρ non delectat? Nihil est, quod vereare. Ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo. Hac de re φιλαλίθως et, ut soles, scribe fraterne.

¹ *Cratander* : Athenas noctuam *M.*

^a Literally "an owl to Athens," where the owl, as the bird sacred to Pallas Athene, was bred and protected.

^b Or "easy-going," "lacking in elaboration."

shall send you the verses for which you ask—"coals to Newcastle." ^a

But look you here, it seems to me that you are ⁵ keeping something back from me. What, oh what, my dear brother, did Caesar think of my verses? He wrote to me some time ago that he had read my first book; and of the first part he declared that he had never read anything better, even in Greek; the rest of it, as far as a certain passage, was rather "happy-go-lucky" ^b—that is the term he uses. Tell me the truth—is it the subject or the style that does not please him? You needn't be afraid; I shall fancy myself not a whit the less. Write about this like a lover of truth and, as you always do, like a brother.

M. TULLI CICERONIS
EPISTULARUM AD QUINTUM FRATREM

LIBER TERTIUS

I

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

I I. Ego ex magnis caloribus (non enim meminimus maiores) in Arpinati summa cum amoenitate fluminis me refeei ludorum diebus, Philotimo tribulibus commendatis. In Areano a. d. iv. Idus Sept. fui. Ibi Mescidium cum Philoxeno, aquamque, quam ii ducebant non longe a villa, belle sane fluentem vidi, praesertim maxima siccitate, uberiolemque aliquanto sese collecturos esse dicebant. Apud Herum recte erat. In Maniliano offendi Diphilum Diphilo tardiolem. Sed tamen nihil ei restabat praeter balnearia et ambulationem et aviarium. Villa mihi valde

^a The Fibrenus.

^b The *Ludi Romani*, held from 4th to 19th September.

^c So that he might secure accommodation for them at the games.

^d Probably contractors.

^e A steward at Arcanum.

^f Probably the estate of a neighbour.

^g An architect.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS

BOOK III

I

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN GAUL

Partly from Arpinum, and partly from Rome, September,
54 B.C.

I. After the great heat—indeed, I cannot remember greater—I have been recuperating at Arpinum, and enjoying the lovely scenery of the river ^a while the games ^b are on, having left my fellow-tribesmen under the charge of Philotimus.^c On September 10 I was at Arcanum. There I saw Mescidius along with Philoxenus ^d and the water, which they were bringing by a canal not far from your villa, flowing quite beautifully, especially considering the intense drought; and they told me that they were going to collect a much more abundant supply of it. Everything is all right with Herus.^e On your Manilian estate ^f I found Diphilus ^g out-doing himself in dilatoriness; and yet he had nothing left to do but the baths and a promenade and an aviary. I was extremely pleased with the villa, because the paved

placuit, propterea quod summam dignitatem pavementata porticus habebat, quod mihi nunc denique apparuit, posteaquam et ipsa tota patet et columnae politae sunt. Totum in eo est (quod mihi erit curae), tectorium ut concinnum sit. Pavimenta recte fieri videbantur. Cameras quasdam non probavi, mutari-
 2 que iussi. Quo loco in porticu te scribere aiunt ut atriolum fiat, mihi, ut est, magis placebat. Neque enim satis loci esse videbatur atriolo; neque fere solet nisi in his aedificiis fieri, in quibus est atrium maius; nec habere poterat adiuncta cubicula et eiusmodi membra. Nunc hoc vel honestate testudinis, valde bonum aestivum locum obtinebit. Tu tamen si aliter sentis, rescribe quam primum. In balneariis assa in alterum apodyteri angulum promovi, propterea quod ita erant posita, ut eorum vaporarium, ex quo ignis erumpit, esset subiectum cubiculis. Subgrande cubiculum autem et hibernum altum valde probavi, quod et ampla erant et loco posita ambulationis uno latere, eo, quod est proximum balneariis. Columnas neque rectas, neque e regione Diphilus collocarat. Eas scilicet demolietur. Aliquando perpendiculari et linea disect uti. Omnino spero paucis mensibus opus Diphili perfectum fore. Curat enim diligentissime
 3 Caesius, qui tum mecum fuit. II. Ex eo loco recta

colonnade gives it a dignity that cannot be surpassed, and that has only just struck me since the whole colonnade itself has come into view, and the columns have been polished. All depends upon the stuccoing being neatly done, and that I shall see to. It seemed to me that the pavements were being properly laid. There were some arched roofs which I did not care for, and I ordered them to be altered.

As regards the place in which they tell me that, ² according to your written instructions, the antechamber should be built, that is, in the colonnade, I liked it better as it is. For there did not seem to be room enough for the antechamber, nor is one usually built, except in those edifices which have a larger court. nor could it have bedrooms and apartments of that sort built in it. As it is, the handsome curve of its ceiling will of itself make it serve as an excellent summer-room. However, if you think otherwise, write back as soon as possible. In the bathroom I removed the stove to the other corner of the dressing-room, because it was so placed that its steam-pipe, from which flames break out, was exactly under the bedrooms. There was a fairly spacious bedroom and another lofty one for winter use, of which I heartily approved, because they were not only roomy, but situated in the right place, on one side of the promenade, that next the bathroom. The columns Diphilus had placed were neither perpendicular nor opposite each other. He will, of course, have to pull them down. Some day or other he will learn the use of the plumb-line and the tape. On the whole, I hope Diphilus's job will be completed in a few months, for Caesius, who was with me at the time, is keeping a very careful eye upon him.

Vitularia via profecti sumus in Fufidianum fundum, quem tibi proximis nundinis Arpini de Fufidio HS CCCCLXXX. emeramus. Ego locum aestate umbrosiorem vidi numquam, permultis locis aquam profluentem, et eam uberem. Quid quaeris? Iugera L. prati Caesius irrigaturum facile te arbitrabatur. Equidem hoc, quod melius intellego, affirmo, mirifica suavitate te villam habiturum, piscina et salientibus additis, palaestra, et silva vitium ridicata.¹ Fundum audio te hunc Bovillanum velle retinere. De eo quid videatur, ipse constitues. Cascellius² aiebat, aqua dempta, et eius aquae iure constituto, et servitute fundo illi imposita, tamen nos pretium servare posse, si vendere vellemus. Mescidium mecum habui. Is se ternis nummis in pedem tecum transegisse dicebat; sese autem mensum pedibus aiebat passuum IIIICV. Mihi plus visum est. Sed praestabo, sumptum nusquam melius posse poni. Cillonem arecessieram Venafro. Sed eo ipso die quattuor eius conservos et
4 discipulos Venafri cuniculus oppresserat. Idibus Sept. in Laterio fui. Viam perspexi, quae mihi ita

¹ *Kayser*: †viridicata *MSS.*: viridicata *Nobbe*.

² *Reid* (cf. *Att.* xv. 26. 4): Caesius *Manutius*.

^a Along which cattle were driven to the Greek cities on the coast.

^b About £850.

^c A *iugerum* was rather more than half an acre.

^d It is not known where this was; certainly not at Bovillae in Latium.

^e "As owner of the two estates (at Arpinum and Bovillae) Quintus could deal with the water as he liked. But if he sold the estate whence he took the water, he would have to declare in the conveyance that he sold subject to this right. That would be establishing for the dominant estate (where

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. 1.

II. From that spot I proceeded straight along the *via* 3
Vitularia^a to your Fufidian estate, which we purchased
for you in the last few weeks from Fufidius for 100,000
sesterces^b at Arpinum. A more shady spot in summer
I never saw, water also gushing out in lots of places,
and a plentiful supply of it too. To put it shortly,
Caesius thought that you would have no difficulty in
irrigating fifty *jugera*^c of meadow land. For my
part, I can assure you of this, and it is a matter I
know more about, that you will have a marvellously
charming villa to live in, with the addition of a fish-
pond with *jets d'eau*, an exercising-ground, and a
plantation of vines ready staked. I am told that
you wish to retain this Bovillan estate.^d You will
yourself decide to do what you think best about
it. Cascellius often told me that even if the water
were taken away, and the right of drawing it were
established, and a servitude imposed on that estate,
we could still keep our price, if we desired to sell it.^e
I have had Mescidius with me. He said that he had
agreed with you to do the work for three sesterces a
foot, and that he had paced the ground and found
it to be 3000 paces. I should have thought it more.
But I will guarantee that nowhere would the money
be spent more profitably. I had summoned Cillo
from Venafrum; but on that very day four of his
fellow-workmen and pupils had been crushed by the
falling in of a tunnel at Venafrum.

On September 13 I was at Laterium.^f I thorough- 4
ly examined the road, which pleased me so much

he used the water) a *ius aquae ducendae*, and imposing on
the servient estate the obligation to allow the water to be so
taken." Roby, *Classical Review*, i. 67, quoted by Tyrrell.

^f Another property of Quintus at Arpinum.

placuit, ut opus publicum videretur esse, praeter *cl.* pass. Sum enim ipse mensus ab eo ponticulo, qui est ad Furinae, Satricum versus. Eo loco pulvis, non glarea iniecta est (id mutabitur), et ea viae pars valde aelivis est, sed intellexi aliter duci non potuisse, praesertim cum tu neque per Locustae, neque per Varronis velles ducere. Varro ante suum fundum prope munierat. Locusta non attigerat; quem ego Romae aggrediar et, ut arbitror, commovebo, et simul M. Taurum, quem tibi audio promisisse, qui nunc Romae erat, de aqua per fundum eius ducenda rogabo.

5 Nicephorum, villieum tuum, sane probavi; quaesivi-
que ex eo, eequid ei de illa aedificatiuncula Lateri, de qua mecum locutus es, mandavisses. Tum is mihi respondit, se ipsum eius operis HS xvi. conductorem fuisse, sed te postea multa addidisse ad opus, nihil ad pretium; itaque id se omisisse. Mihi hercule valde placet, te illa, ut constituebas, addere; quamquam ea villa, quae nunc est, tanquam philosopha videtur esse, quae obiurget ceterarum villarum insaniam. Verumtamen illud additum delectabit. Topiarium laudavi; ita omnia convestit hedera, qua basim villae, qua intercolumnia ambulationis, ut

^a Nothing much is known of this goddess.

^b A village in the neighbourhood of Arpinum.

^c "Quintus seems to have drawn the road in such a way as not to trench on their property, and in return he expected each proprietor to keep the road in repair where it skirted his estate." Tyrrell.

^d About £140.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. I.

I thought it might have been a public highway, except for 150 paces,—for I measured it myself from the little bridge near the temple of Furina,^a walking towards Satricum.^b Just there it had a surface of dry clay instead of gravel (that will have to be altered), and that section of the road is a very steep incline, but I understand that it could not be taken in any other direction, especially as you yourself objected to taking it through either Locusta's property or Varro's. Varro had properly paved the road in front of his own estate; Locusta had not touched it,^c but I shall approach him in Rome, and I fancy I shall make an impression upon him, and at the same time I shall ask M. Taurus, who, I am told, has made you a promise to that effect, and is now in Rome, about bringing the water through his property.

I highly approved of your steward Nicephorus,⁵ and I asked him if you had given him any instructions as to that little house which is being built at Laterium, about which you spoke to me. Then he told me in reply that he himself had contracted to do the work for sixteen *sestertia*,^a but that you had subsequently made many additions to the work, but nothing to the payment, in consequence of which he had thrown it up. That you are making those additions as you had resolved, is, I positively assure you, most gratifying to me; and yet that villa, just as it stands, strikes one as having such a philosophic air as to reprove the craziness of all the other villas. And yet after all the proposed addition will be charming. Your landscape-gardener won my praise; he has so enveloped everything with ivy, not only the foundation wall of the villa, but also the spaces between the

denique illi palliati topiariam facere videantur et
 hederam vendere. Iam ἀποδυτηρίῳ nihil alsius, nihil
 6 muscosius. Habes fere de rebus rusticis. Urbanam
 expolitionem urget ille quidem et Philotimus et
 Cincius; sed etiam ipse crebro interviso; quod est
 facile factu. Quamobrem ea te cura liberatum volo.
 7 III. De Cicerone quod me semper rogas, ignosco
 equidem tibi, sed tu quoque mihi velim ignoscas.
 Non enim concedo tibi, plus ut illum ames, quam ipse
 amo. Atque utinam his diebus in Arpinati, quod et
 ipse cupierat, et ego non minus, mecum fuisset. Quod
 ad Pomponiam, si tibi videtur, scribas velim, cum
 aliquo exhibimus, eat nobiscum, puerumque ducat.
 Clamores efficiam, si eum mecum habuero otiosus.
 Nam Romae respirandi non est locus. Id me scis
 antea gratis tibi esse pollicitum; quid nunc putas,
 8 tanta abs te mihi mercede proposita? Venio nunc
 ad tuas litteras; quas pluribus epistulis accepi, dum
 sum in Arpinati. Nam mihi uno die tres sunt
 redditae, et quidem, ut videbantur, eodem abs te
 datae tempore; una pluribus verbis, in qua primum
 erat, quod antiquior dies in tuis fuisset ascripta litte-
 ris, quam in Caesaris. Id facit Oppius nonnumquam

^a We should say, "bring down the house," by his success as a teacher.

^b In your gratitude and affection.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. I.

columns of the promenade, that I declare the Greek statues seem to be in business as landscape-gardeners, and to be advertising their ivy. As it now is, the dressing-room is the coolest and mossiest retreat in the world.

That is about all as far as country matters are 6 concerned. It is true that the gardener and Philotimus, and Cincius also, are pressing forward the elaborate adornment of your town house, but I often drop in and I see them myself, too, and it is no trouble to me. I would therefore have you freed from any anxiety on that account.

III. You are always asking me about your son 7 Cicero ; well, I pardon your solicitude, of course, but I should be glad if you, too, would pardon me. For that you love him more than I do myself is a point on which I refuse to yield to you. And I only wish that he had been with me these last few days at Arpinum, as he had himself desired, and I no less ! As to Pomponia, I should like you, if you please, to write and tell her to come with me, whenever I go out of town anywhere, and bring the boy. If I have him with me when I am at leisure, I shall win loud applause ;^a at Rome I have no time to breathe. You know I promised you this for nothing before : what do you expect now that you have offered me so great a reward ^b ?

I come now to your letters, which I received in 8 several packets when I was at Arpinum. In fact, three were delivered to me in one day, and indeed apparently despatched by you at the same time, one of them of considerable length, in which the first thing you noticed was that my letter to you bore an earlier date than that to Caesar. That is

necessario, ut, cum tabellarios constituerit mittere, litterasque a nobis acceperit, aliqua re nova impediatur, et necessario serius, quam constituerat, mittat, neque nos datis iam epistulis diem commutari curemus. Scribis de Caesaris summo in nos amore. Hunc et tu fovebis et nos, quibuscumque poterimus rebus, augebimus. De Pompeio et facio diligenter et faciam quod mones. Quod tibi mea permissio mansionis tuae grata est, id ego, summo meo dolore et desiderio, tamen ex parte gaudeo. In Hippodamis et nonnullis aliis arcessendis quid cogites, non intellego. Nemo istorum est, quin abs te munus, fundi suburbani instar, exspectet. Trebatium vero meum quod isto admisceas, nihil est. Ego illum ad Caesarem misi, qui mihi iam satisfecit; si ipsi minus, praestare nihil debeo, teque item ab eo vindico et libero. Quod scribis te a Caesare quotidie plus diligi, immortaliter gaudeo. Balbum vero, qui est istius rei (quemadmodum scribis) adiutor, in oculis fero. Trebonium meum a te amari, teque ab illo, pergaudeo. De tribunatu quod scribis, ego vero nominatim petivi Curtio, et mihi ipse Caesar nominatim Curtio paratum esse

^a Oppius and Balbus were Caesar's agents at Rome.

^b Cf. § 21 of this letter.

^c For C. Trebatius Testa, the lawyer, see *Fam.* vii. 6, note *e*.

^d See note *a* on *Fam.* x. 28.

^e Cf. *Q.F.* ii. 15a. 2.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. 1.

what Oppius ^a occasionally cannot help doing—I mean that, when he has decided to send letter-carriers and has received a letter from me, something unexpected occurs to hinder him, and he is unavoidably later than he intended in sending the carriers; while I, when once the letter has been handed to him, do not trouble about having the date altered.

You write of Caesar's extraordinary affection for ⁹ us. That affection not only will you encourage, but I, too, shall foster it in every possible way. As to Pompey, I am, and shall be, careful to do what you advise. That you are pleased with my permission to prolong your stay, though I shall grieve and miss you greatly, I am to some extent glad. What your intention is in sending for your Hippodamuses ^b and some others passes my comprehension. There is not one of that gang who does not expect something equivalent to a suburban estate as a *douceur* from you. But that you should lump up my friend Trebatius ^c with that lot is sheer nonsense. I have sent him to Caesar, and Caesar has already done quite enough for me; if he has not done so much for Trebatius, it is no business of mine to guarantee him anything, and you, too, I deliver and release from all obligation to him. Your writing that Caesar's esteem for you increases daily is an undying joy to me. Balbus, indeed, who, as you write, is helping on that state of affairs, is the very apple of my eye. It is a great joy to me that you love my friend Trebonius, ^d and he you.

You write about the military tribuneship; well, ¹⁰ I really did canvass for it in specific terms for Curtius, ^e and Caesar himself wrote back to me in specific terms that there was one ready for Curtius, and twitted

rescripsit, meamque in rogando verecundiam obiurgavit. Si cui praeterea petiero (id quod etiam Oppio dixi, ut ad illum scriberet), facile patiar mihi negari, quoniam illi, qui mihi molesti sunt, sibi negari a me non facile patiuntur. Ego Curtium (id quod ipsi dixi) non modo rogatione, sed etiam testimonio tuo diligo, quod litteris tuis studium illius in salutem nostram facile perspexi. De Britannicis rebus, cognovi ex tuis litteris, nihil esse, nec quod metuamus, nec quod gaudeamus. De publicis negotiis, quae vis ad te Tironem scribere, negligentius ad te ante scribebam, quod omnia, minima maxima, ad Caesarem mitti
 11 sciebam. IV. Rescripsi epistulae maximae. Audi nunc de minuscula; in qua primum est de Clodi ad Caesarem litteris; in quo Caesaris consilium probo, quod tibi, amantissime petenti, veniam non dedit, uti ullum ad illam Furiam verbum rescriberet. Alterum est de Calventi Mari oratione. Quod scribis, miror, tibi placere, me ad eum rescribere, praesertim cum illam nemo lecturus sit, si ego nihil rescripsero, meam in illum pueri omnes, tamquam dictata, per-

^a He means that, though he is obliged to grant such requests, the ultimate success of such canvassing is a matter of no concern to him; "I canvass for them under pressure; if the canvass is of no avail, serve them right for pestering me."

^b Calventius (so called after his maternal grandfather) is L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, whom Cicero had attacked the year before (55) for his misdeeds as governor of Macedonia in 57 and 56. (That is the speech mentioned just below.) Cicero here calls him *Marius*, because Piso was now to him what Marius had once been to Metellus. The story is as follows: In 100 B.C. Q. Metellus Numidicus refused to take the oath of obedience to the agrarian laws of Saturninus, the adherent of C. Marius. Metellus was

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. 1.

me with the shy way I made the request. If I canvass for anybody besides (as I told Oppius to write to Caesar) I shall have little objection to a refusal, since those who pester me with requests decidedly object to my refusing them.^a I esteem Curtius (as I told him himself) not only because you ask me to do so, but also because of your testimony in his favour, since your letter enabled me easily to appreciate his enthusiasm for my restoration. As to the situation in Britain, your letter gives me to understand that we have no reason either for apprehension or for exultation. As to public affairs, about which you wish Tiro to write to you, I have hitherto been writing to you less minutely because I was aware that everything as of the least, so of the greatest, importance was being reported to Caesar.

IV. I have answered your longest letter; now ¹¹ hear what I have to say about your very little one, which begins about Clodius's letter to Caesar; in regard to that incident, I think Caesar was quite right in not acceding to your request, prompted though it was by the friendliest feeling, that he should send a single word of reply to that arch-fiend. Your second point is about the speech of Calventius Marius.^b I am surprised at your writing that my replying to him would give you pleasure, especially as nobody is likely to read his speech, if I make no reply to it, whereas every schoolboy learns mine

expelled from the Senate, and threatened with exile by Marius. He might have resisted Marius with success, but, to avoid civil dissension, he retired from Rome. Cicero here implies that he could have defied Piso, had he chosen to do so, as Metellus could have defied Marius, but decided to treat him with silent contempt. *Cf. Fam. i. 9. 16*, where Cicero again compares himself to Metellus.

discant. Libros meos, quos exspectas, inchoavi sed conficere non possum his diebus. Orationes efflagitatas pro Scauro et pro Plancio absolvi. Poema ad Caesarem, quod composueram, incidi. Tibi quod rogas, quoniam ipsi fontes iam sitiunt, si quid habeo
 12 spati, scribam. Venio ad tertiam. Balbum quod ais mature Romam bene comitatum esse venturum mecumque assidue usque ad Id. Maias futurum, id mihi pergratum perque iucundum erit. Quod me in eadem epistula, sicut saepe antea, cohortaris ad ambitionem et ad laborem, faciam equidem; sed quando vive-
 13 mus? Quarta epistula mihi reddita est Id. Sept., quam a d. iv. Id. Sext. ex Britannia dederas. In ea nihil sane erat novi, praeter *Erigonam*; quam si ab Oppio accepero, scribam ad te, quid sentiam; nec dubito, quin mihi placitura sit. Et, quod praeterii, de eo, quem scripsisti de Milonis plausu scripsisse ad Caesarem, ego vero facile patior ita Caesarem existimare, illum quam maximum fuisse plausum. Et prorsus ita fuit; et tamen ille plausus, qui illi
 14 datur, quodammodo nobis videtur dari. Reddita est etiam mihi pervetus epistula, sed sero allata, in qua de aede Telluris et de porticu Catuli me admones. Fit utrumque diligenter. Ad Telluris quidem etiam

^a His treatise, *De Republica*, of which only portions have come down to us.

^b *Cf. Ep. 4. 4.*

^c Some commentators take this as meaning "with plenty of money in his purse." But it probably means "with a large escort of Caesar's troops," to take part in the elections.

^d Adjoining Cicero's house in Rome, destroyed with the house when he went into exile, but afterwards restored by order of the Senate.

against him by rote as an exercise. My books,^a all of which you are eagerly awaiting, I have begun, but cannot finish for the next few days. The speeches in defence of Scaurus and Plancius, which you so insistently demand, I have accomplished. The poem to Caesar, which I had put together for final arrangement, I have broken off. For *you*, since your own wells of poesy are now running dry,^b if I have any spare time, I shall write what you request.

I come to your third letter. You say that Balbus¹² will come to Rome at an early date, handsomely attended,^c and that he will be with me without a break till May 15; that will be very gratifying to me, and will give me much pleasure. In the same letter you urge me, as you often have before, to be ambitious and strenuous; well, I certainly shall be so; but when shall we begin to enjoy life?

Your fourth letter I received on September 13; 13 you had posted it in Britain on August 10. There was nothing new in it except about your *Erigona*; if I get it from Oppius, I'll write and tell you what I think of it; but I have no doubt that I shall find it charming. And there is that bit, too (I forgot to mention it), about the man who, according to your letter, wrote to Caesar about the applause given to Milo; well, I have not the least objection to Caesar's getting the impression that nothing could have been heartier; and such was undoubtedly the case. And yet the applause given to Milo seems in a sense to be given to me.

I have also received a very old letter, but late in 14 its delivery, in which you remind me of the temple of Tellus and the colonnade of Catulus.^d Both works are being carefully executed. Indeed, I have even had a statue of you set up near the temple of Tellus.

tuam statuum locavi. Item de hortis quod me admones, nec fui umquam valde cupidus, et nunc domus suppeditat mihi hortorum amoenitatem. Romam cum venissem a. d. XIII. Kal. Octob., absolutum offendi in aedibus tuis tectum; quod supra conclavia non placuerat tibi esse multorum fastigiorum, id nunc honeste vergit in tectum inferioris porticus. Cicero noster, dum ego absum, non cessavit apud rhetorem. De eius eruditione quod labores, nihil est, quoniam ingenium eius nosti; studium ego video. Cetera
 15 eius suscipio, ut me puto praestare debere. V. Gabinius tres adhuc factiones postulant; L. Lentulus, flaminis filius, qui iam de maiestate postulavit; Ti. Nero cum bonis subscriptoribus; C. Memmius tribunus plebis cum L. Capitone. Ad Urbem accessit a. d. XII. Kal. Octobr. Nihil turpius, nec desertius. Sed his iudiciis nihil audeo confidere. Quod Cato non valebat, adhuc de pecuniis repetundis non erat postulatus. Pompeius a me valde contendit de reditu in gratiam; sed adhuc nihil profecit; nec, si ullam partem libertatis tenebo, proficiet. Tuas litteras
 16 vehementer exspecto. Quod scribis te audisse in candidatorum consularium coitione me interfuisse, id falsum est. Eiusmodi enim pactiones in ea coitione

^a *Maiestas* (in full *laesa* or *minuta maiestas*) was any act derogatory to the dignity or prejudicial to the interests of the Roman people. In this case it was Gabinius's unauthorized intervention (for the handsome fee of 10,000 talents) in the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes to the neglect of his duties as Governor of Syria.

^b Father of the emperor Tiberius.

^c Not to be confused with C. Memmius Gemellus, one of the candidates for the consulship.

^d M. Cato, now praetor.

^e For a fuller account of this see the next letter.

Also you remind me about the pleasure-gardens; well, I was never very keen on them, and, as it is, my town house supplies me with all the amenities of a pleasure-garden. When I arrived at Rome on September 18, I found the roof on your house completely finished; that part above the day-rooms, which you had not cared to be too heavily gabled, has now a noble slope down to the roof of the colonnade below.

Our boy Cicero had no holiday with his rhetoric-master while I was away. There is no reason why you should be anxious about his education, since you know his ability, and I see to his application. All else connected with him I take on my shoulders, as I think it my duty to make myself responsible.

V. So far Gabinius is being prosecuted by three ¹⁵ parties—by L. Lentulus, son of the *flamen*, who has now indicted him for *maiestas* ^a; Ti. Nero,^b with sound men backing his indictment; and C. Memmius,^c tribune of the plebs, in conjunction with L. Capito. He approached the walls of the city on September 19, the picture of disrepute and desolation. But with the present law-courts, I dare not be confident of anything. On account of Cato's ^d ill-health he has not yet been indicted for extortion. Pompey is making a strong effort to become reconciled with me, but as yet has met with no success, and, if I retain a particle of independence, he will never succeed. I await your letter with intense eagerness.

You write that you have been told that I took ¹⁶ part in the coalition of the candidates for the consulship; ^e well, that is not true. The compacts made in that coalition—compacts subsequently divulged by

CICERO

factae sunt, quas postea Memmius patefecit, ut nemo bonus interesse debuerit ; et simul mihi committendum non fuit, ut his coitionibus interesssem, quibus Messalla excluderetur ; cui quidem vehementer satisfacio rebus omnibus ; ut arbitror, etiam Memmio. Domitio ipsi multa iam feci, quae voluit, quaeque a me petivit. Scaurum beneficio defensionis valde obligavi. Adhuc erat valde incertum, et quando
 17 comitia, et qui consules futuri essent. Cum hanc iam epistulam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt a. d. xi. Kal. Oct. Septimo vicesimo die. O me sollicitum ! quantum ego dolui in Caesaris suavissimis litteris ! sed quo erant suaviores, eo maiorem dolorem illius ille casus afferebat. Sed ad tuas venio litteras. Primum tuam remansionem etiam atque etiam probo, praesertim cum, ut scribis, cum Caesare communicaris. Oppium miror quidquam cum Publio ; mihi
 18 enim non placuerat. Quod interiore epistula scribis, me Idib. Sept. Pompeio legatum iri, id ego non audivi, scripsique ad Caesarem, neque Vibullium Caesaris mandata de mea mansione ad Pompeium pertulisse, neque Oppium. Quo consilio ? Quamquam Oppium ego tenui, quod priores partes Bibuli erant. Cum eo enim coram Caesare egerat, ad Oppium

• About the death of his daughter Julia.

♯ P. Clodius.

Memmius—were of such a kind that no honest man ought to have been party to them ; and, at the same time, it was not for me to make the mistake of being party to those coalitions from which Messalla was shut out. To him I am giving complete satisfaction in every respect, and also, I believe, to Memmius. To Domitius himself I have rendered many services, which he desired and requested of me. Scaurus I have laid under a great obligation by my kindness in defending him. So far it is extremely uncertain both when the elections will be held and who will be consuls.

Just as I was in the act of folding this letter, there came letter-carriers from you and Caesar on September 20; they had been twenty-seven days on the road. How distressed I was ! And how I grieved over Caesar's most charming letter ^a ! But the more charming it was, the greater the grief it caused me for his affliction. But I come to your letter. In the first place, I reiterate my approval of your staying on, especially after having had, as you write, an interview with Caesar. I am surprised at Oppius having anything to do with Publius ^b ; it was not what I advised.

As to what you say in the middle of your letter— 18 that I am going to be appointed *legatus* to Pompey on September 13—I have heard nothing about it, and I wrote to Caesar saying that neither Vibullius nor Oppius had conveyed his message to Pompey about my staying on in Rome. What their object was I don't know. And yet, in the case of Oppius, it was I who held him back, because it was Bibulus who had a prior claim ; for it was with him that Caesar had had an interview, while he had only

scripserat. Ego vero nullas *δευτέρας φροντίδας* habere possum in Caesaris rebus. Ille mihi secundum te et liberos nostros ita est, ut sit paene par. Videor id iudicio facere. Iam enim debeo, sed tamen amore sum incensus.

- 19 VI. Cum scripsissem haec infima, quae sunt mea manu, venit ad nos Cicero tuus ad cenam, cum Pomponia foris cenaret. Dedit mihi epistulam legendam tuam, quam paullo ante acceperat, Aristophaneo modo valde mehercule et suavem et gravem; qua sum admodum delectatus. Dedit etiam alteram illam mihi, qua iubes eum mihi esse affixum, tamquam magistro. Quam illum epistulae illae delectarunt! quam me! Nihil puero illo suavius, nihil nostri amantius. Hoc inter cenam Tironi dictavi, ne mirere
 20 alia manu esse. Annali litterae tuae pergratae fuerunt, quod et curares de se diligenter, et tamen consilio se verissimo iuwares. P. Servilius pater ex litteris, quas sibi a Caesare missas esse dicebat, significat valde te sibi gratum fecisse, quod de sua voluntate erga Caesarem humanissime diligentissime-
 21 que locutus esses. Cum Romam ex Arpinati revertissem, dictum mihi est, Hippodamum ad te profectum esse. Non possum scribere, me miratum esse, illum tam inhumaniter fecisse, ut sine meis litteris ad te

^a It is doubtful whether he means the great comic poet or Aristophanes of Byzantium, the critic; *suavem* would rather indicate the former.

^b L. Villius Annalis, a senator. Cf. *Fam.* viii. 8. 3.

^c P. Servilius Isauricus, father of Cicero's correspondent, the proconsul of Asia (*Fam.* xiii. 68, and 66-72).

written to Oppius. I assure you that, as for "second thoughts," I could have none in my relations with Caesar. He comes next to you and my children with me, and so closely next that he is almost on a par with them. It seems to me that such is my deliberate conviction (and it ought to be so by this time), and yet a strong predilection has its influence upon me.

VI. After I had written these last words, which 19 are in my own hand, your son Cicero came in and had dinner with me, as Pomponia was dining out. He gave me your letter to read, which he had only just received—and, upon my word, it was a clever mixture of grave and gay in the style of Aristophanes,^a and I was highly delighted with it. He also gave me that other letter of yours in which you bid him cling to me as to a tutor. How delighted he was with those letters, and so was I! He is the most charming boy in the world, and most devoted to me. I dictated this to Tiro during dinner, so do not be surprised at its being written in a different hand.

Annalis^b was much pleased with your letter, 20 because, as he said, you took such pains about him, and at the same time helped him with your very frank advice. P. Servilius^c senior, in consequence of a letter which he said Caesar had sent him, expresses his extreme gratitude to you for having spoken so very courteously and impressively of his kindly feeling for Caesar.

After my return to Rome from Arpinum I was 21 told that Hippodamus^d had set out to join you. I cannot say that I was surprised at his having acted so unkindly as to have set out without any letter to

^d Cf. § 9 of this letter.

proficisceretur ; illud scribo, mihi molestum fuisse. Iam enim diu cogitaveram, ex eo, quod tu ad me scripseras, ut, si quid esset, quod ad te diligentius perferri vellem, illi darem ; quod meherecule hisce litteris, quas vulgo ad te mitto, nihil fere scribo, quod si in alicuius manus inciderit, moleste ferendum sit. Minucio me et Salvio et Labeoni reservabam. Labeo aut tarde proficiscetur aut hic manebit. Hippodamus
 22 ne numquid vellem quidem rogavit. T. Pinarius amabiles ad me de te litteras mittit ; se maxime litteris, sermonibus, cenis denique tuis delectari. Is homo semper me delectavit, fraterque eius mecum est multum. Quare, ut instituisti, complectere adu-
 23 lescentem. VII. Quod multos dies epistulam in manibus habui, propter commorationem tabellariorum, ideo multa coniecta sunt, aliud alio tempore, velut hoc : T. Anicius mihi saepe iam dixit, sese tibi, suburbanum si quod invenisset, non dubitaturum esse emere. In eius sermone ego utrumque soleo admirari, et te de suburbano emendo, cum ad illum scribas, non modo ad me non scribere, sed etiam aliam in sententiam scribere, et, cum ad illum scribas, nihil te recordari de se, de epistulis illis, quas in Tusculano eius tu mihi ostendisti, nihil de praeceptis Epicharmi, γνῶθι πῶς ἄλλῳ κέχρηται ; totum

^a Cicero's friend, whom he recommends to Cornificius in *Fam.* xii. 24. 3.

^b We know no more of him than that Cicero did not think him a man to be trusted.

you from me ; I simply remark that I was annoyed. For I had long since resolved, after what you wrote to me, to entrust to him whatever there might be which I should like to be conveyed to you with particular care ; because I assure you that in these letters, which I send you in an ordinary way, I hardly write anything which would cause me annoyance if it fell into anybody else's hands. I reserve myself for Minucius and Salvius and Labeo. Labeo will either be late in setting out, or will not set out at all. Hippodamus never so much as asked me whether I had any commission.

T. Pinarius ^a sends me an amiable letter about 22 you ; he says he is highly delighted with your literary taste, your conversation, and, last but not least, with your dinners. I have always found pleasure in his society, and I see a great deal of his brother. For that reason you will, I am sure, continue, as you have begun, to show the young man marked attention.

Because I have had a letter on my hands for 23 many days on account of delay on the part of the letter-carriers, many things have been jumbled up in it, written at various times, as, for instance, this : T. Anicius ^b has repeatedly told me that if he found a suburban property he would not hesitate to buy it for you. In my conversations with him, I am surprised at two things—that when you write to him about buying a suburban property, not only do you fail to write to me about it, but even write as if you had other intentions ; and again, that when you write to him, you recall nothing about himself, about those letters of his which you showed me at Tusculum, nothing about the precept of Epicharmus, “ Find out how he has treated another,” in short, as far as I

- denique vultum, animum, sermonem eius, quemadmodum conicio, quasi dedidicisse¹; sed haec tu videris.
- 24 De suburbano, cura, ut sciam, quid velis; et simul, ne quid ille turbet, vide. Quid praeterea? Quid? Etiam. Gabinius a. d. iv. Kal. Octobr. noctu in Urbem introivit; et hodie h. viii., cum edicto C. Alfi de maiestate eum adesse oporteret, concursu magno et odio universi populi paene afflictus est. Nihil illo turpius. Proximus est tamen Piso. Itaque mirificum ἐμβόλιον cogito in secundum librorum meorum includere, dicentem Apollinem in concilio deorum, qualis reditus duorum imperatorum futurus esset; quorum alter exercitum perdidisset, alter
- 25 vendidisset. Ex Britannia Caesar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit litteras, quas ego accepi a. d. iv. Kalend. Octobr. satis commodas de Britannicis rebus; quibus, ne admirer, quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit, se sine te fuisse, quum ad mare accesserit. Ad eas ego ei litteras nihil rescripsi, ne gratulandi quidem causa, propter eius luctum. Te oro etiam atque etiam, mi frater, ut valeas.

¹ Added by Wesenberg.

^a C. Alfius was tribune of the plebs in 59. He was *quaesitor* in the trial of Gabinius for *maiestas*.

^b Piso had wasted his army in petty warfare with the tribes on the borders of Macedonia, and Gabinius had practically sold his by employing it to restore Ptolemy Auletes for a bribe.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. 1.

can make out, that you have entirely unlearned, as it were, what you must have gathered from his looks, his disposition, and his conversation ; but all this is for you to see to.

Take care to let me know your wishes as to the 24 suburban estate, and, incidentally, see that Anicius doesn't cause you any trouble. What else is there ? What ? Oh yes, Gabinius entered the city by night on September 27, and to-day, at two o'clock, when according to C. Alfius's ^a edict, he ought to have appeared to face the charge of *maiestas*, he was almost crushed to the ground by the enormous throng that proved the hatred of the whole people. He was the most ignominious sight in the world. Piso, however, is a good second. So I am thinking of inserting in the second of my books an amazing paragraph—Apollo holding forth at a council of the gods on what sort of a home-coming there would be in the case of two commanders, one of whom had lost, and the other sold, his army.^b

Caesar posted me a letter from Britain on September 1, which I received on the 27th—a satisfactory letter enough as far as regards the situation in Britain ; and in it, to prevent my being surprised at not getting a letter from you, he writes that you were not with him when he got down to the coast. To that letter I made no reply, not even by way of congratulation, because of his mourning.

I implore you again and again, my dear brother, to keep well.

CICERO

II

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

- 1 A. d. vi. Id. Octob. Salvius Ostiam vesperi navi profectus erat cum his rebus, quas tibi domo mitti volueras. Eodem die Gabinium ad populum luculente calefecerat Memmius, sic, ut Calidio verbum facere pro eo non licuerit. Postridie autem eius diei, qui erat tum futurus, cum haec scribebam ante lucem, apud Catonem erat divinatio in Gabinium futura inter Memmium et Ti. Neronem et C. et L. Antonios, M. F. Putabamus fore, ut Memmio daretur, etsi erat Neronis mira contentio. Quid quaeris? Probe premitur, nisi noster Pompeius, dis hominibusque
2 invitis, negotium everterit. Cognosce nunc hominis audaciam, et aliquid in republica perditam delectare. Cum Gabinius, quacumque veniebat, triumphum se postulare dixisset, subitoque, bonus imperator, noctu in Urbem (hostium plane¹) invasisset, in senatum se non committebat. Interim ipso decimo die, quo ipsum oportebat hostium caesorum numerum et militum renuntiare, inrepsit, summa infrequentia.

¹ hostium plenam Koch : hostilem in modum Wesenberg.

^a C. Memmius, the tribune.

^b Counsel for Gabinius. There is no doubt a play in the Latin on *calefecerat* and *Calidius* (*calidus*).

^c *Divinatio* was the technical term for a formal inquiry as to which of several accusers presenting themselves was the proper person to conduct the prosecution.

^d *i.e.*, the combination against Gabinius.

^e It would seem that all governors on returning from their provinces were called up to report to the Senate any losses

II

CICERO TO QUINTUS

Rome, October 11, 54 B.C.

On October 10 in the evening, Salvius took ship¹ and started for Ostia, taking the things you wanted sent to you from home. On the same day Memmius^a gave Gabinius such a blazing hot time of it before the people, that Calidius^b hadn't a chance of saying a word for him. To-morrow (that is the day after to-morrow, since I am writing before daybreak) there is to be a trial^c before Cato to decide who is to conduct his prosecution, among Memmius, Tiberius Nero, and C. and L. Antonius, the sons of Marcus. I think it likely that Memmius will be appointed, though Nero is making a wonderful effort. In short, Gabinius is in a very tight corner, unless our friend Pompey, to the disgust of gods and men, contrives to upset the apple-cart.^d

Now mark the fellow's impudence, and find² something to amuse you amid the ruins of the Republic. Gabinius, having declared wherever he came, that he was demanding a triumph, and having suddenly changed his plans, and—consummate commander that he is—entered the city (he knew it was his enemies' city) by night, did not, however, trust himself to enter the Senate. Meantime, exactly on the tenth day, on which it was his duty in person to report the number of the slain among the enemy and his own men,^e he crept into the Senate when it was very thinly attended. When he wished sustained by the Romans and the enemy in any actions fought during the governorships.

Cum vellet exire, a consulibus retentus est; introducti publicani. Homo undique saucius¹ cum a me maxime vulneraretur, non tulit, et me trementi voce exsulem appellavit. Hic (o di! nihil unquam honorificentius nobis accidit) consurrexit senatus cum clamore ad unum, sic ut ad corpus eius accederet: pari clamore atque impetu publicani. Quid quaeris? omnes, tamquam si tu esses, ita fuerunt. Nihil hominum sermone foris elarius. Ego tamen me teneo ab accusando, vix mehercule; sed tamen teneo, vel quod nolo cum Pompeio pugnare (satis est, quod instat de Milone), vel quod iudices nullos habemus. Ἀπότρεγγμα formido; addo etiam malevolentiam hominum, et timeo, ne illi, me accusante, aliquid accedat; nec despero rem et sine me et nonnihil per me confici posse. De ambitu postulati sunt omnes, qui consulatum petunt; a Memmio Domitius, a Q. Acutio, bono et erudito adolescente, Memmius, a Q. Pompeio Messalla, a Triario Scaurus. Magna in motu res est, propterea quod aut hominum aut legum interitus ostenditur. Opera datur, ut iudicia ne fiant. Res videtur spectare ad interregnum. Consules comitia habere cupiunt; rei nolunt, et maxime Mem-

¹ *Tyrrell*: actus *Manutius*: saeptus *Boot*.

^a *sc.* of Syria, who had suffered from the depredations of pirates while Gabinius was otherwise engaged—restoring Ptolemy in Egypt.

^b Cicero's enemies might support Gabinius to spite him.

^c The tribune.

^d The candidate for the consulship.

to leave, he was detained by the consuls, and the *publicani*^a were brought in. Wounded on every side, and being most bitterly assailed by myself, the fellow could stand it no longer, and, in a voice trembling with rage, he called me an *exile*. Upon that (and, O ye gods, never was I paid a higher compliment) the Senate rose with a shout, every man of them, and even made a move to attack him, as did the *publicani*, shouting and making for him in like manner. To cut the story short, they all behaved exactly as you would have done yourself. Nothing can be more unmistakable than the general talk outside the House. Yet I refrain from prosecuting him; it is difficult, upon my word; but, still, I do refrain, whether because I do not wish to be at feud with Pompey (the near approach of Milo's affair is sufficient reason for that) or because we have no proper jurors. I am afraid of a *fiasco*; and, besides, I have to consider the ill-will of certain folk, and fear that *my* being his prosecutor will be of some advantage to him; ^b and I am not without hope that the business may be settled without me, and at the same time to some extent through my instrumentality.

All who are candidates for the consulship have ³ been indicted for bribery—Domitius by Memmius,^c Memmius ^d by Q. Acutius, an excellent and learned young man, Messalla by Q. Pompeius, Scaurus by Triarius. There is great excitement over the affair, because it obviously means the destruction either of certain persons or of the laws. Every effort is being made to prevent the trials taking place. The situation seems to point to an interregnum. The consuls are anxious to hold the elections, but the defendants

mius, quod Caesaris adventu sperat se futurum consulem. Sed mirum in modum iacet. Domitius cum Messalla certus esse videbatur. Scaurus refrixerat. Appius sine lege curiata confirmat se Lentulo nostro successurum: qui quidem mirificus illo die (quod paene praeterii) fuit in Gabinium; accusavit maiestatis; nomina data, quum ille verbum nullum. Habes forensia. Domi recte, et ipsa domus a redemptoribus tractatur non indiligenter. Vale.

III

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

1 Occupationum mearum tibi signum sit librari manus. Diem scito esse nullum, quo die non dicam pro reo. Ita, quidquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis fere tempus confero. Negotia nostra sic se habent; domestica vero, ut volumus. Valent pueri, studiose discunt, diligenter docentur; et nos et inter se amant. Expolitiones utriusque nostrum sunt in manibus; sed tua ad perfectum iam res rustica Arcani et Lateri. Praeterea de aqua et via nihil praetermisi quadam epistula, quin enucleate ad te

^a Because as long as they were under an accusation, they could not stand for the consulship.

^b See *Fam.* i. 9. 25, where the whole situation is explained.

don't want it,^a and least of all Memmius, who hopes that on Caesar's arrival he will be consul. But he is "down and out"—surprisingly so. Domitius, with Messalla as colleague, seems to be a certainty. Scaurus is stale fish. Appius declares that he will step into our friend Lentulus's shoes, even without a *lex curiata*;^b and on the great day (I nearly forgot to mention it) he astonished everybody by his attack on Gabinius; he accused him of *maiestas*, and gave the names of his witnesses, while Gabinius spoke not a word. Now you have all the news of the forum. At home all is right, and your house itself is being dealt with by the contractors with considerable assiduity.

III

CICERO TO QUINTUS

Rome, October 21, 54 B.C.

The handwriting of my secretary should indicate to you the pressure of my engagements. I assure you that there is never a day on which I don't speak on behalf of some defendant, with the result that whatever I compose or think out, I generally pile on to the time for my walks. So it stands with my business; affairs at home, however, are just as I would have them be. Our boys are well, they apply themselves to their lessons, they are being carefully taught, and they are devoted to us and to each other. The elaborate finishing off of each of our houses is still in hand; but your rural operations at Arcanum and Laterium are now approaching completion. Again, as to the water and the road, in a certain letter of mine I omitted no single detail, so as not to fail to

perscriberem. Sed me illa cura sollicitat angitque vehementer, quod dierum iam amplius L. intervallo nihil a te, nihil a Caesare, nihil ex istis locis, non modo litterarum, sed ne rumoris quidem affluxit. Me autem iam et mare istuc et terra sollicitat; neque desino (ut fit in amore) ea, quae minime volo, cogitare. Quare non equidem iam te rogo, ut ad me de te, de rebus istis scribas (numquam enim, cum potes, praetermittis), sed hoc te scire volo, nihil fere umquam me sic exspectasse, ut, cum haec scribebam, litteras
 2 tuas. Nunc cognosce ea, quae sunt in republica. Comitiorum quotidie singuli dies tolluntur obnuntiationibus, magna voluntate bonorum omnium; tanta invidia sunt consules propter suspicionem pactorum a candidatis praemiorum. Candidati consulares quattuor, omnes rei; causae sunt difficiles; sed enitemur, ut Messalla noster salvus sit, quod est etiam cum reliquorum salute coniunctum. Gabinium de ambitu reum fecit P. Sulla, subscribente privigno Memmio, fratre Caecilio, Sulla filio. Contra dixit L. Torquatus; omnibusque libentibus non obtinuit.
 3 Quaeris, quid fiat de Gabinio? Sciemus de maiestate triduo; quo quidem in iudicio odio premitur omnium

^a Who had prosecuted Sulla on a charge of "breaking the peace" (*de vi*) in 62, when Sulla was defended by Cicero.

write fully and explicitly. But the anxiety that so seriously disturbs and tortures me is that, for a period of now over fifty days, nothing in the shape of a letter or even of a rumour has trickled its way to me from you or from Caesar, or from those parts where you are. And now both the sea and the land, where you are, cause me anxiety, and, as always happens when one's affections are engaged, I never cease imagining what I least desire to imagine. And for that reason I am not now asking you to write to me about yourself and all that concerns you (which you never omit to do when you can), but I should like you to know this, that I have hardly ever looked forward with such eagerness to anything as I do to a letter from you as I write these words.

Now let me tell you about the political situation. ² One date after another for the holding of the elections is being daily cancelled by the announcement of adverse omens, to the great satisfaction of all sound citizens; so utterly unpopular are the consuls, because they are suspected of having bargained for a bribe from the candidates. All the four candidates for the consulship are on their trial; their cases are difficult to defend, but I shall make a strenuous effort to secure the acquittal of our friend Messalla, and that is closely bound up with the acquittal of the rest. Gabinius has been accused of bribery by P. Sulla, and the backers of Sulla's indictment are his stepson Memmius, his cousin Caecilius, and his son Sulla. L. Torquatus ^a opposed him, but, to everybody's satisfaction, failed to establish his claim.

You ask what is being done about Gabinius. Well, ³ in three days' time we shall know about the charge of *maiestas*; and in that trial he is handicapped by

CICERO

generum, maxime testibus laeditur¹; accusatoribus frigidissimis utitur; consilium varium; quaesitor gravis et firmus Alfius; Pompeius vehemens in iudicibus rogandis. Quid futurum sit, nescio; locum tamen illi in civitate non video. Animum praebeo ad illius perniciem moderatum, ad rerum eventum
 4 lenissimum. Habes fere de omnibus rebus. Unum illud addam. Cicero tuus nosterque summo studio est Paeoni sui rhetoris, hominis, opinor, valde exercitati et boni. Sed nostrum instituendi genus esse paullo eruditius et *θετικώτερον*, non ignoras. Quare neque ego impediri Ciceronis iter atque illam disciplinam volo, et ipse puer magis illo declamatorio genere duci et delectari videtur. In quo quoniam ipsi quoque fuimus, patiamur illum ire nostris itineribus; eodem enim perventurum esse confidimus. Sed tamen, si nobiscum eum rus aliquo eduxerimus, in hanc nostram rationem consuetudinemque inducemus. Magna enim nobis a te proposita merces est, quam certe nostra culpa numquam minus assequemur. Quibus in locis et qua spe hiematurus sis, ad me quam diligentissime scribas velim. Vale.

¹ *Madvig*: caeditur *M*.

^a See *Q. F.* iii. 1. 24.

^b *θετικώτερον*, belonging rather to the province of *θέσις*, which Cicero defines (*Top.* 79) as a discussion of a general or abstract principle, as opposed to *ὑπόθεσις*, the discussion of a particular case.

^c *i. e.*, Quintus's gratitude and enhanced affection.

the hatred all classes entertain for him ; he is damaged most of all by witnesses ; he has the most ineffective accusers ; the panel of jurors is of a promiscuous kind ; the presiding praetor, Alfius,^a is a man of strong and sterling character ; Pompey is very active in soliciting the jurors. What will happen I don't know, but I cannot see that there is any room for him in the State. My own feelings as regards his condemnation are under control, as regards the issue of events perfectly placid.

I have now told you about almost everything. ⁴ There is one thing I must add ; your Cicero (and indeed he is our Cicero) is deeply devoted to his rhetoric master Paeonius, in my opinion, an exceedingly well-trained and excellent fellow. But, as you are well aware, my own system of instruction is somewhat more scholarly and argumentative.^b I do not therefore desire that your Cicero's educational course should be interfered with, and the boy himself appears to be more attracted and charmed by that declamatory style ; and since I myself once followed that line, let us allow him to proceed along the same paths as I did ; for I feel sure that he will arrive at the same goal. But, all the same, if I take him with me into the country anywhere, I shall bring him over to this system and practice of my own. For the reward ^c you have set before me is a magnificent one, and it will certainly not be through any fault of mine that I shall forfeit it. I should like you to write and tell me as exactly as possible, where, and with what prospects in view, you are going to spend the winter. Good-bye.

CICERO

IV

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

- 1 Gabinius absolutus est. Omnino nihil accusatore Lentulo subscriptoribusque eius infantius, nihil illo consilio sordidius. Sed tamen nisi incredibilis contentio et preces Pompei, dictaturae etiam rumor plenus timoris fuisset, ipsi Lentulo non respondisset, qui tamen illo accusatore, illoque consilio sententiis condemnatus sit xxxii., cum lxx. tulissent. Est omnino tam gravi fama hoc iudicium, ut videatur reliquis iudiciis periturus, et maxime de pecuniis repetundis. Sed vides nullam esse rempublicam, nullum senatum, nulla iudicia, nullam in ullo nostrum dignitatem. Quid plura de iudiciis? Duo praetorii sederunt, Domitius Calvinus,—is aperte absolvit, ut omnes viderent, et Cato,—is, diribitis tabellis, de circulo se subduxit et Pompeio primus nuntiavit.
- 2 Aiunt nonnulli, Sallustius item, me oportuisse accusare. Iis ego iudiciis committerem? Quid essem, si me agente esset elapsus? Sed me alia moverunt. Non putasset sibi Pompeius de illius

^a Cn. Sallustius, to whom Cicero addressed *Fam.* ii. 17. He was quaestor to Bibulus in Syria; Cicero seems to have thought highly of him.

IV

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN GAUL

Rome, October 24, 54 B.C.

Gabinus has been acquitted! Nothing on earth ¹ could have been more puerile than his accuser Lentulus, and those who endorsed his indictment; nothing more corrupt than that panel of jurors. But still, had it not been for the strenuous efforts and supplications of Pompey, and an alarming rumour also of a dictatorship, even Lentulus would have been more than a match for him, seeing that even with such an accuser and such a jury he was condemned by no less than 32 votes out of 70 recorded. This trial is so utterly discredited that it seems likely that he will be convicted in the other trials, and most of all in that for extortion. But you can see that there is really no Republic in existence, no Senate, no law-courts, no position of authority held by any one of us. What more can I tell you about the jurors? Two praetorians took their seats, Domitius Calvinus—he voted for acquittal quite openly, for all to see—and Cato—he, as soon as the voting-tablets had been counted, withdrew from the surrounding throng and was the first to tell Pompey the news.

There are some, Sallustius ^a among them, who say ² that I ought to have undertaken the prosecution. Was I to entrust myself to such jurors as that? What would have become of me, had I conducted the case, and he had escaped? But I was influenced by other considerations. Pompey would not have

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salute, sed de sua dignitate mecum esse certamen ; in Urbem introisset : ad inimicitias res venisset ; cum Aesernino Sannite Pacideianus comparatus viderer ; auriculam fortasse mordicus abstulisset. Cum Clodio quidem certe rediisset in gratiam. Ego vero meum consilium (si praesertim tu non improbas) vehementer approbo. Ille, cum a me singularibus meis studiis ornatus esset, cumque ego illi nihil deberem, ille mihi omnia, tamen in republica me a se dissentientem non tulit (nihil dicam gravius), et minus potens eo tempore, quid in me florentem posset, ostendit. Nunc, cum ego ne curem quidem multum posse, res quidem publica certe nihil possit, unus ille omnia possit, cum illo ipso contenderem ? Sic enim faciendum fuisset. Non existimo te putare id
3 mihi suscipiendum fuisse. Alterutrum, inquit idem Sallustius, defendisses idque Pompeio contendenti dedisses. Etenim vehementer orabat. Lepidum amicum Sallustium, qui mihi inimicitias putet periculosas subeundas fuisse aut infamiam sempiternam ! Ego vero hac mediocritate delector ; ac mihi illud iucundum est, quod, cum testimonium secundum fidem et religionem gravissime dixissem, reus dixit,

^a Pacideianus (*cf.* Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7. 97) was the most skilful gladiator of the time, but Aeserninus was his superior in courage and brute force.

^b "Or else you should have prosecuted him" is obviously understood.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. IV.

thought he was having a struggle with me for Gabinius's salvation, but for his own position; he would have entered the city; it would have ended in our becoming enemies; I should have looked like some Pacideianus pitted against the Samnite Aeserninus,^a and quite possibly he would have bitten my ear off. He would certainly have effected a reconciliation with Clodius. For my part, I warmly approve (especially if you do not disapprove) of my own decision. Although it was my unique oratorical efforts on his behalf that had brought him distinction, and although I owed him nothing, while he owed me everything, for all that, my not agreeing with him in politics was more than he could stand (I shall use no stronger expression), and, though less powerful than myself at the time, he showed me what power he could wield against me, in the heyday of my career. As things now are, when I don't even care for much power, and the State has certainly no power at all, while he stands alone in his omnipotence, was I to enter upon a personal conflict with him? For that is what would have had to be done. I don't believe you think I should have taken up the cudgels in such a matter.

"One thing or the other," says that same Sallustius, 3 "you should have defended him, and made that concession to Pompey's prayers; he implored you earnestly enough."^b A pretty sort of friend Sallustius, to think that I should have incurred either dangerous enmities, or everlasting infamy. For my part, I rub my hands over this middle course I have adopted, and I am delighted that when, in accordance with my honour and my oath I had given my evidence in the most impressive manner, the defendant declared,

si in civitate licuisset sibi esse, mihi se satisfacturum,
 4 neque me quidquam interrogavit. De versibus, quos
 tibi a me scribi vis, deest mihi quidem opera, quae
 non modo tempus, sed etiam animum vacuum ab
 omni cura desiderat; sed abest etiam ἐνθουσιασμός;
 non enim sumus omnino sine cura venientis anni,
 etsi sumus sine timore. Simul et illud (sine ulla me-
 herecule ironia loquor): tibi istius generis in scribendo
 5 priores partes tribuo, quam mihi. De bibliotheca
 tua Graeca supplenda, libris commutandis, Latinis
 comparandis, valde velim ista confici, praesertim cum
 ad meum quoque usum spectent. Sed ego, mihi ipsi
 ista per quem agam, non habeo. Neque enim venalia
 sunt, quae quidem placeant, et confici, nisi per
 hominem et peritum et diligentem, non possunt.
 Chrysippo tamen imperabo, et cum Tyrannione
 loquar. De fisco quid egerit Scipio, quaeram.
 Quod videbitur rectum esse, curabo. De Ascanione,
 tu vero, quod voles, facies; me nihil interpono. De
 suburbano, quod non properas, laudo; ut tu habeas,
 6 hortor. Haec scripsi a. d. ix. Kalend. Novemb.,
 quo die ludi committebantur, in Tusculanum pro-
 ficiscens, ducensque mecum Ciceronem meum in
 ludum discendi, non lusionis; ea re non longius

^a Cf. Juv. Sat. vii. 53-58, "sed vatem egregium . . . |
 anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi | impatiens."

^b Nothing is known of this transaction, but cf. Q.F. iii. 5. 6.

^c Probably one of Quintus's slaves.

EPISTULAE AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. iv.

that if he were permitted to remain a member of the State, he would satisfy my claims to his gratitude ; and he refrained from cross-examining me at all.

About the verses you wish me to write for you, as 4 a matter of fact, I lack the necessary energy, which requires not only leisure, but a mind free from all anxiety ;^a but the divine *afflatus* is also wanting ; for I am not altogether without anxiety as regards the coming year, although I do not fear it. At the same time there is also the fact (and, on my oath, I am speaking without a touch of irony) that in this style of composition I assign a higher rank to you than I do to myself.

As to the replenishing of your Greek library, the 5 exchange of books, and the collection of Latin books, I should be very glad to see all that done, especially as it tends to my own advantage as well. But I have nobody whom I could employ as my own agent in the business. For such books as are really desirable are not for sale, and cannot be got together except through an agent who is both an expert and a man who takes pains. I shall send orders to Chrysippus, however, and have a talk with Tyrannio. I shall find out what Scipio has done as regards the treasury.^b I shall see to it that what seems right is done. As to Ascanio^c you will do as you please ; I have no finger in the pie. As to a suburban property, I approve your being in no hurry, but I urge you to secure one.

I am writing this on October 24, the day on 6 which the games begin, just as I am starting for my Tusculan villa, taking my dear Cicero with me to a school for learning, not a school of gladiators, no farther away from Rome than I wished to be, the reason being that I wanted to be there on Novem-

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quam vellem, quod Pomptino ad triumphum a. d. III. Non. Novemb. volebam adesse. Etenim erit nescio quid negotioli. Nam Cato et Servilius praetores prohibituros se minantur; nec, quid possint, scio. Ille enim et Appium consulem secum habebit, et praetores, et tribunos plebis. Sed minantur tamen, in primisque Ἄρη πρέτωρ Q. Scaevola. Cura, mi suavissime et carissime frater, ut valeas.

V AND VI

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Tusculani, A.U.C. 700.

1 Quod quaeris, quid de illis libris egerim, quos, cum essem in Cumano, scribere institui, non cessavi neque cesso; sed saepe iam scribendi totum consilium rationemque mutavi. Nam iam duobus factis libris, in quibus, novendialibus iis feriis, quae fuerunt Tuditano et Aquilio consulibus, sermo est a me institutus Africani, paullo ante mortem, et Laeli, Phili, Manili, P. Rutili, Q. Tuberonis et Laeli generorum, Fanni et Scaevolae; sermo autem in novem et dies et libros distributus de optimo statu civitatis et de optimo cive; sane texebatur opus luculenter,

* He was one of Cicero's *legati* in Cilicia. He claimed a triumph for his successful campaign against the Allobroges in 61.

^b *De Republica*.

^c In 129 B.C. the Novendialia were a nine days' festival held on the occasion of some inauspicious portent.

^d For Scipio Africanus's supposed murder see note *b* on *Fam.* ix. 21. 3.

EPIST. AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. IV.-VI.

ber 3 to support Pomptinus's^a application for a triumph. As a matter of fact, there is going to be some little trouble about it. Cato and Servilius, the praetors, threaten to forbid it, and yet I don't know what they can do. He will have with him Appius the consul, the praetors, and the tribunes of the plebs. And yet they do threaten him, and in particular Q. Scaevola, "*breathing battle.*" My most charming and dearest of brothers, take care of your health.

V AND VI

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN GAUL

Tusculanum, late in October, 54 B.C.

You ask me what I have done about those books^b I began to write at my Cuman villa; well, I have not been, and am not, idle, but I have often remodelled the whole plan and scheme of the composition. I had already completed two books, in which I had set going a conversation held during the festival of the Novendialia, which took place in the consulship of Tuditanus and Aquilius^c between Africanus (shortly before his death^d) and Laelius, Philus, Manilius, P. Rutilius, Q. Tubero,^e and Laelius's sons-in-law, Fannius and Scaevola. Now that conversation, spread over nine days and taking nine books, was on "The ideal constitution of the State" and "The ideal citizen." The work was being composed excellently well, and the

^a L. Furius Philus was consul in 136; Manilius was consul in 146; Q. Tubero was a nephew of Africanus and a strong opponent of the Gracchi.

hominumque dignitas aliquantum orationi ponderis afferebat. Hi libri cum in Tusculano mihi legerentur audiente Sallustio, admonitus sum ab illo, multo maiore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse, si ipse loquerer de republica, praesertim cum essem non Heraclides Ponticus, sed consularis et is, qui in maximis versatus in republica rebus essem. Quae tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea visum iri ficta esse; oratorum sermonem in illis nostris libris, qui essent¹ de ratione dicendi, belle a me removisse; ad eos tamen rettulisse, quos ipse vidissem; Aristotelem denique, quae de republica et praestante viro scribat, ipsum loqui. Commovit me, et eo magis, quod maximos motus nostrae civitatis attingere non poteram, quod erant inferiores, quam illorum actas, qui loquebantur. Ego autem id ipsum tum eram secutus, ne, in nostra tempora incurrens, offenderem quempiam. Nunc et id vitabo, et loquar ipse tecum, et tamen illa, quae institueram, ad te, si Romam venero, mittam. Puto enim te existimaturum a me libros illos non sine aliquo meo stomacho esse relictos.

3 Caesaris amore, quem ad me perscripsti,² unice delector; promissis his, quae ostendit, non valde pendeo; nec honores sitio nec desidero gloriam; magisque eius voluntatis perpetuitatem, quam pro-

¹ *Wesenberg*: quod esset *mss.*

² *Bücheler*, followed by *Tyrrell*: perscripsit *M.*

^a Who was no more than a theorist on politics.

^b The three books *De oratore*.

^c *i.e.*, in his *Politics* and *Ethics*.

speeches were given considerable weight by the high rank of the interlocutors. But when these books were being read out to me at my Tusculan villa, in the hearing of Sallustius, it was suggested to me by him that these subjects could be discussed with far greater authority if the speaker on the Republic were myself, especially as I was not a mere Heraclides Ponticus,^a but a consular, and one who had been engaged in the most critical State affairs; that the words I attributed to men of such antiquity would surely be regarded as so much fiction; that in those books of mine, which dealt with the science of rhetoric,^b I had shown good taste in dissociating myself from the conversation of the orators, and yet had assigned the speeches to men whom I had personally met; and, finally, that Aristotle speaks in the first person when he writes on "The Republic" and "The eminently good man."^c

He impressed me, and all the more because of my ² inability to touch upon the most important disturbances in our State, since they were of a later date than the age of my speakers. But that is the very plan I had adopted at the time, so as not to hurt somebody's feelings by encroaching upon our own days. As it is, I shall avoid doing that, and shall myself be the man speaking with you, and, all the same, when I come to Rome, I shall send you the original draft; for I am sure you will believe that I did not abandon the first draft of those books without something of a pang.

Caesar's affection for me, of which you write so ³ fully, gives me exceptional pleasure; I do not depend to any great extent upon the offers he holds out; I do not thirst for public offices, nor do I pine for glory; and I look forward more to the continu-

CICERO

missorum exitum exspecto. Vivo tamen in ea ambitione et labore, tanquam id, quod non postulo,
 4 exspectem. Quod me de faciendis versibus rogas, incredibile est, mi frater, quam egeam tempore ; nec sane satis commoveor animo ad ea, quae vis, canenda. Ὑποθέσεις¹ vero ad ea, quae ipse ego ne cogitando quidem consequor, tu, qui omnes isto eloquendi et exprimendi genere superasti, a me petis? Facerem tamen, ut possem ; sed (quod te minime fugit) opus est ad poema quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt. Abduco equidem me ab omni reipublicae cura, dedoque litteris ; sed tamen indicabo tibi, quod meherecule in primis te celatum volebam. Angor, mi suavissime frater, angor, nullam esse rempublicam, nulla iudicia ; nostrumque hoc tempus aetatis, quod in illa auctoritate senatoria florere debebat, aut forensi labore iactari, aut domesticis litteris sustentari ; illud vero, quod a puero adamaram,

πολλὸν² ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπέροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

totum occidisse ; inimicos a me partim non oppugnatos, partim etiam esse defensos ; meum non modo animum, sed ne odium quidem esse liberum ; unumque ex omnibus Caesarem esse inventum, qui me tantum, quantum ego vellem, amaret, aut etiam (sicut

¹ *most edd.* : διαυπώσεις Bücheler; possibly, as Tyrrell suggests, ἐμπνεύσεις, "inspirations."

² *ms.* : but Homer has αἰὲν in II. vi. 208 and xi. 784.

ance of his goodwill, than to the fulfilment of his promises. Yet my life is spent in such a laborious effort to please him, as if I were looking forward to what I do not ask for.

As to your asking me about writing some verses, 4 you couldn't believe, my dear brother, how pressed I am for time, and I really lack the necessary inclination to write the poetry you want. But come now, is it you who seek suggestions for what I myself do not succeed in attaining, even in imagination—you who have surpassed everybody in that kind of fluent and graphic expression? I would do your bidding to the best of my ability, but (as you are the last man to forget) the composition of a poem demands a certain sprightliness of mind, of which I have been completely robbed by the times we live in. I withdraw myself, it is true, from all public cares, and devote myself to literature; and yet, I will divulge to you what, on my oath, I especially wished to keep hidden from you. It is agony to me, my dearest brother, sheer agony, to think that there is no constitution, no administration of justice, and that during the period of my life when my proper influence in the Senate should have been at its zenith, I am either distracted by my forensic labours, or fortified only by my literary pursuits at home, while that aspiration to which I had been passionately devoted from my very boyhood, "*Far to excel, and alone to be leader of others,*" has completely vanished; that my foes, in some cases, I have left unattacked, in others I have even defended; that not only my inclinations, but my very dislikes are not free; and that in all the world I have found in Caesar the one man to love me as I could wish, or even (as others think) the

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alii putant) hunc unum esse, qui vellet. Quorum tamen nihil est eiusmodi, ut ego me non multa consolatione quotidie leniam; sed illa erit consolatio maxima, si una erimus; nunc ad illa vel gravissimum
 5 accedit tui desiderium. Gabinium si, ut Pansa putat oportuisse, defendissem, concidissem; qui illum oderunt (hi sunt toti ordines), propter quem oderunt,¹ meipsum odisse coepissent. Tenui me, ut puto, egregie, tantum ut facerem, quantum omnes viderent. Et in omni summa, ut mones, valde me ad otium
 6 pacemque converto. De libris Tyrannio est cesator. Chrysippo dicam. Sed res operosa est et hominis perdiligentis. Sentio ipse, qui in summo studio nihil assequor. De Latinis vero, quo vertam me, nescio, ita mendose et scribuntur et veneunt; sed tamen, quod fieri poterit, non neglegam. Crebrius, ut ante ad te scripsi, Romae est; et qui omnia se adiurat debere tibi, valde renuntiat.² De aerario puto confectum esse, dum absum.

7 Quattuor tragoedias xvi. diebus absolvisse cum scribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris? et *πλείους*³

¹ *The extraordinary construction of the phrase propter quem oderunt, in which quem is apparently governed by both the preposition and the verb, has escaped the notice of commentators. We must either suppose that cum has dropped out after propter, or accuse Cicero of a solecism.*

² valde te nunc iactat (*abuses you*) Boot.

³ *Prof. Robinson Ellis: †πλέος MSS.: κλέος Nobbe: πάθος Usener.*

^a I agree with Prichard and Bernard that some such words as "mihi faciendum esse" are understood after *viderent*.

one man who had any wish to do so. Still there is nothing in all this so bad but that I daily soothe myself with many a consolation; but the greatest consolation of all will be our being together; as it is, to my other sorrows is added my yearning for you, and that is the hardest to bear of all.

Had I defended Gabinius, as Pansa thinks I ought 5 to have done, I should have brought utter ruin upon myself; those who hate him (and that means the orders in their entirety) would have begun to hate me personally, because of him they hate. I have, I think, kept an admirable course, in confining myself to doing what the world saw I had to do.^a And, to sum up the whole situation, I am taking your advice, and resolutely turning my face in the direction of tranquillity and peace.

In the matter of the books, Tyrannio is a sluggard. 6 I shall have a word with Chrysippus, but it is a laborious business, and one that needs a very energetic man. My own experience tells me that, for however strenuously I work, I have nothing to show for it. As for the Latin books, I don't know which way to turn; they are copied out and sold so full of mistakes. However I shall not omit to do all that can be done. Crebrius, as I wrote to you before, is at Rome, and, while he swears that he owes you everything, he stoutly refuses repayment. I fancy that business of the treasury was settled in my absence.^b

Though you write that you had finished off four 7 tragedies in sixteen days, are you sure that you are not borrowing anything from someone else? And

^b Cf. § 5 in *Ep.* 4 of this Book.

CICERO

quaeris, cum *Electram* et *Troada*¹ scripseris? Cesator esse noli; et illud γυνῶθι σεαυτὸν noli putare ad arrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus. Sed et istas et *Erigonam* mihi velim mittas. Habes ad duas epistulas proximas.

VII

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Tusculani, A.U.C. 700.

- 1 Romae, et maxime Appia ad Martis, mira proluviae. Crassipedis ambulatio ablata, horti, tabernae plurimae; magna vis aquae usque ad piscinam publicam. Viget illud Homeri:

ἡματ' ὀπωρινῶ, ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ
Ζεὺς, ὅτε δὴ γ' ἀνδρεσσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπαίνη,

cadit enim in absolutionem Gabini

οἱ βίη εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας,
ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

- 2 Sed haec non curare decrevi. Romam cum venero,

¹ *Prof. Robinson Ellis*: †Troadem *ms.*

^a Reading *πλείους* with Prof. Robinson Ellis, I append an epitome of his ingenious explanation of this obscure passage. "I believe this," he says, "to be a learned mythological allusion to the *varying number of the Pleiades*, which, according as Electra was visible or not, were reckoned as six or seven alternately." And he takes Cicero to mean, "Are you not content with the six tragedies you have written, but still look for the seventh, or missing, Pleiad, after showing such familiarity with Electra and her conduct as a Trojan woman?" *Hermathena*, xiii. (1887), p. 139, quoted by Tyrrell.

^b Hom. *Il.* xvi. 385-388.

after writing the *Electra* and the *Trojan Woman*, are you searching for one Pleiad more? ^a You must not rest on your oars, and you must not be under the idea that the well-known *nosce teipsum* was only meant to apply to the abatement of arrogance, but also means that we should recognize our own gifts. But I should like you to send me those tragedies and the *Erigona* also. You now have an answer to your last two letters.

VII

CICERO TO QUINTUS

Tusculanum, late in October or early in November, 54 B.C.

At Rome, and especially on the Appian Way, up 1 to the Temple of Mars, there is a tremendous flood. Crassipes' promenade has been carried away, pleasure-grounds too, and quite a number of shops. There is an immense quantity of water right up to the public fish-pond. That passage in Homer still holds true :

As on a day in late autumn when down in a torrent resistless
Zeus pours the rain, in resentment and wrath at the mis-
deeds of mortals

(for it exactly fits in with the acquittal of Gabinius)

Who in the place of assembly distort without mercy their
judgments,
Banishing justice from earth, and the voice of the gods never
heeding.^b

But I am determined not to let these things trouble me.

When I return to Rome, I shall write and tell you 2

CICERO

quae perspexero, scribam ad te, et maxime de dictatura, et ad Labienum et ad Ligurium litteras dabo. Hanc scripsi ante lucem, ad lychnuchum ligneolum, qui mihi erat periucundus, quod eum te aiebant, cum esses Sami, curasse faciendum. Vale, mi suavissime et optime frater.

VIII

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

I Superiori epistolae quod respondeam, nihil est, quae plena stomachi et querellarum est; quo in genere alteram quoque te scribis pridie Labieno dedisse; qui adhuc non venerat. Delevit enim mihi omnem molestiam recentior epistula. Tantum te et moneo et rogo, ut in istis molestiis et laboribus et desideriis recordere, consilium nostrum quod fuerit profectionis tuae. Non enim commoda quaedam sequebamur parva ac mediocria. Quid enim erat, quod discessu nostro emendum putaremus? Praesidium firmissimum petebamus et optimi et potentissimi viri benevolentia ad omnem statum nostrae dignitatis. Plura ponuntur in spe, quam in pecuniis; reliqua ad iacturam struantur.¹ Quare si crebro

¹ *Nobbe*: struentur *M*: reservantur *Cratander*.

^a To join Caesar in Gaul.

^b Just as in a storm it was usual to throw part of the cargo overboard to lighten and save the ship, so now they must sacrifice all prospect of immediate gain to secure this hope for the future. For *iactura* cf. Acts, xxvii. 38.

EPIST. AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. VII.—VIII.

the result of my observations, and send a letter to Labienus and to Ligurius also.

I am writing this before daybreak, by the light of a little wooden torch-stand, which has always been a great delight to me, because they told me that you had seen to its construction when you were in Samos.

Good-bye, my dearest and best of brothers.

VIII

CICERO TO QUINTUS

Rome, late in November, 54 B.C.

I have nothing to say in answer to your earlier letter, which teems with resentment and dissatisfaction, and you write that on the preceding day you entrusted another letter also of the same sort to Labienus, who has not yet arrived. I do not answer your earlier letter, because all feeling of annoyance has been obliterated from my mind by your letter of more recent date. This much only I advise you, and indeed beg of you to do—in the midst of your troubles and toils and longings, to recall to mind the purpose we had in view when you left Rome.^a It was not petty or paltry advantages that we were aiming at. What was it then, for which we thought that even our separation was a proper price to pay? Well, what we sought was the strongest possible reinforcement of our whole political position by enlisting the goodwill of a man of irreproachable character, and at the same time of unquestioned ascendancy. The investment is in hope rather than in cash; let all else be got ready for throwing overboard.^b So

CICERO

referes animum tuum ad rationem et veteris consili nostri, et spei. facilius istos militiae labores ceteraque, quae te offendunt, feres; et tamen, cum voles, depones. Sed eius rei maturitas nequedum venit, 2 et tamen iam appropinquat. Etiam illud te admoneo, ne quid ullis litteris committas, quod, si prolatum sit, moleste feramus. Multa sunt, quae ego nescire malo, quam cum aliquo periculo fieri certior. Plura ad te vacuo animo scribam, cum (ut spero) se Cicero meus belle habebit. Tu velim cures, ut sciam, quibus nos dare oporteat eas, quas ad te deinde litteras mittemus;—Caesarisne tabellariis, ut is ad te protinus mittat, an Labieni. Ubi enim isti 3 sint Nervii, et quam longe absint, nescio. De virtute et gravitate Caesaris, quam in summo dolore adhibuisset, magnam ex epistula tua accepi voluptatem. Quod me institutum ad illum poema iubes perficere, etsi distentus cum opera, tum animo sum multo magis, quoniam tamen ex epistula, quam ad te miseram, cognovit Caesar, me aliquid esse exorsum, revertar ad institutum, idque perficiam his supplicationum otiosis diebus; quibus Messallam iam nostrum reliquosque molestia levatos, vehementer gaudeo; eumque quod certum consulem cum Domitio nume-

^a It was in the winter of this year that Quintus so gallantly defended his camp against an overwhelming force of Nervii. Their territory in Gallia Belgica extended from the river Sabis (*Sambre*) to the sea, and was partly covered by the forest of Arduenna (*Ardennes*).

^b For the loss of his daughter Julia (*cf. Ep. 1. 25* above).

if you constantly throw your thoughts back to the purpose of our original policy, and what we then had in view, you will find less difficulty in enduring your military labours, and anything else that is obnoxious to you ; and, after all, you can give up those duties whenever you please ; but the hour for that has not arrived, though it is already approaching.

I give you this piece of advice also—not to commit ² to any form of writing anything the publication of which may cause us annoyance. There are many things I would rather not know than be told of them at some considerable risk. I shall write to you at greater length with a mind free from care when my Cicero, as I hope he will be, is in comfortable health. Please be careful to let me know to whom I ought to entrust the letter I shall send you later on—to Caesar's letter-carriers, so that he may send them straight to you, or to Labienus's ; for I have no idea where those Nervii^a of yours are, and how far off they are.

Your letter about the courage and dignity of ³ Caesar, which, as you tell me, he displayed in the midst of his intense sorrow,^b was a source of great pleasure to me. You bid me finish the poem addressed to him which I have begun ; well, in spite of the distractions of work, and far more of my thoughts, still, now that Caesar has got to know from a letter which I sent you that I have something on the stocks, I shall return to what I have begun, and shall finish it during these leisure days of the *supplicationes* ; and I am greatly delighted that during those days our friend Messalla and the rest have at last been relieved from annoyance ; and in reckoning upon him as certain to be consul together with Domitius, you

ratis, nihil a nostra opinione dissentitis. Ego Messallam Caesari praestabo. Sed Memmius in adventu Caesaris habet spem; in quo illum puto errare; hic quidem friget. Scaurum autem iam pridem Pompeius
 4 abiecit. Res prolatae. Ad interregnum comitia adducta. Rumor dictatoris iniucundus bonis; mihi etiam magis, quae loquuntur. Sed tota res et timetur et refrigescit. Pompeius plane se negat velle; antea ipse mihi non negabat. Hirrus auctor fore videtur. O di, quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali! Caelium Vinicianum, hominem mihi deditum, per me deterruit. Velit, nolit, scire difficile est. Hirro tamen agente, nolle se non probabit. Aliud hoc tempore de republica nihil loque-
 5 bantur. Agebatur quidem certe nihil. Serrani Domestici filii funus perluctuosum fuit a. d. viii. 6 Kalend. Decemb. Laudavit pater scripto meo. Nunc de Milone. Pompeius ei nihil tribuit, et omnia Cottae, dicitque se perfecturum, ut illo Caesar incumbat. Hoc horret Milo, nec iniuria, et, si ille dictator factus sit, paene diffidit. Intercessorem dic-

^a Strictly speaking, the *interregnum* would only become necessary when the consuls left office at the end of the year. . . . But Cicero was right, and the *interregnum* lasted till July 53. W. W. How.

^b Probably he means Pompey, and not Hirrus.

^c Cf. *Fam.* viii. 4. 3, where he is mentioned as having urged the dictatorship of Pompey with disastrous results to himself.

^d Nothing more is known of him.

^e M. Aurelius Cotta held Sardinia for Pompey in 49.

are all of you in strict agreement with what I think myself. I will go bail to Caesar for Messalla's conduct. But Memmius pins his hopes on Caesar's arrival in Italy; in which I think he is mistaken; here there is no doubt that he is a back number. Scaurus has long since been thrown over by Pompey.

All business has been postponed, and the elections ⁴ so long deferred that there must be an interregnum.^a The rumour of a dictatorship is not to the liking of the loyalists; still less to my liking is what people say. But the whole proposal is regarded with alarm, and falling into the background. Pompey flatly denies that he has any wish for it; previously he used to make no such denial in talking to me himself. It seems likely that Hirrus will be the proposer. Ye gods, what a fool he is!^b What a lover of himself, without a rival in the field! As for Caelius Vinicianus,^c a man devoted to me, it was through me that Pompey managed to frighten him off. It is hard to be sure whether he does or does not desire it. If it is Hirrus, however, who proposes it, he will not convince people that he does not desire it. There is no other topic of political conversation at the present moment; nothing at any rate is being done.

The funeral of Serranus Domesticus's ^d son on ⁵ November 23 was a very sad incident. His father delivered a funeral oration over him which I had written.

And now about Milo. Pompey gives him ⁶ no encouragement, and gives it all to Cotta,^e and says he will contrive that Caesar shall throw his weight on that side. Milo is alarmed at this, and rightly so, and if Pompey is made dictator, he almost gives up hope. If he helps anyone who vetoes the dictator-

CICERO

taturae si iuverit manu et praesidio suo, Pompeium metuit inimicum ; si non iuverit, timet, ne per vim perferatur. Ludos apparat magnificentissimos : sic, inquam, ut nemo sumptuosiores ; stulte bis terque, non postulatus, vel quia munus magnificum dederat, vel quia facultates non erant, vel quia potuerat magistrum se, non aedilem putare. Omnia fere scripsi. Cura, mi carissime frater, ut valeas.

IX

M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI

Romae, A.U.C. 700.

- 1 De Gabinio nihil fuit faciendum istorum, quae amantissime cogitata sunt. Ἦότε μοι χάνοι. Feci summa cum gravitate, ut omnes sentiunt, et summa cum lenitate, quae feci. Illum neque ursi neque levavi. Testis vehemens fui, praeterea quievi. Exitum iudici foedum et perniciosum levissime tuli. Quod quidem bonum mihi nunc denique redundat, ut his malis reipublicae licentiaque audacium, qua

^a The death of a wealthy friend had given Milo, as his executor, the opportunity of giving games on a lavish scale in his honour. Such "funeral" games were not uncommon.

^b Hom. *Il.* iv. 182, the end of the line being εὐπέια χθών. Virgil has a similar expression in *Aen.* iv. 24 "sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat."

EPIST. AD QUINTUM FRATREM, III. VIII.—IX.

ship with his bands and bodyguard, he fears he will make Pompey his enemy ; if he does not do so, he is afraid that the measure will be carried by force. He is preparing to give the most magnificent games, at a cost, I assure you, that has never been exceeded by anyone.^a Considering that they are not demanded of him, he is acting like a fool for these two or three reasons at least—because he has already given a magnificent gladiatorial show, or because he has not the means, or because he might have remembered that he was only an executor, and no aedile. That is about all I have to write.

My dearest brother, be careful of your health.

IX

CICERO TO QUINTUS IN GAUL

Rome, December, 54 B.C.

In the matter of Gabinius, I was not obliged to adopt any of the measures, you, in the kindness of your heart, proposed. No, rather than that, "*may earth gape and swallow me.*"^b In all I did, I acted with the utmost dignity, as everybody feels, and with the utmost tenderness too. I neither jumped upon him nor picked him up. I was a forcible witness, but beyond that I did and said nothing. The result of the trial, disgraceful and pernicious as it was, I bore with unruffled equanimity. And that was a blessing, which now, when all is done, redounds to my advantage, in that I am not in the least disturbed by these evils of the Republic, and the unbridled excesses of shameless men, which used previously

ante rumpebar, nunc ne movear quidem. Nihil est
 2 enim perditius his hominibus, his temporibus. Ita-
 que, ex republica quoniam nihil iam voluptatis capi
 potest, cur stomacher, nescio. Litterae me, et studia
 nostra et otium villaeque delectant, maximeque pueri
 nostri. Angit unus Milo. Sed velim finem afferat
 consulatus; in quo enitar non minus, quam sum
 enisus in nostro; tuque istine, quod facis, adiuvabis.
 De quo cetera (nisi plane vis eripuerit) recte sunt;
 de re familiari timeo. Ὁ δὲ μάλιστα οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνεκτῶς,
 qui ludos HS. cccccccc. comparet. Cuius in hoc uno
 3 ut possis, est tuorum nervorum. De motu tem-
 porum venientis anni, nihil te intellegere volueram
 domestici timoris, sed de communi reipublicae statu;
 in quo etiamsi nihil procuro, tamen nihil curare vix
 possum. Quam autem te velim cautum esse in
 scribendo, ex hoc conicito, quod ego ad te ne haec
 quidem scribo, quae palam in republica turbantur, ne
 cuiusquam animum meae litterae interceptae offen-
 dant. Quare domestica cura te levatum volo. In re-
 publica scio quam sollicitus esse soleas. Video Mes-
 sallam nostrum consulem, si per interregem, sine

^a Hom. *Il.* viii. 355.

^b Or, as Schütz suggests, "I shall cover by aiding him with money," or again, "I shall restrain."

to break my heart. For anything more corrupt than the men and the times of to-day cannot be conceived.

And so, since no pleasure can be got out of politics, ² I don't see why I should fret myself; I find a joy in literature and my favourite pursuits, in the leisure of my country houses, but most of all in our boys. My one and only trouble is Milo. But I hope his being made consul will put an end to all that; in that matter I shall exert myself as much as I did in the case of my own consulship, and you will help, as indeed you do, from where you are. In his case everything else is in good train, unless all is lost by absolute violence; but it is his private estate that I am afraid of. "*And now is he beyond endurance mad,*" ^a since the games he is going to give will cost a million sesterces. His thoughtlessness in this one particular I shall bear ^b as well as I can, and it will require all your strength of mind to enable you to do so.

As regards the vicissitudes of fortune in the coming ³ year, I did not intend you to take me as implying any alarm concerning our domestic affairs, but only referring to the general political situation; and in that, though I have no official charge of anything, still I can scarcely have no charge at all upon me. But how cautious I should like you to be in writing, you must infer from the fact that I, in writing to you, avoid mentioning even those political irregularities which all may see, for fear my letter should be intercepted and hurt anybody's feelings. For that reason I would have you be relieved of all domestic anxiety. I know how deeply concerned you always are in public affairs. I foresee that our friend Messalla will be consul, if appointed by the *interrex*, without

iudicio; si per dictatorem, tamen sine periculo. Odi nihil habet. Hortensi calor multum valebit. Gabini absolutio lex impunitatis putatur. Ἐν παρέργῳ—de dictatore tamen actum adhuc nihil est. Pompeius abest; Appius miscet; Hirrus parat; multi intercessores numerantur; populus non curat; 4 principes nolunt; ego quiesco. De mancipiis quod mihi polliceris, valde te amo; et sum equidem, ut scribis, et Romae et in praediis infrequens. Sed cave, amabo, quidquam, quod ad meum commodum at-
tineat, nisi maximo tuo commodo et maxima tua
5 facultate, mi frater, cogitaris. De epistula Vatini risi. Sed me ab eo ita observari scio, ut eius ista odia
6 non sorbeam solum, sed etiam concoquam. Quod me hortaris, ut absolvam, habeo absolutum suave, mihi quidem uti videtur, ἔπος ad Caesarem; sed quaero locupletem tabellarium, ne accidat, quod *Erigonae* tuae, cui soli, Caesare imperatore, iter ex Gallia
7 tutum non fuit. Quid? si caementum¹ bonum non haberem, deturbarem aedificium? quod quidem quotidie mihi magis placet, in primisque inferior porticus et eius conclavia fiunt recte. De Arcano,

¹ *Editio Jensoniana*: canem tam *M*, which *Prof. Robinson Ellis* supports with an ingenious explanation which, however, hardly tallies with what follows.

^a Because, in the former case, he would take up his office at once, and so escape trial; in the latter, even if brought to trial (for which there would be time) he would certainly be acquitted. Tyrrell.

^b Or "keeps such a watchful eye upon me." It appears that Vatinius (for an account of whom see *Fam.* i. 19. 4, 7, 19, 20 and v. 9. 1) had written a letter to Caesar about Cicero which Quintus had seen.

^c Quintus's tragedy, the *Erigona*, had been lost in transit to Rome.

any trial at all,^a if by a dictator, even then without risk of condemnation. There is no hatred of him, and Hortensius's warm defence will greatly strengthen his case. The acquittal of Gabinius is regarded as an Act of General Amnesty. *En passant*,—after all, nothing has yet been done about a dictator. Pompey is away; Appius is making mischief; Hirrus is on the warpath, many tribunes are reckoned upon as ready to veto; the people are apathetic; the leading men object to it, and as for myself, I lie low.

For your promise about the slaves, I heartily bless 4 you; and it is true that both at Rome and on my estates I am short-handed. But be sure, my dear brother, that you do not contemplate doing anything with a view to my convenience, unless it is entirely convenient to yourself, and quite within your means.

I laughed over Vatinius's letter. But I know he 5 has such a respect for me ^b that I swallow his bitter animosities without suffering indigestion.

As to your urging me to finish my job, I have now 6 finished my "epic" to Caesar, and a charming one it is, in my opinion; but I am in search of a trustworthy letter-carrier, so that it may not meet with the same mishap as your *Erigona*; she is the only traveller who did not find the journey from Gaul a safe one since Caesar has been in chief command.^c

What do you mean? If the quarry-stone I had 7 was not good, was I to pull down the whole building? and a building that pleases me more every day, and the lower arcade in particular and the chambers connected with it are being properly constructed. As for Arcanum,^d it is an edifice worthy of Caesar,

^d One of Quintus's two estates near Arpinum, the other being Laterium.

CICERO

Caesaris¹ opus est vel mehercule etiam elegantioris alicuius. Imagines enim istae, et palaestra, et piscina, et nilus, multorum Philotimorum est, non Diphilorum. Sed et ipsi ea adibimus, et mittemus et mandabimus. De Felicis testamento tum magis querere, si scias. Quas enim tabulas se putavit obsignare, in quibus in unciis firmissimum locum tenemus² (lapsus est per errorem et suum et Sicurae servi), non obsignavit; quas noluit, eas obsignavit. 9 Ἄλλ' οἰμωζέτω! nos modo valeamus. Ciceronem, et ut rogas, amo, et ut meretur, et ut debeo. Dimitto autem a me, et ut a magistris ne abducam, et quod mater a Porcia³ non discedit, sine qua edacitatem pueri pertimesco. Sed sumus una tamen valde multum. Rescripsi ad omnia, mi suavissime et optime frater. Vale.

¹ *Tyrrell is inclined to substitute Caesi; for Caesius see* iii. 1. 2 (ad fin.).

² *Wesenberg*: firmissimum tenes *mss.*

³ *Prof. R. Ellis*: in Porcianam (sc. domum) discedit, "is going to stay with Porcia," *Wesenberg*.

^a Philotimus was a satisfactory architect; Diphilus, the *cessator* ("lazy dog"), was not.

or, upon my word, of even some more fastidious connoisseur. For your statues, exercising-ground, fish-pond, and conduit are worthy of ever so many Philotimuses (not Diphiluses).^a But I shall visit them myself, and send men there, and give them instructions.

About Felix's ^b will, you would complain still more 8 bitterly, if you only knew the facts. The document he thought he was sealing, in which we most certainly have a place as heirs to a twelfth of his estate (his slip was due to a mistake on his own part as much as on that of his slave Sicura), he did not seal; the document he didn't want to seal, he sealed! But let him go hang, so long as we keep our health.

I love your Cicero as you ask me to, and as he 9 deserves, and as I am bound to do. But I am letting him leave me for two reasons;—so as not to take him away from his teachers, and because his mother never leaves Porcia's side, and when she is away the boy's voracity appals me. But for all that we have a great deal of each other's company. I have now answered all your inquiries, my dearest and best of brothers. Good-bye.

^b We know no more than appears here of this Felix.



CICERO'S
LETTERS TO BRUTUS
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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PREFACE

THE letters written by Cicero to Brutus and by Brutus to Cicero were not included in the first issue of volume III of Cicero's correspondence in 1929. These letters have now been added with a translation by M. Cary.

26 June 1953

E. H. WARMINGTON
Editor

INTRODUCTION

I. THE TEXT OF THE LETTERS TO BRUTUS

THE 26 letters of which the text and translation are given below constituted in ancient times the IXth book of the published correspondence between Cicero and Marcus Brutus, falling within the last few months of Cicero's life (March or April to July, 43 B.C.). Four other letters of earlier date survive in the collection of Cicero's "Letters to his Friends" (xiii. 10-14); they will be found in the translation of that series by Mr. Glynn Williams.

Of the 26 letters that compose the present volume 21 (nos. VI-XXVI, forming Bk. I according to the traditional classification) are preserved in a number of mss., mostly of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of which the Codex Mediceus (M) is generally regarded as the most authoritative; one main branch of this family also contains the letters to Atticus and to Quintus Cicero. The remaining five letters (nos. I-V, constituting Bk. II) remained unknown until 1528, when a scholar named Cratander transcribed them from a family of mss. which has since disappeared.

In all the mss. the letters are arranged out of their proper chronological order; and certain small portions of the text are plainly not in their correct place—an error due to the transposition of several sheets

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in the archetype. In three cases (Bk. I. 2, 2a ; 3, 3a ; 4, 4a) two distinct letters have been amalgamated into one composite piece. Minor errors in the mss. are neither numerous nor important.

The most recent editions by modern scholars are those of L. C. Purser (Clarendon Press, 1903) ; of H. Sjögren (Teubner, 1914) ; and of W. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser (*The Correspondence of Cicero*, 2nd edition, vol. vi. : Dublin University Press and Longmans, Green ; 1933).

The text of Tyrrell and Purser, which closely follows that of Sjögren, has been adopted in the present volume, with a few alterations which are indicated in the footnotes. The letters are printed in the chronological order established by Tyrrell and Purser. Like all students of Cicero's correspondence, the present translator has derived much assistance from the introduction and notes to Tyrrell and Purser's edition.

Further details about the ms. tradition will be found in the Introduction to Sjögren's text and in an article by H. Sternkopf (*Hermes*, 1911, pp. 355-375).

II. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE LETTERS TO BRUTUS

The genuineness of the correspondence between Cicero and Brutus was not called into question until 1741, when a Cambridge scholar, Dr. James Tunstall,^a declared it to be a forgery and thus gave rise to a controversy which lasted until the later years of the nineteenth century. The main reasons advanced against the genuineness of the letters were : (1) that

^a The earliest defender of the letters was another Cambridge man, Dr. Conyers Middleton.

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their language contained specimens of Silver Age latinity ; (2) that they perpetrated errors of fact, relating to the situation of 43 B.C., such as would have been impossible to Cicero and Brutus ; (3) that they were not in keeping with the characters and accomplishments of Cicero and of Brutus, as revealed to us in the other works of Cicero and in Plutarch's " Life of Brutus."

A closer examination of the " Letters to Brutus " has shown to the general satisfaction of modern scholars that most if not all of them are genuine. For some of the alleged specimens of Silver Age latinity parallels have been adduced from undoubtedly genuine works of Cicero ; and most of the apparent historical errors have been disposed of by re-arranging the pieces in their correct chronological order. The only letters whose authenticity is not generally accepted are nos. XVII and XXV (I. 17 and 16), addressed by Brutus to Atticus and to Cicero respectively.^a These arouse suspicion by the poverty of their argument and the abruptness, not to say incoherence of their style, which would seem unworthy of a well-educated man like Brutus. But the argument of these letters turned on highly controversial questions of public policy in which Brutus had a difficult case to uphold ; and if we bear in mind that behind his Stoic pose there lurked a hot and stubborn temper,^b we need not be surprised that he should in these two

^a One of the chief defenders of the authenticity of the letters, L. Gurlitt, maintains that no. XXIV (I. 15) is made up of two authentic letters (§§ 1-2 and 12-13) and an interpolated middle piece (§§ 3-11).

^b See the excellent appreciation in Tyrrell and Purser, vol. vi. pp. cix-cxxiv.

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instances have lapsed into the sputtering and at times downright rude style which has shocked modern critics. In the absence of more compelling adverse evidence, letters XVII and XXV have been recognized as genuine in the present volume.

III. SUMMARY OF EVENTS, JANUARY—JULY, 43 B.C.

The period covered by the "Letters to Brutus" was one of renewed civil war after the uneasy truce which followed upon the murder of Caesar. The issues on which this war was fought were complex, and the various contending parties did not at first aline themselves on a common front.

The main seat of war was in North Italy, where Mark Antony claimed for himself the province of Gallia Cisalpina and sought to evict the governor in possession, Decimus Brutus. With the authorization of the Senate, which had rallied round Cicero against Antony, Decimus Brutus refused to quit his province and stood a siege in the town of Mutina (December, 44 B.C.). By April, 43 B.C., Brutus was being hard pressed; but meanwhile the Senate had mobilized new armies under the command of the consuls A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa (two old officers of Caesar), and at the instigation of Cicero it had enlisted in its service a force of Caesarian veterans which Caesar's adoptive son, C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus, had raised on his own responsibility, and had conferred upon him the rank of an independent commander. On April 14 the combined armies of the consuls and of Octavian beat off an attack by Antony at Forum Gallorum, and on the 21st they inflicted a severe defeat upon him near Mutina. The siege of

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the town was now raised, and Antony made a hasty retreat from Italy to Gallia Narbonensis (S.E. France).

At Rome it was at first assumed that the victorious armies would pursue Antony and make short work of him. But the deaths of Hirtius and Pansa, of whom the former was killed in the action of Mutina, and the latter died shortly afterwards of wounds, deprived the coalition forces of their best leaders; and Octavian, the son of Caesar, refused to co-operate with Decimus Brutus, his father's murderer. Antony was thus able to extricate himself and to put pressure upon the governor of Gallia Narbonensis, M. Aemilius Lepidus, to join hands with him. Lepidus, who had previously assured the Senate of his loyalty, consented to put his powerful army at Antony's disposal; and it was an insufficient offset to this success of Antony that L. Munatius Plancus, governor of Gallia Comata (Central and Northern France), remained loyal to the Republic for the time being (till July or August). Meanwhile Octavian showed signs of breaking with the Senate and coming to terms with Antony. By midsummer, 43 B.C., therefore, the situation had become critical for the senatorial forces in Italy, and the Senate's only chance now lay in the timely arrival of reinforcements from Marcus Brutus.

In August, 44 B.C., M. Brutus and C. Cassius ended a period of indecision, during which they had wandered somewhat aimlessly about Italy, by betaking themselves to the eastern provinces and raising armies there on their own authority. By March, 43 B.C., Cassius had rendered himself master of Syria; but he still had to reckon with opposition from P. Cornelius Dolabella, Antony's colleague in

INTRODUCTION

the consulship of 44 B.C., who claimed Syria as his province and had gained possession of the province of Asia (W. Asia Minor) by a treacherous attack on its governor, C. Trebonius. Though Cassius eventually overcame Dolabella, he was not in a position to bring timely succour to the senatorial forces in Italy.

Meanwhile Brutus had gained possession of Macedonia and Illyria and had captured Antony's brother C. Antonius, who had sought to occupy this province for himself. During the spring and summer of 43 B.C., therefore, he was free to send an expeditionary force to Italy. In March or early April, while Decimus Brutus lay in great straits at Mutina, Cicero called for M. Brutus' intervention. After the battle of Mutina he offered M. Brutus a free hand and suggested his opening a campaign against Dolabella in Asia Minor. In June and July, when Antony was making his recovery, Cicero repeatedly summoned Brutus to Italy, but Brutus refused to budge. Though he, like Cicero, had quarrelled with Antony, he was less determined to resist Antony *à l'outrance*; he was allied with Lepidus by a marriage connexion; above all, he differed profoundly from Cicero in his estimate of Octavian. While Cicero had his suspicions about Octavian, he hoped against hope to retain him in the service of the Senate; Brutus could see nothing in Octavian but another usurper of monarchy, like his adoptive father. On long views Brutus was probably right; yet it may be debated whether in 43 B.C. he did not make a "great refusal" and throw away the last chance of a Republican victory, or at least of a peace by compromise.

M. TULLI CICERONIS EPISTULARUM
AD BRUTUM

I (II. 1)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

1 Cum haec scribebam, res existimabatur in extremum adducta discrimen: tristes enim de Bruto nostro litterae nuntiique afferebantur: me quidem non maxime conturbabant: his enim exercitibus ducibusque, quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere: neque assentiebar maiori parti hominum: fidem enim consulum non condemnabam, quae suspecta vehementer erat. Desiderabam non nullis in rebus prudentiam et celeritatem, qua si essent usi, iam pridem rem publicam recuperassemus. Non enim ignoras quanta momenta sint in re publica temporum et quid intersit idem illud utrum ante an post decernatur, suscipiatur, agatur. Omnia, quae severe decreta sunt hoc tumultu, si aut, quo die dixi senten-

^a Decimus Brutus, who was being besieged by Mark Antony in Mutina.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO AND BRUTUS

I (II. 1)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, end of March or beginning of April, 43 B.C.

As I write this letter, the war is considered to have reached a highly critical stage. The news brought in by letters and by couriers about our friend Brutus^a is discouraging. Yet for my part I am not greatly disturbed; for I simply cannot lose confidence in the armies and the generals now at our disposal, nor can I fall in with the prevailing opinion. For I have nothing to say against the loyalty of the consuls, which has come under sharp suspicion; what I find lacking is good judgement and promptitude in several matters: had they shown this, we should have regained a free state long ago. For you do not need to be told how much turns on time in politics, and what a difference it makes to the selfsame policy, whether one is beforehand or belated in laying it down, taking it in hand, and carrying it into effect. Take all the drastic resolutions which have been voted in this emergency—if these had been implemented on the date when I spoke to the motion,

tiam, perfecta essent et non in diem ex die dilata aut, quo ex tempore suscepta sunt ut agerentur, non tardata et procrastinata, bellum iam nullum habemus. Omnia, Brute, praestiti rei publicae, quae praestare debuit is, qui esset in eo, in quo ego sum, gradu senatus populique iudicio collocatus, nec illa modo, quae nimirum sola ab homine sunt postulanda, fidem, vigilantiam, patriae caritatem : ea sunt enim, quae nemo est qui non praestare debeat : ego autem ei, qui sententiam dicat in principibus de re publica, puto etiam prudentiam esse praestandam, nec me, cum mihi tantum sumpserim, ut gubernacula rei publicae prenderem, minus putarim reprehendum, si inutiliter aliquid senatui suaserim quam si infideliter. Acta quae sint quaeque agantur scio perscribi ad te diligenter. Ex me autem illud est quod te velim habere cognitum, meum quidem animum in acie esse neque respectum ullum quaerere, nisi me utilitas civitatis forte converterit. Maioris autem partis animi te Cassiumque respiciunt. Quam ob rem ita te para, Brute, ut intellegas aut, si hoc tempore bene res gesta sit, tibi meliorem rem publicam esse faciendam aut, si quid offensum sit, per te esse eamdem recuperandam.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, I.

instead of being put off from day to day, or if they had not been held back and postponed ever since they were adopted for translation into action, we should by now have the war off our hands.

Brutus, I have displayed in the service of the state 2 all those qualities which should be shown by one who stands as I do in senatorial rank and popular estimation, and not merely those which should be demanded in a man as a matter of course, loyalty, watchfulness, love of country—for those are what no man may withhold. Now my view is that he who takes the lead in stating an opinion on public affairs should display sagacity into the bargain : and seeing that I have taken so much upon myself as to grasp the helm of state, I should consider myself no less worthy of censure if my advice to the Senate were unpractical than if it were disloyal.

I know that you receive full and accurate accounts 3 of past and present doings ; but coming from me, this is what I would have you understand, that I for one am in spirit in the fighting line and am not looking for any line of retreat, unless by any chance the interest of the community should make me change my front. But most men regard you and Cassius as their stand-by. Therefore, Brutus, get yourself to realize that if the present campaign goes in our favour, the reform of the state will be incumbent upon you ; or else, if we have a set-back, it will be for you to retrieve the state.

CICERO

II (II. 3)

M. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Dyrrhachii, A.U.C. 711

- 1 Litteras tuas valde exspecto, quas scripsisti post nuntios nostrarum rerum, et de morte Trebonii: non enim dubito quin mihi consilium tuum explices. Indigno scelere et civem optimum amisimus et provinciae possessione pulsi sumus, quam recuperari facile est: neque minus turpe aut flagitiosum erit
- 2 post recuperari. Antonius adhuc est nobiscum, sed me dius fidius et moveor hominis precibus et timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat. Plane aestuo. Quod si scirem quid tibi placeret, sine sollicitudine essem. Id enim optimum esse persuasum esset mihi. Qua re quam primum fac me certiore quid
- 3 tibi placeat. Cassius noster Syriam, legiones Syriacas habet, ultro quidem a Murco et a Marcio et ab exercitu ipso accessit. Ego scripsi ad Tertiam sororem et matrem, ne prius ederent hoc, quod optime ac felicissime gessit Cassius, quam cum con-
- 4 silium cognovissent tibi que visum esset. Legi orationes duas tuas, quarum altera Kal. Ian. usus es, altera de litteris meis, quae habita est abs te contra

^a C. Trebonius, one of Caesar's assassins, and governor of the province of Asia. He was treacherously attacked and killed by Dolabella.

^b Gaius Antonius, brother of Mark Antony. Appointed governor of Macedonia, he was defeated and captured by Brutus.

^c L. Staius Murcus and Q. Marcius Crispus were two officers of Caesar whom he sent to quell disorders in Syria.

^d A. Fufius Calenus, consul in 47 B.C. Antony's chief

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, II.

II (II. 3)

BRUTUS TO CICERO

Dyrrhachium, April 1, 43 B.C.

I anxiously await the letter which you wrote on 1 receipt of the news of our campaign and of the death of Trebonius.^a I feel sure it contains for me an orderly statement of your policy. A foul crime has taken from us an excellent citizen and has wrested from us the control of a province. To retrieve it is no trouble ; but it will be none the less a humiliation and a scandal that we should be retrieving the loss instead of preventing it.

Antonius ^b is still with me. But I'll take my oath 2 upon it, I am being impressed by the man's entreaties, and I am afraid that the passionate pleadings of several persons may snatch him away. I am in a downright fever. If I but knew what you would have me do, I should be free from worry, for I should be convinced that you know best. Therefore let me know as soon as possible what you think right.

Our friend Cassius holds Syria and the Syrian 3 legions : Murcus and Marcius ^c and the troops themselves actually called him in before he made a move. I have written to my sister Tertia and my mother not to publish the report of this splendid and most fortunate exploit of Cassius before ascertaining what you would advise, and what you think of it.

I have read your two speeches, the one which you 4 delivered on January 1, and the other on my dispatches, when you spoke in opposition to Calenus.^d

spokesman in the Senate. The two *Philippics* to which Cicero refers here are the fifth and the seventh.

Calenum. Nunc scilicet hoc exspectas, dum eas laudem. Nescio animi an ingenii tui maior in his libellis laus contineatur. Iam concedo ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quadam epistula iocans scripsisti. Duabus rebus egemus, Cicero, pecunia et supplemento : quarum altera potest abs te expediri, ut aliqua pars militum istinc mittatur nobis, vel secreto consilio adversus Pansam vel actione in senatu, ab ipso senatu altera, quae magis est necessaria neque meo exercitui magis quam reliquorum. Hoc magis doleo Asiam nos amisisse : quam sic vexari a Dolabella audio, ut iam non videatur crudelissimum eius facinus interfectio Trebonii. Vetus Antistius me tamen pecunia sublevavit. Cicero, filius tuus, sic mihi se probat industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut prorsus nunquam dimittere videatur cogitationem cuius sit filius. Qua re quoniam efficere non possum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue iudicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kalend. April. Dyrrhachio.

^a C. Vibius Pansa, consul in 43 B.C. One of the commanders of the senatorial forces in the campaign of Mutina.

^b The Roman province of Asia (W. Asia Minor).

^c P. Cornelius Dolabella, son-in-law of Cicero, and consul in 44 B.C. Appointed governor of Syria, he invaded Asia without orders.

^d See Letter XVI.

^e M. Tullius Cicero, junior. He interrupted his studies at Athens in order to join Brutus' army.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, II.

Now I'll warrant you are waiting for me to pay you compliments on them. I cannot say whether these pamphlets are a higher testimonial to your fine spirit or to your wealth of genius. I readily grant you that they should be dubbed "Philippics," if you like : that is the title you jestingly gave them in one of your letters.

We stand in want of two things, Cicero, money and 5 fresh drafts. The latter it is in your power to make available : you can send us a contingent from where you are, either by a private understanding with Pansa,^a or by proceedings in the Senate ; the former could come from the Senate directly. The need for the former, which is just as great in the armies of the other generals as in mine, makes me regret so much the more the loss of Asia.^b I hear that Dolabella ^c is harrying it to such effect that his murder of Trebonius no longer strikes me as his most fiendish atrocity. All the same, Vetus Antistius ^d has met part of my needs with a money contribution.

Your son Cicero ^e gives me such a good account of 6 himself in respect of his energy, power of endurance, application, high spirits, in a word, in every helpful quality, that he seems never for a moment to lose out of mind whose son he is. Therefore, seeing that I cannot contrive to make you hold him in still higher affection (for he is the apple of your eyes), I ask you, in deference to my considered opinion, to assure yourself that he will not need to poach on your renown in order to attain his father's high rank. Dyrrhachium, April 1.

CICERO

III (II. 2)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

- 1 Planci animum in rem publicam egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litteris eius, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitror, perspicere potuisti. Lepidi, tui necessarii, qui secundum fratrem affines habet quos oderit proximos, levitatem et inconstantiam animumque semper inimicum rei publicae iam credo
- 2 tibi ex tuorum litteris esse perspectum. Nos expectatio sollicitat, quae est omnis iam in extremum adducta discrimen. Est enim spes omnis in Bruto
- 3 expediendo, de quo vehementer timebamus. Ego hic cum homine furioso satis habeo negotii, Servilio, quem tuli diutius quam dignitas mea patiebatur, sed tuli rei publicae causa, ne darem perditis civibus hominem, parum sanum illum quidem, sed tamen nobilem, quo concurrerent, quod faciunt nihilo minus, sed eum alienandum a re publica non putabam. Finem feci eius ferendi. Coeperat enim esse tanta insolentia, ut neminem liberum duceret. In Planci vero causa exarsit incredibili dolore, mecumque per biduum ita contendit et a me ita fractus est, ut eum in perpetuum modestiorem sperem fore. Atque in

^a L. Munatius Plancus, governor of Gallia Comata. For his relations to Cicero see *Epp. ad Fam.* x. 1-24.

^b M. Aemilius Lepidus, the future triumvir. At this time he was governor of Gallia Comata, and the husband of Brutus' sister. He subsequently consented to his brother being placed on the proscription lists. ^c Decimus Brutus.

^d P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, consul 48 B.C. He advocated negotiation with Mark Antony.

^e Antony's adherents.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, III.

III (II. 2)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, April 11, 43 B.C.

Of Plancus' ^a splendid loyalty to the state, of his 1
legions, auxiliary forces and equipment, you have
been able to get a clear idea from his letter, of which
I think you received a copy. As for your bosom
friend Lepidus, ^b who hates his connexions by mar-
riage only one degree less than he hates his brother,
I believe you will by now have realized from the
letters of your own family that he is lacking in
principle and consistency, and is chronically ill-
disposed to the free state.

We are haunted by a feeling of suspense, which is 2
now wholly centred on our extremely critical position;
for all our hopes are set on the relief of Brutus, ^c about
whom we are exceedingly anxious.

Here I am having trouble enough with that mad- 3
man Servilius. ^d I have put up with him longer than
my self-respect would allow ; yet I did put up with
him for the state's sake, for fear I should present him
to the desperadoes ^e as a rallying-point—a man, you
know, who is lacking in sense, but to offset that has
blue blood in his veins. Even so, they are rallying
round him ; but I think I ought not to provoke him
to disaffection.—I have done with my complaisance to
him, for he is becoming so rude as to treat us like so
many slaves. In the matter of Plancus, to be sure,
he blazed up with extraordinary bitterness, and for
two whole days he battled with me so fiercely and
received such a mauling from me, that I hope he will
mend his manners for once and all. Oh, and in the

CICERO

hac contentione ipsa, cum maxime res ageretur, a. d. v. Idus Apriles litterae mihi in senatu redditae sunt a Lentulo nostro de Cassio, de legionibus, de Syria : quas statim cum recitavissem, cecidit Servilius, complures praeterca : sunt enim insignes aliquot, qui improbissime sentiunt, sed acerbissime tulit Servilius assensum esse mihi de Planco. Magnum illud monstrum in re publica est : sed quomodo nunc est, mihi crede, non erit, III. Id. April.¹

IV (II. 4)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

- 1 Datis mane a. d. III. Id. April. Scaptio litteris, eodem die tuas accepi Kal. April. Dyrrhachio datas vesperi. Itaque mane prid. Id. Apr. cum a Scaptio certior factus essem non esse eos profectos, quibus pridie dederam, et statim ire, hoc paullulum exaravi
2 ipsa in turba matutinae salutationis. De Cassio laetor et rei publicae gratulor, mihi etiam, qui repugnante et irascente Pansa sententiam dixerim, ut Dolabellam bello Cassius persequeretur. Et quidem audacter dicebam sine nostro senatus consulto iam

¹ See Tyrrell and Purser.

* P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, deputy-governor of Asia after the death of Trebonius. See *Epp. ad Fam.* xii. 14-15.

^b See Introduction.

^c Letter III (II. 2). Scaptius was an agent of Brutus (perhaps to be identified with his bailiff in Cilicia—*Epp. ad Att.* v. 21, vi. 2).

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, III.-IV.

very middle of the duel, just while we were having it out, a letter dated April 9 was handed to me in the Senate ; it was from our friend Lentulus ^a and brought news of Cassius,^b the legions, and of Syria. I had hardly finished reading it out, than Servilius collapsed, and a number of others with him ; for there are several persons of note whose attitude is quite unscrupulous. But what exasperated Servilius most of all was that I carried the House in the matter of Plancus. That is an impressive indication of the trend of politics. But take my word for it, the present mood won't last. April 11.

IV (II. 4)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, April 12, 43 B.C.

Early on April 11 I handed a letter ^c to Scaptius, 1 and on the same day received the note dispatched by you on the evening of April 1. On the morning of April 12, accordingly, having ascertained from Scaptius that the messengers to whom I had given my note on the previous day were not yet on the way, and were now on the point of starting out, I am jotting down this short postscript even while my morning callers are thronging round me.

I am glad about Cassius ; and my congratulations 2 go to the state, and also to myself, seeing that it was I who proposed in opposition to Pansa and in disregard of his anger, that Cassius should be charged with the operations against Dolabella. Yes, and I defiantly announced that he was already engaged on

illud eum bellum gerere. De te etiam dixi tum quae dicenda putavi. Haec ad te oratio perferetur, quoniam te video delectari Philippicis nostris. Quod me de Antonio consulis, quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto. Ex iis litteris, quas mihi misisti, Dolabella Asiam vexare videtur et in ea se gerere taeterrime. Compluribus autem scripsisti Dolabellam a Rhodiis esse exclusum: qui si ad Rhodum accessit, videtur mihi Asiam reliquisse. Id si ita est, istic tibi censeo commorandum: sin eam semel cepit, mihi crede, statim¹ in Asiam censeo persequendum: nihil mihi videris hoc tempore melius acturus.

4 Quod egere te duabus necessariis rebus scribis, supplemento et pecunia, difficile consilium est. Non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te posse videam praeter illas, quas senatus decrevit, ut pecunias a civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De supplemento autem non video quid fieri possit. Tantum enim abest ut Pansa de exercitu suo aut dilectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleste ferat tam multos ad te ire voluntarios, quo modo equidem credo, quod iis rebus, quae in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis magnas esse arbitretur, quo modo autem multi suspicantur, quod ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit, quod ego non suspicor.

¹ statim *conj.* by Tyrrell and Purser: at.

^a Gaius Antonius.

^b See Letter II § 5.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, IV.

that campaign without waiting for our commission from the Senate. In the same session I made such reference to you as seemed appropriate. My speech shall be communicated to you, for I observe that you take a delight in our "Philippics."

In answer to your inquiry about Antonius,^a my 3 view is that he ought to be kept in detention until we know the result of Brutus' campaign. I gather from the letter which you sent me that Dolabella is harrying Asia and is behaving atrociously in it. And yet you have written to quite a number of people that Dolabella had been shut out from Rhodes; but if he went as far as Rhodes, it looks to me as if he had left Asia. If that is a fact, I recommend that you should stay where you are; but once he has captured Rhodes—if that happens, believe me, you must pursue him into Asia at once. It seems to me you could do nothing better at this time.

Touching upon your remark that you are short of 4 two necessaries, fresh drafts and money,^b I am puzzled what to propose to you. I cannot think of any expedients to which in my view you could have recourse, except the resolutions which the Senate carried, that you should raise a loan among the free communities. But I do not see what can be done about reinforcements; for Pansa is so little disposed to let you have any part of his army or of his new levies, that he even takes offence at the numbers which are joining you as volunteers. According to my own belief, he estimates that no force can be too large for the operations which are being decided on in Italy; but the reason which many people surmise is that he wants no one, not even you, to make too firm a stand. This suspicion I do not share.

CICERO

5 Quod scribis te ad Tertiam sororem et matrem scripsisse, ut ne prius ederent ea, quae gesta a Cassio essent, quam mihi visum esset, video te veritum esse id, quod verendum fuit, ne animi partium Caesaris, quomodo etiam nunc partes appellantur, vehementer commoverentur. Sed ante quam tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat et pervulgata, tui etiam tabellarii ad multos familiares tuos litteras attulerant. Qua re neque supprimenda res erat, praesertim cum id fieri non posset, neque, si posset, non divulgandam
6 potius quam occultandam putaremus. De Cicerone meo et, si tantum est in eo, quantum scribis, tantum scilicet, quantum debeo, gaudeo, et si, quod amas eum, eo maiora facis, id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum diligi.

V (II. 5)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

1 Quae litterae tuo nomine recitatae sint Id. April. in senatu eodemque tempore Antonii, credo ad te scripsisse tuos, quorum ego nemini concedo; sed nihil necesse erat eadem omnes, illud necesse me ad te scribere, quid sentirem tota de constitutione huius belli et quo iudicio essem quaque sententia. Volun-
636

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, IV.-V.

You say that you wrote to your sister and your 5
mother, not to make known the successes of Cassius
before I thought proper. I see you were afraid, as
you had a right to be, lest the Caesarian party, which
is the name still being given to that body, should be
badly upset. But before we received your note the
story was out and had become common property ;
your own couriers too had delivered correspondence
to many acquaintances of yours. To suppress the
news was therefore false policy, especially as that was
not practicable ; and we thought that, supposing it
were possible, we should all the same publish it
rather than keep it dark.

As for my son Cicero, if there is as much in him as 6
you tell me, I am of course as glad as I should be ;
or again, if your fondness for him makes you exaggerate,
your very excess gives me immense pleasure at
the thought that you are his good friend.

V (II. 5)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, April 14, 43 B.C.

I believe you have heard from your family which 1
of your letters was read out in the Senate on April 13,
and of Antony's letter being read at the same time.
I yield to none of your folk in my concern for you ;
but there is no need for all of us to tell the same
story. My special duty is to inform you of my
impressions about the general condition of this
war, of my considered opinion and my personal
feeling on it. My ideals on the main political issue

tas mea, Brute, de summa re publica semper eadem fuit, quae tua, ratio quibusdam in rebus—non enim omnibus—paullo fortasse vehementior. Scis mihi semper placuisse non rege solum, sed regno liberari rem publicam : tu lenius, immortalī omnino cum tua laude, sed, quid melius fuerit, magno dolore sensimus, magno periculo sentimus. Recenti illo tempore tu omnia ad pacem, quae oratione confici non poterat, ego omnia ad libertatem, quae sine pace nulla est, pacem ipsam bello atque armis effici posse arbitrabar : studio non deerant arma poscentium, quorum re-
 2 pressimus impetum ardoremque restinximus. Itaque res in eum locum venerat, ut, nisi Caesari Octaviano deus quidam illam mentem dedisset, in potestatem perditissimi hominis et turpissimi M. Antonii veniendum fuerit, quocum vides hoc tempore ipso quod sit quantumque certamen : id profecto nullum esset, nisi tum conservatus esset Antonius. Sed haec omitto : res enim a te gesta memorabilis et paene caelestis repellit omnes reprehensiones, quippe quae ne laude quidem satis idonea affici possit. Exstitisti nuper vultu severo ; exercitum, copias, legiones idoneas per te brevi tempore comparasti : di immortales ! qui ille nuntius, quae illae litterae, quae laetitia senatus, quae alacritas civitatis erat ! nihil unquam vidi tam omnium consensione laudatum.

^a This refers to the seduction of Antony's troops by Octavian in November 44 B.C., which in Cicero's opinion prevented a military dictatorship by Antony.

^b Brutus had vetoed a suggestion by his fellow-conspirators, that Antony too should be killed on the Ides of March.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, v.

have always been the same as yours, Brutus ; my way of thinking in certain matters (I do not say in all) was perhaps a little more drastic. You know that it was always my resolve that the state should be freed not merely of a monarch but of monarchy. You took a more lenient view, and this was altogether to your undying credit ; but which was the better policy we have been made to feel to our bitter sorrow, and are experiencing at our great peril. At that time, not so long ago, your supreme goal was peace, which could not be won by oratory ; mine was liberty, which without peace is an illusion. I considered that peace as well as liberty could be secured by force of arms. The party that called for arms was thoroughly in earnest ; yet we stifled their enthusiasm and damped down their ardour.

Consequently things came to such a pass, that but ² for that divine inspiration which came to Caesar Octavianus,^a we should have had to fall under the power of that utter desperado, that foul wretch, Marcus Antonius, and you can see what a struggle, and how hard-fought, we have even now with him. This conflict of course would be non-existent, if Antony's life had not then been spared.^b But I say nothing of this, for your unforgettable and almost superhuman exploit disarms all criticism, indeed I cannot even match it with really adequate words of praise. In these last days you have asserted yourself with a grim visage ; by your own effort you have in a short time raised sufficient troops, supplies and legions. Heavens, what a piece of news that was, what a bulletin ! How gladdened was the Senate, and how elated the citizens ! I never saw such an unanimous expression of praise for anything.

Erat exspectatio reliquiarum Antonii, quem equitatu legionibusque magna ex parte spoliaras : ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem ; nam tuae litterae, quae recitatae in senatu sunt, et imperatoris et militum virtutem et industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei, declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset de his litteris referri et nisi in tempus turbulentissimum post discessum Pansae consulis incidissent, honos quoque iustus et debitus dis immortalibus decretus esset.

- 3 Ecce tibi Idib. April. advolat mane Celer Pilius, qui vir, di boni, quam gravis, quam constans, quam bonarum in re publica partium ! hic epistulas affert duas, unam tuo nomine, alteram Antonii ; dat Servilio tribuno plebis, ille Cornuto : recitantur in senatu. ANTONIUS PROCOS. : magna admiratio, ut si esset recitatum DOLABELLA IMPERATOR, a quo quidem venerant tabellarii, sed nemo Pili similis, qui proferre litteras auderet aut magistratibus reddere. Tuae recitantur, breves illae quidem, sed in Antonium admodum lenes : vehementer admiratus senatus ; mihi autem non erat explicatum, quid agerem : falsas dicerem ? quid, si tu eas approbasses ? con-
- 4 firmarem ? non erat dignitatis tuae. Itaque ille dies silentio ; postridie autem, cum sermo increbruisset

^a Probably to be identified with an obscure partisan of Caesar.

^b M. Caecilius Cornutus, praetor urbanus. In the absence of the consuls, he presided over the Senate.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, v.

Curiosity was rife concerning Antonius' remnant, after you had taken most of his cavalry and legions from him. In this case too it heard the result for which it had hoped; for your dispatch, which was read out in the Senate, proclaims the gallantry of commander and soldiers alike, and the good work of your staff, including my son Cicero. If only your kinsfolk had agreed to a motion on this dispatch and had not been caught in a period of great disorder after the departure of the consul Pansa, a vote of homage to the immortal gods would also have been passed, as is usual and proper.

Now just imagine! On the morning of April 13³ Celer Pilius^a came scurrying in. Good lord, what a man! What dignified bearing! What aplomb! What a fine figure he cuts on the political scene! This fellow brings two dispatches, one from you, the other from Antony; he hands them to Servilius the tribune of the plebs, who passes them on to Cornutus.^b They are read out in the Senate: "Antonius, proconsul." We were quite taken aback, as if we had heard the words "Dolabella, imperator." He too, to be sure, had sent couriers, but there was nobody of Pilius' kidney who had the face to exhibit them or hand them over to the magistrates. Your letter was read out—that note which had little indeed to say but was decidedly lenient to Antony. The Senate was greatly astonished. For my part, I had no idea what course I should take. Was I to denounce the note as a forgery? But suppose you had guaranteed your authorship! Was I to certify it? But that would have let you down!

So this day passed with nothing said. But next⁴ day, when everybody was talking about it, and the

Piliusque oculos vehementius hominum offendisset, natum omnino est principium a me : de proconsule Antonio multa ; Sestius causae non defuit : post mecum, quanto suum filium, quanto meum in periculo futurum duceret, si contra proconsulem armatulissent ; nosti hominem : causae tamen non defuit. Dixerunt etiam alii ; Labeo vero noster nec signum tuum in epistula nec diem appositum nec te scripsisse ad tuos, ut soleres : hoc cogere volebat, falsas litteras
 5 esse et, si quaeris, probabat. Nunc tuum est consilium, Brute, de toto genere belli. Video te lenitate delectari et eum putare fructum esse maximum, praecclare quidem, sed aliis rebus, aliis temporibus locus esse solet debetque clementiae : nunc quid agitur, Brute ? Templis deorum immortalium imminet hominum egentium et perditorum spes nec quidquam aliud decernitur hoc bello, nisi utrum simus necne. Cui parcimus aut quid agimus ? His ergo consulimus, quibus victoribus vestigium nostrum nullum relinquetur ? Nam quid interest inter Dolabellam et quemvis Antoniorum trium ? Quorum si cui parcimus, duri fuimus in Dolabella. Haec ut ita sentiret senatus populusque Romanus, etsi res ipsa cogebat, tamen maxima ex parte nostro consilio

^a P. Sestius, a former supporter of Cicero whom the orator defended in the speech *Pro Sestio*.

^b Pacuvius Antistius Labeo, one of the tyrannicides.

^c The three brothers Marcus, Gaius and Lucius Antonius.

sight of Pilius gave people a bad shock, it was on my initiative that a discussion took place at all. I let myself go about the "proconsul Antonius." Sestius,^a who came after me, backed up my case. He had a word with me afterwards and warned me in what danger his son and mine, he thought, would stand, if they had borne arms against a "proconsul." You know the man: he *did* back me up. Others spoke besides. But our friend Labeo^b pointed out that the letter contained neither your signature nor a date-mark, and that you had not written as usual to your family. He offered this as certain evidence that the letter was a forgery and, if you care to know, he was carrying his point.

Now, Brutus, it is for you to advise me about the 5
 general conduct of the war. I observe that you glory in leniency and think that it carries the richest reward. An excellent principle, no doubt! But it is not conditions and times like these that give the usual and proper scope for a policy of pardon. At present, Brutus, what is afoot? The hopes of down-at-heels and desperadoes are grimly set on the temples of the immortal gods, and the issue at stake in this war is nothing else than whether we are to exist or not. To whom are we showing mercy? Or what are we about? Are we then in this crisis having regard for men who, if theirs is the victory, will not leave a trace of us? For what is the difference between Dolabella and any one of the Antonius trio?^c If we show indulgence to any of these, our treatment of Dolabella was harsh. Though the logic of facts compelled the Senate and people of Rome to adopt this view, yet it was mainly at my prompting and by the weight of my support that this result was

CICERO

atque auctoritate perfectum est. Tu si hanc rationem non probas, tuam sententiam defendam, non relinquam meam : neque dissolutum a te quidquam homines expectant nec crudele ; huius rei moderatio facilis est, ut in duces vehemens sis, in milites liberalis.

6 Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas : virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. XVIII. Kalend. Maias.

VI (I. 2 §§ 3-6)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

3 . . . Te benevolentiam exercitus equitumque
4 expertum vehementer gaudeo. De Dolabella, ut
scribis, si quid habebis novi, facies me certio-
rem, in quo delector me ante providisse, ut tuum iudicium
liberum esset cum Dolabella belli gerendi : id valde
pertinuit, ut ego tum intellegebam, ad rem publicam,
5 ut nunc iudico, ad dignitatem tuam. Quod scribis
me maximo otio egisse, ut insectarer Antonios, idque
laudas, credo ita videri tibi, sed illam distinctionem
tuam nullo pacto probo : scribis enim acrius pro-
hibenda bella civilia esse quam in superatos iracun-
diam exercendam. Vehementer a te, Brute, dissentio,
nec elementiae tuae concedo, sed salutaris severi-

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, v.-vi.

achieved. If you reject this way of thinking I shall speak up for your view, but without abandoning mine. Men do not look for any behaviour on your part that is either lax or vindictive. You may easily strike a balance in this case by dealing drastically with the leaders and showing generosity to the troops.

I would like you, my dear Brutus, to have my son 6 Cicero at your side as much as possible. He will never obtain a better training in the manly arts than by studying and imitating you. April 14.

VI (I. 2 §§ 3-6)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, April 17, 43 B.C.

. . . I am delighted to hear that you found the 3 army and the mounted troops well disposed. If, as 4 you say, you have news of Dolabella, you will let me know. I rejoice that in his case I made timely provision, so that you should be free to decide whether to make war on Dolabella. As I perceived at the time, my action closely touched the interests of the state ; as I now judge matters, it touches your honour.

You remark that I took plenty of time before I 5 opened my attack on the Antonii, and you commend me for this. Well, I do believe that this is your point of view. But nothing could induce me to accept that distinction which you draw. You say that we should display more zeal in banning civil wars than in wreaking vengeance on the vanquished. I heartily disagree with you, Brutus, and I cannot defer to your leniency. No, a wholesome sternness carries the day

CICERO

tas vincit inanem speciem elementiae ; quod si clementes esse volumus, numquam deerunt bella civilia. Sed de hoc tu videris : de me possum idem, quod Plautinus pater in *Trinummo* :

Mihi quidem aetas acta ferme est : tua istuc refert maxime.

6 Opprimemini, mihi crede, Brute, nisi provideritis ; neque enim populum semper eundem habebitis neque senatum neque senati ducem. Haec ex oraculo Apollinis Pythii edita tibi puta : nihil potest esse verius. xv. Kal. Maias.

VII (I. 3 §§ 1-3)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

1 Nostrae res meliore loco videbantur ; scripta enim ad te certo scio, quae gesta sunt. Quales tibi saepe scripsi consules esse tales exstiterunt. Caesaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis : utinam tam facile eum florentem et honoribus et gratia regere ac tenere possimus, quam facile adhuc tenuimus ! est omnino illud difficilius, sed tamen non diffidimus ; persuasum est enim adulescenti, et maxime per me, eius opera

^a L. 219.

^b The battle of Forum Gallorum.

^c Octavian (C. Julius Caesar Octavianus).

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, VI.—VII.

against the vain show of leniency ! —Why, if we choose to be lenient, there will never be a lack of civil wars ! But this is for you to look into. To myself I can apply the same words as the father uses in Plautus' "Trinummus" ^a :

My life is all but over ; but for you
This matter is of close concern.

Take my word for it, Brutus, you will all be overwhelmed, if you will not look ahead ; for you will not find the people ever unchanging, nor the Senate, nor the leaders of the Senate. Take this utterance as voiced from the oracle of the Pythian Apollo ; nothing could be more true. April 17. 6

VII (I. 3 §§ 1-3)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, about April 21, 43 B.C.

Our cause seems in better circumstance ; for I know for sure that you have been posted up about our achievements.^b The consuls have shown up true to their character, as I have often described it to you. But the boy Caesar^c is marvellously well endowed with manly character. If only I could direct and hold him, now that he is gathering strength from his official position and patronage, as easily as I have held him hitherto ! That is altogether a harder task, though I am not losing confidence for all that ; for the young man has made up his mind—and it was I who chiefly impressed it upon him—that we owe our safety

CICERO

nos esse salvos, et certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe
2 avertisset, perissent omnia. Triduo vero aut qua-
triduo ante hanc rem pulcherrimam timore quodam
perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum coniugibus et
liberis effundebat ; eadem recreata a. d. XII. Kal.
Maias te huc venire quam se ad te ire malebat : quo
quidem die magnorum meorum laborum multarum-
que vigiliarum fructum cepi maximum—si modo est
aliquis fructus ex solida veraque gloria ;—nam tantae
multitudinis, quantam capit urbs nostra, concursus
est ad me factus, a qua usque in Capitolium deductus
maximo clamore atque plausu in rostris collocatus
sum : nihil est in me inane—neque enim debet,—sed
tamen omnium ordinum consensus, gratiarum actio
gratulatioque me commovet propterea, quod popula-
rem me esse in populi salute praeclarum est. Sed
3 haec te malo ab aliis. Me velim de tuis rebus con-
siliisque facias diligentissime certiorum illudque
consideres, ne tua liberalitas dissolutior videatur : sic
sentit senatus, sic populus Romanus, nullos umquam
hostes digniores omni supplicio fuisse quam eos cives,
qui hoc bello contra patriam arma ceperunt, quos
quidem ego omnibus sententiis ulciscor et persequor
omnibus bonis approbantibus. Tu quid de hac re
sentias, tui iudicii est : ego sic sentio, trium fratrum
unam et eandem esse causam.

* The speaker's platform in the Forum.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, VII.

to his efforts ; and to be sure, if he had not drawn Antony away from the city, all would have been lost.

And yet, three or four days before this glorious ² event the entire citizen body, as if unnerved with fear, was fain to stream out to you with family and all ; yet on April 20 they had recovered their nerve and would rather that you should come here than that they should go to you. That was the day on which I gathered the full harvest of my hard toil and frequent vigils, if any substantial harvest can indeed accrue from a well-founded and genuine renown ; for the crowd that flocked round me was as vast as our city could contain. I was escorted by it right up to the Capitol and then was made to take my stand on the Rostra ^a amid huge acclamation and applause. I am not at all being vain ; there is no justification for that. But all the same, I am deeply impressed by the unanimity of all classes, by their thanksgivings and felicitations, and for this reason, that it is glorious to achieve popularity in the cause of the people's safety. But I would sooner you heard about this from others.

Please spare no pains to keep me informed of your ³ position and your policy, and bear in mind that your generosity must not give an impression of a loss of firm purpose. This is the Senate's, this is the people's conviction, that no enemy ever deserved more richly the utmost rigour of punishment than those citizens who took up arms against their country in this war. These are the men whom I castigate and pursue in all my pronouncements, with the approval of all loyal men. You must judge for yourself how you feel about this ; my feeling is that the three brothers are one and all in the same case.

CICERO

VIII (I. 3 § 4)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

- 4 Consules duos, bonos quidem, sed dumtaxat bonos consules, amisimus: Hirtius quidem in ipsa victoria occidit, cum paucis diebus ante magno proelio vicisset; nam Pansa fugerat vulneribus acceptis, quae ferre non potuit. Reliquias hostium Brutus persequitur et Caesar; hostes autem omnes iudicati, qui M. Antoni sectam secuti sunt, idque senatus consultum plerique interpretantur etiam ad tuos sive captivos sive dediticios pertinere. Equidem nihil disserui durius, cum nominatim de C. Antonio decernerem, quod ita statueram, a te cognoscere causam eius senatum oportere. v. Kal. Maias.

IX (I. 5)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

- 1 A. d. v. K. Maias, cum de iis, qui hostes iudicati sunt, bello persequendis sententiae dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio et ut Cassius persequere-

* The consul A. Hirtius won successive victories over Antony's forces at Forum Gallorum (April 14th) and Mutina (April 21st).

^b Decimus Brutus and Octavian.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, VIII.—IX.

VIII (I. 3 § 4)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, April 27, 43 B.C.

We have lost two consuls, loyal men both, but 4 nothing more than loyal. Hirtius to be sure met his death in the hour of victory, after he had won another victory in a great battle a few days earlier.^a They were his victories, for Pansa had taken to flight with wounds which he could not endure. The remnants of the enemy are being pursued by Brutus and Caesar.^b Now all those who have attached themselves to Marcus Antonius' following have been declared public enemies, and according to the general construction put upon it this resolution of the Senate applies also to your captives or capitulants. For my part I used no specially harsh language when I pronounced on Gaius Antonius in person, because I had decided that the Senate must obtain the facts of the case from you. April 27.

IX (I. 5)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, May 5, 43 B.C.

On April 27, when the debate was on concerning 1 measures of war against those who have been declared public enemies, Servilius went on to speak about Ventidius,^c and proposed that Cassius should take

^a ^c P. Ventidius Bassus, an officer of Antony who brought him reinforcements after the battle of Mutina.

tur Dolabellam. Cui cum essem assensus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrarere utile exque re publica esse, persequerere bello Dolabellam, si minus id commodo rei publicae facere posses sive non existimares ex re publica esse, ut in iisdem locis exercitum contineres. Nihil honorificentius potuit facere senatus, quam ut tuum esset iudicium, quid maxime conducere rei publicae tibi videretur. Equidem sic sentio, si manum habet, si castra, si ubi consistat uspiam Dolabella, ad fidem et ad dignitatem tuam pertinere eum
 2 persequi. De Cassii nostri copiis nihil sciebamus—neque enim ab ipso ullae litterae neque nuntiabatur quidquam, quod pro certo haberemus—; quanto opere autem intersit opprimi Dollabellam, profecto intellegis, cum ut sceleris poenas persolvat, tum ne sit, quo se latronum duces ex Mutinensi fuga conferant. Atque hoc mihi iam ante placuisse potes ex superioribus meis litteris recordari: quamquam tum et fugae portus erat in tuis castris et subsidium salutis in tuo exercitu. Quo magis nunc liberati, ut spero, periculis in Dolabella opprimendo occupati esse debemus. Sed hoc cogitabis diligentius, statues sapienter: facies nos, quid constitueris et quid agas, si tibi
 3 videbitur, certiores. Ciceronem nostrum in vestrum collegium cooptari volo. Existimo omnino absentium

* By a Lex Domitia of 104 B.C. the election of pontifices was vested in a special electoral assembly of 17 tribes. The collegium pontificum had the right of nomination and of a formal *congé d'élire*.

the field against Dolabella. I gave him my support and added this rider, that *you* should take the field against Dolabella, if you should decide that this was expedient and in the interests of the state ; but that if you were not in a position to do so with advantage to the state, or if you reckoned it bad policy, you should keep your army in its present position. The Senate could not have paid you a greater compliment than to leave it to your discretion what you considered to be most in the public interest. My own opinion is that if Dolabella has an armed band, a fortified position, any place where he can make a stand, your cause and your high position demand that you should go after him.

I know nothing about the forces of our friend Cas- 2
sius, for I have no letter from him in person, and no news in which I could have assurance has come in. But you understand of course how important it is that Dolabella should be overcome, partly that he may pay the full penalty of his crime, but also to deprive the robber-chiefs who have fled from Mutina of a rallying-point. And indeed you may recall from my previous correspondence that I favoured this course for some time back, although your camp was then our haven of refuge and your army the last guarantee of our safety. Now that, as I hope, we are free from danger, we ought all the more to be taken up with the overthrow of Dolabella. But you will ponder over this with particular care, and you will summon wisdom to your resolve. You will, if you think fit, let us know what decision you have reached, and what measures you are taking.

I want my son Cicero to be co-opted into your 3
college.^a I reckon that it is quite possible to take

rationem sacerdotum comitiis posse haberi ; nam etiam factum est antea : Gaius enim Marius, cum in Cappadocia esset, lege Domitia factus est augur, nec quo minus id postea liceret, ulla lex sanxit ; est etiam lege Iulia, quae lex est de sacerdotiis proxima, his verbis, QVI PETET CVIVSVE RATIO HABEBITVR. Aperte indicatum posse rationem haberi non petentis. Hac de re scripsi ad eum, ut tuo iudicio uteretur, sicut in rebus omnibus, tibi autem statuendum est de Domitio, de Catone nostro ; sed quamvis licet absentis rationem haberi, tamen omnia sunt praesentibus facilia. Quod si statueris in Asiam tibi eundem, nulla
 4 erit ad comitia nostros accessendi facultas. Omnino¹ Pansa vivo celeriora omnia putabamus ; statim enim collegam sibi subrogavisset, deinde ante praetoria sacerdotum comitia fuissent : nunc per auspicia longam moram video ; dum enim unus erit patricius magistratus, auspicia ad patres redire non possunt : magna sane perturbatio. Tu, tota de re quid sentias, velim me facias certiore. III. Nonas Maias.

¹ facultas. Omnino Pansa *Purser*. facultas omnino. Pansa *Tyrrell and Purser*.

^a A law of Caesar, not otherwise known.

^b Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 32 B.C.

^c M. Porcius Cato, son of Cato of Utica, and brother-in-law of Brutus.

^d If this had happened, the corporate patricians would at once have nominated an interrex, who would have convened the electoral assembly in place of the deceased consul.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, IX.

absent persons into consideration at the elections of priests. In fact, this has been done before now, for when Gaius Marius was in Cappadocia, he was made augur under the Domitian law, and no statute has ruled out this procedure for the future. There is also a phrase in the Julian law,^a the latest measure to regulate the priesthoods: "whosoever shall make application or be taken into consideration." This plainly implies that a person not applying may also be taken into consideration. I have written to him, so that he may avail himself of your advice on this as on all other matters; but it is for you to settle the case of Domitius^b and our friend Cato.^c And yet, although it may be lawful to take an absent person into consideration, everything is made easier all the same for those who are present; and if you decide that you must go to Asia, there will be no opportunity of summoning our candidates to the polls.

If Pansa were still alive, I believe that everything ⁴ all round would have moved faster, for he would have held the by-election for his new colleague without loss of time, and then the elections for the priest-hoods would have preceded those for the praetorships. Now I can see that the auspices will cause a long delay; for so long as an individual patrician remains in the magistracy, the auspices cannot revert to the patriciate.^d Quite an imbroglio, I do declare! I wish you would let me know your opinion on the whole question. May 5.

CICERO

X (I. 4 §§ 1-3)

M. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Dyrrhachii, A.U.C. 711

1 Quanta sim laetitia affectus cognitis rebus Bruti nostri et consulum, facilius est tibi existimare quam mihi scribere : cum alia laudo et gaudeo accidisse, tum quod Bruti eruptio non solum ipsi salutaris fuit, 2 sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adiumento. Quod scribis mihi trium Antoniorum unam atque eandem causam esse, quid ego sentiam mei iudicii esse, statuo nihil nisi hoc, senatus aut populi Romani iudicium esse de iis civibus, qui pugnantes non interierint. "At hoc ipsum," inquis "inique facis, qui hostilis animi in rem publicam homines cives appelles." Immo iustissime ; quod enim nondum senatus censuit nec populus Romanus iussit, id arroganter non praeiudico neque revoco ad arbitrium meum : illud quidem non muto, quod ei, quem me occidere res non coegit, neque crudeliter quidquam eripui neque dissolute quidquam remisi habuique in mea potestate, quoad bellum fuit. Multo equidem honestius iudico magisque quod concedere possit res publica miserorum fortunam non insectari quam infinite tribuere po-

^a In answer to Letter VII.

^b Decimus Brutus, who had broken out of Mutina.

^c Gaius Antonius.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, x.

X (I. 4 §§ 1-3)

BRUTUS TO CICERO ^a

Dyrrhachium, about May 7, 43 B.C. .

It is easier for you to imagine than for me to express in writing how delighted I was to be informed of the doings of our friend Brutus ^b and of the consuls. Of all the events, that which earns my highest praise and gives me most satisfaction is that Brutus' sortie not only secured his own safety, but contributed more than anything to the victory.

You tell me that the case of the three Antonii is ² one and the same, and that it is for me to form my own conclusions. I have only this one rule to lay down, that judgement on those citizens who escaped death in battle belongs to the Senate and people of Rome. "Ah," you will exclaim, "you are wrong in what you just said, in that you give the name of citizens to men who are enemies of the state in intention!" No, no, I am absolutely right! For I will not presume to pass a premature judgement on a case on which the Senate has not yet formulated an opinion nor the people expressed its will, nor will I call away the case for my private decision. In this I stand firm: in dealing with a man ^c whom the force of circumstances did not oblige me to kill, I have not robbed him of anything in a spirit of vindictiveness, nor have I carelessly given anything away to him, but I have retained him in my power for the war's duration. Nay, I consider it far more honourable and more permissible under the state's authority to refrain from pressing hard on the plight of the stricken than to lavish without stint upon the power-

CICERO

tentibus, quae cupiditatem et arrogantiam incendere
3 possint. Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime atque fortis-
sime mihiq̄ merito et meo nomine et rei publicae
carissime, nimis credere videris spei tuae statimq̄,
ut quisque aliquid recte fecerit, omnia dare ac per-
mittere, quasi non liceat traduci ad mala consilia
corruptum largitionibus animum. Quae tua est
humanitas, aequo animo te moneri patieris, prae-
sertim de communi salute: facies tamen, quod tibi
visum fuerit; etiam ego, cum me docueris . . .

XI (I. 4 §§ 3-6)

M. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

In castris, A.U.C. 711

3 . . . Nunc, Cicero, nunc agendum est, ne frustra
oppressum esse Antonium gavisi simus neu semper
primi cuiusque mali excidendi causa sit, ut aliud re-
4 nascatur illo peius. Nihil iam neque opinantibus aut
patientibus nobis adversi evenire potest, in quo non
cum omnium culpa, tum praecipue tua futura sit,
cuius tantam auctoritatem senatus ac populus Roma-
nus non solum esse patitur, sed etiam cupit, quanta
maxime in libera civitate unius esse potest: quam
tu non solum bene sentiendo, sed etiam prudenter
658

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, X.-XI.

ful such gifts as may inflame their greed and insolence.

In this matter, Cicero, you best and bravest of 3 men, and deservedly dearest to me both on my own and on the public account, I think your hopes colour your beliefs overmuch, and as soon as any man has taken some right step, you are over-hasty in granting him everything and putting all at his disposal, as though it were against the laws of Nature that a man should have his head turned by immoderate favours and be perverted to wicked purposes. A man of your high culture will take my warning good-humouredly, the more so as it touches on our common safety. All the same, you will act on your own discretion. I too, when you have informed me, . . .

XI (I. 4 §§ 3-6)

BRUTUS TO CICERO

In camp, May 15, 43 B.C.

Now, Cicero, now we must so act, that our rejoicings 3 over the crushing of Antony shall not prove delusive, and that the agency by which we seek to remove each evil as it presents itself shall not always be the means of producing a worse evil in its stead. For no di- 4 saster which may befall us through lack of foresight or through supineness can fail to bring discredit on all of us, but especially on you, whom the Senate and people of Rome allow, nay desire to wield such a measure of plenary authority as a free state can commit to one man. This authority you must protect, not by your loyal sentiment alone, but by your

tueri debes. Prudentia porro, quae tibi superest, nulla abs te desideratur nisi modus in tribuendis honoribus. Alia omnia sic adsunt, ut cum quolibet antiquorum comparari possint tuae virtutes : unum hoc a grato animo liberalique profectum, cautiorem ac moderatiorem liberalitatem, desiderant ; nihil enim senatus cuiquam dare debet, quod male cogitantibus exemplum aut praesidio sit. Itaque timco de consulatu, ne Caesar tuus altius se ascendisse putet decretis tuis, 5 quam inde, si consul factus sit, sit descensurum. Quod si Antonius ab alio relictum regni instrumentum occasionem regnandi habuit, quonam animo fore putas, si quis auctore non tyranno interfecto, sed ipso senatu putet se imperia quaelibet concupiscere posse ? quare tum et facilitatem et providentiam laudabo tuam, cum exploratum habere coepero Caesarem honoribus, quos acceperit, extraordinariis fore contentum. “ Alienae igitur,” inquires, “ culpa reum subiicies ? ” Prorsus alienae, si provideri potuit, ne existeret : quod utinam inspectare possis timorem de illo meum !

6 His litteris scriptis consulem te factum audivimus : vero incipiam proponere mihi rem publicam iustam

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XI.

sagacity. Moreover, your sagacity, of which you have enough and to spare, is all that we ask for—save for some moderation in the bestowal of high office.

You have everything else in such abundance, that your merits would bear comparison with any of the ancient worthies; they lack but one thing as the outcome of a grateful and generous disposition, that its generosity should be tempered by greater prudence and a keener sense of proportion. For the Senate should not bestow upon anyone such gifts as may provide a precedent or position of vantage to men with evil designs. That is why I feel alarmed about the consulship, lest your Caesar should think that your decrees had raised him to such a pinnacle that, once elected to a consulship, he should refuse to climb down from it.

Why, if Antony found in the equipment of monarchy left by another man an opportunity of making himself a monarch, how do you think it will affect a man if he should imagine himself free to covet any sort of sovereign power, and this at the prompting, not of a slain tyrant, but of the Senate itself? Therefore I shall extol your readiness and your foresight on the day when I begin to feel convinced that Caesar will be content with such extraordinary honours as he may receive. “Then you will hold me to account for the failings of others?” you will say. Yes, for others’ faults, no less, if they could have been prevented by a display of foresight! I say this, because I wish you could gain insight into my apprehensions about that man!

After writing this note I heard that you had been made consul. If I see that come true, then indeed I shall begin to visualize a free state true to its name

CICERO

et iam suis nitentem viribus, si istuc videro. Filius valet et in Macedoniam cum equitatu praemissus est. Idibus Maiis, ex castris.

XII (I. 6)

M. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

Candaviae, A.U.C. 711

1 Noli expectare, dum tibi gratias agam : iampridem hoc ex nostra necessitudine, quae ad summam benevolentiam pervenit, sublatum esse debet. Filius tuus a me abest, in Macedonia congregiemur ; iussus est enim Ambracia ducere equites per Thessaliam et scripsi ad eum, ut mihi Heracliam occurreret : cum eum videro, quoniam nobis permittis, communiter constituemus de reditu eius ad petitionem aut commendationem honoris. Tibi Glycona, medicum Pansae, qui sororem Achilleos nostri in matrimonio habet, diligentissime commendo. Audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Pansae custodiri ut parricidam. Nihil minus credendum est ; quis enim maiorem calamitatem morte Pansae accepit ? praeterea est modestus homo et frugi, quem ne utilitas quidem videatur impulsura fuisse ad facinus. Rogo te, et quidem valde rogo—nam Achilleus noster non minus, quam aequum est, laborat—, eripias eum ex custodia conservesque : hoc ego ad

^a In answer to Letter IX.

^b A. Manlius Torquatus, Pansa's quaestor.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XI.—XII.

and standing firmly once more on its own feet. Your son is well, and I have sent him in advance to Macedonia with a troop of horse. May 15, in camp.

XII (I. 6)

BRUTUS TO CICERO ^a

Candavia (in Epirus), May 19, 43 B.C.

Don't wait for me to express my thanks to you. ¹
In view of our intimacy, which has risen to the highest degree of friendliness, we ought long ago to have dispensed with this formality. Your son has parted company with me ; we are to meet again in Macedonia. He is under orders to conduct a troop of horse from Ambracia by way of Thessaly. I have written to him to rejoin me at Heraclea. When I see him, we shall confer and come to an arrangement—since you are leaving the matter in our hands—for him to return for his suit or to obtain a recommendation.

To you I most earnestly recommend Glycon, the ²
physician of Pansa, who has the sister of our man Achilles for his wife. I hear he has fallen under Torquatus' ^b suspicion in connexion with the death of Pansa, and is being kept in custody as a parricide. Nothing could deserve less credence, for to whom has Pansa's death dealt a worse disaster ? Besides, he is steady and a worthy fellow who, you would think, could not even be driven to crime by the prospect of gain. I beg you, yes, I beg you insistently (for our man Achilles is as much perturbed as the occasion demands), rescue him from detention and

CICERO

meum officium privatarum rerum aequae atque ullam
3 aliam rem pertinere arbitror. Cum has ad te scriberem litteras, a Satrio, legato C. Trebonii, reddita est epistula mihi, a Tillio et Deiotaro Dolabellam caesum fugatumque esse: Graecam epistulam tibi
4 misi Cicerei cuiusdam ad Satrium missam. Flavius noster de controversia, quam habet cum Dyrrhachinis hereditariam, sumpsit te iudicem: rogo te, Cicero, et Flavius rogat, rem conficias. Quin ei, qui Flavium fecit heredem, pecuniam debuerit civitas, non est dubium, neque Dyrrhachini infitiantur, sed sibi donatum aes alienum a Caesare dicunt: noli pati a necessariis tuis necessario meo iniuriam fieri. XIII. K. Iunias ex castris ad imam Candaviam.

XIII (I. 1)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

1 L. Clodius, tribunus plebis designatus, valde me diligit vel, ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat: quod cum mihi ita persuasum sit, non dubito—bene enim me nosti—, quin illum quoque iudices a me amari; nihil enim mihi minus hominis videtur quam non respondere in amore eis, a quibus provocere. Is mihi visus est suspicari, nec sine magno quidem

* L. Tillius Cimber, a tyrannicide; governor of Bithynia.

^b King of the Galatians.

^c C. Flavius, Brutus' praefectus fabrum.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XII.—XIII.

keep him safe. I consider that this is as clear a case as any of a call to duty in a private affair.

While I was writing this note, I was handed a ³ dispatch from Satrius, the legate of Trebonius, that Dolabella had been cut up and routed by Tillius ^a and Deiotarus.^b I have sent you a letter in Greek from a certain Cicereius to Satrius.

Our friend Flavius ^c has chosen you umpire in a ⁴ dispute about a legacy which he has on hand with the people of Dyrrhachium. I beg you, Cicero, and Flavius begs you, to settle the matter. It is not in doubt that the person who appointed Flavius as his heir had the money owing to him by the city, and the people of Dyrrhachium do not deny it; but they allege that the debt was remitted in their favour by Caesar. Do not suffer a wrong to be done to my close friend by yours. May 19, in camp, at the base of the Candavia valley.

XIII (I. 1)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, about May 20, 43 B.C.

L. Clodius, a tribune of the plebs elect, has a great ¹ fondness or, to express myself with more verve, a great love for me. Having satisfied myself of this, I have no doubt you will conclude (for you can read me like a book) that I requite his love. For it seems to me that nothing less becomes a man than to make no response to those who would draw you out in mutual love. I have had the impression that he suspects (and does so indeed to his own great distress)

dolore, aliquid a suis vel per suos potius iniquos ad te esse delatum, quo tuus animus a se esset alienior. Non soleo, mi Brute, quod tibi notum esse arbitror, temere affirmare de altero, est enim periculosum propter occultas hominum voluntates multiplicesque naturas : Clodi animum perspectum habeo, cognitum, iudicatum ; multa eius indicia, sed ad scribendum non necessaria, volo enim testimonium hoc tibi videri potius quam epistulam. Auctus Antonii beneficio est—eius ipsius beneficii magna pars a te est— : 2 itaque eum salvis nobis vellet salvum. In eum autem locum rem adductam intellegit—est enim, ut scis, minime stultus—, ut utrique salvi esse non possint : itaque nos mavult ; de te vero amicissime et loquitur et sentit. Quare, si quis secus ad te de eo scripsit aut si coram locutus est, peto a te etiam atque etiam, mihi ut potius credas, qui et facilius iudicare possum quam ille nescio quis et te plus diligo. Clodium tibi amicissimum existima civemque talem, qualis et prudentissimus et fortuna optima esse debet.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XIII.

that his personal enemies have originated or rather transmitted to you some piece of news, so as to make you less well-disposed to him. It is not my habit, my dear Brutus—and I think you need not be told so—to make haphazard assertions about another man : the hidden motives of men and their complex natures make that a rash proceeding ; but Clodius' mind I have probed and tried and weighed up judicially. There are many revelations of it, but these need not be set down on paper, for I want you to take this as a formal deposition rather than a letter of recommendation. He has obtained promotion by favour of Antony, and Antony's favour was actually inspired in large measure by you. So he would like Antony to come to no harm, provided that we suffer none.

But he realizes (for he is, as you know, anything but **2** dull-witted) that it has come to this, that *both* parties cannot be secure. For this reason he prefers us to be so, indeed his remarks and his feelings in regard to you are most friendly. Therefore if anyone has represented him otherwise to you in a letter or in conversation, I beg you insistently to take my word in preference, seeing that I have better means of judging than his traducer (whoever he may be), and I have a greater affection for you. Let Clodius rank in your esteem as a very good friend and as a citizen of such worth as his ample good sense and his abundant fortune ought to make him.

CICERO

XIV (I. 2)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

- 1 Scripta et obsignata iam epistula litterae mihi reditae sunt a te plenae rerum novarum, maximeque mirabile Dolabellam quinque cohortes misisse in Chersonesum. Adeone copiis abundat, ut is, qui ex Asia fugere dicebatur, Europam appetere conetur? quinque autem cohortibus quidnam se facturum arbitratus est, cum tu eo loco quinque legiones, optimum equitatum, maxima auxilia haberes? quas quidem cohortes spero iam tuas esse, quoniam latro ille tam
- 2 fuit demens. Tuum consilium vehementer laudo, quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Itaque, quod scribis postea statuiste te ducere exercitum in Chersonesum nec pati sceleratissimo hosti ludibrio esse imperium populi Romani, facis ex tua dignitate et ex re publica.
- 3 Quod scribis de seditione, quae facta est in legione quarta decima fraude C. Antonii—in bonam partem accipies—magis mihi probatur militum severitas quam tua clementia. . . .

• The Gallipoli peninsula.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XIV.

XIV (I. 2)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, about May 20, 43 B.C.

My note had already been written and sealed up 1 when your letter came to hand with its big budget of news, and most astonishing of all, that Dolabella had sent five cohorts to the Chersonese.^a Is he so over-provided with troops, that when reported in flight from Asia he should make a dash at Europe? But five cohorts! Whatever did he expect to achieve with those, when you had five legions in the same quarter, an excellent cavalry and very strong auxiliary forces? Indeed, seeing that the bandit has committed such a mad act, I hope that by now those cohorts are in your possession.

I heartily commend your strategy, in that you did 2 not move your army from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium until you had heard of the flight of Antony, of Brutus' sortie, of the Roman people's victory. Therefore when you decided (as you inform me) to conduct your army to the Chersonese and not to suffer that utter scoundrel of an enemy to insult the sovereignty of Rome, your action is in keeping with your high position and in the interests of the state.

As for the mutiny which was caused, so you say, by 3 the intrigues of C. Antonius among the fourteenth legion, you will take it in good part—I think better of the strong measures taken by the troops than of your leniency. . . .

CICERO

XV (I. 8)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

- 1 Multos tibi commendabo et commendem necesse est—optimus enim quisque vir et civis maxime sequitur tuum iudicium tibi que omnes fortes viri navare operam et studium volunt nec quisquam est, quin ita existimet, meam apud te et auctoritatem et
- 2 gratiam valere plurimum—sed C. Nasennium, municipem Suessanum, tibi ita commendo, ut neminem diligentius. Cretensi bello Metello imperatore octavum principem duxit; postea in re familiari occupatus fuit: hoc tempore cum rei publicae partibus, tum tua excellenti dignitate commotus vult per te aliquid auctoritatis assumere. Fortem virum, Brute, tibi commendo, frugi hominem et, si quid ad rem pertinet, etiam locupletem: pergratum mihi erit, si eum ita tractaris, ut merito tuo mihi gratias agere possit.

XVI (I. 11)

M. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

In castris, A.U.C. 711

- 1 Veteris Antistii talis animus in rem publicam, ut non dubitem, quin et in Caesare et in Antonio se

^a 69–67 B.C., against the Cretan pirates.

^b Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul 69 B.C.

^c C. Antistius Vetus, a former officer of Caesar; perhaps to be identified with the consul suffectus of 30 B.C.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, xv.-xvi.

XV (I. 8)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, end of May or early June, 43 B.C.

I shall recommend large numbers of men to you, 1
and recommend them I must needs. For all the
worthiest men and citizens pay the highest regard to
your judgement, and all stout-hearted men want
to work heart and soul for you, and there is none but
holds the view that my claim to your deference and
gratitude carry great weight with you.

But C. Nasennius, from the borough of Suessa, I 2
recommend to you with special earnestness. In the
Cretan war,^a under the command of Metellus,^b he was
first centurion of the eighth cohort. In the years
to follow he attended to his family affairs. At
the present time, under the compelling influence of
party loyalty and of your pre-eminent high rank,
he wants to obtain through you some position of
authority. I recommend him to you, Brutus, as a
gallant man, a man of distinction and, if this is
relevant to the case, of ample means. I shall be
deeply obliged, if you give him such treatment that
he may be able to thank me on the strength of your
good deed.

XVI (I. 11)

BRUTUS TO CICERO

In camp, first half of June, 43 B.C.

Vetus Antistius ^c is so good a patriot that he would, 1
I doubt not, have stood forth as an enthusiastic

praestaturus fuerit acerrimum propugnatorem communis liberatis, si occasione potuisset occurrere; nam, qui in Achaia congressus cum P. Dolabella milites atque equites habente quodvis adire periculum ex insidiis paratissimi ad omnia latronis maluerit quam videri aut coactus esse pecuniam dare aut libenter dedisse homini nequissimo atque improbissimo, is nobis ultro et pollicitus est et dedit HS. [XX] ex sua pecunia et, quod multo carius est, se ipsum obtulit et
 2 coniunxit. Huic persuadere cupiimus, ut imperator in castris remaneret remque publicam defenderet: sed¹ statuit id sibi non licere,² quoniam exercitum dimisisset; statim vero rediturum ad nos confirmavit legatione suscepta, nisi praetorum comitia habituri essent consules—nam illi ita sentienti de re publica magno opere auctor fui, ne differret tempus petitionis suae—: cuius factum omnibus gratum esse debet, qui modo iudicant hunc exercitum esse utilem³ rei publicae, tibi tanto gratius, quanto maiore et animo gloriaque libertatem nostram defendis et dignitate, si contigerit nostris consiliis exitus, quem optamus, perfuncturus es. Ego etiam, mi Cicero, proprie familiariterque te rogo, ut Veterem ames velisque esse quam amplissimum, qui etsi nulla re deterreri a proposito potest, tamen excitari tuis laudibus indul-

¹ sed added by Tyrrell and Purser.

² non licere added by Gurlitt.

³ utilem A² Crat. : debet or debere.

champion of the common liberty in the face of Caesar and Antony, if he had been able to meet the emergency. When he came across Dolabella with infantry and mounted troops in Achaia, he preferred to brave any danger from a covert attack by a bandit who is quite prepared for any trick, than to offer the appearance of having given money, whether under duress or of his own free will, to an utterly villainous and unscrupulous fellow; and the same man has offered and actually made us a free gift of 2,000,000 sesterces out of his funds and has presented himself in person and come to my side—a service which I prize far more highly.

We were anxious to induce him to stay with the 2 colours as an independent commander and defend the free state. He has decided that this course is not open to him, seeing that he has disbanded his forces. But he assured us that he would return to me with a legate's commission, were it not that the consuls were about to hold elections for the praetorships. I mention this, for since this was what he felt about his political career, I strongly urged him not to put off the time of his candidature. What he has done should earn the gratitude of all men, if they but recognize that this army of mine is of service to the state; but you should feel all the more obliged to him, as you have shown more spirit and won more renown in defence of our liberty, and will crown your career with a higher honour, if our policy should be favoured with the result for which we hope. I too, my dear Cicero, beg you particularly and as a close friend to be kind to Vetus and to wish him all possible distinction. Though nothing could deter him from his resolve, yet encouragement and generous

CICERO

gentiaque poterit, quo magis amplectetur ac tueatur iudicium suum : et mihi gratissimum erit.

XVII (I. 17)

M. BRUTUS S. D. ATTICO

In castris, A.U.C. 711

1 Scribis mihi mirari Ciceronem, quod nihil significem umquam de suis actis : quoniam me flagitas, coactu tuo scribam, quae sentio. Omnia fecisse Ciceronem optimo animo scio ; quid enim mihi exploratius esse potest quam illius animus in rem publicam ? sed quaedam mihi videtur, quid dicam ? “ imperite,” vir omnium prudentissimus, an “ ambitiose ” fecisse, qui valentissimum Antonium suscipere pro re publica non dubitarit inimicum ? Nescio, quid scribam tibi, nisi unum : pueri et cupiditatem et licentiam potius esse irritatam quam repressam a Cicerone, tantumque eum tribuere huic indulgentiae, ut se maledictis non absteineat, iis quidem, quae in ipsum dupliciter recidunt, quod et plures occidit uno seque prius oportet fateatur sicarium, quam obiiciat Cascae quod obiicit, et imitatur in Casca Bestiam. An, quia non omnibus horis iactamus Idus Martias similiter atque ille Nonas Decembres suas in ore habet, eo meliore con-

^a Octavian.

^b P. Servilius Casca, one of the leading tyrannicides.

^c L. Calpurnius Bestia, one of Cicero's principal opponents at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy.

^d December 5th, 63 B.C., was the date on which Cicero executed Catiline's accomplices, after a debate in the Senate.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XVI.—XVII.

treatment from you may stimulate him to adhere to his decision and persist in it all the more firmly. And you will do me a great favour.

XVII (I. 17)

BRUTUS TO ATTICUS

In camp, early June, 43 B.C.

You write to me that Cicero is surprised that I never refer to any of his activities. In view of your insistence, I shall record my opinions under duress from you. I know that Cicero has always acted with the best intentions; for what could be better approved in my eyes than his high spirit in matters of politics? But I have the impression that this most sagacious of men has acted on some occasions—how shall I put it?—unskilfully, or in his personal interest, seeing that he has not hesitated, “for the state’s sake,” to incur a feud with Antony when at the height of his power. I know not what to write to you, save just this, that Cicero has inflamed rather than checked the boy’s ^a greed and lawlessness and is lavishing upon him so many signs of obsequiousness, that he cannot refrain from making malicious remarks, which recoil upon him in a double sense, in that he has more than one man’s blood on his hands and so must own up to murder on his own part, before he can reproach Casca ^b as he does; and again, when he attacks Casca he follows in Bestia’s ^c wake. Granted that we do not boast at all hours of the Ides of March, in the same way as he carries the Nones of December on his tongue,^d does that give Cicero a

ditione Cicero pulcherrimum factum vituperabit,
 quam Bestia et Clodius reprehendere illius consula-
 2 tum soliti sunt? Sustinuisse mihi gloriatur bellum
 Antoni togatus Cicero noster: quid hoc mihi prodest,
 si merces Antoni oppressi poscitur in Antoni locum
 successio et si vindex illius mali auctor exstitit alterius
 fundamentum et radices habituri altiores. Sic patiamur,
 ut iam ista, quae facit, dominationem an domi-
 num an Antonium timentis sint? Ego autem gratiam
 non habeo, si quis, dum ne irato serviat, rem ipsam
 non deprecatur. Immo triumphus et stipendium
 et omnibus decretis hortatio, ne eius pudeat concupiscere fortunam, cuius nomen susceperit: consu-
 3 laris hoc aut Ciceronis est? Quoniam mihi tacere
 non licuit, leges, quae tibi necesse est molesta esse;
 etenim ipse sentio, quanto cum dolore haec ad te
 scripserim, nec ignoro, quid sentias in re publica et
 quam desperatum quoque sanari putes posse, nec
 meherecule te, Attice, reprehendo, actas enim, mores,
 liberi segnem efficiunt, quod quidem etiam ex Flavio
 4 nostro perspexi. Sed redeo ad Ciceronem: quid
 inter Salvidienum et cum interest? quid autem
 amplius ille decerneret? "Timet," inquires, "etiam
 nunc reliquias belli civilis." Quisquam ergo ita timet

* Q. Salvidienus Rufus, a man of obscure origin who had bound up his fortune with that of Octavian.

better warrant to cast abuse on our magnificent deed than Bestia and Clodius possessed when they made a habit of carping at his consulship ?

Our Cicero boasts to me, that in civilian garb he 2 bore the brunt of Antony's armed assault. Of what benefit is this to me, if the reward claimed for the overthrow of Antony is to be the reversion to Antony's position, and if he who championed us against that evil has taken the lead in raising up another evil which will be more firmly based and more deeply rooted ? Are we to humour him, on the theory that his present doings are inspired by fear of despotism, or of a despot—or of Antony in person ? I for my part can feel no obligation to a man who draws the line at serving an *angry* despot, but does not protest against despotism as such. Nay more, a triumph, pay for the army, an incitation in every decree to brazen it out and scramble for the position of the man whose name he has assumed—is that what one expects of a consular or of Cicero ?

Since you would not let me remain silent, you will 3 read things which are bound to annoy you. To be sure I also can feel how much it hurts me to write to you in this strain, and I am well aware what are your views about the state, and how desperate too, though not incurable, you consider its condition. And I swear, Atticus, I do not blame you ! Your age, your habits, your family dull your spirit ; yes, and our friend Flavius too made me realize this !

But to return to Cicero. What is the difference 4 between Salvidienus^a and him ? Why, what more fullsome honours could the former propose ? You say, " he fears even now the aftermath of the civil war." Does anyone hold a war that is as good as

CICERO

profligatum, ut neque potentiam eius, qui exercitum victorem habet, neque temeritatem pueri putet extimescendam esse? an hoc ipsum ea re facit, quod illi propter amplitudinem omnia iam ultroque deferenda putat? O magnam stultitiam timoris, id ipsum, quod verearis, ita cavere, ut, cum vitare fortasse potueris, ultro arcessas et attrahas! Nimum timemus mortem et exsilium et paupertatem: haec nimirum¹ videntur Ciceroni ultima esse in malis, et dum habeat a quibus impetret, quae velit, et a quibus colatur ac laudetur, servitutem, honorificam modo, non aspernatur—si quidquam in extrema ac miser-

5 rima contumelia potest honorificum esse. Licet ergo patrem appellet Octavius Ciceronem, referat omnia, laudet, gratias agat, tamen illud apparebit, verba rebus esse contraria: quid enim tam alienum ab humanis sensibus est quam eum patris habere loco, qui ne liberi quidem hominis numero sit? atqui eo tendit, id agit, ad eum exitum properat vir optimus, ut sit illi Octavius propitius. Ego vero iam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus Ciceronem scio instructissimum esse; quid enim illi prosunt, quae pro libertate patriae, quae de dignitate, quae de morte, exsilio, paupertate scripsit copiosissime? quanto autem magis

¹ *Stangl*: mihi.

won in such dread, as not to give a thought to the power of the man who disposes of the victorious army, nor for the adventurousness of the boy, that these give occasion for the utmost alarm? Is this the reason for his particular line of action, that he thinks that everything should be laid at that man's feet, in anticipation of his demands, as a tribute to his greatness? What fools fear makes of men, that your precautions against the object of your dread should actually have the effect of drawing it on and bringing it over you, when there was a chance of steering clear of it! We carry our fear of death and exile and poverty too far. These of course appear to Cicero as the extremes of misfortune, and so long as he can find people who will give him what he wants and will cultivate and compliment him, he does not disdain servitude, so long as it is servitude with honour—if there can be any honour in suffering the deepest and most ignominious affronts.

Let Octavius then call Cicero "father," submit 5 everything to him, compliment him, and express his gratitude, all the same the fact will show through, that his words are belied by his deeds. For what can be so inconsistent with decent human feeling as to treat like a parent a person who does not even count as a free man? Yet this is the object and proceeding of that worthy fellow, this the goal to which he is driving, that Octavius may be gracious to him. For my part I no longer pay any homage to those arts in which I know that Cicero is a virtuoso. For of what use to him are those extremely voluminous writings of his *In Defence of our Country's Freedom, On Dignified Conduct, On Death, On Exile, On Poverty*? Aye, how much surer a touch in those matters has

illa callere videtur Philippus, qui privigno minus tribuerit, quam Cicero, qui alieno tribuat! Desinat igitur gloriando etiam insectari dolores nostros: quid enim nostra victum esse Antonium, si victus est, ut
 6 alii vacaret, quod ille obtinuit? Tametsi tuae litterae dubia etiam nunc significant. Vivat hercule Cicero, qui potest, supplex et obnoxius, si neque aetatis neque honorum neque rerum gestarum pudet: ego certe, quin cum ipsa re bellum geram, hoc est cum regno et imperiis extraordinariis et dominatione et potentia, quae supra leges se esse velit, nulla erit tam bona condicio serviendi, qua deterrear, quamvis sit vir bonus, ut scribis, Octavius,¹ quod ego numquam existimavi; sed dominum ne parentem quidem maiores nostri voluerunt. Te nisi tantum amarem, quantum Ciceroni persuasum est diligi se ab Octavio, haec ad te non scripsissem: dolet mihi, quod tu nunc stomacharis amantissimus cum tuorum omnium, tum Ciceronis; sed persuade tibi de voluntate propria mea nihil esse remissum, de iudicio largiter, neque enim impetrari potest, quin, quale quidque videatur ei, ta-
 7 lem quisque de illo opinionem habeat. Vellem mihi scripsisses, quae condiciones essent Atticae nostrae: potuissem aliquid tibi de meo sensu perscribere. Valetudinem Porciae meae tibi curae esse non miror. Denique, quod petis, faciam libenter, nam etiam

¹ *Tunstall*: Antonius.

^a L. Marcius Philippus, consul in 56 B.C., and stepfather of Octavian. He favoured a compromise between Antony and the Senate.

^b The daughter of Atticus, eventually betrothed to M. Vipsanius Agrippa. (She was only seven years old at the time.)

^c Brutus' wife, daughter of Cato of Utica.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, xvii.

Philippus,^a seeing that he has given away less to his stepson than Cicero gives away to a stranger. So let him cease positively to pursue us with his boastings and inflame our sores! For what advantage is it to us that Antony has suffered defeat, if his defeat merely serves to put the place which he held at another's disposal?

And yet your letter implies a doubt even now. **6** Very well then! Let Cicero live on as a suppliant and an underling, since he is capable of such things, if he has no respect for his age or high rank or his achievements. For me, I am sure, no terms of servitude will ever be so attractive, but I shall wage war against the real enemy, that is, with monarchy and irregular commands and despotism and a power that presumes to set itself above the laws, no matter how good a man (as you say) Octavius is, though I never took him for that. Nay, our ancestors would not tolerate despotism even in a parent.

If my affection for you were not as great as is Octavius' fondness for Cicero in Cicero's own conviction, I should not have written to you in this tone. I am sorry that your abundant love for your own folk, aye, and for Cicero, is causing you vexation; but assure yourself of this, that my personal goodwill is unabated, though my judgement of him is greatly impaired: for you cannot prevent a man from seeing things in that particular light in which they present themselves to him.

I wish you had informed me of the terms for our **7** dear Attica's ^b betrothal; I should then have been able to give you something of my views. I am not surprised that Porcia's ^c health is causing you anxiety. Finally, I shall be glad to do what you ask me, for

sorores me rogant : et hominem noro et quid sibi voluerit.

XVIII (I. 10)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

- 1 Nullas adhuc a te litteras habebamus, ne famam quidem, quae declararet te cognita senatus auctoritate in Italiam adducere exercitum ; quod ut faceres idque maturares, magno opere desiderabat res publica, ingravescit enim in dies intestinum malum nec externis hostibus magis quam domesticis laboramus, qui erant omnino ab initio belli, sed facilius frangebantur : erectior senatus erat non sententiis solum nostris, sed etiam cohortationibus excitatus : erat in senatu satis vehemens et acer Pansa cum in ceteros huius generis, tum maxime in socerum, cui consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit.
- 2 Bellum ad Mutinam ita gerebatur, nihil ut in Caesare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio ; huius belli fortuna,

ut in secundis, fluxa, ut in adversis, bona :

erat vietrix res publica caesis Antonii copiis, ipso

* Fufius Calenus (Letter II § 4).

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XVII.—XVIII.

your sisters are making the same request. I shall get to know the man and find out his intentions.

XVIII (I. 10)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, middle of June, 43 B.C.

I have so far received no letter from you, no, nor 1 even a rumour to notify me that you were acquainted with the Senate's resolution and were bringing an army to Italy. The free state is most anxious that you should do so, and that quickly, for our home troubles are growing more serious every day, and our difficulties with our enemies in the field are no greater than with those inside the gate. These enemies were present since the very beginning of the war, but it used to be easier to suppress them. The Senate had been encouraged, not only by our formal statements of opinion, but also by our calls to action, to take up a stiffer attitude. In the Senate Pansa displayed sufficient energy and zeal in dealing with the others of this sort and especially with his father-in-law ^a; in his consulship he showed no lack of spirit from the outset, and no lack of loyalty at the end.

The operations at Mutina were being conducted 2 in such a manner that no fault could be found with Caesar, albeit a certain amount with Hirtius. The luck of this war was

Frail for prosperous times, but good for times of woe.

Victory was the free state's when Antony's forces

CICERO

expulso. Bruti deinde ita multa peccata, ut quodam modo victoria excideret e manibus : perterritos, inermes, saucios non sunt nostri duces persecuti datumque Lepido tempus est, in quo levitatem eius saepe perspectam maioribus in malis experiremur. Sunt exercitus boni, sed rudes Bruti et Planci, sunt fidelissima et maxima auxilia Gallorum. Sed Caesarem meis consiliis adhuc gubernatum, praeclara ipsum indole admirabilique constantia improbissimis litteris quidam fallacibusque interpretibus ac nuntiis impulerunt in spem certissimam consulatus : quod simul atque sensi, neque ego illum absentem litteris monere destiti nec accusare praesentes eius necessarios, qui eius cupiditati suffragari videbantur. Nec in senatu sceleratissimorum consiliorum fontes aperire dubitavi, nec vero ulla in re memini aut senatum meliorem aut magistratus ; numquam enim in honore extraordinario potentis hominis vel potentissimi potius—quandoquidem potentia iam in vi posita est et armis—accidit ut nemo tribunus plebis, nemo alio in magistratu, nemo privatus auctor existeret. Sed in hac constantia atque virtute erat tamen sollicita civitas : illudimur enim, Brute, tum militum deliciis, tum imperatoris insolentia : tantum quisque

• Antony. See the eighth *Philippic*.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XVIII.

were cut up and himself driven off. After that Brutus committed so many blunders that victory, as it were, slipped out of his grasp. Our leaders failed to pursue a demoralized, disarmed and badly mauled army, and time was given to Lepidus to exhibit that fickleness of his, which has often shown through in worse disasters. The troops of Brutus and Plancus are sound, but lacking in experience; the Gallic auxiliaries are entirely loyal, and strong in numbers.

But Caesar, who had hitherto been guided by my ³ advice, and is a man of splendid natural endowment and remarkable firmness of character, has been instigated by some utterly unscrupulous letters from certain quarters, and by deceitful agents and messengers, to reckon with complete certainty on a consulship. As soon as I became aware of this, I neither ceased to send him warning letters in his absence, nor to upbraid to their face his intimates who appeared to be pandering to his greed, and in the Senate I never hesitated to disclose the sources of those most criminal suggestions. And yet, to be sure, I cannot remember on any occasion a more patriotic Senate or boards of magistrates; for it has never yet happened that when an irregular office was being claimed by a powerful, or rather by an overwhelmingly strong personage ^a (for to be sure power now rests on physical force and armed might), that not a tribune of the plebs, not a magistrate of any other rank, not a private member came forward with a motion to that effect. But in the face of this firmness and manly bearing the citizens felt none the less uneasy; for, Brutus, the troops with their fastidious attitude and the general with his brazen demands, both of them are making play with us. Every man

se in re publica posse postulat, quantum habet virium; non ratio, non modus, non lex, non mos, non officium valet, non iudicium, non existimatio civium, non
 4 posteritatis verecundia. Haec ego multo ante prospiciens fugiebam ex Italia tum, cum me vestrorum edictorum fama revocavit; incitavisti vero tu me, Brute, Veliae. Quamquam enim dolebam in eam me urbem ire, quam tu fugeres, qui eam liberavisses, quod mihi quoque quondam acciderat periculo simili, casu tristiore, perrexi tamen Romamque perveni nulloque praesidio quatefeci Antonium contraque eius arma nefanda praesidia, quae oblata sunt Caesaris, consilio et auctoritate firmavi: qui si steterit fide mihi que paruerit, satis videmur habituri praesidii; sin autem impiorum consilia plus valuerint quam nostra aut imbecillitas aetatis non potuerit gravitatem rerum sustinere, spes omnis est in te. Quam ob rem advola, obsecro, atque eam rem publicam, quam virtute atque animi magnitudine magis quam eventis rerum liberavisti, exitu libera: omnis om-
 5 nium concursus ad te futurus est. Hortare idem per litteras Cassium: spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Firmos omnino et duces habemus ab occidente et exercitus; hoc

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XVIII.

claims for himself a power in the state proportionate to his military strength; reason, moderation, legality, tradition, loyalty carry no weight; trained judgement, public opinion, respect for posterity go for nothing.

Foreseeing this a long time in advance, I was 4 making my escape from Italy at the moment when the stir which was caused by your proclamations called me back; but it was you at Velia, Brutus, that roused me to action. For although I was loth to set foot in a city from which you were fleeing after you had set it free—an experience which had once befallen me under similar conditions of danger, but by a more distressing turn of events—I held my course all the same and made my way to Rome and without any military protection I shook up Antony, and in defiance of his armed ruffians, by my guidance and influence I strengthened the forces of defence that offered themselves under Caesar. If he will stand immutable and follow my lead, I believe that we can count on adequate protection; but if the promptings of those villains carry more weight with him than my advice, or if the infirmity of my old age falters under the weight of my commitments, all our hopes reside in you. Therefore come flying, I implore you, and definitely set free the state which hitherto you have freed by your manly bearing and highmindedness rather than by the actual outcome of events. All the world is ready to cast itself upon you.

Write to Cassius to urge him to the same course. 5 Our hope of freedom dwells nowhere but in the headquarters of your camp. In the West our generals and our troops are absolutely steadfast. I feel con-

CICERO

adulescentis praesidium equidem adhuc firmum esse confido, sed ita multi labefactant, ut, ne moveatur, interdum extimescam. Habes totum rei publicae statum, qui quidem tum erat, cum has litteras dabam. Velim deinceps meliora sint: sin aliter fuerit—quod di omen avertant!—rei publicae vicem dolebo, quae immortalis esse debebat, mihi quidem quantum reliqui est?

XIX (I. 9)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

I Fungerer officio, quo tu functus es in meo luctu, teque per litteras consolarer, nisi scirem iis remediis, quibus meum dolorem tu levasses, te in tuo non egere, ac velim facilius, quam tunc mihi, nunc tibi tute medeare. Est autem alienum tanto viro, quantus es tu, quod alteri praeceperit, id ipsum facere non posse. Me quidem cum rationes, quas collegeras, tum auctoritas tua a nimio maerore deterruit; cum enim mollius tibi ferre viderer, quam deceret virum, praesertim eum, qui alios consolari soleret, accusasti me

* By the death of his wife Porcia. See Letter XVII § 7.
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EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XVIII.—XIX.

fidest indeed that the defence which the young man provides here stands firm ; but so many hands are causing it to reel that I am sometimes filled with alarm lest it should give ground.

You have the whole political situation, just as it is at the time of my sending off this letter. I could wish that it should improve with the march of events. But should it be otherwise (may heaven forbend what this betokens !), my sorrow will go to the free state, for this by rights should be immune from death. As for myself, how little have I left to me !

XIX (I. 9)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, about the 18th of June, 43 B.C.

I should discharge the friendly duty which you performed on the occasion of my bereavement, and should send you a letter of condolence, did I not know that you do not require for your bereavement ^a those solaces with which you mitigated my grief, and I hope you will now effect an easier cure in your own case than you did then in mine. A man of your strength of character would indeed be untrue to himself, if he were not able to accomplish in his own case what he had enjoined upon some other person. For my part, the arguments which you had mustered, and also your moral influence, deterred me from extravagant mourning ; for when I appeared to you to bear up with less resoluteness than befitted a man, especially one who was in the habit of consoling others,

per litteras gravioribus verbis quam tua consuetudo
 2 ferebat. Itaque iudicium tuum magni aestimans
 idque veritus me ipse collegi et ea, quae didiceram,
 legeram, acceperam, graviora duxi tua auctoritate
 addita. Ac mihi tum, Brute, officio solum erat et
 naturae, tibi nunc populo et scenae, ut dicitur, servi-
 endum est ; nam, cum in te non solum exercitus tui,
 sed omnium civium ac paene gentium coniecti oculi
 sint, minime deest, propter quem fortiores ceteri
 sumus, eum ipsum animo debilitatum videri. Quam
 ob rem accepisti tu quidem dolorem—id enim ami-
 sisti, cui simile in terris nihil fuit,—et est dolendum
 in tam gravi vulnere, ne id ipsum, carere omni sensu
 doloris, sit miserius quam dolere ; sed, ut modice, ce-
 3 teris utile est, tibi necesse est. Scriberem plura, nisi
 ad te haec ipsa nimis multa essent. Nos te tuum-
 que exercitum exspectamus, sine quo, ut reliqua
 ex sententia succedant, vix satis liberi videmur fore.
 De tota re publica plura scribam et fortasse iam
 certiora iis litteris, quas Veteri nostro cogitabam
 dare.

you wrote me a reproving letter in terms more severe than your usual style would admit.

Therefore, as I attached great value to your judgement and feared your reproof, I pulled myself together and took the lessons which I had taught and studied and assimilated the more to heart, when you reinforced them with your moral weight. Yes, and I, Brutus, was at that time under no obligation save to the social code and the law of Nature ; but *you* must now play up to the public and the stage you hold, as the saying goes. For when the gaze of your soldiers, and not only of them, but of all citizens and of almost the entire world is centred upon you, it would be scandalous for a man who inspires the rest of us with greater courage to exhibit in his own case an enfeebled spirit. For this reason you opened your heart to your sorrow (for what you lost never had its like on earth), and under such a heavy blow you must needs sorrow, lest your very anodyne, complete imperviousness to pain, should afflict you worse than the sense of pain ; but whereas moderation in grief is expedient in others, it is indispensable for you.

I should write more, were it not that what I *have* written is too long, when addressed to you. We are waiting for you and your army ; without it we think we shall scarcely attain sufficient freedom, even though all else should fall out as we have planned. I shall write more about the general political situation and perhaps shall give you more certain news in the letter which I propose to give to our friend Vetus.

CICERO

XX (I. 7)

M. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

In castris, A.U.C. 711

- 1 L. Bibulus quam carus mihi esse debeat, nemo melius iudicare potest quam tu, cuius tantae pro re publica contentiones sollicitudinesque fuerunt: itaque vel ipsius virtus vel nostra necessitudo debet conciliare te illi; quo minus multa mihi scribenda esse arbitror, voluntas enim te movere debet nostra, si modo iusta est aut pro officio necessario suscipitur. Is in Pansae locum petere constituit: eam nominationem a te petimus: neque coniunctiori dare beneficium, quam nos tibi sumus, neque digniorem nominare potes
- 2 quam Bibulum. De Domitio et Apuleio quid attinet me scribere, cum ipsi per se tibi commendatissimi sint? Apuleium vero tu tua auctoritate sustinere debes; sed Apuleius in sua epistula celebrabitur, Bibulum noli dimittere e sinu tuo, tantum iam virum, ex quanto, crede mihi, potest evadere, qui vestris paucorum respondeat laudibus.

^a L. Calpurnius Bibulus, son of Caesar's old opponent, and stepson of Brutus. He was an officer in Brutus' army.

^b In the collegium pontificum.

^c See Letter IX § 3.

^d M. Apuleius, quaestor in 43 B.C., and one of Brutus' paymasters.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XX.

XX (I. 7)

BRUTUS TO CICERO

In camp, about June 22, 43 B.C.

You have been such a stout champion of the state, **1** and have shown such anxious care for it, that no one can appraise better than you how fond I ought to be of L. Bibulus.^a In view of this, either consideration ought to win your interest in him, his own merits or my intimacy with him. That is all the more reason, I think, for my not writing at length; for my wish ought to carry weight with you, granted that it is reasonable, and that I am seeking to realize it as in duty bound to oblige a friend. He has decided to sue for Pansa's place ^b; we beg you to nominate him for it. You could not bestow a favour on a closer friend than I am to you, nor nominate a more worthy candidate than Bibulus.

As for Domitius ^c and Apuleius,^d what concern of **2** mine is it to write, since they stand high in your favour by virtue of their own personalities? Apuleius, you know, has a claim to be supported by your influence. But Apuleius will receive a testimonial in his own letter. Do not deprive Bibulus of your fostering care: he is already a man of such calibre that, believe me, he may in the course of his development rise equal to the eulogies of your élite.

CICERO

XXI (I. 13)

M. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

In castris, A.U.C. 711

- 1 De M. Lepido vereri me cogit reliquorum timor : qui si eripuerit se nobis, quod velim temere atque iniuriose de illo suspicati sint homines, oro atque obsecro te, Cicero, necessitudinem nostram tuamque in me benevolentiam obtestans, sororis meae liberos obliviscaris esse Lepidi filios meque eis in patris locum successisse existimes : hoc si a te impetro, nihil profecto dubitabis pro eis suscipere. Aliter alii cum suis vivunt, nihil ego possum in sororis meae liberis facere, quo possit expleri voluntas mea aut officium. Quid vero aut mihi tribuere boni possunt—si modo digni sumus, quibus aliquid tribuatur—aut ego matri ac sorori puerisque illis praestaturus sum, si nihil valuerit apud te reliquumque senatum contra patrem Lepi-
- 2 dum Brutus avunculus ? Scribere multa ad te neque possum prae sollicitudine ac stomacho neque debeo ; nam, si in tanta re tamque necessaria verbis mihi opus est ad te excitandum et confirmandum, nulla spes est facturum te, quod volo et quod oportet : quare noli exspectare longas preces ; intuere me ipsum, qui hoc a te, vel a Cicerone, coniunctissimo homine, privatim, vel a consulari tali viro remota necessitudine
- 694

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XXI.

XXI (I. 13)

BRUTUS TO CICERO

In camp, July 1, 43 B.C.

My fear of what is to follow makes me feel alarmed ¹ about M. Lepidus. If he has bolted from us—and I would fain hope that people's suspicions about him are unfounded and do him injustice—I beg and entreat you, Cicero, in the name of our close friendship and your kindly feelings towards me, forget that the children of my sister are the sons of Lepidus, and imagine that I now stand in the position of father to them. If I can obtain this request of you, there is nothing, I am sure, that you will hesitate to undertake on their behalf. Each man orders his family life differently; in the case of my sister's children nothing that I can do could give full expression to my goodwill and sense of duty towards them. What gift indeed can I accept from loyal citizens—supposing that I am worthy of any gifts—or what assistance am I to offer to my mother or sister or those boys, if in your eyes and those of the Senate their uncle Brutus carries no weight against their father Lepidus?

I am too much worried and chagrined to write to ² you at length, nor is that my duty. For if in such an important and intimate matter I must expend words in order to rouse your interest and make up your mind, there is no hope of your doing what I wish and what duty bids. Therefore don't expect a long supplication. Look into my heart: it is I who have a right to this favour from you, either on private considerations, because you are Cicero, my intimate friend, or, personal ties apart, because of your

CICERO

privata, debeo impetrare. Quid sis facturus, velim mihi quam primum rescribas. Kal. Quinctilibus ex castris.

XXII (I. 12)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

I Etsi daturus eram Messallae Corvino continuo litteras, tamen Veterem nostrum ad te sine litteris meis venire nolui. Maximo in discrimine res publica, Brute, versatur victoresque rursus decertare cogimur : id accidit M. Lepidi scelere et amentia. Quo tempore cum multa propter eam curam, quam pro re publica suscepi, graviter ferrem, tum nihil tui gravius quam me non posse matris tuae precibus cedere, non sororis, nam tibi, quod mihi plurimi est, facile me satisfacturum arbitrabar. Nullo enim modo poterat causa Lepidi distingui ab Antonio omniumque iudicio etiam durior erat, quod, cum honoribus amplissimis a senatu esset Lepidus ornatus, tum etiam paucis ante diebus praeclaras litteras ad senatum misisset, repente non solum recepit reliquias hostium, sed bellum acerrime terra marique gerit, cuius exitus qui futurus sit, incertum est : ita, cum rogamur, ut miseri-

^a M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, a former associate of Brutus at Athens. Subsequently one of Augustus' right-hand men.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XXI.—XXII.

consular rank and record. Please inform me as soon as possible in a return letter what you intend to do. July 1, in camp.

XXII (I. 12)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, early July, 43 B.C.

Although I shall be handing a letter to Messalla ¹ Corvinus ^a directly, all the same I do not want our friend Vetus to come to you without a note from me. Brutus, the state is in a highly dangerous situation, and we who won the day are obliged to stake our whole fortunes once more. This has befallen us through the wickedness and sheer folly of Lepidus. In a time like this the task which I have shouldered on the state's behalf is causing me much vexation, but nothing vexes me more than that I cannot yield to the entreaties of your mother and your sister ; as for yourself, I believe it will be an easy matter to meet your wishes, and that is what matters most. The case of Lepidus cannot possibly be considered apart from that of Antony ; indeed the general opinion is that he was the more hardened villain, in that Lepidus had been honoured by the Senate with the highest marks of distinction, yes, and a few days before he had sent to the Senate an admirable dispatch ; yet all of a sudden he has not only given refuge to the remnant of the enemy, but is conducting a campaign by land and sea with the utmost vigour ; and how the issue of this campaign will fall out cannot be foreseen. Therefore when we are asked to show

cordiam liberis eius impertiamus, nihil affertur, quo minus summa supplicia, si—quod Iuppiter omen avertat!—pater puerorum vicerit, subeunda nobis sint.

- 2 Nec vero me fugit, quam sit acerbum parentum scelera filiorum poenis lui, sed hoc praeclare legibus comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes rei publicae redderet ; itaque Lepidus crudelis in liberos, non is, qui Lepidum hostem iudicat. Atque ille si armis positis de vi damnatus esset, quo in iudicio certe defensionem non haberet, eandem calamitatem subirent liberi bonis publicatis. Quamquam, quod tua mater et soror deprecatur pro pueris, id ipsum et multa alia crudeliora nobis omnibus Lepidus, Antonius et reliqui hostes denuntiant ; itaque maximam spem hoc tempore habemus in te atque exercitu tuo : cum ad rei publicae summam, tum ad gloriam et dignitatem tuam vehementer pertinet te, ut ante scripsi, in Italiam venire quam primum : eget enim vehementer cum viribus tuis, tum etiam consilio res
- 3 publica. Veterem pro eius erga te benevolentia singularique officio libenter ex tuis litteris complexus sum eumque cum tui, tum rei publicae studiosissimum amantissimumque cognovi. Ciceronem meum propediem, ut spero, videbo ; tecum enim illum
- 698

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, xxii.

some measure of pity for his children, there is no effective guarantee that we may not have to endure the most cruel punishment, if the father of the boys should be the winner (and I pray to Heaven that my foreboding may not come true).

Of course I am well aware how harsh it is that the 2
sins of the parents should be expiated by punishment of the sons ; but this is an excellent provision of our laws, so that affection for their children should make parents hold the state more dear. Thus it is Lepidus who is cruel towards his children, not the man who pronounces Lepidus a public enemy. And again, suppose that after laying down his arms he had been sentenced by court on a charge of breaking the peace—and on such a count he certainly could not offer a defence—his children would suffer the same injury through the confiscation of their estate. And yet the very treatment which your mother and sister wish to spare the boys, Lepidus, Antonius and the other public enemies proclaim that this and many other and harsher penalties shall be inflicted on us. Therefore in this crisis our chief hope resides in you and your army. It is of the most urgent importance for the whole future of the state, aye, and for your reputation and prestige, that you should come to Italy without losing a moment, as I have told you before ; for the state urgently needs both your strong forces, and your advice as well.

In consideration of his goodwill and his outstand- 3
ing sense of duty towards you, I have given Vetus a hearty welcome, as you asked me in your letter ; and I recognized that he had a great enthusiasm and affection for you and for the free state. I hope to see my son Cicero before long ; for I am

CICERO

et te in Italiam celeriter esse venturum confido.

XXIII (I. 14)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

1 Breves litterae tuae, breves dico ? immo nullae : tribusne versiculis his temporibus Brutus ad me ? nihil scripsissem potius. Et requiris meas : quis umquam ad te tuorum sine meis venit ? quae autem epistula non pondus habuit ? quae si ad te perlatae non sunt, ne domesticas quidem tuas perlatas arbitror. Ciceroni scribis te longiorem daturum epistolam : recte id quidem, sed haec quoque debuit esse plenior. Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scripsisses, statim extrusi tabellarios litterasque ad Ciceronem, ut, etiamsi in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret ; nihil enim mihi iucundius, nihil illi honestius. Quamquam aliquoties ei scripseram sacerdotum comitia mea summa contentione in alterum annum esse reiecta—quod ego cum Ciceronis causa elaboravi, tum Domitii, Catonis, Lentuli, Bibulorum, quod ad te etiam scripseram— : sed videlicet, cum illam pusillam epistolam tuam ad me dabas, nondum

^a See Letters III § 3, IX § 3, XX.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XXII.—XXIII.

confident that he will be coming with you to Italy, and coming quickly.

XXIII (I. 14)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, July 14, 43 B.C.

That is a brief note of yours ; brief, I say : nay ¹ rather, it amounts to nothing. Can Brutus address me in days like these in three short lines ? Had I been in your place, I should rather not have written at all. And you ask for a note from me ! What courier of yours ever reached you without a letter of mine ? And which letter did not contain a heavy budget ? If these haven't been delivered to you, I conclude that not even your home correspondence has come to hand. You say you will give a longer letter to my son Cicero. Good so far, but this one too should be more substantial. For my part, as soon as you informed me that Cicero had parted company with you, I at once bundled off a courier and a note to Cicero, bidding him return to you, even if he had arrived in Italy ; for nothing could give me more satisfaction or give him more credit. And yet I had told him in several letters that the election for the priesthoods had been postponed to another year—a result for which I fought tooth and nail. I went to these pains both for the sake of Cicero and of Domitius, Cato, Lentulus, and the Bibuli ^a ; this I notified to you also. But obviously you had not yet received word of it when you sent off that tiny note of yours to me.

CICERO

2 erat tibi id notum. Quare omni studio a te, mi Brute, contendo, ut Ciceronem meum ne dimittas tecumque deducas, quod ipsum, si rem publicam, cui susceptus es, respicis, tibi iam iamque faciendum est. Renatum enim bellum est, idque non parvum scelere Lepidi : exercitus autem Caesaris, qui erat optimus, non modo nihil prodest, sed etiam cogit exercitum tuum flagitari, qui si Italiam attigerit, erit civis nemo, quem quidem civem appellari fas sit, qui se non in tua castra conferat. Etsi Brutum praeclare cum Planco coniunctum habemus, sed non ignoras, quam sint incerti et animi hominum infecti partibus et exitus proeliorum. Quin etiam, si, ut spero, vicerimus, tamen magnam gubernationem tui consilii tuaeque auctoritatis res desiderabit : subveni igitur, per deos, idque quam primum, tibi que persuade non te Idibus Martiis, quibus servitatem a tuis civibus depulisti, plus profuisse patriae quam, si mature veneris, profuturum. II. Idus Quinctiles.

XXIV (I. 15)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

1 Messallam habes : quibus igitur litteris tam accurate scriptis assequi possum, subtilius ut explicem, quae gerantur quaeque sint in re publica, quam tibi

^a These two commanders temporarily joined hands near Grenoble.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XXIII.—XXIV.

Therefore, dear Brutus, I urge you most emphati- 2
cally not to let my son Cicero leave you, but to bring
him back with you ; and your own return, if you have
any regard for the free state to which you are dedi-
cated, must take place now and at once. For the
war has re-started, and this on a large scale, thanks
to the criminal act of Lepidus. And the forces of
Caesar, which were excellent, are not merely of no
use but even compel me to clamour for your army. If
this is landed in Italy, no citizen worth the name will
fail to betake himself to your camp. We have in our
favour, it is true, the junction of Brutus with Plancus ^a
—a splendid achievement ; but you know well how
uncertain are the minds of men when corrupted by
party intrigue, and the issues of battles. Moreover
if, as I hope, victory is ours, even so the situation will
require the strong guidance of your counsel and your
moral influence. In Heaven's name, then, come to
our rescue, and that with all possible speed, and be
convinced that you did your country no greater ser-
vice on the Ides of March, when you struck away the
chains of servitude from your fellow-citizens, than you
will yet render it, if you arrive betimes. July 14.

XXIV (I. 15)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, between July 11 and 27, 43 B.C.

You have Messalla at your side. No matter how 1
carefully I indite my letters, how can I contrive to
explain with greater finesse what is happening and
how the state stands, than he will report it ? He is

CICERO

is exponet, qui et optime omnia novit et elegantissime expedire et deferre ad te potest? cave enim existimes, Brute—quamquam non necesse est ea me ad te, quae tibi nota sunt, scribere, sed tamen tantam omnium laudum excellentiam non queo silentio praeterire—, cave putes probitate constantia, cura studio rei publicae quidquam illi esse simile, ut eloquentia qua mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum habere videatur, quamquam in hac ipsa sapientia plus apparet: ita gravi iudicio multaque arte se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem industria est tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non maxima ingenio, quod in eo summum est, gratia habenda videatur. Sed provehor amore: non enim id propositum est huic epistulae, Messallam ut laudem, praesertim ad Brutum, cui et virtus illius non minus quam mihi nota est et haec ipsa studia, quae laudo, notiora; quem cum a me dimittens graviter ferrem, hoc levabar uno, quod ad te tamquam ad alterum me proficiscens et officioungebatur et laudem maximam sequebatur. Sed haec haec. Venio nunc longo sane intervallo ad quandam epistulam, qua mihi multa tribuens unum reprehendebas, quod in honoribus decernendis essem nimius et tamquam prodigus. Tu hoc: alius fortasse, quod in animadversione poenaque durior, nisi forte utrumque tu; quod

• Letter XI.

excellently posted up about everything and can explain and convey it to you in the most accomplished style. You must not suppose, Brutus—though I need not tell you what you know already; yet for all that I cannot pass over in silence his high pre-eminence in all noble pursuits—you must not imagine that in the matter of good character, firmness of purpose, conscientiousness, and zeal for the free state there is anything to approach him; so much so that methinks the art of oratory, in which he holds a wonderful supremacy, scarcely finds scope for eulogy in such a man! And yet his merit stands out all the more in this very expertness of knowledge: so severe was the judgement, so exacting the technique, with which he has trained himself in the soundest style of oratory. And his application is so great, he spends so many hours of the night in study, that most of the credit does not go to his natural endowment, which in his case is consummate!

But my affection is carrying me away; for it is not ² the purpose of this letter to sing Messalla's praises, especially not to Brutus, who knows his merits as well as I, and knows even better these particular accomplishments which I am extolling. As I was bidding him a sorrowful good-bye, I had this one consolation, that in passing over to you—to my second self, as it were—he was performing a friendly duty and treading the path of high distinction. But enough of this!

I now come, at long last, to a certain letter,^a in ³ which amid a mass of compliments you find one fault, that I am immoderate and as it were a spendthrift in votes of honour. That is what you say; some one else perhaps will say that I am too harsh in the matter of censure and punishment—but maybe *you* say this

CICERO

si ita est, utriusque rei meum iudicium studeo tibi esse notissimum, neque solum, ut Solonis dictum usurpem, qui et sapiens unus fuit ex septem et legum scriptor solus ex septem: is rem publicam contineri duabus rebus dixit, praemio et poena. Est scilicet utriusque modus, sicut reliquarum, et quaedam in utroque genere mediocritas. Sed non tanta de re propositum est hoc loco disputare. Quid ego autem secutus hoc bello sim in sententiis dicendis, aperire non alienum puto. Post interitum Caesaris et vestras memorabiles Idus Mart., Brute, quid ego praeternissum a vobis quantamque impendere rei publicae tempestatem dixerim, non es oblitus: magna pestis erat depulsa per vos, magna populi Romani macula deleta, vobis vero parta divina gloria, sed instrumentum regni delatum ad Lepidum et Antonium, quorum alter inconstantior, alter impurior, uterque pacem metuens, inimicus otio. His ardentibus perturbandae rei publicae cupiditate quod opponi posset praesidium, non habebamus—erexerat enim se civitas in retinenda libertate consentiens, nos tum nimis acres, vos fortasse sapientius excessistis urbe ea, quam liberaratis, Italiae sua vobis studia profi-
5 tenti remisistis. Itaque, cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem nec te in ea nec Cassium tuto esse posse

as well. If that is the case, I am anxious to make quite clear to you my opinion on either point, and this not only that I may appropriate a saying of Solon, who was the sage *par excellence* among the Seven, and the only legislator of their number. He said that two things held a state together, reward and punishment. In either case of course a certain adherence to the mean is involved, as in all other things, and a certain moderation should be observed under both heads.

But this is not the place for a dissertation on so large a subject. Yet I do not think it amiss to set forth what principles I followed during this war in my formal statements of opinion.

You have not forgotten, Brutus, what I said after the death of Caesar and your memorable Ides of March, about your lost opportunities and the storm which was about to break over the state. A great pestilence had been driven off, thanks to you, a great stain on the Roman people had been wiped out, aye, and for yourselves you had achieved undying fame; but the apparatus of monarchy had been transferred to Lepidus and Antony; one of these was more of a turncoat, the other more of a ruffian, either of them dreaded peace and disliked tranquillity. While these men were burning with eagerness to plunge the state into chaos, we had no means of defence to set against them; for while the citizens braced themselves up in a united resolve to retain their freedom, and I at that time showed an excess of zeal, you quitted the city which you had set free and dispensed with the devoted service which Italy was offering—and this was perhaps the more discreet course.

So when I saw that the city was in the power of 5
cutthroats, and that neither you nor Cassius could

eamque armis oppressam ab Antonio, mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi—tetrum enim spectaculum oppressa ab impiis civitas opitulandi potestate praecisa—; sed animus idem, qui semper infixus in patriae caritate, discessum ab eius periculis ferre non potuit. Itaque in medio Achaico cursu, cum etesiarum diebus Auster me in Italiam quasi dissuasor mei consilii rettulisset, te vidi Veliae doluique vehementer; cedebas enim, Brute, cedebas—quoniam Stoici

6 nostri negant fugere sapientes. Romam ut veni, statim me obtuli Antonii sceleri atque dementiae, quem cum in me incitavissem, consilia inire coepi Bruttina plane—vestri enim haec sunt propria sanguinis—rei publicae liberandae. Longa sunt, quae restant, et praetereunda, sunt enim de me: tantum dico, Caesarem hunc adolescentem, per quem adhuc sumus, si verum fateri volumus, fluxisse ex fonte consiliorum

7 meorum. Huic habiti a me honores, nulli quidem, Brute, nisi debiti, nulli nisi necessarii; ut enim primum libertatem revocare coepimus, cum se nondum ne Decimi quidem Bruti divina virtus ita commovisset, ut iam id scire possemus, atque omne praesidium esset in puero, qui a cervicibus nostris avertisset Antonium, quis honos ei non fuit decernendus? quamquam ego illi tum verborum laudem tribui, eamque modicam;

live there in safety while it was being held down by Antony with armed force, I decided that I also ought to leave it; for a community under the heel of scoundrels, with all possibility of relief cut off, was a shocking sight. But my spirit, which is immutably and for ever rooted in my country, could not endure that I should leave it in its hour of peril. Thus it was that midway on my course to Achaia, when a south wind in the season of the trades bore me back to Italy, as if in protest against my plan, I saw you at Velia, to my deep distress: for you were backing out, Brutus,—I say “backing out,” since our Stoic teachers declare that the sage never “takes to flight.”

On my arrival in Rome I at once took a stand **6** against Antony’s lawlessness and insanity. When I had drawn his anger upon me, I began to entertain plans in Brutus’ own vein (for these plans are inbred in your family’s blood) for the liberation of the state. What followed is a long story and need not be retold, for it is about me. I merely mention that this young Caesar, to whom we owe our survival (if we are willing to admit the truth), derived from the headspring of my mentorship.

I obtained for him marks of honour, Brutus, but **7** none that were unearned or superfluous. For as we made a first beginning of recovering our liberty at a time when not even the heroic courage of Decimus Brutus had yet been roused to action so far as to give us an assurance of freedom regained, and our entire defence rested in the hands of the boy who had removed Antony off our necks, what honour should have been withheld from him? Though the compliments which *I* then bestowed upon him were votes of thanks couched in moderate terms, I also had a

decevi etiam imperium, quod quamquam videbatur illi aetati honorificum, tamen erat exercitum habenti necessarium, quid enim est sine imperio exercitus? Statuam Philippus decrevit, celeritatem petitionis primo Servius, post maiorem etiam Servilius: nihil
 8 tum nimium videbatur. Sed nescio quo modo homines facilius in timore benigni quam in victoria grati reperiuntur: ego enim, D. Bruto liberato cum lactissimus ille civitati dies illuxisset idemque casu Bruti natalis esset, decevi, ut in fastis ad eum diem Bruti nomen ascriberetur, in eoque sum maiorum exemplum secutus, qui hunc honorem mulieri Larentiae tribuerunt, cuius vos pontifices ad aram in Velabro sacrificium facere soletis: quod ego cum dabam Bruto, notam esse in fastis gratissimae victoriae sempiternam volebam; atqui illo die cognovi paullo plures in senatu malevolos esse quam gratos. Eos per ipsos dies effudi—si ita vis—honores in mortuos, Hirtium et Pansam, Aquilam etiam; quod quis reprehendit, nisi qui deposito metu praeteriti periculi fuerit oblitus? Accedebat ad beneficii memoriam gratam
 9 ratio illa, quae etiam posteris esset salutaris: exstare enim volebam in crudelissimos hostes monumenta

^a For Servius Sulpicus Rufus see *Epp. ad Fam.* iv. 1-6. Like Philippus and Servilius, he was prepared to negotiate with Antony.

^b Acca Larentia, a mysterious personage of early Roman legend.

^c L. Pontius Aquila, a tyrannicide. He was killed in the action at Mutina.

high command conferred upon him; though this might appear honour indeed for a man of his age, it was none the less indispensable for one at the head of an army—for what is an army without a high command? Philippus carried a motion for a statue, Servius ^a made a first proposal for earlier acceptance as a candidate, Servilius followed this up with still higher priority. Nothing at that time appeared excessive.

But for some strange reason you will sooner find **8** benevolence in the hour of fear than gratitude in the hour of victory. For after the relief of Brutus, when that most joyful day had dawned upon the community, and by a coincidence that day too was Brutus' anniversary, I carried a motion that the name of Brutus be entered under date in the state calendar, and therein I followed the example of our forefathers, who bestowed this honour upon the lady Larentia,^b at whose altar in the Velabrum you pontiffs are wont to make sacrifice. In paying this tribute to Brutus I wanted to insert in the calendar a permanent record of a most welcome victory. Yes, on that day I discovered that in the Senate ill-will commanded somewhat larger numbers than gratitude. At that particular time I showered honours—if you like to put it so—on dead men, Hirtius and Pansa, and even on Aquila.^c Who will find fault with this, except a man who has forgotten his past peril now that his fear is no longer on him?

My grateful recollection of a service rendered was **9** reinforced by a consideration which posterity too might do well to bear in mind; for it was my wish that everlasting monuments of the public loathing for a most brutal enemy should be raised up in the

CICERO

odii publici sempiterna. Suspikor illud tibi minus probari, quod a tuis familiaribus, optimis illis quidem viris, sed in re publica rudibus, non probabatur, quod ut ovanti introire Caesari liceret decreverim; ego autem—sed erro fortasse, nec tamen is sum, ut mea me maxime delectent—nihil mihi videor hoc bello sensisse prudentius; cur autem ita sit, aperiendum non est, ne magis videar providus fuisse quam gratus. Hoc ipsum nimium, quare alia videamus. D. Bruto decrevi honores, decrevi L. Planco: praeclara illa quidem ingenia, quae gloria invitantur, sed senatus etiam sapiens, qui, qua quemque re putat, modo honesta, ad rem publicam iuvandam posse adduci, hac utitur. At in Lepido reprehendimur, cui cum statuam in rostris statuissimus, iidem illam evertimus: nos illum honore studuimus a furore revocare; vicit amentia levissimi hominis nostram prudentiam, nec tamen tantum in statuenda Lepidi statua factum est
10 mali, quantum in evertenda boni. Satis multa de honoribus: nunc de poena pauca dicenda sunt; intellexi enim ex tuis saepe litteris te in eis, quos bello devicisti, clementiam tuam velle laudari. Existimo equidem nihil a te nisi sapienter; sed sceleris poenam praetermittere—id enim est, quod vocatur ignoscere—, etiamsi in ceteris rebus tolerabile est, in hoc bello perniciosum puto: nullum enim bellum civile

^a An *ovatio* was a triumphal procession on a smaller scale.

sight of all. I suspect that you did not altogether approve what was disapproved by your intimates (excellent men, I admit, but unversed in politics), that I carried a resolution conferring upon Caesar the right of a Joyous Entry.^a For myself—but perhaps I am at fault, only I am not the man to take the highest pleasure in my own achievements—I do not think that in this war I ever had a sounder idea ; the reason for this I must not disclose, lest I should make an impression of foresight rather than of gratitude.—I am labouring this point too much ; so let us turn to something else. I had honours conferred upon D. Brutus and upon L. Plancus. Theirs are indeed noble natures that heed the call of glory ; but the Senate too shows discretion, in that it offers whatever inducement (consistent with honour) it thinks will serve in each particular case to win a man to the service of the state. But you take me to task about Lepidus : we first set up a statue in his honour on the Speakers' Platform, then we cast it down. We made an effort to recall him from his madness by honouring him. The infatuation of that fluffiest of fellows proved too strong for our precautions ; even so, less harm was done in setting up Lepidus' statue than good in casting it down.

Enough has been said about honours. Now I must 10
make a few remarks about punishment ; for I have often discerned from your letters that you wish to be given credit for leniency in regard to those whom you have overmastered in war. I consider indeed that your wisdom is unailing ; yet I believe that to remit punishment for crime (for that is what "pardoning" amounts to), however passable it may be on another occasion, is utterly ruinous in this war.

fuit in nostra re publica omnium, quae memoria mea fuerunt, in quo bello non, utracumque pars vicisset, tamen aliqua forma esset futura rei publicae; hoc bello victores quam rem publicam simus habituri, non facile affirmarim, victis certe nulla umquam erit. Dixi igitur sententias in Antonium, dixi in Lepidum severas, neque tam ulciscendi causa, quam ut et in praesens sceleratos cives timore ab impugnanda patria deterrerem et in posterum documentum statu-

11 erem, ne quis talem amentiam vellet imitari. Quamquam haec quidem sententia non magis mea fuit quam omnium: in qua videtur illud esse crudele, quod ad liberos, qui nihil meruerunt, poena pervenit; sed id et antiquum est et omnium civitatum, si quidem etiam Themistocli liberi eguerunt, et, si iudicio damnatos eadam poena sequitur cives, qui potuimus leniores esse in hostes? quid autem queri quisquam potest de me, qui, si vicisset, acerbiorum se in me futurum fuisse confiteatur necesse est? Habes rationem mearum sententiarum de hoc genere dumtaxat honoris et poenae; nam, de ceteris rebus quid senserim quidque censuerim, audisse te arbitror.

12 Sed haec quidem non ita necessaria: illud valde necessarium, Brute, te in Italiam cum exercitu venire quam primum. Summa est exspectatio tui; quod si Italiam attigeris, ad te concursus fiet omnium. Sive enim vicerimus—qui quidem pulcherrime viceramus

For of all the civil wars in our state which I can recall, none were waged on such terms but that whichever side won, at all events some form of free state would have survived. In the present war I should not find it easy to lay down what manner of free state we shall have, if we are to be the winners ; if we lose, the free state will certainly disappear for ever. I therefore advocated severe measures against Antony and against Lepidus, not so much for retribution's sake, as to discourage and deter evil-minded citizens from attacking their country at the present time, and to set up a warning example for the future, so that none should feel inclined to repeat such acts of madness.

And yet this particular measure did not reflect 11
mine any more than the universal opinion. You see vindictiveness in this, that the penalty extends to the innocent children. But that is an ancient usage and common to all states, if it be true that even Themistocles' children were left destitute ; and if the same punishment falls upon citizens condemned by a court, how could we be more lenient towards public enemies ? And what complaint can any man make about me, if he cannot help confessing that if victory had been his he would have treated me more harshly ? You have the reasoned statement of my views on this particular subject of honour and punishment ; I believe you have heard my opinions and pronouncements on other matters.

But of course this is not so urgent ; what *is* highly 12
urgent, Brutus, is that you should come to Italy with your army at the earliest possible moment. We are awaiting you most anxiously. Why, if you land in Italy there will be a general rush to meet you ! For suppose we win, and a very handsome victory

CICERO

nisi Lepidus perdere omnia et perire ipse cum suis concupivisset—, tua nobis auctoritate opus est ad collocandum aliquem civitatis statum ; sive etiam nunc certamen reliquum est, maxima spes est cum in auctoritate tua, tum in exercitus tui viribus. Sed propera, per deos ! scis, quantum sit in temporibus, 13 quantum in celeritate. Sororis tuae filiis quam diligenter consulam, spero te ex matris et ex sororis litteris cogniturum : qua in causa maiorem habeo rationem tuae voluntatis, quae mihi carissima est, quam, ut quibusdam videor, constantiae meae ; sed ego nulla in re malo quam in te amando constans et esse et videri.

XXV (I. 16)

M. BRUTUS S. D. M. CICERONI

In castris, A.U.C. 711

- 1 Particulam litterarum tuarum, quas misisti Octavio, legi missam ab Attico mihi. Studium tuum curaque de salute mea nulla me nova voluptate affecit ; non solum enim usitatum, sed etiam cotidianum est aliquid audire de te, quod pro nostra dignitate fideliter atque honorifice dixeris aut feceris. At dolore, quantum maximum capere animo possum, eadem illa pars epistulae scripta ad Octavium de nobis affecit. Sic enim illi gratias agis de re publica, tam suppliciter ac
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EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XXIV.—XXV.

was ours, had not Lepidus insisted on undoing everything and undoing himself with his own associates, we need your moral influence in order to effect some sort of political settlement ; but if we have even now a stiff fight before us, our chief hope rests both in your influence and especially in the might of your army. But make haste, for Heaven's sake ! You know how much depends on correct timing and on speed.

I hope you will perceive from your mother's and 13 sister's letters what an earnest interest I take in your nephews. In their case my chief consideration is to fulfil your desire, which I hold most dear, rather than to be consistent with myself, as some people imagine. But there is nothing in which I would rather be consistent, and show it, than in my affection for you.

XXV (I. 16)

BRUTUS TO CICERO

In camp, mid-July, 43 B.C.

I have read the short extract from the note which 1 you sent to Octavius : Atticus sent it to me. Your devotion and concern about my safety brought no fresh pleasure to me, for it is not only a usual but a daily experience for me to hear about you, of some loyal or complimentary words or deeds with which you protected my honour. But that part of the letter in which you wrote to Octavius about me brought upon me the most acute distress that I could possibly endure in my mind. For this is how you offer him thanks in matters of state, in such a

demisse—quid scribam? pudet condicionis ac fortunae, sed tamen scribendum est—commendas nostram salutem illi—quae morte qua non perniciosior? —, ut prorsus prae te feras non sublatam dominationem, sed dominum commutatum esse. Verba tua recognosce et aude negare servientis adversus regem istas esse preces. Unum ais esse, quod ab eo postuletur et exspectetur, ut eos cives, de quibus viri boni populusque Romanus bene existimet, salvos velit: quid? si nolit, non erimus? atqui non esse quam 2 esse per illum praestat. Ego medius fidius non existimo tam omnes deos aversos esse a salute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus sit pro salute cuiusquam civis, non dicam pro liberatoribus orbis terrarum—iuvat enim magnifice loqui et certe decet adversus ignorantes, quid pro quoque timendum aut a quoque petendum sit—. Hoc tu, Cicero, posse fateris Octavium et illi amicus es? aut, si me carum habes, vis Romae videri, cum, ut ibi esse possem, commendandus puero illi fuerim? cui quid agis gratias, si, ut nos salvos esse velit et patiat, rogandum putas? an hoc pro beneficio habendum est, quod se quam

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suppliant and humble tone! What am I to write? I'm ashamed at being in such a position—I'm ashamed of my lot—and yet, write I must. You entrust him with our protection: is that not more disastrous than no matter what sort of death? Just in order that you may plume yourself, not on the overthrow of autocracy but on a change of autocrat! Consider your own words, and dare to deny that those are the entreaties of a person of servile estate in the presence of a king! There is, so you affirm, one demand and one claim to be made upon him, that he should agree to the safety of those citizens of whom good patriots and the Roman people have a high opinion. Well! Suppose he refuses: will that put an end to our existence? Ah, but I would rather not exist than owe my existence to him!

I'll take an oath upon it, I cannot believe that all ² Heaven has so little regard for the safety of the Roman people that we must beg Octavius for the safety of any citizen whatsoever—I shall not say for the liberators of the whole world. You see, I take pleasure in high-flown language, and this is clearly appropriate in the face of men who do not know what fears we should harbour, what requests we should make in this case and that. Can you, Cicero, admit that Octavius holds such power, and give him your friendship? Or, if you have any affection for me, do you want me to show myself in Rome, on the condition that this boy's favour must first be obtained for me, so that I can have my existence there? Why do you offer thanks to him, if you think that application must be made to him, so that our safety shall depend on his consent and sufferance? Or is this to count as a favour, that he chose to be the person,

Antonium esse maluerit, a quo ista petenda essent? Vindici quidem alienae dominationis, non vicario, equis supplicat, ut optime meritis de re publica liceat
 3 esse salvus? Ista vero imbecillitas et desperatio, cuius culpa non magis in te residet quam in omnibus aliis, et Caesarem in cupiditatem regni impulit et Antonio post interitum illius persuasit, ut interfecti locum occupare conaretur, et nunc puerum istum ita extulit, ut tu iudicares precibus esse impetrandam salutem talibus viris misericordiaque unius vix etiam nunc viri tutos fore nos, haud ulla¹ alia re. Quod si Romanos nos esse meminissemus, non audacius dominari cuperent postremi homines, quam id nos prohiberemus, neque magis irritatus esset Antonius regno Caesaris quam ob eiusdem mortem deterritus.

4 Tu quidem, consularis et tantorum scelerum vindex— quibus oppressis vereor ne in breve tempus dilata sit abs te pernicies—, qui potes intueri, quae gesseris, simul et ista vel probare vel ita demisse ac facile pati, ut probantis specimen habeas? quod autem tibi cum Antonio privatim odium? nempe, quia postulabat haec, salutem ab se peti, precariam nos incolumitatem habere, a quibus ipse libertatem accepisset, esse

¹ *Var. lect.* aut nulla.

rather than Antony, from whom those favours would have to be begged? Given a true champion against a despotism imposed from outside, not a substitute despot, does any man make humble request to him, that he should permit those who have deserved nobly of the state to live in safety?

It was your faint-heartedness, your abandonment of **3** hope (the blame for which rests no more upon you than upon everyone else), that prompted Caesar to aspire to kingship, and induced Antony after his death to try to usurp the place of him who was slain; and now it has exalted that boy of yours, leading you to the conclusion that men with a record like ours must obtain security by supplication, and that our safety should even now depend precariously on the mercifulness of one person hardly yet a man, not on anything else. Yet if we had borne in mind that we were Romans, the dregs of mankind would not be more forward in their scramble for despotism than we in making a stand against it, nor would Caesar's monarchy have been more of an incitement to Antony than his death has proved a deterrent.

As for you, who have been consul and have avenged **4** crimes of such magnitude—yet I fear that by their suppression you have merely gained a short respite from ruin—how can you contemplate your past achievements and at the same time approve of your friend's actions, or acquiesce in them in such a humble and pliant spirit as to offer a semblance of approval? And what means this privately conducted feud of yours with Antony? Why, because he made these demands, that our lives should be in his gift, that we should hold our position by his leave, though he had received his freedom at our hands, that he

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arbitrium suum de re publica, quaerenda esse arma putasti, quibus dominari prohiberetur: scilicet, ut illo prohibito rogaremus alterum, qui se in eius locum reponi pateretur, an ut esset sui iuris ac mancipii res publica? nisi forte non de servitute, sed de conditione serviendi recusatum est a nobis. Atqui non solum bono domino potuimus Antonio tolerare nostram fortunam, sed etiam beneficiis atque honoribus ut participes frui, quantis vellemus; quid enim negaret eis, quorum patientiam videret maximum dominationis suae praesidium esse? Sed nihil tanti fuit, quo venderemus fidem nostram et libertatem.

5 Hic ipse puer, quem Caesaris nomen incitare videtur in Caesaris interfectores, quanti aestimet, si sit commercio locus, posse nobis auctoribus tantum, quantum profecto poterit, quoniam vivere per se et pecunias habere et dici consulares volumus! Ceterum ne nequidquam perierit ille (cuius interitu quid gavisi sumus, si mortuo eo nihilo minus servituri eramus?), nulla cura adhibetur? Sed mihi prius omnia di deaque eripuerint quam illud iudicium, quo non modo heredi eius, quem occidi, id non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, ut patiente me plus legibus ac senatu possit: an hoc

should have the last word in the state, was it for this that you thought we should have recourse to arms as a means of beating off despotism—with this result, mark you !, that after beating off one despot we should solicit another to let himself be installed in the former man's place, or that he should be vested with a full title of property in the state ? Unless maybe we made our protest, not against slavery, but against the particular terms of our bondage. And yet under Antony's benevolent tyranny we could not only have endured our own lot, but we could have enjoyed the greatest preferments and high positions of state that we might have asked for, on a basis of partnership ; for what would he deny to the men in whose passivity he could see a bulwark of his own autocracy ? But no favour carried so high a price as to induce us to sell our loyalty and liberty.

This boy in particular, whom the name of Caesar **5** seems to spur on against Caesar's slayers, what price would he offer (suppose this were a matter of haggling), that we should procure him such power as he will of course obtain, seeing that by his goodwill we want to remain alive, and to keep our estates, and to be styled consulars ! Besides, are we taking no precautions lest our old enemy should have perished to no purpose ? How could we rejoice at his death, if now that he is gone we were to remain none the less in bondage ? But may the host of heaven strip me of all else rather than of my settled resolve not to give away, I shall not say to the heir of the man whom I slew, but not even to my own father, should he come to life again, what I could not brook in the slain man, a power superior to the Laws and Senate, with my connivance ! Do you really believe that the rest of

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tibi persuasum est, fore ceteros ab eo liberos, quo invito nobis in ista civitate locus non sit? Qui porro id, quod petis, fieri potest ut impetres? Rogas enim, velit nos salvos esse: videmur ergo tibi salutem accepturi, cum vitam acceperimus? quam, si prius dimittimus dignitatem et libertatem, qui possumus
6 accipere? An tu Romae habitare, id putas incolu-
mem esse? res, non locus oportet praestet istuc mihi: neque incolumis Caesare vivo fui, nisi posteaquam illud conscivi facinus, neque usquam exsul esse possum, dum servire et pati contumelias peius odero malis omnibus aliis. Nonne hoc est in easdem tenebras recidisse, si ab eo, qui tyranni nomen ascivit sibi,—cum in Graecis civitatibus liberi tyrannorum oppressis illis eodem supplicio afficiantur,—petitur, ut vindices atque oppressores dominationis salvi sint? Hanc ego civitatem videre velim aut putem ullam, quae ne traditam quidem atque inculcatam libertatem recipere possit plusque timeat in puero nomen sublatis regis, quam confidat sibi, cum illum ipsum, qui maximas opes habuerit, paucorum virtute sublatum videat? Me vero posthac ne commendaveris Caesari tuo, ne te quidem ipsum, si me audies: valde care aestimas tot annos, quot ista aetas recipit, si prop-
7 ter eam causam puero isti supplicaturus es. Deinde,

the people will be free from the man whose favour we must win before we can hold a place within that citizen body? Moreover, how can you possibly obtain what you are after? You ask that he should consent to our security. Do you think, then, that when we have been given our lives we shall be given our security? How can we be in receipt of this, if to begin with we divest ourselves of our high rank and liberty?

To have your residence in Rome, is that your idea of civic security? The facts, not the place, must be my guarantee. Neither could I enjoy my full civic rights in Caesar's lifetime, until after I had resolved upon my great deed, nor can I be an exile in any place, so long as I hold slavery and the suffering of indignities in deeper loathing than all other misfortunes. Is this not a relapse into our former Dark Age, if I must beg the man who took for himself the name of tyrant, that those who avenged and overthrew a despotism should come to no harm, whereas in the Greek states the children of tyrants suffer the same punishment when the tyranny is overthrown? Could I wish to set eyes on a state, or regard it as a state at all, if it cannot even recover the freedom handed down to it and driven home into it, and feels more alarm at the name of a fallen king, when assumed by a boy, than confidence in itself, though it can see that the monarch himself in the plenitude of his power owed his fall to the firm action of a mere handful? No, don't you hereafter commend me to your Caesar, do not commend yourself either, if you will listen to me! You must attach a rare value to those years of life which your present age allows you, if for that reason you are going to fall on your knees before that boy!

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quod pulcherrime fecisti ac facis in Antonio, vide ne convertatur a laude maximi animi ad opinionem formidinis ; nam, si Octavius tibi placet, a quo de nostra salute petendum sit, non dominum fugisse, sed amiciorem dominum quaesisse videberis. Quem quod laudas ob ea, quae adhuc fecit, plane probo ; sunt enim laudanda, si modo contra alienam potentiam, non pro sua suscepit eas actiones ; cum vero iudicas tantum illi non modo licere, sed etiam a te ipso tribuendum esse, ut rogandus sit, ne nolit esse nos salvos, nimium magnam mercedem statuis—id enim ipsum illi largiris, quod per illum habere videbatur res publica—, neque hoc tibi in mentem venit, si Octavius illis dignus sit honoribus, quia cum Antonio bellum gerat, iis qui illud malum exciderint, cuius istae reliquiae sunt, nihil, quo expleri possit eorum meritum, tributurum umquam populum Romanum, si omnia

8 simul congesserit. Ac vide, quanto diligentius homines metuant, quam meminerint : quia Antonius vivat atque in armis sit, de Caesare vero, quod fieri potuit ac debuit, transactum est neque iam revocari in integrum potest, Octavius is est, qui quid de nobis iudicaturus sit exspectet populus Romanus, nos ii sumus, de quorum salute unus homo rogandus videatur. Ego vero, ut istoc revertar, is sum, qui non

Furthermore, see to it that your splendid achievements, past and present, in Antony's case, be not transformed from a source of honour for a heroic spirit into one of a reputation for timidity. For if Octavius takes your fancy, the man to whom you would have me apply for security, people will think that you were not shunning a master, but were seeking a more friendly master. Your praise for what he has hitherto done has my unfeigned approval; for his actions call for praise, provided always that he has undertaken them to break another man's power, not to further his own. But when you conclude that so much power should not only be for him to take, but should be presented to him by yourself, so that one must ask him not to declare himself against our safety, you fix the price of the bargain too high (for you lavish upon him that very authority which he was thought to have procured for the state), and this does not enter your mind, that if Octavius is worthy of any high office because he is waging a war with Antony, the Roman people will never be able to bestow a full measure of recompense upon those who removed the bane of which this is the residue, if in one act it heaps all it has on the shoulders of one man.

And observe how much more insistent is men's sense of fear than their memory: seeing that Antony is still alive and in arms, but in Caesar's case, what could and should have been done has been accomplished once for all and cannot now be reversed, Octavius is the man on whose decisions what to do with us the Roman people must wait, and we are the men for whose safety, it would seem, application must be made to one individual! No—to return to what you said—, I am the sort of man who would

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modo non supplicem, sed etiam coërceam postulantes, ut sibi supplicetur, aut longe a servientibus abero mihi que esse iudicabo Romam, ubicumque liberum esse licebit, ac vestri miserebor, quibus nec aetas neque honores nec virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi
9 minuere potuerit. Mihi quidem ita beatus esse videbor, si modo constanter ac perpetuo placebit hoc consilium, ut relatam putem gratiam pietati meae; quid enim est melius quam memoria recte factorum et libertate contentum negligere humana? Sed certe non succumbam succumbentibus nec vincar ab eis, qui se vinci volunt, experiarque et tentabo omnia neque desistam abstrahere a servitio civitatem nostram. Si secuta fuerit quae debet fortuna, gaudebimus omnes; si minus, ego tamen gaudebo. Quibus enim potius haec vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur quam iis, quae pertinuerint ad liberandos
10 cives meos? Te, Cicero, rogo atque hortor, ne defatigare neu diffidas, semper in praesentibus malis prohibendis futura quoque, nisi ante sit occursum, explores, ne se insinuent, fortem et liberum animum, quo et consul et nunc consularis rem publicam vindicasti, sine constantia et aequabilitate nullum esse putaris. Fateor enim duriozem esse condicionem spectatae virtutis quam incognitae: bene facta pro

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, xxv.

not merely refuse to make entreaty, but would put under restraint those who demand that entreaty be made to them. Or else I shall hold myself far aloof from those who accept servitude, and shall find Rome for myself wherever a man may still be free; and I shall feel sorry for you, whose love of sweet life neither your age nor your high position, nor the example of courage which others set you, will be able to curtail.

For my part I shall be happy in my own eyes if 9 only I hold firmly and without a break to this resolve, that I shall deem myself repaid in gratitude for my devotion to my country. For what is better than the memory of righteous deeds and disregard of human exigencies in the pure enjoyment of liberty? But assuredly I shall not submit myself to the submissive, nor take defeat from those who court defeat; and I shall essay and adventure everything, and shall never cease to draw our community out of the reach of servitude. If our efforts meet with the fortune which they deserve, we shall all be glad; if otherwise, *I* shall be glad even so. For what actions or reflections could better occupy this life of ours than those relating to the liberty of my fellow-citizens?

Cicero, I beg and admonish you, do not flag or lose 10 heart; and while you ward off present evils always cast a searching glance upon future ones too, lest they steal in upon you while there is none to cope with them in advance. Understand once for all that the courageous and free spirit with which you championed the state as consul, and now as a consular, goes for nothing without a firm purpose and an even temperament. I grant you that merit well-tried has a more exacting task than merit undiscovered. We

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debitis exigimus, quae aliter veniunt, ut decepti ab iis, infesto animo reprehendimus. Itaque resistere Antonio Ciceronem, etsi maxima laude dignum est, tamen, quia ille consul hunc consularem merito praestare videtur, nemo admiratur. Idem Cicero, si flexerit adversus alios iudicium suum, quod tanta firmitate ac magnitudinine animi direxit in exturbando Antonio, non modo reliqui temporis gloriam eripuerit sibi, sed etiam praeterita evanescere coget—nihil enim per se amplum est, nisi in quo iudicii ratio extat—, quia neminem magis decet rem publicam amare libertatisque defensorem esse vel ingenio vel rebus gestis vel studio atque efflagitatione omnium. Quare non Octavius est rogandus, ut velit nos salvos esse: magis tute te exsuscita, ut eam civitatem, in qua maxima gessisti, liberam atque honestam fore putes, si modo sint populo duces ad resistendum improborum consiliis.

XXVI (I. 18)

M. CICERO S. D. M. BRUTO

Romae, A.U.C. 711

1 Cum saepe te litteris hortatus essem, ut quam primum rei publicae subvenires in Italiamque exer-

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, xxv.—xxvi.

require of it a high performance as of right, and when things fall out otherwise we assail men with reproaches for the deception they have practised on us. Therefore Cicero's defiance of Antony calls for the highest praise, yet because it is assumed that the historic consul is morally bound to set the standard for to-day's consular, no one is impressed.

But if the same Cicero should defer to others in **11** his convictions, which he applied so resolutely and in such a grand manner when he bundled Antony out, he will find that he not only has thrown away his reputation for the future, but will also ensure that his past achievements shall be blotted out—for nothing is great in itself that does not bear the plain mark of reasoned judgement—; because no one man is better fitted to be a patriot and to champion liberty with wise thoughts or brave deeds, or with the devotion and the imperious call to leadership of the entire community. For these reasons we must *not* beg Octavius to deign to keep us safe. No, no! You must rouse yourself up, and realize that the state which was the scene of your greatest achievements will enjoy its freedom and honour on these terms alone, if leaders are forthcoming for the people in making a stand against the policies of reprobates.

XXVI (I. 18)

CICERO TO BRUTUS

Rome, July 27, 43 B.C.

Having repeatedly urged you in my letters to come **1** to the rescue of the state as soon as possible, and to

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citum adduceres, neque id arbitrarer dubitare tuos necessarios, rogatus sum a prudentissima et diligentissima femina, matre tua, cuius omnes curae ad te referuntur et in te consumuntur, ut venirem ad se a. d. viii. Kal. Sextiles : quod ego, ut debui, sine mora feci. Cum autem venissem, Casca aderat et La-beo et Scaptius. At illa rettulit quaesivitque, quidnam mihi videretur, arcesseremusne te atque id tibi conducere putaremus, an tardare ac commorari te
2 melius esset. Respondi id, quod sentiebam, et dignitati et existimationi tuae maxime conducere te primo quoque tempore ferre praesidium labenti et inclinatae paene rei publicae ; quid enim abesse censes mali in eo bello, in quo victores exercitus fugientem hostem persequi noluerint et in quo incolumis imperator, honoribus amplissimis fortunisque maximis, coniuge, liberis, vobis affinibus ornatus, bellum rei publicae indixerit ? Quid dicam “ in tanto senatus populi-que consensu,” cum tantum resideat intra muros mali ?
3 Maximo autem, cum haec scribebam, officiebar dolore, quod, cum me pro adolescentulo ac paene puero res publica accepisset vadem, vix videbar, quod promiseram, praestare posse. Est autem gravior et difficilior animi et sententiae, maximis praesertim in rebus, pro altero quam pecuniae obligatio : haec enim solvi potest et est rei familiaris iactura tolera-

^a Lepidus.

bring your army to Italy, and believing as I did that your intimates were in full agreement with me, I was asked by a woman of great capacity and energy, your mother, whose every care centres on you and is wholly exercised on your behalf, to meet her on July 25. This I promptly did, as in duty bound. On my arrival I found Casca there and Labeo and Scaptius. But *she* put the question and invited my opinion: were we to give you a call, and were we to decide that this was in your interests, or was it better for you to hold back and make no move?

I told her in reply what I felt, that it was in the ² highest interests of your exalted rank and reputation to bring support at the earliest possible moment to the free state, which is losing its foothold and on the verge of collapse. | For what calamity, think you, is lacking in a war in which the victorious armies have refused to pursue a fleeing enemy, and a general^a with his forces intact, endowed with the highest public distinctions and with an ample fortune, with a wife and children and a marriage connexion with you, has declared war upon the state? Why should I say "with such unanimity among Senate and people," seeing that so much evil disposition still lurks within the walls?

But what grieves me most sorely at the time of ³ writing is that when the state accepted me as surety for this stripling—one might almost call him a boy—I hardly seemed in a position to make good my promise. You see, it is a more serious and arduous risk, especially on an issue of paramount importance, to engage on behalf of another one's soul and one's sentiment than to pledge one's money; for a money pledge can be redeemed, and the forfeiture of one's

bilis ; rei publicae quod sponderis, quemadmodum solvas, si is dependi facile patitur, pro quo spon-

4 deris ? Quamquam et hunc, ut spero, tenebo multis repugnantibus : videtur enim esse in eo indoles, sed flexibilis aetas multique ad depravandum parati, qui splendore falsi honoris obiecto aciem boni ingenii praestringi posse confidunt. Itaque ad reliquos hic quoque labor mihi accessit, ut omnes adhibeam machinas ad tenendum adolescentem, ne famam subeam temeritatis : quamquam quae temeritas est ? Magis enim illum, pro quo sponderis, quam me ipsum obligavi, nec vero paenitere potest rem publicam me pro eo sponderis, qui fuit in rebus gerendis cum

5 suo ingenio, tum mea promissione constantior. Maximus autem, nisi me forte fallit, in re publica nodus est inopia rei pecuniariae : obdurescunt enim magis cotidie boni viri ad vocem tributi, quod ex centesima collatum impudenti censu locupletium in duarum legionum praemiis omne consumitur ; impendent autem infiniti sumptus cum in hos exercitus, quibus nunc defendimur, tum vero in tuum—nam Cassius noster videtur posse satis ornatus venire. Sed et

family property is to be borne, but political obligations, how are you to discharge them, if the person on whose behalf you went bail is ready and willing to make a call on you for full payment?

And yet, so I hope, I shall keep my hold even on 4 him, in spite of opposition from many quarters. For he seems to have good natural qualities, but he is pliable at his age, and many are prepared to pervert him: they are confident that the keen edge of his sound character can be blunted by dangling before him the glitter of high office falsely won. So this task has been imposed upon me on top of all the others, that I must bring to bear every device by which I may hold back the young man, lest I be saddled with a reputation for rashness. And yet wherein does the rashness lie? For the obligation rested rather upon the person for whom I stood surety than upon myself; and indeed the state cannot regret that I pledged myself on behalf of a man who owes it as much to my guarantee as to his own character that in the campaign he has been comparatively steadfast.

But, unless I happen to be mistaken, the most 5 knotty problem in affairs of state is the lack of financial resources. For men of goodwill shut their ears more and more each day to the call of taxation; because of brazen under-valuations by the well-to-do, the proceeds of the one-per-cent are being entirely swallowed up by the bonuses for two legions. Moreover we are confronted with unlimited expenditure, both on the armies here, by which we are defended for the present, and also on your forces; for it seems as if our friend Cassius could arrive here with a sufficient equipment. But these and many other

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haec et multa alia coram cupio, idque quam primum.
6 De sororis tuae filiis non exspectavi, Brute, dum scriberes: omnino ipsa tempora—bellum enim ducetur—integram tibi causam reservant; sed ego a principio, cum divinare de belli diuturnitate non possem, ita causam egi puerorum in senatu, ut te arbitror e matris litteris potuisse cognoscere, nec vero ulla res erit umquam, in qua ego non vel vitae periculo ea dicam eaque faciam, quam te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrer. vi. Kal. Sextiles.

EPISTULAE AD BRUTUM, XXVI.

matters I want to talk over with you face to face, and that at the earliest possible moment.

I did not wait for you, Brutus, to write about your 6 sister's children. Altogether, the mere state of the times (for the war will be a long one) is keeping their case open against your return. But from the outset, when I could not foretell the long duration of the war, I pleaded the case of the boys in the Senate with such force as I believe you may have been able to ascertain from your mother's letters. Indeed there will never be any affair in which I shall not, even at the risk of my life, speak and act in the way which I shall judge to be in accord with your wishes and in your interest. July 27.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE LETTERS
 based on the order fixed in R. Y. Tyrrell and
 L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius
 Cicero*, vol. vii., Dublin, 1901 (by kind permission
 of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin).

ABBREVIATIONS

A = *Epistulae ad Atticum*.

F = *Epistulae ad Familiares*.

Q.Fr. = *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem*.

Br. = *Epistulae ad M. Brutum*.

B.C.

- 68 A i. 5, 6, 7 ?
 67 A i. 9, 8, 10, 11
 66 A i. 3, 4
 65 A i. 1, 2
 64 [*Q. Cic. de petit. consul.*]
 63 F xiii. 76 ?
 62 F v. 7, 1, 2, 6
 61 A i. 12, F v. 5, A i. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
 60 A i. 18, 19, 20, ii. 1, 2, 3, Q.Fr. i. 1
 59 A ii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19,
 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, Q.Fr. i. 2, F xiii. 42, 41 ; also
 43 ? (before 58 B.C. ; so also xiii. 44, 45, 46)
 58 A iii. 3, 2, 4, 1, 5, 6, F xiv. 4, A iii. 7, 8, 9, Q.Fr. i. 3,
 A iii. 10, 11, 12, 14, 13, Q.Fr. i. 4, A iii. 15, 16, 17,
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