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## CICERO

### XXIX

L016791



**CICERO**  
**LETTERS TO ATTICUS**  
**VOLUME IV**

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

**HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
**CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS**  
**LONDON, ENGLAND**  
**1999**

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*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Cicero, Marcus Tullius.

[Ad Atticum. English]

Letters to Atticus / Cicero ; edited and translated by  
D.R. Shackleton Bailey.

p. cm.—(Loeb classical library ; 7-8, 97, 491)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-674-99571-6 (v. 1). ISBN 0-674-99572-4 (v. 2).—

ISBN 0-674-99573-2 (v. 3). ISBN 0-674-99540-6 (v. 4)

I. Cicero, Marcus Tullius—Correspondence. 2. Latin  
letters—Translations into English. 3. Atticus, Titus  
Pomponius—Correspondence.

4. Statesmen—Rome—Correspondence.

5. Authors, Latin—Correspondence. I. Atticus, Titus  
Pomponius. II. Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (David Roy), 1917-

III. Title. IV. Series. PA6308.E6B3 1998

937'.05'092—dc21 [b] 98-8779



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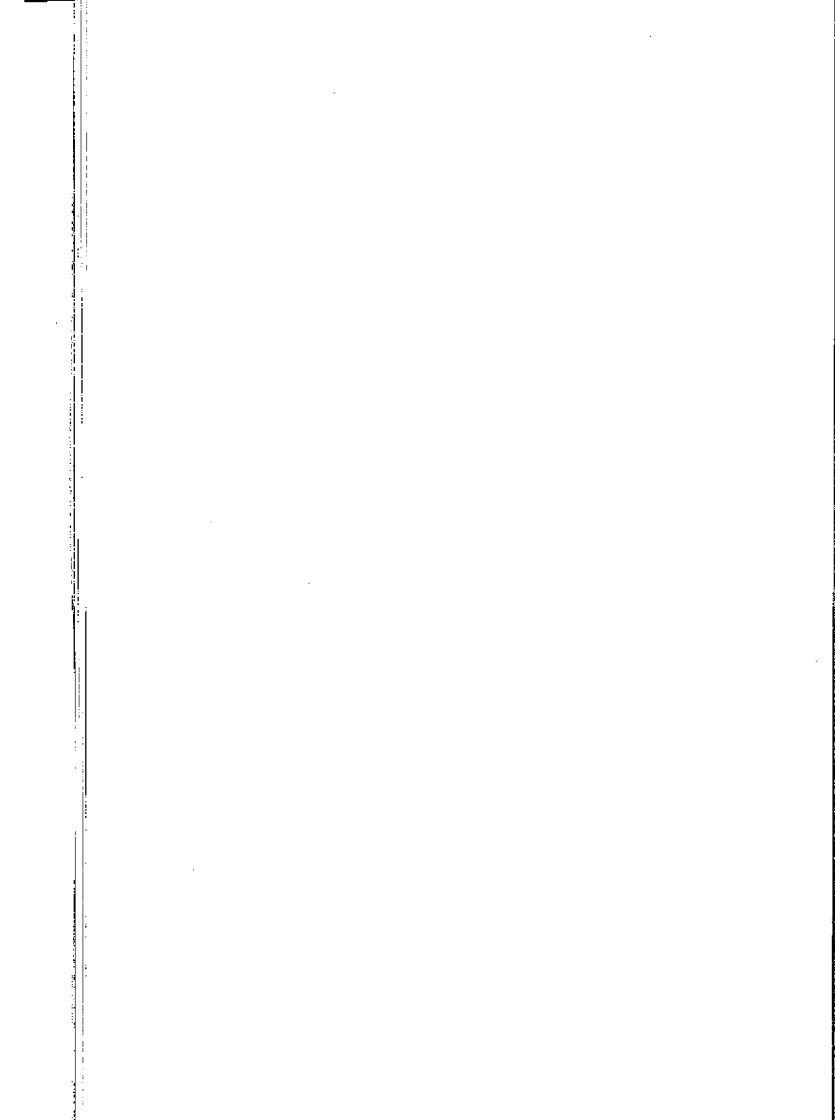
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CICERO'S  
LETTERS TO ATTICUS

## CICERO

## 282 (XII.42)

Scr. Asturae VI Id. Mai. an. 45

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Nullum a te desideravi diem litterarum; videbam enim quae scribis, et tamen suspicabar vel potius intellegebam nihil fuisse quod scriberes; a. d. VI<II><sup>1</sup> Id. vero et abesse te putabam et plane videbam nihil te habere. ego tamen ad te fere cottidie mittam; malo enim frustra<sup>2</sup> quam te non habere cui des, si quid forte sit quod putes me scire oportere. itaque accepi VI Id. litteras tuas inanis. quid enim habebas quod scriberes? mi tamen illud quicquid erat non molestum fuit, <ut><sup>3</sup> nihil aliud, scire me novi te nihil habere.

Scripsi<sti><sup>4</sup> tamen nescio quid de Clodia. ubi ergo ea est aut quando ventura? placet mihi res sic ut secundum

- 2 Othonem nihil magis. sed neque hanc vendituram puto (delectatur enim et copiosa est) et illud alterum quam sit difficile te non fugit. sed, obsecro, enitanur ut aliquid ad id quod cupio excogitemus.
- 3 Ego me hinc postridie <Idus> exiturum puto sed aut in Tusculanum aut domum, inde fortasse Arpinum. cum certum sciero, scribam ad te.

<sup>1</sup> add. SB

<sup>2</sup> frustra dare con. SB

<sup>3</sup> add. Mueller (si Madvig : ut, si n- a-, scirem novi con. SB)

<sup>4</sup> add. Manuttus (scripsti con. SB)

LETTER 282 (XII.42)

282 (XII.42)

*Astura, 10 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I didn't expect you to have any 'letter day.' I saw the points you make in your letter, and in any case I suspected, or rather I realized, that there was nothing for you to write about. As for the 8th, I imagined you were away and saw plainly that you had nothing to say. But I shall send to you pretty well every day; I'd rather do so for nothing than that you should not have a bearer if there should by any chance be something you think I ought to know. So I have received a letter from you (on the 10th) which had nothing in it for the good reason that you had nothing to communicate. Still I was not sorry to get what there was—I mean, to know, if nothing else, that you have no news.

You do however say something about Clodia. Where is she then, or when is she coming back? This idea appeals to me so strongly that next to Otho there is nothing I should prefer. But I don't think she will sell (she likes the place and has plenty of money); and you don't need me to tell you the difficulties in the other plan. But I beg you, let us rack our brains to find a way to my goal.

I think I shall leave here on the 16th, but I may go either to Tusculum or to my house in town; from there perhaps to Arpinum. When I know definitely I shall send you word.

## CICERO

283 (XII.41)

*Scr. Asturae v Id. Mai. an. 45*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Nihil erat quod scriberem. scire tamen volebam ubi esses; si abes aut <a>futurus es, quando rediturus esses. facies igitur certiore[m]. et quod tu scire volebas ego quando ex hoc loco, postridie Idus Lanuvi constitui manere, inde postridie in Tusculano aut Romae. utrum sim facturus eo ipso die scies.
- 2 Scis quam sit *φιλαίτιον συμφορά*, minime in te quidem, sed tamen avide sum adfectus de fano, quod nisi non dico effectum erit sed fieri videro (audebo hoc dicere et tu ut soles accipies), incursabit in te dolor meus, non iure ille quidem sed tamen feres hoc ipsum quod scribo ut omnia mea fers ac tulisti. omnis tuas consolationes unam hanc in
- 3 rem velim conferas. si quaeris quid optem, primum Scapulae, deinde Clodiae, postea, si Silius nolet, Drusus aget iniuste, Cusini et Treboni. puto tertium esse dominum, Rebilum fuisse certe scio. sin autem tibi Tusculanum placet, ut significasti quibusdam litteris, tibi adsentiar. hoc quidem utique perficies si me levari vis, quem iam etiam gravius accusas quam patitur tua consuetudo, sed facis summo amore et victus fortasse vitio meo—sed tamen si me levari vis, haec est summa levatio vel, si verum scire vis, una.
- 4 Hirti epistulam si legeris, quae mihi quasi *πρόπλασμα*

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<sup>1</sup> The pamphlet (*liber*) of Letter 281.1. It was presumably addressed to Cicero.

LETTER 283 (XII.41)

283 (XII.41)

*Astura, 11 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have nothing to say, but I wanted to know where you are and, if you are away or going to be away, when you will be back. So please send me word. And in answer to your question as to when I shall be leaving this place, I have decided to spend the night of the 16th at Lanuvium and the following at Tusculum or in Rome. You shall hear on the day which I am going to do.

You know how quick misery is to find fault, not indeed where you are concerned by any means, but still I am hungry for the shrine. If I don't—I won't say get it, but see myself in process of getting it, my grief (yes, I'll say it, and you will take it in your usual way) will turn upon you, unjustly to be sure; but you will be patient with these words that I write, as you are and ever have been patient with all I say and do. I should like you to direct all your efforts to console me on this single point. If you ask my choice: first Scapula's, then Clodia's, after that (if Silius won't sell and Drusus is exorbitant) Cusinius and Trebonius'. I think there is a third owner—I know Rebilus used to be at any rate. If however you favour Tusculum, as you seemed to in one of your letters, I shall assent to your opinion. You really must put this through if you want to see me comforted. You now actually upbraid me in sterner language than it is like you to use; but you do it out of the warmth of your affection and perhaps driven to it by my fault—but as I say, if you want to see me comforted, this is the best comfort, or, if you want the truth, the one and only.

As soon as you have read Hirtius' letter,<sup>1</sup> which looks to

CICERO

videtur eius vituperationis quam Caesar scripsit de Catone, facies me quid tibi visum sit, si tibi erit commodum, certiozem.

Redeo ad fanum. nisi hac aestate absolutum erit, quam vides integram restare, scelere me liberatum non putabo.

284 (XII.43)

*Scr. Asturæ IV Id. Mai. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

1 Venerat mihi in mentem monere te ut id ipsum quod facis  
(42. 3) faceres. putabam enim commodius te idem istuc domi agere posse interpellatione sublata.

2 Ego postridie Idus, ut scripsi ad te ante, Lanuvi manere  
(1) constitui, inde aut Romæ aut in Tusculano; scies ante utrum[que].<sup>1</sup>

Quod scribis<sup>2</sup> scire te<sup>3</sup> mihi illam rem fore levamento, bene facis; quin<sup>4</sup> id esse mihi crede perinde ut existimare tu non potes. res indicat quanto opere id cupiam, cum tibi audeam confiteri quem id non ita valde probare arbitrer. sed ferendus tibi in hoc meus error. ferendus? immo vero etiam adiuvandus. de Othone diffido, fortasse quia cupio.  
3  
(2) sed tamen maior etiam res est quam facultates nostræ, praesertim adversario et cupido et locuplete et herede. proximum est ut velim Clodiae. sed si ista minus confici possunt, effice quidvis. ego me maiore religione quam

<sup>1</sup> *del. Schiche*      <sup>2</sup> *scies vel sues (Manutius)*

<sup>3</sup> *recte (SB)*

<sup>4</sup> *quom vel cum (Lattmann : tu modo coni. SB)*

<sup>1</sup> Otho.



LETTER 284 (XII.43)

me like a sort of rough-cast for the abuse of Cato which Caesar has written, you will let me know your view, if it is not too much trouble.

I come back to the shrine. Unless it is finished this summer—we have it all before us—I shall stand guilty before my conscience.

284 (XII.43)

*Astura, 12 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

It had occurred to me to suggest that you should do just what you are doing, having in mind that you could transact the same business more comfortably at home, without interruptions.

As I have already told you, I have decided to stay at Lanuvium on the 16th, and from there either in Rome or at Tusculum. You shall know beforehand which.

It is good of you to say that you know this project of mine will be a comfort to me. Yes, believe me this is so, more than you can imagine. The very fact that I dare to confess as much to you, suspecting as I do that you don't very warmly approve of the plan, shows how my heart is set on it. But in this matter you must bear with my waywardness, or I should rather say, assist it. I have not much hope about Otho, perhaps because I want it so badly. But there is also the fact that the thing is too big for my resources, especially with a rich and eager opponent<sup>1</sup> who is heir to the estate. Next in my order of preference comes Clodia's place. But if these are too difficult, then get *anything*. I consider myself as bound by the most sacred of

CICERO

quisquam fuit ullius voti obstrictum puto. videbis etiam Trebonianos, etsi absunt domini. sed, ut ad te heri scripsi, considerabis etiam de Tusculano, ne aetas effluat; quod certe non est committendum.

285 (XII.44)

*Scr. Asturae III Id. Mai. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Et Hirtium aliquid ad te συμπανθῶς de me scripsisse facile patior (fecit enim humane) et te eius epistulam ad me non misisse multo facilius; tu enim etiam humanius. illius librum quem ad me misit de Catone propterea volo divulgari a tuis ut ex istorum vituperatione sit illius maior laudatio.
- 2 Quod per Mustelam agis, habes hominem valde idoneum meique sane studiosum iam inde a Pontiano. perfice igitur aliquid. quid autem aliud nisi ut aditus sit emptori? quod per quemvis heredem potest effici. sed Mustelam id perfecturum, si rogaris, puto. mihi vero et locum quem opto ad id quod volumus dederis et praeterea ἐγγήγραμμα. nam illa Sili et Drusi non satis οἰκοδεσποτικὰ mihi videntur. quid enim? sedere totos dies in villa? ista igitur malim, primum Othonis, deinde Clodiae. si nihil fiet, aut Druso ludus est suggerendus aut utendum Tusculano.
- 3 Quod domi te inclusisti ratione fecisti; sed, quaeso, confice et te vacuum redde nobis. ego hinc, ut scripsi an-

---

<sup>1</sup> Mustela, Crispus (see Letter 307), Vergilius (see Letter 286.1), and Otho were joint heirs to the Scapula estate. Nothing is known of the Pontianus (or Pontius) business.

LETTER 285 (XII.44)

vows. You will look into Trebonius' place too, though the owners are away. But as I wrote to you yesterday, think about Tusculum also, so as not to let the summer slip by. That we really must not allow to happen.

285 (XII.44)

*Astura, 13 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

It is nice that Hirtius has written sympathetically to you *à mon égard* (it was kind of him), and much nicer that you did not send me his letter—that was even kinder of *you*. The reason I want the pamphlet he sent me about Cato disseminated by your staff is to let these people's abuse win *him* greater eulogy.

You say you are working through Mustela. You will find him a highly suitable person and very well disposed to me ever since the Pontianus business.<sup>1</sup> So do put something through. 'Something' can only mean making an opening for a buyer, and that can be managed through any one of the heirs. But I think Mustela will put it through if you ask him. You will be giving me an ideal site for my purpose and a 'retreat *pour ma vieillesse*' into the bargain. Those places of Silius and Drusus don't seem to be quite the thing for a paterfamilias. One does not want to spend all day long stuck in a villa. So I should prefer these others, first Otho's, then Clodia's. If nothing emerges, then we must either give Drusus a game or make do with Tusculum.

You were well advised to shut yourself up in your house. But do pray get your business over and put yourself at my disposal again with your hands free. As for me, as I wrote

CICERO

tea, postridie Idus Lanuvi,<sup>1</sup> deinde postridie in Tusculano. contudi enim animum et fortasse vici, si modo perman- sero. scies igitur fortasse cras, summum perendie.

Sed quid est, quaeso? Philotimus nec Carteia<sup>2</sup> Pompeium teneri (qua de re litterarum ad Clodium Patavinum missarum exemplum mihi Oppius et Balbus miserant, se id factum arbitrari) bellumque narrat reliquum satis magnum. solet omnino esse Favoniaster.<sup>3</sup> sed tamen, si quid habes. volo etiam de naufragio Can<in>iano<sup>4</sup> scire quid sit.

- 4 (45. 1) Ego hic duo magna *συντάγματα* absolvi; nullo enim alio modo a miseria quasi aberrare possum. tu mihi, etiam si nihil erit quod scribas, quod fore ita video, tamen id ipsum scribas velim te nihil habuisse quod scriberes, dum modo ne his verbis.

286 (XIII.26)

Scr. Asturæ prid. Id. Mai. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Vergili parte, valde probo. sic ages igitur. et quidem id erit primum, proximum Clodiae. quod si neutrum, metuo ne turbem et irruam in Drusum. intemperans sum in eius

<sup>1</sup> iami vel ian (*Corradus*)      <sup>2</sup> cartini (-tivi) (*Corradus*)

<sup>3</sup> fulvin- vel sim. (*SB*)      <sup>4</sup> ganiano (*Manutius*)

<sup>2</sup> Scene of Tullia's death.

<sup>3</sup> Favonius ('Cato's Sancho') being still alive, this expression has a similar implication to 'mock-Cato' in Letter 14.6. To Cicero's continuing annoyance Philotimus posed as a die-hard Republican.

<sup>4</sup> The two Books of the original *Academica* (*Academic Questions*), on the basis of knowledge.

LETTER 286 (XIII.26)

earlier, from here I shall stay at Lanuvium on the 16th, and then the next night at Tusculum.<sup>2</sup> I have bludgeoned my feelings and perhaps conquered them, if only I stick to my resolution. So you shall know tomorrow, or at latest the day after.

But what is this pray? Philotimus says that Pompey is *not* shut up in Carteia (concerning which Oppius and Balbus had sent me a copy of a letter to Clodius Patavinus, adding that they thought it was so) and reports that a pretty considerable war has still to be fought. To be sure he is apt to be a Favonius *manqué*.<sup>3</sup> Still, send me any news you have. I also want to know the truth about Caninius' shipwreck.

Here I have finished two large Sections.<sup>4</sup> It is the only way I have of diverting myself after a fashion from my unhappiness. Even if you have nothing to say, which is evidently likely to be the case, I hope you will write just that, that you had nothing to say—only not in so many words.

286 (XIII.26)

*Astura, 14 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

About Vergilius' share,<sup>1</sup> I quite approve. So you will proceed accordingly. That then shall be first choice, Clodia's second. If neither materializes, I fear I shall run amok and plunge into Drusus. My desire for you know what is quite

<sup>1</sup> Vergilius will have been C. Vergilius Balbus, a former friend of Cicero's who fought against Caesar in Africa. His property was probably confiscated to the state.

## CICERO

rei cupiditate quam nosti. itaque revolvor identidem in Tusculanum. quidvis enim potius quam ut non hac aestate absolvatur.

- 2 Ego, ut tempus est nostrum, locum habeo nullum ubi facilius esse possim quam Asturae. sed quia qui mecum sunt, credo quod maestitiam meam non ferunt, domum properant, etsi poteram remanere, tamen, ut scripsi tibi, proficiscar hinc, ne relictus videar. quo autem? Lanuvio conor equidem in Tusculanum. sed faciam te statim certiorum. tu litteras conficies. equidem credibile non est quantum scribam, quin etiam noctibus; nihil enim somni. heri etiam effeci epistulam ad Caesarem; tibi enim placebat. quam non fuit malum scribi, si forte opus esse putares; ut quidem nunc est, nihil sane est necesse mittere. sed id quidem ut tibi videbitur. mittam tamen ad te exemplum fortasse Lanuvio, nisi forte Romam. sed cras scies.

287 (XII.46)

*Scr. Asturae Id. Mai. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Vincam, opinor, animum et Lanuvio pergam in Tusculanum. aut enim mihi in perpetuum fundo illo carendum est (nam dolor idem manebit, tantum modo oc<cul>tius)<sup>1</sup> aut nescio quid intersit utrum illuc nunc veniam an ad

<sup>1</sup> *add. F. Schmidt*

LETTER 287 (XII.46)

ungovernable. So ever and anon I come back to Tusculum. Anything rather than no conclusion this summer.

As things stand with me I could be as comfortable at Astura as anywhere else I have to stay. But my companions are in a hurry to get home, finding my mourning irksome I suppose, so although I could well stay on I shall leave here as I wrote to you for fear of appearing forsaken. But where to? My *endeavour* is to go from Lanuvium to my house at Tusculum. But I shall inform you straight away. Please do the letter.<sup>2</sup> You would not believe how much I am writing, even at night, since I get no sleep. Yesterday I even drafted a letter to Caesar, since you thought it a good thing to do. There was no harm in writing it, in case you might think it useful; but as matters stand at present there is certainly no necessity to send it. However that shall be as you think proper. Anyway I shall send you a copy, perhaps from Lanuvium, unless by any chance I go to Rome. But you will know tomorrow.

287 (XII.46)

*Astura, 15 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I think I shall conquer my feelings and go from Lanuvium to Tusculum. Either I must keep away from my place there for ever and a day (for my grief will remain unchanged, only less on the surface) or I don't know what difference it makes whether I go there now or in ten years' time. And

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the letter (or letters) had to do with the property negotiations.

CICERO

decem annos. neque enim ista maior admonitio quam quibus adsidue conficior et dies et noctes. 'quid ergo?' inquires, 'nihil litterae?' in hac quidem re vereor ne etiam contra; nam essem fortasse durior. ex<cul>to<sup>2</sup> enim <in><sup>3</sup> animo nihil agreste, nihil inhumanum est.

- 2 Tu igitur, ut scripsisti, nec id incommodo tuo. vel binae  
(47. 1) enim poterunt litterae. occurram etiam, si necesse erit. ergo id quidem ut poteris.

288 (XII.47)

*Scr. Lanuvi XVII Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL>

- 1 De Mustela, ut scribis, etsi magnum opus est. eo magis delabor ad Clodiam. quamquam in utroque Faberianum nomen explorandum est. de quo nihil nocuerit si aliquid cum Balbo eris locutus, et quidem, ut res est, emere nos  
2 velle nec posse sine isto nomine nec audere re incerta. sed quando Clodia Romae futura est et quanti rem aestimas? eo prorsus specto, non quin illud malim, sed et magna res est et difficile certamen cum cupido, cum locuplete, cum herede. etsi de cupiditate nemini concedam; ceteris rebus inferiores sumus. sed haec coram.

<sup>2</sup> *add. Victorius*

<sup>3</sup> *add. Wesenberg*



LETTER 288 (XII.47)

in truth the reminders will be no more poignant than those which harass me day and night. Is literature then no use, you may ask. In this case I'm afraid it actually makes the other way, for without it I should perhaps be harder. In a cultivated mind there is nothing coarse or callous.

Well then, you'll do as you say—but not if it is inconvenient. After all a couple of letters will do the trick. And if it proves necessary I'll come to you. So that shall be as you can manage.

288 (XII.47)

*Lanuvium, 16 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As regards Mustela, it is as you say; though it's a big undertaking. So I incline more and more towards Clodia. In either case however we must see what can be done about my claim on Faberius. It won't do any mischief if you have a word with Balbus and tell him, what is the fact, that I want to buy and cannot without this money and dare not while the matter hangs in the air. But when will Clodia be in Rome and how much do you estimate it will cost? I am definitely looking that way, not that I shouldn't prefer the other, but it's a big thing and it's hard to compete with a rich man, eager to buy and an heir to the estate—though so far as eagerness goes, I shall yield to nobody. In other respects I am at a disadvantage. But we shall discuss all this together.

CICERO

289 (XII.48)

*Scr. Lanuvii XVI Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Hirti librum, ut facis, divulga. de Philotimo idem et ego  
(47. 3) arbitrabar. domum tuam pluris video futuram vicino Caesare. tabellarium meum hodie exspectamus. nos de Pilia et Attica certiores faciet.
- 2 Domi te libenter esse facile credo. sed velim scire quid  
(48) tibi restet aut iamne confeceris. ego te in Tusculano exspecto eoque magis quod Tironi statim te venturum scripsisti et addidisti te putare opus esse.

290 (XII.45)

*Scr. in Tusculano XVI Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Attica optime. ἀκηδία tua me movet, etsi scribis nihil  
(2) esse. in Tusculano eo commodius ero quod et crebrius tuas litteras accipiam et te ipsum non numquam videbo; nam ceteroqui ἀνεκτότερα erant Asturae nec<sup>1</sup> haec quae refricant <non><sup>2</sup> hic me magis angunt; etsi tamen, ubicumque sum, illa sunt mecum.
- 2 De Caesare vicino scripseram ad te quia cognoram ex  
(3) tuis litteris. eum σύνναον Quirino malo quam Saluti. tu

<sup>1</sup> et *coni.* SB     <sup>2</sup> *add.* SB

---

<sup>1</sup> The Senate had voted to set up a statue of Caesar entitled 'To the undefeated God' in the temple of Quirinus (Romulus), which was near Atticus' house.

LETTER 290 (XII.45)

289 (XII.48)

*Lanuvium, 17 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Go on publishing Hirtius' book. About Philotimus I was of just the same opinion. Clearly your house will go up in value with Caesar as a neighbour.<sup>1</sup> I am expecting my courier today. He will bring us news of Pilia and Attica.<sup>2</sup>

I can readily believe that you are glad to be at home. But I should like to know what you still have to do or whether you have already finished. I expect you at Tusculum, all the more as you have written to Tiro that you will be coming at once and added that you think it desirable.

290 (XII.45)

*Tusculum, 17 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Excellent news about Attica. I am concerned to hear of your languor, though you say it is nothing. Tusculum will be more convenient for me in that I shall receive your letters more often and see yourself from time to time. Otherwise life was more tolerable at Astura, and the things that chafe the wound do pain me more here; and yet, wherever I am, they are with me.

I put that in about your neighbour Caesar because I had learned of it from your letter. I prefer to have him sharing a temple with Quirinus than with Weal.<sup>1</sup> Yes, do publish

<sup>2</sup> They were in Cicero's villa at Cumae.

<sup>1</sup> Salus, whose temple also was on the Quirinal. Cicero may have had in mind the story of Romulus' murder by Senators.

CICERO

vero pervulga Hirtium. id enim ipsum putaram quod scribis, ut cum ingenium amici nostri probaretur, ὑπόθεσις vituperandi Catonis irrideretur.

291 (XII.50)

*Scr. in Tusculano XIV Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Ut me levarat tuus adventus, sic discessus adffixit, qua re cum poteris, id est cum Sexti auctioni operam dederis, revises nos. vel unus dies mihi erit utilis, quid dicam gratus? ipse Romam venirem ut una essemus, si satis consilium quadam de re haberem.

292 (XII.49)

*Scr. in Tusculano XIII Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 (48) Sentiebam omnino quantum mihi praesens prodesse<s>, sed multo magis post discessum tuum sentio. quam ob rem, ut ante ad te scripsi, <a>ut ego ad te totus aut tu ad me quod licebit.
- 2 (49. 1) Heri non multo post quam tu a me discessisti, †puto†<sup>1</sup> quidam urbani, ut videbantur, ad me mandata et litteras attulerunt a C. Mario C. f. C. n. multis verbis: agere mecum per cognationem quae mihi secum esset, per eum

<sup>1</sup> pueri *Corradus*

<sup>2</sup> But see Letter 281.1.

<sup>1</sup> Unknown.

LETTER 292 (XII.49)

Hirtius. My idea was exactly what you say, that while our friend's literary talent would be recognized, his theme, abusing Cato, would only excite derision.<sup>2</sup>

291 (XII.50)

*Tusculum, 19 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your departure has depressed me as much as your coming cheered me up. So pay us another visit when you can, i.e. when you have attended Sextus' auction. Even a single day will be beneficial to me—that it will be agreeable I need not say. I should come to Rome myself so that we might be together if I could see my way clear enough about a certain matter.<sup>1</sup>

292 (XII.49)

*Tusculum, 20 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I felt at the time how much good your presence was doing me, but I feel it much more now that you have gone. Therefore, as I wrote to you earlier, either I must stay with you all the time or you with me as much as you can.

Not long after you left me yesterday, certain slaves (?), of the town to judge by their looks, brought me a verbal message and a letter of considerable length from 'C. Marius, son of Gaius, grandson of Gaius.'<sup>1</sup> It amounted to a plea in the name of my family connexion with the writer,

<sup>1</sup> The writer was an impostor.

CICERO

'Mariū' quem scripsissem, per eloquentiam L. Crassi, avi sui, ut se defenderem, causamque suam mihi perscripsit, rescripsi patrono illi nihil opus esse, quoniam Caesaris, propinqui eius, omnis potestas esset, viri optimi et hominis liberalissimi; me tamen ei fauturum, o tempora! fore cum dubitet Curtius consulatum petere! sed haec hactenus.

- 3 De Tirone, mihi curae est, sed iam sciam quid agat, heri  
 (2) enim misi qui videret; cui etiam ad te litteras dedi, epistulam ad Ciceronem tibi misi, horti quam in diem proscripti sint velim ad me scribas.

293 (XII.51)

*Scr. in Tusculano XIII Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Tironem habeo citius quam verebar, venit etiam Nicias, et Valerium hodie audiebam esse venturum, quamvis multi sint, magis tamen ero solus quam si unus essem.<sup>1</sup> sed exspecto te, a Peducaeo utique; tu autem significas aliquid etiam ante, verum id quidem ut poteris.
- 2 De Vergilio, ut scribis, hoc tamen velim scire, quando auctio, epistulam ad Caesarem mitti video tibi placere, quid quaeris? mihi quoque hoc idem<sup>2</sup> maxime placuit, et eo magis quod nihil est in ea nisi optimi civis, sed ita optimi

<sup>1</sup> esses (*SB*)

<sup>2</sup> hodie (*Bostus*)

<sup>2</sup> A poem on the great general, also from Arpinum.

<sup>3</sup> The great orator whose daughter married Marius' son.

LETTER 293 (XII.51)

of the 'Marius'<sup>2</sup> composed by me, and of the eloquence of his grandfather L. Crassus,<sup>3</sup> to undertake his defence; a full statement of the case accompanied. I replied that he had no need of an advocate, since his excellent and generous kinsman<sup>4</sup> Caesar was all-powerful; but that he could count on my good wishes. What days we live in! To think that a time was to come when Curtius would have his doubts about standing for the Consulship! But enough.

As regards Tiro, I am concerned; but I shall soon know how he is, as I sent someone to see yesterday. I also gave the man a letter for you. I am sending you my letter to Marcus. Please let me know the day advertised for the sale of the estate.<sup>5</sup>

293 (XII.51)

*Tusculum, 20 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have Tiro sooner than I feared I might. Nicias has come too and I hear that Valerius is coming today. However many of them there are, I shall be more alone than if I was by myself. But I am expecting you, after Peducaeus' sale anyhow. You drop a hint that it might even be before. But that shall be as you can manage.

About Vergilius, as you say. But I should like to know the date of the auction. I see you are in favour of sending my letter to Caesar. Well, I was very much of the same opinion, especially as it contains nothing unbecoming a loyal citizen—loyal, however, as the times permit. Obedience to

<sup>4</sup> Caesar's aunt Julia was Marius' wife.

<sup>5</sup> Scapula's.

CICERO

ut tempora; quibus parere omnes πολιτικοὶ praecipunt, sed scis ita nobis esse visum ut isti ante legerent, tu igitur id curabis. sed nisi plane iis intelleges placere, mittenda non est. id autem utrum illi sentiant ane simulent tu intelleges. mihi simulatio pro repudiatione fuerit. τοῦτο δὲ μηλώσῃ.

- 3 De Caerellia quid tibi placeret Tiro mihi narravit: debere non esse dignitatis meae, perscriptionem tibi placere; 'hoc metuere, alterum in metu non ponere!' sed et haec et multa alia coram. sustinenda tamen, si tibi videbitur, solutio est nominis Caerelliani dum et de Metione<sup>3</sup> [et de Faberi] et de Faberio sciamus.

294 (XII.52)

*Scr. in Tusculano XII Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 L. Tullium Montanum nosti qui cum Cicerone profectus est. ab eius sororis viro litteras accepi Montanum Planco debere, quod praes pro Flaminio sit, HS  $\overline{\text{xx}}$ ; de ea re nescio quid te a Montano rogatum. sane velim, sive Plancus est rogandus sive qua re potes illum iuvare, iuves. pertinet ad nostrum officium. si res tibi forte notior est quam mihi aut

<sup>3</sup> Metone *Manutius* : Micione *coni.* SB

<sup>1</sup> Balbus and Oppius.

<sup>2</sup> From an unknown Latin play. The implication is: 'You are worried about my dignity, but how about my need for the cash?'

<sup>3</sup> Or Meto or Micio.



## LETTER 294 (XII.52)

*them* is the precept of all experts on politics. But you know that I decided your friends<sup>1</sup> should read it beforehand, so you will please see to this. But unless you are quite sure they approve, it must not be sent—and you will be able to tell whether they really approve or merely pretend. Pre-*tence* I shall regard as tantamount to rejection. You will probe the matter.

Tiro told me your views about Caerellia, namely that it would be undignified for me to remain in debt and that you think I should write a cheque. 'Strange *this* to fear and *that* to set at naught!'<sup>2</sup> But of this and much besides when we meet. Still, if you agree, it would be advisable to hold up payment on Caerellia's claim until we know about both Metio<sup>3</sup> and Faberius.

## 294 (XII.52)

*Tusculum, 21 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You know L. Tullius Montanus, who went with Marcus. I have had a letter from his brother-in-law informing me that Montanus owes HS 20,000 to Plancus<sup>1</sup> as a surety for Flaminius, and that Montanus has made some request to you about it. I should be very grateful if you would help him by putting in a word with Plancus or any way you can. I feel a duty in the matter. If you happen to know more about it than I do or if you think I ought to ask Plancus,

<sup>1</sup> As City Prefect, nominated by Caesar before he left for Spain, L. Munatius Plancus was concerned with the disposal of confiscated property. Flaminius Flamma owed money on the purchase of such property and called upon Montanus as his surety.

CICERO

si Plancum rogandum putas, scribas ad me velim, ut quid rei sit et quid rogandum sciam.

- 2 De epistula ad Caesarem quid egeris exspecto. de Silio non ita sane laboro. tu mi aut Scapulanos aut Clodianos efficias necesse est. sed nescio quid videris dubitare de Clodia; utrum quando veniat an sintne venales? sed quid est quod audio Spintherem fecisse divortium?
- 3 De lingua Latina securi es animi. dices †qui alia<sup>1</sup> quae scribis†. ἀπόγραφα sunt, minore labore fiunt; verba tantum adfero, quibus abundo.

295 (XII.53)

*Scr. in Tusculano XI Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Ego, etsi nihil habeo quod ad te scribam, scribo tamen quia tecum loqui videor. hic nobiscum sunt Nicias et Valerius. hodie tuas litteras exspectabamus matutinas. erunt fortasse [alteras notasse] alterae postmeridianae, nisi te Epiroticae litterae impediunt, quas ego non interpello. nisi ad te epistulas ad Marcianum et ad Montanum. eas in eundem fasciculum velim addas, nisi forte iam dedisti.

<sup>1</sup> *al.* qui talia : quid ad illa *cont.* SB

LETTER 295 (XII.53)

would you please write so that I know what it's about and what I ought to say?

I am waiting to hear what you have done about the letter to Caesar. About Silius I am not so very much concerned. You must get me either Scapula's or Clodia's. But you seem to be in some doubt about Clodia; is it about when she is coming back or whether the place is for sale? But what is this I hear about Spinther divorcing his wife?<sup>2</sup>

About the Latin Language<sup>3</sup> you can set your mind at rest. You will say 'What's that compared to your writings?' (?) They are mere transcripts,<sup>4</sup> requiring less work. I just contribute the words, which I have in plenty.

295 (XII.53)

*Tusculum, 22 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Although I have nothing to write to you, I write all the same because I feel that I am talking to you. Nicias and Valerius are with me here. Today I am expecting your morning letter. Perhaps there will be another in the afternoon, unless you are busy with Epirotic documents, which I should not wish to interrupt. I am sending you letters to Marcianus and Montanus. Would you please put them in the same package, unless you have already dispatched it?

<sup>2</sup> See Letter 281, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., Varro's (partially extant) treatise on the same, which he had promised to dedicate to Cicero more than two years previously.

<sup>4</sup> From Greek sources.

## CICERO

296 (XIII.1)

*Scr. in Tusculano x Kal. Iun. an. 45*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Ad Ciceronem ita scripsisti ut neque severius neque temperatius scribi potuerit nec magis [quam] quem ad modum ego maxime vellem; prudentissime etiam ad Tullios. quare aut ista proficient aut aliud agamus.
- 2 De pecunia vero video a te omnem diligentiam adhiberi vel potius iam adhibitam esse. quod si<sup>1</sup> efficis, a te hortos habebo. nec vero ullum genus possessionis est quod malim, maxime scilicet ob eam causam quae suscepta est; cuius festinationem mihi tollis, quoniam de aestate polliceris vel potius recipis. deinde etiam ad *καταβίωσω* maestitiamque minuendam nihil mihi reperiri potest aptius; cuius rei cupiditas impellit me interdum ut te hortari velim. sed me ipse revoco; non enim dubito quin, quod me valde velle putes, in eo tu me ipsum cupiditate vincas. itaque istuc iam pro facto habeo.
- 3 Exspecto quid istis placeat de epistula ad Caesarem. Nicias te, ut debet, amat vehementerque tua sui memoria delectatur. ego vero Peducaeam nostrum vehementer diligo; nam et quanti patrem feci, totum in hunc <contuli et hunc><sup>2</sup> ipsum per se aequae amo atque illum amavi, te vero plurimum qui hoc ab utroque nostrum fieri velis. si hortos inspexeris et si de epistula certiosem me feceris, dederis mihi quod ad te scribam; si minus, scribam tamen aliquid. numquam enim deerit.

<sup>1</sup> quod si *om. codd. superstites* : quam si *coni. SB*<sup>2</sup> *add. SB* : transtuli et hunc *addere noluerunt TP*<sup>1</sup> Montanus and Marcius.

## LETTER 296 (XIII.1)

## 296 (XIII.1)

*Tusculum, 23 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your letter to Marcus is exactly right, grave and gentle at the same time—just what I should have wished. Your letters to the Tullii<sup>1</sup> too are most judicious. Well then, either these will work or we shall have to stop worrying.

As for the money, you are clearly making, or rather have already made, every possible effort. If you bring it off, I shall owe my suburban residence to you. There is no sort of property I would sooner have, chiefly of course on account of the project to which I am already committed; as to that you remove all my hurry now that you promise or rather guarantee about the summer. Then too nothing can be found for me more suitable for living out my time and softening my grief. My eagerness in this matter sometimes makes me want to urge you on. But I check myself, for I don't doubt that in something on which you think I have set my heart your eagerness exceeds my own. So I take it for as good as done.

I am waiting to hear what your friends think about the letter to Caesar. Nicias loves you as he ought, and is delighted by your remembrance of him. Yes, I have the warmest regard for our friend Peducaeus. Not only have I transferred to him all the affection I felt for his father, but I am as fond of him for his own sake as I was of his father, and fondest of you for wishing us both to feel that way. If you will inspect the properties and let me know about the letter, you will give me something to write about; if not, I shall write a line just the same. There will always be something.

CICERO

297 (XIII.2)

*Scr. in Tusculano 1X Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- (1) Gravior mihi celeritas tua quam ipsa res. quid enim indignius? sed iam ad ista obduruimus et humanitatem omnem exuimus. tuas litteras hodie exspectabam, nihil equidem ut ex iis novi; quid enim? verum tamen.

298 (XIII.27)

*Scr. in Tusculano VIII Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De epistula ad Caesarem, nobis vero semper rectissime placuit ut isti ante legerent. aliter enim fuisset et in hos <in>officiosi et in nosmet ipsos, si illum offensuri fuimus, paene periculosi. isti autem ingenue, mihi que gratum quod quid sentirent non reticuerunt; illud vero vel optime, quod ita multa mutari volunt ut mihi de integro scribendi causa non sit. quamquam de Parthico bello, quid spectare debui nisi quod illum velle arbitrabar? quod enim aliud argumentum epistulae nostrae nisi *κολακεία* fuit? an, si ea quae optima putarem suadere voluissem, oratio mihi defuisset? totis igitur litteris nihil opus est. ubi enim *ἐπιτεγγμα* magnum nullum fieri possit, *ἀπότεγγμα* vel non magnum molestum futurum sit, quid opus est *παρακινδυνεύειν*? praesertim cum illud occurrat, illum, cum antea

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<sup>1</sup> Probably this refers to the submission to Balbus and Oppius of Cicero's draft 'Letter of Advice' to Caesar. See next letter.

LETTER 298 (XIII. 27)

297 (XIII.2)

*Tusculum, 24 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your promptitude is more agreeable to me than what you had to tell. Could anything be more humiliating?<sup>21</sup> But I am hardened now to such treatment and have cast off all sensibility. I am expecting a letter from you today, not to learn any news (what should there be?), but all the same.

298 (XIII. 27)

*Tusculum, 25 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As to my letter to Caesar, certainly I was always and for excellent reasons in favour of having your friends read it beforehand. To have done otherwise would have been discourteous to them and almost dangerous to myself, if the letter was going to offend its recipient. Your friends have behaved with candour, and I am obliged to them for not concealing their sentiments. I am particularly beholden to them for wanting so many changes that there is no point in my writing the thing afresh. All the same, as regards the Parthian war, what ought I to have had in view except Caesar's wishes as I understood them? What other material had I for my letter except flattery? Or if I had had a mind to advise him as I really believed, should I have lacked words? The truth is that the whole letter is uncalled-for. When no great success is possible and even a minor failure would be unpleasant, why chance one's arm?—especially as it occurs to me that he will think that since I have written

## CICERO

nihil scripserim, existimaturum me nisi toto bello confecto nihil scripturum fuisse. atque etiam vereor ne putet me hoc quasi 'Catonis' *μείλιγμα* esse voluisse. quid quaeris? valde me paenitebat, nec mihi in hac quidem re quicquam magis ut vellem accidere potuit quam quod *σπουδῆ* nostra non est probata. incidissemus etiam in illos, in eis in cognatum tuum.

- 2 Sed redeo ad hortos. plane illuc te ire nisi tuo magno commodo nolo; nihil enim urget. quicquid erit, operam in Faberio ponamus. de die tamen auctionis, si quid scies. eum qui e Cumano venerat, quod et plane valere Atticam nuntiabat et litteras se habere aiebat, statim ad te misi.

### 299 (XIII.28)

*Scr. in Tusculano VII Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Hortos quoniam hodie eras inspecturus, quid visum tibi sit cras scilicet. de Faberio autem, cum venerit.
- 2 De epistula ad Caesarem, iurato mihi crede, non possum; nec me turpitudine deterret, etsi maxime debebat. quam enim turpis est adsentatio, cum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis! sed ut coepi, non me hoc turpe deterret (ac vellem quidem; essem enim qui esse debebam), sed in mentem nihil venit. nam quae sunt ad Alexandrum hominum eloquentium et doctorum suasionem vides quibus in

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., the last phase of the Civil War, which had recently ended with the battle of Munda.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Cicero junior and other malevolents in Caesar's entourage would have got to see the piece.



## LETTER 299 (XIII.28)

nothing before I did not intend to write anything unless and until the war<sup>1</sup> was entirely won. I am even afraid he might take it as intended for a kind of peace offering after the 'Cato.' All in all I was heartily regretting the notion, and no outcome could be more agreeable to me in the circumstances than the rejection of my *zèle*. I should also have fallen into the hands of those others, including your nephew.<sup>2</sup>

But I come back to the property. Really I don't want you to go there unless it's perfectly convenient. There's no hurry. In any case let us get to work on Faberius. But let me know the date of the auction if you learn anything. I am sending the messenger from Cumae on to you at once because he reports that Attica is quite well and says he has letters.

### 299 (XIII.28)

*Tusculum, 26 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As you were going to inspect the property today you will no doubt be sending me your views tomorrow. You will let me know about Faberius when he comes.

As regards the letter to Caesar, I give you my solemn word, I *cannot*. It is not shame that deters me, though it most assuredly ought—servility is shameful indeed when to be alive at all is a disgrace for me. But as I was saying, it isn't this unseemliness that deters me (I wish it were, for then I should be the man I ought to be), but nothing comes to my mind. As for the counsels addressed by eloquent and learned persons to Alexander, you see their themes. A

rebus versentur. adulescentem incensum cupiditate verisimae gloriae, cupientem sibi aliquid consili dari quod ad laudem sempiternam valeret, cohortantur ad decus. non deest oratio. ego quid possum? tamen nescio quid e quercu exsculpseram quod videretur simile simulacri. in eo quia non nulla erant paulo meliora quam ea quae fiunt et facta sunt, reprehenduntur; quod me minime paenitet. si enim

3 pervenissent istae litterae, mihi crede, nos paeniteret. quid? tu non vides ipsum illum Aristoteli discipulum, summo ingenio, summa modestia, postea quam rex appellatus sit, superbum, crudelem, immoderatum fuisse? quid? tu hunc de pompa, Quirini contubernalem, his nostris moderatis epistulis laetaturum putas? ille vero potius non scripta desideret quam scripta non probet. postremo ut volet. abiit illud quod tum me stimulabat cum<sup>1</sup> tibi dabam *πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον*. multo mehercule magis nunc opto casum illum quam tum timebam, vel quem libebit.

Nisi quid te aliud impedit, mi optato veneris. Nicias a Dolabella magno opere arcessitus (legi enim litteras), etsi invito me tamen eodem me auctore, profectus est.

4  
(29. 1) Hoc manu mea. cum quasi alias res quaererem de philologis e Nicia, incidimus in Talam, ille de ingenio nihil nimis, modestum et frugi. sed hoc mihi non placuit: se scire aiebat ab eo nuper petitam Cornificiam, Quinti filiam,

<sup>1</sup> quod (Wesenberg)

<sup>1</sup> See Letter 289, note 1.      <sup>2</sup> Probably the question posed in Letter 240.2: how to praise Cato without annoying Caesar? Cicero was at that time afraid that his property might be confiscated. Now, with Tullia gone, he no longer cares, would even welcome it (he goes nearly as far in Letter 331.3).

## LETTER 299 (XIII.28)

young man, fired by a passion for true glory and desiring some advice which would tend to his immortal fame, is exhorted to honourable distinction. Plenty to say there! What can I say? However I did hew some semblance of a shape out of the tough timber. It contained a few things on a somewhat higher plane than suits the present and past goings on, so they are disapproved; and I am far from sorry. If that letter had reached its destination, I *should* have been sorry, believe me. Let me remind you that even Aristotle's pupil, eminent as were his gifts and excellent as was his conduct, became a cruel and intemperate tyrant once he ascended the throne. And do you suppose that this figure in the procession, this fellow lodger of Quirinus,<sup>1</sup> will be gratified by a sober letter like mine? Better let him want for what I don't write than disapprove of what I do. Lastly—let him feel as he pleases. The worry I had when I set you a 'problem for an Archimedes'<sup>2</sup> has disappeared. I assure you I now pray for the fate I had in mind far more earnestly than I feared it then—or any he pleases to inflict.

I am very much looking forward to your coming, unless something else holds you up. Nicias left after a pressing summons from Dolabella (I read the letter). I advised him to go, though sorry to lose him.

The following in my own hand. In an ostensibly random literary conversation with Nicias Talna's name<sup>3</sup> cropped up. He described him as a well conducted, respectable young man of no exceptional abilities. But there was one thing I didn't like. He said that to his knowledge Talna had recently proposed to Cornificia, Quintus' daughter, a

<sup>3</sup> Evidently in consideration as a possible fiancé for Atticus' daughter. He was the son of a friend of Cicero's (Letter 327.4).

CICERO

vetulam sane et multarum nuptiarum; non esse probatum mulieribus, quod ita reperirent, rem non maiorem DCCC. hoc putavi te scire oportere.

300 (XIII.29)

Scr. in Tusculano VI Kal. Iun. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De hortis ex tuis litteris cognovi et Chrysippo. in villa  
(2) cuius insulsiatē bene noram, video nihil aut pauca mutata; balnearia tamen laudat maiora, de minoribus ait hiberna effici posse. tecta igitur ambulatiuncula addenda est; quam ut tantam faciamus quantam in Tusculano fecimus, prope dimidio minoris constabit isto loco. ad id autem quod volumus ἀφίδρυμα nihil aptius videtur quam lucus, quem ego noram; sed celebritatem nullam tum habebat, nunc audio maximam. nihil est quod ego malim. in hoc τὸν τύφόν μου πρὸς θεῶν τροποφόρησον. reliquum est, si Faberius nobis nomen illud explicat, noli quaerere quanti; Othonem vincas volo. nec tamen insaniturum illum puto; nosse enim mihi hominem videor. ita male autem audio ipsum esse tractatum ut mihi ille emptor non esse videatur.
- 2 quid enim pateretur? sed quid argumentor? si Faberium  
(3) explicas, emamus vel magno; si m<in>us, ne parvo quidem possumus. Clodiam igitur. a qua ipsa ob eam causam sperare videor, quod et multo minoris sunt et Dolabellae nomen iam expeditum videtur, ut etiam repraesentatione

<sup>1</sup> The auction.

## LETTER 300 (XIII.29)

much married old lady, and that the womenfolk had turned him down because they found he was worth no more than 800,000. I thought you ought to know.

### 300 (XIII.29)

*Tusculum, 27 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

About the property, I have received your letter and Chrysippus' report. In the house, which I well knew to be unattractive, it seems that little or nothing has been changed. He does however speak well of the larger baths; the smaller ones he says could be made into winter apartments. So a covered path needs to be added. Even if I make it the size of the one I made at Tusculum, it will cost hardly more than half as much in that locality. For the model temple that I want the grove, which I remember, seems ideal. But it used to be quite out of the way in the old days, now I hear it is very much the reverse. I should like it above all things. Indulge my folly in this, *je vous en prie*. For the rest, if Faberius settles that debt he owes me, don't ask the price. Just outbid Otho. I think however that he isn't likely to go beserk. I rather fancy I have his measure. I hear he has taken such a hammering himself that I doubt if he will be in the market. Else why would he be letting it<sup>1</sup> happen? But there is no need for me to make a case. If you clear up Faberius, let us buy even at a high price; otherwise we can't, even at a low one. Well then, Clodia. I think I may hope to buy from her directly, both because her property is much less valuable and because Dolabella's debt now seems well on the way to settlement so that I am confident of being able to pay even on a cash down footing. So much

CICERO

confidam. de hortis satis. cras aut te aut causam; quam quidem <puto><sup>1</sup> futuram Faberianam. sed si poteris.

- 3  
(30. 1) <Q.> Ciceronis epistulam tibi remisi. o te ferreum qui illius periculis non moveris! me quoque accusat. eam tibi epistulam †misissem†. nam illam alteram de rebus gestis eodem exemplo puto. in Cumanum hodie misi tabellarium. ei dedi tuas ad Vestorium quas Pharnaci dederas.

301 (XIII.2a)

*Scr. in Tusculano fort. vi Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1  
(2. 1) Oppio et Balbo epistulas deferri iubebis. et tamen<sup>1</sup> Pisonem sicubi, de auro. Faberius si venerit, videbis ut tantum attribuat, si modo attribuetur, quantum debetur. accipies ab Erote.

- 2  
(2. 2) Ariarathes, Ariobarzani filius, Romam venit. vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere a Caesare; nam quo modo nunc est, pedem ubi ponat in suo non habet. omnino eum Sestius noster, parochus publicus, occupavit; quod quidem facile patior. verum tamen, quod mihi summo beneficio meo magna cum fratre<sup>2</sup> illius necessitudo est, invito eum per litteras ut apud me deversetur. ad eam rem cum mitterem Alexandrum, has ei dedi litteras.

<sup>1</sup> *add. Baiter* : video *coni. SB*      <sup>1</sup> *etiam coni. SB*

<sup>2</sup> *fratribus (Manutius)*

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<sup>1</sup> An obscure business, several times mentioned in later letters.      <sup>2</sup> A person charged to look after travellers on official business. Here in jest, Sestius being fond of entertaining distinguished foreigners.

LETTER 301 (XII.2a)

for properties. Tomorrow I shall have you, or your excuses, which I imagine will concern Faberius. But come if you can.

I am sending you back young Quintus' letter. What a heart of flint you must have to be unmoved by his perils! He complains of me too—I am sending you the letter with yours (?). The other one about the campaign I take to be a duplicate. I am sending a courier to Cumae today, and have given him your letter to Vestorius which you dispatched by Phamaces.

301 (XII.2a)

*Tusculum, 27 May (?) 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Please have the letters sent on to Oppius and Balbus. All the same (?), if you see Piso anywhere, speak to him about the gold.<sup>1</sup> If Faberius comes, please see that the claims assigned, if any *are* assigned, equal in value the amount owed. You will get the figure from Eros.

Ariarathes, son of Ariobarzanes, is coming to Rome. I imagine he wants to buy a kingdom from Caesar, for as things now stand he has not a foot of ground to call his own. Our friend Sestius, the public purveyor,<sup>2</sup> has snapped him up, which is quite all right with me. All the same, as I have a close connexion with his brother arising out of a signal service rendered by me,<sup>3</sup> I am writing to invite him to stay overnight with me. As I am sending Alexander for that purpose, I give him this letter.

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 113, note 5.

## CICERO

## 302 (XIII.31)

Scr. in Tusculano v Kal. Iun. an. 45 (§ 1)

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 v Kal. mane accepi a Demea litteras pridie datas, ex quibus aut hodie aut cras <te> exspectare deberem. sed, ut opinor, idem [quod] ego qui exspecto tuum adventum morabor te. non enim puto tam expeditum Faberianum negotium futurum, etiam si est futurum, ut <non> habeat aliquid morae.
- 2 cum poteris igitur. quoniam etiamnum<sup>1</sup> abes, Dicaearchi quos scribis libros sane velim mi mittas, addas etiam 'Καταβάσεως.'
- 3 De epistula ad Caesarem κέκρικα; atque<sup>2</sup> id ipsum quod isti aiunt illum scribere, se nisi constitutis rebus non iturum in Parthos, idem ego suadebam in illa epistula. utrum liberet facere posset auctore m<e>. hoc enim ille exspectat videlicet, neque est facturus quicquam nisi de meo consilio. obsecro, abiciamus ista et semiliberi saltem simus; quod adsequemur et tacendo et latendo.
- 4 Sed adgredere Othonem, ut scribis. confice, mi Attice, istam rem. nihil enim aliud reperio ubi et in foro non sim et tecum esse possim. quanti autem, hoc mihi venit in mentem: C. Albanus proximus est vicinus. is CIO iugerum de M. Pilio emit, ut mea memoria est, HS [CXV]. omnia scilicet nunc minoris. sed accedit cupiditas, in qua praeter Othonem non puto nos ullum adversarium habituros. sed

<sup>1</sup> etiam dum (*Madvig*: e- nunc *Orelli*)<sup>2</sup> atqui *Wesenberg*<sup>1</sup> See Letter 116, note 4.<sup>2</sup> About 620 acres.



## LETTER 302 (XIII.31)

302 (XIII.31)

*Tusculum, 28 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Early on the 28th I received from Demea your letter dispatched the previous day, in which you give me to understand that I am to expect you either today or tomorrow. But I imagine that I, who am so looking forward to your coming, shall be the one to delay you. For I don't suppose the Faberius business will be so straightforward, even supposing it takes place, as not to involve some delay. So come when you can. Since you are still absent, I should be very glad if you would send me Dicaearchus' books of which you write, and put in the 'Descent'<sup>1</sup> as well.

As for the letter to Caesar, that's a *chose jugée*. And the very point which your friends say he makes in his letter, that he will not go to fight the Parthians until he has settled affairs here, was recommended in my epistle. He might do whichever he pleased on my authority—that's what he's waiting for of course, and won't do anything except on my advice! For pity's sake let us chuck all this nonsense, and be half free at any rate. That we shall manage by holding our tongues and lying low.

But get hold of Otho, as you say. My dear Atticus, do put this business through. I can find nothing else where I should be able to be with you and yet not in the public eye. As regards the price, the following occurs to me. C. Albanus is a very close neighbour. He bought 1000 *iugera*<sup>2</sup> from M. Pilius, if I remember rightly, for HS 11,500,000. Of course everything has dropped now. But there is also the factor of anxiety to buy, in which except for Otho I think I shall have no rival. But you will be able to influence even

CICERO

eum ipsum tu poteris movere, facilius etiam si Kanum haberes. o gulam insulsam! pudet me patris. rescribes si quid voles.

303 (XIII.30)

*Scr. in Tusculano v Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

1 Commodum ad te miseram Demean, cum Eros ad me  
(30. 2) venit. sed in eius epistula nihil erat novi nisi auctionem biduo.<sup>1</sup> ab ea igitur, ut scribis, et velim confecto negotio Faberiano; quem quidem negat Eros hodie, cras mane putat. <a> te colendus est; istae autem *κολακείαι* non longe absunt a scelere. te, ut spero, perendie.

2 Mi, sicunde potes, erues qui decem legati Mummio  
(3) fuerint. Polybius non nominat. ego memini Albinum consularem et Sp. Mummius; videor audisse ex Hortensio Tuditanum. sed in Libonis annali XIII annis post praetor est factus Tuditanus quam consul Mummius. non sane quadrat. volo aliquem Olympiae aut ubivis *πολιτικὸν σύλλογον* more Dicaearchi, familiaris tui.

<sup>1</sup> biduum (*Wesenberg*)

LETTER 303 (XIII.30)

him, all the more easily if you had Kanus to help you. What a disgusting display of gluttony!<sup>3</sup> I am ashamed for his father's sake. Write back if there is anything you want.

303 (XIII.30)

*Tusculum, 28 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I had just sent Demea off to you when Eros arrived. But there was no news in his letter except that the auction is to be in two days' time. You will come then, as you say, after it's over—I would hope with the Faberius business settled. Eros says he won't arrive today, but thinks he will tomorrow morning. You must be polite to him, though these fawnings are little less than criminal. I hope to see you the day after tomorrow.

If you can, please dig out for me somewhere the names of Mummius' ten Commissioners.<sup>1</sup> Polybius does not give them. I remember the Consular Albinus and Sp. Mummius. I fancy I have heard Hortensius mention Tuditanus. But in Libo's Annals Tuditanus became Praetor fourteen years after Mummius became Consul. It doesn't fit very well. I want to stage a sort of Political Conference at Olympia or where you will in the manner of your old friend Dicaearchus.

<sup>3</sup> Probably some misdemeanour of young Quintus. His voracious appetite as a boy is mentioned in a letter to his father: *Letters to Quintus* 27(III.7).9.

<sup>1</sup> Sent out in 146 after the capture of Corinth by L. Mummius.

CICERO

304 (XIII.2b)

*Scr. in Tusculano IV Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- (2. 3) Cras igitur auctio Peducaei. cum poteris ergo; etsi impediet fortasse Faberius. sed tamen, cum licebit. Dionysius noster graviter queritur, et tamen iure, a discipulis abesse tam diu. multis verbis scripsit ad me, credo item ad te. mihi quidem videtur etiam diutius afuturus. ac nollem; valde enim hominem desidero.
- (3. 1) A te litteras expectabam, nondum scilicet; nam has mane rescribebam.

305 (XIII.32)

*Scr. in Tusculano IV Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Alteram a te epistolam cum hodie accepissem, nolui te una mea contentum. tu vero age, quod scribis, de Faberio. in eo enim totum est positum id quod cogitamus; quae cogitatio si non incidisset, mihi crede, istuc ut cetera non laborarem. quam ob rem, ut facis (istuc enim addi nihil potest), urge, insta, perfice.
- 2 Dicaearchi 'περὶ Ψυχῆς' utrosque velim mittas et 'Καταβάσεως.' 'Τριπολιτικὸν' non invenio et epistolam eius quam ad Aristoxenum misit. tris eos libros maxime nunc vellem; apti essent ad id quod cogito.

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<sup>1</sup> Evidently Dionysius had been restored to favour. Who his pupils were is not clear; perhaps Atticus and Cicero.

<sup>1</sup> The political dialogue mentioned in Letter 303.

LETTER 305 (XIII.32)

304 (XIII.2b)

*Tusculum, 29 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Tomorrow then for Peducaeus' auction. So come when you can, though perhaps Faberius will hold you up; but still, when you can manage. Our friend Dionysius is complaining vigorously, but not without justice, at so long an absence from his pupils.<sup>1</sup> He has written to me at length, to you too no doubt. It looks to me as though he will be away for some time yet. A pity! I miss him a lot.

I am expecting a letter from you, not yet to be sure—I write this in answer to yours early in the morning.

305 (XIII.32)

*Tusculum, 29 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After receiving a second letter from you today, I did not want you to make do with only one from me. Yes, do proceed about Faberius as you say you will. My project is entirely dependent on it. If that idea had not arisen I assure you I should trouble about this as little as about all else. So, as you are doing (no addition is possible), urge it, press it, finish it.

Please send me Dicaearchus' two books 'On the Soul,' and the volumes of his 'Descent' (I can't find the 'Tripoliticus' and his 'Letter to Aristoxenus'). I should particularly like those three volumes just now, as they would be useful for what I have in mind.<sup>1</sup>

- 3 'Torquatus' Romae est. misi ut tibi daretur. 'Catulum' et 'Lucullum,' ut opinor, antea. his libris nova prohoemia sunt addita, quibus eorum uterque laudatur. eas litteras volo habeas, et sunt quaedam alia. et<sup>1</sup> quod a<d> te <de> decem legatis scripsi parum intellexi<sti>,<sup>2</sup> credo quia διὰ σημείων scripseram. de C. Tuditano enim quaerebam, quam ex Hortensio audieram fuisse in decem. eum video in Libonis praetorem P. Popilio P. Rupilio <consulibus>, annis XIII ante quam praetor factus est legatus esse <qui><sup>3</sup> potuisset?—nisi admodum sero praetor est factus, quod non arbitror. video enim curulis magistratus eum legitimis annis perfacile cepisse. Postumium autem, cuius statuam in Isthmo meminisse te dicis, Aulum nesciebam<sup>4</sup> fuisse. is autem est qui <consul> cum <L.><sup>5</sup> Lucullo fuit; quem tu mihi addidisti sane ad illum σύλλογον personam idoneam. videbis igitur, si poteris, ceteros, ut possimus πομπεύσαι καὶ τοῖς προσώποις.

## 306 (XII.6)

*Scr. in Tusculano prid. Kal. Iun., ut vid., an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Caelio vide, quaeso, <et><sup>1</sup> ne quae lacuna si<t> in auro.

<sup>1</sup> aliae Tyrrell

<sup>2</sup> add. Lambinus

<sup>3</sup> add. Castiglioni

<sup>4</sup> Aulum nesciebam SB : annis sc-cod. Tornesianus teste Bosio : sc-codd. superstites : nesc. Muretus

<sup>5</sup> cos. et L. add. Wesenberg

<sup>1</sup> add. SB

## LETTER 306 (XII.6)

'Torquatus'<sup>2</sup> is in Rome. I have sent word that it should be delivered to you. I think I gave you the 'Catulus' and the 'Lucullus'<sup>3</sup> previously. New prefaces have been added to these pieces eulogizing each of the pair. I want you to have these compositions, and there are some other things. You don't quite understand what I wrote to you about the ten Commissioners, no doubt because I used abbreviations. I was enquiring about C. Tuditanus, who I had heard from Hortensius was one of the Ten. I see in Libo that he was Praetor in the Consulship of P. Popilius and P. Rupilius. How could he have been a Commissioner fourteen years before becoming Praetor?—unless he became Praetor very late, which I do not think likely as he seems to have gained the curule magistracies at the legally permitted years without the least difficulty. As for Postumius, whose statue at the Isthmus you say you remember, I did not know he was Aulus.<sup>4</sup> That is the man who was Consul with L. Lucullus. I owe to you a highly appropriate accession to my Conference. So please see about the others if you can, so that my *personae* may add to the general *éclat*.

306 (XII.6)

*Tusculum, 31 May (?) 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Please see about Caelius and see that there is no gap in

<sup>2</sup> The first book of *On the Limits* in which Torquatus sets out the Epicurean doctrine.

<sup>3</sup> The two original books of the *Academica*.

<sup>4</sup> A. Postumius Albinus, Consul in 151.

CICERO

ego ista non novi, sed certe in collubo est detrimenti satis. huc aurum si accedit—sed quid loquor? tu videbis. habes Hegesiae genus, quod Varro laudat.

2 Venio ad Tyrannionem. ain tu? verum hoc fuit? sine me? at ego quotiens, cum essem otiosus, sine te tamen nolui! quo modo ergo hoc hies? uno scilicet, si mihi librum miseris; quod ut facias etiam atque etiam rogo. etsi me non magis ipse liber delectabit quam tua admiratio delectavit. amo enim πάντα φιλειδήμονα teque istam tam tenuem θεωρίαν tam valde admiratum esse gaudeo. etsi tua quidem sunt eius modi omnia. scire enim vis; quo uno animus alitur. sed, quaeso, quid ex ista acuta et gravi refertur ad τέλος?

Sed longa oratio est, et tu occupatus es in meo quidem fortasse aliquo negotio. et pro isto asso sole quo tu abusus es in nostro pratulo a te nitidum solem unctumque repetemus. sed ad prima redeo. librum, si me amas, mitte. tuus est enim profecto, quoniam quidem est missus ad te.

307 (XII.5a)

*Scr. in Tusculano prid. Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

De Caelio tu quaeres, ut scribis; ego nihil novi. noscenda autem est natura, non facultas modo. de Hortensio et Ver-

<sup>1</sup> I.e., that the amount is what it should be (see Letter 301, note 1). Caelius was a debtor of Faberius, who might transfer his claim to Cicero by way of payment of his own debt.

<sup>2</sup> On accentuation in Homeric Greek.

<sup>3</sup> Atticus may be supposed to have written of a visit to Cicero's



LETTER 307 (XII.5a)

the gold.<sup>1</sup> I know nothing about these matters. But surely there's enough lost on the exchange. If the gold comes on top of that—but why talk? You'll see to it. There's a sample of Hegesias' style, which Varro commends.

I come to Tyrannio. Now really, was this fair, to go ahead without me? How often have I refrained, though I had time to spare, because you were not there! How will you make amends? Obviously in only one way, by sending me the book.<sup>2</sup> I ask you once more to do so, though the book itself will not please me more than did your admiration of it. I love a man who takes all learning for his province, and am delighted to find you so enthusiastic about so rarefied a study. But that is you all over. Knowledge is your desire, the only food of the mind. But pray, what bearing has any of this stuff about grave and acute on the *summum bonum*?

But I run on and on, and you are busy, perhaps on some business of mine. And in return for the dry bask in which you revelled on my lawn<sup>3</sup> I shall expect a well lubricated sun bath from you. But to go back where I started—send the book if you love me. It must be yours since it is dedicated to you.

307 (XII.5a)

*Tusculum, 31 May 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Please make enquiries about Caelius as you promise. I know nothing about him. One wants to know about character, not just means. You will write about Hortensius and

house on the Palatine, perhaps to see 'little Lentulus,' and his enjoyment of the sunshine on the lawn.

## CICERO

ginio tu, si quid dubitabis. etsi quod magis placeat, ego quantum aspicio, non facile inveneris. cum Mustela, quem ad modum scribis, cum venerit Crispus. ad Avium scripsi ut ea quae bene nosset de auro Pisoni demonstraret. tibi enim sane adsentior et istuc nimium diu duci et omnia nunc undique contrahenda. te quidem nihil agere, nihil cogitare aliud nisi quod ad me pertineat facile perspicio meisque negotiis impediri cupiditatem tuam ad me veniendi. sed mecum esse te puto, non solum quod meam rem agis verum etiam quod videre videor quo modo agas. neque enim ulla hora tui mihi est operis ignota.

### 308 (XIII.3)

*Scr. in Tusculano Kal. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ego vero ista nomina sic probo ut nihil aliud me moveat nisi quod tu videris dubitare. illud enim<sup>1</sup> non accipio in bonam partem, quod ad me refers; qui si ipse negotium meum gererem, nihil gererem nisi consilio tuo. sed tamen intellego magis te id facere diligentia qua semper uteris quam quo dubites de nominibus istis. etenim Caelium non probas, plura non vis. utrumque laudo. his igitur utendum est. praes aliquando factus ess<es>, et<sup>2</sup> in his quidem tabulis. a me igitur omnia. quod dies longior est (teneamus

<sup>1</sup> autem conī. SB

<sup>2</sup> es et vel esset (Bosius)

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<sup>1</sup> Other debtors of Faberius, whose claims Cicero might take over.    <sup>2</sup> See Letter 285, note 1.

<sup>1</sup> This would have been contrary to Atticus' lifelong practice, as stated by Cornelius Nepos in his biographical sketch.

LETTER 308 (XIII.3)

Verginius<sup>1</sup> if you have any doubts, though so far as I can see you won't easily find anything more acceptable. Please talk to Mustela, as you promise, when Crispus arrives.<sup>2</sup> I have written to Avius, asking him to make clear to Piso the facts about the gold, which are well known to him. I quite agree with you that this matter is dragging on too long and that now is the time to pull in all I have from every quarter. I well perceive that you are doing and thinking of nothing except what concerns me and that my affairs are what is interfering with your desire to visit me. But I feel you *are* with me, not only because you are doing my business but because I can almost see how you are doing it; for not one hour of your work escapes my knowledge.

308 (XIII.3)

*Tusculum, 1 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Certainly I approve those bonds. The only thing that bothers me is that you seem to be dubious. I don't take it kindly that you leave the decision to me. Even if I were managing my own affairs, I should do nothing but on your advice. However I appreciate that it is your invariable conscientiousness rather than any misgivings about these bonds that makes you act so. After all you don't like Caelius and you don't want to multiply debtors. I approve on both points. So we must take these. Otherwise you would at long last have had to stand surety,<sup>1</sup> and in this transaction too! So all shall come from me. The settlement date is certainly rather far off, but (provided we get what we want) I imag-

CICERO

modo quod volumus), puto fore istam etiam a praecone diem, certe ab heredibus. de Crispo et Mustela videbis, et velim scire quae sit pars duorum.

- 2 De Bruti adventu eram factus certior. attulerat enim ab eo Aegypta libertus litteras. misi ad te epistulam, quia comode scripta erat.

309 (XIII.33)

*Scr. in Tusculano IV Non. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Neglegentiam miram! semelne putas mihi dixisse Balbum et Faberium professionem relatum? qui<sup>1</sup> etiam eorum iussu miserim qui profiteretur. ita enim oportere dicebant. professus est Philotimus libertus; nosti, credo, librarium. sed scribes, et quidem confectum.
- 2 Ad Faberium, ut tibi placet, litteras misi. cum Balbo autem puto te aliquid fecisse †H†<sup>2</sup> in Capitolio. in Vergilio mihi nulla est *δυσωπία*. nec enim eius causa sane debeo et, si emero, quid erit quod postulet? sed videbis ne is, cum sit in Africa, ut Caelius.

De nomine tu videbis cum Crispo;<sup>3</sup> sed si Plancus destinat, tum habet res difficultatem. te ad me venire uterque

<sup>1</sup> quin (*Wesenberg*)      <sup>2</sup> H (= *hora*) III *vel* IV (*debutt* III)  
coni. *Beaujeu*, *veteres secutus*      <sup>3</sup> *al.* *cuspio*

<sup>2</sup> To the Scapula estate.

<sup>1</sup> For public registration of a transfer of assets, perhaps in this case Cicero's loan to Faberius.      <sup>2</sup> Distinguished from Terentia's freedman of the same name.      <sup>3</sup> See Letter 286, note 1.

## LETTER 309 (XIII.33)

ine even the auctioneer will accept that date and the heirs<sup>2</sup> certainly will. You will see about Crispus and Mustela, and I should like to know what the share of the two of them amounts to.

I had been informed about Brutus' arrival, as my freedman Aegypta had brought a letter from him. I am sending it to you because it's nicely written.

### 309 (XIII.33)

*Tusculum, 2 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Amazing carelessness! As though Balbus and Faberius had not told me time and again that the declaration<sup>1</sup> had been presented! I actually sent someone on their instructions to make it. They said that was the proper procedure. It was made by my freedman Philotimus—you know him, I think, the copyist.<sup>2</sup> But you will write and no doubt tell me that it has been done.

I have written to Faberius as you wish. I imagine you did something with Balbus at \* o'clock (?) on the Capitol. Over Vergilius<sup>3</sup> I have nothing to feel embarrassed about. I am under no particular obligation to consider him, and if I buy, what will he have to complain of? But you will have to be careful that being in Africa he does not follow Caelius' example.<sup>4</sup>

Please take up the matter of the loan with Crispus; but if Plancus is in the market it's going to be difficult. We are both anxious for you to come to me, but this matter must

<sup>4</sup> What that was is uncertain.

## CICERO

nostrum cupit; sed ista res nullo modo relinquenda est. Othonem quod speras posse vinci, sane bene narras. de aestimatione, ut scribis, cum agere coeperimus; etsi nihil scripsit nisi de modo agri. cum Pisone, si quid poterit. Dicaearchi librum accepi et 'Καταβάσεως' exspecto.

- 3     \* \* \*<sup>4</sup> negotium dederis, reperiet ex eo libro in quo sunt senatus consulta Cn. Cornelio L. <Mummio><sup>5</sup> consulibus. de Tuditano autem, quod putas εὐλογον est, tum illum, quoniam fuit ad Corinthum (non enim temere dixit Hortensius), aut quaestorem <aut><sup>6</sup> tribunum mil. fuisse, idque potius<sup>7</sup> credo; sed tu de Antiocho scire poteris. vide etiam <Spurius><sup>8</sup> quo anno quaestor aut tribunus mil. fuerit; si neutrum †cadet†<sup>9</sup>, in praefectis an in contubernalibus fuerit, modo fuerit in eo bello.

### 310 (XIII.6)

*Scr. Asturae III Non. Iun., ut vid., an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De aquae ductu probe fecisti. columnarium vide ne nulum debeamus; quamquam mihi videor audisse <e> Camillo commutatam esse legem.
- 2 Pisoni quid est quod honestius respondere possimus quam solitudinem Catonis? nec coheredibus solum He-

<sup>4</sup> lacunam agnovit Faernus (vide CLA)

<sup>5</sup> add. Manutius

<sup>6</sup> aut q- aut Manutius : ad q- codd.

<sup>7</sup> idque potius fuisse (Ernesti)

<sup>8</sup> add. SB

<sup>9</sup> cadet in tempus coni. SB

LETTER 310 (XIII.6)

not be left unsettled on any account. It is certainly good to read that you hope Otho can be beaten. As you say, we shall see about the valuation when we start negotiating, though his letter says nothing except about the acreage. Talk to Piso and see if anything can be done. I have received Dicaearchus' book and am expecting the 'Descent.'

\* \* \* you ask him to look, he will find out from the book containing the senatorial decrees in the Consulship of Cn. Cornelius and L. Mummius. As for Tuditanus, the data fit your view that, since he was at Corinth (Hortensius knew what he was talking about), he was either Quaestor or Military Tribune at the time—I rather think the latter. But you will be able to ascertain from Antiochus. Find out too what year Spurius<sup>5</sup> was Quaestor or Military Tribune; if neither fits, whether he was a Prefect or an aide-de-camp, that is if he was in the campaign at all.

310 (XIII.6)

*Tusculum, 3 June (?) 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You have done quite right about the aqueduct. I think you may find that I am not liable to any pillar tax, though I fancy I heard from Camillus that the law has been changed.

What fairer answer can we make to Piso<sup>1</sup> than Cato's forlorn position? That goes not only for Herennius' heirs

<sup>5</sup> I.e., Sp. Mummius.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Consul of 58. As heir to the estate of a certain Herennius, he seems to have applied to Atticus, who along with Cicero was guardian to Cato's son, for payment of a debt owing to the estate from Cato.

## CICERO

rennians, sed etiam, ut scis (tu enim mecum egisti), de puero Lucullo, quam pecuniam tutor (nam hoc quoque ad rem pertinet) in Achaia sumpserat. sed agit liberaliter, quoniam negat se quicquam facturum contra nostram voluntatem. coram igitur, ut scribis, constituemus quem ad modum rem explicemus. quod reliquos coheredes convenisti, fecisti plane bene.

3 Quod epistulam meam ad Brutum poscis, non habeo eius exemplum; sed tamen salvum est, et ait Tiro te habere oportere et, ut recordor, una cum illius obiurgatoria tibi meam quoque quam ad eum rescripseram misi. iudiciali molestia ut caream videbis.

4  
(6a) Tuditanum istum, proavum Hortensi, plane non noram et filium, qui tum non potuerat esse legatus, fuisse putaram. Mummius fuisse ad Corinthum pro certo habeo. saepe enim hic Spurius, qui nuper est <mortuus>, epistulas mihi pronuntiabat versiculis factas<sup>1</sup> ad familiaris missas a Corintho. sed non dubito quin fratri fuerit legatus, non in decem. atque hoc etiam accepi, non solitos maiores nostros eos legare in decem qui essent imperatorum necessarii, ut nos ignari pulcherrimorum institutorum aut negligentes potius M. Lucillum et L. Murenam et ceteros coniunctissimos ad L. Lucillum misimus. illudque εὐλογώτατον, illum fratri in primis [eius]<sup>2</sup> legatus fuisse. <ο><sup>3</sup> operam tuam multam, qui et haec cures et mea expedias et sis in tuis non multo minus diligens quam in meis!

<sup>1</sup> *al. facias vel -ies : facetis s*      <sup>2</sup> *secl. SB*

<sup>3</sup> *add. Lehmann*

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<sup>2</sup> Cicero succeeded Cato as guardian to L. Lucullus' son, from whom Cato had borrowed money.      <sup>3</sup> Piso.



## LETTER 310 (XIII.6)

but also, as you know (you spoke to me about it), for young Lucullus,<sup>2</sup> the money was borrowed by Cato as guardian (a relevant point) in Greece. But he<sup>3</sup> is taking a gentlemanly line in promising to do nothing against our wishes. So as you say, we shall settle when we meet how to arrange the matter. You did very well to meet the other coheirs.

You ask for my letter to Brutus. I don't have the copy, but it has not been destroyed and Tiro says you ought to have it. According to my recollection, when I sent you his objurgatory letter I sent my own answering letter<sup>4</sup> at the same time.—You'll see that I am not bothered with jury service.

I had never heard of the Tuditanus you speak of, Hortensius' great-grandfather, and I had thought that his son was the Commissioner, which at that time he could not have been. I feel sure that Mummius<sup>5</sup> was at Corinth. Our contemporary, the late Spurius, used to recite to me letters in verse sent to his friends from Corinth. But I do not doubt that he was Legate to his brother, not one of the Ten. Indeed I have been told that it was not the custom in the old days to appoint relatives of the commanders in the field to such boards, in the way that we in our ignorance, or rather neglect, of the excellent old rules sent M. Lucullus, L. Murena, and other of his closest connexions to L. Lucullus. And it is eminently logical that Spurius in particular should have been one of his brother's Legates. What a busy life you have of it! You attend to this sort of thing, you arrange my affairs for me, and you are almost as conscientious about your own business as you are about mine!

<sup>4</sup> See Letter 276.1.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., Sp. Mummius.

## CICERO

## 311 (XIII.4)

*Scr. in Tusculano prid. Non. Iun. an. 45*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Habeo munus a te <e>laboratum decem legatorum: et quidem <de Tuditano idem><sup>1</sup> puto. nam filius anno post quaestor fuit quam consul Mummius.
- 2 Sed quoniam saepius de nominibus quaeris quid placeat, ego quoque tibi saepius respondeo placere. si quid poteris, cum Pisone conficies; Avius enim videtur in officio futurus. velim ante possis; si minus, utique simul simus cum Brutus veniet in Tusculanum. magni interest mea una nos esse. scies autem qui dies is futurus sit, si puero negotium dederis ut quaerat.

## 312 (XIII.5)

*Scr. in Tusculano Non. Iun. an. 45*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Sp. Mummius putaram in decem legatis fuisse, sed videlicet (etenim *εὐλογον*) fratri fuisse. fuit enim ad Corinthum. nisi tibi Torquatum.
- Colloquere tu quidem cum Silio, ut scribis, sed urge. illam diem negabat esse mense Maio, istam non negabat. sed tu, ut omnia, istuc quoque ages diligenter. de Crispo
- 2 et Mustela<sup>1</sup> scilicet cum quid egeris. quoniam a<d> Bruti

<sup>1</sup> *add. Lehmann*<sup>1</sup> *multis (Victorius)*<sup>1</sup> See Letter 305, note 2.<sup>2</sup> Reference obscure.

LETTER 312 (XIII.5)

311 (XIII.4)

*Tusculum, 4 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have received your present on which you have spent so much pains—the ten Commissioners; and I agree about Tuditanus. The son was Quaestor the year following Mummius' Consulship.

Since you repeat your question as to my wishes regarding the bonds, I too repeat my answer, that I do wish. If you can, settle with Piso—Auius will apparently behave as he should. I wish you could manage it before, but if not, let us at any rate be together when Brutus comes to Tusculum. It is of great importance to me that we should both be there. You will be able to find out which day that will be if you charge your boy to enquire.

312 (XIII.5)

*Tusculum, 5 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I had thought that Sp. Mummius was one of the ten Commissioners, but it seems that he was on his brother's staff, which is logical enough. He definitely was at Corinth. I am sending you "Torquatus."<sup>1</sup>

Yes, do talk to Silius, but press on. He said that other day was not in May, but did not say the same of the day you speak of.<sup>2</sup> But you will attend to this as conscientiously as always. About Crispus and Mustela you will let me know no doubt when you have concluded anything. Since you

## CICERO

adventum fore te nobiscum polliceris, satis est, praesertim cum hi tibi dies in magno nostro negotio consumantur.

### 313 (XIII.8)

*Scr. in Tusculano v Id. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Plane [facturum]<sup>1</sup> nihil erat quod ad te scriberem; modo enim discesseras et paulo post triplicis remiseras. velim cures fasciculum ad Vestorium deferendum et alicui des negotium qui quaerat Q. Staberī fundus num quis in Pompeiano Nolanove venalis sit. epitomen Bruti Caelianorum velim mihi mittas et a Philoxeno Παναϊτίων 'περὶ Προνοίας.' te Idibus videbo cum tuis.

### 314 (XIII.7)

*Scr. in Tusculano IV Id. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- (1) Sestius apud me fuit et Theopompus pridie. venisse a Caesare narrabat litteras; hoc scribere, sibi certum esse Romae manere, causamque eam ascribere quae erat in epistula nostra, ne se absente leges suae neglegerentur sicut esset neglecta sumptuaria (est εὐλογον, idque eram suspicatus; sed istis mos gerendus est, nisi placet hanc ipsam senten-

<sup>1</sup> *del. Victorius*

<sup>1</sup> Caelius Antipater, second-century annalist.

<sup>2</sup> Probably in charge of Q. Cicero's house in Rome.

LETTER 314 (XIII.7)

promise that you will be with me when Brutus arrives I am content, especially as you are employing these days on important business of mine.

313 (XIII.8)

*Tusculum, 9 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I really have nothing to write about, as you have just left and sent me back my tablets soon after. Please have the package sent on to Vestorius and commission someone to find out whether there is a farm belonging to Q. Staberius for sale in the district of Pompeii or Nola. I should be grateful if you would send me Brutus' abridgement of Caelius<sup>1</sup> history and get Panaetius 'On Providence' from Philoxenus.<sup>2</sup> I shall see you and your folk on the Ides.

314 (XIII.7)

*Tusculum, 10 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Sestius was with me yesterday, and Theopompus. He says there has been a letter from Caesar to the effect that he has made up his mind to stay in Rome and that he gives the reason that was in my letter,<sup>1</sup> a fear that his laws might be disregarded in his absence as the sumptuary law had been (it's logical, and I had divined it; but your friends must be humoured, unless they want me to follow this

<sup>1</sup> The abortive 'Letter of Advice.'

## CICERO

tiam nos persequi); et Lentulum cum Metella certe fecisse divortium. haec omnia tu melius. rescribes igitur quicquid voles, dum modo aliquid. iam enim non reperio quid te rescripturum putem, nisi forte de Mustela aut si Silium videris.

### 315 (XIII.7a)

*Scr. in Tusculano III Id. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- (7.2) Brutus heri venit in Tusculanum post horam decimam. hodie igitur me videbit, ac vellem cum tu adesses. iussi equidem ei nuntiari te, quoad potuisses, expectasse eius adventum venturumque si audisses meque, ut facio, continuo te certiore esse facturum.

### 316 (XII.5b)

*Scr. in Tusculano prid. Id. Iun. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Tubulum praetorem video L. Metello Q. Maximo consulis. nunc velim P. Scaevola, pontifex maximus, quibus consulibus tribunus pl. equidem puto proximis, Caepione et Pompeio; praetor enim <L.> Furio Sex. Atilio. dabis igitur tribunatum et, si poteris, Tubulus quo crimine. et vide, quaeso, L. Libo, ille qui de Ser. Galba, Censorinone et

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<sup>2</sup> For the moment Cicero seems ready to reconsider his decision to scrap the 'Letter of Advice.'

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 281, note 5.

LETTER 316 (XII.5b)

selfsame line<sup>2</sup>). Also that Lentulus has definitely divorced Metella.<sup>3</sup> You will know about all this better than I. So write back whatever you like, as long as you write something. I cannot at present imagine *what* you are to write back about, unless perhaps about Mustela or if you see Silius.

315 (XIII.7a)

*Tusculum, 11 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Brutus arrived at his place here yesterday about five o'clock in the afternoon. So he will see me today, and I wish it had been when you were here. I have sent him word that you waited for his arrival as long as you could, that you will come as soon as you hear of it, and that I shall inform you straight away, as I am doing.

316 (XII.5b)

*Tusculum, 12 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I see that Tubulus was Praetor in the Consulship of L. Metellus and Q. Maximus. I should now be glad to know in whose Consulship P. Scaevola the Pontifex Maximus was Tribune of the Plebs—I think it was the next, that of Caepio and Pompeius, since he was Praetor in that of L. Furius and Sex. Atilius. So please give me his Tribunate and, if you can, the charge against Tubulus. And pray find out whether the L. Libo who brought in the bill about Ser. Galba was Tribune in the Consulship of Censorinus and

CICERO

Manilio an T. Quintio M'. Acilio consulibus tribunus pl. fuerit. conturbat enim me epitome Bruti Fanniana. in Bruti epitoma Fannianorum scripsit<sup>1</sup> quod erat in extremo, idque ego secutus hunc Fannium qui scripsit historiam generum esse scripseram Laeli. sed tu me γεωμετρικῶς refelleras, te autem nunc Brutus et Fannius. ego tamen de bono auctore Hortensio sic acceperam ut apud Brutum est. hunc igitur locum expedies.

317 (XIII.9)

*Scr. in Tusculano xv Kal. Quint., ut vid., an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Commodum discesseras heri cum Trebatius venit, paulo post Curtius, hic salutandi causa, sed mansit invitatus. Trebatium nobiscum habemus. hodie mane Dolabella. multus sermo ad multum diem. nihil possum dicere ἐκτενέστερον, nihil φιλοστοργότερον. ventum est tamen ad Quintum. multa ἄφατα, ἀδιήγητα, sed unum eius modi quod, nisi exercitus sciret, non modo Tironi dicere sed ne ipse quidem auderem scribere \* \* \* sed haec hactenus.

Εὐκαίρως ad me venit, cum haberem Dolabellam, Torquatus, humanissimeque Dolabella quibus verbis secum egissem exposuit. commodum enim egeram diligentissime; quae diligentia grata est visa Torquato.

<sup>1</sup> locus vix sanabilis

<sup>1</sup> The problem of the two Fannii is discussed in Appendix II to Vol. V of *CLA*.

<sup>1</sup> Probably Postumus rather than Nicias, who is always mentioned by cognomen.      <sup>2</sup> The account of Quintus junior's enor-



LETTER 317 (XIII.9)

Manilius or in that of T. Quintius and M. Acilius—Brutus' abridgement of Fannius' book confuses me \* \* \* what stood at the end, following which I wrote that the historian Fannius was Laelius' son-in-law. But you refuted me mathematically, and now Brutus and Fannius refute *you*. I took it however on good authority, namely Hortensius', as it stands in Brutus. So please sort out the tangle.<sup>1</sup>

317 (XIII.9)

*Tusculum, 17 (?) June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You had just left yesterday when Trebatius arrived, and Curtius<sup>1</sup> a little later—the latter only to pay his respects but he stayed on invitation. Trebatius is my guest here. Dolabella came this morning. Much talk till late in the day. I must say he could not have been more forthcoming or more affectionate. However we got on to Quintus. I heard of much that is too bad for utterance or narration, and one thing of such a kind that if the whole army did not know of it I should not dare to put it on paper myself, let alone dictate it to Tiro \* \* \*<sup>2</sup>. But enough.

While Dolabella was with me Torquatus called, very apropos, and Dolabella told him in the kindest way how I had spoken on his behalf. I had just done so, very particularly. Torquatus<sup>3</sup> seemed grateful for my pains.

mity which must originally have stood here is likely to have been deleted by Atticus when he began to let his friends read his collection of Cicero's letters.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a son of A. Torquatus, for whom Cicero was trying through Dolabella to get permission to return to Italy.

- 2 A te exspecto si quid de Bruto. quamquam Nicias confectum putabat; sed divortium non probari. quo etiam magis laboro idem quod tu. si quid est enim offensionis, haec res mederi potest.

Mihi Arpinum eundem est. nam et opus est constitui a nobis illa praediola et vereor ne exeundi potestas non sit cum Caesar venerit; de cuius adventu eam opinionem Dolabella habet quam tu coniecturam faciebas ex litteris Messallae. cum illic venero intellexeroque quid negoti sit, tum ad quos dies rediturus sim scribam ad te.

## 318 (XIII.10)

*Scr. in Tusculano XIV Kal. Quint., ut vid., an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Minime miror te et graviter ferre de Marcello et plura vereri periculi genera. quis enim hoc timeret quod neque acciderat antea nec videbatur natura ferre ut accidere posset? omnia igitur metuenda. sed illud *παρὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν*, tu praesertim, me reliquum consularem. quid? tibi Servius quid videtur? quamquam hoc nullam ad partem valet scilicet, mihi praesertim qui non minus bene actum cum illis

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<sup>4</sup> Brutus had divorced his wife Claudia, who was Ap. Pulcher's daughter and sister-in-law to Pompey's elder son. He was about to marry Cato's daughter Porcia.

## LETTER 318 (XIII.10)

I am waiting to hear from you if there is any news about Brutus. Nicias to be sure thought the matter settled, but says the divorce<sup>4</sup> is not popular. That makes me all the more anxious on the same score as yourself. If there is any adverse reaction this may put it right.

I must go to Arpinum. My little properties there need my attention, and I am afraid I may not be able to get away once Caesar comes home. Dolabella holds the same opinion about the date of his return as you deduced from Messalla's letter. When I get there and see what there is to do I shall let you know approximately when I shall be coming back.

### 318 (XIII.10)

*Tusculum, 18 (?) June 45*

#### CICERO TO ATTICUS

Little wonder you are shocked by the news about Marcellus<sup>1</sup> and see new causes for alarm! Who could have feared anything so unprecedented, so apparently outside the course of nature? Clearly we are safe from nothing. But you make a historical slip, you of all people, when you speak of me as the last surviving Consul.<sup>2</sup> What do you call Servius? Not of course that this is of any importance, especially to me, to whom the dead seem no worse off than

<sup>1</sup> M. Marcellus had been murdered in Greece by a friend called Magius as he was on his way back to Rome. A letter of Ser. Sulpicius' gives a detailed account: *Ad Familiares*, 253 (IV.12).

<sup>2</sup> Atticus must have referred to those Consuls who took part with Pompey in the war.

putem. quid enim sumus aut quid esse possumus? dominan foris? quod nisi mihi hoc venisset in mentem, scribere ista nescio quae, quo verterem me non haberem.

2 Ad Dolabellam, ut scribis, ita puto faciendum, κοινότερα quaedam et πολιτικώτερα. faciendum certe aliquid est; valde enim desiderat.

3 Brutus si quid egerit, curabis ut sciam; cui quidem quam primum agendum puto, praesertim si statuit. sermunculum enim omnem aut restinxerit aut sedarit. sunt enim qui loquantur etiam mecum. sed haec ipse optime, praesertim si etiam tecum loquetur.

Mihi<sup>1</sup> est in animo proficisci XI Kal. hic enim nihil habeo quod agam, ne hercule illic quidem nec usquam, sed tamen aliquid illic. hodie Spintherem exspecto. misit enim Brutus ad me. per litteras purgat Caesarem de interitu Marcelli; in quem, ne si insidiis quidem ille interfectus esset, caderet ulla suspicio. nunc vero, cum de Magio constet, nonne furor eius causam omnem sustinet? plane quid sit non intellego. explanabis igitur. quamquam nihil habeo quod dubitem nisi ipsi Magio quae fuerit causa amentiae; pro quo quidem etiam sponsor sum factus. et nimirum id fuit. solvendo enim non erat. credo eum petisse a Marcello aliquid et illum, ut erat,<sup>2</sup> constantius respondisse.

<sup>1</sup> novam epist. fectt Beaujeu, fort. recte

<sup>2</sup> ut erat mos Sedgwick, sed vide ed. Teubnerianam

LETTER 318 (XIII.10)

the living. What are we after all, or what can we be, at home or abroad? If it had not occurred to me to write these things of mine, such as they are, I should not know what to do with myself.

For Dolabella<sup>3</sup> I think I must do as you say and find some general subject with a political flavour. I certainly must do something—he wants it badly.

If Brutus takes any step, be sure to let me know. I think he ought not to lose any time, especially if he has made up his mind. He will extinguish or damp down all the tittle-tattle, some of which has reached even my ears. But he will be the best judge, especially if he talks to you about it.

My intention is to leave on the 21st. There is nothing for me to do here—nor there<sup>4</sup> either for that matter, nor anywhere else; but still there is a little there. I am expecting Spinther today—Brutus has sent me word. He writes exculpating Caesar in the matter of Marcellus' death. Even if he had been killed by stealth, no suspicion would have fallen upon Caesar. As it is, since the facts about Magius are unquestioned, does not his fit of madness account for the whole tragedy? I really don't know what he means, so please explain—though the only doubt in my mind is what caused Magius himself to take leave of his senses. I actually went surety for him. And no doubt that was it—he was ruined. I expect he asked Marcellus to do something for him and got a rather firm answer, as was Marcellus' way.

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 321.2.

<sup>4</sup> At Arpinum.

CICERO

319 (XIII.11)

*Scr. in Arpinati x Kal. Quint. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 'Οὐ ταῦτόν εἶδος.' credebam esse facile; totum est aliud postea quam sum a te diiunctior. sed fuit faciendum, ut et constituerem mercedulas praediorum et ne magnum onus observantiae Bruto nostro imponerem. posthac enim poterimus commodius colere inter nos in Tusculano. hoc autem tempore, cum ille m<e> cottidie videre vellet, ego ad illum ire non possem, privabatur omni delectatione Tusculani.
- 2 Tu igitur si Servilia venerit, si Brutus quid egerit, etiam si constituerit quando obviam, quicquid denique erit quod scire me oporteat, scribes. Pisonem, si poteris, convenies. vides quam maturum sit. sed tamen quod commodo tuo fiat.

320 (XIII.12)

*Scr. in Arpinati ix Kal. Quint. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Valde me momorderunt [epistulae]<sup>1</sup> tuae de Attica nostra; eadem tamen sanaverunt. quod enim te ipse consolabare eisdem litteris, id mihi erat satis firmum ad leniendam aegritudinem.

<sup>1</sup> *secl. SB*

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<sup>1</sup> From Euripides' *Ion*, 585: 'Other the aspect of events appears / when far away and when seen close at hand.'

LETTER 320 (XIII.12)

319 (XIII.11)

*Arpinum, 22 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

'Other the aspect.'<sup>1</sup> I thought it was easy. All is changed now that I am more cut off from you. But it had to be done, both in order to fix the trifles of rent on my properties and not to place too heavy a burden of civility on our friend Brutus. It will be easier for him and me to cultivate one another's society at Tusculum in days to come. At the present time, since he wished to see me every day and I could not go to him,<sup>2</sup> he was losing all enjoyment of his country house.

Well then, you will write if Servilia comes, if Brutus takes any step,<sup>3</sup> also if he decides when to go to meet Caesar, anything in fact that I ought to know. Please see Piso if you can. You see how time presses. Still, don't put yourself out.

320 (XIII.12)

*Arpinum, 23 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your letter about dear Attica gave me a sharp stab, but it also applied the balm. The fact that you consoled yourself in the same letter seemed warrant enough to soothe the distress I felt.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero did not feel able to accept invitations at this time of mourning. Perhaps he could not legally accept them, having exempted himself from other obligations on the ground of ill-health; see Letter 250.2. <sup>3</sup> About remarriage.

## CICERO

2 Ligarianam praeclare vendidisti. posthac quicquid  
 3 scripsero, tibi praeconium deferam. quod ad me de Var-  
 rone scribis, scis me antea orationes aut aliquid id genus  
 solitum scribere ut Varronem nusquam possem intexere.  
 postea autem quam haec coepi φιλολογώτερα, iam Varro  
 mihi denuntiaverat magnam sane et gravem προσφώνη-  
 σιν. biennium praeteriit cum ille Καλλιππίδης adsiduo  
 cursu cubitum nullum processerit. ego autem me parabam  
 ad id quod ille mihi misisset ut 'αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ καὶ  
 λώϊον,' si modo potuissem; nam hoc etiam Hesiodus as-  
 cribit, 'αἶ κε δύνηαι.' nunc illam 'περὶ Τελῶν' σύνταξιν  
 sane mihi probatam Bruto, ut tibi placuit, despondimus,  
 idque tu eum non nolle mihi scripsisti. ergo illam  
 Ἀκαδημικήν, in qua homines nobiles illi quidem sed nullo  
 modo philo<lo>gi nimis acute loquuntur, ad Varronem  
 transferamus. etenim sunt Antiochia, quae iste valde probat.  
 Catulo et Lucullo alibi reponemus, ita tamen si tu hoc  
 probas; deque eo mihi rescribas velim.

4 De Brinniana auctione accepi a Vestorio litteras. ait  
 sine ulla controversia rem ad me esse collatam. Romae  
 videlicet aut in Tusculano me fore putaverunt a. d. VIII Kal.  
 Quint. dices igitur vel amico tuo Suetio, coheredi meo, vel  
 Labeoni nostro paulum proferant auctonem; me circiter  
 Nonas in Tusculano fore. <tu><sup>2</sup> cum Pisone; Erotem habes.  
 de Scapulanis hortis toto pectore cogitemus. dies adest.

<sup>2</sup> add. *Wesenberg*

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<sup>1</sup> Delivered before Caesar the previous October and still extant. <sup>2</sup> Atticus had suggested that he should be given a role in one of Cicero's philosophical dialogues. <sup>3</sup> Of his work *On the Latin Language*. <sup>4</sup> The quotation is from Hesiod's *Works and Days*, 1.350.



## LETTER 320 (XIII.12)

You have given my speech for Ligarius<sup>1</sup> a splendid puff. Whatever I write in future, I'll leave the advertising to you. As to what you say about Varro,<sup>2</sup> you know that formerly I was in the habit of writing speeches or other things of a kind which did not allow of my working Varro in. Then, when I began these more erudite compositions, Varro had already announced his intention of making me a really fine, weighty dedication.<sup>3</sup> Two years have gone by during which, slow-coach that he is, he has been running hard without advancing a foot. I for my part was making ready to pay him for his offering 'in measure like, and better too'—that is, if I could, for even Hesiod adds 'if you can.'<sup>4</sup> As things stand, I have pledged my work 'On the Limits', of which I have a tolerably good opinion, to Brutus, and you tell me that he is not averse. So let us transfer the Academical treatise, in which aristocratic but by no means learned personages talk above their own heads, to Varro. The standpoint is that of Antiochus, of which he highly approves. I'll make it up to Catulus and Lucullus<sup>5</sup> elsewhere, that is if you approve the idea; and would you kindly write back to me about it?

I have had a letter from Vestorius about the Brinnius auction. He says that the matter was put in my hands without any argument. No doubt they thought I should be in Rome or at Tusculum on 24 June. So please ask my coheir, your friend Suetlius, or our friend Labeo to have the auction deferred a little, and say that I shall be at Tusculum around the Nones. Please talk to Piso—you have Eros with you. Let us put our whole minds on the Scapula property. There is not long to go now.

<sup>5</sup> See Letter 305, note 3.

- 1 Commotus tuis litteris, quod ad me de Varrone scripseras, totam Academiam ab hominibus nobilissimis abstuli, transtuli ad nostrum sodalem et e duobus libris contuli in quattuor. grandiores sunt omnino quam erant illi, sed tamen multa detracta. tu autem mihi pervelim scribas qui intellexeris illum velle; illud vero utique scire cupio, quem intellexeris ab eo *ζηλοτυπέεισθαι*, nisi forte Brutum. id hercle restabat! sed tamen scire pervelim, libri quidem ita exierunt, nisi forte me communis *φιλαυτία* decipit, ut in tali genere ne apud Graecos quidem simile quicquam. tu illam iacturam feres aequo animo quod illa quae habes de Academicis frustra descripta sunt. multo tamen haec erunt splendidiora, breviora, meliora.
- 2 Nunc autem *ἀπορώ* quo me vertam. volo Dolabellae valde desideranti; non reperio quid, et simul *αἰδέομαι* *Τρώας*, neque, si aliud quid,<sup>1</sup> potero *μέμψιν* effugere. aut cessandum igitur aut aliquid excogitandum.
- 3 Sed quid haec levia curamus? Attica mea, obsecro te, quid agit? quae me valde angit. sed crebro regusto tuas litteras; in iis acquiesco. tamen exspecto novas.
- 4 Brinni libertus, coheres noster, scripsit ad me velle, si  
(14.1) mihi placeret, coheredes <se> et Sabinum Albiū ad me

<sup>1</sup> qui (s), *sed locus dubius*

<sup>1</sup> See Letter 25, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> I.e., apparently, from the political tract which he had thought of; see Letter 318.2.

## LETTER 321 (XIII.13-14)

321 (XIII.13-14)

*Arpinum, 24 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Stirred by what you wrote to me in your letter about Varro I have taken the whole Academy from highly aristocratic personages and transferred it to our friend; and from two books I have put it into four. They are bigger than the old ones, yet I have removed a good deal. But I should be very glad if you would tell me how you gathered that he would like it; one thing at any rate I am anxious to know, whom, according to what you gathered, he is jealous of—unless perhaps it's Brutus. That would really be the last straw! All the same I should very much like to know. As for the work, unless my share of *amour propre* deceives me, it has turned out better than anything in its genre now existing, even in Greek. I am sure you will take a philosophical view of the waste of your copyists' labour on the treatise on Academic doctrine which you already have. This one will be far finer, more concise, better.

Just now I am at my wits' end. I should like to produce something for Dolabella, who greatly wants it, but I can't think what, and at the same time 'I fear the Trojans.'<sup>1</sup> And even if I give him something different,<sup>2</sup> I shan't be able to evade criticism. So I must either rest on my oars or think something up.

But why trouble about these trifles? Tell me, I beg you, how is my dear Attica? I am terribly worried about her. But I keep resampling your letter and find comfort in it. However I expect a new one.

Brinnius' freedman, my coheir, has written to me that the heirs would like himself and Albius Sabinus to visit me

## CICERO

venire. id ego plane nolo. hereditas tanti non est. et tamen obire auctionis diem facile poterunt (est enim III Id.) si me in Tusculano postridie Nonas mane convenerint. quod si laxius volent proferre diem, poterunt vel biduum vel triduum vel ut videbitur; nihil enim interest. qua re nisi iam profecti sunt, retinebis homines.

- 5 De Bruto, si quid erit, de Caesare, si quid scies, si quid  
(14. 2) erit praeterea, scribes.

322 (XIII.14-15)

*Scr. in Arpinati VII Kal. Quint. an. 45.*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Illud etiam atque etiam consideres velim, placeatne tibi  
mitti ad Varronem quod scripsimus. etsi etiam ad te aliquid  
pertinet; nam scito te ei dialogo adiunctum esse tertium.  
opinor igitur consideremus. etsi nomina iam facta sunt; sed  
vel induci vel mutari possunt.
- 2 Quid agit, obsecro te, Attica nostra? nam triduo abs te  
(15) nullas acceperam, nec mirum; nemo enim venerat, nec  
fortasse causa fuerat. itaque ipse quid scriberem non ha-  
bebam. quo autem die has Valerio dabam expectabam  
aliquem meorum. qui si venisset et a te quid attulisset,  
videbam non defuturum quid scriberem.

LETTER 322 (XIII.14-15)

if agreeable. I definitely don't want that. It would be more than the inheritance is worth. And after all there will be ample time for them to get to the auction, which is on the 13th, if they meet me at Tusculum early on the 8th. If, however, they would rather put it off till later, they can do so—two days or three or whatever they like, it's of no consequence. So keep them back unless they have already set out.

Write to me any news there may be about Brutus, and about Caesar if you learn anything, and anything else that comes up.

322 (XIII.14-15)

*Arpinum, 25 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I should like you to reflect again and yet again on whether you are in favour of sending Varro what I have written—though you too have a stake in the matter, for let me tell you that you have joined the dialogue as third speaker. I think reflection is called for, though the names are already in; but they can be cancelled or altered.

How, I beg you, is our dear Attica? I have had no word from you for three days, which is not surprising, for no one has come; and perhaps there was no occasion. So on my side I have nothing to say. Today as I dispatch this by Valerius I am expecting one of my own people. If he arrives and brings something from you I dare say I shall not lack matter for a letter.

## CICERO

## 323 (XIII.16)

Scr. in Arpinati vi Kal. Quint. an. 45

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Nos cum flumina et solitudines sequeremur quo facilius sustentare nos possemus, pedem e villa adhuc egressi non sumus; ita magnos et adsiduos imbris habebamus. illam Ἀκαδημικὴν σύνταξιν totam ad Varronem traduximus. primo fuit Catuli, Luculli, Hortensi; deinde, quia παρὰ τὸ πρέπον videbatur, quod erat hominibus nota non illa quidem ἀπαιδευσία sed in his rebus ἀτριψία, simul ac
- 2 veni ad villam eosdem illos sermones ad Catonem Brutumque transtuli. ecce tuae litterae de Varrone. nemini visa est aptior Antiochia ratio. sed tamen velim scribas ad me, primum placeatne tibi aliquid ad illum, deinde, si placebit, hocne potissimum.

Quid Servilia<sup>2</sup> iamne venit? Brutus ecquid agit et quando? de Caesare quid auditur? ego ad Nonas, quem ad modum dixi. tu cum Pisone, si quid poteris.

## 324 (XIII.17)

Scr. in Arpinati v Kal. Quint. an. 45

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

v Kal. expectabam Roma aliquid, non quo imperassem aliquid tuis. nunc igitur<sup>1</sup> eadem illa, quid Brutus cogitet, aut, si aliquid egit, <quid egerit>,<sup>2</sup> ecquid a Caesare. sed

<sup>1</sup> igitur hic Sedgwick, post impe(t)rassem codd.

<sup>2</sup> add. Boot

LETTER 324 (XIII.17)

323 (XIII.16)

*Arpinum, 26 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Seeking streams and solitudes to make life more endurable, I have so far not stirred a foot out of doors because of heavy and incessant rain. I have transferred the entire Academic treatise to Varro. To begin with it was assigned to Catulus, Lucullus, and Hortensius. Then it seemed *inconvenient*, as their—I won't say illiteracy, but lack of *expertise* in such matters was notorious; so as soon as I got to the farm I transferred these same discussions to Cato and Brutus. Then came your letter about Varro, who seemed just the right mouthpiece for Antiochus' views. But would you let me know all the same (*a*) whether you favour my addressing something to him and (*b*) if so, whether this in particular?

What about Servilia? Has she arrived yet? Is Brutus doing anything, and when is he going to do it? What news of Caesar? I shall be back by the Nones, as I said. Talk to Piso, if there is anything you can do.

324 (XIII.17)

*Arpinum, 27 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Today (27 June) I am expecting something from Rome—not that I had given any instructions to your people. For the present then the same old questions: what Brutus means to do, or, if he has done anything, what he has done, whether there is any news from Caesar. But why ask of

CICERO

quid ista quae minus curo? Attica nostra quid agat scire cupio. etsi tuae litterae (sed iam nimis veteres sunt) recte sperare iubent, tamen exspecto recens aliquid.

325 (XIII.18)

*Scr. in Arpinati IV Kal. Quint. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Vides propinquitas quid habet. nos vero conficiamus hortos. colloqui videbamur in Tusculano cum essem; tanta erat crebritas litterarum. sed id quidem iam erit. ego interea admonitu tuo perfecti sane argutulos libros ad Varonem, sed tamen exspecto quid ad ea quae scripsi ad te: primum qui intellexeris eum desiderare a me, cum ipse homo πολυγρώτατος numquam me lacesisset; deinde quem ζηλοτυπέιν <intellexeris. quod si non Brutum,<sup>1</sup> multo Hortensium minus aut eos qui de re publica loquuntur. plane hoc mihi explices velim in primis, maneasne in sententia ut mittam ad eum quae scripsi an nihil necesse putes. sed haec coram.

326 (XIII.19)

*Scr. in Arpinati III Kal. Quint. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Commodum discesserat Hilarus librarius IV Kal., cui dederam litteras ad te, cum venit tabellarius cum tuis litteris

<sup>1</sup> lacunam, quam agnovit Faernus, sic explevit SB, duce Bosto



LETTER 326 (XIII.19)

these secondary matters? What I really want to know is how our dear Attica is getting on. Your letter (now however out of date) bids me hope that all is well, but still I am waiting for something recent.

325 (XIII.18)

*Arpinum, 28 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You see the virtue of propinquity. Well, let us secure a property in the suburbs. When I was at Tusculum it was as though we talked to one another, letters passed to and fro so rapidly. But it will soon be so again. Meanwhile I have taken your hint and finished off some neat little volumes addressed to Varro. None the less I am awaiting your answer to my questions: (*a*) how you gathered that he coveted a dedication from me, when he himself, extremely prolific author as he is, has never taken the initiative, and (*b*) whom you gathered him to be jealous of; if it's not Brutus, much less can it be Hortensius or the speakers on the Republic. The point above all which I should really be glad if you would make clear to me is whether you hold to your opinion that I should address my work to him or whether you see no need. But we shall discuss this together.

326 (XIII.19)

*Arpinum, 29 June 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

My clerk Hilarus had just left (28 June) with a letter for you from me when a courier arrived with your letter of the

pridie datis; in quibus illud mihi gratissimum fuit, quod Attica nostra rogat te ne tristis sis, quodque tu ἀκίνδυνα esse scribis.

- 2 Ligarianam, ut video, praeclare auctoritas tua commendavit. scripsit enim ad me Balbus et Oppius mirifice se probare ob eamque causam ad Caesarem eam se oratiunculam misisse. hoc igitur idem tu mihi antea scripseras.
- 3 In Varrone ista causa me non moveret, ne viderer φιλένδοξος. sic enim constitueram, neminem includere in dialogos eorum qui viverent; sed quia <scripseras><sup>1</sup> et desiderari a Varrone et magni illum aestimare, hos<sup>2</sup> confeci, et absolvi nescio quam bene, sed ita accurate ut nihil posset supra, Academicam omnem quaestionem libris quattuor. in eis quae erant contra ἀκαταληψίαν praeclare collecta ab Antiocho Varroni dedi. ad ea ipse respondeo; tu es tertius in sermone nostro. si Cottam et Varronem fecissem inter se disputantis, ut a te proximis litteris admoneor, meum κωφὸν πρόσωπον esse<t>. hoc in antiquis personis suaviter fit, ut et Heraclides in multis et nos in sex<sup>3</sup> de re publica libris fecimus. sunt etiam de oratore nostri tres mihi vehementer probati. in eis quoque eae personae sunt ut mihi tacendum fuerit. Crassus enim loquitur, Antonius, Catulus senex, C. Iulius, frater Catuli, Cotta, Sulpicius. puero me hic sermo inducitur, ut nullae esse possent partes meae. quae autem his temporibus

<sup>1</sup> add. Plasberg      <sup>2</sup> (e)os (coni. SB\*)

<sup>3</sup> nos in vel nos VI (Schütz)

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<sup>1</sup> C. Aurelius Cotta, Consul in 75. He has a role in the treatise *On the Orator* and represents the New Academy in another philosophical treatise, *On the Nature of the Gods*.

## LETTER 326 (XIII.19)

previous day, in which I am particularly glad to read that our dear Attica asks you not to fret, and your statement that there is no cause for alarm.

I can see that the weight of your approval has given my speech for Ligarius a splendid start. Balbus and Oppius have written to me that they like it wonderfully and for that reason have sent the little piece to Caesar. Well, you told me that earlier.

In the case of Varro the consideration you mention, that I might look like a tuft-hunter, would not influence me. The fact is that I had made a resolution not to put living persons in my dialogues, but because you wrote that it was Varro's wish and that he set much store by it, I have composed this work and finished off the whole subject of Academic philosophy in four books—how well I cannot say, but as conscientiously as could possibly be. In them I have given Varro the arguments admirably assembled by Antiochus against the denial of certitudes. I reply to those myself. You make a third in our conversation. If I had made Cotta<sup>1</sup> and Varro discuss it between them, as you suggest in your last letter, I should have been a *muta persona*. This is quite agreeable if the characters belong to history. Heracledes did it in many works, and I myself in my six books 'On the Republic.' And there are my three 'On the Orator,' of which I entertain a very good opinion. In these too the characters were such that I had to keep silent, the speakers being Crassus, Antonius, the elder Catulus, his brother C. Julius, Cotta, and Sulpicius. The conversation is supposed to have taken place when I was a boy, so that I could not take any part. But my recent compositions follow the

CICERO

scripsi Ἀριστοτέλειον morem habent, in quo ita sermo inducitur ceterorum ut penes ipsum sit principatus. ita confeci quinque libros 'περὶ Τελῶν' ut Epicurea L. Torquato, Stoica M. Catoni,<sup>4</sup> Περιπατητικὰ M. Pisoni darem. ἀζηλοτύπητον id fore putaram quod omnes illi decesserant. haec Academica, ut scis, †cum†<sup>5</sup> Catulo, Lucullo, Hortensio contuleram. sane in personas non cadebant; erant enim λογικώτερα quam ut illi de iis somniasse unquam viderentur. itaque ut legi tuas de Varrone, tamquam ἔρμαιον adripui. aptius esse nihil potuit ad id philosophiae genus, quo ille maxime mihi delectari videtur, eaeque<sup>6</sup> partes ut non sim consecutus ut superior mea causa videatur, sunt enim vehementer πιθὰνὰ Antiochia; quae diligenter a me expressa acumen habent Antiochi, nitorem orationis nostrum, si modo is est aliquis in nobis. sed tu dandosne putes hos libros Varroni etiam atque etiam videbis. mihi quaedam occurrunt; sed ea coram.

327 (XIII.21a)

Scr. in Arpinati prid. Kal. aut Kal. Quint. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Dic mihi, placetne tibi primum edere iniussu meo? hoc ne  
(21. 4) Hermodorus quidem faciebat, is qui Platonis libros solitus est divulgare, ex quo 'λόγοισιν Ἑρμόδωρος.' quid illud?

<sup>4</sup> M. Antonio (s)      <sup>5</sup> vel delendum vel iam scribendum coni.  
SB      <sup>6</sup> easque (SB)

<sup>2</sup> Or 'Extremes' (of good and bad), *De Finibus*.

<sup>1</sup> The work concerned is *On the Limits*.

<sup>2</sup> Proverbial.

LETTER 327 (XIII.21a)

Aristotelian pattern, in which the other roles in the dialogue are subordinate to the author's own. In the five books which I composed 'On the Limits'<sup>2</sup> I gave the Epicurean case to L. Torquatus, the Stoic to M. Cato, and the Peripatetic to M. Piso. I thought that would excite no jealousy, since none of them was still living. This treatise on the Academy I had given, as you know, to Catulus, Lucullus, and Hortensius. It must be confessed that the matter did not fit the persons, who could not be supposed ever to have dreamed of such abstrusities. So when I read your letter about Varro I seized upon it as a godsend. Nothing could have been better suited to that brand of philosophy, in which he seems to me to take particular pleasure; and his role is such that I have not succeeded in making my own case appear the stronger. For Antiochus' arguments are very persuasive and I have set them out faithfully; they have the acuteness of their originator with my elegance of style, that is if I can claim such a quality. But please consider yet again whether you think this work should be given to Varro. Certain objections occur to me, but we shall discuss them together.

327 (XIII.21a)

*Arpinum, 30 June or 1 July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Come now, in the first place do you approve of publishing<sup>1</sup> without my instructions? Even Hermodorus didn't do that, the man who used to broadcast Plato's books, whence 'Hermodorus trades in tracts.'<sup>2</sup> And another thing: do you think

rectumne existima<s> cuiquam <ante quam><sup>1</sup> Bruto, cui te auctore προσφωνῶ? scripsit enim Balbus ad me se a te quintum de finibus librum descripsisse; in quo non sane multa mutavi, sed tamen quaedam. tu autem commode feceris si reliquos continueris, ne et ἀδιόρθωτα habeat Balbus et ἔωλα Brutus. sed haec hactenus, ne videar περὶ μικρὰ σπουδάζειν. etsi nunc quidem maxima mihi sunt haec. quid est enim aliud?

Varroni quidem quae scripsi te auctore ita propero mittere ut iam Romam miserim describenda. ea si voles, statim habebis. scripsi enim ad librarios ut fieret tuis, si tu velles, describendi potestas. ea vero continebis quoad ipse te videam; quod diligentissime facere soles cum a me tibi dictum est.

2 Quo modo autem fugit me tibi dicere? mirifice Caerelia studio videlicet philosophiae flagrans describit a tuis: istos ipsos de finibus habet. ego autem tibi confirmo (possum falli ut homo) a meis eam non habere; numquam enim ab oculis meis afuerunt. tantum porro aberat ut binos scriberent, vix singulos confecerunt. tuorum tamen ego nullum delictum arbitror itemque te volo existimare; a me enim praetermissum est ut dicerem me eos exire nondum velle. hui, quam diu de nugis! de re enim nihil habeo quod loquar.

3 De Dolabella tibi adsentior. coheredes, ut scribis, in (6) Tusculano. de Caesaris adventu scripsit ad me Balbus non ante Kal. Sext. de Attica optime, quod levius ac lenius et

<sup>1</sup> qui quam vel quicq- (*Victorius*)

it was right to give the book to anyone before Brutus, to whom at your suggestion I address it? Balbus writes to me that he has copied 'On the Limits,' Book V, from your manuscript, a book in which I have made changes, not many to be sure, but still some. You will oblige me by keeping the others back so that Balbus does not get them unrevised or Brutus stale. But enough of this, or you will think I am making mountains out of molehills—though these are my mountains nowadays, for what else is there?

I am in such a hurry to send Varro what I have written, as you suggested, that I have already sent it to Rome for copying. You shall have it at once if you like. I wrote to the clerks to let your people take a copy if you wished. Please keep it to yourself till I see you, as you are always most careful to do when I have asked you.

But how did it slip my mind to tell you? Caerellia, in her amazing ardour for philosophy no doubt, is copying from your people. She has this very work 'On the Limits.' Now I assure you (being human I may be wrong) that she did not get it from my men—it has never been out of my sight. Moreover, so far from making two copies they had difficulty in finishing one. However I do not hold your people to blame and I don't want you to do so. The oversight was mine, in omitting to say that I did not want it to get into circulation yet. Dear, dear, what a time I have spent on trifles! You see, on serious matters I have nothing to say.

I agree with you about Dolabella. I shall meet the co-heirs at Tusculum, as you say. Balbus writes to me about Caesar's return that it won't be before the Kalends of August. Excellent news about Attica, that the attacks are lighter and slighter and that she takes them easily. With

- 4 quod fert *εὐκόλως*. quod autem de illa nostra cogitatione  
 (7) scribis, in qua nihil tibi cedo, ea quae novi valde probō,  
 hominem, domum, facultates. quod caput est, ipsum non  
 novi sed audio laudabilia, de <S>crofa etiam proxime. ac-  
 cedit, si quid hoc ad rem, *εὐγενέστερος*<sup>2</sup> est etiam quam  
 pater. coram igitur, et quidem propenso animo ad proban-  
 dum. accedit enim quod patrem, ut scire te puto, plus  
 etiam quam non modo tu sed quam ipse scit, amo, idque  
 et merito et iam diu.

## 328 (XIII.20)

*Scr. in Arpinati c. VI Non. Quint. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 A Caesare litteras accepi consolatorias datas prid. Kal. Mai.  
 Hispali. de urbe <u>genda quid sit promulgatum non in-  
 tellexi. id scire sane velim. Torquato nostra officia grata  
 esse facile patior eaque augere non desinam.
- 2 Ad Ligarianam de uxore Tiberonis et privigna neque  
 possum iam addere (est enim pervulgata) neque Tiberoni-  
 nem volo offendere:<sup>1</sup> mirifice est enim *φιλαίτιος*. thea-  
 trum quidem sane bellum habuisti.
- 3 Ego, <et>si hoc loco facillime sustentor, tamen te  
 videre cupio. itaque ut constitui adero. fratrem credo a te  
 esse conventum. scire igitur studeo quid egeris.

<sup>2</sup> *al. εὐγενέσ-*

<sup>1</sup> defendere (*Ernesti*)

<sup>3</sup> Probably Talna; see Letter 299, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Text doubtful.



LETTER 328 (XIII.20)

regard to what you write about that project of ours, for which I do not admit to being a whit less concerned than yourself, I highly approve of what I know—the man,<sup>3</sup> the family, the money position. The main point is, I don't know him personally but what I hear is to his advantage, from Scrofa just recently. Another consideration, if it matters: his birth is even better than his father's.<sup>4</sup> So I'll talk it over when I see you, and with a disposition to approve. For there is the further point that, as I think you know, I am fond of his father, fonder indeed than you or even himself is aware, and have been for a long time and for good reason.

328 (XIII.20)

*Arpinum, ca. 2 July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have received a letter of consolation from Caesar dispatched on 30 April from Hispalis. I do not understand what has been announced about the enlargement of Rome. I should very much like to know about that. I am pleased to hear that Torquatus is grateful for my good offices, and I shall go on adding to them.

I can't at this stage add anything about Tubero's wife and stepdaughter to my speech for Ligarius (it is widely circulated), nor do I want to offend Tubero, who is remarkably touchy. You certainly had a fine audience.

Though I find life more tolerable here than anywhere, I am anxious to see you. So I shall be back as I arranged. I suppose you have seen my brother, so I am very curious about the outcome.

- 4 De fama nihil sane laboro, etsi scripseram ad te tunc stulte 'nihil melius'; curandum enim non est. atque hoc 'in omni vita sua quemque <a> recta conscientia traversum unguem non oportet discedere' viden quam φιλοσόφως? an tu nos frustra existimas haec in manibus habere? δεδῆχθαι te nollem quod nihil erat. redeo enim rursus eodem: quicquamne me putas curare in toto, nisi ut ei ne desim? id ago scilicet ut iudicia videar tenere. μὴ γὰρ αὐτοῖς! vellem tam domestica ferre possem quam ista contemnere. putas autem me voluisse aliquid quod perfectum non sit? non licet scilicet sententiam suam. sed tamen quae tum acta sunt non possum non probare, et tamen non curare pulchre possum, sicuti facio. sed nimium multa de nugis.

## 329 (XIII.22)

Scr. in Arpinati IV Non. Quint., ut vid., an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Varrone non sine causa quid tibi placeat tam diligenter exquiro. occurrunt mihi quaedam. sed ea coram. te autem ἀσμεναίτατα intexo, faciamque id crebrius. proximis enim tuis litteris primum te id non nolle cognovi.
- 2 De Marcello scripserat ad me Cassius antea, τὰ κατὰ μέρος Servius. o rem acerbam!

<sup>1</sup> Probably this relates to the speech in defence of Ligarius.

<sup>2</sup> Probably cited from Atticus' letter. He perhaps had taken it from a lost work or letter of Cicero's.

<sup>3</sup> Some criticism of Cicero which had come to Atticus' ears.

<sup>4</sup> Ligarius? <sup>5</sup> I.e., Caesar's acquittal of Ligarius.

LETTER 329 (XIII.22)

As for reputation, I really care nothing about it, though I was silly enough to write to you at the time about a 'first-rate performance.'<sup>1</sup> One should not trouble oneself. 'No one in any part of his life should stray a hair-breadth from the path of conscience.'<sup>2</sup> There's philosophy for you! Do you suppose I am writing those books of mine to no purpose? I am sorry you have been upset over a mere nothing<sup>3</sup>—for I come back to the same point: do you think I have any concern in the whole affair except not to let him<sup>4</sup> down? Oh of course, I am trying to figure as the Great Barrister! To the deuce with them! I wish I could bear my private troubles as easily as I can despise this sort of thing. And do you think I had any object which was not morally consummate? Of course one can't speak one's mind; all the same I can't but approve of what was done on that occasion,<sup>5</sup> though I can preserve a fine indifference, and do. But that's more than enough about trifles.

329 (XIII.22)

*Arpinum, 4 (?) July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have my reasons for soliciting your opinion about Varro with such persistence. Certain objections occur to me; but we will talk about them together. As for yourself, it gives me the greatest pleasure to work you in, and I shall do so often in future. From your last letter I learned for the first time that you are not averse to this.

Cassius had already written to me about Marcellus, and Servius gave me the details. What a tragedy!

CICERO

- 3 Ad prima redeo. scripta nostra nusquam malo esse quam apud te, sed ea tum foras dari cum utrique nostrum videbitur. ego et libentarios tuos culpa libero neque te accuso, et tamen aliud quiddam ad te scripseram, Caerelliam quaedam habere <quae a meis habere><sup>1</sup> non potuerit. Balbo quidem intellegebam sat faciendum fuisse; tantum nolebam aut obsoletum Bruto aut Balbo incohatum dari. Varroni, simul ac te videro, si tibi videbitur, mittam. quid autem dubitarim, cum videro te, scies.
- 4 Attributos quod appellas, valde probe. te de praedio Oviae<sup>2</sup> exerceri moleste fero. de Bruto nostro perodiosum, sed vita fert. mulieres autem vix satis humane quae inimico animo s<e g>erant,<sup>3</sup> cum <in><sup>4</sup> utraque officio pareat. Tullium scribam nihil fuit quod appellares; nam tibi mandassem si fuisset. nihil enim est apud eum positum nomine voti, sed est quiddam apud illum meum. id ego in hanc rem statui conferre. itaque et ego recte tibi dixi ubi esset et tibi ille recte negavit. sed hoc quoque ipsum continuo adoriatur. lucum<sup>5</sup> <in><sup>6</sup> hominibus non sane probo quod est desertior, sed habet εὐλογία. verum hoc quoque ut censueris, quippe qui omnia. ego ut constitui adero, atque utinam tu quoque eodem die! sin quid (multa enim),

<sup>1</sup> add. O. E. Schmidt    <sup>2</sup> aviae (Schütz)    <sup>3</sup> add. SB

<sup>4</sup> add. Orelli    <sup>5</sup> locum (Bostius)    <sup>6</sup> add. SB

<sup>1</sup> Brutus' mother Servilia and his wife Porcia.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this was a recognized way of depositing money. The sum deposited with the Treasury official (*scriba*) M. Tullius was not formally so placed, but Cicero had intended to use it for Tullia's shrine, which represented a sort of vow (see Letter 284.3).

LETTER 329 (XIII.22)

To revert, there is nowhere I would rather have my pieces than in your keeping, but I like them to be given to outsiders only when both of us see fit. I exonerate your copyists and make no complaint against yourself, but I did mention something else, namely that Caerellia is in possession of some items which she could not have got from my people. I realized that Balbus' wishes had to be met; I just did not want Brutus to be presented with a shop-soiled piece or Balbus with an unfinished one. I shall send my book to Varro as soon as I have seen you, if you see fit. You shall hear the reasons for my hesitation when I see you.

You are perfectly right to demand payment of the loans made over to me. I am sorry you are having difficulties over Ovia's property. It's most tiresome about our friend Brutus, but that's life. The ladies<sup>1</sup> are not behaving very considerately in showing hostility towards each other when he gives both of them their due. There was no occasion for you to call on Secretary Tullius for payment—I should have commissioned you if there had been. I have no deposit with him specifically for discharge of vow,<sup>2</sup> but he holds a certain sum of mine. That I decided to use for this purpose. So I was correct when I told you where it was and he was correct in his denial. But let us get to grips with the actual problem. I don't quite like a grove for a human being because it's less frequented, but it would be logical.<sup>3</sup> However this too you must manage as you think best, as indeed all else. I shall be back as I arranged, and it would be very nice if you could come over the same day. But if something crops up, as many things might, then at all events the day

<sup>3</sup> A grove, as the natural habitat of a divinity, would fit in with apotheosis; see *CLA* Vol. V, p. 406.

CICERO

utique postridie. etenim coheredes, a quis sine te opprimi  
†militia†<sup>7</sup> est.

- 5 Alteris iam litteris nihil ad me <de> Attica. sed id quidem in optima spe pono; illud accuso, non te sed illam, ne salutem quidem. at tu et illi et Piliae plurimam, nec me tamen irasci indicaris. epistulam Caesaris misi, si minus legisses.

330 (XIII.33a)

*Scr. in Tusculano fort. VII Id. Quint. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Varrone loquebamur: lupus in fabula. venit enim ad me  
(33. 4) et quidem id temporis ut retinendus esset. sed ego ita egi  
ut non scinderem paenulam. memini enim tuum 'et<sup>1</sup> multi  
erant nosque imparati.' quid refert? paulo post C. Capito  
cum T. Carrinate. horum ego vix attigi paenulam. tamen  
remanserunt ceciditque belle. sed casu sermo a Capitone  
de urbe augenda, a ponte Mulvio Tiberim perducere<sup>2</sup> secundum  
montis Vaticanos, campum Martium coaedificari, illum  
autem campum Vaticanum fieri quasi Martium campum.  
'quid ais?' inquam; 'at ego ad tabulam ut, si recte  
possem, Scapulanos hortos.' 'cave facias' inquit; 'nam ista  
lex perferetur; vult enim Caesar.' audire me facile passus  
sum, fieri autem moleste fero. sed tu quid ais? quamquam  
quid quaero? nosti diligentiam Capitonis in rebus novis  
perquirendis. non concedit Camillo. facies me igitur cer-

<sup>7</sup> iniurium *cont.* SB

<sup>1</sup> *ii cont.* SB      <sup>2</sup> pauci *vel* duci (*Bostus*)

<sup>1</sup> See Index.

LETTER 330 (XIII.33a)

after. There are my coheirs; it would be a shame (?) to let them descend on me when you are not there.

Another letter to me without any news of Attica! But that I take for an excellent sign. My complaint, not against you but against her, is that I don't even get her love. But give plenty of mine to her and to Pilia, and don't let her know that I am in dudgeon. I send you Caesar's letter in case you did not read it.

330 (XIII.33a)

*Tusculum, 9 (?) July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

We were speaking of Varro. Talk of the devil! He called, and at such an hour that I had to ask him to stay. But I took care not to tear his coat (I remember your phrase 'they were many and we were unprepared'). No use! Soon after came C. Capito and T. Carrinas.<sup>1</sup> Their coats I hardly touched. However they stayed, and it turned out pleasantly enough. But Capito happened to be talking of the enlargement of the city, saying that the Tiber is being diverted at the Mulvian Bridge to run alongside of the Vatican hills, that the Campus Martius is being built over and the other Campus, the Vaticanus, is becoming a new Campus Martius. 'What's that?' said I, 'I was going to the auction to buy the Scapula estate if I could get it at a reasonable figure.' 'Better not,' said he. 'This law will go through. Caesar wants it.' I was not sorry to hear of this, but I am sorry it is happening. But what do *you* say?—though I don't know why I ask. You know Capito's assiduity in ferreting out news. He rivals Camillus. So you will let me know

CICERO

- tiorem de Idibus. ista enim me res adducebat. eo adiunxeram ceteras, quas consequi tamen biduo aut triduo post facile potero. te tamen in via confici minime volo; quin etiam Dionysio ignosco. de Bruto quod scribis, feci ut ei liberum esset, quod ad me attineret. scripsi enim ad eum heri, Idibus iam<sup>3</sup> eius opera mihi nihil opus esse.

331 (XIII.23)

*Scr. in Tusculano VI Id. Quint. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Antemeridianis tuis litteris heri statim rescripsi; nunc respondeo vespertinis. Brutus mallet me accerseret. nam et aequius erat, cum illi iter instaret et subitum et longum, et mehercule nunc, cum ita simus adfecti ut non possimus plane simul vivere (intellegis enim profecto in quo maxime posita sit *συμβίωσις*), facile patiebar nos potius Romae una esse quam in Tusculano.
- 2 Libri ad Varronem non morabuntur. sunt enim adfecti,<sup>1</sup> ut vidisti; tantum librariorum menda tolluntur. de quibus libris scis me dubitasse, sed tu videris. item quos Bruto mittimus in manibus habent librarii.
- 3 Mea mandata, ut scribis, explica. quamquam ista retentione omnis ait uti Trebatius; quid tu istos putas? nosti

<sup>3</sup> maii vel maias (*SB : del. Manutius*)

<sup>1</sup> def(f)ecti (*Cronovius*)

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<sup>2</sup> The Scapula auction was to take place then. With this letter the whole project of the shrine fades out of the correspondence.

<sup>1</sup> Likeness of mind and mood.

<sup>2</sup> *Academic Questions.*      <sup>3</sup> *On the Limits.*



LETTER 331 (XIII.23)

about the Ides.<sup>2</sup> It was that which was bringing me to Rome. I had combined my other business with it, but that can easily wait two or three days. However the last thing I want is for you to wear yourself out travelling. I even excuse Dionysius. As to what you say about Brutus, I have left him a free choice so far as I am concerned. I wrote to him yesterday that I did not now need his services on the Ides.

331 (XIII.23)

*Tusculum, 10 July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I replied to your morning letter yesterday straight away; I now reply to the evening one. I would rather Brutus had asked me to come to him. It would have been fairer, since he has a long and unexpected journey ahead of him, and really just now, when our states of mind are such that we simply cannot live in one another's society (you know the principal condition of companionship<sup>1</sup>), I was well content that we should be together in Rome rather than in my house in Tusculum.

My book for Varro<sup>2</sup> will not be long delayed. It is practically done, as you saw. It is now only a matter of correcting copyists' errors. You know I had my doubts about this book, but it's your responsibility. The clerks also have in hand the work I am presenting to Brutus.<sup>3</sup>

Please deal with my commission, as you promise. Trebatius however says that everyone is taking advantage of this rebate,<sup>4</sup> so how can you expect these gentry to forego

<sup>4</sup> Apparently some cancellation of interest on loans.

CICERO

domum. qua re confice ἐνλαβῶς.<sup>2</sup> incredibile est quam ego ista non curem. omni tibi adseveratione adfirmo, quod mihi credas velim, mihi maiori offensionem esse quam delectationi possessiunculas meas. magis enim doleo me non habere cui tradam quam habere qui utar. atque illud Trebatius se tibi dixisse narrabat; tu autem veritus es fortasse ne ego invitus audirem. fuit id quidem humanitatis, sed, mihi crede, iam ista non curo. qua re da te in sermonem et praesta<sup>3</sup> et confice et ita cum Polla loquere ut te cum illo Scaeva loqui putes nec<sup>4</sup> existimes eos qui non debita consecrari soleant quod debeatur remissuros. de die tantum videto, et id ipsum bono modo.

332 (XIII.24)

Scr. in Tusculano v Id. Quint. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Quid est quod Hermogenes mihi Clodius, Andromenem sibi dixisse se Ciceronem vidisse Corcyrae? ego enim audita tibi putarem.<sup>1</sup> nil igitur ne ei quidem litterarum? an non vidit? facies ergo ut sciam.

Quid tibi ego de Varrone rescribam; quattuor διφθέραι sunt in tua potestate. quod egeris id probabo. nec tamen

<sup>2</sup> al. ΕΥΑΓΩΓΟΣ : εὐαγώγως Bosius

<sup>3</sup> perseca (SB)      <sup>4</sup> add. Corradus

<sup>1</sup> putaram (SB, -abam etiam coni.)

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<sup>5</sup> Caesarians, as the debtors made over by Faberius naturally would be.

<sup>6</sup> Cicero was displeased with his son at this time, but can hardly have thought of disinheriting him. He seems to have in

LETTER 332 (XIII.24)

it? You know the breed!<sup>5</sup> So settle the business discreetly. You can't think how little I care about such things. I tell you in all solemnity and hope to be believed that my small possessions are more of an annoyance to me than a gratification, for it pains me more to lack one to whom I can pass them on<sup>6</sup> than it pleases me to have enough for my wants. Trebatius told me that he had told you the aforesaid; but perhaps you were afraid it might vex me to hear it. That was kind, but believe me I no longer care about such things. So let them talk to you, give them their due, make a settlement, talk to Polla<sup>7</sup> as though you were talking to the notorious Scaeva; and don't imagine that people who are in the habit of grasping at what is not owing them are going to waive what is. Only see to the settlement day, and even that with moderation.

332 (XIII.24)

*Tusculum, 11 July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

What's this that Clodius Hermogenes tells me about Andromenes telling him that he saw Marcus at Corcyra? I should have thought you would have heard of it. Didn't he give a line even to Andromenes? Or did he not see him? Please enlighten me.

How am I to answer you about Varro? You have four volumes at your disposal. Whatever you do, I shall approve.

mind what he might have done in his lifetime if Tullia had survived.

<sup>7</sup> Probably D. Brutus' wife, Paula (or Polla) Valeria.

CICERO

'αἰδέομαι Τρῶας.' quid enim? sed ipsi quam res illa probaretur magis verebar. sed quoniam tu suscipis, in alteram aurem.

- 2 De retentione rescripsi ad tuas accurate scriptas litteras. conficies igitur, et quidem sine ulla dubitatione aut retractatione. hoc fieri et oportet et opus est.

333 (XIII.25)

*Scr. in Tusculano iv Id. Quint. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Andromene ut scribis ita putaram. scisses enim mihi que dixisses.
- 2 Tu tamen ita mihi de Bruto scribis ut de te nihil. quando autem illum putas? nam ego Romam prid. Id. Bruto ita volui scribere (sed, quoniam tu te legisse scribis, fui fortasse ἀσαφέστερος), me ex tuis litteris intellexisse nolle eum me quasi prosequendi sui causa Romam nunc venire. sed, quoniam iam adest meus adventus, fac, quaeso, ne quid eum Idus impediunt quo minus suo commodo in Tusculano sit. nec enim ad tabulam eum desideraturus eram (in tali enim negotio cur tu unus non satis es?), sed ad testamentum volebam, quod iam malo alio die, ne ob eam causam Romam venisse videar. scripsi igitur ad Brutum iam illud quod putassem Idibus nihil opus esse. velim ergo totum hoc ita gubernes ut ne minima quidem re ulla Bruti commodum impediamus.

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<sup>1</sup> See Letter 25, note 2.

LETTER 333 (XIII.25)

But it is not that I 'fear the Trojans.'<sup>1</sup> Why should I? I was more nervous about how he himself might take the gesture. But since you assume responsibility I shall rest easy.

I have replied to your meticulous letter about the rebate. So please settle without any hesitancy or reluctance. That is the proper and expedient course.

333 (XIII.25)

*Tusculum, 12 July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Concerning Andromenes, that is what I thought. You would have known and told me.

But you write to me about Brutus without saying a word about yourself. When do you think he will come? I am for Rome on the 14th. What I meant to write to Brutus (but since you say you read the letter perhaps I did not make myself quite clear) was that I had understood from your letter that he did not wish me to come to Rome at present more or less for the purpose of seeing him off. But since I shall soon be coming now, pray see that the Ides don't hinder him from staying at Tusculum as suits his own convenience. I should not have wanted him for the auction (in such a matter what need for anyone besides yourself?), but I wished to have him for the will. But now I prefer to do that another day, so as not to seem to have come to Rome on that account. I therefore wrote to Brutus that the business which I had expected on the Ides was now unnecessary. So I should be grateful if you would so handle the whole matter as to avoid even the smallest interference with Brutus' convenience.

3 Sed quid est tandem quod perhorrescas quia tuo periculo iubeam libros dari Varroni? etiam nunc, si dubitas, fac ut sciamus. nihil est enim illis elegantius. volo Varronem,<sup>1</sup> praesertim cum ille desideret; sed est, ut scis, 'δεινὸς ἀνὴρ· τάχα κεν καὶ ἀναίτιον αἰτιόωτο.' ita mihi saepe occurrit vultus eius querentis fortasse vel hoc, meas partis in iis libris copiosius defensas esse quam suas, quod mehercule non esse intelleges, si quando in Epirum veneris. nam nunc Alexionis epistulis cedimus. sed tamen ego non despero probatum iri Varroni et id, quoniam impensam fecimus in macrocolla, facile patior teneri. sed etiam atque etiam dico, tuo periculo fiet. qua re si addubitas, ad Brutum transeamus; est enim is quoque Antiochius. o Academiam volaticam et sui similem! modo huc, modo illuc. sed, quaeso, epistula mea ad Varronem valdene tibi placuit? male mi sit si umquam quicquam tam enitar. ergo [at ego]<sup>2</sup> ne Tironi quidem dictavi, qui totas περιοχὰς persequi solet, sed Spintharo syllabatim.

<sup>1</sup> Varroni conī. SB

<sup>2</sup> del. Schütz

Now why, I wonder, do you shake in your shoes when I tell you that the book is to be given to Varro at your risk? If you have any misgivings even at this stage, let me know, for it's a really choice piece of work. I want Varro, especially as he desires it. But as you know, he's 'One to be fear'd. E'en blameless folk he'd blame.'<sup>1</sup> So I often seem to see the countenance of him, complaining it may be that my case is more amply argued in this work than his, which you will certainly find to be untrue if you ever get to Epirus—at present I give priority to Alexio's letters. However I don't despair of Varro's approval, and since we have spent money on folio<sup>2</sup> I'm not sorry to stick to my plan. But I say yet again, it will be at your risk. Therefore if you feel any misgivings let us transfer to Brutus, as he too follows Antiochus. A fickle creature Academe, and true to character—chops and changes all the time!<sup>3</sup> But pray, didn't you like my letter to Varro<sup>4</sup> more than a little? Hang me if I spend so much pains on anything ever again. For that reason I did not dictate it even to Tiro, who is by way of taking down<sup>5</sup> whole periods together, but syllable by syllable to Spintharus.

<sup>1</sup> From *Iliad*, 11.654.

<sup>2</sup> *Macrocolla*, the largest size of papyrus sheet.

<sup>3</sup> Denying the possibility of certitude, the followers of the New Academy were free to pass from one opinion to another: *modo hoc modo illud probabilius videtur* (*Academic Questions* 2.121).

<sup>4</sup> *Ad Familiares*, 254 (IX.8); and perhaps published with the final edition of the *Academica*.

<sup>5</sup> In shorthand.

CICERO

334 (XIII.35-36)

*Scr. in Tusculano III Id. Quint. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 O rem indignam! gentilis tuus urbem auget quam hoc biennio primum vidit, et ei parum magna visa est quae etiam ipsum capere potuerit. hac de re igitur exspecto tuas literas.

2 Varroni scribis te, simul ac venerit. dati igitur iam sunt nec tibi integrum est: hui, si scias quanto periculo tuo! aut fortasse litterae meae te retardarunt, si eas nondum legeras cum has proximas scripsisti. scire igitur aveo quo modo res se habeat.

- 3 De Bruti amore vestraque ambulatione, etsi mihi nihil  
(36) novi adfers sed idem quod saepe, tamen hoc audio libentius quo saepius, eoque mihi iucundius est quod tu eo laetaris, certiusque eo est quod a te dicitur.

335 (XIII.43)

*Scr. in Tusculano III Id. Quint. an. 45 vesperi*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Ego vero utar prorogatione diei, tuque humanissime fecisti qui me certiozem feceris, atque ita ut eo tempore acciperem litteras quo non exspectarem, tuque ut ab ludis

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<sup>1</sup> Caesar's architect will have been called Pomponius or Caecilius; the Latin cannot be interpreted as meaning 'an Athenian' (Atticus).



LETTER 335 (XIII.43)

334 (XIII.35-36)

*Tusculum, 13 July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Monstrous! Your namesake<sup>1</sup> is enlarging Rome, which two years ago he had never seen, and Caesar thinks it too small though it's big enough to hold *him*! So I expect a letter from you on the subject.

You say you will make the presentation to Varro as soon as he arrives. So it is done and your boats are burned. Ah, if you only knew what a risk you are running! Or perhaps my letter held you back, if you had not read it when you wrote your last. I am dying to know how the matter stands.

As to Brutus' affection and your walk together, you tell me nothing new, only what you have told me many times before. Yet the oftener I hear it the gladder it makes me, and I find it all the more agreeable because it gives *you* pleasure and believe it the more implicitly because it is you who say it.

335 (XIII.43)

*Tusculum, 13 July 45, evening<sup>1</sup>*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Certainly I shall take advantage of the deferment,<sup>2</sup> and it was most kind of you to let me know, writing too from the games so that I received a letter when I did not expect one.

<sup>1</sup> For the new dating of Letters 335, 336, and 350-352, due to J. T. Ramsey, see Introduction, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> What was deferred is not clear; perhaps the signing of Cicero's will, or possibly Caesar's return to Rome.

scriberes. sunt omnino mihi quaedam agenda Romae, sed <idem><sup>1</sup> consequemur biduo post.

## 336 (XIII.44)

*Scr. in Tusculano prid. Id. Quint. ut vid., an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 O suavis tuas litteras!—etsi acerba pompa. verum tamen scire omnia non acerbum est, vel de Cotta—populum vero praeclarum, quod propter malum vicinum ne Victoriae quidem ploditur! Brutus apud me fuit; cui quidem valde placebat me aliquid ad Caesarem. adnueram; sed pompa <me><sup>1</sup> deterret.
- 2 Tu tamen ausus es Varroni dare! exspecto quid iudicet. quando autem perleget? de Attica probo. est quiddam etiam animum levare cum spectatione tum etiam religionis opinione et fama.
- 3 Cottam mi velim mittas; Libonem mecum habeo et habueram ante Cascam. Brutus mihi T. Ligari verbis nuntiavit, quod appelletur L. Corfidius in oratione Ligariana, erratum esse meum. sed, ut aiunt, *μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα*. sciebam Corfidium pernecessarium Ligariorum; sed eum video ante esse mortuum. da igitur, quaeso, negotium Pharnaci, Antaeo, Salvio ut id nomen ex omnibus libris tollatur.

<sup>1</sup> *add. cont. SB\**

<sup>1</sup> *add. Orelli*

<sup>1</sup> Inaugurating games in honour of Caesar's victory. It seems that statues of Victory and of Caesar were carried side by side.

<sup>2</sup> L. Aurelius Cotta, Consul in 65; but the reference is unknown.

LETTER 336 (XIII.44)

I have some things to do in Rome it is true, but I can deal with them a couple of days later.

336 (XIII.44)

*Tusculum, 14 July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

What a delightful letter!—though that procession<sup>1</sup> is distasteful enough. But it's not distasteful to know all that goes on, including the bit about Cotta.<sup>2</sup> The people are behaving splendidly in refusing to applaud Victory because of her undesirable neighbour. Brutus has been with me. He was strongly in favour of my addressing something to Caesar. I had consented, but the procession puts me off.

So you have ventured to give my work to Varro after all! I await his verdict. But when will he read it through? I think you were right about Attica. Even the mental lift to be gained not only from the spectacle but from the popular notion of its religious quality is not to be despised.

Would you please send me Cotta?<sup>3</sup> I have Libo by me, and I had Casca before. Brutus has sent me word from T. Ligarius that the mention of L. Corfidius in my defence of Ligarius is an error on my part. It was a mere *lapsus memoriae*, as they say. I knew that Corfidius was a close friend of the Ligarii, but I find that he died before the case. So pray commission Pharnaces, Antaeus, and Salvius to delete that name in all the copies.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., a work on the Roman constitution by L. Aurunculeius Cotta, who was killed in Gaul in 54. Libo (perhaps the contemporary L. Scribonius Libo) wrote annals, but nothing is known of Casca's book.

CICERO

337 (XIII.45)

*Scr. in Tusculano c. III Id. Sext. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Fuit apud me Lamia post discessum tuum epistulamque ad me attulit missam sibi a Caesare. quae quamquam ante data erat quam illae Diocharinae, tamen plane declarabat illum ante ludos Romanos esse venturum. in qua extrema scriptum erat ut ad ludos omnia pararet neve committeret ut frustra ipse properasset. prorsus ex his litteris non videbatur esse dubium quin ante eam diem venturus esset, itemque Balbo, cum eam epistulam legisset, videri Lamia dicebat.

Dies feriarum mihi additos video sed quam multos fac, si me amas, sciam. de Baebio<sup>1</sup> poteris et de altero vicino Egnatio.

- 2 Quod me hortaris ut eos dies consumam in philosophia explicanda, currentem tu quidem; sed cum Dolabella vivendum esse istis diebus vides, quod nisi me Torquati causa teneret, satis erat dierum ut Puteolos excurrere possem et ad tempus redire. Lamia quidem a Balbo, ut videbatur, audiverat multos nummos domi esse numeratos, quos oporteret quam primum dividi, magnum pondus argenti praeter praedia; auctionem<sup>2</sup> primo quoque tempore fieri oportere. scribas ad me velim quid tibi placeat. equidem, si ex omnibus esse<t> eligendum, nec diligen-

<sup>1</sup> *al. babio*

<sup>2</sup> *auktionem praeter pr(a)edia (vel prandia) (Malaespina)*

LETTER 337 (XIII.45)

337 (XIII.45)

*Tusculum, ca. 11 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After you left I had a visit from Lamia who brought me a letter sent to him by Caesar. It was dispatched earlier than the one brought by Diochares, but it states clearly that he will be home before the Roman Games. At the end Lamia is enjoined to make all preparations for the games and to see that Caesar hadn't hurried himself for nothing. From this letter there really seems to be no doubt that he will arrive before that date, and Lamia tells me that Balbus, after reading it, was of the same opinion.

I see that my holiday is extended,<sup>1</sup> but for how many days? Do, I beg you, let me know. You will be able to find out from Baebius or your other neighbour Egnatius.

When you exhort me to spend those days in the exposition of philosophy you are urging a willing horse. But you can see that I have to pass them in Dolabella's company. If Torquatus' affair did not keep me, there would be days enough to run down to Puteoli<sup>2</sup> and get back in time. Lamia had heard, from Balbus apparently, that there is a large sum in cash in the house, which ought to be divided as soon as possible, and a mass of plate, beside the estates; he says the auction ought to take place as soon as possible. Please let me know what you think. For my own part, if I had the whole world to choose from I should not have

<sup>1</sup> Apparently some business in Rome (perhaps connected with Publilia's divorce; cf. Letter 350) had been postponed.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero had just become coheir to the fortune of his banker friend M. Cluvius; see Letter 338.3.

CICERO

tiorem nec officiosiore[m] nec mehercule nostri studiosiore[m] facile delegissem Vestorio, ad quem accuratissimas litteras dedi; quod idem te fecisse arbitror. mihi quidem hoc satis videtur. tu quid dicis? unum enim pungit, ne negligentiores esse videamur. expectabo igitur tuas litteras.

338 (XIII.46)

*Scr. in Tusculano prid. Id. Sext. an. 45 (§ 1)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Pollex quidem, ut dixerat ad Id. Sext., ita mihi Lanuvi prid. Id. praesto fuit, sed plane pollex, non index. cognosces
- 2 igitur ex ipso. Balbum conveni (Lepta enim de sua munerum<sup>1</sup> curatione laborans me ad eum perduxerat), in eo autem Lanuvino quod Lepido tradidit. ex eo hoc primum: 'paulo ante acceperam eas litteras in quibus magno opere se confirmat ante ludos Romanos.' legi epistulam. multa de meo 'Catone,' quo saepissime legendo se dicit copiosiore[m] factum, Bruti 'Catone' lecto se sibi visum disertum.
- 3 <Tum> ex eo cognovi cretionem Cluvi (o Vestorium negligentem!), liberam cretionem testibus praesentibus sexaginta diebus. metuebam ne ille arcessendus esset. nunc mittendum est ut meo iussu cernat. idem igitur Pollex. etiam de hortis Cluvianis egi cum Balbo. nil libera-

<sup>1</sup> vini *vel sim.* (O. E. Schmidt)

<sup>1</sup> Pollex = 'thumb'; index = (a) 'forefinger,' (b) 'informer.'

<sup>2</sup> Caesar.

<sup>3</sup> Representing Caesar, who was coheir to the estate.

LETTER 338 (XIII.46)

found it easy to select anyone more conscientious, obliging, and (let me add) devoted to my interests than Vestorius. I have written to him in full detail. I imagine you have done the same. This seems sufficient to me. What do you say? My only worry is that it may look a little offhand. So I shall wait to hear from you.

338 (XIII.46)

*Tusculum, 12 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Punctual to his promise to return by the Ides of August Pollex presented himself to me at Lanuvium the day before, but a *pollex* indeed he proved, not an *index*.<sup>1</sup> You will hear from himself. I met Balbus (Lepta took me to him, being exercised about his commissionership of entertainments); it was in the house near Lanuvium which he made over to Lepidus. His first words were: 'I have just received a letter in which he<sup>2</sup> confirms emphatically that he will be back before the Roman Games.' I read the letter, which contained a good deal about my 'Cato.' He says that reading and rereading it has improved his powers of expression, whereas after reading Brutus' 'Cato' he began to fancy himself as a writer.

Then I learned from him about the terms of acceptance in Cluvius' will (careless Vestorius!)—free acceptance before witnesses within sixty days. I was afraid I might have to send for him. As it is I must send a representative to accept on my instructions. Pollex again therefore. I also discussed Cluvius' suburban estate with Balbus.<sup>3</sup> He was

## CICERO

lius, se enim statim ad Caesarem scripturum, Cluvium autem a T. Hordeonio legare et Terentiae HS 1000 et sepulcro multisque rebus, nihil a nobis. subaccusa, quaeso, Vestorium. quid minus probandum quam Plotium unguentarium per suos pueros omnia tanto ante Balbo, illum mi ne per meos quidem?

- 4 De Cossinio doleo; dilexi hominem. Quinto delegabo si quid aeri meo alieno superabit et emptionibus, ex quibus mi etiam aes alienum faciendum puto. de domo Arpini nil scio.
- 5 Vestorium nil est quod accuses. iam enim obsignata hac epistula noctu tabellarius noster venit et ab eo litteras diligenter scriptas attulit et exemplum testamenti.

### 339 (XIII.47)

*Scr. in Tusculano Id. Sext. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

'Postea quam abs te, Agamemno,' non 'ut venirem' (nam id quoque fecissem nisi Torquatus esset) sed ut scriberem 'tetigit auris nuntius, extemplo' instituta omisi; ea quae in manibus habebam abieci, quod iusseras edolavi.

Tu velim e Pollice cognoscas rationes nostras sumptuarias. turpe est enim nobis illum, qualiscumque est, hoc

<sup>4</sup> I.e., as a loan.    <sup>5</sup> These may have been from the estate itself, the *horti* in particular, for which he would have had to pay his coheirs any amount in excess of his due share.

<sup>1</sup> From an unknown Latin play.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a letter of compliment to Caesar (cf. Letter 348.1).

<sup>3</sup> Young Marcus, now in Athens.



## LETTER 339 (XIII.47)

most accommodating, said he would write at once to Caesar; also that Cluvius had left Terentia a legacy of HS 50,000 and sums for his tomb, etc.; all to be deducted from T. Hordeonius' share, nothing from me. Pray give Vestorius a gentle scolding. It really isn't good enough that Plotius the perfumer should let Balbus know everything so long beforehand by his own messengers while Vestorius tells me nothing even by mine.

I am sorry about Cossinius. I had a regard for him. I shall assign<sup>4</sup> to Quintus any surplus over and above my debts and purchase,<sup>5</sup> which latter I imagine will bring me further into debt! I know nothing about the house at Arpinum.

No need for you to scold Vestorius. I had already sealed this when my courier arrived after dark with a letter from him containing full details and a copy of the will.

## 339 (XIII.47)

*Tusculum, 13 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

'When your word, Agamemnon, touched my ears,<sup>1</sup> not 'that I should come' (though I would have done that too if it had not been for Torquatus) but that I should write, 'immediately' I left off what I had begun, threw aside the work I had in hand, and roughed out what you required of me.<sup>2</sup>

Would *you* please inform yourself from Pollex about the figures of my outgoings. It is against my credit to let him<sup>3</sup> run short this first year, no matter what he is. Afterwards I

CICERO

primo anno egere. post moderabimur diligentius. idem Pollex remittendus est ut ille cernat. plane Puteolos non fuit eundum cum ob ea quae ad te scripsi tum quod Caesar adest. Dolabella scribit se ad me postridie Idus. o magistrum molestum!

340 (XIII.37a)

*Scr. in Tusculano XIX Kal Sept., ut vid., an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- (37. 4) Velim,<sup>1</sup> si tibi videtur, appelles Balbum et Offilium de auctione proscibenda. equidem locutus sum cum Balbo. placebat (puto conscripta habere Offilium omnia; habet et Balbus)—sed Balbo placebat propinquum diem et Romae; si Caesar moraretur, posse diem differri. sed is quidem adesse videtur. totum igitur considera; placet enim Vestorio.

341 (XIII.38)

*Scr. in Tusculano c. XVIII Kal. Sept. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ante lucem cum scriberem contra Epicureos, de eodem oleo et opera exaravi nescio quid ad te et ante lucem dedi. deinde cum somno repetito simul cum sole experrectus

<sup>1</sup> *novam eptst. hinc inceptt SB, a de gladiatoribus (346.4) L. R. Taylor*

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<sup>1</sup> Of Cluvius' assets.

LETTER 341 (XIII.38)

shall exercise a more careful control. Pollex must be sent back again so that he may accept the inheritance. It really would not have done for me to go to Puteoli, both for the reason I gave you and because Caesar is close at hand. Dolabella says he will be with me on the 14th. An unwelcome schoolmaster!

340 (XIII.37a)

*Tusculum, 14 (?) August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

If you think fit, would you please address Balbus and Offilius about advertising the auction?<sup>1</sup> I spoke to Balbus myself. He favoured (I think Offilius has it all in writing, Balbus has too)—as I say, Balbus favoured an early date and Rome as the place, on the understanding that the date could be postponed if Caesar delayed his return. But Caesar seems to be imminent. So give the whole matter your consideration. Vestorius approves.

341 (XIII.38)

*Tusculum, ca. 15 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As I was writing against the Epicureans<sup>1</sup> before daybreak I went straight on to scribble something to you by the same lamp and dispatched it before dawn. Then I went back to sleep and awoke with the sun to be handed a letter from

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the *Tusculan Disputations* (so Beaujeu, VIII.313–315) rather than *On the Nature of the Gods*.

essem, datur mi epistula a sororis tuae filio quam ipsam tibi misi; cuius est principium non sine maxima contumelia— sed fortasse οὐκ ἐπέστησεν. est autem sic: 'ego enim<sup>1</sup> quicquid non belle in te dici potest—' posse vult in me multa dici non belle, sed ea se negat approbare. hoc quicquam pote impurius? iam cetera leges (misi enim ad te) iudicabisque. Bruti nostri cottidianis adsiduisque laudibus, [ne] quas ab eo de nobis haberi permulti mihi renuntiaverunt, commotum istum aliquando scripsisse aliquid ad me credo; <credo><sup>2</sup> et ad te, idque ut sciam facies. nam ad patrem de me quid scripserit nescio, de matre quam pie 'volueram' inquit, 'ut quam plurimum tecum essem, concludi mihi domum et id ad te scripseram. neglexisti. ita minus multum una erimus. nam ego istam domum videre non possum; qua de causa scis.' hanc autem causam pater odium matris esse dicebat.

- 2 Nunc me iuva, mi Attice, consilio, 'πότερον δίκῃ τείχος ὕψιον,' id est utrum aperte hominem asperner et respuam, ἢ σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις.' ut enim Pindaro sic 'δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν.' omnino moribus meis illud aptius, sed hoc fortasse temporibus. tu autem quod ipse tibi suaseris idem mihi persuasum putato. equidem vereor maxime ne in Tusculano opprimar. in turba haec essent faciliora. utrum igitur Asturae? quid si Caesar subito? iuva me, quaeso, consilio. utar eo quod tu decreveris.

<sup>1</sup> enimvero *coni.* SB      <sup>2</sup> *add.* SB

<sup>2</sup> The quotation, from Pindar (fr. 213 Snell), runs: 'Whether by honesty or by crooked wiles the race of men on earth mounts a loftier tower, my mind is divided which way to declare the truth.'

<sup>3</sup> Young Quintus' popularity in Caesarian circles might make it unwise to quarrel with him.

your nephew of which I am sending you the original. It starts offensively enough, but perhaps he did not stop to think—anyway it reads thus: 'For my part, whatever ugly things can be said against you . . .' He implies that many ugly things *can* be said, but says he does not agree with them. Could anything be more outrageous? You will read the rest—I am sending you the letter—and judge. I suppose the constant eulogies of myself in which our friend Brutus, as a great many people have reported to me, daily indulges have provoked him to write something to me at long last, and to you also, I imagine—please let me know. What he has written about me to his father I don't know, but isn't this a dutiful way to write about his mother? 'I desired,' he says, 'in order to be with you as much as possible, that a house should be rented for me and wrote to you accordingly. You took no notice. So we shall see less of one another, for I cannot stand the sight of *your* house. The reason you know.' This reason, according to his father, is his dislike of his mother.

Now, my dear fellow, help me with your advice, 'whether by honesty the loftier tower,' i.e. whether I should openly rebuff the fellow and spurn him off, or 'by crooked wiles.'<sup>2</sup> Like Pindar's, 'my mind's divided; which way declare the truth?' The former best suits my character to be sure, but perhaps the latter best fits the times.<sup>3</sup> However, you may take it that whatever you recommend to yourself is fully accepted by me. *My* chief fear is of being caught at Tusculum. In the crowd it would all be less awkward. Shall I wait at Astura? But what if Caesar should arrive without warning? Pray help me with your advice. I shall follow your ruling.

## CICERO

## 342 (XIII.39)

*Scr. in Tusculano c. xvii Kal. Sept. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 O incredibilem vanitatem! ad patrem domo sibi carendum propter matrem: <ad matrem><sup>1</sup> plena pietatis. hic autem  
 2 iam languescit et ait sibi illum iure iratum. sed utar tuo consilio; σκολιὰ enim tibi video placere. Romam, ut censes, veniam, sed invitus; valde enim in scribendo haereo. 'Brutum' inquis 'eadem.' scilicet; sed nisi hoc esset, res me ista non cogeret. nec enim inde venit unde mallet neque diu afuit neque ullam litteram ad me. sed tamen scire aveo qualis ei totius itineris summa fuerit. libros mihi de quibus ad te antea scripsi velim mittas et maxime Φαίδρου 'περὶ Θεῶν' et <Διογένους 'περὶ'><sup>2</sup> Πάλλαδος.<sup>3</sup>

## 343 (XIII.40)

*Scr. in Tusculano c. xvi Kal. Sept. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Itane? nuntiat Brutus illum ad bonos viros? εὐαγγέλια. sed ubi eos? nisi forte se suspendit. hic autem ut fultum<sup>1</sup> est. ubi igitur φιλοτέχνημα illud tuum quod vidi in Par-

<sup>1</sup> add. Orelli      <sup>2</sup> add. coni. SB\*

<sup>3</sup> ΠΑΛΙΑΔΟΣ vel sim. (Orelli)      <sup>1</sup> suspectum

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<sup>1</sup> Quintus senior.      <sup>2</sup> I.e., Caesar.      <sup>3</sup> See *Nat. Deor.* 1.41. Cicero needed these treatises for his work *On the Nature of the Gods* now in preparation.      <sup>1</sup> A family tree drawn by Atticus for Brutus tracing his descent from the two 'tyrant quellers' (see Letter 44.3). Brutus' 'Parthenon' will have been a building,

LETTER 343 (XIII.40)

342 (XIII.39)

*Tusculum, ca. 16 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Incredible falseness! To his father he makes out that he can't be at home because of his mother: to his mother—all affection! But *he*<sup>1</sup> is now weakening and says the young man has a right to be angry with him. But I shall follow your advice—you evidently favour 'wiles.' I shall come to Rome as you recommend, but against my inclination, for I am quite immersed in my writing. You say I shall see Brutus at the same time. No doubt; but if it were not for this other thing, that would not constrain me. I don't like the quarter he comes from,<sup>2</sup> he was not long away, and he has never sent me a line. At the same time I am longing to know what his journey amounted to all in all. Please send me the books about which I wrote to you the other day, especially Phaedrus 'On the Gods' and Diogenes 'On Pallas.'<sup>3</sup>

343 (XIII.40)

*Tusculum, ca. 17 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Indeed? Brutus reports that Caesar has joined the honest men? Good news! But where is he going to find them—unless he hangs himself? As for Brutus, he knows which side of his bread is buttered (?). So what becomes of that work of art<sup>1</sup> of yours which I saw in the Parthenon—Ahala and modelled on the famous Athenian temple, on one of his estates, which he probably called 'Athens'; see Letter 387, note 1.

thenone, Aham et Brutum? sed quid faciat? illud optime, 'sed ne is quidem qui omnium flagitiorum auctor bene de nostro.' at ego verebar ne etiam Brutus eum diligeret; ita enim significarat iis litteris quas ad me: 'ac<sup>2</sup> vellem aliquid degustasse<s><sup>3</sup> de fabulis.' sed coram, ut scribis.

- 2 Etsi quid mi auctor es? advolone an maneo? equidem et in libris haereo et illum hic excipere nolo; ad quem, ut audio, pater hodie ad Saxa †acronoma†<sup>4</sup> mirum quam inimicus ibat, ut ego obiurgarem. sed ego ipse κεκέπφωμαι. itaque posthac. tu tamen vide quid de adventu meo censeas, et τὰ ὅλα cras, si perspici potuerint, mane, statim ut sciam.

## 344 (XIII.41)

*Scr. in Tusculano c. XV Kal. Sept. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ego vero Quinto epistulam ad sororem misi. cum ille quereretur filio cum matre bellum et se ob eam causam domo cessurum filio diceret, dixi illum commodas ad matrem litteras, ad te nullas. ille alterum mirabatur, de te autem suam culpam quod saepe graviter ad filium scripsisset de tua in illum iniuria. quod autem relanguisse me<sup>1</sup> dicit, ego ei tuis litteris lectis σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις significavi me non

<sup>2</sup> mea est (Wesenberg)

<sup>3</sup> add. Gronovius

<sup>4</sup> al. acrun-, acrimon-

<sup>1</sup> se (SB)

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<sup>2</sup> Hirtius? See Letter 195.6.

<sup>3</sup> Saxa Rubra ('Redstones'), about nine miles from Rome along the north-going Flaminian Way.



## LETTER 344 (XIII.41)

Brutus? But after all what is he to do? I am pleased to read 'but even the author<sup>2</sup> of all the villainies has no good to say of our relation.' I was afraid that Brutus himself was partial to him. So he implied in a letter he wrote to me: 'I wish you had had a sample of our talks.' But of this when we are together, as you say.

But what say you? Am I to hurry off to Rome or stay here? For my part, on the one hand I am immersed in my books, on the other I don't want to wait for him here. I hear that his father went to meet him today at the Stones<sup>3</sup> \* \* \*. He went off in an amazingly hostile frame of mind, so much so that I took him to task. But I am chopping and changing myself. So in future. . . However see what you think about my coming to Rome and write me all the details, if you can make them out, tomorrow morning, so that I may know them at once.

## 344 (XIII.41)

*Tusculum, ca. 18 August 45*

## CICERO TO ATTICUS

Yes, I have sent Quintus your letter to your sister. When he complained that a state of war existed between son and mother and said he would give up his house to his son for that reason, I told him that the young man had sent a proper enough letter to his mother and none to you. The former piece of information took him aback, but as regards you he said the fault was his own for having written more than once to his son in strong terms regarding your ill treatment of him. As for what he says about my having weakened, after I had read your letter I told him 'with

CICERO

- fore \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> tum enim mentio Canai. omnino si id consilium  
 2 placeret, esset necesse; sed, ut scribis, ratio est habenda  
 gravitatis, et utriusque nostrum idem consilium esse de-  
 bet, etsi in me graviores iniuriae et certe notiores. si vero  
 etiam Brutus aliquid adferet, nulla dubitatio est. sed co-  
 ram. magna enim res et multae cautionis. cras igitur, nisi  
 quid a te commeatus.

345 (XIII.48)

*Scr. in Tusculano XII Kal. Sept. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Heri nescio quid in strepitu videor <ex te><sup>1</sup> exaudisse cum  
 diceres te in Tusculanum venturum. quod utinam! iterum  
 utinam! tuo tamen commodo.

Lepta me rogat ut, si quid sibi opus sit, accurram; mor-  
 tuus enim Babullius. Caesar, opinor, ex uncia, etsi nihil  
 adhuc; sed Lepta ex triente. veretur autem ne non liceat  
 tenere hereditatem, ἀλόγως omnino, sed veretur tamen.  
 is igitur si accierit, accurram; si minus, <non><sup>2</sup> ante quam  
 necesse erit. tu Pollicem, cum poteris.

- 2 Laudationem Porciae tibi misi correctam. eo properavi  
 ut, si forte aut Domitio filio aut Bruto mitteretur, haec  
 mitteretur. id, si tibi erit commodum, magno opere cures

<sup>2</sup> ἀτεγκτον (TP) vel sim. excidisse videtur

<sup>1</sup> add. SB      <sup>2</sup> add. Graevius

<sup>1</sup> As a possible wife for Quintus junior. She was probably the  
 daughter of Atticus' friend Gellius Canus (or Kanus).

<sup>1</sup> A tribute composed by Cicero for the funeral of Cato's sister  
 Porcia. It is lost.

LETTER 345 (XIII.48)

crooked wiles' that I should not be inexorable—that was when Cana's name was mentioned.<sup>1</sup> To be sure, if that scheme found favour there would be no choice. But as you say, dignity has to be considered, and we ought both to take the same line, though his offences against me are graver, or at any rate more widely known. But if Brutus adds a contribution we cannot hesitate. However, when we meet. It's an important matter and needs very careful handling. Tomorrow then, unless I get some leave of absence from you.

345 (XIII.48)

*Tusculum, 21 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

In the hubbub yesterday I fancy I caught something from you to the effect that you would be coming to Tusculum. If only you would! I say again, if only! But you must suit your own convenience.

Lepta asks me to run up to town if I'm needed—Babulius is dead. He has left Caesar a twelfth share of his estate, I think, though I have heard nothing yet. But Lepta gets a third. He's afraid (irrationally, no doubt, but afraid all the same) that he may not be allowed to keep the bequest. So if he sends for me, I shall run over; otherwise, not until needs must. Send back Pollex when you can.

I am sending you Porcia's eulogy corrected.<sup>1</sup> I have made haste so that if it should be sent to her son Domitius or to Brutus it should be sent in this version. If it isn't troublesome I should be glad if you would pay special attention to this, and I should be glad too if you would send

CICERO

velim, et velim M. Varronis et Olli mittas laudationem, Olli utique. nam illam legi, volo tamen regustare. quaedam enim vix [mihi]<sup>3</sup> credo legisse me.

346 (XIII.37)

Scr. in Tusculano XII Kal. Sept. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Has alteras hodie litteras. de Xenonis nomine et de Epiroticis XXXX nihil potest fieri nec commodius nec aptius quam ut scribis. id eras locutus mecum eodem modo.
- 2 Balbus minor mecum, nihil novi sane, nisi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me litigasse; omnibus eum locis facere maximeque in conviviis; cum multa de me, tum redire ad patrem; nihil autem ab eo tam ἀξιόπιστως dici quam alienissimos nos esse a Caesare, fidem nobis habendam non esse, me vero etiam cavendum (φοβερὸν)<sup>1</sup> ἂν ᾗν nisi viderem scire regem me animi nihil habere), Ciceronem vero meum vexari. sed id quidem arbitrato suo.
- 3 Laudationem Porciae gaudeo me ante dedisse Leptae ta-bellario quam tuas acceperim litteras. eam tu igitur, si me amas, curabis, si modo mittetur, isto modo mittendam Domitio et Bruto.
- 4 De gladiatoribus, de ceteris quae scribis ἀνεμοφόρητα, facies me cottidie certiolem.

<sup>3</sup> *secl. SB*

<sup>1</sup> *add. Baiter*

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<sup>2</sup> In writing to Atticus Cicero never elsewhere uses the famous Varro's praenomen. M. Varro here may possibly be M. Terentius Varro Gibba, who was something of an author. Ollius is unknown.

LETTER 346 (XIII.37)

me M. Varro's<sup>2</sup> and Ollius' eulogies, Ollius' anyhow. I read Varro's but I should like to have another go at it—there are some parts which I think I hardly read.

346 (XIII.37)

*Tusculum, 21 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Another letter today! As to Xeno's debt and the 40,000 in Epirus, nothing could be more convenient and suitable than the procedure suggested in your letter. You had spoken about it to me in the same sense.

Balbus junior is with me. He brings no news really, except that Hirtius has been taking up the cudgels vigorously with Quintus on my behalf. He says Quintus is at it constantly, especially at dinner parties. When he finishes with me he comes back to his father, his most plausible line being that we are thoroughly hostile to Caesar and are not to be trusted. I am said to be actually dangerous. It would be alarming if I were not well aware that H.M. knows me for a coward. Quintus also alleges that my son is being bullied—but he can say that to his heart's content.

I'm glad I gave Porcia's eulogy to Lepta's courier before I received your letter. I do beg you then to make sure that if it is sent to Domitius and Brutus it is sent in the form in which you have it.

I hope you will give me daily reports on the gladiator shows and the other 'trifles light as air' you write of.

## CICERO

347 (XIII.49)

*Scr. in Tusculano XI Kal. Sept. an. 45*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Atticae primum salutem, quam equidem rure esse arbitror; multam igitur salutem, et Piliae.

De Tigellio, si quid novi. qui quidem, ut mihi Gallus Fabius scripsit, μέμνην ἀναφέρει mihi quandam iniquissimam, <m>e Phameae defuisse cum eius causam recepissem. quam quidem receperam contra pueros Octavios Cn. filios non libenter; sed et Phameae causa volebam. erat enim, si meministi, in consulatus petitione per te mihi pollicitus si quid opus esset; quod ego perinde tuebar ac si usus essem. is ad me venit dixitque iudicem operam dare sibi constituisse eo die ipso quo de Sestio nostro lege Pompeia in consilium iri necesse erat. scis enim dies illorum iudiciorum praestitutos fuisse. respondi non ignorare eum quid ego deberem Sestio. quem vellet alium diem si sumpsisset, me ei non defuturum. ita tum ille discessit iratus. puto me tibi narrasse. non laboravi scilicet nec hominis alieni iniustissimam iracundiam mihi curandam putavi.

- 2 Gallo autem narraui, cum proxime Romae fui, quid audissem, neque nominavi Balbum minorem. habuit suum negotium Gallus, ut scribit. ait illum me animi conscientia quod Phamean destituissem de <se> suspicari. qua re tibi hactenus mando, de illo nostro, si quid poteris, exquiras,

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<sup>1</sup> The Sardinian Tigellius, whose death provided Horace with the opening of his *Satire* 1.3, is to be distinguished from Tigellius Hermogenes (perhaps his freedman), alluded to by Horace elsewhere as still alive (see *CLA* Vol. VII, p. 98).

## LETTER 347 (XIII.49)

347 (XIII.49)

*Tusculum, 22 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

First my love to Attica. I suppose she is in the country. Much love then, and to Pilia.

Any news about Tigellius?<sup>1</sup> As Fabius Gallus<sup>2</sup> has written to me, he is airing a most unreasonable grievance against me, namely that I let Phamea down after undertaking his case. I *had* undertaken it, contrary to my inclination, it being against the Octavius boys, Gnaeus' sons. But I was well disposed to Phamea too, for, if you remember, he had offered me his services through you when I was standing for the Consulship, and the fact that I made no use of them did not lessen my sense of obligation. Well, he came and told me that his judge had appointed for the hearing the very day that our friend Sestius' case was due to come up under the *lex Pompeia*—you know the days for those trials were determined in advance. I answered that he was aware of my obligations to Sestius. Let him fix any other day and I should not fail him. So he left in a huff. I think I told you the story. Naturally I did not concern myself or feel any need to trouble about the ill-humour, entirely unwarranted as it was, of a mere acquaintance. When I was last in Rome I told Gallus what I had heard, without mentioning Balbus junior by name. Gallus, as he says in his letter, made it his business. He says that Tigellius is giving out that my suspicions of himself spring from my bad conscience on account of my desertion of Phamea. So all I ask of you is to find out anything you can about that

<sup>2</sup> See Cicero's letter to him, *Ad Familiares*, 260 (VII.24).

CICERO

de me ne quid labores. est bellum aliquem libenter odisse et quem ad modum <non omnibus dormire, ita><sup>1</sup> non omnibus servire. etsi mehercule, ut tu intellegis, magis mihi isti serviunt, si observare servire est.

348 (XIII.50)

*Scr. in Tusculano x Kal. Sept. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Admonitus quibusdam tuis litteris ut ad Caesarem uberiores litteras mittere instituerem, cum mihi Balbus nuper in Lanuvino dixisset se et Oppium scripsisse ad Caesarem me legisse libros contra Catonem et vehementer probasse, conscripsi de iis ipsis libris epistulam Caesari quae deferretur ad Dolabellam; sed eius exemplum misi ad Oppium et Balbum, scripsique ad eos ut tum deferri ad Dolabellam tuberent meas litteras si ipsi exemplum probassent, ita mihi rescripserunt, nihil umquam se legisse melius, epistulamque meam iusserunt dari Dolabellae.
- 2 Vestorius ad me scripsit ut iuberem mancipio dari servo suo pro mea parte Heteroio cuidam fundum Brinnianum, ut ipse ei Puteolis recte mancipio dare posset. eum servum, si tibi videbitur, ad me mittes; opinor enim ad te etiam scripsisse Vestorium.

<sup>1</sup> *add. Erasmus*

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<sup>3</sup> Or 'friend,' but Cicero would hardly so refer to Tigellius. 'Relative' will be Quintus junior. *De . . . exquiras* could mean 'find out from.' <sup>4</sup> Caesarians. 'Everybody's sleeper' comes from an anecdote, for which see *Ad Familiares*, 260 (VII.24).



LETTER 348 (XIII.50)

relative (?)<sup>3</sup> of ours, but not to worry about me. It's nice to hate someone with a will and not to be everybody's slave any more than everybody's sleeper—though for that matter, as you are aware, these people<sup>4</sup> are more my slaves than I theirs, if courtesies count as servility.

348 (XIII.50)

*Tusculum, 23 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You suggested in one of your letters that I might start writing to Caesar in a more expansive style. So when Balbus mentioned to me at Lanuvium the other day that he and Oppius had told Caesar that I had read his book against Gato and highly approved of it, I composed a letter to Caesar about this same book with the idea of submitting it to Dolabella. I sent a copy however to Oppius and Balbus, asking them to have my letter sent on to Dolabella if they themselves approved of the copy. They have written back that they never read anything better and they have had my letter forwarded to Dolabella.

Vestorius has written to ask me to convey my share in the Brinnius farm to a slave of his for the benefit of a certain Hetercius, so that he himself can convey it to him at Puteoli in due form.<sup>1</sup> If you think fit, send me the slave—for I suppose Vestorius has written to you as well.

<sup>1</sup> Hetercius had bought the item through Vestorius. Since Cicero cannot convey in person to either, he is to convey it to a slave of Vestorius (i.e. to Vestorius) so that Vestorius can convey to Hetercius.

CICERO

- 3 De adventu Caesaris idem quod a te mihi scriptum est ab Oppio et Balbo. miror te nihil dum cum Tigellio; velut hoc ipsum, quantum acceperit, prorsus aveo scire, nec tamen flocci facio.
- 4 Quaeris quid cogitem de obviam itione. quid censes nisi Alsium? et quidem ad Murenam de hospitio scripseram, sed opinor cum Matio profectum. Silius tuus<sup>1</sup> igitur urgebitur.
- 5 Scripto iam superiore versiculo Eros mihi dixit sibi Murenam liberalissime respondisse. eo igitur utamur. nam Silius culcitas non habet. Dida autem, opinor, hospitibus totam villam concessit.

349 (XIII.51)

*Scr. in Tusculano IX Kal. Sept. an. 45 (§ 2)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL. >

- 1 Ad Caesarem quam misi epistolam eius exemplum fugit me tum tibi mittere. nec id fuit quod suspicaris, ut me puderet tui ne ridicule Micyllus, nec mehercule scripsi aliter ac si πρὸς ἴσον ὁμοίονque scriberem. bene enim existimo de illis libris, ut tibi coram. itaque scripsi et ἀκο-  
λακεύτως et tamen sic ut nihil eum existimem lecturum libentius.
- 2 De Attica nunc demum mihi est exploratum; itaque ei de integro gratulare. Tigellium totum mihi, et quidem quam primum; nam pendeo animi. narro tibi, Quintus cras;

<sup>1</sup> salustius (SB : Silius Muretus)

LETTER 349 (XIII.51)

I have had the same information from Oppius and Balbus as from yourself about Caesar's advent. I wonder you have not yet had any talk with Tigellius. I am just dying to know e.g. how much he actually got<sup>2</sup>—and I don't care a rap.

You ask my plans about going to meet Caesar. Alsium is the obvious place. I had written to Murena about putting me up, but I think he has gone ahead with Matius, so I shall impose myself on your friend Silius.

I had already written the last line when Eros told me that Murena had given him a most cordial answer. So let's make use of him, for Silius has no feather beds. Dida, I believe, has given his whole house over to guests.

349 (XIII.51)

*Tusculum, 24 August 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

It slipped my mind at the time to send you a copy of the letter I sent to Caesar. It was not what you suspect, that I was ashamed to let you see it in case you might think it ludicrously *de bas en haut*. I assure you I did not write otherwise than as one author to another. I do think well of that book, as I told you when we were together. I wrote therefore *sans blague*, but at the same time in such terms as I think will please him enormously to read.

At last my mind is at rest about Attica. So congratulate her afresh. Send me all about Tigellius, and don't waste time, for I'm all agog. Now: Quintus comes tomorrow, but

<sup>2</sup> For what, we do not know.

## CICERO

sed ad me an ad te nescio. mi scripsit Romam VIII Kal. sed misi qui invitaret. etsi hercle iam Romam veniendum est, ne ille ante advolet.

### 350 (XIII.34)

*Scr. Asturae VII Kal. Sext. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Asturam veni VIII Kal. H. XII.<sup>1</sup> vitandi enim caloris causa Lanuvi tris horas acquieveram. tu velim, si grave non erit, efficias ne ante Nonas mihi illuc veniendum sit (id potes per Egnatium Maximum), illud in primis ut cum Publilio me [apene]<sup>2</sup> absente conficias. de quo quae fama sit scribes. 'id populus curat scilicet!' non mehercule arbitror; etenim haec decantata erat fabula. sed complere paginam volui. quid plura<sup>3</sup> ipse enim adsum, nisi quid tu prorogas. scripsi enim ad te de hortis.

### 351 (XIII.21)

*Scr. Asturae VIII Kal. Sext. an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ad Hirtium dederam epistulam sane grandem quam scripseram proxime in Tusculano. huic quam tu mihi misisti

<sup>1</sup> iullii vel iul. (SB)      <sup>2</sup> del. Schütz

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<sup>1</sup> This and the two following letters have been redated. See Introduction, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning repayment of Publilia's dowry.

<sup>3</sup> The divorce.

LETTER 351 (XIII.21)

whether to me or you I don't know. He writes to me that he will be coming to Rome on the 25th, but I have sent someone to invite him—though to be sure I must return to Rome presently in case Caesar gets there ahead of me.

350 (XIII.34)

*Astura, 26 July 45<sup>1</sup>*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I arrived at Astura at sunset on the 25th, having rested three hours at Lanuvium to avoid the heat. If it is not too much trouble I should be grateful if you would arrange so that I need not come to Rome before the Nones (you can do that through Egnatius Maximus), and in particular if you would settle with Publilius in my absence.<sup>2</sup> Let me know what people are saying about it.<sup>3</sup> 'As though the public troubled about that.' No, I don't suppose they do. It was a nine days' wonder. But I wanted to fill up the page. I won't write more since I shall be with you presently unless you grant an extension. I wrote to you about the place in the suburbs.<sup>4</sup>

351 (XIII.21)

*Astura, 25 July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have already dispatched a pretty long letter to Hirtius written just recently at Tusculum. I shall reply to the one

<sup>4</sup> No doubt Cluvius' property near Puteoli. The letter, presumably written the previous evening, is lost.

rescribam alias. nunc alia malo.

2 Quid possum de Torquato, nisi aliquid a Dolabella? quod simul ac, continuo sciatis. exspectabam hodie aut summum cras ab eo tabellarios; qui simul ac venerint mittentur ad te. a Quinto exspecto. proficiscens enim e Tusculano VIII Kal., ut scis, misi a<d> eum tabellarios.

3 Nunc, ad rem ut redeam, 'inhibere' illud tuum, quod valde mihi adriserat, vehementer displicet. est enim verbum totum nauticum. quamquam id quidem sciebam, sed arbitrabar sustineri remos cum inhibere essent remiges iussi. id non esse eius modi didici heri cum ad villam nostram navis appelleretur. non enim sustinent, sed alio modo remigant. id ab ἐποχή remotissimum est. qua re facies ut ita sit in libro quem ad modum fuit. dices hoc idem Varioni, si forte mutavit. nec est melius quicquam quam ut Lucilius: 'sustineas currum, ut bonus saepe agitator, equosque.' semperque Carneades προβολήν pugilis et retentionem aurigae similem facit ἐποχή. inhibitio autem remigum motum habet et vehementiorem quidem remigationis navem convertentis ad puppim. vides quanto haec diligentius curem quam aut de rumore aut de Pollione, de Pansa etiam. <sed><sup>1</sup> si quid certius (credo enim palam factum esse); et de Critonio si quid est certi,<sup>2</sup> ne de Metello<sup>3</sup> et Balbino.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> add. SB      <sup>2</sup> esset certe (SB)

<sup>3</sup> Metella coni. SB      <sup>4</sup> Balbillo Goodyear

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<sup>1</sup> Senior (Letter 352.2).

<sup>2</sup> Apropos of Cicero's *Academica* Atticus had suggested that the Greek philosophical term ἐπέχειν, 'to suspend judgment' (see Letter 121, note 5), should be rendered by *inhibere*. Cicero preferred *sustinerere* for the reason given below.      <sup>3</sup> *Sustineas*.

you have sent me another time. Just now I would rather think of other things.

What can I do about Torquatus unless I hear something from Dolabella? As soon as I do you shall know at once. I am expecting couriers from him today or tomorrow at latest. As soon as they arrive they shall be sent on to you. I am expecting to hear from Quintus.<sup>1</sup> When I left Tusculum on the 25th, as you know, I sent him couriers.

To come to business, I now don't like one bit your word *inhibere*,<sup>2</sup> which I had thought the very thing. The word is entirely nautical. That much to be sure I knew, but I thought that when oarsmen were given the order *inhibere* they rested on their oars. That this is not so, I learned yesterday when a boat put in at my house. They don't rest on their oars, they row, but in a different way. That is as far as possible from the Greek ἐποχή. So will you please put it back in the book as it was, and tell Varro in case he has made the alteration? One can't do better than Lucilius, 'Hold in,<sup>3</sup> like a good driver, car and team.'<sup>4</sup> And Carneades is always comparing ἐποχή to a boxer's guard and a driver's holding in. Now *inhibitio* of oarsmen involves motion and quite powerful motion too, rowing the boat astern. You see how much more anxiously concerned I am about this sort of thing than about the rumour, or Pollio, or Pansa either. But if you get any more definite news let me know (I imagine it has been made public); also about Critonius if there is anything definite—not to mention Metellus and Balbinus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> 1305 (Marx). <sup>5</sup> Probably Balbus junior (Goodyear conjectured *Balbillo*). My proposal *Metella* (Lentulus Spinther's ex-wife) would suggest a marriage engagement or something of the sort between the two.

## CICERO

## 352 (XIII.47a)

*Scr. Asturae III Kal. Sext. an. 45*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Lepidus ad me heri vesperi litteras misit Antio. nam ibi  
 (2) erat. habet enim domum quam nos vendidimus. rogat  
 magno opere ut sim Kalendis in senatu; me et sibi et Caesari vehementer gratum esse facturum. puto equidem nihil esse. dixisset enim tibi fortasse aliquid Oppius, quoniam Balbus est aeger. sed tamen malui venire frustra quam desiderari si opus esset <et><sup>1</sup> moleste ferre postea. itaque hodie Anti, cras ante meridiem domi. tu velim, nisi te impedivisti, apud nos prid. Kal. cum Pilia.
- 2 Te spero cum Publilio confecisse. equidem Kalendis in  
 (3) Tusculanum recurram; me enim absente omnia cum illis transigi malo. Quinti fratris epistulam ad te misi, non satis humane illam quidem respondentem meis litteris sed tamen quod tibi satis sit, ut equidem existimo. tu videbis.

## 353 (XIII.52)

*Scr. in Puteolano, ut vid., XIV Kal. Ian. an. 45 (§ 1)*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 O hospitem mihi tam gravem ἀμεταμέλητον! fuit enim  
 periucunde. sed cum secundis Saturnalibus ad Philippum  
 vesperi venisset, villa ita completa a militibus est ut vix  
 triclinium ubi cenaturus ipse Caesar esset vacaret; quippe

<sup>1</sup> *add. Wesenberg*<sup>1</sup> Perhaps apologizing for some offence to Atticus.



## LETTER 353 (XIII.52)

352 (XIII.47a)

*Astura, 30 July 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Lepidus sent me a letter yesterday from Antium, where he is staying—he owns the house I sold. He particularly asks me to be in the Senate on the Kalends, which he says will greatly oblige both Caesar and himself. For my part I don't suppose there's anything in it. If there had been, something would have been said to you, by Oppius perhaps since Balbus is ill. Still I prefer to come for nothing rather than be missed if needed and regret it afterwards. So I shall spend the night at Antium and be home tomorrow forenoon. I should like you and Pilia to dine with me on the 31st, unless you have engaged yourself elsewhere.

I hope you have settled with Publilius. I shall hurry back to Tusculum myself on the Kalends, for I prefer the whole transaction with those people to take place during my absence. I am sending you my brother Quintus' letter<sup>1</sup> in which he replies to mine, not very graciously, but it will suffice for you—at least I think so, but you will judge.

353 (XIII.52)

*Puteoli (P), 19 December 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Strange that so onerous a guest should leave a memory not disagreeable! It was really very pleasant. But when he arrived at Philippus' place on the evening of 18 December, the house was so thronged by the soldiers that there was hardly a spare room for Caesar himself to dine in. Two

## CICERO

hominum CIO CIO. sane sum commotus quid futurum esset postridie; at<sup>1</sup> mihi Barba Cassius subvenit, custodes dedit. castra in agro, villa defensa est. ille tertiis Saturnalibus apud Philippum ad H. VII, nec quemquam admisit; rationes, opinor, cum Balbo. inde ambulavit in litore. post H. VIII in balneum. tum audivit de Mamurra, vultum non mutavit. unctus est, accubuit. ἐμετικὴν agebat; itaque et edit et bibit ἀδεῶς et iucunde, opipare sane et apparate nec id solum sed

bene cocto et  
condito, sermone bono et, si quaeris, libenter.

- 2 praeterea tribus tricliniis accepti οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν valde copiose. libertis minus lautis servisque nihil defuit. nam lautiores eleganter accepi. quid multa? homines visi sumus. hospes tamen non is cui diceres 'amabo te, eodem ad me cum revertere.' semel satis est. σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν in sermone, φιλόλογα multa. quid quaeris? delectatus est et libenter fuit. Puteolis se aiebat unum diem fore, alterum ad Baias.

Habes hospitium sive ἐπισταθμείαν odiosam mihi, dixi, non molestam. ego paulisper hic, deinde in Tusculanum.

Dolabellae villam cum praeteriret, omnis armatorum copia dextra sinistra ad equum nec usquam alibi. hoc ex Nicia.

<sup>1</sup> ac (*Ernesti*)

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps his death.      <sup>2</sup> Lucilius 1122 (Marx).

<sup>3</sup> Apparently by way of compliment, unless it was for Caesar's protection; but Dolabella seems to have been high in Caesar's favour.

thousand men, no less! I was a good deal perturbed about what would happen next day, but Cassius Barba came to my rescue and posted sentries. Camp was pitched in the open and a guard placed on the house. On the 19th Caesar stayed with Philippus until 1 o'clock admitting nobody—at accounts, I believe, with Balbus. Then he took a walk on the shore. Towards two he went to his bath. That was when he heard about Mamurra;<sup>1</sup> his face did not change. After anointing he took his place at dinner. He was following a course of emetics, and so both ate and drank with uninhibited enjoyment. It was really a fine, well-appointed meal, and not only that but

cooked and garnished well,  
good talking too—in fact a pleasant meal.<sup>2</sup>

His entourage moreover were lavishly entertained in three other dining rooms. The humbler freedmen and slaves had all they wanted—the smarter ones I entertained in style. In a word, I showed I knew how to live. But my guest was not the kind of person to whom one says 'Do come again when you are next in the neighbourhood.' Once is enough. We talked of nothing serious, but a good deal on literary matters. All in all, he was pleased and enjoyed himself. He said he would spend a day at Puteoli and another at Baiæ.

There you are—a visit, or should I call it a billeting, which as I said was troublesome to me but not disagreeable. I shall stay here for a short while, then to Tusculum.

When he was passing Dolabella's house, and nowhere else, the whole armed escort rode to right and left of him.<sup>3</sup> This comes from Nicias.

## CICERO

354 (XIII.42)

Scr. in Tusculano ex. m. Dec. an. 45

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Venit ille ad me 'καὶ μάλα κατηφής.' et ego 'σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σύννοους;' 'rogas?' inquit, 'cui iter instet et iter ad bellum, idque cum periculosum tum etiam turpel' 'quae vis igitur?' inquam. 'aes' inquit 'alienum, et tamen ne viaticum quidem habeo.' hoc loco ego sumpsi quiddam de tua eloquentia; nam tacui. at ille: 'sed me maxime angit avunculus.' 'quidnam?' inquam. 'quod mihi' inquit 'iratus est.' 'cur pateris?' inquam, 'malo enim ita dicere quam cur committis?' 'non patiar' inquit; 'causam enim tollam.' et ego: 'rectissime quidem; sed si grave non est, velim scire quid sit causae.' 'quia, dum dubitabam quam ducerem, non satis faciebam matri; ita ne illi quidem. nunc nihil mihi tanti est. faciam quod volunt.' 'feliciter velim' inquam, 'teque laudo. sed quando?' 'nihil ad me' inquit 'de tempore, quoniam rem prob<ο>' 'at<sup>1</sup> ego' inquam 'censeo prius quam proficiscaris. ita patri quoque morem gesseris.' 'faciam' inquit 'ut censes.' hic dialogus sic conclusus est.
- 2 Sed heus tu, diem meum scis esse III Non. Ian.; aderis igitur.
- 3 Scripseram iam: ecce tibi orat Lepidus ut veniam. opi-

<sup>1</sup> probat (*Victortus*)

<sup>1</sup> Quintus junior.      <sup>2</sup> This and the following question probably come from Menander.

<sup>3</sup> Caesar's projected Parthian campaign. It was dishonourable for Quintus because he was escaping from his creditors.

<sup>4</sup> Atticus.

## LETTER 354 (XIII.42)

354 (XIII.42)

*Tusculum, end of December 45*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

He<sup>1</sup> came to see me, 'right down in the mouth.'<sup>2</sup> I greeted him with "You there, why so pensive?" "Need you ask," was the answer, 'considering that I have a journey in front of me, and a journey to war,<sup>3</sup> a dishonourable journey too as well as a dangerous one?' 'What's the compulsion?' I enquired. 'Debt,' he answered, 'and yet I haven't so much as my travelling expenses.' At that I borrowed some of your eloquence—I held my tongue. He went on: 'What distresses me most is my uncle.'<sup>4</sup> 'How so?' 'Because he's annoyed with me.' 'Why do you let him be annoyed? I prefer to say "let be" rather than "make."' 'I shan't any more,' he answered. 'I shall do away with the reason.' 'Admirable,' said I. 'But if you don't mind my asking, I should be interested to know what the reason is.' 'It's because I couldn't make up my mind whom to marry. My mother was displeased with me, and so consequently was he. Now I don't care what I do to put things right. I'll do what they want.' 'Good luck then,' said I, 'and congratulations on your decision. But when is it to be?' 'The time makes no odds to me,' said he, 'now that I accept the thing itself.' 'Well,' I said, 'I should do it before I left if I were you. That way you will please your father too.' 'I shall take your advice,' he replied. Thus ended our dialogue.

Now attention please! You know my birthday is on 3 January. I shall expect you accordingly.

I had just finished, when up comes a message from Lepidus, begging me to come over. I suppose he wants

CICERO

nor, augures vult<sup>2</sup> habere ad templum effandum. eatur; μη σκόρδου.<sup>3</sup> videmus te igitur.

355 (XIV.1)

Scr. in suburbano Martii VII Id. Apr. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Deverti ad illum de quo tecum mane. nihil perdit*(i)*us. explicari rem non posse: 'etenim si ille tali ingenio exitum non reperiebat, quis nunc reperiet?' quid quaeris? perisse omnia aiebat (quod haud scio an ita sit; verum ille gaudens) adfirmabatque minus diebus xx tumultum Gallicum; in sermonem se post Id. Mart. praeterquam Lepido venisse nemini; ad summam, non posse istaec sic abire. o prudentem Oppium! qui nihilo minus illum desiderat, sed loquitur nihil quod quemquam bonum offendat. sed haec hactenus.
- 2 Tu quaeso quicquid novi (multa autem exspecto) scribere ne pigrere, in his de Sexto satisne certum, maxime autem de Bruto nostro, de quo quidem ille ad quem deverti Caesarem solitum dicere, 'magni refert hic quid velit, sed quicquid vult valde vult';<sup>1</sup> idque eum animadvertisse cum pro Deiotaro Nicaeae dixerit; valde vehementer eum visum et libere dicere; atque etiam (ut enim quidque suc-

<sup>2</sup> nil vel nichil (*Boot*)      <sup>3</sup> MIACK- vel *stm.* (*Tyrrell*)

<sup>1</sup> volt valde volt *cod.* *Tornesianus teste Bosio* : volet valde volet *codd. superstites*

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<sup>5</sup> A technical expression for marking out an area (*templum*) from which auspices might be taken. This will have precluded construction of Lepidus' temple of Felicitas (*Dio* 44.5.2).

LETTER 355 (XIV.1)

Augurs to mark out the area.<sup>5</sup> I must go—anything for a quiet life. So I shall be seeing you.

355 (XIV.1)

*Matius' house near Rome, 7 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have broken my journey at the house of the person<sup>1</sup> of whom we were talking this morning. Utterly deplorable! According to him our problems are insoluble: 'for if a man of Caesar's genius could find no way out, who will find one now?' In short he said Rome was finished—I am inclined to agree, but *he* said it with relish—and declared that the Gauls will be up within three weeks. He told me that since the Ides of March he has talked to nobody except Lepidus. In sum, his opinion is that it cannot all just pass quietly off. Wise Oppius! He regrets Caesar no less, but says nothing which any honest man could take amiss. But enough of this.

Now pray don't grudge the effort of writing any news—and I am expecting many items—including whether the report about Sextus<sup>2</sup> can be taken as established, but especially about our friend Brutus. With reference to him my present host tells me that Caesar used to say 'It's a great question *what* he wants; but whatever he wants, he wants it badly.' This had struck him when Brutus spoke for Deiotarus at Nicaea; he had been impressed by the force and boldness of Brutus' speech. Matius also told me (I may as

<sup>1</sup> C. Matius.

<sup>2</sup> Pompey's younger son, now resurgent in Spain.

## CICERO

currit libet scribere) proxime, cum Sesti rogatu apud eum fuisset expectaremque sedens quoad vocarer, dixisse eum 'ego dubitem quin summo in odio sim, cum M. Cicero sedeat nec suo commodo me convenire possit?' atqui si quisquam est facilis, hic est. tamen non dubito quin me male oderit.' haec et eius modi multa. sed ad propositum: quicquid erit, non modo magnum sed etiam parvum, scribes. equidem nihil intermittam.

### 356 (XIV.2)

*Scr. in suburbano Matii(?) vi Id. Apr. an. 44*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Duas a te accepi epistulas heri. ex priore theatrum Publili-  
umque cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis.  
plausus vero L. Cassio datus etiam facetus mihi quidem
- 2 visus est. altera epistula de Madaro scripta, apud quem  
nullum †καλάκωμα,<sup>1</sup> ut putas. processit enim, sed minus<sup>2</sup>
- 3 diutius sermone enim† sum retentus. quod autem ad te  
scripseram, obscure fortasse, id eius modi est: aiebat Caesarem secum, quo tempore Sesti rogatu veni ad eum, cum expectarem sedens, dixisse 'ego nunc tam sim stultus ut hunc ipsum facilem hominem putem mihi esse amicum, qui tam diu sedens meum commodum expectet?' habes igitur φαλάκρωμα inimicissimum oti, id est Bruti.

<sup>1</sup> *al.* ΦΑΛ -

<sup>2</sup> *al.* sedimus

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<sup>1</sup> A demonstration in favour of the 'liberators.' 'Publius' will refer to the performance of a mime by Publius Syrus; see Letter 39.3.    <sup>2</sup> The applause was a tribute to L. Cassius' elder



LETTER 356 (XIV.2)

well put things down as they occur to me) that recently, when I called on Caesar at Sestius' behest and was sitting waiting to be summoned, Caesar remarked 'I must be a most unpopular man. There's M. Cicero sitting waiting and can't get to see me at his own convenience. He is the most easygoing of mankind, but I don't doubt he detests me.' This and much else of the same sort. But to return to my point—whatever crops up, great or small never mind, let me know. There shall be no intermission on *my* side.

356 (XIV.2)

*Matius' house (?)*, 8 April 44

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I had two letters from you yesterday. The first told me about the theatre and Publilius—good signs of popular accord.<sup>1</sup> The applause for L. Cassius struck me as really rather funny.<sup>2</sup> The other letter was about *Le Chauve*.<sup>3</sup> There was no \* with him, as you suppose. \* \* \* I was detained by the conversation. What I wrote to you, obscurely perhaps, was to the following effect: he said that on the occasion when I called on Caesar at Sestius' behest and was sitting waiting, Caesar remarked to him: 'I should be an idiot to suppose that even so easygoing an individual as Cicero is my friend when he has to sit waiting my convenience all this time.' Well, there you have him—a most peace-hating, which is to say Brutus-hating, *calvittie!*

brother, Caesar's assassin, which was ironical because Lucius himself (Tribune this year) had taken Caesar's side in the Civil War.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero uses a Greek nickname for Matius; see Letter 359, note 1.

CICERO

- 4 In Tusculanum<sup>3</sup> hodie, Lanuvi cras, inde Asturae cogitabam. Piliae paratum est hospitium, sed vellem Atticam; verum tibi ignosco. quarum utrique salutem.

357 (XIV.3)

*Scr. in Tusculano v Id. Apr. an. 44*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Tranquillae tuae quidem litterae. quod utinam diutius! nam Ma<t>ius posse negabat. ecce autem structores nostri ad frumentum profecti, cum inanes redissent, rumorem adferunt magnum Romae domum ad Antonium frumentum omne portari. *πανικὸν* certe; scripsisses enim. Corumbus Balbi nullus adhuc. est<sup>1</sup> mihi notum nomen; bellus enim esse dicitur architectus.
- 2 Ad obsignandum tu adhibitus non sine causa videris. volunt enim nos ita putare; nescio cur non animo quoque sentiant. sed quid haec ad nos<sup>2</sup> odorare tamen Antoni *διάθεσιν*; quem quidem ego epularum magis arbitror rationem habere quam quicquam mali cogitare.
- Tu si quid *πραγματικὸν* habes rescribe; sin minus, populi *ἐπισημασίαν* et mimorum dicta perscribito. Piliae et Atticae salutem.

<sup>3</sup> Tusculano *cont.* SB

<sup>1</sup> et (Wesenberg)

LETTER 357 (XIV.3)

Tusculum today, Lanuvium tomorrow; from there I am thinking of Astura. All is ready for Pilia's reception, but I could have wished she was bringing Attica. However I forgive you. My love to them both.

357 (XIV.3)

*Tusculum, 9 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your letter anyhow reads like peace. Long may it be so! —Matius said that was not possible. But here come our builders<sup>1</sup> who went to buy corn and have returned empty-handed with a mighty rumour that all the corn in Rome is being carried home to Antony. A canard no doubt, or you would have written. No sign of Balbus' Corumbus yet. I know the name. He is said to be a pretty good architect.

Your invitation to act as witness<sup>2</sup> is likely to have had a purpose. That is what they want us to think, and for aught I know they may even be sincere. But what is all that to me? Still, do nose out Antony's state of mind. I think he's more concerned about the composition of his menus than about planning any mischief.

If you have any news of practical consequence, let me have it in your reply. If not, tell me all about the demonstrations in the theatre and the actors' jests. Love to Pilia and Attica.

<sup>1</sup> Working on Cicero's villa.

<sup>2</sup> Atticus had apparently been invited to witness the will of some Caesarian who left money to Cicero; see Letter 368.5.

## CICERO

## 358 (XIV.4)

*Scr. Lanuvi IV Id. Apr. an. 44*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Num quid putas me Lanuvi? at ego te istic cottidie aliquid novi suspicor. tument negotia. nam cum Matius, quid censes cetero<s>? equidem doleo, quod numquam in ulla civitate accidit, non una cum libertate rem publicam recuperatam, horribile est quae loquantur, quae minitentur. ac vereor Gallica etiam bella, ipse Sextus quo evadat.
- 2 Sed omnia licet concurrant, Idus Martiae consolantur. nostri autem ἤρωες quod per ipsos confici potuit gloriosissime et magnificentissime confecerunt; reliquae res opes et copias desiderant, quas nullas habemus. haec ego ad te. tu,<sup>1</sup> si quid novi (nam cottidie aliquid exspecto), confestim ad me, et, si novi nihil, nostro more tamen ne patiamur intermitti litterulas. equidem non committam.

## 359 (XIV.5)

*Scr. Asturae III Id. Apr. an. 44 (§ 3)*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Spero tibi iam esse ut volumus, quoniam quidem ἡσύχησας, cum leviter commotus esses; sed tamen velim scire quid agas. signa bella, quod Calven<n>a<sup>1</sup> moleste fert se suspectum esse Bruto; illa signa non bona, si cum signis

<sup>1</sup> ut (*R. Klotz*)<sup>1</sup> add. *SB*


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<sup>1</sup> Matius again. The nickname used also suggests Etruscan origin.

LETTER 359 (XIV.5)

358 (XIV.4)

*Lanuvium, 10 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Now do you suppose I hear anything at Lanuvium? You on the other hand in Rome must be getting news every day. Things are in ferment. When Matus goes on as he does, what do you think the rest are saying? For my part I can only be sorry that freedom has been restored without the free constitution, a thing unprecedented in the history of any community. It's enough to make one shudder, how they talk and threaten. Also I am afraid of wars in Gaul, even of where Sextus may end up.

But though all the vials of wrath descend upon our heads, the Ides of March are our consolation. Our heroes achieved all that lay with themselves most gloriously and magnificently. What remains to do needs men and money, and we have none. So much from me to you. On your side, if you have any news (I expect some every day), send it to me right away; and if you have none, let us keep to our custom none the less and not allow any intermission in our little exchanges. *I shall not be the defaulter.*

359 (XIV.5)

*Astura, 11 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I hope you are now as well as your friends wish you, having fasted after your little upset; all the same I should like to know how you are. It's a healthy sign that Baldie<sup>1</sup> is distressed by Brutus' suspicions of him; other signs are not

## CICERO

legiones veniunt <e> Gallia. quid tu illas putas quae fuerunt in Hispania? nonne idem postulaturas? quid, quas Annius transportavi<t>? †caninium†<sup>2</sup> volui, sed *μνημονικὸν ἀμάρτημα*. a balneatore *φυρμὸς πολὺς*. nam ista quidem Caesaris libertorum coniuratio facile opprimeretur, si recte saperet Antonius.

2 O meam stultam verecundiam! qui legari noluerim ante res prolatas, ne deserere viderer hunc rerum tumorem; cui certe si possem mederi, deesse non deberem. sed vides magistratus, si quidem illi magistratus, vides tamen tyranni satellites <in> imperiis, vides eiusdem exercitus, vides in latere veteranos, quae sunt *εὐρίπιστα* omnia; eos autem qui orbis terrae custodi<i>s non modo saepti verum etiam magni esse debebant tantum modo laudari atque amari, sed parietibus contineri. atque illi quoquo modo beati, civitas misera.

3 Sed velim scire quid adventus Octavi, num qui concursus ad eum, num quae *νεωτερισμοῦ* suspicio. non puto equidem, sed tamen, quicquid est, scire cupio.

Haec scripsi ad te proficiscens Astura III Id.

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<sup>2</sup> Asinium (C. As- Boot) vel Acilium coni. SB : Caninum Brunt

<sup>2</sup> 'With standards' ('under the colours'). Cicero plays elsewhere on the various meanings of *signum*.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a certain M. Insteius, Tribune in 42, who, as we are

## LETTER 359 (XIV.5)

so good, if the legions are marching *cum signis*<sup>2</sup> from Gaul. What about those that were in Spain? Won't they make the same demand? And what about those Annius took across—sorry, I mean Asinius(?), a *lapsus memoriae*. Quite a mess the bathman<sup>3</sup> is making! As for this conspiracy of Caesar's freedmen, it could easily be put down if Antony had his wits about him.

How silly I was to be so scrupulous in declining a Commissionership before the vacation for fear of looking like a deserter in this general ferment! Certainly if I could do any good it would be wrong to stand aside. But you see the magistrates, if magistrates they are—anyway you see the tyrant's lieutenants in their commands, you see his armies, you see the veterans on our flank. All this is inflammable material. On the other hand the men who ought to have all mankind for their bodyguard, not only to protect but to exalt them, are belauded and beloved, but that is all—they are prisoners in their houses. And yet *they* are happy in any circumstances; not so the community at large.

But I should be glad to know how Octavius<sup>4</sup> arrival went off and whether there is any rallying to him or suspicion of a coup d'état—I don't suppose so, but whatever the fact I should like to know.

I write you this as I leave Astura on the 11th.

told in the *Philippics*, was once a bath attendant at Pisaurum. We know nothing of his agitation or of the conspiracy of freedmen. A variant reading, 'gambler,' would mean Antony, which does not suit the next sentence.

<sup>4</sup> Caesar's great-nephew and heir C. Octavius, or, as he now called himself, C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, had crossed over from Macedonia to Italy.

## CICERO

## 360 (XIV.6)

*Scr. Fundis prid. Id. Apr. an. 44 (§ 1)*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Prid. Id. Fundis accepi tuas litteras cenans. primum igitur melius esse, deinde meliora te nuntiare. odiosa enim illa fuerant, legiones venire. nam de Octavio, susque deque. exspecto quid de Mario; quem quidem ego sublatum rebar a Caesare. Antoni colloquium cum heroibus nostris pro re nata non incommodum. sed tamen adhuc me nihil delectat praeter Idus Martias. nam quoniam Fundis sum cum Ligure nostro, discrucior Sestulli<sup>1</sup> fundum a verberone Curtilio possideri; quod cum dico, de toto genere dico. quid enim miserius quam ea nos tueri propter quae illum oderamus? etiamne consules et tribunos pl. in biennium quos ille voluit? nullo modo reperio quem ad modum possim πολιτεύεσθαι. nihil enim tam σόλοικον quam tyrannotonos in caelo esse, tyranni facta defendi. sed vides consules, vides reliquos magistratus, si isti magistratus, vides languorem bonorum. exsultant laetitia in municipiis. dici enim non potest quanto opere gaudeant, ut ad me concurrant, ut audire cupiant mea verba de re <publica>. nec ulla interea decreta. sic enim πεπολιτεύμεθα ut<sup>2</sup> victos metueremus.
- 2

<sup>1</sup> Sestulli *Badian codd. indicia secutus* : Sextili(i) *vulg.*

<sup>2</sup> ut si *Sandbach*

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<sup>1</sup> The impostor of Letter 292. After causing disturbances he was finally executed by Antony.



## LETTER 360 (XIV.6)

360 (XIV.6)

*Fundi, 12 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I got your letter at Fundi on the 12th while at dinner. In the first place then I learn that you are better, in the second that you have better news. That report about the legions marching was unpleasant—as for Octavius, it's neither here nor there. I am waiting for what happens about Marius<sup>1</sup>—I thought Caesar had got rid of him. Antony's interview with our heroes is not unsatisfactory in the circumstances. All the same nothing so far gives me pleasure except the Ides of March. Being at Fundi with our friend Ligus it makes me sick to see that rascal Curtilius in possession of Sestilius<sup>2</sup> farm. When I say this I am speaking of the whole *genus*. Is it not lamentable that we should be upholding the very things which made us hate Caesar? Are we even to have Consuls and Tribunes of *his* choosing for two years to come? I cannot see how I could possibly take part in politics. It is the acme of incongruity that the tyrannicides should be lauded to the skies while the tyrant's actions are protected. But you see our Consuls and the rest of our magistrates, if these people *are* magistrates, and the apathy of the honest men. In the country towns they are jumping for joy. I cannot tell you how delighted they are, how they flock to me, how eager they are to hear what I have to say on the state of the country. And yet with all this no decrees! We have so managed our affairs that we go in fear of the defeated party.

<sup>2</sup> Replacing in accordance with the manuscript evidence the former vulgate Sextilius, as also in Letter 364.2.

CICERO

Haec ad te scripsi apposita secunda mensa; plura et πολιτικώτερα postea, et tu quid agas quidque agatur.

361 (XIV.7)

Scr. in Formiano XVII Kal. Mai. an. 44 (§1)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Postridie Idus Paulum in Caieta vidi. is mihi de Mario et de re publica aliqua, quaedam sane pessima. a te scilicet nihil; nemo enim meorum. sed Brutum nostrum audio visum sub Lanuvio. ubi tandem est futurus? nam cum reliqua tum de hoc scire aveo omnia. ego e Formiano exiens XVII Kal. ut inde altero die in Puteolanum scripsi haec.
- 2 A Cicerone mihi litterae sane πεπινωμέναι et bene longae. cetera autem vel fingi possunt, πίνος litterarum significat doctiorem. nunc magno opere a te peto, de quo sum nuper tecum locutus, ut videas ne quid ei desit. id cum ad officium nostrum pertinet tum ad existimationem et dignitatem; quod idem intellexi tibi videri. omnino si ego evolo<sup>1</sup> mense Quintili in Graeciam, sunt omnia facilia; sed cum sint ea tempora ut certi nihil esse possit quid honestum mihi sit, quid liceat, quid expediat, quaeso, da operam ut illum quam honestissime copiosissimeque tueamur.

Haec et cetera quae ad nos pertinebunt, ut soles, cogitabis, ad meque aut quod ad rem pertineat aut, si nihil erit,

<sup>1</sup> est volo *vel* volo (SB)

LETTER 361 (XIV.7)

I have written you this over dessert. I shall write at greater length and more to political purpose later on. Tell me on your side how you are and what's going on.

361 (XIV.7)

*Formiae, 15 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I saw Paulus at Caieta on the 14th. He told me some items about Marius and the political situation, some of them very bad indeed. Of course I have had nothing from you, none of my people have been your way. I hear that our friend Brutus has been seen in the neighbourhood of Lanuvium. Where does he finally mean to live? I am longing for full information about everything, and particularly about this. I am writing this on the 15th as I leave Formiae, hoping to arrive at Puteoli the next day.

I have had a letter from Marcus, really classically phrased and pretty long. Other things can be assumed, but the style of the letter shows he has learned something. Now I earnestly request you (we were talking of it the other day) to see that he wants for nothing. That is for me a matter both of duty and of reputation and prestige. I know you feel the same. Of course if I get off to Greece in July everything is more straightforward; but since the times are such that we cannot foresee with any certainty what will be honourable for me or practicable or expedient, pray make sure that we maintain him in really handsome and liberal style.

This and all else that may concern me you will perpend in your usual way and write to me either on matters of

## CICERO

quod in buccam venerit scribes.

362 (XIV.8)

*Scr. in Sinuessano XVI Kal. Mai. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Tu me iam rebare, cum scribebas, in actis esse nostris; at ego accepi XVII Kal. in deversoriolo Sinuessano tuas litteras. de Mario probe, etsi doleo L. Crassi nepotem. optime tamen<sup>1</sup> etiam Bruto nostro probari Antonium. nam quod Iuniam scribis moderate et amice scriptas litteras attulisse, at mihi Paulus dedit ad se a fratre missas; quibus in extremis erat sibi insidias fieri; se id certis auctoribus comperisse. hoc nec mihi placebat et multo illi minus. reginae fuga mihi non molesta est.<sup>2</sup> Clodia quid egerit scribas ad me velim. de Byzantiis curabis ut cetera et Pelopem ad te arcesses. ego, ut postulas, Baiana negotia chorumque illum de quo scire vis, cum perspexero, tum scribam, ne quid ignores.
- 2 Quid Galli, quid Hispani, quid Sextus agat vehementer exspecto. ea scilicet tu declarabis, qui cetera. nauseolam tibi tamen<sup>3</sup> causam oti dedisse facile patiebar; videbare

<sup>1</sup> tam (*Corradus* : iam *Moser*)      <sup>2</sup> sed (*Wesenberg*)

<sup>3</sup> tum *vel* tum in (*SB* : tuam *Schütz*)

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<sup>1</sup> I.e., his arrest or execution.      <sup>2</sup> Lepidus' wife and Brutus' half-sister. The letter was probably from Lepidus (Paulus' brother), now on his way to Narbonese Gaul, to Brutus.

<sup>3</sup> The famous Cleopatra, who had been staying in Rome as Caesar's mistress.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch (*Cicero*, 24) tells us of a 'petty and spiteful' letter of

LETTER 362 (XIV.8)

consequence, or, failing any such, whatever comes into your head.

362 (XIV.8)

*Sinuessa, 16 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You thought when you wrote that I would be by this time at my seaside pleasaunces; in fact I got your letter on the 15th in my little lodge near Sinuessa. Good about Marius,<sup>1</sup> grieved as I am for L. Crassus' grandson! However it's excellent that Antony is winning even Brutus' approval. As for the 'moderate and friendly letter' brought as you say by Junia,<sup>2</sup> Paulus gave me one sent to him by his brother which ended with the statement that there was a plot against him and that he had learned of it on certain authority. I didn't like the sound of that, and Paulus liked it much less. The Queen's<sup>3</sup> flight does not distress me. Please let me know what Clodia has done. Look after the business of the Byzantines, as all else, and send for Pelops.<sup>4</sup> For my part I shall write as you ask of the Baiae characters<sup>5</sup> and the 'circus' on which you want information as soon as I see clear, so that you know all there is to know.

I am waiting impatiently for news of what the Gauls are doing and the Spaniards and Sextus. No doubt you will enlighten me on these topics as on all others. I am not sorry that your bilious attack has at least given you an excuse for

Cicero's to Pelops of Byzantium, written in disappointment at Pelops' failure to get him certain honours from the town.

<sup>5</sup> Prominent Caesarians (as Hirtius, Pansa, Balbus) now staying at Baiae.

CICERO

enim mihi legenti tuas litteras requiesse paulisper. de Bruto semper ad me omnia perscribito, ubi sit, quid cogitet; quem quidem ego spero iam tuto vel solum tota urbe vagari posse. verum tamen.

363 (XIV.9)

*Scr. in Puteolano XV Kal. Mai. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De re publica multa cognovi ex tuis litteris, quas quidem multiugis accepi uno tempore a Vestori liberto. ad ea autem quae requiris brevi respondebo. primum vehementer me Cluviana delectant. sed quod quaeris quid arcessierim Chrysippum, tabernae mihi duae corruerunt reliquaeque rimas agunt; itaque non solum inquilini sed mures etiam migraverunt. hanc ceteri calamitatem vocant, ego ne incommodum quidem. o Socrate et Socratici viri! numquam vobis gratiam referam. di immortales, quam mihi ista pro nihilo! sed tamen ea ratio aedificandi initur, consiliario quidem et auctore Vestorio, ut hoc damnum quaestuosum sit.
- 2 Hic turba magna est eritque, ut audio, maior; duo quidem quasi designati consules. o di boni! vivit tyrannis, tyrannus occidit! eius interfecti morte laetamur cuius facta defendimus! itaque quam severe nos †M. Cutius<sup>1</sup> accusat, ut pudeat vivere, neque iniuria. nam mori miliens praestitit quam haec pati; quae mihi videntur habitura etiam vetustatem.

<sup>1</sup> *al. tutius vel sim. : curius cod. Tornestianus : M'. Curtius cont.*  
SB

## LETTER 363 (XIV.9)

a rest—reading your letter I have the impression that you have been taking things easily for a while. Always give me all the news of Brutus, his whereabouts and plans. I hope it is now safe for him to wander on his own all over Rome. But the news, anyhow.

### 363 (XIV.9)

*Puteoli, 17 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have learned a variety of political news from your letters, of which I received several in a batch from Vestorius' freedman. Let me briefly answer your enquiries. First I am quite delighted with the Cluvius property. But you ask me why I have sent for Chrysippus: two of my shops have collapsed and the others are showing cracks, so that even the mice have moved elsewhere, to say nothing of the tenants. Other people call this a disaster, I don't call it even a nuisance. Ah Socrates, Socratics, I can never repay you! Heavens above, how utterly trivial such things appear to me! However there is a building scheme under way, Vestorius advising and instigating, which should turn this loss into a source of profit.

There's a great crowd here, and will be, as I hear, a greater, including the two so-called Consul-Designates. Gods above! The tyranny lives on, the tyrant is dead! We rejoice at his slaughter—and defend his acts! So \* takes us pretty sternly to task, enough to make one ashamed of being alive, and right he is! It would have been better to die a thousand deaths than put up with such things—and they look to me to be lasting a long, long time.

## CICERO

- 3 Et Balbus hic est multumque mecum. ad quem a Vetere litterae datae prid. Kal. Ian., cum a se Caecilius circum sederetur et iam teneretur, venisse cum maximis copiis Pacorum Parthum; ita sibi esse eum ereptum multis suis amissis. in qua re accusat Volcacium. ita mihi videtur bellum illud instare. sed Dolabella et Nicias viderint. idem Balbus meliora de Gallia. XXI die litteras habebat Germanos illasque nationes re audita de Caesare legatos misisse ad Aurelium, qui est praepositus ab Hirtio: se quod imperatum esset esse facturos. quid quaeris? omnia plena pacis, aliter ac mihi Calvenna dixerat.

### 364 (XIV.10)

*Scr. in Cumano XIII Kal. Mai. an. 44 (§ 3)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Itane vero? hoc meus et tuus Brutus egit ut Lanuvi esset, ut Trebonius itineribus deviis proficisceretur in provinciam, ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Caesaris plus valerent quam si ipse viveret? meministine <me> clamare illo ipso primo Capitolino die senatum in Capitolium a praetoribus vocan<dum>?<sup>1</sup> di immortales, quae tum opera effici potuerunt laetantibus omnibus bonis,

<sup>1</sup> vocari (*Housman* : -ari debere *Mueller*)

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<sup>1</sup> C. Antistius Vetus, now in charge of Syria, where a former Pompeian, Q. Caecilius Bassus, had stirred up a mutiny and killed the previous governor.

<sup>2</sup> Son of the Consul of 66, now probably governing Cilicia.

<sup>3</sup> As Consul in succession to Caesar Dolabella had just been



LETTER 364 (XIV.10)

Balbus too is here and I see a lot of him. He has had a letter from Vetus<sup>1</sup> dated 31 December to the effect that when Caecilius was besieged by him and on the point of capture Pacorus of Parthia came up with a very large force. Thus Caecilius was snatched from his clutches with the loss of many of his own men. He blames Volcacius<sup>2</sup> in the matter. So it looks to me as though war in that quarter is imminent. But let Dolabella and Nicias<sup>3</sup> worry! Balbus also gives better news of Gaul. He has a letter three weeks old announcing that the Germans and the tribes there, hearing what had happened to Caesar, had sent envoys to Hirtius' deputy Aurelius promising to obey orders. All redolent of peace in fact, contrary to what Baldie had said to me.

364 (XIV.10)

*Cumae, 19 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

So? Was *this* what my (and your) dear Brutus intended—that he should stay at Lanuvium, that Trebonius<sup>1</sup> should use byroads to get to his province, that all Caesar's actions, writings, words, promises, and plans should have greater force than if he were himself alive? Do you remember how that first day<sup>2</sup> on the Capitol I cried out that the Senate ought to be summoned to the spot by the Praetors? Great heavens, what might not have been accomplished then amid the rejoicing of all honest men, even the moderately

assigned Syria as his province. His protégé Nicias was going with him.

<sup>1</sup> One of the conspirators against Caesar, he was on his way out to Asia as Proconsul.      <sup>2</sup> The Ides of March.

CICERO

etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus! Liberalia tu accusas, quid fieri tum potuit? iam pridem perieramus. meministine te clamare causam perisse si funere elatus esset? at ille etiam in foro combustus laudatusque miserabiliter servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi, quae deinde? ut audeant dicere 'tunc contra Caesaris nutum?' haec et talia ferre non possum. itaque γῆν πρὸ γῆς cogito; tua tamen ὑπηρέμιος.

- 2 Nausea iamne plane abiit? mihi quidem ex tuis litteris coniectanti ita videbatur. redeo ad Tebanos, Bassos,<sup>2</sup> Scaevas, Fangones.<sup>3</sup> hos tu existimas confidere se illa habituros stantibus nobis? in quibus plus virtutis putarunt quam experti sunt. pacis isti scilicet amatores et non latrocinii auctores. at ego, cum tibi de Curtilio scripsi Sestulianoque<sup>4</sup> fundo, scripsi de Censorino, de Messalla, de Planco, de Postumo, de genere toto. melius fuit perisse illo interfecto, quod numquam accidisset, quam haec videre.

- 3 Octavius Neapolim venit XIII Kal. ibi eum Balbus mane postridie, eodemque die mecum in Cumano; illum hereditatem aditurum. sed, ut scribis, †ρίζοῦμαι†<sup>5</sup> magnam cum Antonio. Buthrotia mihi tua res est, ut debet,

<sup>2</sup> *add. Badian* (Tebanos iam Münzer)

<sup>3</sup> *frangones vel sim. (Ihm)*

<sup>4</sup> *sestulitanoque vel sim. (Badian : Sextilia- Manutius, vulg.)*

<sup>5</sup> *rixam (TP) : timet coni. SB*

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the meeting of the Senate on 17 March, which ratified Caesar's 'acts' and declared an amnesty.

<sup>4</sup> From Aeschylus' (P) *Prometheus Bound*, 682: 'By the divine scourge I am driven on land beyond land.'

<sup>5</sup> Athens, where Cicero was thinking of going to visit his son.

honest, and the discomfiture of the bandits! You blame Bacchus' Day.<sup>3</sup> What could we have done then? By that time we were long sunk. Do you remember how *you* cried out that the cause was lost if he had a public funeral? Well, he was actually cremated in the Forum with a pathetic eulogy, and slaves and beggars were sent with firebrands to attack our homes. And the sequel? They dare to say 'Are *you* opposing Caesar's fiat?' This and the like is intolerable to me, so I plan to go 'land beyond land.'<sup>4</sup> But *your* land<sup>5</sup> is in the lee of the gale.

Has your stomach trouble quite gone? Guessing from your letter I imagine it has. I come back to the Tebani, the Bassi, the Scaevas, the Fangos.<sup>6</sup> Do you suppose they will ever feel secure in possession of their gains so long as we hold our heads up? They thought we had more pluck than they have found us to have. Oh yes, these are peace-loving folk of course—not instigators of robbery! But when I wrote to you about Curtilius and Sestullius' farm, I wrote of Censorinus, Messalla, Plancus, Postumus, the whole species. It would have been better to perish when he was killed, though that would never have happened, than to have these things before our eyes.

Octavius arrived in Naples on the 18th. Balbus met him there early on the following day and was with me later the same day at my house near Cumae; tells me Octavius is going to accept the inheritance. But as you say, he fears (?) a mighty tussle with Antony. Your Buthrotian affair<sup>7</sup> is and

<sup>6</sup> Tebanus is unknown, but the name (a gentilicium) is found in inscriptions. C. Fuficius Fango was one of Caesar's new Senators. (Ventidius) Bassus was Antony's lieutenant in 43; (Cassius) Scaeva, a Caesarian centurion. <sup>7</sup> See Letter 243, note 4.

CICERO

eritque curae. quod quaeris iamne ad cen<ten>a Cluivianum, adventare videtur; sed primo anno LXXX determinamus.

- 4 Quintus pater ad me gravia de filio, maxime quod matri nunc indulgeat cui antea bene merenti fuerit inimicus. ardentis in eum litteras ad me misit. ille autem quid agat si scis nequedum Roma es profectus, scribas ad me velim, et hercule si quid aliud. vehementer delecto<r> tuis litteris.

365 (XIV.11)

*Scr. in Puteolano(?) XI Kal. Mai. an. 44 (§ 1)*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Nudius tertius dedi ad te epistulam longiorem; nunc ad ea quae proxime. velim mehercule Asturae Brutus. ἀκολασίαν istorum scribis. an censebas aliter? equidem etiam maiora exspecto. cum [equidem]<sup>1</sup> contionem lego de 'tanto viro,' de 'clarissimo civi,' ferre non queo. etsi ista iam ad risum. sed memento, sic alitur consuetudo perditarum contionum, ut nostri illi non heroes sed di futuri quidem in gloria sempiterna sint sed non sine invidia, ne sine periculo quidem. verum illis magna consolatio conscientia maximi et clarissimi facti; nobis quae, qui interfecto rege liberi non sumus? sed haec fortuna viderit, quoniam ratio non gubernat.
- 2 De Cicerone quae scribis iucunda mihi sunt; velim sint

<sup>1</sup> *secl. Wesenberg* : enim conii. SB

LETTER 365 (XIV.11)

will be my concern, as is right and proper. You ask whether the Cluvian property comes to 100,000 a year yet. It looks as though it is going to, but in the first year I have cleared 80,000.

Quintus senior writes to me in severe terms about his son, the chief complaint being that he is now complaisant to his mother, whereas formerly when she was behaving well he was against her. He denounces him to me in a fiery epistle. If you know what the young man is doing and have not yet left Rome, please send me word—and any other news to be sure. Your letters give me lively pleasure.

365 (XIV.11)

*Puteoli (?)*, 21 April 44

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I sent you a fairly long letter the day before yesterday. Now to answer your latest. I certainly wish Brutus had gone to Astura. You write about the licence of these people. What did you expect? I look for still worse to come. When I read a public speech about 'so great a man,' 'so illustrious a Roman,' I can't stomach it. Of course this sort of thing has become a joke. But remember that is how the habit of pernicious speech-making grows, so that those heroes, or rather gods, of ours will no doubt be glorious to all eternity, but not without ill will or even danger. However they have a great consolation in the consciousness of a grand and glorious deed. What have *we*, who are not free though the king is slain? Well, we must leave all this to chance since reason has no say.

What you write about Marcus is pleasant for me to read;

## CICERO

prospera. quod ver< o cur >ae tibi est ut ei suppeditetur ad usum et cultum copiose, per mihi gratum est, idque ut facias te etiam <atque etiam><sup>2</sup> rogo. de Buthrotiis et tu recte cogitas et ego non dimitto istam curam. suscipiam omnem etiam actionem, quam video cottidie faciliorem. de Cluviano, quoniam in re mea me ipsum diligentia vincis, res ad centena perducitur. ruina<sup>3</sup> rem non fecit deteriore, haud scio an iam fructuosiore.

Hic mecum Balbus, Hirrtius, Pansa. modo venit Octavius, et quidem in proximam villam Philippi, mihi totus deditus. Lentulus Spinther hodie apud me; cras mane vadit.

### 366 (XIV.12)

*Scr. in Puteolano x Kal. Mai. an. 44 (§ 3)*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 O mi Attice, vereor ne nobis Idus Martiae nihil dederint praeter laetitiam et odi poenam ac doloris. quae mihi istine adferuntur! quae hic video! ὦ πράξεως καλῆς μέν, ἀτελοῦς δέ.' scis quam diligam Siculos et quam illam clientelam honestam iudicem. multa illis Caesar, neque me invito (etsi Latinitas erat non ferenda. verum tamen). ecce autem Antonius accepta grandi pecunia fixit legem 'a dic-

<sup>2</sup> *add. Orelli*

<sup>3</sup> *una(m) vel uni (Victorius)*

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<sup>1</sup> L. Philippus, Consul in 56, was Octavian's stepfather.

<sup>2</sup> Atticus would know better than to take this at face value.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek is perhaps quoted from a play.

<sup>2</sup> A lower form of citizenship, apparently granted to Sicily, or to some Sicilian communities, by Caesar.

LETTER 366 (XIV.12)

I hope it augurs well. I am most grateful to you for your trouble in seeing that he gets plenty to live on in good style, and I beg you once more to do this. Your ideas about the Buthrotians are sound, and I am not forgetting this matter; in fact I shall take on myself the whole conduct of the case, which is evidently growing easier every day. As regards the Cluvius property, since your care for my interests exceeds my own, it's getting up to the 100,000 mark. The collapse of the buildings has not lowered the returns, indeed I rather think it may actually have increased them.

Balbus, Hirtius, and Pansa are with me here. Octavius has just arrived, in fact he has gone to the house next to mine, Philippus'.<sup>1</sup> He is totally devoted to me.<sup>2</sup> Lentulus Spinther is staying the night with me. He is off early tomorrow.

366 (XIV.12)

*Puteoli, 22 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

My dear Atticus, I fear the Ides of March have brought us nothing except joy and a satisfaction for our hatred and grief. The things I hear from Rome! And the things I see here! 'Twas a fine deed, but half done!<sup>1</sup> You know how warm a feeling I have for the Sicilians and what an honour I consider it to have them as my clients. Caesar was generous to them and I was not sorry that he should be—though the Latin franchise<sup>2</sup> was intolerable, but let that pass. Well, here is Antony posting up (in return for a massive bribe) a law allegedly carried by the Dictator in the Assembly un-

tatore comitiis latam' qua Siculi cives Romani; cuius rei vivo illo mentio nulla. quid? Deiotari nostri causa non similis? dignus ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam. sescenta similia. verum illuc referor: tam claram tamque testatam rem tamque iustam, Buthrotiam, non tenebimus aliqua ex parte? et eo quidem magis quo ista plura?

- 2 Nobiscum hic perhonorifice et peramice Octavius. quem quidem sui Caesarem salutabant, Philippus non, itaque ne nos quidem; quem nego posse <esse><sup>1</sup> bonum civem. ita multi circumstant, qui quidem nostri<s><sup>2</sup> mortem minitantur, negant haec ferri posse. quid censes cum Romam puer venerit, ubi nostri liberatores tuti esse non possunt? <qui><sup>3</sup> quidem semper erunt clari, conscientia vero facti sui etiam beati; sed nos, nisi me fallit, iacebimus. itaque exire aveo 'ubi nec Pelopidarum,' inquit. haud amo vel hos designatos, qui etiam declamare me coegerunt, ut ne apud aquas quidem acquiescere liceret. sed hoc meae nimiae facilitatis; nam id erat quondam quasi necesse, nunc, quoquo modo se res habet, non est item.

- 3 Quam dudum nihil habeo quod ad te scribam! scribo tamen, non ut delectem meis litteris sed ut eliciam tuas. tu si quid erit de ceteris, de Bruto utique quicquid. haec conscripsi x Kal., accubans apud Vestorium, hominem re-

<sup>1</sup> add. Lambinus

<sup>2</sup> add. Victorius

<sup>3</sup> add. Victorius

<sup>3</sup> Wife of Antony, previously married to P. Clodius, then to Curio.

<sup>4</sup> From an unknown Latin play: 'Where I may never hear the name or deeds or fame of the sons of Pelops.'

<sup>5</sup> Hirtius and Pansa, appointed Consuls for 43 by Caesar.



der which the Sicilians become Roman citizens, a thing never mentioned in his lifetime! Then there is Deiotarus' case. Isn't it much the same? No doubt he deserves any kingdom we can give him, but not through Fulvia.<sup>3</sup> There are any number of such doings. However it brings me back to this: surely we shall gain our point at least in part in so well-known, well-attested, and just a cause as that of Buthrotum. The greater the number of such operations the more confident we can be.

Octavius is with me here—most respectful and friendly. His followers call him Caesar, but Philippus does not, so neither do I. My judgement is that he cannot be a good citizen. There are too many around him. They threaten death to our friends and call the present state of things intolerable. What do you think they will say when the boy comes to Rome, where our liberators cannot go safe? They have won eternal glory, and happiness too in the consciousness of what they did; but for us, if I am not mistaken, there is only humiliation ahead. So I long to be away 'Where nevermore of Pelops' line . . .',<sup>4</sup> as the poet says. Nor do I greatly care for these Designates<sup>5</sup> of ours, who furthermore have made me give lessons in oratory, so that I am not allowed to rest even here at the waters. But this comes of my too easygoing nature. Time was when that sort of thing was more or less necessary, but now, stand things as they may, it's not the same.

What a long time it is since I had anything to write to you about! Still I go on writing, not to give you pleasure with my letters but to evoke yours. Tell me any other news you have and at all events something about Brutus, no matter what. I have put this together on the 22nd at dinner

CICERO

motum a dialecticis, in arithmetiis satis exercitatum.

367 (XIV.13)

*Scr. in Puteolano vi Kal. Mai. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Septimo denique die litterae mihi redditae sunt quae erant a te XIII Kal. datae; quibus quaeris, idque etiam me ipsum nescire arbitraris, utrum magis tumultis prospectuque an ambulatione ἀλιτενεῖ delecter. est mehercule, ut dicis, utriusque loci tanta amoenitas ut dubitem ultra antepo-  
nenda sit.

ἀλλ' οὐ δαιτὸς ἐπηράτου ἔργα μέμηλεν,  
ἀλλὰ λίην μέγα πῆμα, διοτρεφές, εἰσορόωντες  
δείδιμεν ἐν δοιῇ δὲ σαωσέμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι.

- 2 Quamvis enim tu magna et mihi iucunda scripseris de D. Bruti adventu ad suas legiones, in quo spem maximam video, tamen, si est bellum civile futurum (quod certe erit si Sextus in armis permanebit, quem permansurum esse certo scio), quid nobis faciendum sit ignoro. neque enim iam licebit, quod Caesaris bello licuit, neque huc neque illuc. quemcumque enim haec pars perditorum laetatum Caesaris morte putavit (laetitiam autem apertissime tulimus omnes), hunc in hostium numero habebit; quae res ad caedem maximam spectat. restat ut in castra Sexti aut, si forte, Bruti nos conferamus, res odiosa et aliena nostris

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<sup>6</sup> Vestorius, the plain businessman (see Letter 93, note 1), was

LETTER 367 (XIV.13)

with Vestorius, a practised mathematician however ignorant of dialectics.<sup>6</sup>

367 (XIV.13)

*Puteoli, 26 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your letter of the 19th has at last reached me, a week later. In it you ask (and you suppose that I myself don't know) whether I get more pleasure from the hills and the view or from the walk *au bord de la mer*. Indeed it is as you say; both places are so agreeable that I hesitate which to prefer.

But not of table joys our thoughts.

Great bane, O King, we see and are afraid.

'Tis life or death with us, we know not which.<sup>1</sup>

For while your news about D. Brutus joining his troops, in which I see our best hope, is important and welcome, all the same if there is to be civil war (and there is bound to be if Sextus stays under arms as I feel sure he will) I cannot tell what we ought to do. Neutrality, which was possible in Caesar's war, will not be possible now. Anyone who in the opinion of this party of desperadoes was glad at Caesar's death (and we all showed our delight without the faintest concealment) will be considered by them as an enemy. This points to large-scale massacre. The alternative is to betake ourselves to Sextus' camp, or maybe Brutus'; a weary business and unbecoming our age, with no certainty

good at figures; and mathematics was a recognized branch of culture.

<sup>1</sup> From *Iliad*, 9.228-30.

aetatibus, incerto<sup>1</sup> exitu belli—et nescio quo pacto tibi ego possim, mihi tu dicere

τέκνον ἐμόν, οὐ τοι δέδοται πολεμῆια ἔργα,  
ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἡμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα λόγιοι.

- 3 Sed haec fors viderit, ea quae talibus in rebus plus quam ratio potest. nos autem id videamus quod in nobis ipsis esse debet, ut quicquid acciderit fortiter et sapienter feramus et accidisse hominibus meminerimus, nosque cum multum litterae tum non minimum Idus quoque Martiae consolentur.
- 4 Suscipe nunc meam deliberationem qua sollicitor; ita multa veniunt in mentem in utramque partem. <si><sup>2</sup> proficiscor, ut constitueram, legatus in Graeciam, caedis impendentis periculum non nihil vitare videor, sed casurus in aliquam vituperationem quod rei publicae defuerim tam gravi tempore. sin autem mansero, fore me quidem video in discrimine, sed accidere posse suspicor ut prodesse possim rei publicae. iam illa consilia privata sunt, quod sentio valde esse utile ad confirmationem Ciceronis me illuc venire; nec alia causa profectionis mihi ulla fuit tum cum consilium cepi legari a Caesare. tota igitur hac de re, ut soles si quid ad me pertinere putas, cogitabis.
- 5 Redeo nunc ad epistulam tuam. scribis enim esse rumores me ad lacum quod habeo venditurum, minusculam vero villam utique Quinto traditurum vel impenso pretio,

<sup>1</sup> *al.* et inc-      <sup>2</sup> *add. Labinus*

<sup>2</sup> Zeus to Aphrodite in *Iliad*, 5.428. Cicero substitutes *logio* ('of word') for *gamoio* ('of wedlock') in the original.

LETTER 367 (XIV.13)

as to the issue of the war—and somehow I might say to you and you to me

My child, the works of war are not for you.  
Let your concern be works of *worded* joy.<sup>2</sup>

But this must be left to chance, which counts for more than reason in such matters. Let us look to what ought to rest with ourselves, namely to bear whatever comes with fortitude and philosophy and to remember that we are but men. And let us take much comfort in study and not a little too in the Ides of March.

Now put your mind to the personal question which exercises me; so many points occur to me on either side. If, as I had decided, I go to Greece on a Commissionership, I feel I am to some extent avoiding the danger of impending massacre but am likely to incur some censure for failing the state at so serious a time. If on the other hand I stay in Italy, I shall clearly be in danger, but I have a notion that in certain contingencies I might be able to do service to the state. Then there are private considerations. I feel that a visit to Athens on my part would do much to keep Marcus steady; indeed that was my only reason for the trip when I first thought of obtaining the appointment from Caesar. So please weigh the whole thing in your mind, as you always do any matter you think concerns me.

Now I return to your letter. You say there are rumours that I am going to sell my place on the Lake,<sup>3</sup> or at any rate to hand over the cottage to Quintus, even at a thumping

<sup>3</sup> Cicero's Cuman estate on the Lucrine Lake. It seems to have included a cottage as well as the main house.

## CICERO

6 quo introducatur, ut tibi Quintus filius dixerit, dotata Aquillia. ego vero de venditione nihil cogito, nisi quid quod magis me delectet invenero. Quintus autem de emendo nihil curat hoc tempore; satis enim torquetur debitione dotis, in qua mirificas Egnatio gratias agit. a ducenda autem uxore sic abhorret ut libero lectulo neget esse quicquam iucundius. sed haec quoque hactenus.

Redeo enim ad miseram seu nullam potius rem publicam. M. Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione Sex. Cloeli; quam honorifice, quod ad me attinet, ex ipsius litteris cognosces (misi enim tibi exemplum); quam dissolute, quam turpiter quamque ita perniciose ut non numquam Caesar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis. quae enim Caesar numquam neque fecit neque fecisset neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis eius commentariis proferuntur. ego autem Antonio facillimum me praebui. etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit animum sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. itaque mearum quoque litterarum misi tibi exemplum.

### 367A (XIV.13A)

*Scr. Romae c. x Kal. Mai. an. 44*

<M.> ANTONIUS COS. S. D. M. CICERONI

- 1 Occupationibus est factum meis et subita tua profectio ne tecum coram de hac re agerem. quam ob causam vereor ne absentia mea levior sit apud te. quod si bonitas tua

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<sup>4</sup> The divorce between Q. Cicero and Pomponia had taken place at long last.

LETTER 367A (XIV.13A)

price, for him to bring in Aquillia and her dowry,<sup>4</sup> so Quintus junior informs you. The truth is that I have no thought of selling unless I find something I like better. As for Quintus, he is not worrying about buying property just now. He has trouble enough over the repayment of the dowry, in which connection he says he is infinitely grateful to Egnatius. As for marriage, he has so little inclination for it that he says a bachelor's bed is the most agreeable thing in the world. So much for that too.

For I return to our unhappy or rather nonexistent commonwealth. Mark Antony has written to me on the recall of Sex. Cloelius, in how complimentary a style so far as concerns me personally you will see from his own letter, of which I enclose a copy; how unscrupulously, disgracefully, mischievously, so that one is sometimes tempted to wish Caesar back, you will readily appreciate. Things that Caesar neither did nor ever would have done or permitted to be done are now brought out from his forged memoranda. As for me, I have shown myself all compliance to Antony. After all, having once made up his mind that he had a right to do what he pleased, he would have done it just the same if I had opposed. So I enclose a copy of my letter too.

367A (XIV.13A)

*Rome, ca. 22 April 44*

M. ANTONIUS, CONSUL, TO M. CICERO —

Pressure of business on my side and your sudden departure have prevented me from taking this matter up with you in person. On that account I fear that my absence may carry less weight with you than my presence would. But if your

responderit iudicio meo quod semper habui de te, gaudebo.

- 2 A Caesare petii ut Sex. Cloelium restitueret; impetravi. erat mihi in animo etiam tum sic uti beneficio eius si tu concessisses. quo magis laboro ut tua voluntate id per me facere nunc <possim>.<sup>1</sup> quod si duriozem te eius miserae et adffictae fortunae praebes, non contendam ego adversus te, quamquam videor debere tueri commentarium Caesaris. sed mehercule, si humaniter et sapienter et amabiliter in me cogitare vis, facilem profecto te praebebis et voles P. Claudium,<sup>2</sup> optima in spe puerum repositum, existimare non te insectatum esse, cum potueris, amicos paternos.
- 3 patere, obsecro, te pro re publica videri gessisse similitatem cum patre eius, non <quod><sup>3</sup> contempseris hanc familiam. honestius enim et libentius deponimus inimicitias rei publicae nomine susceptas quam contumaciae. me deinde sine ad hanc opinionem iam nunc dirigere puerum et tenero animo eius persuadere non esse tradendas posteris inimicitias. quamquam tuam fortunam, Cicero, ab omni periculo abesse certum habeo, tamen arbitror malle te quietam senectutem et honorificam potius agere quam sollicitam. postremo meo iure te hoc beneficium rogo; nihil enim non tua causa feci. quod si non impetro, per me Cloelio daturus non sum, ut intellegas quanti apud me auctoritas tua sit atque eo te placabiliorem praebear.

<sup>1</sup> *add. SB*

<sup>2</sup> *al. clodium*

<sup>3</sup> *add. Mueller*

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<sup>1</sup> Son of P. Clodius (Clodius being the popular form of the family name, used by the demagogue) and Antony's stepson. He turned out badly.



## LETTER 367A (XIV.13A)

goodness of heart proves to correspond with the opinion I have always entertained of you, I shall be very glad.

I petitioned Caesar to recall Sex. Cloelius from exile, and gained my point. I had intended even then to take advantage of his favour only if you gave your consent. So I am all the more anxious to gain your sanction to my doing it through my own agency now. If however you show yourself unsympathetic towards his sad, unhappy case, I shall not persist in opposition to your wishes, although I feel I have a duty to uphold Caesar's memorandum. But I must say that if you wish to take a view in accordance with humanity, wisdom, and a regard for myself, you will surely show yourself indulgent, and you will be willing for P. Claudius,<sup>1</sup> a lad of the highest promise, to think that you refrained from bearing hard upon his father's friends when it lay in your power. Allow it, I beg you, to appear that you were his father's enemy for patriotic reasons, not because you despised the family. We lay aside feuds started on public grounds with greater credit and more readiness than those of arrogance. Further, give me the opportunity to influence the boy here and now and persuade his impressionable mind to the opinion that quarrels should not be hereditary. Although I am sure that your position, dear Sir, is beyond all danger, I imagine none the less that you would rather pass your declining years in tranquillity and honour than amid anxieties. Finally, I have some right to ask this favour of you, for I have done all I could on your behalf. But if I fail to obtain it, I shall not make the concession to Cloelius on my own. I hope you will see from this how much your approval means to me, and show yourself the more placable on that account.

CICERO

367B (XIV.13B)

*Scr. in Puteolano vi Kal. Mai. an. 44*

CICERO ANTONIO COS. S. D.

- 1 Quod mecum per litteras agis unam ob causam mallem coram egisses; non enim solum ex oratione, sed etiam ex vultu et oculis et fronte, ut aiunt, meum erga te amorem perspicere potuisses. nam cum te semper amavi, primum tuo studio, post etiam beneficio provocatus, tum his temporibus res publica te mihi ita commendavit ut cariorem
- 2 habeam neminem. litterae vero tuae cum amantissime tum honorificentissime scriptae sic me adfecerunt ut non dare tibi beneficium viderer sed accipere a te ita petente ut inimicum meum, necessarium tuum, me invito servare nolles, cum id nullo negotio facere posses.
- 3 Ego vero tibi istuc, mi Antoni, remitto atque ita ut me a te, cum his verbis scripseris, liberalissime atque honorificentissime tractatum existinem, idque cum totum, quoquo modo se res haberet, tibi dandum putarem, tum do etiam humanitati et naturae meae. nihil enim umquam non modo acerbum in me fuit sed ne paulo quidem tristius aut severius quam necessitas rei publicae postulavit. accedit ut ne in ipsum quidem Cloelium meum insigne odium fuerit umquam, semperque ita statui, non esse insectandos inimicorum amicos, praesertim humiliores, nec his praesidiis nosmet ipsos esse spoliandos.
- 4 Nam de puero Clodio tuas partis esse arbitror ut eius

LETTER 367B (XIV.13B)

367B (XIV.13B)

*Puteoli, 26 April 44*

CICERO TO ANTONIUS, CONSUL

For one reason and one only I would rather you had raised this matter with me in person than by letter. You could then have seen my affection for you not only in my words but in my eyes, written as the saying goes all over my face. That affection I have always felt, prompted by your own friendly disposition in the first instance and later by obligation actually conferred; and at the present time the national interest has commended you to my regard, so much so that no one is dearer to me. And now your affectionate and flattering letter has made me feel that I am not conferring a favour upon you but receiving one at your hands, when you put your request in the form that you do not wish to rescue my enemy and your friend against my will, although you would have no difficulty in doing so.

Yes, my dear Antony, I yield to your wishes in this matter, and not without a lively sense of your generosity and the honour you do me by writing in such terms. In any circumstances I should feel bound to make this concession to you unreservedly; and I am also making it to my natural humanity. Sternness and severity in any degree, let alone harshness, have never been part of my disposition except in so far as the necessities of state have required it. Let me add that towards Cloelius personally I have never felt any special hostility, and have always taken the view that we ought not to bear too hard upon the friends of our enemies, especially those of humble station, and thus deprive ourselves of such support.

As for young Clodius, I think it is for you to imbue his

## CICERO

- animum tenerum, quem ad modum scribis, iis opinionibus imbuas ut ne quas inimicitias residere in familiis nostris arbitretur. contendi cum P. Clodio cum ego publicam causam, ille suam defenderet. nostras concertationes res publica diiudicavit, si viveret, mihi cum illo nulla contentio iam maneret. qua re, quoniam hoc a me sic petis ut, quae tua potestas est, ea neget te me invito usurum, puero quoque hoc a me dabis, si tibi videbitur, non quo aut aetas nostra ab illius aetate quicquam debeat periculi suspicari aut dignitas mea ullam contentionem extimescat, sed ut nosmet ipsi inter nos coniunctiores simus quam adhuc fuimus. interpellantibus enim his inimicitii animus tuus mihi magis patuit quam domus. sed haec hactenus.
- 5

Illud extremum: ego quae te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor semper sine ulla dubitatione summo studio faciam. hoc velim tibi penitus persuadeas.

368 (XIV.14)

*Scr. in Puteolano IV aut III Kal. Mai. an. 44*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 'Iteradum eadem ista mihi.' coronatus Quintus noster Parilibus! solusne? etsi addis Lamiam, quod demiror equidem; sed scire cupio qui fuerint alii, quamquam satis scio nisi improbum neminem. explanabis igitur hoc diligentius. ego autem casu, cum dedissem ad te litteras VI Kal. satis multis

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<sup>1</sup> From the *Iliona* of the Roman tragedian Pacuvius.

<sup>2</sup> Quintus junior wore a garland in honour of Caesar at a festival held in commemoration of the battle of Munda on 21 April.

LETTER 368 (XIV.14)

impressionable mind, as you say in your letter, with such sentiments as may persuade him that there is no residue of family feud between us. I clashed with P. Clodius when I was championing the public cause and he his own. The country stood umpire upon our disputes. If he were alive today there would no longer be any strife between us. So since in making this request of me you say that you will not use your power in the matter against my wishes, you may if you think proper present the concession to the boy also as coming from me; not that in view of our respective ages I could reasonably envisage any danger from his quarter, nor that a man of my standing need greatly fear any conflict, but in order that we ourselves may be on closer terms than we have been on hitherto. For in the past, with these feuds standing between us, your heart has been more open to me than your house. But I need say no more.

One thing in conclusion. I shall always, without hesitation and with my whole heart, do anything that I think to accord with your wishes and interests. Of that I hope you will feel fully assured.

368 (XIV.14)

*Puteoli, 28 or 29 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

'Now tell me once again your tale.'<sup>1</sup> Our Quintus wearing a wreath on Shepherds' Day!<sup>2</sup> All by himself?—though you mention Lamia too, which amazes me. But I should very much like to know who the others were, though I need no telling that they were rascals one and all. So please send me a more circumstantial account. As luck would have it,

verbis, tribus fere horis post accepi tuas et magni quidem ponderis. itaque ioca tua plena facetiarum de haeresi Vestoriana et de t̄pherionum more t̄ Puteolano risisse me satis nihil est necesse rescribere. πολιτικώτερα illa videamus.

- 2 Ita Brutos Cassiumque defendis quasi eos ego reprehendam; quos satis laudare non possum. rerum ego vitia collegi, non hominum. sublato enim tyranno tyrannida manere video. nam quae ille facturus non fuit ea fiunt, ut de Cloelio, de quo mihi exploratum est illum non modo non facturum sed etiam ne passurum quidem fuisse. sequetur Rufi<sup>1</sup>o Vestorianus, Victor numquam scriptus, ceteri, quis non? cui servire ipsi non potuimus, eius libellis paremus. nam Liberalibus quis potuit<sup>2</sup> in senatum non venire? fac id potuisse aliquo modo; num etiam, cum venissemus, libere potuimus sententiam dicere? nonne omni ratione veterani qui armati aderant, cum praesidi nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt? illam sessionem Capitolinam mihi non placuisse tu testis es. quid ergo? ista culpa Brutorum? minime illorum quidem, sed aliorum brutorum, qui se cautos ac sapientis putant; quibus satis fuit laetari, non nullis etiam gratulari, nullis permanere.

<sup>1</sup> add. Manutius

<sup>2</sup> qui potui Boot

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<sup>3</sup> The Greek word *hairesis*, 'choice,' hence 'philosophical school,' has the literal sense 'taking.' Atticus seems to have answered Cicero's joke about Vestorius' ignorance of dialectics (Letter 366.3) in kind.

<sup>4</sup> C. Sempronius Rufus.

<sup>5</sup> Literally 'never written.' This interpretation gains some sup-

about three hours after sending off a pretty lengthy letter to you, on 26 April I received yours, and a bulky one it was. In reply I need not tell you that your sparking jests about Vestorius' 'interest'<sup>3</sup> in philosophy and the fashion of \* at Puteoli did not go unappreciated. Let me turn to the more political part.

You defend the Bruti and Cassius as though I were blaming them, whereas I can't praise them sufficiently. The evils I catalogued arise from the circumstances not the men. It is clear that after the removal of the tyrant the tyranny remains. Things are done which he had no intention of doing, over Cloelius for example. I am quite sure he would not have done this, or even allowed it to be done. Dear little Rufus,<sup>4</sup> Vestorius' pet, will come next, and Victor, the man who was never put in a will (?),<sup>5</sup> and the others, every man jack of them. We could not bear to own Caesar as our master, but we bow to his notebooks. As for Bacchus' Day,<sup>6</sup> who could help coming to the Senate? Suppose that was somehow possible: when we *had* come, could we have spoken freely? Was it not essential at any cost to fend off the veterans who were standing by with arms in their hands while we were defenceless? You are my witness that I disapproved of that sitting still on the Capitol. What then? Was that the fault of the Bruti? Not at all. The culprits are certain other 'bruti' who think themselves prudent and wise, content to rejoice, some of them even willing to congratulate, none to stand fast.

port from a passage in Pseudo-Quintilian's *Declamations* (1.16): 'a son written (down as heir, *filius scriptus*) is not afraid of his father changing his mind about the will.'

<sup>6</sup> See Letter 364, note 3.

- 3 Sed praeterita omittamus; istos omni cura praesidioque tueamur, et, quem ad modum tu praecipis, contenti Idibus Martiis simus; quae quidem nostris amicis, divinis viris, aditum ad caelum dederunt, libertatem populo Romano non dederunt. recordare tua. nonne meministi clamare te omnia perisse si ille funere elatus esset? sapienter id quidem. itaque ex eo quae manarint vides.
- 4 Quae scribis Kal. Iun. Antonium de provinciis relaturum, ut et ipse Gallias habeat et utrisque dies prorogetur, licebitne decerni libere? si licuerit, libertatem esse recuperatam laetabor; si non licuerit, quid mihi attulerit ista domini mutatio praeter laetitiam quam oculis cepi iusto
- 5 interitu tyranni? rapinas scribis ad Opis fieri; quas nos quoque tum videbamus. ne nos et liberati ab egregiis viris nec liberi sumus. ita laus illorum est, culpa nostra. et hortaris me ut historias scribam, ut colligam tanta eorum scelera a quibus etiam nunc obsidemur! poterone eos ipsos non laudare qui te obsignatorem adhibuerunt? nec mehercule me raudusculum movet, sed homines benevolos, qualescumque sunt, grave est insequi contumelia.
- 6 Sed de omnibus meis consiliis, ut scribis, existimo exploratius nos ad Kal. Iun. statuere posse. ad quas adero, et omni ope atque opera enitar, adiuvante me scilicet auctoritate tua et gratia et summa aequitate causae, ut de Buthroitiis senatus consultum quale scribis fiat. quod me cogitare iubes, cogitabo equidem, etsi tibi dederam superiore epistula cogitandum. tu autem quasi iam recuperata re

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<sup>7</sup> The two Consuls, Antony and Dolabella.

<sup>8</sup> See Letter 357, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> Cicero's proposed journey to Athens.



LETTER 368 (XIV.14)

However, let bygones be bygones. Let us protect these men by every means our solicitude can devise, and be satisfied, as you recommend, with the Ides of March. That day opened the door of immortality to our heroic friends, but not the door of freedom to the Roman people. Recall your own words. Don't you remember crying out that all was lost if Caesar received public burial? And very wise you were. Well, you see the consequences.

You say that on the Kalends of June Antony will bring forward a proposal on provinces, assigning the Gauls to himself and extending tenure for them both.<sup>7</sup> Will a free vote be allowed? If so, I shall be happy to see our freedom restored. If not, what shall I have gained by this change of masters except the joy of gazing on the just death of a tyrant? You say that plundering goes on at the temple of Ops. I saw that for myself at the time. Truly we have been freed by heroes, but we are not free. Theirs then the glory, ours the blame. And you urge me to write history, and list the outrageous crimes of men who still hem us in. Shall I be able to speak other than well of the very individuals who invited you to witness their wills?<sup>8</sup> Not that I care about the cash, but it is a hard thing to revile one's well-wishers, be they what they may.

But as you say, I think we can decide about all my plans with greater assurance on the Kalends of June. I shall be there, and strive with might and main, with the help naturally of your authority and influence and the unquestionable justice of our case, to obtain a senatorial decree about the Buthrotians of the kind you describe in your letter. The matter<sup>9</sup> you tell me to consider, consider I shall, though I have already submitted it to *your* consideration in a pre-

CICERO

publica vicinis tuis Massiliensibus sua reddis. haec armis, quae quam firma habeamus ignoro, restitui fortasse possunt, auctoritate non possunt.

- 7  
(15.1) Epistula brevis quae postea a te scripta est sane mihi fuit iucunda de Bruti ad Antonium et de eiusdem ad te litteris. posse videntur esse meliora quam adhuc fuerunt. sed nobis ubi simus et quo iam nunc nos conferamus providendum est.

369 (XIV.15)

*Scr. in Puteolano Kal. Mai. an. 44 (§ 3)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 O mirificum Dolabellam meum! iam enim dico meum;  
(2) antea, crede mihi, subdubitabam. magnam ἀναθεώρησιν res habet: de saxo, in crucem, columnam tollere, locum illum sternendum locare! quid quaeris? heroica. sustulisse mihi videtur simulationem desiderii, adhuc quae serpebat in dies et inveterata verebar ne periculosa nostris tyrannoctonis esset. nunc prorsus adsentior tuis litteris speroque meliora. quamquam istos ferre non possum qui, dum  
(3) se pacem velle simulant, acta nefaria defendunt. sed non possunt omnia simul. incipit res melius ire quam putaram. nec vero discedam, nisi cum tu me id honeste putabis facere posse. Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero, idque;

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<sup>10</sup> Probably Massilian envoys lodged near Atticus' house. Massilia had been mulcted of territory as a result of her resistance to Caesar in 49. <sup>1</sup> During Antony's absence, Dolabella had suppressed Caesarian riots and destroyed a column in the Forum raised by the mob to Caesar.

LETTER 369 (XIV.15)

vious letter. You hand your neighbours the Massilians<sup>10</sup> back their own as though the free constitution had already been restored. Such restitutions may perhaps be brought about by force of arms, though I don't know how much of that we have, but not by influence.

The short letter which you wrote after the other about Brutus' letters to Antony and to yourself gave me much pleasure. It does look as though things may improve. But I must think about where I am to live, and where to go in the immediate future.

369 (XIV.15)

*Puteoli, 1 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

My wonderful Dolabella!<sup>1</sup> Now I call him mine—before, I can tell you, I had lurking doubts! This affair really gives people something to think about! Over the Rock<sup>2</sup> with them, on to the cross with them, away with the pillar, contract for paving the site! Why, it's Homeric! He seems to me to have quashed that affectation of regret for Caesar which was spreading from day to day. I was afraid it might become a danger to our tyrannicides if it took root. Now I quite agree with your letter and hope for better things. But I can't abide those people who defend misdoings under cover of wanting peace. However we can't expect everything at once. The business begins to go better than I had thought. And I shall not go away until you think I can honourably do so. Certainly I shall never fail my dear Bru-

<sup>2</sup> The Tarpeian Rock on the Capitol over which criminals were thrown.

CICERO

etiam si mihi cum illo nihil fuisset, facerem propter eius singularem incredibilemque virtutem.

- 3 Piliae nostrae villam totam quaeque in villa sunt trado,  
 (4) in Pompeianum ipse proficiscens Kal. Mai. quam velim Bruto persuadeas ut Asturae sit!

370 (XIV.16)

*Scr. in Puteolano VI Non. Mai. an. 44 (§ 1)*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 <I> Non. conscendens ab hortis Cluvianis in phaselum epicopum has dedi litteras, cum Piliae nostrae villam ad Lucrinum, vilicos, procuratores tradidissem. ipse autem eo die in Paeti nostri tyrotarichum imminebam; perpaucis diebus in Pompeiano,<sup>1</sup> post in haec Puteolana et Cumana regna trenavigare†.<sup>2</sup> o loca ceteroqui valde expetenda, interpellantium autem multitudine paene fugienda!
- 2 Sed ad rem ut veniam, o Dolabellae nostri magnam ἀπιστείαν! quanta est ἀνανθεώρησις! equidem laudare eum et hortari non desisto. recte tu omnibus epistulis significas quid de re, quid de viro sentias. mihi quidem videtur Brutus noster iam vel coronam auream per forum ferre posse. quis enim audeat violare proposita cruce aut saxo, praesertim tantis plausibus, tanta approbatione infirmorum?
- 3 Nunc, mi Attice, me fac ut expedias. cupio, cum Bruto

<sup>1</sup> pompeianum (*Wesenberg*)

<sup>2</sup> renavigaturus *Lambinus* : -gabo *Kasten*

<sup>1</sup> See Letter 79, note I.

LETTER 370 (XIV.16)

tus. Even if I had no personal connection with him I should do no less because he is such an extraordinarily, wonderfully fine fellow.

I am handing over the whole house with all its contents to our dear Pilia, and am myself just leaving for Pompeii (1 May). How I wish you would persuade Brutus to stay at Astura!

370 (XIV.16)

*Puteoli, 2 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am dispatching this letter (2 May) as I take a rowing boat from Cluvius' estate, having handed over my house on the Lucrine with the stewards and agents to our dear Pilia. I myself am due to descend on Paetus' fish au gratin<sup>1</sup> today. A day or two in Pompeii, then back over the water to these realms of Puteoli and Cumae. Most desirable spots they are, if only it were not for the droves of visitors whose interruptions make them almost best avoided.

But to come to more important concerns: what a splendid star performance from our friend Dolabella! It has indeed given folk something to think about. For my part I never stop praising and encouraging him. In all your letters you show, and rightly, what you think of the episode and its hero. It looks to me as though our Brutus can now walk through the Forum with a crown of gold upon his head. Who would dare molest him and risk the cross or the Rock, especially when the lower orders manifest such enthusiastic approval?

Now, my dear fellow, do come to my rescue. When I

## CICERO

nostro adfatim satis fecerim, excurrere in Graeciam. magni interest Ciceronis vel mea potius vel mehercule utriusque me intervenire discenti. nam epistula Leonidae quam ad me misisti quid habet, quaeso, in quo magno opere laetemur? numquam ille mihi satis laudari videbitur cum ita laudabitur, 'quo modo nunc est.' non est fidentis hoc testimonium, sed potius timentis. Herodi autem mandaram ut mihi κατὰ μίτον scriberet; a quo adhuc nulla littera est. vereor ne nihil habuerit quod mihi, cum cognossem, iucundum putaret fore.

- 4 Quod ad Xenonem scripsisti, valde mihi gratum est; nihil enim deesse Ciceroni cum ad officium tum ad existimationem meam pertinet. Flammam Flaminium audio Romae esse. ad eum scripsi me tibi mandasse per litteras ut de Montani negotio cum eo loquerere, et velim cures epistolam quam ad eum misi reddendam, et ipse, quod commodo tuo fiat, cum eo colloquare. puto, si quid in homine pudoris est, praestaturum eum, ne sero cum damno<sup>3</sup> dependatur. de Attica pergratum mihi fecisti quod curasti ut ante scirem recte esse quam non belle fuisse.

### 371 (XIV.17)

*Scr. in Pompeiano v Non. Mai. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 In Pompeianum veni v Non. Mai., cum pridie, ut antea ad te scripsi, Piliam in Cumano collocavissem. ibi mihi cenanti litterae tuae sunt redditae quas dederas Demetrio

<sup>3</sup> spero (*vel se pro*) quodammodo (*Orelli*)

LETTER 371 (XIV.17)

have given our Brutus his full due I am anxious to run over to Greece. It is very important for Marcus' sake, or rather for mine, or indeed for both our sakes, that I should look in upon his studies. As for that letter of Leonides' you sent me, pray, what is so very satisfactory about it? I shall never be content with a good report of him which is qualified 'on present showing.' That isn't the language of confidence, rather of apprehension. I had charged Herodes to write to me in full detail, but there has not been a line from him so far. I fear he has had nothing to tell which he thought it would be agreeable for me to know.

I am very much obliged to you for writing to Xeno. It is a matter both of duty and of reputation to me to see that Marcus wants for nothing. I hear that Flaminius Flamma<sup>2</sup> is in Rome. I have written to him that I have commissioned you by letter to speak to him about Montanus' affair, and I should be grateful if you would have my letter to him forwarded and speak to him yourself at your convenience. If he has any sense of decency he will surely pay up, rather than have to pay later and lose money too. It was very kind of you to see that I learned that Attica was better before I knew she had been out of sorts.

371 (XIV.17)

*Pompeii, 3 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I reached Pompeii on 3 May, having settled Pilia in my place at Cumae the previous day, as I told you earlier. While I was at dinner there your letter came to hand,

<sup>2</sup> See Letter 294, note 1.

- liberto prid. Kal.; in quibus multa sapienter, sed tamen talia, quem ad modum tute scribebas, ut omne consilium
- 2 in fortuna positum videretur. itaque his de rebus ex tempore et coram. de Buthrotio negotio, utinam quidem Antonium conveniam! multum profecto proficiam. sed non arbitrantur eum a Capua declinaturum; quo quidem me tuo ne magno rei publicae malo venerit. quod idem L. Caesari videbatur, quem pridie Neapoli adfectum graviter videram. quam ob rem ista nobis ad Kal. Iun. tractanda et perficienda sunt. sed hactenus.
- 3 Quintus filius ad patrem acerbissimas litteras misit, quae sunt ei redditae cum venissemus in Pompeianum; quarum tamen erat caput Aquilliam novercam non esse laturum. sed hoc tolerabile fortasse, illud vero, se a Caesare habuisse omnia, nihil a patre, reliqua sperare ab Antonio—o perditum hominem! sed *μολήσει*.
- 4 Ad Brutum nostrum, ad Cassium, ad Dolabellam epistulas scripsi. earum exempla tibi misi, non ut deliberarem reddendaene essent; plane enim iudico esse reddendas, quod non dubito quin tu idem existimaturus sis.
- 5 Ciceroni meo, mi Attice, suppeditabis quantum videbitur meque hoc tibi onus imponere patiere. quae adhuc fecisti mihi sunt gratissima.
- 6 Librum meum illum *ἀνέκδοτον* nondum, ut volui, perpolivi; ista vero quae tu contexi vis aliud quoddam separatim volumen exspectant. ego autem, credas mihi velim,

<sup>1</sup> In the light of Atticus' advice (emended translation).

<sup>2</sup> Greek, 'unpublished work.' It will have been the secret history mentioned in Letter 26.2.



## LETTER 371 (XIV.17)

which you had given to the freedman Demetrius on the 29th. It contains many wise observations, subject however, as you say yourself, to the consideration that every kind of plan seems to depend on chance. So we shall discuss these matters as occasion arises, and together. On the Buthrotian business, I only wish I *may* meet Antony. I don't doubt that I should get a good deal further forward. But they don't expect him to turn aside from Capua. I'm afraid much public harm may come of his going there. That was also L. Caesar's opinion, whom I saw in Naples yesterday in a very poor way. So we must manage the business on the Kalends of June and get it settled. So much for that.

Quintus junior has written his father a most bitter letter, which was delivered to him after our arrival at Pompeii. The main point was that he would not stand Aquillia as a stepmother. That perhaps one might tolerate, but when he says he owes everything to Caesar and nothing to his father, and for the future looks to Antony—what a villain! But *on s'en occupera*.

I have written letters to our friend Brutus, to Cassius, and to Dolabella. I enclose copies—not for me to deliberate<sup>1</sup> whether to send them or not, for I am decidedly of the opinion that they should be sent and do not doubt that you will agree.

Please, my dear Atticus, let my boy have as much as you think proper, and allow me to saddle you with this responsibility. For what you have done already I am more than grateful.

I have not yet quite polished that *anecdotum*<sup>2</sup> of mine to my satisfaction. The material you would like to see included in it must await another separate volume. Take my word for it that in my opinion there was less risk in attack-

## CICERO

minore periculo existimo contra illas nefarias partis vivo tyranno dici potuisse quam mortuo. ille enim nescio quo pacto ferebat me quidem mirabiliter; nunc, quacumque nos commovimus, ad Caesaris non modo acta verum etiam cogitata revocamur.

De Montano, quoniam Flamma venit, videbis. puto rem meliore loco esse debere.

### 371A (XIV.17A)

*Scr. in Pompeiano v Non. Mai. an. 44*

CICERO DOLABELLAE COS. SUO SAL.

- 1 Etsi contentus eram, mi Dolabella, tua gloria satisque ex ea magnam laetitiam voluptatemque capiebam, tamen non possum non confiteri cumulari me maximo gaudio quod vulgo hominum opinio socium me ascribat tuis laudibus. neminem conveni (convenio autem cottidie plurimos; sunt enim permulti optimi viri qui valetudinis causa in haec loca veniant; praeterea ex municipiis frequentes necessarii mei) quin omnes, cum te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt, mihi continuo maximas gratias agant. negant enim se dubitare quin tu meis praeceptis et consiliis obtemperans praestantissimum te civem et singularem consulem praebeas.
- 2 Quibus ego quamquam verissime possum respondere te quae facias tuo iudicio et tua sponte facere nec cuiusquam egere consilio, tamen neque plane adsentior, ne imminuam tuam laudem si omnis a meis consiliis profecta

LETTER 371A (XIV.17A)

ing that wicked party when the tyrant was alive than now that he is dead. For some reason he was extraordinarily patient where I was concerned. Now we can't move an inch without being pulled up by a reference to Caesar, not only his measures but his intentions.

Please see about Montanus now that Flamma has arrived. I think that affair should be in better train.

371A (XIV.17A)

*Pompeti, 3 May 44*

CICERO TO HIS FRIEND DOLABELLA, CONSUL

Content as I am, my dear Dolabella, with *your* glory and finding as I do sufficient cause in that for delight and rejoicing, yet I cannot but confess that my cup of happiness is filled to overflowing by the popular opinion which makes me a sharer in your laurels. Every single person I have met (and I meet a great many every day, for a large number of the best people come hereabouts for their health, and I have many visits in addition from friends in the neighbouring towns) has first praised you sky high in the most glowing terms and then in the same breath expressed deep gratitude to me, not doubting, so they say, that it is in conformity with my precepts and advice that you are showing yourself so admirable a citizen and so outstanding a Consul.

I can reply with perfect truth that what you do you do by your own judgement and volition, needing nobody's advice. In fact however I neither give a direct assent, in case I might detract from your credit by letting it appear to have proceeded entirely from my counsels, nor yet a very vigor-

videatur, neque valde nego; sum enim avidior etiam quam satis est gloriae. et tamen non alienum est dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamemnoni, regum regi, fuit honestum, habere aliquem in consiliis capiendis Nestorem, mihi vero gloriosum te iuvenem consulem florere laudibus quasi alumnum disciplinae meae.

- 3 L. quidem Caesar, cum ad eum aegrotum Neapolim venissem, quamquam erat oppressus totius corporis doloribus, tamen, ante quam me plane salutavit, 'o mi Cicero' inquit, 'gratulor tibi cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam quantum si ego apud sororis filium valerem, iam salvi esse possemus. Dolabellae vero tuo et gratulor et gratias ago, quem quidem post te consulem solum possumus vere consulem dicere.' deinde multa de facto ac de re gesta tua;<sup>1</sup> nihil magnificentius, nihil praeclarius actum umquam, nihil rei publicae salutaris. atque haec una vox omnium est.
- 4 A te autem peto ut me hanc quasi falsam hereditatem alienae gloriae sinas cernere meque aliqua ex parte in societatem tuarum laudum venire patiari. quamquam, mi Dolabella (haec enim iocatus sum), libentius omnis meas, si modo sunt aliquae meae, laudes ad te transfuderim quam aliquam partem exhauserim ex tuis. nam cum te semper tantum dilexerim quantum tu intellegere potuisti, tum his tuis factis sic incensus sum ut nihil umquam in amore fuerit ardentius. nihil est enim, mihi crede, virtute
- 5 formosius, nihil pulchrius, nihil amabilius. semper amavi, ut scis, M. Brutum propter eius summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem atque constantiam;

<sup>1</sup> tum (*Wesenberg*)

LETTER 371A (XIV.17A)

ous disclaimer, for I am fond, perhaps too fond, of glory. And yet it detracts nothing from your prestige to have a Nestor to consult, as did the King of Kings, Agamemnon himself, without any loss of dignity. As for me, it is a proud thing that a young Consul should win such laurels as, so to speak, a pupil from my school.

I visited L. Caesar on his sickbed at Naples. His whole body racked with pain though it was, he had scarcely greeted me before he exclaimed 'Oh my dear Cicero, congratulations! If I had as much influence with my nephew<sup>1</sup> as you have with Dolabella, we might now be out of our troubles. As for your Dolabella, I congratulate him and thank him. He is the first Consul since yourself who deserves the name.' Then he went on to speak at large of your action and achievement, which he called as magnificent, distinguished, and publicly salutary as any in history. And this is the sentiment expressed by all.

Now please allow me to accept this counterfeit inheritance, so to speak, of an acclaim which does not belong to me and admit me to some small partnership in your triumph. Not but what, my dear Dolabella—for I have written the above only in jest—I would sooner transfer to you all the credit for my own achievement, if any such there be, than divert any part of yours. You could judge how deep my regard for you has always been; but your recent exploits have kindled in me such enthusiasm that no affection was ever more ardent. Nothing, believe me, is more beautiful, fair, and lovable than manly virtue. As you are aware, I have always loved M. Brutus for his fine intellect, the charm of his manners, and his outstanding uprightness and

<sup>1</sup> Antony.

tamen Idibus Martiis tantum accessit ad amorem ut mirarer locum fuisse augendi in eo quod mihi iam pridem cumulatam etiam videbatur. quis erat qui putaret ad eum amorem quem erga te habebam posse aliquid accedere? tantum accessit ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse.

- 6      Qua re quid est quod ego te hortor ut dignitati et gloriae servias? proponam tibi claros viros, quod facere solent qui hortantur? neminem habeo clariorem quam te ipsum. te imitere oportet, tecum ipse certes. ne licet quidem tibi iam tantis rebus gestis non tui similem esse. quod cum ita sit, hortatio non est necessaria, gratulatione magis utendum est. contigit enim tibi, quod haud scio an nemini, ut summa severitas animadversionis non modo non invidiosa sed etiam popularis esset et cum bonis omnibus tum infimo cuique gratissima. hoc si tibi fortuna quadam contigisset, gratularer felicitati tuae, sed contigit magnitudine cum animi tum etiam ingeni atque consili. legi enim contionem tuam. nihil illa sapientius; ita pedetemptim et gradatim tum accessus a te ad causam facti, tum recessus, ut res ipsa maturitatem tibi animadvertendi omnium concessu daret.
- 8      Liberasti igitur et urbem periculo et civitatem metu neque solum ad tempus maximam utilitatem attulisti sed etiam ad exemplum. quo facto intellegere debes in te positam esse rem publicam tibi que non modo tuendos sed etiam ornandos esse illos viros a quibus initium libertatis

LETTER 371A (XIV.17A)

constancy. Yet the Ides of March added so much to my love for him that I was astonished to find room for increase where I had long believed all was full to overflowing. Who would have thought that the love I bore you admitted of any accession? Yet the accession is such that it seems to me as though I only now feel love where formerly I felt affectionate regard.

There is no need for me to urge you to cherish the high standing and glory you have won. Why should I, in hortatory fashion, remind you of famous names? I can quote none more famous than your own. You yourself should be your model, it is yourself you have to emulate. After such exploits you no longer have the *right* to fall below your own standard. Exhortation is therefore superfluous, felicitation rather is called for. In your case, and I dare say in yours only, the extreme of penal rigour has brought not merely no odium but actual popularity, delighting the lower orders as well as all honest folk. If this had come to you by a stroke of luck, I should congratulate you on your good fortune; but you owe it to your generous courage and, no less, to your ability and sound judgement. I have read your speech, an excellently conceived performance. How cautiously you felt your way towards the issue, now approaching, now drawing back, so that by common consent the simple facts of the case showed the time to be ripe for your punitive action!

So you have rescued Rome from danger and her inhabitants from fear. You have done a vast deal of good, not only for the present occasion but as a precedent for the future. Having done that you should understand that the Republic rests upon your shoulders, and that those men from whose initiative freedom has sprung are deserving not only of

## CICERO

profectum est. sed his de rebus coram plura, prope diem ut spero. tu, quoniam rem publicam nosque conservas, fac ut diligentissime te ipsum, mi Dolabella, custodias.

## 372 (XIV.19)

*Scr. in Pompeiano VIII Id. Mai. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Non. Mai., cum essem in Pompeiano, accepi binas a te litteras, alteras sexto die, alteras quarto. ad superiores igitur prius. quam mihi iucundum opportune tibi Barnaeum litteras reddidisse! tu vero cum Cassio, ut cetera. quam commode autem quod id ipsum quod me mones quadriduo ante ad eum scripseram exemplumque mearum litterarum ad te miseram! sed cum ex Dolabellae ἀριστεία<sup>1</sup> (sic enim tu ad me scripseras) magna †desperatione adfectus<sup>2</sup> essem, ecce tibi et Bruti et tuae litterae! ille exsilium meditari. nos autem alium portum propiorem huic aetati videbamus; in quem mallet equidem pervehi florente Bruto nostro constitutaque re publica. sed nunc quidem, ut scribis, non utrumvis. adsentiris enim nostram aetatem a castris, praesertim civilibus, abhorrere.
- 2 M. Antonius ad me tantum de Cloelio rescripsit, meam lenitatem et clementiam et sibi esse gratam et mihi voluptati magnae fore. sed Pansa furere videtur de Cloelio item-

<sup>1</sup> aritia (*F. Schmidt inconsulto, SB*)      <sup>2</sup> de re p. spei elatione *cont. SB* : e desp- reflectus *Beaujeu, ducibus TP*)

<sup>1</sup> Atticus was about to visit Cassius at Lanuvium. We do not know what he was expected to manage.



## LETTER 372 (XIV.19)

your protection but of your favour. But on these matters more when we meet; soon, I hope. Lastly, my dear Dolabella, as the Republic's guardian and mine, see that you take the utmost care for your own safety.

### 372 (XIV.19)

*Pompeii, 8 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On 7 May at Pompeii I received two letters from you. One had taken six days to travel, the other four. I start with the earlier. How pleased I am to learn that Barnaeus delivered the letter to you in the nick of time! Manage it with Cassius, in your usual way.<sup>1</sup> Most lucky too that I had done just what you advise four days earlier—written to him and sent you a copy of my letter. But just when Dolabella's 'star performance,' as you put it in your letter to me, had given me fresh heart (?), down comes Brutus' letter on the one hand and yours on the other. He says he is contemplating exile. I see a different harbour<sup>2</sup> ahead, easier to reach at my time of life, though I would rather not have been carried in before I had seen Brutus flourishing and the constitution established. But this time, as you say, we are not free to choose—you agree with me that soldiering, especially in a civil war, is not for people of our age.

Mark Antony has replied to me about Cloelius, simply expressing his gratitude for my lenience and clemency and assuring me that it will turn out a source of great pleasure to myself. But Pansa seems wild with rage about Cloelius,

<sup>2</sup> Death.

que Deiotaro et loquitur severe, si velis credere. illud tamen non belle, ut mihi quidem videtur, quod factum Dolabellae vehementer improbat.

- 3 De coronatis, cum sororis tuae filius a patre accusatus esset, rescripsit se coronam habuisse honoris Caesaris causa, posuisse luctus gratia; postremo se libenter vituperationem subire quod amaret etiam mortuum Caesarem.
- 4 Ad Dolabellam, quem ad modum tibi dicis placere, scripsi diligenter. ego etiam ad Siccam. tibi hoc oneris non impono. nolo te illum iratum habere. Servi orationem cognosco; in qua plus timoris video quam consili. sed quoniam perterriti omnes sumus, adsentior Servio. Publi<li>us tecum tricatus est. huc enim Caerellia missa ab istis est legata ad me; cui facile persuasi mihi id quod rogaret ne licere quidem, non modo non libere. Antonium si videro, accurate agam de Buthroto.
- 5 Venio ad recentiores litteras; quamquam de Servio iam rescripsi. 'me facere magnam *πρᾶξιν* Dolabellae.' mihi mehercule ita videtur, non potuisse maiorem tali re talique tempore.<sup>3</sup> sed tamen quicquid ei tribuo, tribuo ex tuis litteris. tibi vero adsentior maiorem *πρᾶξιν* eius fore si mihi quod debui<t> dissolverit. Brutus velim sit Asturae.
- 6 Quod autem laudas me quod nihil ante de profectioe constituam quam ista quo evasura sint videro, muto sententiam. neque quicquam tamen ante quam te videro. Atticam meam gratias mihi agere de matre gaudeo; cui

<sup>3</sup> maiorem . . . tempore fuisse *vel* maior . . . tempore (SB)

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 368.1.      <sup>4</sup> About repayment of Tullia's dowry.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps to take back Publilia.

likewise about Deiotarus, and talks sternly—if you care to believe him. One thing though doesn't look so well, at least not to me—he strongly disapproves of Dolabella's action.

As for the wearing of garlands,<sup>3</sup> when your nephew was taxed by his father he wrote back that he had worn one in Caesar's honour and laid it aside in mourning; he finishes up by saying that he is glad to bear censure for loving Caesar even after his death.

I have written to Dolabella<sup>4</sup> at length, in the way you advise in your letter. Also to Sicca, myself. I am not putting this on your shoulders. I don't want to give him a grudge against you. I recognize Servius' line of talk—more fright than judgement there in my opinion. However we are all badly frightened and so I agree with Servius. Publilius has been shuffling with you. They sent Caerellia to me here as their envoy. I soon made her see that what she asked<sup>5</sup> was not possible for me, let alone agreeable. If I see Antony I'll take up Buthrotum with him and spare no pains.

I come to the more recent letter—though I have already replied about Servius. You say I am making a great matter out of Dolabella's *coup*. Well, I do honestly think that in such circumstances and at such a time there could not have been a greater. However that may be, whatever credit I give him I give on the authority of your letters. But I certainly agree with you that it will be a greater *coup* if he pays me what he should have paid. I should like Brutus to stay at Astura.

You commend me for postponing decision about my trip abroad until I see how things go; but I am changing my mind. However I shall decide nothing until I see you. I am glad that my Attica thanks me in connection with her

CICERO

quidem ego totam villam cellamque tradidi eamque cogitabam v Id. videre. tu Atticae salutem dices. nos Piliam diligenter tuebimur.

373 (XIV.18)

*Scr. in Pompeiano VII Id. Mai. an. 44 (§ 1)*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Saepius me iam agitas quod rem gestam Dolabellae nimis in caelum videar efferre. ego autem, quamquam sane probo factum, tamen ut tanto opere laudarem adductus sum tuis et unis et alteris litteris. sed totum se a te abalienavit Dolabella ea de causa qua me quoque sibi inimicissimum reddidit. o hominem impudentem! Kal. Ian. debuit, adhuc non solvit, praesertim cum se maximo aere alieno Faberi manu liberarit et opem ab Ope<sup>1</sup> petierit. licet enim iocari, ne me valde conturbatum putes. atque ego ad eum VIII Id. litteras dederam bene mane, eodem autem die tuas litteras vesperi acceperam in Pompeiano sane celeriter tertio abs te die. sed, ut ad te eo ipso die scripseram, satis aculeatas ad Dolabellam litteras dedi; quae si nihil profecerint, puto fore ut me praesentem non sustineat.
- 2 Albanum te confecisse arbitror. de Patulciano nomine, quod mihi †suspendiatus est†<sup>2</sup> gratissimum est et simile tuorum omnium. sed ego Erotem ad ista expedienda fac-

<sup>1</sup> eo (*Cobet, duce Schütz*)

<sup>2</sup> suppetiatus es *Montagnanus, alia alii*

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<sup>1</sup> See Letter 368.4. Faberius had been forging documents (alleged memoranda of Caesar's) to suit his new masters.

LETTER 373 (XIV.18)

mother; I handed the entire house and stores over to her and intend to see her on the 11th. Give my love to Attica. I shall take good care of Pilia.

373 (XIV.18)

*Pompeii, 9 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Not for the first time you take me to task for appearing to extol Dolabella's exploit too enthusiastically. Well, much as I do approve his action, it was your letters, two of them, which led me to praise it so warmly. But Dolabella has totally estranged you for the same reason that he has made a bitter enemy of me. The gall of the man! He owed the money on the Kalends of January and still has not paid up, despite his having rid himself of an enormous load of debt with Faberius' secretarial assistance and sought opulence from Ops<sup>1</sup>—you won't mind my joking just to show you that I am not seriously upset. I dispatched a letter to him on the 8th early in the morning, and on the same evening received a letter from you here at Pompeii, the second day after you sent it, which is pretty good time. Anyway, as I wrote to you that same day, I sent Dolabella a sufficiently pointed letter. If that does no good, surely he won't be able to stand out against me face to face.

I suppose you have settled Albius<sup>2</sup> affair. About the Patulcius loan, it is most kind of you and most like you to have advanced what was needed (?). But I thought that in Eros I had left behind me a person fully qualified to clear

<sup>2</sup> Albius Sabinus was coheir under Brinnius' will; cf. Letter 321.4.

## CICERO

tum mihi videbar reliquisse; cuius non sine magna culpa vacillarunt. sed cum ipso videro. de Montano, ut saepe ad te scripsi, erit tibi tota res curae.

- 3 Servius proficiscens quod desperanter tecum locutus est minime miror neque ei quicquam in desperatione concedo. Brutus noster, singularis vir, si in senatum non est Kal. Iun. venturus, quid facturus sit in foro nescio. sed hoc
- 4 ipse melius. ego ex iis quae parari video non multum Idibus Martiis profectum iudico. itaque de Graecia cottidie magis et magis cogito. nec enim Bruto meo exsilium, ut scribit ipse, meditati video quid prodesse possim. Leonidae me litterae non satis delectarunt. de Herode tibi adsentior. Saufei legisse vellem. ego ex Pompeiano VI Id. Mai. cogitabam.

### 374 (XIV.20)

*Scr. in Puteolano v Id. Mai. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 E Pompeiano navi advectus sum in Luculli nostri hospitium VI Id. hora fere tertia. egressus autem e navi accepi tuas litteras quas tuus tabellarius in Cumanum attulisse dicebatur Non. Mai. datas. a Lucullo postridie eadem fere hora veni in Puteolanum. ibi accepi duas epistulas, alteram Nonis, alteram VII Id. Lanuvio datas. audi igitur ad omnis.

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<sup>1</sup> He had inherited his father's villa on the island of Nesis (Nisida) in the Bay of Naples; cf. *Academica* 2.9.

LETTER 374 (XIV.20)

these matters up, and they cannot have gone wrong without serious fault on his side. But I'll take it up with himself. About Montanus, as I have often said in my letters, I count on your looking after the whole business.

It does not in the least surprise me that Servius talked to you despairingly before he left, and I won't admit that his despair is a whit more thoroughgoing than my own. If our incomparable friend Brutus is not going to come to the Senate on the Kalends of June, I don't know what he will do in public life. But he is the best judge of that. From what I see preparing I am of the opinion that the Ides of March have not done us much good. So I am thinking about Greece more and more seriously every day, for I really do not see what use I can be to dear Brutus, who, as he writes himself, is contemplating exile. Leonides' letter gave me no great pleasure. I agree about Herodes. I should like to have read Saufeius' letter. I intend to leave Pompeii on 10 May.

374 (XIV.20)

*Puteoli, 11 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I arrived by boat from Pompeii to stay with our friend Lucullus on the 10th about nine o'clock in the morning. On landing I received the letter which your courier was said to have brought to Cumae, dispatched on the Nones of May. From Lucullus<sup>1</sup> I arrived at Puteoli the following day about the same time. There I received two letters dispatched from Lanuvium, one on the Nones, the other on the 9th. Here then is an answer to all three.

2 Primum, quae de re mea gesta et in solutione et in Albiano negotio, grata. de tuo autem Buthro*t*o, cum in Pompeiano essem, Misenum venit Antonius. inde <in Samnium><sup>1</sup> ante discessit quam illum venisse audissem; a quo [in Samnium] vide quid speres. Romae igitur de Buthro*t*o. L. Antoni horribilis contio, Dolabellae praeclara. iam vel sibi habeat nummos, modo numeret Idibus. Tertullae nollem abortum. tam enim Cassii sunt iam quam Bruti serendi. de regina velim atque etiam de Caesare illo. persolvi primae epistulae, venio ad secundam.

3 De Quintis, Buthro*t*o, cum venero, ut scribis. quod Ciceroni suppeditas, gratum. quod errare me putas qui rem publicam putem pendere in Bruto, sic se res habet: aut nulla erit aut ab isto istisve servabitur. quod me hortaris ut scriptam contionem mittam, accipe a me, mi Attice, καθολικὸν θεώρημα earum rerum in quibus satis exercitati sumus. nemo umquam neque poeta neque orator fuit qui quemquam meliorem quam se arbitraretur. hoc etiam malis contingit; quid tu Bruto putas et ingenioso et erudito? de quo etiam experti sumus nuper in edicto. scripseram rogatu tuo. meum mihi placebat, illi suum. quin etiam cum ipsius precibus paene adductus scripsissem ad eum de optimo genere dicendi, non modo mihi sed etiam tibi scripsit sibi illud quod mihi placeret non probari. qua re sine, quaeso, sibi quemque scribere. 'suam quoique sponsam, mihi meam; suum quoique amorem, mihi

<sup>1</sup> *huc posuit, post audissem Wesenberg*

<sup>2</sup> Cleopatra's son, supposedly by Caesar, called Caesarion ('little Caesar'). <sup>3</sup> The *Orator*.



## LETTER 374 (XIV.20)

First, thank you for all you have done about my financial affairs both in the matter of the payment and in the Albius business. About *your* Buthrotian business, Antony visited Misenum while I was at Pompeii, but he left for Samnium before I had heard of his arrival; from which you may see how much to hope for. So we shall deal with Buthrotum in Rome. L. Antonius' speech is appalling, Dolabella's is splendid. Now let him keep the money, as long as he pays up on the Ides. I am sorry to hear of Tertulla's miscarriage. We need to keep up our stock of Cassii now as much as of Bruti. I hope it's true about the Queen, and about that Caesar<sup>2</sup> of hers too. I have dealt faithfully with your first letter, now I come to the second.

As to the Quinti and Buthrotum, we will talk when I get back, as you say. Thank you for keeping Marcus in funds. You think I am wrong in my view that the free constitution depends on Brutus. Well, this is the way of it: either there will be no constitution at all or it will be preserved by him, or them. You urge me to write a speech and send it to him. My dear fellow, let me give you a general rule on matters in which I have a fair amount of experience. There was never a poet or orator yet who thought anyone better than himself. This applies even to the bad ones. How much more to one so gifted and erudite as Brutus! I actually made the experiment the other day in connection with the edict. I composed a draft at your request. I liked mine, he preferred his own. Indeed, when, at his own entreaty I might almost say, I addressed to him an essay<sup>3</sup> on the best style of oratory, he wrote not only to me but to you too that he could not agree with my preference. So pray let every man write as best suits himself. 'Every man his own bride, mine for me. Every man his own love, mine for me.' Not

meum.' non scite; hoc enim Atilius, poeta durissimus. atque utinam liceat isti contionari! cui si esse in urbe tuto licebit, vicimus. duces enim novi belli civilis aut nemo sequetur aut ii sequentur qui facile vincantur.

- 4 Venio ad tertiam. gratas fuisse meas litteras Bruto et Cassio gaudeo, itaque iis rescripsi. quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam et ille optime loquitur, sed vivit habitatque cum Balbo, qui item bene loquitur. quid credas videris. Dolabellam valde placere tibi video; mihi quidem egregie. cum Pansa vixi in Pompeiano. is plane mihi probabat se <be>ne sentire et cupere pacem. causam armorum quaeri plane video. edictum Bruti et Cassi probo. †quaeris†<sup>2</sup> ut suscipiam cogitationem quidnam istis agendum putem, consilia temporum sunt, quae in horas commutari vides. Dolabellae et prima illa actio et haec contra Antonium contio mihi profecisse permultum videtur. prorsus <melius><sup>3</sup> ibat res; nunc autem videmur habituri duces, quod unum municipia bonique desiderant.

- 5 Epicuri mentionem facis et audes dicere μή πολιτεύεσθαι? non te Bruti nostri vulticulus ab ista oratione deterreret? Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antoni est dextella. per eum igitur quod volumus facile auferemus. exspecto, si, ut putas, L. Antonius produxit Octavium, qualis contio fuerit.

Haec scripsi; statim enim Cassi tabellarius. eram con-

<sup>2</sup> quod hortaris *Lambtinus*

<sup>3</sup> *add. SB*

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<sup>4</sup> Referring to the Buthrotian matter, ironically of course.

a very elegant distich. Atilius wrote it, a most clumsy versifier. But I only wish Brutus may have the chance of making a speech. If he can be safe in Rome, we have won the battle. For a leader in a new civil war will have no followers or only such as will easily be put down.

I now come to your third. I am glad that Brutus and Cassius were pleased with my letter, and I have written back to tell them so. You say they want me to make a better republican out of Hirtius. Well, I am doing my best and he speaks very fair; but he and Balbus (who also speaks fair) live in one another's pockets. You will judge for yourself what to believe. I see that you highly approve of Dolabella; so do I, very highly indeed. I saw a great deal of Pansa at Pompeii. He quite satisfied me of his loyal sentiments and anxiety for peace. It is quite evident that they are looking for an excuse for a fight. I like Brutus and Cassius' edict. You ask me to put my mind to the problem, what do I think our friends ought to do; I answer that plans depend on circumstances, and these as you see are changing every hour. I think Dolabella has done a lot of good, both by his original action and by this speech against Antony. Things are really going better; and now we look like having a leader, which is the one thing the country towns and the honest men lack.

You dare to mention Epicurus and tell me to keep out of politics? Isn't Brutus' solemn old countenance enough to frighten you off that kind of talk? Quintus junior, you say, is Antony's right-hand boy. Well then, we shall easily get whatever we want through him.<sup>4</sup> I am waiting to hear what sort of speech Octavius has made if, as you expected, L. Antonius has brought him before a public meeting.

That's all, for Cassius' courier is just leaving. I am going

CICERO

tinuo Piliam salutaturus, deinde ad epulas Vestori navicula.  
Atticae plurimam salutem.

375 (XIV.21)

*Scr. in Puteolano v Id. Mai. an. 44 (§ 1)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Cum paulo ante dedissem ad te Cassi tabellario litteras, v Id. venit noster tabellarius et quidem, portenti simile, sine tuis litteris. sed cito conieci Lanuvi te fuisse. Eros autem festinavit ut ad me litterae Dolabellae perferrentur, non de re mea (nondum enim meas acceperat) sed rescripsit ad eas quarum exemplum tibi miseram sane luculente.
- 2 A<d> me autem, cum Cassi tabellarium dimissem, statim Balbus. o dei boni, quam facile perspiceres timere otium! et nosti virum, quam tectus. sed tamen Antoni consilia narrabat; illum circumire veteranos ut acta Caesaris sancirent idque se facturos esse iurarent, ut arma<sup>1</sup> omnes haberent eaque duumviri omnibus mensibus inspicerent. questus est etiam de sua invidia eaque omnis eius oratio fuit ut amare videretur Antonium. quid quaeris? nihil sinceri.
- 3 Mihi autem non est dubium quin res spectet ad castra. acta enim illa res est animo virili, consilio puerili. quis enim hoc non vidit, <regem sublatum>,<sup>2</sup> regni heredem relictum? quid autem absurdius? 'hoc metuere, alterum in metu non ponere!' quin etiam hoc ipso tempore multa

<sup>1</sup> utram (*anon. ap. Victorium*)

<sup>2</sup> *add. SB*

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<sup>1</sup> From an unknown Latin play; cf. Letter 293.3.

LETTER 375 (XIV.21)

straight away to pay my respects to Pilia, then by boat to Vestorius' feast. My best love to Attica.

375 (XIV.21)

*Puteoli, 11 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the 11th, a short while after I had dispatched a letter to you by Cassius' courier, my courier arrived bringing (astonishing phenomenon!) no letter from you. But I soon guessed that you were at Lanuvium. Eros was in a hurry to get a letter of Dolabella's through to me, not about my affair (he had not had mine when he wrote), but in reply to the one of which I sent you a copy—not by any means a bad reply either.

Just after I had sent Cassius' courier on his way, Balbus called. Heavens above, how easily one could see his fear of peace!—and you know how cagey he is. Still he told me of Antony's plans—that he is going the rounds of the veterans to get them to stand by Caesar's measures and take an oath to that effect, instructing them all to keep their arms ready and have them inspected monthly by the colonial magistrates. Balbus also complained about his own unpopularity, and the whole tenor of his talk argued friendship for Antony. In short I don't trust him a yard.

There is no doubt in my mind that we are moving towards war. That affair was handled with the courage of men and the policy of children. Anyone could see that the king was removed and an heir to the throne was left behind. The folly of it! 'Strange *this* to fear and *that* to set at naught!'<sup>1</sup> Why even now there is a good deal that might be called

ὑποσόλοικα. Ponti Neapolitanum a matre tyrannoctoni possideri! legendus mihi saepius est 'Cato maior' ad te missus. amariorem enim me senectus facit. stomachor omnia. sed mihi quidem βεβίωται; viderint iuvenes. tu mea curabis, ut curas.

- 4 Haec scripsi seu dictavi apposita secunda mensa apud Vestorium. postridie apud Hirtium cogitabam et quidem Πεντέλοιπον. sic hominem traducere ad optimatis paro. λήρος πολύς! nemo est istorum qui otium non timeat. quare talaria videamus; quidvis enim potius quam castra.

Atticae salutem plurimam velim dicas. exspecto Octavi contionem et si quid aliud, maxime autem ecquid Dola-bella tinniat an in meo nomine tabulas novas fecerit.

## 376 (XIV.22)

Scr. in Puteolano prid. Id. Mai. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Certior a Pilia factus mitti ad te Idibus tabellarios statim hoc nescio quid exaravi. primum igitur scire te volui me hinc Arpinum XVI Kal. Iun.; eo igitur mittes si quid erit posthac, quamquam ipse iam iamque adero. cupio enim ante quam Romam venio odorari diligentius quid futurum sit. quamquam vereor ne nihil a<sup>1</sup> coniectura aberrem; minime enim obscurum est quid isti moliantur. meus vero discipulus qui hodie apud me cenat valde amat illum quem

<sup>1</sup> nihil (*Wesenberg*: a s)

<sup>2</sup> Cicero's essay *On Old Age*.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of Hirtius' Greek nickname is doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> Hirtius, to whom Cicero was giving lessons in declamation.

LETTER 376 (XIV.22)

incongruous. Think of Pontius' house near Naples occupied by the Tyrannicide's mother! I ought to reread the 'Cato the Elder'<sup>2</sup> which I dedicated to you. Old age is making me more cantankerous, everything irritates me. But I have had my time. Let the young men worry. Please go on looking after my private affairs.

I wrote or rather dictated this over dessert at Vestorius'. Tomorrow I propose to dine with Hirtius, Hirtius the Gastronome (?).<sup>3</sup> That is how I am planning to bring him over to the optimates. *Enfantillage!* That lot are scared of peace, every man jack of them. So I had best find wings for my boots, for anything is better than soldiering.

Please give Attica my best love. I am waiting to hear about Octavian's speech and any other news, especially whether Dolabella is jingling his pockets—or has he declared a Cancellation in my particular case?

376 (XIV.22)

*Puteoli, 14 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Learning from Pilia that couriers are being sent to you on the Ides I at once scribbled this line. First then I wanted you to know that I am going to Arpinum on 17 May. So please from now on send anything you have there, though I shall be with you in person presently. I want to investigate the shape of things to come a bit more closely before I return to Rome. I am afraid though that my guess is all too accurate. The designs of these people are anything but obscure. As for my pupil<sup>1</sup> who is dining with me this evening, he is greatly attached to the person in whom our

Brutus noster sauciavit. et si quaeris (perspexi enim plane), timent otium; ὑπόθεσιν autem hanc habent eamque prae se ferunt, clarissimum <virum> interfectum, totam rem publicam illius interitu perturbatam, irrita fore quae ille egisset simul ac desiste<re>mus timere, clementiam illi malo fuisse, qua si usus non esset, nihil ei tale accidere potuisse.

- 2 Mihi autem venit in mentem, si Pompeius cum exercitu firmo veniat, quod est εὐλογον, certe fore bellum. haec me species cogitatioque perturbat. nec enim<sup>2</sup> quod <t>ibi tum licuit nobis nunc licebit; nam aperte laetati sumus. deinde habent in ore nos ingratos. nullo modo licebit quod tum et tibi licuit et multis. φαινοπροσωπητέον ergo et ἰτέον in castra<sup>2</sup> miliens mori melius, huic praesertim aetati. itaque me Idus Martiae non tam consolantur quam antea. magnum enim mendum continent, etsi illi iuvenes ἄλλοις ἐν ἐσθλοῖς τόνδ' ἀπωθούνται ψόγον. sed si tu melius quipiam speras, quod et plura audis et interes consiliis, scribas ad me velim simulque cogites quid agendum nobis sit super legatione votiv<a>. equidem in his locis moneor a multis ne in senatu Kalendis. dicuntur enim occulte milites ad eam diem comparati et quidem in istos, qui mihi videntur ubivis tutius quam in senatu fore.

<sup>2</sup> ne gemam (SB : neque (nec *Buecheler*) enim iam *Victorius*)



## LETTER 376 (XIV.22)

friend Brutus put his knife. And if you want to know (it's plain as a pikestaff to me), they are scared of peace. Their theme and slogan is that a great man has been killed, that the whole state has been plunged into chaos by his death, that all he did will be null and void the moment we cease to be afraid, that clemency was his undoing, but for which nothing of the sort could have happened to him.

It occurs to me that if Pompey<sup>2</sup> comes this way with a strong army, as the evidence suggests that he will, there will be war for a certainty. This picture as I think of it disturbs me deeply. What was possible for you *then*<sup>3</sup> will not be possible for me now, for I have made no secret of my rejoicing. Also they talk much of my ingratitude. Definitely, what was possible then for you and many others won't be possible. Am I then to come into the open and go to the wars? Better a thousand deaths, especially at my age. So the Ides of March don't give me as much consolation as they did. They have one glaring defect, though to be sure the young men 'wipe off by other doughty deeds this slur.'<sup>4</sup> But if you have any better hopes, since you hear more than I and are party to their plans, please write to me, and also consider what I ought to do about a Votive Commission. I receive many warnings hereabouts not to go to the Senate on the Kalends. Soldiers are said to have been collected secretly for the occasion, and collected against your friends. It looks to me as if they will be safer anywhere than in the Senate.

<sup>2</sup> Sextus.

<sup>3</sup> In 'Caesar's War.'

<sup>4</sup> Probably from a lost Greek play. The 'slur,' or defect, lay in letting Antony survive.

## CICERO

377 (XV.1)

*Scr. in Puteolano XVI Kal. Iun. an. 44*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 O factum male de Alexione! incredibile est quanta me molestia adfecerit, nec mehercule ex ea parte maxime quod plerique mecum 'ad quem igitur te medicum conferes?' quid mihi iam medico? aut si opus est, tanta inopia est? amorem erga me, humanitatem suavitatemque desidero. etiam illud: quid est quod non pertimescendum sit, cum hominem temperantem, summum medicum, tantus improvise morbus oppresserit? sed ad haec omnia una consolatio est quod ea condicione nati sumus ut nihil quod homini accidere possit recusare debeamus.
- 2 De Antonio, iam antea tibi scripsi non esse eum a me conventum. venit enim Misenum cum ego essem in Pompeiano; inde ante profectus est quam ego eum venisse cognovi. sed casu, cum legerem tuas litteras, Hirtius erat apud me in Puteolano. ei legi et egi. primum, quod <ad te><sup>1</sup> attinet, nihil mihi concedebat, deinde ad summam arbitrum me statuebat non modo huius rei sed totius consulatus sui. cum Antonio autem sic agemus ut perspiciat, si in eo negotio nobis satis fecerit, totum me futurum suum. Dolabellam spero domi esse.
- 3 Redeamus ad nostros, de quibus tu bonam spem te significas habere propter edictorum humanitatem. ego au-

<sup>1</sup> *add. SB (noluit Boot)*<sup>1</sup> Of the Buthrotian land.<sup>2</sup> I.e. 'can be counted on'; see Commentary in *CLA* and *add*

## LETTER 377 (XV.1)

377 (XV.1)

*Puteoli, 17 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Poor Alexio! You can't think how sad it has made me, and not I assure you chiefly on the ground that many people take when they ask me where I am going to find another doctor. What do I want with a doctor now? Or if I do need one, is there so great a scarcity? It is his affection for me, his kindness and charm that I miss. There is this too: where can we feel safe when a man of temperate habit and a consummate physician is suddenly struck down by a terrible disease? But for all such afflictions there is one and only one consolation. The condition to which we are born is such that we must not rebel against any part of the human lot.

As for Antony, I did tell you in a previous letter that I failed to meet him. He came to Misenum when I was at Pompeii and left before I heard of his arrival. But as it happened Hirtius was with me at my house near Puteoli when I was reading your letter. I read it to him and took the matter<sup>1</sup> up. First, so far as you are concerned, he professed himself no less zealous than I. Second, in a word, he appointed me arbiter not only of this affair but of his entire Consulship. With Antony I shall go to work so as to convey to him that if he obliges us in this business, I shall be entirely at his disposal. I hope Dolabella is safe.<sup>2</sup>

To return to our friends, for whom you say you have good hope because of the gentle tone of the edicts. When

Seneca *Controversiae* 2.3.21 *hoc avemus, illud domi est* ('is in the bag' Winterbottom).

## CICERO

tem perspexi, cum a me xvii Kal. de Puteolano Neapolim Pansae conveniendi causa proficisceretur Hirtius, omnem eius sensum. seduxi enim et ad pacem sum cohortatus. non poterat scilicet negare se velle pacem, sed non minus se nostrorum arma timere quam Antoni, et tamen utrosque non sine causa praesidium habere, se autem utraque arma metuere. quid quaeris? οὐδὲν ὑγιές.

- 4 De Quinto filio tibi adsentior. patri quidem certe gratissimae et bellae tuae litterae fuerunt. Caerelliae vero facile satis feci; nec valde laborare mihi visa est, et si illa, ego certe non laborarem. istam vero quam tibi molestam scribis esse auditam a te esse omnino demiror. nam quod eam collaudavi apud amicos, audientibus tribus filiis eius et filia tua, τί ἐκ τούτου;<sup>2</sup> [quid est hoc]<sup>3</sup> quid est autem cur ego personatus ambulem? parumne foeda persona est ipsius senectutis?
- 5 Quod Brutus rogat ut ante Kalendas, ad me quoque scripsit et fortasse faciam. sed plane quid velit nescio. quid enim illi adferre consili possim, cum ipse egeam consilio et cum ille suae immortalitati melius quam nostro otio consuluerit? de regina rumor exstinguitur.<sup>4</sup> de Flamma, obsecro te, si quid potes.

<sup>2</sup> TOECTOY OY (*Kayser*)

<sup>3</sup> *del. Lambinus*

<sup>4</sup> *extinguetur (Wesenberg)*

## LETTER 377 (XV.1)

Hirtius was leaving my house near Puteoli for Naples on 16 May to meet Pansa I saw his whole mind, having drawn him aside and urged him in favour of peace. Of course he could not say that he did not want peace, but he did say that he was as much afraid of violence on our friends' side as on Antony's; not, he added, but that both sides had good reason for keeping a force to protect them, but he for his part was afraid of violence from both quarters. In fact, I don't trust him a yard.

I agree with you about Quintus junior. Your letter certainly gave much pleasure to his father and was admirably done. I satisfied Caerellia quite easily.<sup>3</sup> She did not strike me as over-much concerned, and if *she* had been, I certainly should not. As for the lady you say is pestering you, I am surprised that you should have so much as given her a hearing. If I praised her in front of friends, with her three sons and your daughter listening, what of it? And why should I go about in a mask?<sup>4</sup> Isn't old age itself a sufficiently ugly one?

You say Brutus asks me to meet him before the Kalends. He wrote to me too, and perhaps I shall. But really I don't know what he wants. What advice can I bring him when I need advice myself and when he has done more for his own eternal fame than for peace in our time? The rumour about the Queen is dying out. About Flamma, do anything you can, I beg.

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 372, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> Atticus seems to have facetiously suggested that Cicero should wear a mask in public so as not to attract feminine attention.

## CICERO

378 (XV.1a)

Scr. in Sinuessano XV Kal. Iun. an. 44

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL&gt;

- 1 Heri dederam ad te litteras exiens e Puteolano devertet-ramque in Cumanum. ibi bene valentem videram Piliam, quin etiam paulo <post><sup>1</sup> Cumis eam vidi; venerat enim in funus, cui funeri ego quoque operam dedi. Cn. Lucceius,<sup>2</sup> familiaris noster, matrem efferebat. mansi igitur eo die in Sinuessano atque inde mane postridie Arpinum proficiscens hanc epistulam exaravi.
- 2 Erat autem nihil novi quod aut scriberem aut ex te quaererem, nisi forte hoc ad rem putas pertinere: Brutus noster misit ad me orationem suam habitam in contione Capitolina petivitque a me ut eam ne ambitiose corrigerem ante quam ederet. est autem oratio scripta elegantissime sententiis, verbis, ut nihil possit ultra. ego tamen si illam causam habuissem, scripsissem ardentius. ὑπόθεσις vides quae sit <et><sup>3</sup> persona dicentis. itaque eam corrigere non potui. quo enim in genere Brutus noster esse vult et quod iudicium habet de optimo genere dicendi, id ita consecutus est in ea oratione ut elegantius esse nihil possit; sed ego secutus<sup>4</sup> aliud sum, sive hoc recte sive non recte. tu tamen velim orationem legas, nisi forte iam legisti, certiolemque me facias quid iudices ipse. quamquam vereor ne cognomine tuo lapsus ὑπεραττικὸς sis in iudicando. sed si recordabere Δημοσθένους fulmina, tum intelleges posse

<sup>1</sup> add. Lambtrius      <sup>2</sup> Iucul(l)us (SB)<sup>3</sup> add. Orelli      <sup>4</sup> solus (Pius)<sup>1</sup> On the day after Caesar's murder.

## LETTER 378 (XV.1a)

378 (XV.1a)

*Sinuessa, 18 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I dispatched a letter to you yesterday as I was leaving Puteoli and then turned in at my place near Cumae. There I found Pilia in good health. Indeed I saw her soon afterwards at Cumae, where she had gone to attend a funeral at which I too put in an appearance. Our good friend Cn. Luceius was burying his mother. So I stayed the night at my place near Sinuessa and am scribbling this letter early the following morning before I leave for Arpinum.

I have no news either to tell or to enquire of you, unless perhaps you think the following of interest. Brutus has sent me his speech delivered to the meeting on the Capitol,<sup>1</sup> asking me to correct it candidly before publication. The speech is a most elegant composition, the sentiments and the wording could not be bettered. But if I had been handling the material I should have put more fire into it, considering the nature of the theme and the role of the speaker. Accordingly I felt unable to offer improvements. Given his chosen style<sup>2</sup> and his judgement of what is the best style in oratory, our good Brutus has in this speech attained it with perfect elegance. But I have aimed at something different, whether rightly or wrongly. However I should like you to read the speech, if you have not already done so, and let me know your own opinion. I fear though that you may be led astray by your surname and judge too Attically. But you have only to call to mind Demosthenes' thunderbolts to realize that a speaker can be both impec-

<sup>2</sup> See Glossary: Attic(ism).

CICERO

et Ἀττικώτατα <et> gravissime dici. sed haec coram. nunc nec sine epistula nec cum inani epistula volui ad te Metrodorum venire.

379 (XV.2)

*Scr. in Vescino XV Kal. Iun. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 XV Kal. e Sinuessano proficiscens cum dedissem ad te litteras devertissemque †acutius†<sup>1</sup> in Vescino, accepi a tabulario tuas litteras; in quibus nimis multa de Buthroto. non enim tibi ea res maiori curae aut est aut erit quam mihi; sic enim decet te mea curare, tua me. quam ob rem id quidem sic susceptum est mihi ut nihil sim habiturus anti-qui<u>s.
- 2 L. Antonium contionatum esse cognovi tuis litteris et aliis sordide, sed id quale fuerit nescio; nihil enim scripti. de Menedemo probe. Quintus certe ea dictitat quae scribis. consilium meum a te probari quod ea non scribam quae tu a me postularis facile patior, multoque magis id prob<ab>is si orationem eam de qua hodie ad te scripsi legeris. quae de legionibus scribis, ea vera sunt. sed non satis hoc mihi videris tibi persuasisse qui de Buthrotiis nostris per senatum speres confici posse †quod puto tan-

<sup>1</sup> ad (*anne aput?*) Acilium *exempli causa* R. Klotz

<sup>1</sup> A troublemaker who was supposed (wrongly; see Letter 381.4) to have been punished.

<sup>2</sup> See Letter 374.3.



LETTER 379 (XV.2)

cably Attic and profoundly impressive. But we shall talk of this together. Here and now I did not want Metrodorus to go to you without a letter or with an empty one.

379 (XV.2)

*District of Vescia, 18 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Having sent a letter off to you as I left my place near Sinuessa on the 18th, I turned in for the night at \*'s in the Vescia district, where I received yours from the courier. I found too much in it about Buthrotum. That matter is not and will not be of any greater concern to you than to me. That is how we both should feel about one another's affairs. So I have taken this business upon myself and shall give it a place second to none.

From your letter and others I learn that L. Antonius has made a vile speech, but I don't know the details since there is nothing in writing. Good news about Menedemus.<sup>1</sup> Quintus is certainly talking in the way you say. I am glad you approve of my intention not to write what you asked of me,<sup>2</sup> and your approval will be much fortified if you read the speech about which I wrote to you today. What you say about the legions<sup>3</sup> is true. But you don't seem altogether convinced of this yourself when you express the hope that the affair of our Buthrotians can be settled through the Senate. I hardly think so—this much is clear

<sup>3</sup> Probably Antony was reported to be bringing Caesar's legions in Macedonia over to Italy. Actually they did not arrive until several months later.

- tum enim video non videmur esse victori†<sup>2</sup> sed, ut iam<sup>3</sup> nos  
 3 hoc fallat, de Buthroto te non fallat. De Octavi contione  
 idem sentio quod tu, ludorumque eius apparatus et Matus  
 ac Postumus mihi procuratores non placent; Saserna col-  
 lega dignus. sed isti omnes, quem ad modum sentis, non  
 minus otium timent quam nos arma. Balbum levare invidia  
 per nos velim, sed ne ipse quidem id fieri posse confidit.  
 itaque alia cogitat.
- 4 Quod prima disputatio Tusculana te confirmat sane  
 gaudeo; neque enim ullum est perfugium aut melius aut  
 paratius. Flamma quod bene loquitur non moleste fero,  
 Tyndaritanorum causa, de qua †causa†<sup>4</sup> laborat, quae sit  
 ignoro. †hos<sup>5</sup> tamen† Πεντέλοισιν movere ista videntur,  
 in primis erogatio pecuniae. de Alexione doleo, sed quo-  
 niam inciderat in tam gravem morbum, bene actum cum  
 illo arbitror. quos tamen secundos heredes scire velim<sup>6</sup> et  
 diem testamenti.

<sup>2</sup> haec eiusmodi fuisse suspicatus est SB : quod vix puto. t- e-  
 v-, non videmur otiose esse victuri (-turi edd. vett.)

<sup>3</sup> sed etiam (R. Klotz)

<sup>4</sup> Pansa s : Casca Boot

<sup>5</sup> vos (sc. videbitis) cont. SB

<sup>6</sup> vellem (Orelli)

## LETTER 379 (XV.2)

to me, that we are not likely to live in peace (?). But even supposing I am deceived in that,<sup>4</sup> *you* shall not be disappointed over Buthrotum. About Octavian's speech I feel as you do, and I don't like the look of the preparations for his show<sup>5</sup> or the choice of Matius and Postumus as his agents. Saserna is a worthy colleague. But all these gentry, as you realize, fear peace no less than we fear war. I should be happy if Balbus could be relieved of unpopularity by me, but he himself has no faith in such a possibility. Therefore he has other ideas in mind.

It gives me much pleasure that you feel strengthened by the first "Tusculan Disputation,"<sup>6</sup> and indeed there is no better or easier refuge. Flamma's fair words do no harm. What the case of the people of Tyndaris may be which is worrying \* I don't know. You people (?) however will see to it (?). These things seem to disturb the Gastronome,<sup>7</sup> especially the disbursement of money. I am grieved about Alexio, but since he had fallen victim to such a terrible disease I think we cannot wish it otherwise. I should however like to know the names of the reversionary heirs and the date of the will.

<sup>4</sup> Or 'even if we are disappointed in that' [the hope of carrying our point through the Senate].

<sup>5</sup> Games given by Octavian from 20-30 July in Caesar's honour.

<sup>6</sup> Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* were probably composed in the late summer and autumn of 45. The first concerns fear of death.

<sup>7</sup> See Letter 375, note 3.

## CICERO

380 (XV.3)

*Scr. in Arpinati XI Kal. Iun. an. 44 (§ 1)*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 XI Kal. accepi <in Arpi>nati<sup>1</sup> duas epistulas tuas, quibus duabus<sup>2</sup> meis respondi; una erat XV Kal., altera XII data. ad superiorem igitur prius. accurre in Tusculanum, ut scribis; quo me VI Kal. venturum arbitrabar. quod scribis parendum victoribus, non mihi quidem, cui sunt multa potiora. nam illa quae recordaris Lentulo et Marcello consulibus acta a me in aede Apollinis, nec causa eadem est nec simile tempus, praesertim cum Marcellum scribas aliosque discedere. erit igitur nobis coram odorandum et constituendum tutone Romae esse possimus. novi conventus habitatores sane movent; in magnis enim versamur angustiis. etsi<sup>3</sup> ista parvi pendimus, qui vel<sup>4</sup> maiora contemnimus. Calvae testamentum cognovi, hominis turpis ac sordidi. tabula Demonici quod tibi curae est gratum. de Ma<n><i>o<sup>5</sup> scripsi iam pridem ad Dolabellam accuratissime, modo redditae litterae sint. eius causa et cupio et debeo.
- 2 Venio ad propiorem. cognovi de Alexione quae desiderabam. Hirtius est tuus. Antonio quam iam<sup>6</sup> est volo peius

<sup>1</sup> *add. Lambinus*<sup>2</sup> quibus duabus *om. al.* : quibus quattuor *cont. SB*<sup>3</sup> sed si (*Peerlkamp*)<sup>4</sup> quin et (*SB* : quin vel *Mueller*)<sup>5</sup> *add. Shuckburgh*<sup>6</sup> quoniam (*Orelli*)

## LETTER 380 (XV.3)

380 (XV.3)

*Arpinum, 22 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the 22nd I received at Arpinum your two letters replying to two of mine, one of the 18th, the other of the 21st. So I take the earlier first. Yes, do run over to join me at Tusculum; I expect to get there on the 27th. You say we must submit to the victors. Not I; for me there are many preferable alternatives. You remind me of my speech in the temple of Apollo when Lentulus and Marcellus were Consuls.<sup>1</sup> But the case is different, nor is the general situation similar, especially as you write that Marcellus and others are leaving. So we shall have to investigate together and decide whether we can safely stay in Rome. I am indeed disturbed about the settlers in the new district, for things are very tight just now<sup>2</sup>—though I care little enough for such things, disregarding as I do others of greater importance. I note Calva's will—a mean, contemptible creature. Thank you for attending to Demonicus' sale. I wrote some time ago to Dolabella about Manlius<sup>3</sup> very fully, provided that my letter was duly delivered. I have both the desire and the duty to help him.

Coming to the more recent letter, I note the information about Alexio for which I asked. You can count on Hirtius. I hope to see Antony in worse trouble than he is

<sup>1</sup> It thus appears that Cicero made a plea for moderation at a sitting of the Senate in January 49.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero seems to have been afraid that Antony's land distributions at Casilinum, which was not far from Cumae, might somehow affect him financially.

<sup>3</sup> Torquatus.

CICERO

esse. de Quinto filio, ut scribis, ἀλλῆς. de patre coram age-  
mus. Brutum omni re qua possum cupio iuvare; cuius de  
oratiuncula idem te quod me sentire video. sed parum  
intellego quid me velis scribere quasi a Bruto habita ora-  
tione, cum ille ediderit. qui tandem convenit? an sic ut in  
tyrannum iure optimo caesum? multa dicentur, multa scri-  
bentur a nobis, sed alio modo et tempore. de sella Caesaris  
bene tribuni; praeclaros etiam XIII ordines! Brutum apud  
me fuisse gaudeo, modo et libenter fuerit et sat diu.

381 (XV.4)

*Scr. in Arpinati IX Kal. Iun. an. 44 (§ 1)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 VI<III> Kal. H. VIII<sup>1</sup> fere a Q. Fufio venit tabellarius. nescio  
quid ab eo litterularum, uti me sibi restituerem; sane in-  
sulse, ut solet, nisi forte quem non ames omnia videntur  
insulse fie<ri>.<sup>2</sup> rescripsi ita ut te probaturum existimo.  
idem mihi duas a te epistulas reddidit, unam XI, alteram X.  
ad recentiore[m] prius et levio[re]m. <legionem><sup>3</sup> laudo; si  
vero etiam Carfulenus, ἀνω ποταμῶν. Antoni consilia nar-  
ras turbulenta. atque utinam potius per populum agat  
quam per senatum! quod quidem ita credo. sed mihi totum

<sup>1</sup> vide CLA VI, p.322

<sup>2</sup> add. Wesenberg

<sup>3</sup> add. SB

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<sup>4</sup> The Senate had voted that a gilded chair should be placed  
for Caesar in the theatre. The Aedile Critonius refused to let  
Octavian sit in it at a show given in April. The actions of the  
Tribunes and the 'fourteen rows' (where the Knights sat) are not  
recorded. <sup>5</sup> At Astura.

## LETTER 381 (XV.4)

at present. On Quintus junior, as you say, *assez!* We shall talk about his father when we meet. I want to help Brutus in every way I can. I see that you feel as I do about his little speech. But I don't quite understand what you want me to write in a speech purporting to be by Brutus when he has published. How can this possibly be suitable? Or have you in mind a denunciation of the tyrant as lawfully done to death? I shall have much to say and much to write, but in another way and at another time. The Tribunes have done well about Caesar's chair. Good for the fourteen rows too!<sup>4</sup> I am delighted that Brutus has been staying at my house<sup>5</sup>—I only hope he has been comfortable there and stayed as long as he wanted.

## 381 (XV.4)

*Arpinum, 24 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

A courier from Q. Fufius arrived about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th, with a bit of a note from him asking me to resume friendly relations—clumsily enough, as usual; or is it that when one dislikes a man everything he does seems clumsy? I replied in a way that I think will meet with your approval. The same messenger delivered two letters from yourself, one of the 22nd, the other of the 23rd. I answer the later and shorter one first. I commend the legion.<sup>1</sup> If Carfulenus too joins in, wonders really do never cease. Antony's plans sound like trouble. I only hope he acts through the Assembly and not the Senate, as indeed

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Fourth or else the Martian, both of which turned against Antony in November and joined Octavian.

eius consilium ad bellum spectare videtur, si quidem D. Bruto provincia eripitur. quoquo modo ego de illius nervis existimo, non videtur fieri posse sine bello. sed non cupio, quoniam cavetur Buthrotiis. rides? at per senatus consultum doleo,<sup>4</sup> non mea potius adsiduitate, diligentia, gratia perfici.

- 2 Quod scribis te nescire quid nostris faciendum sit, iam pridem me illa ἀπορία sollicitat. itaque stulta iam Iduum Martiarum est consolatio. animis enim usi sumus virilibus, consiliis, mihi crede, puerilibus. excisa enim est arbor, non evulsa; itaque quam fruticetur vides. redeamus igitur, quod<sup>5</sup> saepe usurpas, ad Tusculanas disputationes. Saufeium de te celemus; ego numquam indicabo. quod te a Bruto scribis, ut certior fieret quo die in Tusculano<sup>6</sup> essem futurus,<sup>7</sup> ut ad te ante scripsi, VI Kal., et quidem ibi te quam primum per videre velim. puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum et quidem non sine multo sermone. sed μελήσει.

- 3 Redeo ad superiorem. ex qua praetereo illa prima de Buthrotiis; quae mihi sunt inclusa medullis, sit modo, ut scribis, locus agendi. de oratione Bruti prorsus contendis, cum iterum tam multis verbis agis. egone ut eam causam quam is scripsit? ego scribam non rogatus ab eo? nulla παρεγγείρησις fieri potes<t> contumeliosior. 'at' inquis "Ἡρακλείδειον aliquod." non recuso id quidem, sed et

<sup>4</sup> aps condoleo *vel sim.* (SB : at sco. d- TP)

<sup>5</sup> quoniam (SB)

<sup>6</sup> tusculanum (Baiter)

<sup>7</sup> *al.* venturus

<sup>2</sup> Cisalpine Gaul.    <sup>3</sup> From Epicureanism. The *Tusculans* have a strongly Stoic flavour.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps, but not certainly, a (Latin) verse quotation.



I expect he will. But his whole policy seems to me to point to war, if D. Brutus is to be deprived of his province.<sup>2</sup> Whatever opinion I may hold of his energies, that does not seem possible without war. But I don't want war, seeing that the Buthrotians are being taken care of. That amuses you? But I'm sorry to have it put through by senatorial decree, instead of by *my* persistence and hard work and influence.

You say you don't know what our friends ought to do. That perplexity has been worrying me for some time. So there's no sense any longer in consoling ourselves with the Ides of March. We have shown the courage of men and the policy, believe me, of children. The tree has been felled but not uprooted, and you see how it is sprouting. Let us then go back, as you often say, to the 'Tusculan Disputations.' Let us not tell Saufeius of your backsliding<sup>3</sup>—I shall never give you away! You say that Brutus is asking you for information about the date of my arrival at Tusculum: it is as I wrote to you earlier, the 27th, and I very much look forward to seeing you there as soon as you can manage. For I suppose we shall have to go to Lanuvium, which will need much talk. But *nous verrons*.

Coming back to your earlier letter, I pass over the opening bit about the Buthrotians, which is 'locked in my heart,'<sup>4</sup> provided only that, as you say, there is something for me to do. You certainly don't let go about Brutus' speech, urging me yet again at such length! Can you really expect me to handle a theme which he has treated, or to do so without solicitation on his part? It would be meddling of the most offensive sort. You say I might do something à *la Héraclide*. To that I don't say no, but I shall have to put

## CICERO

componendum argumentum est et scribendi expectandum tempus maturius. licet enim de me ut libet existimes (velim quidem quam optime), si haec ita manant ut videntur (feres quod dicam), me Idus Martiae non delectant. ille enim numquam revertisset, nos timor confirmare eius acta non coegisset, aut, ut in Saufei eam relinquamque Tusculanas disputationes ad quas tu etiam Vestorium hortaris, ita gratiosi eramus apud illum (quem di mortuum perduint!) ut nostrae aetati, quoniam interfecto domino liberi non sumus, non fuerit dominus ille fugiendus. rubeo, mihi crede, sed iam scripseram; delere nolui.

- 4 De Menedemo vellem verum fuisset. de regina velim verum sit. cetera coram, et maxime quid nostris faciendum sit, quid etiam nobis, si Antonius militibus obsessurus est senatum. hanc epistulam si illius tabellario dedissem, veritus sum ne solveret; itaque misi dedita. erat enim rescribendum tuis.

382 (XV.4a)

*Scr. in Arpinati VIII Kal. Iun. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- (5) Quam vellem Bruto studium tuum navare potuisses! ego igitur ad eum litteras. ad Dolabellam Tironem misi cum mandatis et litteris. eum ad te vocabis et si quid habebis quod placeat scribes. ecce autem de traverso L. Caesar ut

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<sup>5</sup> See Letter 379, note 1.

<sup>1</sup> We do not know in what way, but Cicero seems to have been involved.

## LETTER 382 (XV.4a)

the subject together and await a more suitable moment. For, think of me what you like (of course I should wish you to think as well as may be), if things take the course they seem to be taking (you must bear with what I am about to say), I find no satisfaction in the Ides of March. *He* would never have come back, fear would not have obliged us to confirm his measures; or again—here I join Saufeius and desert those ‘Tusculan Disputations’ which you are urging even Vestorius to read—I was so much in his good graces (may the gods confound him, dead as he is!) that at my time of life, since the killing of our master has not set us free, *he* was not a master to run away from. I am blushing, I do assure you; but it’s written now and I’m not disposed to cross it out.

I wish it had been true about Menedemus.<sup>5</sup> I wish it may be true about the Queen. Other matters we shall discuss together, especially what our friends ought to do and what I myself ought to do if Antony is going to surround the Senate with soldiers. I was afraid that if I gave this letter to Fufius’ courier he would open it, so I am sending it by special messenger as yours needed an answer.

## 382 (XV.4a)

*Arpinum, 23 May 44*

## CICERO TO ATTICUS

How I wish you could have helped Brutus as you would have liked to do!<sup>1</sup> I shall write to him accordingly. I have sent Tiro to Dolabella with a verbal message and a letter. Please send for him and let me know if you have any plan you favour. And now out of the blue L. Caesar asks

CICERO

veniam ad se rogat in Nemus aut scribam quo se venire velim; Bruto enim placere se a me conveniri. o rem odiosam et inexplicabilem! puto me ergo iturum et inde Romam, nisi quid mutaro. summatim [ad] haec<sup>1</sup> ad te; nihil enim a Balbo. tuas igitur exspecto, nec actorum solum sed etiam futurorum.

383 (XV.5)

*Scr. in Tusculano VI vel V Kal. Iun. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 A Bruto tabellarius rediit; attulit et ab eo et Cassio. consilium meum magno opere exquirunt, Brutus quidem utrum de duobus. o rem miseram! plane non habeo quid scribam. itaque silentio puto me usurum, nisi quid aliud tibi videtur; sin tibi quid venit in mentem, scribe, quaeso. Cassius vero vehementer orat ac petit ut Hirtium quam optimum faciam. sanum putas? ὁ γναφεὺς ἀνδρακας.<sup>1</sup> epistulam tibi misi.
- 2 Ut tu de provincia Bruti et Cassi per senatus consultum, ita scribit et Balbus et \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> Hirtius quidem se a futurum<sup>3</sup> (etenim iam in Tusculano est) mihi que ut absim vehementer auctor est, ille quidem periculi causa, quod sibi etiam fuisse dicit; ego autem, etiam ut nullum periculum sit, tantum abest ut Antoni suspicionem fugere [non]<sup>4</sup> curem

<sup>1</sup> ad h(a)ec vel adhuc (SB)

<sup>1</sup> ΟΓΝΑΥΕC ΑΝΘΡΑΚΕΥC vel sim. (Popma)      <sup>2</sup> Oppius  
add. Mueller, qui post Hirtius Bostus      <sup>3</sup> acturum (Orelli)

<sup>4</sup> del. Manutius

<sup>2</sup> The forest of Diana at Aricia, on Lake Nemi.      <sup>1</sup> Lit. 'the fuller [cannot bleach] charcoal.' See Commentary in *CLA*.

LETTER 383 (XV.5)

me to visit him in the Wood<sup>2</sup> or to write and make a rendezvous—says Brutus thinks I ought to meet him. A confounded nuisance, and no way out of it. So I suppose I shall go, and from there on to Rome unless I change my mind. I write to you thus briefly, for I have heard nothing yet from Balbus. I am expecting to hear from you, about the future as well as the past.

383 (XV.5)

*Tusculum, 27 or 28 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

The courier is back from Brutus with letters from both him and Cassius. They make a point of asking my advice, Brutus posing two alternatives. Alas, I simply don't know what to say. So I think I shall keep silence unless you disagree. But if anything occurs to you, pray write and tell me. Cassius for his part begs and requests me pressingly to make Hirtius as good a republican as I can. Is he in his right mind, do you think? You can't wash a blackamoor white.<sup>1</sup> I enclose his letter.

Both Balbus and Oppius (?) write as you do about Brutus' and Cassius' provinces being settled by a senatorial decree. Hirtius says he won't be present (indeed he is already in his place at Tusculum), and strongly advises me to keep away. His advice is on the score of the danger, which he says existed for himself too; but for my own part, even if there were no such danger, I am so far from sedulous to avoid arousing Antony's suspicions (it may look as though

## CICERO

- 3 ne videar eius secundis rebus non delectari ut mihi causa ea sit<sup>5</sup> cur Romam venire nolim ne illum videam. Varro autem noster ad me epistulam misit sibi a nescio quo missam (nomen enim deleat) in qua scriptum erat veteranos eos qui reiciantur (nam partem esse dimissam) improbissime loqui, ut magno periculo Romae sint futuri qui ab eorum partibus dissentire videantur. quis porro noster itus reditus, vultus incessus inter istos? quod si, ut scribis, L. Antonius in D. Brutum, reliqui in nostros, ego quid faciam aut quo me pacto geram? mihi vero deliberatum est, ut nunc quidem est, abesse ex ea urbe in qua non modo flori cum summa verum etiam servivi cum aliqua dignitate; nec tam statui ex Italia exire, de quo tecum deliberabo, quam istuc non venire.

384 (XV.7)

*Scr. in Tusculano v vel iv Kal. Iun. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Gratum quod mihi epistulas; quae quidem me delectarunt, in primis Sexti nostri. dices 'quia te laudat.' puto mehercule id quoque esse causae, sed tamen etiam ante quam ad eum locum veni, valde mihi placebat cum sensus eius de re publica tum cura scribendi. Servius vero pacificato<r><sup>1</sup> cum librariolo suo videtur obisse legationem et omnis cap-

<sup>5</sup> esset vel esse vel esse videatur (*Wesenberg*)

<sup>1</sup> add. *Manutius*

## LETTER 384 (XV.7)

I don't find his successes agreeable) that my reason for not wanting to go to Rome is just that I don't want to see him. Our friend Varro however has sent me a letter from I don't know who (he had crossed out the name) stating that most pernicious talk is rife among the veterans who are being put off (a certain number having got their discharge), so that there will be great danger in Rome for any persons who may seem to be on the other side. Furthermore how am I to manage my comings and goings, looks and bearing among these people? And if, as you write, D. Brutus is to be attacked by L. Antonius and our friends by the rest, what should I do and how should I behave? I am resolved, as things now stand, to stay away from the city in which my name stood high in the days of my greatness and was not wholly without respect even in those of my servitude. I am not however so definite about leaving Italy, as to which I shall consult with you, as about not returning to Rome.

### 384 (XV.7)

*Tusculum, 28 or 29 May 44*

#### CICERO TO ATTICUS

Thank you for sending the letters, which gave me great pleasure, especially the one from our good Sextus. You'll say that's because he praises me. Well, I suppose that *has* something to do with it; all the same, even before I got to that passage I was most favourably impressed both by his political views and his attention to style. Servius the peace-maker seems to have entered on his mission<sup>1</sup> with his port-

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known about this.

## CICERO

tiunculas pertimescere. debuerat autem non 'ex iure manum consertum' sed quae sequuntur; tuque scribes.

### 385 (XV.8)

*Scr. in Tusculano prid. Kal. Iun. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Post tuum discessum binas a Balbo (nihil novi) itemque ab Hirtio, qui se scribit vehementer offensum esse veteranis, exspectat animus quidnam agat<sup>1</sup> de Kalendis [Mart.]. misi igitur Tironem et cum Tirone pluris quibus singulis, ut quidque accidisset, dares litteras, atque etiam scripsi ad Antonium de legatione, ne, si ad Dolabellam solum scripsissem, iracundus homo commoveretur. quod autem aditus ad eum difficilior esse dicitur, scripsi ad Eutrapelum ut is ei meas litteras redderet; legatione mihi opus esse. honestior est votiva, sed licet uti utraque.
- 2 De te, quaeso, etiam atque etiam vide. velim possis coram; si minus possis, litteris idem consequemur. Graecius ad me scripsit C. Cassium sibi scripsisse homines comparari qui armati in Tusculanum mitterentur. id quidem mihi <vix veri simile><sup>2</sup> videbatur; sed cavendum tamen, vi<g>illaeque<sup>3</sup> plures videndae. sed <debet><sup>4</sup> aliquid crastinus dies ad cogitandum nobis dare.

<sup>1</sup> agam (SB)      <sup>2</sup> add. SB, alii alia

<sup>3</sup> ut ille qu(a)e (R. Klotz\* : villaeque Bostus)

<sup>4</sup> add. SB (pro sed Lambinus)

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<sup>2</sup> From Ennius, *Annals*. 'What follows' runs: 'but rather they seek goods and royal power with the sword.' Antony was not open to juristic arguments.



LETTER 385 (XV.8)

able bookcase in hand, scared of every lawyer's quirk. He ought not to have 'laid claim in form of law'<sup>2</sup> but what follows. You'll write.

385 (XV.8)

*Tusculum, 31 May 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After you left two letters came in from Balbus (no news) and also one from Hirtius, who writes that he is in very bad odour with the veterans. I am waiting to hear what he does about the Kalends, and so am sending Tiro and several others with him so that you can dispatch letters by them one by one after each fresh development as it occurs. I have also written to Antony about my Commission<sup>1</sup> for fear his touchy susceptibilities might be ruffled if I wrote to Dolabella only. Since he is said to have become rather hard of access I have asked Eutrapelus to give him my letter. The gist of it is that I want a Commission. A votive one looks better, but I can do with either.

About yourself, pray do nothing hastily. I hope you may be able to talk with me, but if you can't manage that, letters will answer the same purpose. Graecceius writes to me that C. Cassius has written to *him* that men are being got together to be sent in arms against my house at Tusculum. It seems scarcely likely to me, but I must beware all the same and see about strengthening the guard. But tomorrow ought to give us something to think about.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero was thinking of taking a sinecure post as Legate to Dolabella (governor of Syria).

## CICERO

386 (XV.6)

*Scr. in Tusculano, IV Non. Iun. (?) an. 44*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Cum ad me Brutus noster scripsisset et Cassius ut Hirtium, qui adhuc bonus fuisset <melio<sup>1</sup>rem facerem, quem neque adhuc bonum fuisse> sciebam, neque eum confidebam fore mea auctoritate melio<sup>1</sup>rem (Antonio est enim fortasse iratior, causae vero amicissimus), tamen ad eum scripsi eique dignitatem Bruti et Cassi commendavi. ille quid mihi rescripsisset scire te volui, si forte idem tu quod ego existimares, istos etiam nunc vereri ne forte isti<sup>2</sup> nostri plus animi habeant quam habent.

HIRTIVS CICERONI SVO SAL.

- 2 Rure<ne><sup>3</sup> iam redierim, quaeris. an ego, cum omnes caleant, ignaviter aliquid faciam? etiam ex urbe sum profectus; utilius enim statui abesse. has tibi litteras exiens in Tusculanum scripsi. noli autem me tam strenuum putare ut ad Nonas recurram. nihil enim iam video opus esse nostra cura, quoniam praesidia sunt in tot annos provisae. Brutus et Cassius utinam quam facile a te de me impetrare possunt ita
- 3 per te exorentur ne quod calidius ineant consilium! cedentis enim haec ais scripsisse. quo aut qua re? retine, obsecro te, Cicero, illos et noli sinere haec omnia perire, quae funditus <me dius> fidius rapi-

<sup>1</sup> *add. SB*      <sup>2</sup> *ipsi (SB)*<sup>3</sup> *add. Wesenberg*<sup>1</sup> I.e., for the Senate's meeting that day.

LETTER 386 (XV.6)

386 (XV.6)

*Tusculum, 2 (?) June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Our friend Brutus and Cassius too having written to ask me to make Hirtius 'who has been sound so far' still sounder—I don't know that he *has* been sound so far and have no confidence that he will be made any sounder by my influence; he may be somewhat out of temper with Antony, but he's a firm friend to the cause—none the less I wrote to him and commended Brutus' and Cassius' position to his consideration. I want you to read his reply to see if you get the same impression as I did, that these gentry are afraid even now that our friends have more spirit than is really the case.

HIRTIVS TO HIS FRIEND CICERO

You ask whether I have come back yet from the country. Am I one to idle when everyone else is hustling? Actually I am *leaving* Rome, for I think it advisable to be elsewhere. I am writing this letter as I set out for Tusculum. But don't, imagine that I am so energetic as to hurry back for the Nones.<sup>1</sup> I don't see any need for us to trouble ourselves since we are provided for so many years ahead. As for Brutus and Cassius I only hope you may prevail upon them to refrain from rash courses as easily as *they* can get what they want from you as regards myself. You say they wrote their letters as they were on the point of going away. Where to and what for? Hold them back, Cicero, I beg you, and don't let our whole society go down to ruin; for on my oath it will be

## CICERO

nis, incendiis, caedibus pervertentur.<sup>4</sup> tantum si quid timent caveant, nihil praeterea moliantur. non me dius fidius acerrimis consiliis plus quam etiam inertissimis, dum modo diligentibus, consequentur. haec enim, quae fluunt per se, diuturna non sunt; in contentione praesentis ad nocendum habent viris. quid speres de illis in Tusculanum ad me scribe.

- 4 Habes Hirti epistolam, cui rescripsi nil illos calidius cogitare idque confirmavi. hoc, qualecumque est,<sup>5</sup> te scire volui.

Obsignata iam Balbus ad me Serviliam redisse, confirmare non discessuros. nunc exspecto a te litteras.

### 387 (XV.9)

*Scr. in Tusculano IV aut III Non. Iun. an. 44 (§ 1)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 III Non. vesperi a Balbo redditae mihi litterae fore Nonis senatum, ut Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicilia frumentum emendum et ad urbem mittendum curarent. o rem miseram! primum ullam ab istis, dein, si aliquam, hanc legatariam provinciam! atque haud scio an melius sit quam ad Eurotam sedere. sed haec casus gubernabit. ait autem eodem tempore decretum iri ut et iis et reliquis praetoris

<sup>4</sup> pervertuntur (SB)      <sup>5</sup> esset (SB)

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<sup>1</sup> The river on which Sparta lay. Brutus' estate at Lanuvium was probably called 'Lacedaemon' (= Sparta), with features named from Spartan topography. See below and Letter 343, note 1.

LETTER 387 (XV.9)

overturned from top to bottom in an orgy of loot, arson, and massacre. If they are afraid, let them simply take precautions, but not get up anything that goes further than that. On my oath they will gain nothing by action however drastic which they won't get by the sheerest passivity, combined with vigilance. The present regime, being of its nature transitory, will not last long; but in the event of a conflict it has power for immediate hurt. Write to me at Tusculum what you think they are likely to do.

Thus far Hirtius. I have replied to the effect that they have nothing rash in mind and have assured him that this is so. I wanted you to know this for what it is worth.

My letter was already sealed when I heard from Balbus that Servilia has returned with confirmation that they won't go away. Now I wait to hear from you.

387 (XV.9)

*Tusculum, 2 or 3 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the evening of the 2nd a letter came to my hand from Balbus to say that the Senate is meeting on the Nones to charge Brutus and Cassius with the purchase of corn in Asia and Sicily respectively and its shipment to Rome. The idea of their accepting any assignment from these people is lamentable, and then such an assignment! Only fit for a Commissioner. And yet it may be better than sitting still beside the Eurotas.<sup>1</sup> But these things must be as chance wills. He says it will be decreed at the same time that provinces be decreed both to them and to the other ex-

## CICERO

provinciae decernantur. hoc certe melius quam illa Περσική porticus; †nolo enim Lacedaemonem longinquo quo in Lanuvium existimavit.<sup>1</sup> 'rides' inquires 'in talibus rebus?' quid faciam? plorando fessus sum.

- 2 Di immortales! quam me conturbatum tenuit epistulae tuae prior pagina! quid autem iste in domo tua casus armorum? sed hunc quidem nimbum cito transisse laetor. tu quid egeris tua cum tristi tum etiam difficili ad consiliandum legatione vehementer exspecto; est enim inexplicabilis. ita circumsedemur copiis omnibus. me quidem Bruti litterae quas ostendis a te lectas ita perturbarunt ut, quamquam ante egebam consilio, tamen animi dolore sim tardior. sed plura, cum ista cognoro. hoc autem tempore quod scriberem nihil erat, eoque minus quod dubitabam tu has ipsas litteras essesne accepturus; erat enim incertum visurusne te esset tabellarius. ego tuas litteras vehementer exspecto.

### 388 (XV.10)

*Scr. in Tusculano (P) fort. Non. Iun. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

O Bruti amanter scriptas litteras! o iniquum tuum tempus qui ad eum ire non possis! ego autem quid scribam? ut

<sup>1</sup> *sic temptavit SB* : nullum e- L- longinuiorem quam Lanuvinam existimaris

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<sup>2</sup> There was a portico so called at Sparta commemorating the Greek victory over the Persians at Plataea.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps to be taken literally after all; *nimbus* ('shower') will then be both metaphorical and literal.

## LETTER 388 (XV.10)

praetors. That's certainly better than that Persian Portico.<sup>2</sup> For don't imagine that any Sparta is further away than the one at Lanuvium (?). You may wonder at my laughing about such matters, but what am I to do? I am tired of weeping.

Heavens, how the first page of your letter kept me on tenterhooks! And what is all this about a fall of weapons (?) in your house?<sup>3</sup> But I am glad that this shower at any rate soon passed over. I am waiting impatiently to hear how you got on with your melancholy and also difficult mission of advice.<sup>4</sup> For there's really no answer. The forces that encompass us are too great and manifold. For my part I am so upset by that letter of Brutus which you evidently read that, bankrupt of advice as I was before, distress has made my mind still slower. But more when I get your report. At the moment I have nothing to say, all the less because I am not certain whether you will get what I do write, there being some doubt whether the courier will see you. I am waiting impatiently to hear from you.

388 (XV.10)

*Tusculum* (?), 5 (?) June 44

CICERO TO ATTICUS

What an affectionate letter of Brutus! And how unfortunate that your circumstances prevent you from going to him! As for me, what am I to write? Tell them to accept a

<sup>4</sup> To the 'Liberators' at Lanuvium.

beneficio istorum utantur? quid turpius? ut moliantur aliquid? nec audent nec iam possunt. age, quiescant auctoribus nobis; quis incolumitatem praestat? si vero aliquid de Decimo gravius, quae nostris vita, etiam si nemo molestus sit? ludos vero non facere! quid foedius? frumentum imponere! quae est alia Dionis legatio aut quod munus in re publica sordidius? prorsus quidem consilia tali in re ne iis quidem tuta sunt qui dant. sed possim id neglegere proficiens; frustra vero quid ingrediar? matris consilio cum utatur vel etiam precibus, quid me interponam? sed tamen cogitabo quo genere utar litterarum; nam silere non possum. statim igitur mittam vel Antium vel Circeios.

## 389 (XV.11)

*Scr. fort. Antii c. VII Id. Iun. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Antium veni ante H.<sup>1</sup> VI. Bruto iucundus noster adventus. deinde multis audientibus, Servilia, Tertulla, Porcia, quaerere quid placeret. aderat etiam Favonius. ego, quod eram meditatus in via, suadere ut uteretur Asiatica curatione frumenti; nihil esse iam reliqui quod ageremus nisi ut salvus esse<t>; in eo etiam ipsi rei publicae esse praesidium. quam orationem cum ingressus essem, Cassius intervenit.

<sup>1</sup> K. VI. *vel sim.* (SB)

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<sup>1</sup> As City Praetor Brutus had responsibility for the Games of Apollo in July. <sup>2</sup> A phrase for getting someone out of the way under the guise of a compliment, as Dionysius II of Syracuse presumably did with his kinsman Dio.



## LETTER 389 (XV.11)

favour from those people? What could be more degrading? To get up something? They dare not, and now they cannot. Well then, suppose they do nothing on my advice: who guarantees their safety? And if harsh measures are taken with Decimus, would life be worth living for our friends, even if nobody molested them? Then not to celebrate the games!<sup>1</sup> Could anything be more humiliating? To ship corn! Neither more nor less than a Dio's Embassy,<sup>2</sup> the meanest duty known in public service. Advice in such circumstances is positively unsafe even to the giver—but that I might not mind if I could do any good. But why should I step in to no purpose? When he follows his mother's advice, her entreaties even, why should I interfere? However I shall consider what sort of letter to write, for I can't just keep mum. So I shall send presently either to Antium or to Circeii.

## 389 (XV.11)

*Antium* (?), ca. 7 June 44

## CICERO TO ATTICUS

I arrived at Antium before midday. Brutus was glad to see me. Then before a large company, including Servilia, Tertulla, and Porcia,<sup>1</sup> he asked me what I thought he ought to do. Favonius too was present. I gave the advice I had prepared on the way, to accept the Asiatic corn commission. I said his safety was all that concerned us now; it was the bulwark of the Republic itself. I was fairly launched on this theme when Cassius walked in. I repeated what I had al-

<sup>1</sup> Brutus' mother, half-sister (wife of Cassius), and wife.

## CICERO

ego eadem illa repetivi. hoc loco fortibus sane oculis Cassius (Martem spirare diceret) se in Siciliam non iturum. 'egone ut beneficium accepissem contumeliam?' 'quid ergo agis?' inquam. at ille in Achaïam se iturum. 'quid tu' inquam, 'Brute?' 'Romam' inquit, 'si tibi videtur.' 'mibi vero minime; tuto enim non eris.' 'quid? si possem esse, placeretne?' 'atque ut omnino neque nunc neque ex praetura in provinciam ires; sed auctor non sum ut te urbi committas.' dicebam ea quae tibi profecto in mentem veniunt cur non esset tuto futurus.

- 2 Multo inde sermone querebantur, atque id quidem Cassius maxime, amissas occasiones Decimumque graviter accusabant. <ad><sup>2</sup> ea negabam oportere praeterita, adsentiebar tamen. cumque ingressus essem dicere quid oportuisset, nec vero quicquam novi sed ea quae cottidie omnes, nec tamen illum locum attingerem, quemquam praeterea oportuisse tangi, sed senatum vocare, populum ardentem studio vehementius incitare, totam suscipere rem publicam, exclamat tua familiaris 'hoc vero neminem umquam audivi!' ego <me><sup>3</sup> repressi. sed et Cassius mihi videbatur iturus (etenim Servilia pollicebatur se curaturam ut illa frumenti curatio de senatus consulto tolleretur) et noster Brutus cito deiectus est de illo inani sermone <quo se Romae><sup>4</sup> velle esse dixerat. constituit igitur ut ludi ab-

<sup>2</sup> add. SB      <sup>3</sup> add. *Malaespina*

<sup>4</sup> add. SB, post *Boot* (se R-) et *Tyrrell* (quo R-)

ready said, whereupon Cassius, looking most valorous I assure you, the picture of a warrior, announced that he had no intention of going to Sicily. 'Should I have taken an insult as though it had been a favour?' 'What do you mean to do then?' I enquired. He replied that he would go to Greece. 'How about you, Brutus?' said I. 'To Rome' he answered, 'if you agree.' 'But I don't agree at all. You won't be safe there.' 'Well, supposing I could be safe, would you approve?' 'Of course, and what is more I should be against your leaving for a province either now or after your Praetorship. But I cannot advise you to risk your life in Rome.' I went on to state reasons, which no doubt occur to you, why he would not be safe.

A deal of talk followed, in which they complained, Cassius especially, about the opportunities that had been let slip, and Decimus came in for severe criticism. To that I said it was no use crying over spilt milk, but I agreed all the same. And when I began to give my views on what should have been done (nothing original, only what everyone is saying all the time), not however touching on the point that someone else<sup>2</sup> ought to have been dealt with, only that they should have summoned the Senate, urged the popular enthusiasm to action with greater vigour, assumed leadership of the whole commonwealth, your lady friend<sup>3</sup> exclaimed 'Well, upon my word! I never heard the like!' I held my tongue. Anyway it looked to me as though Cassius would go (Servilia undertook to get the corn commission removed from the decree), and our friend Brutus was soon persuaded to drop his empty talk about wanting to be in Rome. He therefore decided that the games

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Antony.

<sup>3</sup> Servilia.

sente se fierent suo nomine. proficisci autem mihi in Asiam videbatur ab Antio velle.

- 3 Ne multa, nihil me in illo itinere praeter conscientiam meam delectavit. non enim fuit committendum ut ille ex Italia prius quam a me conventus esset discederet. hoc dempto munere amoris atque officii sequebatur ut mecum ipse 'ἡ δειρ' ὁδός σοι τί δύναται νῦν, θεοπρόπε'; prorsus dissolutum offendi navigium vel potius dissipatum. nihil consilio, nihil ratione, nihil ordine. itaque etsi ne antea quidem dubitavi, tamen nunc eo minus, evolare hinc idque quam primum, 'ubi nec Pelopidarum facta neque famam audiam.'

- 4 Et heus tu! ne forte sis nescius, Dolabella me sibi legavit a. d. III Non. [Apriles]. id mihi heri vesperi nuntiatum est. votiva ne tibi quidem placebat; etenim erat absurdum, quae si stetisset res publica vovissem, ea me eversa<sup>5</sup> illa vota dissolvere. et habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia nec facile addi potest †adeo† genus legationis ut, cum velis, introire exire liceat;<sup>6</sup> quod nunc mihi additum est. bella est autem huius iuris quinquenni licentia, quamquam <quid de> quinquennio cogitem? contrahi mihi negotium videtur. sed βλάβασθημα mittamus.

<sup>5</sup> bonis si meam et versa *vel sim.* (Victorius)

<sup>6</sup> idque (s) adeo . . . ne liceat *tempt.* SB

should be held in his absence under his name. It looked to me as though he wanted to go to Asia direct from Antium.

In short, nothing in my visit gave me any satisfaction except the consciousness of having made it. It would not have been right to let him leave Italy without seeing me. Apart from this obligation of affection and duty I could only say to myself 'Prophet, what signifies your journey now?'<sup>4</sup> I found the ship going to pieces, or rather its scattered fragments. No plan, no thought, no method. Hence, though I had no doubts even before, I am now all the more determined to fly from here, and as soon as I possibly can, 'where nevermore of Pelops' line I'll hear the deeds or fame.'<sup>5</sup>

And look here! In case you don't know, Dolabella appointed me to his staff on the 3rd. I was informed of this yesterday evening. You too did not like the idea of a votive commission. It would really have been absurd for me after the overthrow of the Republic to pay vows which I supposedly made for its safety. Besides free commissions<sup>6</sup> have a time limit under the *lex Julia*, or so I believe, and it is not easy to add to that type of commission a licence to come and go as one pleases. This additional advantage I now have. Also it's agreeable to have the privilege to use as one pleases for five years—though why should I be thinking of five years? I have the feeling that the sands are running out. But *absit omen*.

<sup>4</sup> From a Greek play.

<sup>5</sup> See Letter 366, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> Including those in discharge of vow.

- 1 Bene mehercule de Buthroto. at ego Tironem ad Dolabellam cum litteris, quia iusseras, miseram. quid nocet? de nostris autem Antiatibus satis videbar plane scripsisse, ut non dubitares quin essent otiosi futuri usurique beneficio Antoni contumelioso. Cassius frumentariam rem aspernabatur; eam Servilia sublaturam ex senatus consulto se esse dicebat. noster vero καὶ μάλα σεμνῶς in Asiam, postea quam mihi est adsensus tuto se Romae esse non posse (ludos enim absens facere malebat); statim autem se iturum simul ac ludorum apparatus iis qui curaturi essent tradidisset. navigia colligebat; erat animus in cursu. interea in isdem locis erant futuri. Brutus quidem se aiebat Asturæ.
- 2 L. quidem Antonius liberaliter litteris sine cura me esse iubet. habeo unum beneficium, alterum fortasse, si in Tusculanum venerim.<sup>1</sup> o negotia non ferenda! quae feruntur tamen. τὰν δ' αἰτίαν τῶν Βρούτων τις ἔχει. in<sup>2</sup> Octaviano, ut perspexi, satis ingeni, satis animi, videbaturque erga nostros ἡρώας ita fore ut nos vellemus animatus. sed quid aetati credendum sit, quid nomini, quid hereditati,

<sup>1</sup> venerit (SB)<sup>2</sup> EXEN vel sim. (Wesenberg)

<sup>1</sup> Under a law passed on 2 June the Consuls (Antony and Dolabella) were empowered to deal with this matter and a decision favourable to the town was apparently expected.

<sup>2</sup> M. Brutus. <sup>3</sup> Apparently an ironic reference to the threat mentioned in Letter 385.2.

## LETTER 390 (XV.12)

390 (XV.12)

*Astura (P), ca. 10 June 44*

## CICERO TO ATTICUS

Good news indeed about Buthrotum!<sup>1</sup> I had sent Tiro to Dolabella with a letter because you asked me. Well, it won't do any harm. As for our friends at Antium, I thought my account was clear enough to leave you in no doubt about their intention to keep quiet and take advantage of Antony's contumelious favour. Cassius scorned the corn job and Servilia said she would get it removed from the decree. Our friend<sup>2</sup> for his part declared with all solemnity that he would go to Asia, once he had agreed with me that Rome was no safe place for him (he prefers to give the games in his absence). He added that he would go at once as soon as he had handed over the wherewithal for the games to those who would look after them. He is collecting vessels, and thinks of nothing but the voyage. In the meantime they intend to remain in the same district. Brutus says he will stay at Astura.

L. Antonius is kind enough to write telling me to have no anxiety. That's one favour then. Perhaps I shall get another if I go to Tusculum!<sup>3</sup> Insufferable creatures!—and yet we suffer them. A Brutus is to blame.<sup>4</sup> Octavian, as I perceived, does not lack intelligence or spirit, and he gave the impression that his attitude towards our heroes would be such as we should wish. But how much faith to put in one of his years and name and heredity and edu-

<sup>4</sup> The Greek phrase is ambiguous, pointing either to Decimus or Marcus Brutus.

CICERO

quid *κατηχῆσαι*, magni consili est. vitricus quidem nihil censebat; quem Asturae vidimus. sed tamen alendus est et, ut nihil aliud, ab Antonio seiungendus. Marcellus praeclare, si praecipit nostra [nostri];<sup>3</sup> cui quidem ille deditus mihi videbatur. Pansae autem et Hirtio non nimis credebatur. bona indoles, *ἐὰν διαμείνη*.

391 (XV.16)

*Scr. Asturae (?) III Id. Iun. an. 44 (?)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Tandem a Cicerone tabellarius; sed mehercule litterae *πεπινωμένως* scriptae, id quod<sup>1</sup> ipsum *προκοπήν* aliquam significaret, itemque ceteri praeclara scribunt. Leonides tamen retinet suum illud 'adhuc'; summis vero laudibus Herodes. quid quaeris? vel verba mihi dari facile patior in hoc meque libenter praebeo credulum. tu velim, si quid tibi est a tuis scriptum quod pertineat ad me, certiore me facias.

392 (XV.16a)

*Scr. Asturae (?) prid. Id. Iun. an. 44 (?)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Narro tibi, haec loca venusta sunt, abdita certe et, si quid scribere velis, ab arbitris libera. sed nescio quo modo

<sup>3</sup> nostro nostri (SB)

<sup>1</sup> quod id (Baiter)

<sup>5</sup> L. Philippus.

<sup>6</sup> C. Marcellus, Consul in 50, had married Octavian's sister.



LETTER 392 (XV.16a)

cation—that's a great question. His stepfather<sup>5</sup> thinks none at all—I saw him at Astura. Still he is to be encouraged and, if nothing else, kept apart from Antony. If Marcellus<sup>6</sup> is recommending my writings, that's fine. Octavian seemed to me to be much attached to him. He was not over-much inclined to trust Pansa and Hirtius. A good disposition, *pourvu que ça dure*.

391 (XV.16)

*Astura (P), 11 June 44 (P)*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

At last a courier from Marcus! But upon my word the letter is well written, which in itself would argue some progress, and others too send excellent reports. Leonides however sticks to his 'so far'; but Herodes is enthusiastic. Truth to tell I am not unwilling to be deceived in this case and gladly swallow all I'm told. If there is anything in letters from your people which concerns me, please let me know.

392 (XV.16a)

*Astura (P), 12 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

This district, let me tell you, is charming; at any rate it's secluded and free from observers if one wants to do some writing. And yet, somehow or other, 'home's best';<sup>1</sup> so my

<sup>1</sup> A Greek saying. But why Tusculum should be called 'home' is not clear.

CICERO

οἶκος<sup>1</sup> φίλος. itaque me referunt pedes in Tusculanum. et tamen haec ῥωπογραφία ripulae videtur habitura celerem satietatem. equidem etiam pluvias metuo, si Prognostica nostra vera sunt; ranae enim ῥητορεύουσιν. tu, quaeso, fac sciam ubi Brutum nostrum et quo die videre possim.

393 (XV.15)

Scr. Asturae fort. Id. Iun. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 L. Antonio male sit, si quidem Buthrotiis molestus est! ego testimonium composui, quod cum voles obsignabitur. nummos Arpinat<i>um, si L. Fadius aedilis petet, vel omnis reddito. ego ad te alia epistula scripsi <de><sup>1</sup> HS  $\overline{CX}$  quae Statio curarentur. si ergo petet Fadius, ei volo reddi, praeter Fadium nemini. apud t̄me item† puto depositum. id scripsi ad Erotem ut redderet.
- 2 Reginam odi. id me iure facere s<c>it sponsor promissorum eius Ammonius, quae quidem promissa[rum eius]<sup>2</sup> erant φιλόλογα et dignitatis meae, ut vel in contione dicere auderem. Saram autem, praeterquam quod nefarium hominem, cognovi praeterea in me contumacem. semel

<sup>1</sup> ΟΙΚΟCOC vel *stm.* (s)

<sup>1</sup> *add. Victorius*

<sup>2</sup> promissorum eius (SB : *del. Manutius*)

LETTER 393 (XV.15)

feet are carrying me back to Tusculum. After all I think one would soon get tired of the picture scenery<sup>2</sup> of this scrap of wooded coast. What is more, I am afraid of rain, if my *Prognostics*<sup>3</sup> are to be trusted, for the frogs are speechifying. Would you please let me know where and what day I can see Brutus?

393 (XV.15)

*Astura, 13 (?) June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

So L. Antonius is bothering the Buthrotians, bad luck to him! I have drafted an affidavit to be signed when you wish. You may hand over the money due to the municipality of Arpinum, the whole of it, if the Aedile L. Fadius claims it. I have written to you in another letter about the HS 110,000 to be paid to Statius. So then, if Fadius claims, I want the money made over to him, but to no one except Fadius. I think it's deposited with \*. I have written to Eros instructing him to hand it over.

I dislike Her Majesty.<sup>1</sup> Ammonius, who guaranteed her promises, knows that I have the right to do so. These were of a literary kind, not unbecoming to my position—I should not mind telling them to a public meeting. As for Sara, over and above his general rascality, I found him personally insolent as well. Once and once only I saw him

<sup>2</sup> Rendering doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 21, note 12.

<sup>1</sup> Cleopatra.

3 eum omnino domi meae vidi; cum φιλοφρόνως ex eo quaererem quid opus esset, Atticum se dixit quaerere. superbiam autem ipsius reginae, cum esset trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare sine magno dolore non possum. nihil igitur cum istis; nec tam animum me quam vix stomachum habere arbitrantur.<sup>3</sup>

4 Profectionem meam, ut video, Erotis dispensatio impedit. nam cum ex reliquis quae Non. Apr. fecit abundare debeam, cogor mutuari, quodque ex istis fructuosis rebus receptum est, id ego ad illud fanum sepositum putabam. sed haec Tironi mandavi, quem ob eam causam Romam misi; te nolui impeditum impedire. Cicero noster quo modestior est eo me magis commovet. ad me enim de hac re nihil scripsit, ad quem nimirum potissimum debuit; scripsit hoc autem ad Tironem, sibi post Kal. Apr. (sic enim annum tempus confici) nihil datum esse. <scio><sup>4</sup> tibi pro tua natura semper placuisse teque existimasse id etiam ad dignitatem meam pertinere eum non modo perliberaliter a nobis sed etiam ornate cumulateque tractari. qua re velim cures (nec tibi essem molestus, si per alium hoc agere possem) ut permutetur Athenas quod sit in annum sumptum ei.<sup>5</sup> scilicet Eros numerabit. eius rei causa Tironem misi. curabis igitur et ad me si quid tibi de eo videbitur scribes.

<sup>3</sup> quam stomachum (s) h- arbitrentur *coni.* SB

<sup>4</sup> *add.* *Baiter*

<sup>5</sup> et (s)

## LETTER 393 (XV.15)

at my house. When I asked him in a friendly way what I could do for him he replied that he was looking for Atticus! The arrogance of the Queen herself when she was living on the estate across Tiber makes my blood boil to recall. So I want nothing to do with them. They must think I have no spirit, or rather that I hardly have a spleen.

Eros' stewardship, it appears, is holding up my departure abroad. From the balances he produced on the Nones of April I ought to be in funds, and yet I am forced to borrow. I thought the proceeds from the sources of income you speak of had been put aside for that shrine. But I have charged Tiro with these matters and sent him to Rome on that account. I did not want to bother you when you have bother enough already. The more modest my boy is in his requests the more concerned I am to meet him. He said nothing in his letter to me about this matter (of course I was the proper person to approach), but wrote to Tiro that nothing had come to him after the Kalends of April, that being the end of his first year. Naturally generous as you are I know that you have always favoured my treating him very liberally, indeed more than liberally—lavishly; and further that you considered I owed it to my position to do so. So please (I should not be troubling you if I could manage it through anyone else) arrange a bill of exchange to Athens for enough to cover his expenses for the year. Eros of course will pay. I have sent Tiro for the purpose. So please see to it and let me know if you have any further views on the subject.

Scr. Asturæ XVIII Kal. Quint. an. 44 (§ 1)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Duas accepi postridie Idus, alteram eo die datam, alteram Idibus. prius igitur superiori. de Bruto, cum scies. de consulum ficto timore cognoveram; Sicca enim φιλοστοργως ille quidem sed tumultuosius ad me etiam illam suspicionem pertulit. quid tu autem 'τὰ μὲν διδόμενα—'? nulum enim verbum a †Siregio†. non placet. de Plaetorio, vicino tuo, permolesti tuli quemquam prius audisse quam me. de Syro prudenter. L. Antonium per Marcum fratrem, ut arbitror, facillime deterrebis. Antroni †vel vi†;<sup>1</sup> sed nondum acceperas litteras, ne<sup>2</sup> cuiquam nisi L. Fadio aedili. aliter enim nec caute nec iure fieri potest. quod scribis tibi deesse HS  $\bar{\text{C}}$  quae Ciceroni curata sint, velim ab Erotē quaeras ubi sit merces insularum. Arabioni de Sittio nihil irascor. ego de itinere nisi explicato A nihil cogito; quod idem tibi videri puto. habes ad superiorem.

Nunc audi ad alteram. tu vero facies ut omnia quod Serviliae non de<e>s, id est Bruto. de regina gaudeo te non laborare, testem etiam tibi probari. Erotis rationes et ex

<sup>1</sup> *al.* vel .vi. : vetui *Bosius* : neges velim tempt. SB

<sup>2</sup> nec (*Nipperdey*)

<sup>1</sup> Probably at an alleged plot against their lives.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing known. <sup>3</sup> Atticus' slave?

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Letter 393.1. <sup>5</sup> Text and sense uncertain.

<sup>6</sup> An African princeling who had just killed P. Sittius (recipient of *Ad Familiares*, 23 [V.17]), to whom Caesar had given part of his father's kingdom. <sup>7</sup> A = Δοίσιω, *reliquit*.

## LETTER 394 (XV.17)

394 (XV.17)

*Astura, 14 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I received two letters on the 14th, one dispatched that day, the other on the Ides. First then to the former. Concerning Brutus, you'll tell me when you know. I had heard about the Consuls' pretended fright,<sup>1</sup> that suspicion having been brought to me among other items by Sicca, affectionately to be sure but in a rather needlessly alarming way. But why do you say 'beggars can't be choosers'? I haven't heard a word from \*. I don't like it. I was much annoyed not to have been the first to hear about your neighbour Plaetorius.<sup>2</sup> You are wise about Syrus.<sup>3</sup> I imagine you will have no difficulty in getting Mark Antony to fend off brother Lucius.<sup>4</sup> \* \* \* to Antro,<sup>5</sup> but you had not received my letter asking you not to give the money to anyone except the Aedile L. Fadius. It's the only safe and legal way. You say you are out of pocket by HS 100,000 which have been paid to Marcus. Would you ask Eros to tell you what has happened to the rent of the flats? I'm not angry with Arabio<sup>6</sup> on Sittius' account. I have no intention of travelling until my balance<sup>7</sup> has been sorted out. I think you agree. So much for the first letter.

Now hear what I have to say to the second. It's just like you not to fail Servilia, which is to say Brutus.<sup>8</sup> I am glad you are not worried about Her Majesty, and that you approve of my witness.<sup>9</sup> I have learned of Eros' accounts from

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Servilia had asked Atticus to help in arranging her son's games (see Letter 395.2).

<sup>9</sup> Ammonius (see Letter 393.2).

## CICERO

Tirone cognovi et vocavi ipsum. gratissimum quod polliceris Ciceroni nihil defuturum; de quo mirabilia Messalla, qui Lanuvio rediens ab illis venit ad me, et mehercule ipsius litterae sic et φιλοστόργως et <εὐ>πινῶς<sup>3</sup> scriptae ut eas vel in acroasi<sup>4</sup> audeam legere. quo magis illi indulgendum puto. de Buciliano Sestium puto non moleste ferre. ego, si Tiro ad me, cogito in Tusculanum. tu vero, quicquid erit quod me scire par sit, statim.

### 395 (XV.18)

*Scr. iter faciens in Tusculanum XVII Kal. Quint. an. 44 (§ 1)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 XVII Kal., etsi satis videbar scripsisse ad te quid mihi opus esset et quid te facere vellem, si tibi commodum esset,<sup>1</sup> tamen cum profectus essem et in lacu navigarem, Tironem statui ad te esse mittendum, ut iis negotiis quae agerentur interesse<t>, atque etiam scripsi ad Dolabellam me, si ei videretur, velle proficisci peti<i>que ab eo de mulis vecturae.
- 2 Ut in his,<sup>2</sup> cum intellego te distentissimum esse qua de Buthrotiis qua de Bruto, cuius etiam ludorum [suorum]<sup>3</sup> curam et administrationem suspicor ex magna parte ad te pertinere—, ut e<r>go in eius modi re, tribues nobis paulum operae; nec enim multum opus est. mihi res ad cae-

<sup>3</sup> *add. Lambinus*      <sup>4</sup> *agro si (Victorius)*

<sup>1</sup> *sit (Ernesti)*      <sup>2</sup> *et in eis vel et meis vel itineris etineis (Gronovius)*      <sup>3</sup> *del. Lambinus*

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<sup>10</sup> One of Caesar's assassins. Apart from the reference in Let-



## LETTER 395 (XV.18)

Tiro and have summoned himself. It is most kind of you to promise that Marcus will not go short. Messalla, who is on his way back and came over from Lanuvium from them to me, brought a splendid report of him. And really his own letter is so affectionately and classically written that I should not mind reading it before an audience. This makes me the more inclined to indulge him. I think Sestius won't be too much upset about Bucilianus.<sup>10</sup> As soon as Tiro joins me I propose to go to Tusculum. Please send me word straight away of anything I ought to know.

## 395 (XV.18)

*Returning to Tusculum, 15 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

15 June. I think I have already explained sufficiently what I need and what I want you to do, if convenient to yourself. All the same, now that I have set out (I am just crossing the lake<sup>1</sup>), I have decided that Tiro should be sent to you so that he can take part in the affairs on hand. I have also written to Dolabella to say that, with his approval, I should like to leave and asking about baggage mules.

As best you can in the present circumstances, since I understand you are up to your eyes in work both in connection with Buthrotum and with Brutus, for in addition to other things I suspect that the care and management of his games is devolving upon you to a great extent—well then, as best you can in such circumstances, please spare me a little time; not much is required. Things seem to me

ter 411.4 we have no clue to the allusion. Sestius is L. Sestius, P. Sestius' son. <sup>1</sup> That of Alba, near Rome.

CICERO

dem et eam quidem propinquam spectare videtur. vides homines, vides arma. prorsus non mihi videor esse tutus. <s>in tu<sup>4</sup> aliter sentis, velim ad me scribas. domi enim manere, si recte possum, multo malo.

396 (XV.19)

Scr. in Tusculano inter XVI et XIII Kal. Quint. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 'Quidnam est quod audendum amplius' de Buthroitiis? stetisse enim te frustra scribis. quid autem se refert Brutus? doleo mehercule te tam esse distentum, quod decem hominibus referendum est acceptum. est illud quidem ἐργῶδες sed ἀνεκτόν, mihi que gratissimum. de armis, nihil vidi apertius. fugiamus igitur, et, ut ais, coram. Theophanes quid velit nescio; scripserat enim ad me. cui rescripsi ut potui. mihi autem scribit venire ad me se velle ut et de suis rebus et quaedam quae ad me pertinerent. tuas litteras exspecto. vide, quaeso, ne quid temere fiat.
- 2 Staius scripsit ad me locutum secum esse Q. Cicero-  
nem valde adseveranter se haec ferre non posse; certum sibi esse a<d> Brutum et Cassium transire. hoc enimvero nunc discere aveo; [hoc]<sup>1</sup> ego quid sit interpretari non possum. potest aliquid iratus Antonio, potest gloriam iam novam quaerere, potest totum esse σχεδίασμα; et nimi-

<sup>4</sup> in tuum (*Victorius*)

<sup>1</sup> *secl. SB*

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<sup>1</sup> Probably from a Latin play.

<sup>2</sup> In court, before the Consuls; see Letter 390, note 1.

LETTER 396 (XV.19)

to point to a massacre, and that in the near future. You see the men and the armament. Frankly I don't feel safe. But if you think otherwise please write to me, for I had much rather stay at home if it is all right for me to do so.

396 (XV.19)

*Tusculum, between 16 and 19 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

'What else is to be dared'<sup>1</sup> over Buthrotum? You say you appeared<sup>2</sup> for nothing. And why is Brutus coming back? I am truly sorry you are so harassed; you must put that to the credit of the precious Ten.<sup>3</sup> It is a laborious business but endurable—and to *me* very welcome. As for armed force, I have never seen anything so blatant. So let us flee, and, as you say, discuss it together. I don't know what Theophanes wants. He wrote to me and I replied as best I could. He writes that he wants to pay me a visit to discuss both his own affairs and certain matters of concern to me. I am waiting to hear from you. Pray let nothing be done precipitately.

Staius has written to me to say that young Quintus has told him very emphatically that he cannot put up with the present regime and has made up his mind to go over to Brutus and Cassius. I am now fairly longing to learn more about this—I can't make out what it means. He may have said something in a fit of temper with Antony, he may be looking for a new feather in his cap, or the whole thing may

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be no other record of this body. Can 'Ten' be a mistake for 'Seven' (see following note)?

CICERO

rum ita est. sed tamen et ego vereor et pater conturbatus est. scit<sup>2</sup> enim quae ille de hoc; mecum quidem ἀφ'αρα olim. plane quid velit nescio.

A Dolabella mandata habebō quae mihi videbuntur, id est nihil. dic mihi, C. Antonius voluitne fieri septemvir<sup>p</sup> fuit certe dignus. †de meo domi<sup>†3</sup> est ut scribis. facies omnia mihi nota.

397 (XV.20)

Scr. in Tusculano XII Kal. Quint. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Egi gratias Vettieno; nihil enim potuit humanius. Dolabellae mandata sint quaelibet, modo aliquid, vel quod Niciae nuntiem. quis enim haec, ut scribis, †anteno<sup>†?1</sup> nunc dubitare quemquam prudentem quin meus discessus desperationis sit, non legationis!
- 2 Quod ais extrema quaedam iam homines de re publica loqui et eos quidem viros bonos, ego quo die audiui illum tyrannum in contione clarissimum virum appellari subdiffidere coepi. postea vero quam tecum Lanuvi vidi nostros tantum spei habere ad vivendum quantum accepissent ab Antonio, desperavi. itaque, mi Attice (fortiter hoc velim accipias, ut ego scribo), genus illud interitus †quo causu-

<sup>2</sup> scis conī. SB

<sup>3</sup> Menedemo Victorius

<sup>1</sup> ἀν κινωῖ conī. SB, alia alii

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<sup>4</sup> Set up by Mark Antony's younger brother Lucius to divide public land among veterans and poor.

LETTER 397 (XV.20)

be just a *boutade*—and no doubt that's what it is. Still I am apprehensive and his father is upset. He knows what the young man (?) feels (?) about Antony (?). He used language to me in days gone by which is not fit to repeat. What he is up to I really don't know.

I shall have such instructions from Dolabella as I choose, that's to say nothing. Tell me, did C. Antonius want to be on the Board of Seven?<sup>4</sup> He would certainly have made a worthy member. About \*, it is as you say. You will keep me informed of all that goes on.

397 (XV.20)

*Tusculum, 20 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have thanked Vettienus. It was really very kind of him. Dolabella's instructions can be whatever he likes, provided I get something, be it only a message to Nicias. As you say, who would ask any questions about this? Can any sensible person fail to realize that my departure is an act of despair, not in the course of a staff appointment?

You say that some people, honest men at that, have begun to talk utter defeatism about the political future. For my part, the day I heard that tyrant<sup>1</sup> called a very great man in a public speech I began to have my doubts. Then, after I saw our friends at Lanuvium in your company with just so much hope of preserving their lives as Antony had given them, I despaired. So, my dear Atticus (take this with a stout heart as I write it), holding the sort of death which

<sup>1</sup> Caesar.

rus<sup>2</sup> est foedum ducens et quasi denuntiatum nobis ab Antonio ex hac nassa exire constitui, non ad fugam sed ad spem mortis melioris. haec omnis culpa Bruti.

3 Pompeium Carteia receptum scribis; iam igitur contra hunc exercitum. ultra ergo castra<sup>p</sup> media enim tollit Antonius. illa infirma, haec nefaria. properemus igitur. sed iuva me consilio, Brundisione an Puteolis. Brutus quidem subito, sed sapienter. *πάσχω τι*. quando enim illum<sup>p</sup> sed humana ferenda. tu ipse eum videre non potes. di illi mortuo qui umquam Buthrotum! sed acta missa; videamus quae agenda sint.

4 Rationes Erotis, etsi ipsum nondum vidi, tamen et ex litteris eius et ex eo quod Tiro cognovi<sup>t</sup> prope modum cognitas<sup>3</sup> habeo. versuram scribis esse faciendam mensum quinque, id est ad Kal. Nov., HS CC; in eam diem cadere nummos qui a Quinto debentur. velim igitur, quoniam Tiro negat tibi placere me eius rei causa Romam venire, si ea te res nihil offendet, videas unde nummi sint, mihi feras expensum. hoc video in praesentia opus esse. reliqua diligentius ex hoc ipso exquiram, in his de mercedibus dotalium praediorum; quae si fideliter Ciceroni curabuntur, quamquam volo laxius, tamen ei prope modum nihil deerit. equidem video mihi quoque opus esse viaticum; sed id ex praediis ut cadet ita solvetur, mihi autem opus est universo.

<sup>2</sup> *al. cān* rursus : caus(s)a cursus *cod. Tornesianus* : Catulus usus *Madvig*

<sup>3</sup> cogitans (*Victorius*)

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<sup>2</sup> If *Madvig* is right this refers to the forced suicide of the elder Catulus in 87.      <sup>3</sup> To Greece.      <sup>4</sup> Caesar.

## LETTER 397 (XV.20)

Catulus (P)<sup>2</sup> adopted to be ignominious and as good as prescribed for us by Antony, I have determined to get out of this weel, not in order to escape but in the hope of a better end. It's all Brutus' fault.

You say that Pompey has been admitted into Carteia. So he'll presently be bringing an army against Antony. Which camp then? For Antony is putting middle courses out of the question. Weakness on one side, villainy on the other. So let's make haste. But assist me with some advice, whether to go<sup>3</sup> from Brundisium or from Puteoli. Brutus' departure is sudden, but he is wise. I feel a pang. When shall I see him again? But such is life, and we must bear it. You yourself cannot see him. The gods confound that man,<sup>4</sup> dead as he is, for ever meddling with Buthrotum! But what's done is done; let us see what is to do.

Though I have not yet seen Eros himself, I am pretty well informed about his accounts both from his letter and from what Tiro found out. You say a loan will have to be raised for five months, i.e. to the Kalends of November, of HS 200,000—that being the date on which the money Quintus owes is due. All right, as Tiro says you don't want me to come to Rome on that account, I should be grateful if you would see where to raise the wind, if that won't be in any way awkward for you, and debit me accordingly. This seems to cover immediate needs. I shall go into the arrears more thoroughly with Eros himself, including the rents of the dower property. If these are paid to Marcus properly he will have just about all he needs, though I want him to be pretty comfortable. On my side I too shall evidently want something for travelling expenses. But the other will be paid as the rents come in, whereas I must have a lump sum. I certainly shan't leave until I see my way clear to

CICERO

<e>quidem,<sup>4</sup> etsi mihi videtur iste qui umbras timet ad caedem spectare, tamen nisi explicata solutione non sum discessurus. sitne autem explicata necne tecum cognoscam. haec putavi mea manu scribenda, itaque feci. de Fadio, ut scribis; utique alii nemini. rescribas velim hodie.

398 (XV.21)

*Scr. in Tusculano XI Kal. Quint. an. 44 (§ 3)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Narro tibi, Quintus pater exsultat laetitia. scripsit enim filius se idcirco profugere ad Brutum voluisse quod, cum sibi negotium daret Antonius ut eum dictatorem efficeret, praesidium occuparet, id recusasset; recusasse autem se ne patris animum offenderet; ex eo sibi illum hostem. 'tum me' inquit 'collegi, verens ne quid mihi ille iratus tibi noceret [patris scilicet].<sup>1</sup> itaque eum placavi. et quidem  $\overline{\text{CCCC}}$  certa, reliqua in spe.' scribit autem Staius illum cum patre habitare velle (hoc vero mirum) et id gaudet. ecquem tu illo certiozem nebulonem?
- 2 <sup>Ἐποχὴν</sup> vestram de re Cani (deliberationis <enim><sup>2</sup>) probo. nihil eram suspicatus de tabulis, ἀκεραίως restitutam arbitrabar. quae differs ut mecum coram, expectabo. tabellarios quoad voles tenebis; es enim occupatus. quod ad Xenonem, probe. quod scribo, cum absolvero. Quinto

<sup>4</sup> *add. Wesenberg*

<sup>1</sup> *del. Manutius*

<sup>2</sup> *add. SB*

<sup>5</sup> Antony.

<sup>6</sup> See Letter 393.1.

<sup>1</sup> This has to do with Quintus junior's proposed bride Cana; see Letter 344.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a marriage settlement. Cana's former husband evidently retained part of her dowry.



LETTER 398 (XV.21)

meet my obligations, even though that trembler at shadows<sup>5</sup> seems to me to be heading for a massacre. Whether the way is clear or no I shall investigate with you. I thought this should be written in my own hand, and have done so. About Fadius, as you say. Definitely to no one else.<sup>6</sup> I should be glad if you would reply today.

398 (XV.21)

*Tusculum, 21 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

What do you think? Quintus *père* is jumping for joy. His son writes giving as his reason for wanting to take refuge with Brutus that when Antony gave him the job of making him Dictator and seizing a strong point he had refused, the reason for the refusal being that he did not want to vex his father. On that account Antony had become his enemy. 'Then' says he 'I pulled myself up, for fear that in his anger against me he might do you some injury. So I appeased him. What is more, I have got 400,000 for sure, with prospect of more to come.' Moreover Staius writes that he wants to live with his father (surprise indeed!), and that delights Quintus. Was there ever a more out and out good-for-nothing than that young man?

I approve your joint 'suspense of judgement' about Canus' affair<sup>1</sup>—it needs consideration. I had no idea that a settlement<sup>2</sup> was involved, I thought there had been complete restitution. I shall wait to hear more of the matters which you are holding over for personal discussion. Please keep the couriers as long as you like—you are busy. Glad you have written to Xeno. I'll send what I am writing when

CICERO

scripsisti te ad eum litteras. nemo attulerat.

- 3 Tiro negat iam tibi placere Brundisium et quidem dicere aliquid de militibus. at ego iam destinaram, Hydruntem quidem. movebant me tuae quinque horae. hic autem quantus *πλοῦς*! sed videbimus. nullas a te XI Kal. quippe, quid enim iam novi? cum primum igitur poteris, venies. ego propero ne ante Sextus, quem adventare aiunt.

399 (XV.22)

*Scr. in Tusculano X aut IX Kal. Quint. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Gratulor nobis Quintum filium exisse; molestus non erit. Pansam bene loqui credo. semper enim coniunctum esse cum Hirtio scio; amicissimum Bruto et Cassio puto, si expediet (sed quando illos videbit?), inimicum Antonio quando aut cur? quousque ludemur? ego autem scripsi Sextum adventare, non quo iam adesset, sed quia certe id ageret ab armisque nullus discederet. certe, si pergit, bellum paratum est. hic autem noster Cytherius nisi victorem neminem victurum. quid ad haec Pansa? utro erit,<sup>1</sup> si bellum erit? quod videtur fore. sed et haec et alia coram, hodie quidem, ut scribis, aut cras.

<sup>1</sup> utro erit (SB\*: utro *E. Fraenkel*)

<sup>3</sup> Probably Atticus' record time for the passage to Epirus.

<sup>4</sup> Pompeius.

<sup>1</sup> Literally 'our Cytherian friend.' The actress Cytheris was Antony's mistress, but *Cytherius* also suggests the goddess of Love, and her island of Cythera. Antony, like Verres, was *homo Venerius*, 'man of Venus.'

LETTER 399 (XV.22)

I have finished it. You have written to Quintus that you sent him a letter, but no one has delivered it.

Tiro says you are now against Brundisium and that you say something about troops. But I had already made up my mind, for Hydrus. Those five hours<sup>3</sup> of yours weighed with me, and from here it's a devil of a voyage. However, we'll see. No letter from you on the 21st, but that is not surprising since you could hardly have any news already. Come over then just as soon as you can. I am in a hurry for fear that Sextus<sup>4</sup> may forestall me. They say he is on his way.

399 (XV.22)

*Tusculum, 22 or 23 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

We can congratulate ourselves on young Quintus' departure. He won't be a nuisance. I don't doubt that Pansa speaks fair. I know that he has always been thick with Hirtius, I think he is very amicably disposed towards Brutus and Cassius—if it suits his book (but when is he going to see them?). As to his being hostile to Antony—when and why? How much longer are we going to be fooled? When I said that Sextus was on his way I did not mean to imply that he was already close but that this was certainly his plan and that there was not the least sign of his laying down his arms. Certainly war is inevitable if he goes on. And this favourite of Cythera and Cytheris<sup>1</sup> tells us that only the victors will survive. What does Pansa say to that? Which side will he join if war comes, as come it apparently will? But of this and other things when we meet, today, as you say in your letter, or tomorrow.

## CICERO

## 400 (XV.23)

*Scr. in Tusculano IX aut VIII Kal. Quint. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Mirifice torqueor, sine dolore tamen; sed permulta mihi de nostro itinere in utramque partem occurrunt. 'quousque?' inquires. quoad erit integrum; erit autem usque dum ad navem.

Pansa si quae rescripserit,<sup>1</sup> et meam tibi et illius epistulam mittam. Silium expectabam; cui ὑπόμνημα compositum. <tu><sup>2</sup> si quid novi. ego litteras misi ad Brutum; cuius de itinere etiam ex te velim si quid scies cognoscere.

## 401 (XV.24)

*Scr. in Tusculano VII vel VI Kal. Quint. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Tabellarius quem ad Brutum miseram ex itinere rediit VII Kal. ei Servilia dixit eo die Brutum H. II s<sup>1</sup> profectum. sane dolui meas litteras redditas non esse. Silius ad me non venerat. causam composui; eum libellum tibi misi. te quo die expectem velim scire.

<sup>1</sup> sic vere scripserit *vel* si tibi rescr- (SB)

<sup>2</sup> *add.* SB

<sup>1</sup> his *sive* hi(i)s locis *sive* hnis *vel* stm. (Boot)

LETTER 401 (XV.24)

400 (XV.23)

*Tusculum, 23 or 24 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am strangely torn—though not in any pain. But a host of conflicting considerations about my trip come to my mind. If you ask how long this will go on, the answer is, as long as the choice is open, and that will be until I am on the quayside.

If Pansa makes any reply I shall send you my letter and his. I am expecting Silius, for whom I have a draft<sup>1</sup> drawn up. Let me know if you have any news. I have sent a letter to Brutus; concerning his journey I should be glad to hear from you too if you get any information.

401 (XV.24)

*Tusculum, 23 or 26 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

The courier whom I sent to Brutus turned back on the 25th. Servilia told him that Brutus had set out at 6:15 that morning. I was very sorry he did not get my letter. Silius has not yet turned up. I have drawn up a pleading, and am sending you the document. I should like to know what day I am to expect you.

<sup>1</sup> See next letter. Silius' case is explained in *Ad Familiares*, 332 (VII.21).

CICERO

402 (XV.14)

*Scr. in Tusculano IV Kal. Quint. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 VI Kal. accepi a Dolabella litteras, quarum exemplum tibi misi; in quibus erat omnia se fecisse quae tu velles. statim ei rescripsi et multis verbis gratias egi. sed tamen, ne miraretur cur idem iterum facerem, hoc causae sumpsi quod ex te ipso coram antea nihil potuissem cognoscere. sed quid multa? litteras hoc exemplo dedi:

CICERO DOLABELLAE COS. SUO

- 2 Antea cum <per> litteras Attici nostri de tua summa liberalitate summoque erga se beneficio certior factus essem cumque tu ipse etiam ad me scripsisses te fecisse ea quae nos voluissemus, egi tibi gratias per litteras iis verbis ut intellegeres nihil te mihi gratius facere potuisse. postea vero quam ipse Atticus ad me venit in Tusculanum huius unius rei causa tibi ut apud me gratias ageret, cuius eximiam quandam et admirabilem in causa Buthrotia voluntatem et singularem erga me amorem perspexisset, teneri non potui quin tibi apertius illud idem his litteris declararem. ex omnibus enim, mi Dolabella, studiis in me et officiis <tuis>,<sup>1</sup> quae summa sunt, hoc scito mihi et amplissimum videri et gratissimum esse quod perfeceris ut Atticus intellegeret quantum ego se,<sup>2</sup> quantum tu me amares.

<sup>1</sup> *add. Wesenberg*

<sup>2</sup> *te (Sjögren, errore ut vid., SB)*

LETTER 402 (XV.14)

402 (XV.14)

*Tusculum, 28 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the 26th I received a letter from Dolabella, of which I sent you a copy, saying that he had met all your wishes. I wrote back immediately, thanking him at length. However, in case he should wonder why I did so twice over, I have made the excuse that I had not previously had the opportunity to learn anything by word of mouth from yourself. But, not to waste words, I have sent him a letter as follows:

CICERO TO HIS FRIEND DOLABELLA, CONSUL

I have already written to thank you, after hearing by letter from our friend Atticus of your great kindness and the great service you have rendered him and after you yourself also had written to tell me that you had done what we wished, in terms from which I hoped it would be clear that you could have done nothing to please me more. But now that Atticus himself has paid me a visit at Tusculum for the express purpose of declaring to me his gratitude to you, having clearly recognized, as he put it, your signal and extraordinary good will in the Buthrotian case and your singular affection for myself, I felt I had to write once again and more plainly to the same effect. Of all your acts of friendship and service towards me, dear Dolabella, shining as they are, allow me to say that I esteem most highly and accept most gratefully the demonstration you have given to Atticus of my affection for him and of yours for me.

CICERO

- 3 Quod reliquum est, Buthrotiam et causam et civitatem, quamquam a te constituta est (beneficia autem nostra tueri solemus), tamen velim receptam in fidem tuam a meque etiam atque etiam tibi commendatam auctoritate et auxilio tuo tectam velis esse. satis erit in perpetuum Buthrotiis praesidi magnaque cura et sollicitudine Atticum et me<sup>3</sup> liberaris, si hoc honoris mei causa susceperis ut eos semper a te defensos velis; quod ut facias te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.
- 4 His litteris scriptis me ad *συμβάξεις* dedi; quae quidem vereor ne miniata cerula tua pluribus locis notandae sint. ita sum *μετέωρος* et magnis cogitationibus impeditus.

403 (XV.25)

*Scr. in Tusculano III Kal. Quint. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

De meo itinere variae sententiae; multi enim ad me. sed tu incumbe, quaeso, in eam curam. magna res est. an probas, si ad Kal. Ian. cogitamus? meus animus est aequus, sic tamen ut, si nihil offensionis sit, <velim>.<sup>1</sup> et velim<sup>2</sup> etiam scire quo die Olympia, tum<sup>3</sup> mysteria. scilicet, ut tu scribis,<sup>4</sup> casus consilium nostri itineris iudicabit. dubitemus igitur. est enim hiberna navigatio odiosa, eoque ex te

<sup>3</sup> et me et Atticum *cont. SB*

<sup>1</sup> *add. SB*      <sup>2</sup> et tu *vel* et *ve tu (SB)*      <sup>3</sup> olympiacum *vel*  
-a cum (*SB* : -piatum s)      <sup>4</sup> scires (*Manutius*)

<sup>1</sup> Equivalent to the modern blue (editor's) pencil.



LETTER 403 (XV.25)

For the rest, you have put the cause and the community of Buthrotum on a secure footing, and we generally stand by the kindnesses we confer. Even so, may I express the hope that you will wish to regard them, taken as they now are under your wing and repeatedly recommended to you by me, as sheltered by your countenance and aid. The people of Buthrotum will have a lasting and sufficient bulwark and you will relieve Atticus and myself of no light trouble and anxiety if for my sake you consent to take responsibility so far as to consider them under your perpetual patronage; and once again I sincerely request you so to do.

After writing this letter I settled down to the treatises. I'm afraid they will require your little red wafers<sup>1</sup> in many places. I am so *distract* and hampered by important concerns.

403 (XV.25)

*Tusculum, 29 June 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Views about my journey vary—I get them from many sides. Pray give *your* mind to the question. It's important. Or do you approve, provided I mean to return by the Kalends of January? My mind is evenly balanced, except that if it caused no displeasure I should like to go. And I should like also to know the date of the Olympic games, likewise of the Mysteries. Of course, as you say, the plan of my trip will depend on chance. So let us leave it undecided. A winter voyage is disagreeable, and that is why I asked you

CICERO

quaesieram mysteriorum diem. Brutum, ut scribis, visum iri a me puto. ego hinc volo prid. Kal.

404 (XV.26)

*Scr. in Arpinati VI Non. Quint. an. 44 (§ 5)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Quinti negotio video <a> te omnia facta. ille tamen dolet, dubitans utrum morem gerat Leptae an fidem infirmet filio. inaudivi L. Pisonem velle exire legatum *ψευδεγγράφῃ* senatus consulto. velim scire quid sit. tabelarius ille quem tibi dixeram me ad Brutum esse missurum in Anagninum ad me venit ea nocte quae proxima ante Kalendas fuit litterasque ad me attulit; in quibus unum alienum summa sua prudentia, idem illud, ut spectem ludos suos. rescripsi scilicet primum me iam profectum, ut <non><sup>1</sup> integrum sit; dein<d>e<sup>2</sup> *ἀποπώτατον* esse me, qui Romam omnino post haec arma non accesserim neque id tam periculi mei causa fecerim quam dignitatis, subito ad ludos venire. tali enim tempore ludos facere illi honestum est cui necesse est, spectare mihi ut non est necesse sic [neminem]<sup>3</sup> ne honestum quidem est. equidem illos celebrari et esse quam gratissimos mirabiliter cupio idque ita futurum esse confido et tecum ago ut iam ab ipsa commissione ad me quem ad modum accipiantur hi ludi, deinde omnia reliquorum ludorum in dies singulos persequare. sed de ludis hactenus.

<sup>1</sup> *add. Victorius*

<sup>2</sup> *de me (Wesenberg)*

<sup>3</sup> *del. Manutius*

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<sup>1</sup> Eleusinian.      <sup>1</sup> Young Quintus had apparently been using his father's name without his authority.

LETTER 404 (XV.26)

the date of the Mysteries.<sup>1</sup> Yes, I think I shall see Brutus. I want to leave here on the 30th.

404 (XV.26)

*Arpinum, 2 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Clearly you have done everything possible in Quintus' affair, but he is unhappy because he doesn't know whether to do as Lepta asks or to damage his son's credit.<sup>1</sup> I have heard some sort of rumour that L. Piso wants to go abroad with a commission under a bogus senatorial decree. I should like to know about this. That courier whom I told you I should be sending to Brutus joined me at Anagnia on the night of the 30th and brought me a letter which contained one thing unlike his usual excellent sense, the same old request that I should attend his games. I have replied of course that in the first place I have already left, so that it is no longer open to me, and in the second that it would be highly paradoxical if, not having been near Rome since this parade of armed force began (and that not so much out of regard to my personal risk as to dignity), I were suddenly to appear at the games. To give games at such a time is respectable where it is obligatory; to be a spectator is not obligatory for me and so would not even be respectable. For my own part I am extremely anxious for them to be well attended and to earn all possible popularity, and I am confident this will happen. And let me ask you to send me detailed accounts daily, right from the opening onwards, how these games are received, and then all about those that are to follow. But there's enough about the games.

## CICERO

- 2 Reliqua pars epistolae est illa quidem in utramque partem, sed tamen non nullos interdum iacit igniculos virilis, quod quale tibi videretur ut posses interpretari, misi ad te exemplum epistolae; quamquam mihi tabellarius noster dixerat tibi quoque se attulisse litteras a Bruto easque ad te e Tusculano esse delatas.
- 3 Ego itinera sic composueram ut Non. Quint. Puteolis essem; valde enim festino, ita tamen ut quantum homo possit quam cautissime navigem.
- 4 M. Aelium cura liberabis: me paucos specus<sup>4</sup> in extremo fundo et eos quidem subterraneos servitutis putasse aliquid<sup>5</sup> habituros; id me iam [iam]<sup>6</sup> nolle neque mihi <quic>quam<sup>7</sup> esse tanti, sed ut mihi dicebas, quam lenissime, potius ut cura liberetur quam ut me suscensere aliquid suspicetur. item de illo Tulliano capite libere cum Cascellio loquere.<sup>8</sup> parva res est, sed tu bene attendisti; nimis cakl>ide agebatur. ego autem si mihi imposuisset aliquid, quod paene fecit nisi tua malitia adfuisset, animo iniquo tulissem. itaque, ut ut erit, rem impediri malo. octavam partem †tuli luminarum† aedium ad Streniae memineris cum Caerelliam<sup>9</sup> videris mancipio dare ad eam summam quae sub praecone fuit maxima. id opinor esse  
CCCLXXX.

<sup>4</sup> ita cod. Tornestianus teste Lambino : -cos (s)pe vel sim. idem teste Turnebo et codd. superstites : -cos pedes Turnebus

<sup>5</sup> apud tale quid (Madvig)      <sup>6</sup> del. Lambinus

<sup>7</sup> add. Victorius      <sup>8</sup> loquere (Orelli)

<sup>9</sup> cui c(a)erel(l)ia vel sim. (Boot)

LETTER 404 (XV.26)

The rest of the letter makes both ways, but still it throws out some sparks of manly spirit here and there. So to let you interpret for yourself I am sending you a copy of the letter, though my courier said he had brought a letter from Brutus to you too and that it had been forwarded to you from Tusculum.

I had so arranged my movements as to be at Puteoli on the Nones of July. I am in great haste, except that I mean to make the voyage as safely as is humanly possible.

Please set M. Aelius' mind at rest. Say that I had thought that a few conduits at the edge of the farm, underground at that, would be subject to some kind of easement; but that now I don't want it and would not worry him for the world. But do it in the nicest possible way, as you said to me, so that his mind is set at rest, not so as to let him suspect that I am at all put out. Also please speak frankly to Cascellius about that capital sum of Tullius'.<sup>2</sup> It's a trifle, but you did well to notice. Rather sharp practice! If he had put something over on me, as he very nearly did but for your cunning on my side, I should have been vexed. So however it goes I prefer to have a spoke put in the wheel. You will remember when you see Caerellia<sup>3</sup> to convey to her an eighth part of the \* house, near the temple of Strenia,<sup>4</sup> according to the highest price bid at the auction—380,000, I think.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Montanus. Cascellius may have been a well-known jurist, A. Cascellius.

<sup>3</sup> Coheir with Cicero to a property in Rome.

<sup>4</sup> An Italian goddess of health, whose temple stood at the eastern end of the Via Sacra.

CICERO

- 5 Novi si quid erit atque etiam si quid prospicies quod futurum putes, scribas ad me quam saepissime velim. Varroni, quem ad modum tibi mandavi, memineris excusare tarditatem litterarum mearum. Mundus Istummenius<sup>10</sup> quid egerit de testamento (curiosus enim <sum><sup>11</sup>) facias me velim certiozem.

Ex Arpinati VI Non.

405 (XV.28)

*Scr. in Arpinati v Non. Quint. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Ego, ut ad te pridie scripseram, Nonis constitueram venire in Puteolanum.<sup>1</sup> ibi igitur cottidie tuas litteras expectabo et maxime de ludis; de quibus etiam ad Brutum tibi scribendum est. cuius epistulae, quam interpretari ipse vix poteram, exemplum pridie tibi miseram. Atticae meae velim me ita excuses ut omnem culpam in te transferas et ei tamen confirmes me immutatum amorem meum<sup>2</sup> mecum abstulisse.

406 (XV.27)

*Scr. in Arpinati v Non. Quint. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Gaudeo id te mihi suadere quod ego mea sponte pridie feceram. nam cum ad te VI Non. darem, eidem tabellario

<sup>10</sup> istum M. en(n)ius (*Solin\**)      <sup>11</sup> *add. Wesenberg*

<sup>1</sup> tusculanum (*Mongaltius*)      <sup>2</sup> minuo (*vel mimio*) tutam  
(*vel totum*) amore meo (*Wesenberg*)

LETTER 406 (XV.27)

If anything new turns up and also if you foresee anything you think likely to happen I hope you will write to me as often as you can. Remember to make my excuses to Varro as I asked for my delay in writing. I should be glad if you would let me know what Istummenius Mundus has done about his will—I am curious.

Arpinum, 2 July.

405 (XV.28)

*Arpinum, 3 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As I wrote to you yesterday I have settled to arrive at Puteoli on the Nones. So I shall be expecting a letter from you there every day, especially about the games, of which you will also be having to write to Brutus. I sent you yesterday a copy of his letter, which I myself hardly know how to interpret. Please make my excuses to my Attica, taking the whole blame upon yourself; and assure her that I have carried my love away with me quite unchanged.

406 (XV.27)

*Arpinum, 3 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am glad to find you recommending me to do something which I had already done of my own accord the day before. When I sent my letter to you on the 2nd I gave one to the

dedi etiam ad Sestium scriptas πάνυ φιλοστόργως. ille autem, quod Puteolos persequitur, humane, quod queritur, iniuste. non enim ego tam illum exspectare dum<sup>1</sup> de Cosano rediret debui quam ille aut non ire ante quam me vidisset aut citius reverti. sciebat enim me celeriter velle proficisci seseque ad me in Tusculanum scripserat esse venturum.

- 2 Te, ut a me discesseris, lacrimasse moleste ferebam, quod si me praesente fecisses, consilium totius itineris fortasse mutassem. sed illud praeclare, quod te consolata est spes brevi tempore congregiendi; quae quidem exspectatio me maxime sustentat. meae tibi litterae non deerunt. de Bruto scribam ad te omnia. librum tibi celeriter mittam de gloria. excudam aliquid Ἡρακλείδειον quod lateat in thesauris tuis.

- 3 De Planco memini. Attica iure queritur. quod me de Bacchide <et de><sup>2</sup> statuarum coronis certiore[m] [me] fecisti, valde gratum; nec quicquam posthac non modo tantum sed ne tantulum quidem praeterieris. sed de Herode et †Metio†<sup>3</sup> meminero et de omnibus quae te velle suspicabor modo. o turpem sororis tuae filium! cum haec scriberem adventabat ἀντῆ<sup>4</sup> βουλύσει cenantibus nobis.

<sup>1</sup> cum (*Wesenberg*)

<sup>2</sup> *add. SB (de Craevtus : et Moricca)*

<sup>3</sup> *al. mecio, macio, maetis : Mettio vulg. olim : Maecio coni. SB*

<sup>4</sup> *autem vel sim. (Boot)*



same courier addressed to Sestius, in most affectionate terms. It's kind of him to follow me to Puteoli, but his complaint is unjustified. It was not for me to wait for him to return from Cosa so much as for him either not to go away before he had seen me or to get back sooner. He knew that I wanted to be off quickly and had written that he would visit me at Tusculum.

It grieves me to hear that you shed tears after you left me. If you had done that in my presence, perhaps I should have changed my whole travel plan. But it is splendid that you took comfort in the hope of an early meeting, the expectation of which is my own greatest support. My letters will not be wanting. I shall tell you all about Brutus. I shall soon be sending you my book 'On Glory,' and shall hammer out something *à la Héraclide* for you to keep tucked away in your archives.

I don't forget about Plancus. Attica has a right to complain. I am very grateful for your information about Bacchis and about the garlands on the statues,<sup>1</sup> and in future please don't fail to tell me anything of equal interest or indeed of *any* interest, no matter how small. But I shall remember about Herodes and Metius (?) and everything else which I may so much as suspect you to wish. What a rascal you have for a nephew! He is coming here as I write, just as the shadows fall, and we at dinner.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known of these matters.

CICERO

407 (XVI.16)

*Scr. in Arpinati IV vel III Non. Quint. an. 44*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Iucundissimas tuas legi litteras. ad Plancum scripsi, misi. habes exemplum. cum Tirone quid sis locutus cognoscam
- 2 ex ipso. cum sorore ages attentius, si te occupatione ista relaxaris.

407A (XVI.16A)

*Scr. in Arpinati IV vel III Non. Quint. an. 44*

M. CICERO L. PLANCO PR. DESIG. SAL.

- 1 Attici nostri te valde studiosum esse cognovi, mei vero ita
- (3) cupidum ut mehercule paucos aequè observantis atque amantis me habere existinem, ad paternas enim magnas et veteres et iustas necessitudines magnam attulit accessionem tua voluntas erga me meaque erga te par atque mutua.
- 2 Buthrotia tibi causa ignota non est. egi enim saepe de
- (4) ea re tecum tibi que totam rem demonstravi, quae est acta hoc modo: ut primum Buthrotium agrum proscriptum vidimus, commotus Atticus libellum composuit. eum mihi dedit ut darem Caesari; eram enim cenaturus apud eum illo die. eum libellum Caesari dedi. probavit causam, rescripsit Attico aequa eum postulare, admonuit tamen ut
- 3 pecuniam reliquam Buthrotii ad diem solverent. Atticus,
- (5) qui civitatem conservatam cuperet, pecuniam numeravit

LETTER 407A (XVI.16A)

407 (XVI.16)

*Arpinum, 4 or 5 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have read your most agreeable letter. I have written to Plancus and sent the letter. Here is a copy. Of your talk with Tiro I shall learn from himself, You will no doubt take matters up more thoroughly with your sister as soon as you are relieved of your present pressure of work.

407A (XVI.16A)

*Arpinum, 4 or 5 July 44*

M. CICERO TO L. PLANCUS, PRAETOR-DESIGNATE

I know how kindly disposed you are to our friend Atticus and how anxious to serve me, indeed I count myself as having very few friends so attentive and affectionate. Our hereditary friendship, close, long-established, and soundly based as it is, has been powerfully reinforced by our personal feelings for each other, mutual and equal on both sides.

The case of Buthrotum is not unfamiliar to you, for I have discussed it with you more than once and explained the whole affair. The story is as follows: When we first saw that the Buthrotian land had been scheduled, Atticus was much disturbed and drew up a petition which he gave me to give to Caesar, with whom I was dining that day. I gave Caesar the document. He approved the case, and wrote back to Atticus that his request was reasonable, with a warning however that the Buthrotians must pay the sum outstanding punctually. In his anxiety to save the town

de suo. quod cum esset factum, adiimus ad Caesarem, verba fecimus pro Buthrotiis, liberalissimum decretum abstulimus; quod est obsignatum ab amplissimis viris. quae cum essent acta, mirari <e>quidem solebam pati Caesarem convenire eos qui agrum Buthrotium concupissent, neque solum pati sed etiam ei negotio te praeficere. itaque et ego cum illo locutus sum et saepius quidem, ut etiam accusarer ab eo quod parum constantiae suae confiderem, et M. Messallae et ipsi Attico dixit ut sine cura esset aperteque ostendebat se praesentium animos (erat enim popularis, ut noras) offendere nolle; cum autem mare transissent, curaturum se ut in alium agrum deducerentur.

4 Haec illo vivo. post interitum autem Caesaris, ut  
 (6) primum ex senatus consulto causas consules cognoscere instituerunt, haec quae supra scripsi ad eos delata sunt. probaverunt causam sine ulla dubitatione seque ad te litteras duros esse dixerunt.

Ego autem, mi Plance, etsi non dubitabam quin et senatus consultum et lex et consulum decretum ac litterae apud te plurimum auctoritatis haberent teque ipsius Attici causa velle intellexeram, tamen hoc pro coniunctione et benevolentia nostra mihi sumpsi ut id a te peterem quod tua singularis humanitas suavissimique mores a te essent impetraturi. id autem est ut hoc quod te tua sponte facturum esse certo scio honoris nostri causa libenter, prolixè, celeriter facias.

5 Mihi nemo est amicior nec iucundior nec carior Attico;

## LETTER 407A (XVI.16A)

Atticus paid the sum out of his own pocket. That done, we went to Caesar and spoke on the Buthrotians' behalf. We obtained a most liberal decree, which was countersigned by some gentlemen of the highest station. Notwithstanding these proceedings, I was surprised to note that Caesar permitted those who had cast their eyes on the Buthrotian land to hold meetings, and not merely permitted this but actually placed you in charge of the matter. I therefore spoke to him myself about it on several occasions, so that he actually accused me of doubting his word. He also told M. Messalla and Atticus himself that he was not to worry, and made it quite clear that he did not want to offend people here (he liked to be popular, as you know), but that once they had gone overseas he would see to it that they were settled on some other land.

That was as far as the affair went during Caesar's lifetime. After his death, as soon as the Consuls commenced their review of cases according to the Senate's decree, the facts which I have just stated were presented to them. They approved the case without any hesitation and undertook to send a letter to you.

I do not doubt, my dear Plancus, that the Senate's decree, the law, and the Consuls' judgement and letter have great weight with you, and I know that you would wish to do your best for Atticus personally. None the less in consideration of the friendship and good will between us I venture to ask of you what so eminently kindly and obliging a disposition as yours would not in any case allow you to withhold; and that is to take for my sake readily, cordially, and expeditiously the action which I am sure you are going to take in any case of your own volition.

I have no greater or better or dearer friend than Atticus.

CICERO

- (7) cuius antea res solum familiaris agebatur eaque magna, nunc accessit etiam existimatio, ut quod consecutus est magna et industria et gratia et vivo Caesare et mortuo id te adiuvante obtineat. quod si a te erit impetratum, sic velim existimes, me de tua liberalitate ita interpretaturum ut tuo summo beneficio me adfectum indicem. ego quae te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor studiose diligenterque curabo. da operam ut valeas.

407B (XVI.16B)

*Scr. Puteolis VI vel v Id. Quint. an. 44*

CICERO PLANCO PR. DESIG. SAL.

- 1 Iam antea petivi abs te per litteras ut, cum causa  
 (8) Buthrotiorum probata a consulibus esset, quibus et lege et senatus consulto permissum erat ut de Caesaris actis 'cognoscerent, statuerent, iudicarent,' eam rem tu adiuvares Atticumque nostrum, cuius te studiosum cognovi, et me, qui non minus laboro, molestia liberares. omnibus enim rebus magna cura, multa opera et labore confectis in te positum est ut nostrae sollicitudinis finem quam primum facere possimus; quamquam intellegimus ea te esse prudentia ut videas, si ea decreta consulum quae de Caesaris actis interposita sunt non servantur, magnam perturbationem rerum fore. equidem cum multa (quod necesse
- 2

LETTER 407B (XVI.16B)

Previously only his money, though a considerable sum, was at stake, but now his reputation also is involved in his keeping, with your assistance, what he obtained by dint of so much effort and interest both during Caesar's lifetime and after his death. If you grant this favour, I would have you believe that I shall look upon your compliance as conferring upon me a service of the greatest consequence. On my side I shall zealously and industriously further your wishes and interests as I understand them. Do not neglect your health.

407B (XVI.16B)

*Puteoli, 10 or 11 July 44*

CICERO TO PLANCUS, PRAETOR-DESIGNATE

I have already written requesting you to lend your assistance in the case of the Buthrotians, approved as it has been by the Consuls, who were authorized both by statute and by decree of the Senate to 'review, decide, and pronounce upon' Caesar's measures, and thereby to take a load off the mind of our friend Atticus, to whom I know your amicable disposition, and off my own, which is no less concerned. We have carried this difficult and highly troublesome business through all its stages, but it rests with you to enable us to see an end to our anxiety at the earliest possible moment. At the same time I know that you do not lack the sagacity to perceive the serious consequences to public order of a failure to observe the decrees pronounced by the Consuls concerning Caesar's measures. For myself, though many of Caesar's decisions do not commend themselves (that was inevitable in such pressure of

CICERO

- (9) erat in tanta occupatione) non probentur quae Caesar statuerit, tamen otii pacisque causa acerrime illa soleo defendere. quod tibi idem magno opere faciendum censeo; quamquam haec epistula non suavis est sed rogatoris.

Igitur, mi Plance, rogo te et etiam rogo sic me dius fidius ut maiore studio magisque ex animo agere non possim, ut totum hoc negotium ita agas, ita tractes, ita conficias ut, quod sine ulla dubitatione apud consules obtinuimus propter summam bonitatem et aequitatem causae, id tu nos obtinuisse non modo facile patiare sed etiam gaudeas. qua quidem voluntate <te><sup>1</sup> esse erga Atticum saepe praesens et illi ostendisti et vero etiam mihi. quod si feceris, me, quem voluntate et [quem] paterna necessitudine coniunctum semper habuisti, maximo beneficio devinctum habebis, idque ut facias te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

407C (XVI.16C)

*Scr. in Puteolano eodem fere tempore quo superiorem*

CICERO CAPITONI SUO SAL.

- 1 Numquam putavi fore ut supplex ad te venirem; sed hercule facile patior datum tempus in quo amorem experirer tuum. Atticum quanti faciam scis. amabo te, da mihi et hoc, obliviscere mea causa illum aliquando suo familiari, adversario tuo, voluisse consultum, cum illius existimatio ageretur. hoc primum ignoscere est humanitatis tuae; suos enim quisque debet tueri. deinde si me amas (omitte Atticum),

<sup>1</sup> *add. Lambinus*



## LETTER 407C (XVI.16C)

business), I make a practice of defending them energetically in the interests of peace and public tranquillity. I think you should be very careful to do the same. But this is a letter of petition, not advice.

Accordingly, my dear Plancus, I ask of you—and I assure you I do so with the most earnest and sincere concern—that you handle and conduct and conclude this whole business in a spirit not merely of ready acquiescence but of positive satisfaction at our having gained our point with the Consuls, as gain it we did without any hesitation on their part through the unquestionable strength and justice of our case. That you are indeed so disposed towards Atticus you have often shown both in his presence and in mine. If you do this, linked as I have always been to you by feeling and hereditary friendship, you will bind me by a signal obligation. I beg you once more most earnestly so to do.

### 407C (XVI.16C)

*Puteoli, about the same time as the preceding*

#### CICERO TO HIS FRIEND CAPITO

I never thought to approach you in the role of a petitioner, but truth to tell I am not sorry to have an occasion to make trial of your affection. You know how fond I am of Atticus. Now I beg you grant me this *inter alia*: forget for my sake that he once supported a friend of his own with whom you were in litigation in a matter which involved that friend's reputation. In the first place such forgiveness becomes your sense of fairness—after all one has to stand by one's own. And in the second, if you have any affection for me

Ciceroni tuo, quem quanti facias prae te soles ferre, totum hoc da, ut quod semper existimavi nunc plane intellegam, me a te multum amari.

2  
(11) Buthrotios cum Caesar decreto suo quod ego obsignavi cum multis amplissimis viris liberavisset ostendissetque nobis se, cum agrarii mare transissent, litteras missurum quem in agrum deducerentur, accidit ut subito ille interiret. deinde, quem ad modum tu scis (interfuisti enim), cum consules oporteret ex senatus consulto de actis Caesaris cognoscere, res ab iis in Kal. Iun. dilata est. accessit ad senatus consultum lex quae lata est a. d. III Non. Iun., quae lex earum rerum quas Caesar 'statuisset, decrevisset, egisset' consulibus cognitionem dedit. causa Buthrotiorum delata est ad consules. decretum Caesaris recitatum est et multi praeterea libelli Caesaris prolati. consules de consili sententia decreverunt secundum Buthrotios, <litteras ad> Plancum dederunt.

3  
(12) Nunc, mi Capito (scio enim quantum semper apud eos quibuscum sis posse soleas, eo plus apud hominem facilimum atque humanissimum, Plancum), enitere, elabora vel potius eblandire, effice ut Plancus, quem spero optimum esse, sit etiam melior opera tua. omnino res eius modi mihi videtur ut sine cuiusquam gratia Plancus ipse pro ingenio et prudentia sua non sit dubitaturus quin decretum consulum, quorum et lege et senatus consulto

LETTER 407C (XVI.16C)

(never mind Atticus), let this be simply a concession to your friend Cicero of whom you give yourself out to be so fond, so that I may now plainly see what I have always believed, that you have a great regard for me.

The Buthrotians were discharged by Caesar in a decree which I personally countersigned along with a number of gentlemen of the highest station, and he gave us to understand that when the new settlers had gone overseas he would give directions by letter as to what land they should occupy. Then came his sudden end, after which, as you know, being yourself concerned, the Consuls, whose duty it was to review Caesar's measures in accordance with the Senate's decree, postponed the matter until the Kalends of June. The senatorial decree was confirmed by a law passed on 2 June, which gave the Consuls cognizance of Caesar's 'decisions, decrees, and proceedings.' The Buthrotians' case was presented to the Consuls, Caesar's decree recited, and a number of other papers of Caesar put into court. In concurrence with their assessors the Consuls gave judgement in favour of the Buthrotians and dispatched a letter to Plancus.

Well then, my dear Capito—for I am well aware how considerable your influence always is with those in whose company you are, all the more then with so obliging and good-natured a person as Plancus—spare no effort; toil or rather coax until you have made Plancus' disposition towards us, which I hope is of the best, even better through your intervention. To be sure the facts appear to me to be such that a man of Plancus' intelligence and knowledge of affairs would of his own accord and without any external influence have no hesitation in maintaining the judgement of the Consuls, authorized as they were both by statute and

## CICERO

cognitio et iudicium fuit, conservet, praesertim cum hoc genere cognitionum labefactato acta Caesaris in dubium ventura videantur, quae non modo ii quorum interest sed  
4 etiam ii qui illa non probant oti causa confirmari velint.  
(13) quod cum ita sit, tamen interest nostra Plancum hoc animo libenti prolixoque facere; quod certe faciet, si tu nervulos tuos mihi saepe cognitos suavitatemque qua tibi nemo par est adhibueris. quod ut facias te vehementer rogo.

### 407D (XVI.16D)

*Scr. in Puteolano eodem fere tempore quo superiores duas*

M. CICERO C. CUPIENNIO SAL.

- 14 Patrem tuum plurimi feci meque ille mirifice et coluit et amavit, nec mehercule umquam mihi dubium fuit quin a te diligerer; ego quidem id facere non destiti. quam ob rem peto a te in maiorem modum ut civitatem Buthrotiam subleves decretumque consulum quod ii secundum Buthrotios fecerunt, cum et lege et senatus consulto statuendi potestatem haberent, des operam ut Plancus noster quam primum confirmet et comprobet. hoc te vehementer, mi Cupienni, etiam atque etiam rogo.

## LETTER 407D (XVI.16D)

senatorial decree to review and pronounce upon the case. I feel this especially because if the validity of such reviews is weakened Caesar's measures are likely to be called in question, the confirmation of which is desired in the interest of public tranquillity not only by persons to whose advantage it is but even by those who disapprove of them. But though all that may be true, it is important to us that Plancus should take this course in a ready, cordial spirit, as he certainly will if you bring into play that little streak of determination which I have often observed in you and the charm in which I don't know your match. May I earnestly request you to do so?

### 407D (XVI.16D)

*Puteoli, about the same time as the two preceding*

M. CICERO TO C. CUPIENNIUS<sup>1</sup>

I had a great regard for your father, who was uncommonly attentive and friendly towards me. And certainly I have never doubted your friendly feelings or ceased to entertain the like towards you. So I am going to ask you as a special favour to come to the help of the township of Buthrotum, and to try to get our friend Plancus to confirm and approve without delay the judgement passed in favour of the Buthrotians by the Consuls in virtue of the discretionary power conferred upon them both by statute and by decree of the Senate. May I most earnestly beg of you, my dear Cupiennius, to do this?

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is known of him beyond this letter.

## CICERO

## 407E (XVI.16E)

*Scr. in Pompeiano medio m. Quint. an. 44*

CICERO PLANCO PR. DESIG. SAL.

- 1 Ignosce mihi quod, cum antea accuratissime de Buthroitiis  
 (15) ad te scripserim, eadem de re saepius scribam. non mehercule, mi Plance, facio quo parum confidam aut liberalitati tuae aut nostrae amicitiae, sed, cum tanta res agatur Attici nostri, nunc vero etiam existimatio, ut id quod probavit Caesar<sup>1</sup> nobis testibus et obsignatoribus qui et decretis et responsis Caesaris interfueramus videatur obtinere potuisse, <iterum te puto rogandum esse,><sup>2</sup> praesertim cum tota potestas eius rei tua sit, ut ea quae consules decreverunt secundum Caesaris decreta et responsa non dicam
- 2 comprobes sed studiose libenterque comprobes. id mihi  
 (16) sic erit gratum ut nulla res gratior esse possit. etsi iam sperabam, cum has litteras accepisses, fore ut ea quae superioribus litteris a te petissemus impetrata essent, tamen non faciam finem rogandi quoad nobis nuntiatum erit te id fecisse quod magna cum spe exspectamus. deinde enim confido fore ut alio genere litterarum utamur tibi pro tuo summo beneficio gratias agamus. quod si acciderit, velim sic existimes, non tibi tam Atticum, cuius permagna res agitur, quam me, qui non minus laboro quam ille, obligatum fore.

<sup>1</sup> consul (cos., cons.) (*Manutius*)<sup>2</sup> *add. SB*

LETTER 407E (XVI.16E)

407E (XVI.16E)

*Pompeii, mid-July 44*

CICERO TO PLANCUS, PRAETOR-DESIGNATE

Forgive me for writing yet again about a matter on which I have already written to you in considerable detail, namely the Buthrotian case. I assure you, my dear Plancus, that I am not doing so out of any lack of confidence in your liberal inclinations or your friendship to me. But it is of so much consequence to our friend Atticus financially, and now in reputation as well, that he should show himself able to maintain in actuality what Caesar sanctioned both in decrees and in replies at which I was present as witness and signatory that I feel I must address you once more, especially as the matter lies entirely in your hands, and ask you, I don't say to approve, but to approve with hearty good will the judgement pronounced by the Consuls in accordance with Caesar's decrees and replies. Nothing in the world could gratify me more. I trust indeed that by the time this letter reaches you the request I made of you in my earlier letter will already have been granted. But I shall not cease to petition you until I get the news that you have taken the steps for which I am confidently hoping. Then I am sure I shall be writing a different kind of letter, one of thanks for your signal kindness. In that event I would have you believe that Atticus, who has so much at stake, will not be more deeply obliged to you than I, who am no less concerned than he.

CICERO

407F (XVI.16F)

*Scr. in Pompeiano eodem fere tempore quo superiorem*

CICERO CAPITONI SUO SAL.

- 1 Non dubito quin mirere atque etiam stomachere quod te-  
(17) cum de eadem re agam saepius. hominis familiarissimi et mihi omnibus rebus coniunctissimi permagna res agitur, Attici. cognovi ego tua studia in amicos, etiam in te amicorum. multum potes nos apud Plancum iuvare. novi humanitatem tuam, scio quam sis amicis iucundus. nemo nos  
(18) in hac causa plus iuvare potest quam tu. et<si><sup>1</sup> res ita est firma ut debet esse quam consules de consili sententia decreverint cum et lege et senatus consulto cognoscerent, tamen omnia posita putamus in Planci tui liberalitate; quem quidem arbitramur cum officii sui et rei publicae causa decretum consulum comprobaturum tum libenter nostra causa esse facturum. adiuvabis igitur, mi Capito; quod ut facias te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.

408 (XV.29)

*Scr. in Formiano prid. Non. Quint. an. 44 (§ 3)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Bruti ad te epistulam misi. di boni, quanta ἀμνηστία! cognosces cum legeris. de celebratione ludorum Bruti tibi adsentior. ad M. Aelium nullus tu quidem domum, sed

<sup>1</sup> *add. Wesenberg*

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<sup>1</sup> See Letter 404.4.



LETTER 408 (XV.29)

407F (XVI.16F)

*Pompeii, about the same time as the preceding*

CICERO TO HIS FRIEND CAPITO

I don't doubt that you will be surprised and even annoyed to find me bringing up the same subject once again. Atticus, my intimate friend, with whom I am closely linked in all things, has a great deal at stake. I have seen how zealous you are to oblige your friends and they to oblige you. You can do much for us with Plancus. I know your good nature and am well aware how much your friends appreciate you. No one can help us more than you in this cause. A judgement of the Consuls, pronounced in concurrence with their assessors at an enquiry held under the authority of both statute and senatorial decree, ought to constitute a strong case. None the less, everything in our view depends on the liberal disposition of your friend Plancus. We imagine indeed that he will approve the Consuls' decree from a sense of duty and a regard for the public interest, and that he will do it with a good will for our sakes too. So lend your assistance, my dear Capito. I beg this of you most earnestly.

408 (XV.29)

*Formiae, 6 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am sending you Brutus' letter. Heavens above, what helplessness! You will see what I mean when you read it. I agree with you about the celebration of Brutus' games. Don't think of going to see M. Aelius<sup>1</sup> at his house, just mention

sicubi inciderit. de Tulliano semisse M. Axianum<sup>1</sup> adhibebis, ut scribis. quod cum Cosano<sup>2</sup> egisti, optime. quod non solum mea verum etiam tua expedis, gratum. legationem probari meam gaudeo. quod promittis di faxint! quid enim mihi meis iucundius? sed istam quam tu excipis metuo. Brutum cum convenero, perscribam omnia. de Planco et Decimo sane velim. Sextum scutum abicere nolebam. de Mundo, si quid scies.

- 2 Rescripsi ad omnia tua; nunc nostra accipe. Quintus filius usque Puteolos (mirus civis, ut tu †Favonium asinium†<sup>3</sup> dicas), et quidem duas ob causas, et ut mecum et [ut] σπείσασθαι vult cum Bruto <et> Cassio. sed tu quid ais? scio enim te familiarem esse Othonum. ait hic sibi Tutiam<sup>4</sup> ferre; constitutum enim esse discidium. quaesivit ex me pater qualis esset fama. dixi nihil sane me audisse (nesciebam enim cur quaereret) nisi de ore et patre. 'sed quorsus?' inquam. at ille filium velle. tum ego, etsi ἐβδέλυττόμην, tamen negavi putare me illa esse vera. σκοπὸς †hoc<sup>5</sup> est enim† huic nostro nihil praebere. illa autem 'οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο.' ego tamen suspicor hunc, ut solet, alucinari, sed velim quaeras (facile autem potes) et me certiozem.
- 3 Obsecro te, quid est hoc? signata iam epistula Formiani qui apud me cenabant Plancum se aiebant hunc Buthro-

<sup>1</sup> maxianam vel -imam vel -ima ad (*Manutius*)

<sup>2</sup> coziano vel cot(coc-, cocc-)iano (*Schütz*)

<sup>3</sup> Favonius(s);

-ni simium *Reid*: -onianissimum *TP*: -onium *Maximum tempt. SB*

<sup>4</sup> Iuliam (*anon. ap. Lambinum: cf. epist. 412.5*)

<sup>5</sup> *secl. Mueller*

<sup>2</sup> P, Sestius; see Letter 406.1.

<sup>3</sup> To join Cicero in Greece.

<sup>4</sup> Atticus will have written something like 'If Pilia [or Attica?] agrees.'

it if you happen to meet. About Tullius' trifle of cash, you will take M. Axianus into consultation, as you say. So you have had a word with him of Cosa.<sup>2</sup> Excellent! I am glad to note that you are clearing up your own affairs as well as mine. I am delighted to hear that my staff appointment is well regarded. Heaven grant that your promise<sup>3</sup> is fulfilled! My greatest pleasure lies in my own folks. But I am afraid of that lady<sup>4</sup> about whom you make your proviso. When I meet Brutus I shall send you a full account of all that passes. I very much hope it may be true about Plancus and Decimus. I don't want Sextus to show the white feather. Tell me about Mundus if you get any information.

I have replied to all your points; now let me give you mine. Quintus *filis* is going as far as Puteoli (a fine patriot—Favonius is not in the same class with him [?]), for two reasons: to bear me company and because he wants to make his peace with Brutus and Cassius. But what do you say to this latest?—I know you are a friend of the Othos. He says that Tutia is making him proposals, the divorce having been settled. His father asked me what sort of a reputation she has. I said, not knowing why he asked, that I had heard nothing in particular against her except about her oral habits and her father. 'But why?' He answered that his son wanted to marry her. On that, disgusted as I was, I said I did not believe the stories. His aim in view is to avoid having to give our young man a penny; as for the lady, she is not worried. However I suspect he's romancing as usual. But you might make enquiries, as you easily can, and let me know.

My dear man, what's going on? I had already sealed the letter when some of the Formiae people who were dining with me said that they had seen Plancus—the Buthrotum

CICERO

tium pridie quam haec scribebam, id est III Non., vidisse demissum, sine phaleris; servulos autem dicere eum et agripetas eiectos a Buthrotiis. macte! sed, amabo te, perscribe mihi totum negotium.

409 (XVI.1)

*Scr. in Puteolano VIII Id. Quint. an. 44 (§ 1)*

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Non. Quint. veni in Puteolanum. postridie iens ad Brutum in Nesidem haec scripsi. sed eo die quo veneram cenanti Eros tuas litteras. itane? 'Nonis Iulius'? di hercule istis! sed stomachari totum diem licet. quicquamne<sup>1</sup> turpius quam Bruto 'Iulius'? nihil vidi. redeo ad meum igitur †ετεωμεν†.<sup>2</sup>
- 2 Sed quid est, quaeso, quod agripetas Buthroti concisos audio? quid autem Plancus tam cursim (ita enim audiebam) diem et noctem? sane cupio scire quid sit.
- 3 Meam profectionem laudari gaudeo; videndum est ut mansio laudetur.<sup>3</sup> Dymaeos agro pulsos mare infestum habere ni<1> mirum.<sup>4</sup> ἐν<sup>5</sup> ὁμοπλοία Bruti videtur aliquid

<sup>1</sup> quamquam quicquamne con. SB

<sup>2</sup> ἀπίωμεν Turnebus: ἐκπῳόμεν con. SB

<sup>3</sup> videndum . . . laudetur post (ni)mirum codd., transp. Ernesti

<sup>4</sup> nimirum (Victorius)      <sup>5</sup> in con. SB

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<sup>5</sup> *Phalerae*, a military decoration worn by cavalry. Plancus (L. Plotius Plancus) will have discarded them to avoid attracting attention.      <sup>1</sup> Literally 'Nones of Quintilis'; see next note.

<sup>2</sup> The new name (Iulius) given to the month formerly called Quintilis. It was used in an announcement about Brutus' forthcoming games (see Letter 411.1).

LETTER 409 (XVI.1)

one—the day before I write (i.e. the 5th) with a long face and no decorations,<sup>5</sup> and that some slave fellows said he and the settlers had been sent packing by the Buthrotians. Good for them! But do please write to me all about the whole affair.

409 (XVI.1)

*Puteoli, 8 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the Nones<sup>1</sup> I arrived at my place near Puteoli and am writing this the following day on my way to Nesis to meet Brutus. On the day of my arrival Eros brought me your letter at dinner. Good heavens! 'Nones of July'<sup>2</sup> Confound their impudence! But one can be losing one's temper all day long. Could anything be more unseemly than 'July' for Brutus? Nothing that I've ever seen. So I go back to my old song, 'let's fly away' (?).

But pray, what is this I hear about the settlers being cut to pieces at Buthrotum? And why was Plancus himself in such a hurry, travelling day and night so I hear? I am really very anxious to hear what it's all about.

I am delighted that my going abroad meets with commendation; I must take care that my staying abroad is commended too. It is not surprising that the Dymaeans,<sup>3</sup> having been driven out of their land, are making the sea unsafe. There should be some protection in a joint voyage with Brutus, but I imagine it will only be a matter of very

<sup>3</sup> Dyme, in the north of the Peloponnese, had been colonized with former pirates by Pompey. They seem to have been dispossessed by Caesar and returned to their old trade.

praesidi esse, sed, opinor, minuta navigia. sed iam sciam et ad te cras.

- 4 De Ventidio *πανικὸν* puto. de Sexto pro certo habebatur [ad arma];<sup>6</sup> quod si verum est, sine bello civili video serviendum. quid ergo? ad Kal. Ian. in Pansa spes? *λήρος πολὺς*. in vino et in somno <animi><sup>7</sup> istorum.
- 5 De *CCX*, optime. Ciceronis rationes explicantur; Ovius enim recens. is multa quae vellem, in his ne hoc quidem malum in mandatis, si <bi><sup>8</sup> abunde HS *LXXX* satis esse, adfatim prorsus, sed Xenonem perexigue et *γλίσχρως* praebere [id est minutatimque]. quo plus permutasti quam ad fructum insularum, id ille annus habeat in quem itineris sumptus accessit. hic ex Kal. Apr. ad HS *LXXX*<sup>9</sup> accommodetur; nunc enim insulae tantum. videndum [enim]<sup>10</sup> est quid, cum Romae erit; non enim puto socrum illam ferendam. Pindaro de Cumano negaram.
- 6 Nunc cuius rei causa tabellarium miserim accipe. Quintus filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem. egit autem et pater et filius ut tibi sponderem, sed ita ut tum crederes cum ipse cognosces. huic ego litteras ipsius arbitrato dabo. eae te ne moverint. has scripsi in eam partem ne me motum putares. di faxint ut faciat ea quae promittit! commune enim gaudium. sed ego—nihil dico amplius. is hinc VII Id. ait enim

<sup>6</sup> *om. σ*      <sup>7</sup> *add. SB*      <sup>8</sup> *add. SB*  
<sup>9</sup> *LXXII* vel *LXXV* (SB)      <sup>10</sup> *secl. SB*

<sup>4</sup> Its nature is unknown.      <sup>5</sup> Probably that he had come to terms with the Caesarians in Spain, as he later did with the governor Lepidus.      <sup>6</sup> Nothing is known of the match proposed for M. Cicero junior.

## LETTER 409 (XVI.1)

small craft. However I shall know soon and write to you tomorrow.

I think it's just a canard about Ventidius.<sup>4</sup> The report about Sextus<sup>5</sup> is taken for sure. If it's true we must clearly expect slavery without civil war. Well then, are we to look to the Kalends of January and put our trust in Pansa? *Enfantillage!* Those fellows think of nothing but drinking and sleeping.

About the 210,000—excellent! Marcus' affairs ought to be put straight. Ovius has just arrived with much that is satisfactory to tell, including the following, which is not unsatisfactory, among other verbal messages: he finds HS 80,000 amply sufficient, quite abundantly so, but Xenon is doling it out very sparingly and stingily. The amount by which your bill of exchange exceeded the rental of the flats can be charged to the year which carries the additional expenses of the journey. This year, starting from the Kalends of April, should be kept within the figure of HS 80,000, that being the present yield of the flats. We must see what is to be done when he starts living in Rome, for I don't think that woman would be endurable as a mother-in-law.<sup>6</sup> I said no to Pindarus about my property at Cumae.

Now let me tell you why I have sent a courier. Quintus junior assures me that he will be a Cato in future. Both father and son have asked me to be his guarantor with you, on the understanding that you will believe it only after you have proved it for yourself. I shall give him a letter in any terms he likes. Don't let it impress you. I write this so that you may not think that I have been impressed. I devoutly hope that he lives up to his promises—we should all be delighted. But for my part—I say no more. He leaves on the 9th, for he says he has a transfer of claim due on the

CICERO

attributionem in Idus, se autem urgeri acriter. tu ex meis litteris quo modo respondeas moderabere. plura, cum et Brutum videro et Erotem remittam. Atticae meae excusationem accipio eamque amo plurimum; cui et Piliae salutem.

410 (XVI.5)

*Scr. in Puteolano VII Id. Quint. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Tuas iam litteras Brutus exspectabat. cui quidem ego [non]<sup>1</sup> novum attuleram de 'Tereo' Acci. ille 'Brutum' putabat. sed tamen rumoris nescio quid adflaverat commissione Graecorum frequentiam non fuisse, quod quidem me minime fefellit; scis enim quid ego de Graecis ludis existimem.
- 2 Nunc audi quod pluris est quam omnia. Quintus <filius><sup>2</sup> fuit mecum dies compluris et, si ego cuperem, ille vel pluris fuisset; sed quantum fuit, incredibile est quam me in omni genere delectarit in eoque maxime in quo minime satis faciebat. sic enim commutatus est totus et scriptis meis quibusdam quae in manibus habebam et assiduitate orationis et praeceptis ut tali animo in rem publicam quali nos volumus futurus sit. hoc cum mihi non modo confirmasset sed etiam persuasisset, egit mecum accurate multis verbis tibi ut sponderem se dignum et te et nobis futurum; neque se postulare ut statim crederes sed, cum

<sup>1</sup> *del. Corradus* : nuntium conii. SB

<sup>2</sup> *add. Tyrrell*

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<sup>1</sup> Also disparagingly mentioned in *Ad Familiares*, 24 (VII.1).3.



LETTER 410 (XVI.5)

Ides and is hard pressed. You will be guided in your reply by what I write. More when I have seen Brutus and am sending back Eros. I accept my Attica's apology and am very fond of her indeed. Give her and Pilia my love.

410 (XVI.5)

*Puteoli, 9 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Brutus is now waiting to hear from you. I brought him news about Accius' *Tereus*—he thought it was the *Brutus*. Anyhow, gossip had wafted his way that the opening of the Greek show had been poorly attended, which was exactly what I expected. You know what I think of Greek shows.<sup>1</sup>

Now let me tell you something of prime importance. Quintus *filis* has been with me for several days and would have stayed even longer if I had desired. But as long as his visit lasted you will scarcely believe how pleased I was with him in all respects, and especially on the point as to which I formerly felt most dissatisfied. So complete has been the change in him produced by certain writings of mine which I have in hand and by constant talk and advice that his political sentiments are likely in future to be just what we desire. After he had not only promised but persuaded me of this he requested me, deliberately and at some length, to stand guarantor with you that he will in future be a credit to us both. He added that he did not ask you to believe this straight away, but to give him your affection only when you

They seem to have been performances of original Greek plays as distinct from Latin adaptations (like Accius' *Tereus*).

ipse perspexisses, tum ut se amares. quod nisi fidem mihi fecisset iudicassetque hoc quod dico firmum fore, non fecissem id quod dicturus sum. duxi enim mecum adolescentem ad Brutum. sic ei probatum est quod ad te scribo ut ipse crediderit, me sponsorem accipere noluerit eumque laudans amicissime mentionem tui fecerit, complexus osculatusque dimiserit. quam ob rem etsi magis est quod gratuler tibi quam quod te rogem, tamen etiam rogo ut, si quae minus antea propter infirmitatem aetatis constanter ab eo fieri videbantur, ea iudices illum abiecissem mihi que credas multum adlaturam vel plurimum potius ad illius iudicium confirmandum auctoritatem tuam.

- 3 Bruto cum saepe iniecissem de ὁμοπλοΐα, non perinde atque ego putaram adripere visus est. existimabam μετ-εωρότερον esse, et hercule erat et maxime de ludis. at mihi, cum ad villam redissem, Cn. Lucceius, qui multum utitur Bruto, narravit illum valde morari, non tergiversantem sed exspectantem si qui forte casus. itaque dubito an Venusiam tendam et ibi exspectem de legionibus. si aberunt, ut quidam arbitrantur, Hydruntem,<sup>3</sup> si neutrum erit ἀσφαλές, eodem revertar. \* \* \*<sup>4</sup> iocari me putas? moriar si quisquam me tenet praeter te. etenim circumspice, sed ante quam erubesco.

<sup>3</sup> Hydruntem vel Brundisium *cont.* SB

<sup>4</sup> multa excidisse putavit Reid, pauca SB

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<sup>2</sup> I.e. probably, 'if I cannot go safely either to Hydrus or Brundisium, I shall return to Puteoli.'

<sup>3</sup> The missing words may have gone something like: 'At any rate I shall have the consolation of not leaving you, who are my only source of pleasure here in Italy.'

## LETTER 410 (XVI.5)

had seen for yourself. If I had not been convinced, if I had not formed the opinion that this frame of mind would last, I should not have done what I am about to tell. I took the young man along to Brutus. He so fully accepted what I have just told you that he took Quintus' word without more ado and declined my offices as guarantor; and in commending him he referred to you in the most affectionate terms, and dismissed him with an embrace and a kiss. I have therefore more reason to congratulate you than to plead. And yet I do also request you, if in the past, through the instability of his age, his conduct has at some points appeared somewhat deficient in settled principle, to conclude that he has put all that aside, and to believe my assurance that your influence will contribute much, or rather more than anything, to confirm his good intentions.

Brutus did not seem to catch as readily as I had expected at my frequent hints about a joint voyage. I thought he was rather *distratt*, as indeed he was, particularly over the games. But when I got back to my house Cn. Luceius, who sees a lot of Brutus, told me that he was taking the journey very slowly, not from irresolution but in case something may turn up. So I wonder whether I should not make my way to Venusia and wait there for news about the legions. If they keep their distance, as some think likely, I can go on to Hydrus. If neither way is safe, I shall return to my starting point.<sup>2</sup> \* \* \* <sup>3</sup>Do you think I am joking? I'll be hanged if anyone holds me back except yourself. Just look around you, but be quick or I shall start blushing.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For his present 'friends.'

CICERO

- 4 O dies hospitiis lepide<sup>5</sup> discriptos et apte ad consilium reditus nostri! magna *ῥοπή* ad proficiscendum <in><sup>6</sup> tuis litteris. atque utinam te illic sed ut conducere putabis.
- 5 Nepotis epistulam exspecto. cupidus ille meorum, qui ea quibus maxime *γανυριῶ* legenda non putet? et ais 'μετ' ἀμύμονα.' tu vero *ἀμύμων*, ille quidem *ἀμβροτος*. mearum epistularum nulla est *συναγωγή*; sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta, et quidem sunt a te quaedam sumendae. eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam; tum denique edentur.

411 (XVI.4)

Scr. in Puteolano VI Id. Quint. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ita ut heri tibi narraui vel fortasse hodie (Quintus enim altero die se aiebat), in Nesida VIII Id. ibi Brutus. quam ille doluit de 'Nonis Iulii'! mirifice est conturbatus. itaque sese scripturum aiebat ut venationem eam<sup>1</sup> quae postridie ludos Apollinaris futura est prosciberent in 'II<sup>2</sup> Id. Quint.' Libo intervenit. is Philonem Pompei libertum et Hilarum suum libertum venisse a Sexto cum litteris ad consules sive

<sup>5</sup> in yspiciis (hoc) lepide vel sim. (SB)      <sup>6</sup> add. Orelli

<sup>1</sup> etiam (Ernesti)      <sup>2</sup> .III. (SB : in III Wesenberg)

<sup>5</sup> Probably the philosophical works. In a surviving fragment of a letter from Cornelius Nepos to Cicero philosophy is disparaged as a guide to life.

<sup>6</sup> From *Iliad*, 17.280. The point is somewhat obscure. Perhaps Atticus had compared his own historical work to that of Nepos.

LETTER 411 (XVI.4)

How neatly you have distributed the days among my hosts and how suitably to my plans for the return journey! Your letter gives the scales a powerful tilt in favour of making the trip. I only hope I may see you over there. But that will be as you think advisable.

I am waiting for Nepos' letter. So he's anxious to see my works is he, notwithstanding his opinion that those on which I most plume myself<sup>5</sup> are not worth reading? And you say 'after Achilles.'<sup>6</sup> No, it's you who are Achilles, he's an immortal. There is no *recueil* of my letters, but Tiro has about seventy and I shall have to get some from you. I must examine and correct them. Then and only then will they be published.

411 (XVI.4)

*Puteoli, 10 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As I told you yesterday, or perhaps I should say today as Quintus said he would arrive the day after he left, I went to Nesis on the 8th. Brutus was there. How distressed he was about the 'Nones of July'—quite extraordinarily upset! So he said he would write instructing them to announce the Hunt which takes place on the day following the Games of Apollo for the '14th Quintilis.' Libo came in as we were talking. He said that Pompey's freedman Philo and his own freedman Hilarus had arrived from Sextus with letters to

Cicero answers: 'Don't call yourself Ajax to his Achilles; if you want to make comparisons in his favour, call yourself Achilles (best among mortals) and him a god.'

quo alio nomine sunt. earum exemplum nobis legit, si quid videretur. pauca *παρὰ λέξιν*, ceteroqui et satis graviter et non contumaciter. tantum addi placuit, quod erat 'coss.' solum, ut esset 'pr., tr. pl., senatui,' ne illi non proferrent eas quae ad se ipsos missae essent.

2 Sextum autem nuntiant cum una solum legione fuisse <ad><sup>3</sup> Carthaginem eique eo ipso die quo oppidum Baram<sup>4</sup> cepisset nuntiatum esse de Caesare, capto oppido miram laetitiam commutationemque animorum concursumque undique; sed illum ad sex legiones quas in ulteriore reliquisset revertisse. ad ipsum autem Libonem scripsit nihil esse nisi ad larem suum liceret. summa postulatorum ut omnes exercitus dimittantur qui ubique sint. haec fere de Sexto.

3 De Buthroticis<sup>5</sup> undique quaerens nihil reperiebam. alii concisos agripetas, alii Plancum acceptis nummis relictis illis aufugisse. itaque non video sciturum me quid eius sit, ni statim aliquid litterarum.

4 Iter illud Brundisium de quo dubitabam sublatum videtur. legiones enim adventare dicuntur. haec autem navigatio habet quasdam suspiciones periculi. itaque constituebam uti *ὁμοπλοία*. paratiorem enim offendi Brutum quam audiebam; nam et ipse <et><sup>6</sup> Domitius bona plane habet dicota suntque navigia praeterea luculenta Sesti,

<sup>3</sup> *add. SB*

<sup>4</sup> boream (*Boot*)

<sup>5</sup> buthroti eis *vel sim.* (S\*)

<sup>6</sup> *add. Hofmann*

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<sup>1</sup> New Carthage (Cartagena), in Spain.

the Consuls, or whatever else they are called. He read us a transcript for our comments. There were a few faults of diction, otherwise the style was dignified enough and free from truculence. The only change we thought necessary was to add 'Praetors, Tribunes of the Plebs, and Senate,' Sextus having put "To the Consuls' only. Otherwise they might not have produced the letter on the ground that it was addressed to themselves personally.

The messengers further report that Sextus had been at Carthage<sup>1</sup> with only one legion and that the news about Caesar reached him the very day he captured the town of Barea. The capture of the town was followed by a great outburst of rejoicing and a revolution of sentiment, people flocking in from all hands. But Sextus went back to rejoin the six legions he had left in the further province. To Libo himself he has written that there is nothing doing unless he is allowed to go back to his family home. The long and short of his demands is that all armies, wherever they are, be disbanded. That's about all for Sextus.

I have been making enquiries everywhere about the Buthrotian business, but can find out nothing. One account has it that the settlers were cut to pieces, another that Plancus deserted them for a bribe and made off. So it looks as though I shall not know the truth of the matter, unless you send me a line at once.

That route to Brundisium which I was wondering about now seems to be out of the question. The legions are said to be on their way. The sea route from here on the other hand appears to have certain risks, so I am making up my mind in favour of a joint voyage. I found Brutus better equipped than I was told. He and Domitius both have some first-rate double-banked craft, and besides these

Buciliani, ceterorum. nam Cassi classem, quae plane bella est, non numero ultra fretum. illud est mihi submolestum quod parum Brutus properare videtur. primum confectorum ludorum nuntios expectat; deinde, quantum intellego, tarde est navigaturus consistens in locis pluribus, tamen arbitror esse commodius tarde navigare quam omnino non navigare; et si, cum processerimus, exploratiora videbuntur, etesiis utemur.

## 412 (XVI.2)

*Scr. in Puteolano v Id. Quint. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 VI Id. duas epistulas accepi, unam a meo tabellario, alteram <a><sup>1</sup> Bruti. de Buthrotiis longe alia fama in his locis fuerat, sed cum aliis multis hoc ferendum. Erotem remisi citius quam constitueram, ut esset qui Hordeonio<sup>2</sup> et Oviae, quibus<sup>3</sup> quidem ait se Idibus constituisse. Hordeonius<sup>4</sup> vero impudenter. nihil enim debetur ei nisi ex tertia pensione, quae est Kal. Sext.; ex qua pensione ipsa maior pars est ei soluta aliquanto ante diem. sed haec Eros videbit Idibus. de Publilio autem, quod perscribi oportet, moram non puto esse faciendam. sed cum videas quantum de iure nostro decesserimus qui de res.  $\overline{\text{CCCC}} \text{HS} \overline{\text{CC}}$  praesentia solverimus, reliqua rescribamus, loqui cum eo,<sup>5</sup> si

<sup>1</sup> *add. Lambinus*

<sup>2</sup> hortensio (*Schütz*)

<sup>3</sup> quia equibus (*Curlitt*)

<sup>4</sup> hortensius (*Schütz*)

<sup>5</sup> loci qua(m) meo (*Victorius*)



LETTER 412 (XVI.2)

there are some decent vessels belonging to Sestius, Bucilianus, etc. Cassius' fleet, which is a really fine affair, I don't count beyond the Straits. One thing rather bothers me, that Brutus doesn't seem in much of a hurry. To begin with he is waiting for news of the winding up of the games, and after that, so far as I can gather, he is going to make a slow voyage with a number of stops. Still I suppose a slow voyage is better than no voyage at all, and if when we have made some progress things look reasonably safe I shall take advantage of the Etesian winds.

412 (XVI.2)

*Puteoli, 11 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the 10th I received two letters, one from my own courier, the other from Brutus'. About the Buthrotians the story in this part of the world was very different, but we must lump it like so many other things. I am sending Eros back sooner than I intended so that there may be somebody to deal with Hordeonius and Ovia, with whom he says he has made an appointment on the Ides. Hordeonius' demand is impudent. I owe him nothing except on the third instalment, which is due on the Kalends of August. He has been paid the greater part even of that instalment some time before it was due. However Eros will see to all this on the Ides. As regards Publilius, since the draft is an obligation I don't think there ought to be any delay. But seeing how far I have waived my legal rights, in that of the outstanding HS 400,000 I have paid 200,000 down and am repaying the rest by draft, you might have a word with him

tibi videbitur, poteris eum commodum nostrum expectare debere, cum tanta sit a nobis iactura facta iuris.

- 2 Sed amabo te, mi Attice (videsne quam blande?), omnia nostra, quoad eris Romae, ita gerito, regito, gubernato ut nihil a me expectes. quamquam enim reliqua satis apta sunt ad solvendum, tamen fit saepe ut ii qui debent non respondeant ad tempus. si quid eius modi acciderit, ne quid tibi sit fama mea potius. non modo versura verum etiam venditione, si ita res coget, nos vindicabis.

- 3 Bruto tuae litterae gratae erant. fui enim apud illum multas horas in Neside, cum paulo ante tuas litteras accepisset.<sup>6</sup> delectari mihi 'Tereo' videbatur <n>ec<sup>7</sup> habere maiorem Accio quam Antonio gratiam. mihi autem <quo> laetiora sunt eo plus stomachi et molestiae est populum Romanum manus suas non in defendenda re publica sed in plaudendo consumere. mihi quidem videntur istorum animi incendi etiam ad repraesentandam improbitatem suam. sed tamen 'dum modo doleant aliquid, doleant quidlibet.'

- 4 Consilium meum quod ais cottidie magis laudari non moleste fero expectabamque si quid de eo ad me scriberes. ego enim in varios sermones incidebam. quin etiam idcirco trahebam ut quam diutissime integrum esset. sed quoniam furcilla extrudimur, Brundisium cogito. facilius

<sup>6</sup> accepissem (*Orelli*)      <sup>7</sup> et (*SB*)

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Antony, who by keeping Brutus out of Rome was ironically the author of the demonstration in his favour. Without the substitution of *nec* for *et* 'Antonius' will be Antony's younger brother Gaius, who as Praetor gave the games in Brutus' place. But where is the point?

if you think fit and suggest that he ought to await my convenience, since there has been so substantial a concession of legal entitlement on my part.

But please, my dear fellow (you see how I coax you), do handle, manage, and direct all my affairs so long as you are in Rome without expecting any instructions from me. The sums due to me should cover the payments, but it often happens that debtors fail to meet their obligations punctually. If anything of that sort occurs, you must put my reputation first. Maintain my credit by borrowing or even by sales if the circumstances so require.

Brutus was pleased with your letter—I spent many hours with him at Nesis, just after he had received it. He seemed delighted about the *Tereus* and no more grateful to Accius than to Antony.<sup>1</sup> For my part, the more gratifying it all is the greater my irritation and annoyance that the Roman people should employ their hands in clapping instead of in defending the Republic. In my opinion it may well goad our adversaries into putting their villainous designs into immediate execution. However 'it matters not what hurts them, so they smart.'<sup>2</sup>

You say my plan is more warmly commended every day. That does not come amiss, and I had been wondering whether you would mention the subject, for I have myself heard a variety of comments in a casual way. In fact I have been dragging my feet simply to keep the decision open as long as possible. But since I am being thrust out with a pitchfork, I propose to go to Brundisium. It looks as though

<sup>2</sup> From Afranius, a second-century writer of farces.

enim et exploratio devitatio legionum fore videtur quam piratarum, qui apparere dicuntur. Sestius VI Id. expectabatur sed non venerat, quod sciam. Cassius cum clasicula sua venerat. ego cum eum vidissem, IIII<sup>8</sup> in Pompeianum cogitabam, inde Aeculanum. nosti reliqua.

5 De Tutia ita putaram. de Aebutio non credo, nec tamen curo plus quam tu. Planco et Oppio scripsi equidem quoniam rogaras, sed, si tibi videbitur, ne necesse habueris reddere (cum enim tua causa fecerint omnia, vereor ne meas litteras supervacaneas arbitrentur), Oppio quidem utique, quem tibi amicissimum<sup>9</sup> cognovi. verum ut voles.

6 Tu, quoniam scribis hiematurum te in Epiro, feceris mihi gratum si ante eo veneris quam mihi in Italiam te auctore veniendum est. litteras ad me quam saepissime; si de rebus minus necessariis, aliquem nactus; sin autem erit quid maius, domo mitto.

Ἡρακλείδειον, si Brundisium salvi, adoriemur. 'de Gloria' misi tibi. custodies igitur, ut soles, sed notentur eclogae duae<sup>10</sup> quas Salvius bonos auditores nactus in convivio dumtaxat legat. mihi valde placent, malle mihi. etiam atque etiam vale.

<sup>8</sup> v k. *vel sim.* (SB)

<sup>9</sup> amplissimum (*Victorius*)

<sup>10</sup> eglogari (*TP, qui tamen duo: ἐκλογαί Reid*)

## LETTER 412 (XVI.2)

the legions can be dodged more easily and safely than the pirates, who are said to be in evidence. Sestius was expected on the 10th but has not arrived, so far as I am aware. Cassius has arrived with his flotilla. After seeing him I propose to go to Pompeii on the 12th and from there to Aeculanum. You know what follows.

About Tutia, I thought as much. I don't believe the story about Aebutius, though I care as little as you. I have written to Plancus and Oppius since you asked me, but may I suggest that you need not feel bound to forward the letters—as they have done all in their power for you I'm afraid they may think letters from me superfluous—at any rate not to Oppius, whom I know to be most friendly towards you? But as you wish.

Since you write that you are going to winter in Epirus it will be very agreeable for me if you go there before I have on your advice to get back to Italy. Let me have letters as often as you can, by anyone you can find if the topics are relatively unimportant; but if there is anything of consequence, send from home.

Once I get safely to Brundisium I shall set to work on a piece *à la Héraclide*. I am sending you 'On Glory,'<sup>3</sup> so you will keep it safe as usual. But make a note of the two excerpts for Salvius to read to a suitable audience at dinner—nothing more. I think them pretty good; I would rather *you* thought so. Good-bye, and again good-bye.

<sup>3</sup> A lost work.

## CICERO

## 413 (XVI.3)

Scr. in Pompeiano XVI Kal. Sext. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Tu vero sapienter (nunc demum enim rescribo iis litteris quas mihi misisti convento Antonio Tiburi), sapienter igitur quod manus dedisti quodque etiam ultro gratias egisti. certe enim, ut scribis, deseremur ocius a re publica quam a re familiari. quod vero scribis te magis <et magis><sup>1</sup> delectare<sup>2</sup> 'o Tite, si quid,' a<u>ges<sup>3</sup> mihi scribendi alacritatem. quod Erotem non sine munusculo expectare te dicis, gaudeo non fefellisse eam rem opinionem tuam; sed tamen idem σύνταγμα mihi ad te retractatus, et quidem ἀρχέτυπον ipsum crebris locis inculcatum et reffectum. hunc tu tralatum in macrocollum lege arcano convivis tuis sed, si me amas, hilaris et bene acceptis, ne in me stomachum erumpant cum sint tibi irati.
- 2 De Cicerone velim ita sit ut audimus. de Xenone coram cognoscam; quamquam nihil ab eo arbitror neque indiligenter neque illiberaliter. de Herode faciam ut mandas et ea quae scribis ex <S>aufeio et e Xenone cognoscam.
- 3 De Quinto filio, gaudeo tibi meas litteras prius a tabelario meo quam ab ipso redditas; quamquam te nihil fefelisset. verum tamen. sed exspecto quid ille tecum, quid tu vicissim, nec dubito quin suo more uterque. sed eas litteras

<sup>1</sup> add. *Bosius*

<sup>2</sup> delectari (*Baiter*)

<sup>3</sup> add. *Lambinus*

<sup>1</sup> On the Buthrotian business.    <sup>2</sup> I.e., the essay *On Old Age*, which opens with this quotation from Ennius' *Annals*.

<sup>3</sup> *On Glory*.    <sup>4</sup> Atticus had received Letter 409 from Cicero's messenger before Quintus gave him 410.

## LETTER 413 (XVI.3)

413 (XVI.3)

*Pompeii, 17 July 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Why certainly you were wise (I am at last replying to the letter you sent me after your interview with Antony at Tibur)—wise, I say, to haul down your flag<sup>1</sup> and say thank you into the bargain. Our money, as you remark, will stand by us longer than our liberties. When you write that you are getting more and more pleasure out of 'If aught, O Titus,'<sup>2</sup> you whet my ardour for authorship. You say you are expecting Eros and a little present<sup>3</sup> with him. I am glad that you won't be disappointed, though I am sending you only the same treatise in a more corrected form, in fact the original copy with numerous interlinings and alterations. Will you transfer this on to folio paper and read it privately to your dinner guests?—only I do beg you to see that they are in a cheerful state of mind with a good meal inside them, else if they are cross with you they may take out their irritation on *me*.

About Marcus, I hope it may be as we hear. I shall find out about Xeno on the spot, not that I believe there has been any carelessness or meanness on his part. Concerning Herodes I shall carry out your commission and ascertain the points you mention from Saufeius and Xeno.

About Quintus *filis*, I am glad to know that my courier delivered my letter to you before the young man himself,<sup>4</sup> though you would not have been misled. Still it's as well. But I am waiting to hear what he said to you and how you answered—no doubt you both spoke in character. But I

Curium mi spero redditurum. qui quidem etsi per se est amabilis a meque diligitur, tamen accedet magnus cumulus commendationis tuae.

- 4 Litteris tuis satis responsum est; nunc audi quod, etsi intellego scribi necesse non esse, scribo tamen. multa me movent in discessu, in primis mehercule quod diungor a te. movet etiam navigationis labor alienus non ab aetate solum nostra verum etiam a dignitate tempusque discessus subabsurdum. relinquimus enim pacem ut ad bellum revertamur, quodque temporis in praediolis nostris et belle aedificatis et satis amoenis consumi potuit in peregrinatione consumimus. consolantur haec: aut proderimus aliquid Ciceroni aut quantum profici possit iudicabimus. deinde tu iam, ut spero et ut promittis, aderis; quod quidem si acciderit, omnia nobis erunt meliora.
- 5 Maxime autem me angit ratio reliquorum meorum; quae quamquam explicata sunt, tamen, quod et Dolabellae nomen in his est et <ex><sup>4</sup> attributione mihi nomina ignota; conturbor, nec me ulla res magis angit ex omnibus. itaque non mihi videor errasse quod ad Balbum scripsi apertius ut, si quid tale accidisset ut non concurrerent nomina, subveniret meque tibi etiam mandasse ut, si quid eius modi accidisset, cum eo communicares. quod facies, si tibi videbitur, eoque magis, si proficisceris in Epirum.
- 6 Haec ego conscendens e Pompeiano tribus actuariolis

<sup>4</sup> *add. Boot*

<sup>5</sup> *At Patrae.*



## LETTER 413 (XVI.3)

hope Curius<sup>5</sup> will have a letter for me on the subject. He is a likeable fellow in himself and I am fond of him, but your recommendation will be a great additional point in his favour.

Your letter is adequately answered. Now let me tell you something which I realize goes without saying but say none the less. Many things trouble me in leaving, and the chief among them you may be sure is that it means a separation from you. There is also the fatigue of the long voyage, which is unsuitable for a man of my age and, I may even add, my position. The timing too of my departure is somewhat incongruous. I am leaving peace behind with the intention of returning to war, and spending abroad the time that might have been spent on my little estates with their handsome houses and agreeable surroundings. My comforts are that I shall either do something for Marcus or at any rate make up my mind how much can be done for him, and next that, as I hope and you promise, you will soon join me. If that happens, my whole horizon will brighten up.

Most of all though it is the business of my balances that worries me. True, they have been put in order, but I am disturbed by the fact that they include Dolabella's debt and claims by transfer as to which I have no personal knowledge. Nothing in the whole situation worries me so acutely. So I think I was right to write to Balbus quite plainly, asking him to come to the rescue if for any reason the payments should fail to synchronize, and telling him that I have asked you to get in touch with him in any such contingency. Please do so if you see no objection, especially if you are going to Epirus.

I write this on the point of embarking from my house

## CICERO

decemscalmis. Brutus erat in Neside etiam nunc, Neapoli Cassius.

Ecquid amas Deiotarum et non amas Hieram<sup>5</sup> qui, ut Blesamius [venit]<sup>5</sup> ad me, cum ei praescriptum esset ne quid sine Sesti nostri sententia ageret, neque ad illum neque ad quemquam nostrum rettulit.

Atticam nostram cupio absentem suaviari, ita mi dulcis salus visa est per te missa ab illa. referes igitur ei plurimam itemque Piliae dicas velim.

### 414 (XVI.6)

*Scr. Vibone VIII Kal. Sext. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ego adhuc (perveni enim Vibonem ad Siccam) magis comode quam strenue navigavi; remis enim magnam partem, prodromi nulli. illud satis opportune: duo sinus fuerunt quos tramitti oporteret, Paestanus et Vibonensis; utrumque pedibus aequis tramisimus. veni igitur ad Siccam octavo die e Pompeiano, cum unum diem Veliae constitissem; ubi quidem fui sane libenter apud Talnam nostrum nec potui accipi, illo absente praesertim, liberalius. VIII Kal. igitur ad Siccam. ibi tanquam domi meae scilicet. itaque obdixi posterum diem. sed putabam, cum Regium venissem, fore ut illic *ῥολιχὸν πλόον ὀρμαίνοντες* cogitarem corbitane Patras an actuariolis ad Leucopetram Tarentinorum atque inde Corcyram; et, si oneraria, sta-

<sup>5</sup> *secl. SB*

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<sup>6</sup> I.e., 'are you in the same case as myself?' Hieras and Blesamius represented King Deiotarus in Rome.

LETTER 414 (XVI.6)

at Pompeii with three ten-oared rowing boats. Brutus is still at Nesis, Cassius at Naples.

Do you love Deiotarus and not love Hieras?<sup>6</sup> The latter, so Blesamius writes to me, though his instructions were to take no action without the approval of our friend Sestius, did not refer either to him or to any of us.

I wish to kiss our dear Attica *in absentia*, I was so charmed with the greeting you sent me from her. Please return it in full measure, and give the like to Pilia.

414 (XVI.6)

Vibo, 25 July 44

CICERO TO ATTICUS

So far (I have now reached Sicca's place at Vibo) my voyage has been comfortable rather than strenuous, by oar in large part. No sign of the seasonable northerly gales. We were in luck to cross both the two bays we had to cross (of Paestum and of Vibo) with sheets level. So I arrived at Sicca's a week after leaving Pompeii, having stopped for one day at Velia, where I had a very pleasant time at our friend Talna's<sup>1</sup> house. My reception, particularly as he was away, could not have been more handsome. So to Sicca's on the 24th. Here of course it is like being in my own home, so I am swallowing up the next day as well. But when I reach Regium I suppose I shall there have to consider, 'pondering a lengthy voyage,'<sup>2</sup> whether to make for Patrae by cargo boat or for Tarentine Leucopetra and thence Corcyra by rowing boats; and if by freighter, whether direct from the Straits or from Syracuse. I shall write to you on

<sup>1</sup> See Letter 299.4.

<sup>2</sup> From *Odyssey*, 3.169.

CICERO

timne freto an Syracusis. hac super re scribam ad te Regio.

2 <Sed><sup>1</sup> mehercule, mi Attice, saepe mecum, 'ἡ δ'εὐρ' ὀδός σοι τί δύναται;' cur ego tecum non sum? cur ocellos Italiae, villulas meas, non video? sed id <satis> superque, tecum me non esse. quid fugientem? periculumne? at id nunc quidem, nisi fallor, nullum est; ad ipsum enim revocat me auctoritas tua. scribis enim in caelum ferri profectio-nem meam, sed ita si ante Kal. Ian. redeam; quod quidem certe enitar. malo enim vel cum timore domi esse quam sine timore Athenis tuis. sed tamen perspice quo ista ver-gant mihiq̄ue aut scribe aut, quod multo malim, adfer ipse. haec hactenus.

3 Illud velim in bonam partem accipias me agere tecum quod tibi maiori curae sciam esse quam ipsi mihi: nomina mea, per deos, expedi, exsolve. bella reliqua reliqui; sed opus est diligentia coheredibus pro Cluviano Kal. Sext. perso<lu>tum ut sit. cum Publilio quo modo agendum sit videbis. non debet urgere, quoniam iure non utimur. sed tamen ei quoque satis fieri plane volo. Terentiae vero quid ego dicam? etiam ante diem, si potes. quin si, ut spero, celeriter in Epirum, hoc quod satis dato debeo peto a te ut ante provideas planeque expedias et solutum relinquas. sed de his satis, metuoque ne tu nimium putes.

4 Nunc negligentiam meam cognosce. de gloria librum ad te misi, et in eo prohoemium id quod<sup>2</sup> est in Academico tertio. id evenit ob eam rem quod habeo volumen pro-

<sup>1</sup> *add. SB*

<sup>2</sup> *i. (= id est) quod est vel id est quod (SB)*

<sup>3</sup> See Letter 389.3.

## LETTER 414 (XVI.6)

the subject from Regium.

But upon my soul, my dear Atticus, I often say to myself 'what signifies your journey?'<sup>3</sup> Why am I not with you? Why am I not gazing at those pearls of Italy, my little houses in the country? But it's enough and more than enough that I am not with you. What am I running away from? Danger? At present, unless I am mistaken, there is none. It is just the danger period to which you counsel me to return. You say that my going abroad is enthusiastically approved, but on the understanding that I get back before the Kalends of January, which I shall certainly make every effort to do. I would rather be frightened at home than secure in your Athens. However, watch the way things tend in Rome and write to me, or else, as I should much prefer, bring your news in person. So much for that.

I hope you will not mind if I ask your help in a matter in which I know you feel a deeper concern than I do myself. For heaven's sake clear off my debts, pay the lot. I have left behind a fine lot of balances due; but some care will be needed to see that my coheirs are paid for the Cluvius property on the Kalends of August. You will judge how to proceed with Publilius. He ought not to press since we are not standing on our legal rights. None the less I certainly want him too to be satisfied. Terentia, I need hardly say, likewise—even *before* the settlement day if you can manage it. In fact, if, as I hope, you are leaving shortly for Epirus, let me ask you to arrange in advance for full clearance of my secured debts and to set all to rights and leave a clean slate. But enough of this—I am afraid you may think it overmuch.

Now I have to own up to a piece of carelessness. I sent the book 'On Glory' to you and in it a preface which is in Book III of the 'Academics.' This happened because I have

## CICERO

hoemiorum. ex eo eligere soleo cum aliquod *σύγγραμμα* institui. itaque iam in Tusculano, qui non meminissem me abusum isto prohoemio, conieci id in eum librum quem tibi misi. cum autem in navi legerem Academicos, agnovi erratum meum. itaque statim novum prohoemium exaravi et tibi misi. tu illud desecabis, hoc adglutinabis.

Piliae salutem dices et Atticae, deliciis atque amoribus meis.

### 415 (XVI.7)

*Scr. navigans ad Pompeianum XIV Kal. Sept. an. 44 (§ 8)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 VIII Id. Sext. cum a Leucopetra profectus (inde enim tramittebam) stadia circiter CCC processissem, relictus sum austro vehementi ad eandem Leucopetram. ibi cum ventum expectarem (erat enim villa Valeri nostri, ut familiariter essem et libenter), Reg<sup>1</sup>ni quidam illustres homines eo venerunt Roma sane recentes, in iis Bruti nostri hospes, qui Brutum Neapoli reliquisset. haec adferebant, edictum Bruti et Cassi, et fore frequentem senatum Kalendis, a Bruto et Cassio litteras missas ad consularis et praetorios, ut adessent rogare. summam spem nuntiabant fore ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, nostri Romam redirent. addebant etiam me desiderari, subaccusari.
- 2 Quae cum audissem, sine ulla dubitatione abieci consilium profectionis, quo mehercule ne antea quidem delectabar. lectis vero tuis litteris admiratus equidem sum te tam

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<sup>1</sup> Capo dell'Armi at the tip of the toe of Italy.

## LETTER 415 (XVI.7)

a volume of prefaces from which I am in the habit of selecting when I have put a work in hand. And so back at Tusculum I pushed this preface into the book which I have sent you, forgetting that I had used it up already. But in reading the 'Academics' on shipboard I noticed my mistake. So I scribbled out a new preface straight away, and send it herewith. Please cut the other off and glue this one on. Give my love to Pilia and my heart's darling Attica.

### 415 (XVI.7)

*On shipboard near Pompeii, 19 August 44*

#### CICERO TO ATTICUS

On 6 August I set out from Leucopetra,<sup>1</sup> meaning to cross from there. I had progressed thirty miles or so when a southerly gale drove me back once again to Leucopetra. As I was waiting there for a wind (there was our friend Valerius' country house, so I had a pleasant stay, quite at my ease), some prominent people of Regium arrived quite fresh from Rome, including a friend of our Brutus who had left him at Naples. They brought news as follows: Brutus' and Cassius' edict, a full meeting of the Senate to take place on the Kalends, letters dispatched by Brutus and Cassius to ex-Consuls and ex-Praetors asking them to be present. They reported high hopes that Antony will give way, that a compromise will be reached, and our friends return to Rome. They further added that people were missing me and inclined to criticize.

On hearing all this I unhesitatingly threw aside my plan to go abroad, about which to tell the truth I had already been feeling none too happy. But when I read your letter

vehementer sententiam commutasse, sed non sine causa arbitrabar. etsi, quamvis non fueris suasor et impulsor perfectionis meae, at probator<sup>1</sup> certe fuisti, dum modo Kal. Ian. Romae essem, ita fiebat ut, dum minus periculi videretur, abessem, in flammam ipsam venirem. sed haec, etiam si non prudenter, tamen ἀνεμέσητα sunt, primum quod de mea sententia acta sunt, deinde etiam si te auctore, quid debet qui consilium dat praestare praeter fidem?

- 3 Illud mirari satis non potui quod scripsisti his verbis: 'bene igitur tu qui εὐθανασίαν, bene! relinque patriam!' an ego relinquebam aut tibi tum relinquare videbar, tu id non modo non prohibebas verum etiam approbabas? graviora quae restant: 'velim σχολίον aliquod elimes ad me, oportuisse te istuc facere.' itane, mi Attice? defensione eget meum factum, praesertim apud te qui id mirabiliter approbasti? ego vero istum ἀπολογισμὸν συντάξομαι, sed ad eorum aliquem quibus invitis et dissuadentibus profectus sum. etsi quid iam opus est σχολίω? si perseverassem, opus fuisset. 'at hoc ipsum non constanter.' nemo doctus umquam (multa autem de hoc genere scripta sunt) mutationem consili inconstantiam dixi(t) esse. deinceps
- 4 igitur haec: 'nam si a Phaedro nostro esses, expedita excusatio esset; nunc quid respondemus?' ergo id erat meum factum quod Catoni probare non possim? flagiti scilicet

<sup>1</sup> adprobator vel appr- (SB)

<sup>2</sup> I.e., an Epicurean.



I was greatly surprised to find that you had changed your views so drastically. However I expect you have your reasons. All the same, if you did not recommend or instigate my trip, you certainly did approve of it, provided I was back in Rome on the Kalends of January. That meant that I should have been away during what looked like a period of comparatively little danger and come back right into the furnace. However, even if there was some failure of sagacity, no blame attaches. For in the first place I acted on my own responsibility, and in the second, even though I was following your advice, a counsellor ought not to be held answerable for anything except his good faith.

What really did amaze me in your letter was the following: 'All right then! You talk of an easy end—all right, forsake your country!' So: I was forsaking my country, or you thought I was doing so, and you not merely made no effort to stop me but actually approved? There is worse to come: 'I should like you to polish up a little tract to show that such was your duty, and address it to me.' Really, my dear Atticus? Does my action require defence, to you of all people, who enthusiastically approved it? Yes indeed, I *shall* compose such an *apologia*, but I shall address it to one of those who were against my leaving and dissuaded me. Not that there is any need for a tract now. If I had stuck to my plans, then there would have been. You may tax me with infirmity of purpose on that very score: well, in all the many writings on this theme, no philosopher has ever equated a change of plan with lack of firmness. So you continue: 'If you were of our friend Phaedrus' school,<sup>2</sup> it would be easy to find an excuse. As it is, what answer do we make?' As though my conduct was not such as I could justify to Cato himself! Shocking, flagitious conduct to be

plenum et dedecoris, utinam a primo ita tibi esset visum! tu mihi, sicut esse soles, fuisses Cato.

- 5 Extremum illud vel molestissimum: 'nam Brutus noster silet,' hoc est, non audet hominem id aetatis monere, aliud nihil habeo quod ex iis a te verbis significari putem; et hercule ita est. nam XVI Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam, Brutus audivit; erat enim cum suis navibus apud Haletem fluvium citra Veliam mil. pass. III. pedibus ad me statim. di immortales, quam valde ille reditu vel potius reversione mea laetatus effudit illa omnia quae tacuerat! ut recordarer illud tuum 'nam Brutus noster silet.' maxime autem dolebat me Kal. Sext. in senatu non fuisse. Pisonem ferebat in caelum; se autem laetari quod effugissem duas maximas vituperationes, unam, quam itinere faciendo me intellegebam suscipere, desperationis ac relictionis rei publicae (flentes mecum vulgo querebantur quibus de meo celeri reditu non probabam), alteram, de qua Brutus et qui una erant (multi autem erant) laetabantur quod eam vituperationem effugissem, me existimari ad Olympia. hoc vero nihil turpius quovis rei publicae tempore, sed hoc ἀναπολόγητον. ego vero Austro gratias miras qui me a tanta infamia averterit.

- 6 Reversionis has speciosas causas habes, iustas illas quidem et magnas; sed nulla iustior quam quod tu idem aliis litteris, 'provide, si cui quid debetur, ut sit unde par

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<sup>3</sup> L. Piso (Consul in 58) had made a speech against Antony.

sure! A pity you did not think so to begin with! You would have been my Cato, as you usually are.

The most hurtful thing comes at the end: 'As for our friend Brutus, he holds his tongue.' That is to say he does not venture to admonish a man of my age. I cannot find any other construction to put upon your words. And upon my soul, you are right! For when I arrived at Velia on 17 August Brutus heard of it, being with his ships at the mouth of the river Hales three miles north of the town, and immediately came overland to meet me. Heavens, how delighted he was at my return or rather my turning back! Everything he had kept back came pouring out. It made me remember your words, 'as for our friend Brutus, he holds his tongue.' What vexed him most was my absence from the Senate on the Kalends of August. He praised Piso<sup>3</sup> to the skies, and said he was glad I had escaped two grave reproaches: first, what I had been coming to realize I incurred by undertaking this journey, that of despair and desertion of the Republic (many people who were not convinced of my intention to return in the near future expostulated with me with tears in their eyes). The second reproach which Brutus and his companions, of whom there were a good number, were pleased about my escaping was that I was supposed to be going to the Olympic games. That would be a most disgraceful thing to do in any state of our affairs, but in this crisis—quite inexcusable! For my part I am marvellously obliged to the South Wind for deflecting me from such infamy!

I have given you the ostensible reasons for my turning back, and they are good and weighty enough. But as good as the best of them is one which you, once again, mention in another letter: 'If you leave any debts, make provision

pari respondeam. mirifica enim *δυσχρηστία* est propter metum armorum.' in freto medio hanc epistolam legi, ut quid possem providere in mentem mihi non veniret nisi ut praesens me ipse defenderem. sed haec hactenus; reliqua coram.

- 7 Antoni edictum legi a Bruto \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> et horum contra scriptum praeclare; sed quid ista edicta valeant aut quo spectent plane non video. nec ego nunc, ut Brutus censebat, istuc ad rem publicam capessendam venio. quid enim fieri potest? num quis Pisoni est adsensus? num redi<i> ipse postridie? sed abesse hanc aetatem longe a sepulcro negant oportere.

- 8 Sed obsecro te, quid est quod audivi de Bruto? Piliam *πειράζεσθαι παραλύσει* te scripsisse aiebat. valde sum commotus, etsi idem te scribere sperare melius. ita plane velim, et <ei><sup>3</sup> dicas plurimam salutem et suavissimae Atticae.

Haec scripsi navigans cum Pompeianum accederem  
XIII. Kal.

## 416 (XV.13)

*Scr. in Puteolano VIII Kal. Nov. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 VIII Kal. duas a te accepi [litteras]. respondebo igitur priorius. adsentior tibi ut nec duces simus nec agmen coga-

<sup>2</sup> et Cassio missum *vel sim. supplendum putavit Purser*

<sup>3</sup> *add. Baitter*

LETTER 416 (XV.13)

that I have the wherewithal to square accounts. The war scare has made money amazingly tight.' I read that letter halfway through the Straits, so that the only means of 'making provision' that I could think of was to be on the spot to defend myself. But enough of all this. What remains to be said can await our meeting.

I have read Antony's edict, sent to me by Brutus and Cassius (?), and their admirable reply. But what practical effect these edicts have or what they aim to achieve I frankly fail to see. Nor am I now returning to Rome in order to take part in politics, as Brutus recommends. What after all can be done? Did anybody support Piso? Did he come back himself the next day? However they say that men of my age should not go far away from their graves.

But for pity's sake, what is this I hear from Brutus? He says you write that Pilia has had a stroke. I was greatly alarmed, though he also reported you as writing that you trust she is recovering. I do hope so, and please give her and darling Attica my best love.

I write this on shipboard, approaching my house at Pompeii. 19 August.

416 (XV.13)

*Puteoli, 25 October 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the 25th I have received two letters from you, so I shall answer the earlier one first. I agree with you that I ought neither to lead the van nor to bring up the rear, but show

- mus, faveamus tamen. orationem tibi misi. eius custodiendae et proferendae arbitrium tuum. sed quando illum
- 2 diem cum tu <ed>endam<sup>1</sup> putes? indutias quas scribis non intellego fieri posse. melior est ἀναντιφωνησία, qua me usurum arbitror. quod scribis legiones duas Brundisium venisse, vos omnia prius. scribes igitur quicquid audieris.
- 3 Varronis διάλογον exspecto. <non><sup>2</sup> improbo Ἡρακλείδειον, praesertim cum tu tanto opere delectere; sed quale velis velim scire. quod ad te antea atque adeo prius scripsi (sic enim mavis), ad scribendum, <si licet><sup>3</sup> tibi vere dicere, fecisti me acriorem. ad tuum enim iudicium, quod mihi erat notum, addidisti Peducaei auctoritatem, magnam eam<sup>4</sup> quidem apud me et in primis gravem. enitar igitur ne desideres aut industriam meam aut diligentiam.
- Vettienum, ut scribis, et Faberium foveo. Cloelium nihil arbitror malitiose; quamquam—sed quod egerit. de libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius, tibi adsentior. itane Gallo <C>aninio?<sup>5</sup> <o><sup>6</sup> hominem nequam! quid enim dicam aliud? cautum Marcellum! me sic, sed non tamen cautissimum.
- 4 Longiori epistulae superiorique respondi. nunc breviori propiorique quid respondeam nisi eam fuisse dulcissimam? res Hispanienses valde bonae, modo Balbillum<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> tuenda(s) (*Victorius*)      <sup>2</sup> add. *SB*      <sup>3</sup> add. *SB*, alii alia

<sup>4</sup> meam vel om. (*SB*)      <sup>5</sup> add. *Corradus*

<sup>6</sup> add. *Mamutius*      <sup>7</sup> balbiliun (*Mongaltius*)

<sup>1</sup> The *Second Philippic*, a violent denunciation of Antony which was never delivered.

<sup>2</sup> Antony (*contra CLA*) or perhaps Quintus junior; cf. *Philippic* II.77. Caninius died soon afterwards (Letter 425.4).

## LETTER 416 (XV.13)

my sympathy none the less. I am sending you the speech,<sup>1</sup> to be kept back and put out at your discretion. But when shall we see the day when you will think proper to publish it? The truce you write of seems to me impracticable. The better course is to make no rejoinder and I think I shall follow it. You say that two legions have arrived at Brundisium. You people get all the news first. So please let me know whatever you hear.

I am expecting Varro's dialogue. I don't reject the idea of writing something *à la Héraclide*, especially as you are so taken with it, but I should like to know what sort of thing you have in mind. As I wrote to you before (or rather *previously*, since you so prefer), if I may tell you the truth, you have made me keener to write. For to your own opinion of my work, which I already knew, you have added Peducaeus' authority which counts for much with me—none weightier. I shall do my best not to fail you by any lack of conscientious industry.

Yes, I am cultivating Vettienus and Faberius. I don't think Cloelius means any mischief, although—but let him do what he likes. About retaining one's personal freedom, which is assuredly one of the most precious things in life, I am of your mind. To treat Caninius Gallus so! Scoundrel!<sup>2</sup> What else am I to call him? Canny Marcellus! And canny enough myself, though not as much so as I might be!

I have answered the longer and earlier letter. Coming now to the shorter and later one, what can I say except that it gave me the greatest pleasure? Affairs in Spain are highly satisfactory, only provided that I get dear young Balbus<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Now Quaestor in Spain under Asinius Pollio.

CICERO

incolumem videam, subsidium nostrae senectutis. de Aniano item, quod me valde observat Visellia. sed haec quidem humana. de Bruto te nihil scire dicis, sed Servilia<sup>8</sup> venisse M. Scaptium eumque non fquat<sup>9</sup> pompa, ad se tamen clam venturum sciturumque me omnia; quae ego statim, interea narrat eadem Bassi servum venisse qui nuntiaret legiones Alexandrinas in armis esse, Bassum arcessi, Cassium exspectari. quid quaeris? videtur res publica ius suum recuperatura. sed ne quid ante. nosti horum exercitationem in latrocinio et amentiam.

417 (XV.13a)

*Scr. in Puteolano vel Cumano c. v Kal. Nov. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Dolabella, vir optimus, etsi, cum haec scribebam secunda  
(5) mensa apposita, venisse eum ad Baias audiebam, tamen ad me ex Formiano scripsit, quas litteras cum e balineo existem accepi, sese de attributione omnia summa fecisse. Vettienum accusat (tricatur scilicet ut monetalis),<sup>1</sup> sed ait totum negotium Sestium nostrum suscepisse, optimum quidem illum virum nostrique amantissimum. quaero autem quid tandem Sestius in hac re facere possit quod non qui <vi>s<sup>2</sup> nostrum. sed si quid praeter spem erit, facies ut

<sup>8</sup> selicia vel -itia (s)

<sup>9</sup> antiqua *Reid*: qua quondam *coni.* SB

<sup>1</sup> homo talis (*Schütz*)      <sup>2</sup> *add. Malaespina*

<sup>4</sup> Unknowns.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a transfer of claim from Dolabella to Cicero in repayment of Tullia's dowry.



## LETTER 417 (XV.13a)

back safe and sound, the support of my declining years! The same goes for Annianus since Visellia<sup>4</sup> is very polite to me. But we must take what comes. You say you know nothing about Brutus, but Servilia informs me that M. Scaptius has arrived, not indeed in his old grand style, but that he will visit her privately and I shall know everything—I'll pass it on at once. Meanwhile the same lady reports the advent of a slave of Bassus' with news that the legions at Alexandria are up in arms, Bassus summoned, Cassius expected. All in all, it looks as though the Republic may come back into her own. But no counting chickens! You know what experienced and desperate ruffians we have to deal with.

## 417 (XV.13a)

*Puteoli or Cumae, ca. 28 October 44*

## CICERO TO ATTICUS

The excellent Dolabella has written to me from Formiae, notwithstanding that, as I hear at the time of writing (which I am doing over dessert), he has arrived at Baiae. I received his letter when I came out of my bath. He says he has done his absolute possible about the transfer<sup>1</sup> and blames Vettienus (who is shuffling, of course, in the manner of his profession<sup>2</sup>); but he says our friend Sestius has taken the whole business upon himself. Now Sestius is an excellent person and a very good friend of mine, but I ask myself what he can do in this affair which any one of us cannot. However, should anything come of it, contrary to

<sup>2</sup> Literally 'like a *monetalis*'; see Letter 202, note 1.

CICERO

sciam; sin est, ut arbitror, negotium perditum, scribes tamen, neque ista res commovebit.

- 2 Nos hic φιλοσοφούμεν (quid enim aliud?) et τὰ περὶ τοῦ Καθ' ἡκόντος magnifice explicamus προσφωνούμενque Ciceroni, qua de re enim potius pater filio? deinde alia. quid quaeris? exstabit opera peregrinationis huius. Varronem hodie aut cras venturum putabant. ego autem in Pompeianum properabam, non quo hoc loco quicquam pulchrius, sed interpellatores illic minus molesti. sed perscribe, quaeso, quae causa sit Myrtilo (poenas quidem illum pependisse audivi) et satisne pate<a>t<sup>3</sup> unde corruptus.
- 3 Haec cum scriberem, tantum quod existimabam ad te orationem esse perlatam. hui, quam timeo quid existimes! etsi quid ad me? quae non sit foras proditura nisi re publica recuperata; de quo quid sperem non audeo scribere.

418 (XVI.8)

*Scr. in Puteolano IV vel III Non. Nov. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Cum sciam quo die venturus sim, faciam ut scias. impedimenta exspectanda sunt quae tannuat<sup>1</sup> veniunt et familia aegra est. Kalendis vesperi litterae mihi ab Octaviano. magna molitur. veteranos qui Casilini et Calatiae <sunt> perduxit ad suam sententiam. nec mirum, quingenos denarios dat. cogitat reliquas colonias obire. plane hoc spectat ut se duce bellum geratur cum Antonio. itaque video

<sup>3</sup> *add. Ernesti*

<sup>1</sup> Anagnina s

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<sup>3</sup> Probably accused of a plot against Antony's life.

LETTER 418 (XVI.8)

expectation, you will let me know. If on the other hand it's a lost cause, as I suppose, write all the same. I shall not take it to heart.

Here I philosophize (what else?) and expound the subject of Duty on a magnificent scale. I am addressing the book to Marcus. From father to son what better theme? Then to other projects. Yes, there will be work to show for this absence of mine. They expect Varro today or tomorrow. I am hurrying off to Pompeii; not that any place could be more beautiful than this, but interruptors are less of a nuisance there. But pray tell me all about Myrtilus<sup>3</sup> case—I hear that he has paid the penalty—and whether it is sufficiently clear who suborned him.

As I write this I think my speech must just about have reached you. Dear me, how nervous I am about what you will think of it! And yet what is that to me, since it won't see the light unless the free constitution is restored? What my hopes are on *that* point I dare not put on paper.

418 (XVI.8)

*Puteoli, 2 or 3 November 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

When I know what day I shall get back I shall send you word. I have to wait for the baggage which is coming from \* and there is sickness among my people. On the evening of the Kalends a letter for me arrived from Octavian. He has great schemes afoot. He has won the veterans at Casilinum and Calatia over to his views, and no wonder since he gives them 500 denarii apiece. He plans to make a round of the other colonies. His object is plain: war with

paucis diebus nos in armis fore. quem autem sequamur? vide nomen, vide aetatem. atque a me postulat primum ut clam colloquatur mecum vel Capuae vel non longe a Capua. puerile hoc quidem, si id putat clam fieri posse. 2 docui per litteras id nec opus esse nec fieri posse. misit ad me Caecinam quendam Volaterranum, familiarem suum; qui haec pertulit, Antonium cum legione Alaudarum ad urbem pergere, pecunias municipiis imperare, legionem sub signis ducere. consultabat utrum Romam cum CIO CIO CIO veteranorum proficisceretur an Capuam teneret et Antonium venientem excluderet an iret ad tris legiones Macedonicas quae iter secundum mare superum faciunt; quas sperat suas esse. eae congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt, ut hic quidem narrat, et ei convicium grave fecerunt contionantemque reliquerunt. quid quaeris? ducem se profitetur nec nos sibi putat deesse oportere. equidem suasi ut Romam pergeret. videtur enim mihi et plebeculam urbanam et, si fidem fecerit, etiam bonos viros secum habiturus. o Brute, ubi es? quantam εὐκαιρίαν amittis! non equidem hoc divinavi, sed aliquid tale putavi fore.

Nunc tuum consilium exquiro. Romamne venio an hic maneo an Arpinum (ἀσφάλειαν habet is locus) fugiam \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> Romam, ne desideremur si quid actum videbitur. hoc igitur explica. numquam in maiore ἀπορίᾳ fui.

<sup>2</sup> hoc malo sed fortasse praestat *vel sim. supplendum consi. SB*

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<sup>1</sup> The famous Fifth Legion (Alaudae, a Celtic word = larks) raised by Caesar in Transalpine Gaul.

Antony and himself as commander-in-chief. So it looks to me as though in a few days' time we shall be in arms. But whom are we to follow? Consider his name; consider his age. And now he asks me, in the first instance, for a secret interview in Capua or somewhere in the vicinity—childish, if he thinks it could be done secretly. I wrote pointing out that this was neither needful nor possible. He sent me one Caecina of Volaterrae, a friend of his, with intelligence that Antony is advancing on Rome with the Larks,<sup>1</sup> levying money on the towns and marching the legion under colours. He wanted my advice on whether he should proceed to Rome with 3,000 veterans or hold Capua and block Antony's route or go to join the three Macedonian legions now marching along the Adriatic coast, which he hopes to have on his side. They refused to take a bounty from Antony, so *he* says, booed him savagely, and left him standing as he tried to harangue them. In short, he proffers himself as our leader and expects me to back him up. For my part I have recommended him to go to Rome. I imagine he will have the city rabble behind him, and the honest men too if he convinces them of his sincerity. Ah Brutus, where are you? What a golden opportunity you are losing! I could not foretell *this*, but I thought something of the kind would happen.

Now I ask your advice. Do I return to Rome or stay here or should I flee to Arpinum, which offers security? I prefer the last, but perhaps Rome is better (?), for fear I may be missed if people come to think that something has been achieved. So solve this problem. I was never in a greater quandary.

## CICERO

419 (XVI.9)

*Scr. in Puteolano prid. Non. Nov. an. 44*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

Binae uno die mihi litterae ab Octaviano, nunc quidem ut Romam statim veniam; velle se rem agere per senatum, cui ego non posse senatum ante Kal. Ian., quod quidem ita credo. ille autem addit 'consilio tuo.' quid multa? ille urget, ego autem *σκήπτομαι*. non confido aetati, ignoro quo animo. nil sine Pansa tuo volo. vereor ne valeat Antonius, nec a mari discedere libet. at<sup>1</sup> metuo ne quae *ἀπιστεία* me absente. Varroni quidem displicet consilium pueri, mihi non. firmas copias habet, Brutum habere potest; et rem gerit palam, centuriat Capuae, dinumerat. iam iamque video bellum. ad haec rescribe. tabellarium meum Kalendis Roma profectum sine tuis litteris miror.

420 (XVI.11)

*Scr. in Puteolano Non. Nov. an. 44 (§ 1)*

&lt;CICERO ATTICO SAL.&gt;

- 1 Nonis accepi a te duas epistulas quarum alteram Kal. dederas, alteram pridie. igitur prius ad superiorem. nostrum opus tibi probari laetor; ex quo *ἀνθή* ipsa posuisti, quae mihi florentiora sunt visa tuo iudicio. cerulas enim tuas miniatulas illas extimescebam. de Sicca ita est ut scribis;

<sup>1</sup> et (SB)<sup>1</sup> Decimus.<sup>1</sup> See Letter 402, note 1.

## LETTER 420 (XVI.11)

419 (XVI.9)

*Puteoli, 4 November 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Two letters for me from Octavian in one day! Now wants me to return to Rome at once, says he wants to work through the Senate. I replied that the Senate could not meet before the Kalends of January, which I believe is the case. He adds 'with your advice.' In short, he presses and I play for time. I don't trust his age and I don't know what he's after. I don't want to do anything without your friend Pansa. I'm nervous of Antony's power and don't want to leave the coast. But I'm afraid of some star performance during my absence. Varro doesn't think much of the boy's plan, I take a different view. He has a strong force at his back and *can* have Brutus.<sup>1</sup> And he's going to work quite openly, forming companies at Capua and paying out bounties. War is evidently coming any minute now. Let me have an answer to all this. I am surprised that my courier left Rome on the Kalends without a letter from you.

420 (XVI.11)

*Puteoli, 5 November 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On the Nones I received two letters from you, the first dispatched on the Kalends, the second on the day preceding. First then my answer to the earlier. I am glad you like my work. You have quoted the very gems, and your good opinion makes them sparkle the brighter in my eyes. I was terrified of those little red wafers of yours!<sup>1</sup> You are right

a<b i>sta causa<sup>1</sup> aegre me tenui. itaque perstringam sine ulla contumelia Siccae aut Septimiae, tantum ut sciant *παῖδες παίδων* sine vallo Luciliano eum ex C. Fadi filia liberos habuisse. atque utinam eum diem videam cum ista oratio ita libere vagetur <ut> etiam in Siccae domum intreat! sed illo tempore opus est quod fuit illis *III* viris. moriar nisi facete! tu vero leges Sexto eiusque iudicium mihi perscribes. εἰς ἐμοὶ μῦριοι. Caleni interventum et Calvennae cavebis.

- 2 Quod vereris ne ἀδόλεσχος mihi tu, quis minus? cui, ut Aristophani Archilochi iambus, sic epistula <tua><sup>2</sup> longissima quaeque optima videtur. quod me admones, tu vero etiam si reprehenderes, non modo facile paterer sed etiam laetarer, quippe cum in reprehensione sit prudentia cum εὐμενεία. ita libenter ea corrigam quae a te animadversa sunt, 'eodem iure quo Rubriana' potius quam 'quo Scipionis,' et de laudibus Dolabellae deruam cumulum. ac<sup>3</sup> tamen est isto loco bella, ut mihi videtur, εἰρωνεία, quod eum ter contra civis in acie. illud etiam malo 'indignissimum est hunc vivere' quam 'quid indignius?'  
 3 Πεπλογραφίαν Varronis tibi probari non moleste fero; a quo adhuc Ἡρακλείδειον illud non abstuli. quod me

<sup>1</sup> *astaca vel sim. (SB)*

<sup>2</sup> *add. Lambinus*

<sup>3</sup> *at (Wesenberg)*

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Philippic* II. 3. Antony was probably not married to her though he acknowledged paternity. Presumably there was a family connection with Sicca and Septimia.

<sup>3</sup> Explained in *CLA*.

<sup>4</sup> So I render Heraclitus' saying; see Letter 25, note 3.



## LETTER 420 (XVI.11)

about Sicca. I had a struggle to keep away from that material. So I shall touch on it, without any offence to Sicca or Septimia, just enough to make posterity aware with no Lucilian coarseness (<sup>?</sup>) that he had children by C. Fadius' daughter.<sup>2</sup> I only wish I may see the day when that speech circulates freely enough even to enter Sicca's house! What we need is to get back to the days of the Domestic Committee of Three (<sup>?</sup>). Pretty good that!<sup>3</sup> Anyway read it to Sextus and let me know exactly what he thinks. I would take his word *contra mundum*.<sup>4</sup> And see that Calenus and Baldy don't poke their noses in.

As for my finding you *bavard*, you are the last person who need be afraid of that. I feel about your letters as Aristophanes<sup>5</sup> did about Archilochus' iambics—the longer the better. As for your admonitions, even if you found fault with me I should not mind, in fact I should be pleased, since the fault-finding would be done with good sense and good will. So I shall be glad to correct the points<sup>6</sup> you notice. 'By the same right as Rubrius' property' instead of 'as Scipio's'; and I shall tone down my eulogies of Dola-bella. I think though there is a nice touch of irony in the passage, when I say he fought three times in battle against his countrymen. I also prefer 'it's an outrage that this man should live' to 'what could be more outrageous?'

That you think well of Varro's literary picture gallery<sup>7</sup> does not displease me. I still have not got that piece *à la Héraclide* out of him. It's kind of you to encourage me to

<sup>5</sup> Probably the poet rather than the grammarian, Aristophanes of Byzantium. <sup>6</sup> In the *Second Philippic*.

<sup>7</sup> A work called *Imagines (Portraits)*, containing 700 portraits of famous men to illustrate the text.

hortaris ad scribendum, amice tu quidem, sed me scito agere nihil aliud. gravedo tua mihi molesta est. quaeso, adhibe quam soles diligentiam. librum meum illum 'o Tite' tibi prodesse laetor. 'Anagnini' sunt Mustela ταξιάρχης et Laco qui plurimum bibit. librum quem rogas perpoliam et mittam.

- 4 Haec ad posteriorem. τὰ περὶ τοῦ Καθήκοντος, quatenus Panaetius, absolvi duobus. illius tres sunt; sed cum initio divisisset ita, tria genera exquirendi officii esse, unum, cum deliberemus honestum an turpe sit, alterum, utile<sup>4</sup> an inutile, tertium, cum haec inter se pugnare videantur, quo modo iudicandum sit, qualis causa Reguli, redire honestum, manere utile, de duobus primis praeclare disserit, de tertio pollicetur se deinceps <scripturum> sed nihil scripsit. eum locum Posidonius persecutus <est>.<sup>5</sup> ego autem et eius librum arcessivi et ad Athenodorum Calvum scripsi ut ad me τὰ κεφάλαια mitteret; quae exspecto. quem velim cohortere et roges ut quam primum. in eo est περὶ τοῦ κατὰ περίστασιν Καθήκοντος. quod de inscriptione quaeris, non dubito quin καθήκον 'officium' sit, nisi quid tu aliud; sed inscriptio plenior 'de Officiis.' προσφωνῶ autem Ciceroni filio; visum est non ἀνοίκειον.

- 5 De Myrtilo dilucide. o qualis tu semper istos! itane? in D. Brutum? di istis!

<sup>4</sup> cum utile *coni.* SB

<sup>5</sup> *add.* Orelli

<sup>8</sup> See Letter 413, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> Returning to the *Second Philippic*.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps 'On Friendship' (so Beaujeu).

write, but I beg to inform you that I do nothing else. I am sorry to hear of your cold. Pray treat it with your usual care. I am glad you find that book of mine, 'O Titus,'<sup>8</sup> helpful. The 'men of Anagnia'<sup>9</sup> are *le Capitaine Mustela* and Laco, the champion toper. I shall thoroughly polish the book you ask for<sup>10</sup> and send it to you.

Now to your more recent letter. I have completed the subject of Duty, so far as Panaetius goes, in two books. He has three. He begins by dividing the enquiries on Duty into three categories: (*a*) when the question is whether an action is right or wrong; (*b*) whether it is expedient or inexpedient; and (*c*) how to judge in cases of apparent conflict between the two, e.g. that of Regulus—right to go back, expedient to remain.<sup>11</sup> He gives an excellent exposition of *a* and *b*; *c* he promises to discuss in due course but never actually did so. That topic was followed up by Posidonius. I have sent for his book and have also written to Athenodorus the Bald asking him to send me an abstract, for which I am now waiting. Would you please give him a push, ask him to send it as soon as possible? It includes a section on 'Duty depending on given circumstances.' As for your query about the title, I make no doubt that *καθήκον* is 'duty,'<sup>12</sup> unless you have some other suggestion. But the fuller title is 'On Duties.' I address it to my son Marcus. That seemed not inappropriate.

You make all plain about Myrtilus.<sup>13</sup> How well you always hit these fellows off! What, against D. Brutus? The devil take them!

<sup>11</sup> To Carthage; see Horace's famous Ode, 3.5.

<sup>12</sup> *Officium*.

<sup>13</sup> See Letter 417, note 3.

- 6 Ego me, ut scripseram, in Pompeianum non abdidī, primo tempestatibus, quibus nil taetrius; deinde ab Octaviano cottidie litterae ut negotium susciperem, Capuam venirem, iterum rem publicam servarem, Romam utique statim. *ἄιδεσθαι μὲν ἀνήνασθαι, δεῖσαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι.* is tamen egit sane strenue et agit, Romam veniet cum manu magna; sed est plane puer. putat senatum statim. quis veniet? si venerit, quis incertis rebus offendet Antonium? Kal. Ian. erit fortasse praesidio, aut quidem ante depugnabitur. puero municipia mire favent. iter enim faciens in Samnium venit Cales, mansit Teani. mirifica *ἀπάντησις* et cohortatio. hoc tu putares? ob hoc ego citius Romam quam constitueram. simul et constituero, scribam.
- 7 Etsi nondum stipulationes legeram (nec enim Eros venerat), tamen rem prid. Id. velim conficias. epistulas Catinam, Tauromenium, Syracusas commodius mittere potero si Valerius int<erp>res ad me nomina gratiosorum scripserit. alii enim sunt alias, nostrique familiares fere demortui. publice tamen scripsi, si uti vellet eis Valerius; aut mihi nomina mitteret.
- 8 De Lepidianis feri<i>s Balbus ad me usque ad III Kal. exspectabo tuas litteras meque <de> Torquati negotiolo

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<sup>14</sup> See Letter 115, note 32.

<sup>15</sup> Probably a Thanksgiving to be voted in respect of Lepidus' conclusion of peace with Sex. Pompeius (see Beaujeu, X, p. 247).

<sup>16</sup> Obviously not A. Torquatus' restoration.

## LETTER 420 (XVI.11)

I have not buried myself down at Pompeii as I wrote that I should, partly because the weather is abominable, partly because I get letters every day from Octavian urging me to put my shoulder to the wheel, come to Capua, save the Republic a second time, and at all events return to Rome at once. 'Durst not refuse for shame, for fear accept.'<sup>14</sup> He has certainly shown, and continues to show, plenty of energy, and he will go to Rome with a large following; but he is very much a boy. Thinks the Senate will meet at once. Who will come? And who, supposing he comes, will run up against Antony in so uncertain a situation? On the Kalends of January he may be some protection; or perhaps the issue will be fought out before then. The boy is remarkably popular in the towns. On his way to Samnium he passed through Cales and stayed the night at Teanum. Amazing receptions and demonstrations of encouragement. Would you have thought it? For this reason I shall return to Rome sooner than I had intended. I shall write as soon as I decide definitely.

Although I have not yet read the covenants (in fact Eros has not yet arrived) I should be glad if you would settle the matter on the 12th. It will be easier for me to write letters to Catina, Tauromenium, and Syracuse if Valerius the interpreter will send me the names of the influential people. These vary from one period to another, and my friends have mostly died off. However I have written letters to the municipal bodies in case Valerius might care to make use of them. Otherwise he should have sent me the names.

Balbus writes to me that Lepidus' holiday<sup>15</sup> will last until the 29th. I shall be expecting a letter from you, and I think I shall learn about Torquatus' little matter.<sup>16</sup> I send

CICERO

s<c>iturum puto. Quinti litteras ad te misi ut scires quam valde eum amaret quem dolet a te minus amari. Atticae, quoniam, quod optimum in pueris est, hilarula est, meis verbis suavium des volo.

421 (XVI.12)

*Scr. in Puteolano VIII vel VII Id. Nov. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Oppi epistulae, quia perhumana erat, tibi misi exemplum. <male><sup>1</sup> de Ocella. dum tu muginaris nec mihi quicquam rescribis, cepi consilium domesticum; itaque me prid. Id. arbitror Romae futurum. commodius est visum frustra me istic esse, cum id non necesse esset, quam, si opus esset, non adesse; et simul ne intercluderer metuebam. ille enim iam adventare potest; etsi varii rumores multique quos cuperem veros, nihil tamen certi. ego vero, quicquid est, tecum potius quam animi pendeam, cum a te absim, et de te et de me. sed quid tibi dicam? κοινὸν<sup>2</sup> enim.

De Ἡρακλειδείῳ Varronis negotia salsa. me quidem nihil umquam sic delectavit. sed haec et alia maiora coram.

<sup>1</sup> *add. SB*

<sup>2</sup> *bonam (SB)*

LETTER 421 (XVI.12)

you Quintus' letter to show you the warmth of his affection towards a certain person<sup>17</sup> for whom the coolness of *yours* distresses him. Please give Attica a kiss from me for being such a merry little thing. It is what one likes to see in children.

421 (XVI.12)

*Puteoli, 6 or 7 November 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am sending you a copy of Oppius' letter because it's such a kind one. Sad about Ocella. While you go on humming and hawing and don't answer me a word I have taken my own counsel and accordingly I think I shall be in Rome on the 12th. I felt it better to be there to no purpose, without necessity, than not to be on the spot if need should arise, and at the same time I am afraid of being cut off. Antony may be coming up at this moment; though to be sure there are various rumours afloat, many of them such as I should wish true, nothing certain however. Whatever the truth, better for me to be with you than away from you, anxious both on your account and my own. But I need not tell you—these things are mutual.

A good joke about Varro's piece *à la Héraclide*. I am tickled to death. But of this and greater matters when we meet.

<sup>17</sup> Quintus junior.

CICERO

422 (XVI.10)

Scr. in Sinuessano v Id. Nov. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 VI Id.<sup>1</sup> veni ad me in Sinuessanum. eodem die vulgo loquebantur Antonium mansurum esse Casilini. itaque mutavi consilium; statueram enim recta Appia Romam. facile me ille esset adsecutus; aiunt enim eum Caesari<a>na uti celebritate. verti igitur me a Minturnis Arpinum versus. constitueram ut v Id. <a>ut Aquini manerem aut in Arcano.
- 2 Nunc, mi Attice, tota mente incumbe in hanc curam; magna enim res est. tria sunt autem, maneamne Arpini an propius accedam an veniam Romam. quod censueris faciam. sed quam primum. avide exspecto tuas litteras.
- v[I]<sup>2</sup> Id. mane in Sinuessano.

423 (XVI.13)

Scr. Aquini IV Id. Nov. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 O casum mirificum! v Id. cum ante lucem de Sinuessano surrexissem venissemque diluculo ad pontem Tirenium<sup>1</sup> qui est Minturnis, in quo flexus est ad iter Arpinas, obviam mihi fit tabellarius, qui me offendit 'δολιχὸν πλόον ὀρμαίνοντα.' ego statim 'cedo' inquam 'si quid ab Attico.' nondum legere poteramus; nam et lumina dimiseramus

<sup>1</sup> VI vel CN. vel VI Kal. (SB : VII Id. Lallemand)

<sup>2</sup> VI (SB)    <sup>1</sup> al. tyrenum : Tyrthenum coni. SB

<sup>1</sup> See Letter 414.1.



LETTER 423 (XVI.13)

422 (XVI.10)

*Sinuessa, 9 November 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I arrived at my place near Sinuessa on the 8th. It was common talk that Antony would be stopping that night at Casilinum. So I changed my plan—I had intended traveling direct to Rome by the Appian Way. He would easily have caught me up, for they say he moves with Caesarian speed. Accordingly I am turning off at Minturnae towards Arpinum, and have decided to stay the night of the 9th either at Aquinum or Arcanum.

And now, my dear fellow, do bring your whole mind to bear on this problem, which is really of great importance. There are three courses open: shall I stay at Arpinum, shall I come closer, or shall I return to Rome? I shall do what you advise. But don't put it off. I am eagerly awaiting a letter.

The 9th (early morning), near Sinuessa.

423 (XVI.13)

*Aquinum, 10 November 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

What an extraordinary coincidence! I got up before day-break on the 9th, off from Sinuessa, and had reached Tuscan (?) Bridge at Minturnae, where there is a turning on to the road to Arpinum, just as it was getting light, when the courier met me—'pondering a lengthy voyage.'<sup>1</sup> My first words: 'Anything from Atticus? Let me have it.' We could not read as yet because we had sent our flambeaux

nec satis lucebat. cum autem luceret, ante scripta epistula ex duabus tuis prior mihi legi coepta est. illa omnium quidem elegantissima. ne sim salvus si aliter scribo ac sentio. nihil legi humanius. itaque veniam quo vocas, modo adiutore te. sed nihil tam ἀπροσδιόνυσον mihi primo videbatur quam ad eas litteras quibus ego a te consilium

2 petieram te mihi ista rescribere. ecce tibi altera, qua hortaris 'παρ' ἡνεμόεντα Μίμαντα, νήσου ἐπὶ Ψυρίης,' Ap-  
pianam scilicet 'ἐπ' ἀριστέρ' ἔχοντα.' itaque eo die mansi  
Aquini. longulum sane iter et via mala.<sup>2</sup> inde postridie

3 mane proficiscens has litteras dedi. \* \* \*<sup>3</sup> et quidem ut a  
(13a.1) me dimitterem invitissimus fecerunt Erotis litterae. rem tibi Tiro narrabit. tu quid faciendum sit videbis, praeterea possimne propius accedere; malo enim esse in Tusculano aut uspiam in suburbano. an etiam longius discedendum putas? crebro ad me velim scribas: erit autem cottidie cui des.

4 Quod praeterea consulis, quid tibi censeam faciendum,  
(2) difficile est cum absim. verum tamen si pares aequae inter se, quiescendum: sin latius manabit et quidem ad nos, deinde communiter.

<sup>2</sup> mata vel inata (Turnebus)

<sup>3</sup> lacunam statuit Mongaultius : Tironi tantum ante dedi splendendum coni. SB

## LETTER 423 (XVI.13)

away and there was not enough daylight. When it grew brighter I had the earlier of your two letters read to me. It is the most elegant of compositions—what I think I say, hang me if I don't! I have never read anything in better taste. Yes, I'll follow where you beckon,<sup>2</sup> provided only that you help. But at first sight it all seemed to me quite remarkably *mal à propos* as a reply to the letter in which I sought your advice. Then, lo and behold, the second letter, in which you encourage me to proceed 'by windy Mimas, to Psyria's isle,' with the Appian Way 'on our left hand' of course.<sup>3</sup> So I stayed that night at Aquinum—a longish journey and a bad road. I am giving Tiro (?) this letter the following morning before I leave; actually Eros' letter is my reason for sending him, very much against my inclination. Tiro will tell you about the matter. You will see what is to be done, and furthermore whether I can come closer—I would rather stay at Tusculum or somewhere else just outside Rome. Or do you think I ought to go even further away? I hope you will write to me frequently. There will be someone to take a letter every day.

You go on to ask what I think you should do. It's difficult to advise, not being on the spot, but if they are evenly matched I think you should lie low. If on the other hand the thing<sup>4</sup> spreads, and spreads as far as ourselves, we must then make a common decision.

<sup>2</sup> Atticus was urging Cicero to write history.

<sup>3</sup> In these quotations from *Odyssey*, 3.171f., Mimas stands for the Apennines, Psyria for the 'Island of Arpinum' on Cicero's estate.

<sup>4</sup> Octavian's contest with Antony.

CICERO

424 (XVI.13a(b))

*Scr. in Arpinati III Id. Nov. an. 44 (§ 2)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Avide tuum consilium exspecto. timeo ne absim cum adesse me sit honestius; temere venire non audeo. de Antoni itineribus nescio quid aliter audio atque ut ad te scriberem. omnia igitur velim explices et ad me certa mittas.
- 2 De reliquo quid tibi ego dicam? ardeo studio historiae (incredibiliter enim me commovet tua cohortatio), quae quidem nec institui nec effici potest sine tua ope. coram igitur hoc quidem conferemus. in praesentia mihi velim scribas quibus consulibus C. Fannius M. f. tribunus pl. fuerit. videor mihi audisse P. Africano L. Mummi censoribus. id igitur quaero.

Tu mihi de his rebus quae novantur omnia certa, clara.  
III Id. ex Arpinati.

425 (XVI.14)

*Scr. in Arpinati prid. (?) Id. Nov. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Nihil erat plane quod scriberem. nam cum Puteolis essem, cottidie aliquid novi de Octaviano, multa, etiam falsa, de Antonio. ad ea autem quae scripsisti (tris enim acceperam

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<sup>1</sup> In 142-141. This Fannius has a role in *On Friendship*.

LETTER 425 (XVI.14)

424 (XVI.13a(b))

*Arpinum, 11 November 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am eagerly waiting for your advice. I am afraid I may be away when it would look better for me to be on the spot, but I dare not return at a venture. I hear a somewhat different report about Antony's movements than what I have been sending you. So please sort it all out and send me reliable information.

For the rest there is little I need tell you. I am aflame with enthusiasm for a history—you cannot imagine what a rousing effect your encouragement has on me; but that can be neither begun nor achieved without your help. So we shall discuss this together. For the present would you please let me know in whose Consulship C. Fannius, son of Marcus, was Tribune? I fancy I have heard it was in the Censorship of P. Africanus and L. Mummius.<sup>1</sup> That then is my query.

Send me full reports, clear and reliable, about these revolutionary goings on.

11 November, Arpinum.

425 (XVI.14)

*Arpinum, 12 (?) November 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have really nothing to write about. It was a different story at Puteoli, when every day brought something fresh about Octavian and much (some of it untrue) about Antony. In answer to what you write (I got three letters from you on

III Id. a te epistulas), valde tibi adsentior, si multum possit Octavianus, multo firmitus acta tyranni comprobatum iri quam in Telluris, atque id contra Brutum fore. sin autem vincitur, vides intolerabilem Antonium, ut quem velis nescias.

2 O Sesti<sup>1</sup> tabellarium hominem nequam! postridie Puteolis Romae se dixit fore. quod me mones ut pedetemptim, adsentior; etsi aliter cogitabam. nec me Philippus aut Marcellus movet. alia enim eorum ratio; et, si non est, tamen videtur. sed in isto iuvene, quamquam animi satis, auctoritatis parum est. tamen vide, si forte in Tusculano recte esse possum, ne id melius sit. ero libentius; nihil enim ignorabo. an hoc cum Antonius venerit?

3 Sed, ut aliud ex alio, mihi non est dubium quin quod Graeci καθήκον, nos 'officium.' id autem quid dubitas quin etiam in rem publicam praeclare caderet?<sup>2</sup> nonne dicimus consulum officium, senatus officium, imperatoris officium? praeclare convenit; aut da melius.

4 Male narras de Nepotis filio. valde mehercule moveor et moleste fero. nescieram omnino esse istum puerum. Caninium perdi, hominem, quod ad me attinet, non ingratum. Athenodorum nihil est quod hortere; misit enim satis bellum ὑπόμνημα. gravedini, quaeso, omni ratione subveni. avi tui pronepos scribit ad patris mei nepotem se ex Nonis iis quibus nos magna gessimus aedem Opis expli-

<sup>1</sup> sexti s

<sup>2</sup> quadret Mueller

the 11th), I strongly agree with you that if Octavian were to have much power the tyrant's measures would be far more solidly approved than in the temple of Tellus, and that this will be bad for Brutus. On the other hand, if he is beaten, you can see that Antony will be intolerable, so one can't tell which to prefer.

That courier of Sestius' is a rascal. He said he would reach Rome from Puteoli the next day. You advise me to go one step at a time and I agree, though I had other ideas. Nor am I impressed by Philippus or Marcellus. Their position is different; and if it isn't, it appears to be. But that young man, though he has spirit enough, lacks weight. Consider all the same whether it might not be better for me to be at Tusculum, if I can stay there safely. I shall be happier so, for I shall get all the news. Or shall we decide this when Antony comes?

But, one thing leading to another, I don't feel any doubt that what the Greeks call *καθήκον* is our 'duty.' Why do you doubt that it would apply perfectly well to public, as well as private, life? We talk of the Consuls' duty, don't we, or the Senate's duty, or a general's duty? It fits perfectly—or give me something better.

Sad news about Nepos' son. I am really very sorry and upset. I had not so much as heard of the boy's existence. I have lost Caninius; to me he was not ungrateful. There's no need for you to urge Athenodorus—he has just sent me a pretty enough outline. Pray do everything possible for your cold. Your grandfather's great-grandson writes to my father's grandson that he intends to clear up the Temple of Ops as from the Nones on which I did great deeds, and to

## CICERO

caturum, idque ad populum. videbis igitur et scribes. Sexti iudicium exspecto.

426 (XVI.15)

*Scr. in Arpinati post prid. Id. Nov. an. 44*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Noli putare pigritia me facere quod non mea manu scribam—sed mehercule pigritia. nihil enim habeo aliud quod dicam. et tamen in tuis quoque epistulis Alexim videor agnoscere. sed ad rem venio.

Ego, si me non improbissime Dolabella tractasset, dubitasset fortasse utrum remissior essem an summo iure contenderem. nunc vero etiam gaudeo mihi causam oblatam in qua et ipse sentiat et reliqui omnes me ab illo abalienatum, idque prae me feram et quidem me facere et rei publicae causa ut illum oderim, quod, cum eam me auctore defendere coepisset, non modo deseru<er>it emptus pecunia sed etiam, quantum in ipso fuerit, everterit. quod autem quaeris quo modo agi placeat cum dies venerit, primum velim eius modi sit ut non alienum sit me Romae esse; de quo ut de ceteris faciam ut tu censueris, de summa autem agi prorsus vehementer et severe volo.

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<sup>1</sup> Quintus junior wrote to Marcus junior that as from 5 December (the date when the new Quaestors would take office) he proposed to take up the matter of Antony's depredations of public money. He appears to have been Quaestor-Designate, though well below the legal age. Beaujeu thinks it more likely that he would seize the opportunity of the change of Quaestors to have himself



LETTER 426 (XVI.15)

do so moreover before the Assembly.<sup>1</sup> Look into it and write. I await Sextus' opinion.<sup>2</sup>

426 (XVI.15)

*Arpinum, after 12 November 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You must not suppose it is out of laziness that I do not write in my own hand—and yet upon my word that is exactly what it is. I can't call it anything else. And after all I seem to detect Alexis in your letters too. But to business.<sup>1</sup>

If Dolabella had not treated me so abominably, I might perhaps have hesitated whether to take a comparatively soft line or to stand on my strict legal rights. As it is I positively welcome the occasion thus put in my way of demonstrating both to him and the rest of the world that we are no longer friends, and I shall blazon this abroad, as also the fact that my hostility towards him is public as well as personal, in that having come at my instigation to the defence of the commonwealth, he has not only let himself be bribed to desert it but so far as in him lay has brought about its overthrow. In answer to your question what line I wish taken when the settlement day comes, in the first place I should like it to be such as will not make it awkward for me to be in Rome (on that, as on other things, I shall follow your advice). Concerning the sum however, I want

questioned before the people by a Tribune hostile to Antony. But where would be the opportunity? <sup>2</sup> On the *Second Philippic*.

<sup>1</sup> The following paragraph, much discussed by jurists, remains problematical.

## CICERO

etsi sponsores appellare videtur habere quandam *δυσωπίαν*, tamen hoc quale sit consideres velim: possumus enim, ut sponsores <non> appellentur,<sup>1</sup> procuratores<sup>2</sup> in ius ducere; neque enim illi litem contestabuntur. quo facto non sum nescius sponsores liberari. sed et illi turpe arbitrator eo nomine quod satis dato debeat procuratores eius non dissolvere et nostrae gravitatis ius nostrum sine summa illius ignominia persequi. de hoc quid placeat rescribas velim; nec dubito quin hoc totum lenius administraturus sis.

- 3 Redeo ad rem publicam. multa mehercule a te saepe ἐν πολιτικῷ genere prudenter, sed his litteris nihil prudentius. quamquam enim †postea† in praesentia belle iste puer retundit Antonium, tamen exitum exspectare debemus. at quae contio! nam est missa mihi. iurat 'ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat' et simul dextram intendit ad statuum. μηδὲ σωθῆειν ὑπὸ γε τοιούτου! sed, ut scribis, certissimum video esse discrimen Cascae nostri tribunatum, de quo quidem ipso dixi Oppio, cum me hortaretur ut adulescentem totamque causam manumque veteranorum complecterer, me <n>ullo modo facere posse, <nisi> mihi exploratum esset eum non modo non inimicum tyrannoctonis verum etiam amicum fore. cum ille diceret ita futurum, 'quid igitur festinamus?' inquam. 'illi enim mea opera ante Kal. Ian. nihil opus est, nos autem eius voluntatem ante Id. Dec. pers<pi>ciemus in Casca.' valde mihi adsensus est. quam ob rem haec quidem hactenus.

<sup>1</sup> appellemur (s : -mus *Orelli*)

<sup>2</sup> procuratorem (*Bostius*)

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<sup>2</sup> P. Servilius Casca, one of Caesar's assassins, was due to take office as Tribune on 10 December.

the line to be really strong and stringent. Granting that to call on the sureties would not look too well, I should like you to consider the following: it is open to us, without calling on the sureties, to bring proceedings against the agents, who in fact won't defend the case (if they do, I am aware that the sureties are released from liability). However I suppose it would be a disgrace to him if his agents don't discharge a legally secured debt and it would be more in keeping with my own dignity to pursue my rights without extreme humiliation to him. Please write back what you think about this—though I have no doubt that you are going to handle the whole business in a gentler style.

To come to public affairs, many indeed are the wise words I have heard from you on matters of politics but nothing wiser than this letter. This boy is taking the steam out of Antony neatly enough for the moment, but we had best wait and see the issue. But what a speech—a copy was sent to me. Swears 'by his hopes of rising to his father's honours,' stretching his hand out towards the statue! Sooner destruction for me than a rescuer such as this! But as you say, the clearest test will be our friend Casca's Tribunate. I told Oppius on that very subject, when he was pressing me to embrace the young man and his whole movement and band of veterans to boot, that I could do nothing of the kind unless I was sure that he would be not only no enemy but a friend to the tyrannicides. When he replied that this would be the case, 'What's our hurry then?' said I. 'He needs no help from me before the Kalends of January and we shall plainly see his disposition before the Ides of December over Casca.'<sup>2</sup> He quite agreed. So much for this then.

Quod reliquum est, cottidie tabellarios habebis et, ut ego arbitror, etiam quid scribas habebis cottidie. Leptae litterarum exemplum tibi misi, ex quo mihi videtur Straty-lax ille deiectus de gradu. sed tu, cum legeris, existimabis.

4 Obsignata iam epistula litteras a te et a Sexto accepi. nihil iucundius litteris Sexti, nihil amabilius. nam tuae breves erant litterae, priores<sup>3</sup> uberrimae. tu quidem et prudenter et amice suades ut in his locis potissimum sim, quoad audiamus haec quae commota sunt quorsus evadant.

5 Sed me, mi Attice, non sane hoc quidem tempore movet res publica, non quo aut sit mihi quicquam carius aut esse debeat, sed desperatis etiam Hippocrates vetat adhibere medicinam. qua re ista valeant; me res familiaris movet. rem dico? immo vero existimatio. cum enim tanta reliqua sint mihi, ne Terentiae quidem adhuc quod solv<a>m<sup>4</sup> expeditum est. Terentiae<sup>5</sup> dico? scis nos pridem iam constituisse Montani nomine HS  $\overline{\text{xxv}}$  dissolvere. prudentissime hoc Cicero petierat ut fide sua. liberalissime, ut tibi quoque placuerat, promiseram Erotique dixeram ut sepositum haberet. non modo <non fecit><sup>6</sup> sed iniquissimo faenore versuram facere Aurelius coactus est. nam de Terentiae nomine Tiro ad me scripsit te dicere nummos a Dolabella fore. male eum credo intellexisse, si quisquam male intellegit, potius nihil intellexisse. tu enim ad me

<sup>3</sup> priores e- l- (SB)

<sup>4</sup> add. Manutius

<sup>5</sup> terentiam (Lambinus)

<sup>6</sup> add. Lambinus

LETTER 426 (XVI.15)

To end, you will get couriers every day and, as I suppose, you will have something to write about every day too. I am sending you a copy of a letter from Lepta, from which it appears that our Galloping Major<sup>3</sup> has been thrown off balance. But you will judge when you have read it.

I had already sealed this up when letters arrived from you and Sextus. Sextus' letter could not have been pleasanter or more engaging. Yours was brief, following upon a very generous precursor. Your advice to stay in this part of the country for choice until we hear the outcome of these disturbances is wise and kind.

But my dear fellow, it is really not the commonwealth that is on my mind just now; not that anything in the world is or ought to be dearer to me, but even Hippocrates forbids medical treatment in hopeless cases. So goodbye to all that. It is my finances that are on my mind. I say 'finances'; I should say 'reputation.' Although I have all these balances due, there is still not enough clear even to pay Terentia. I say 'Terentia,' but you know I agreed some time ago to pay HS 25,000 on behalf of Montanus. Marcus with very proper feeling had asked me to do so on his credit. I promised in the most liberal terms, as you too thought right, and told Eros to keep the sum earmarked. Not only did he fail to do this, but Aurelius was obliged to raise a loan to cover it at an usurious rate. As for Terentia's claim, Tiro writes to me that you say the money will come from Dolabella. I suppose he understood amiss, if anyone understands amiss—I mean he did not understand at all. For

<sup>3</sup> Stratyllax, fantastically formed from *strategos* (see Commentary in *CLA*), was probably the name of a 'braggart warrior' of comedy.

## CICERO

scripsisti Coccei responsum et isdem paene verbis Eros.

- 6 Veniendum est igitur vel in ipsam flammam. turpius est enim privatim cadere quam publice. itaque ceteris de rebus quas ad me suavissime scripsisti perturbato animo non potui, ut consueram, rescribere. consenti in hac cura ubi sum, ut me expediam; quibus autem rebus, veni<t> quidem mihi in mentem, sed certi<sup>7</sup> constituere nihil possum prius quam te videro. qui minus autem ego istic recte esse possim quam est Marcellus? sed non id agitur neque id maxime curo; quid curem vides. adsum igitur.

<sup>7</sup> certe (*Orelli*)

LETTER 426 (XVI.15)

you gave me Cocceius' answer in your letter and so did Eros in almost identical terms.

So come I must, even if it means moving straight into the furnace. Private bankruptcy is more dishonourable than public. I am too much worried on this account to reply in my usual fashion to the other matters of which you write so agreeably. Join me in this anxiety I am in to get clear of debt—as to how, I have ideas, but can decide nothing definitely till I see you. And why should I not be as safe in Rome as Marcellus? But that is not the question and I am not overmuch concerned about it. What I *am* concerned about you see. So I am coming soon.





## APPENDIX

### *Roman Dates*

Until Julius Caesar reformed the calendar the Roman year consisted of 355 days divided into twelve months, all of which bore the Latin forms of their present names except Quintilis (= July) and Sextilis (= August). Each month had 29 days, except February with 28 and March, May, July, and October with 31. The first, fifth, and thirteenth days of each month were called the Kalends (*Kalendae*), Nones (*Nonae*), and Ides (*Idus*) respectively, except that in March, May, July, and October the Nones fell on the seventh and the Ides on the fifteenth. I have kept these names in translation.

The calendar was adjusted by means of 'intercalation.' At the discretion of the College of Pontiffs, usually every other year, an 'intercalary' month of 23 or 22 days was inserted after 24 or 23 February. But in the years immediately before the Civil War the College neglected this procedure, so that by 46 the calendar was well over two months in advance of the sun. Julius Caesar rectified the situation by inserting two 'intercalary' months totalling 67 days between November and December of that year in addition to the traditional one in February. He also gave the months their present numbers of days, thus almost

## APPENDIX

obviating the need for future intercalations, though in 1582 a further discrepancy had to be met by the institution of a Leap Year.

### *Roman Money*

The normal unit of reckoning was the sesterce (HS), though the denarius, equal to 4 sesterces, was the silver coin most generally in use. Differences of price structure make any transposition into modern currency misleading. Sometimes sums are expressed in Athenian currency. The drachma was about equal to the denarius, the mina (100 drachmae) to HS 400, and the talent (60 minae) to HS 2,400. The Asiatic cistophorus was worth about 4 drachmae.

### *Roman Names*

A Roman bore the name of his clan (*gens*), the *nomen* or *nomen gentilicium*, usually ending in *-ius*, preceded by a personal name (*praenomen*) and often followed by a *cognomen*, which might distinguish different families in the same *gens*: e.g., Marcus Tullius Cicero. The *nomen* was always, and the *cognomen* usually, hereditary. Sometimes, as when a family split into branches, an additional *cognomen* was taken: e.g., Publius Licinius Crassus Dives. Other additional *cognomina* were honorific, sometimes taken from a conquered country as Africanus or Numidicus, or adoptive (see below). Women generally had only the one clan name (e.g., Tullia), which they retained after marriage.

Only a few personal names were in use and they are generally abbreviated as follows: A. = Aulus; Ap(p). = Ap-

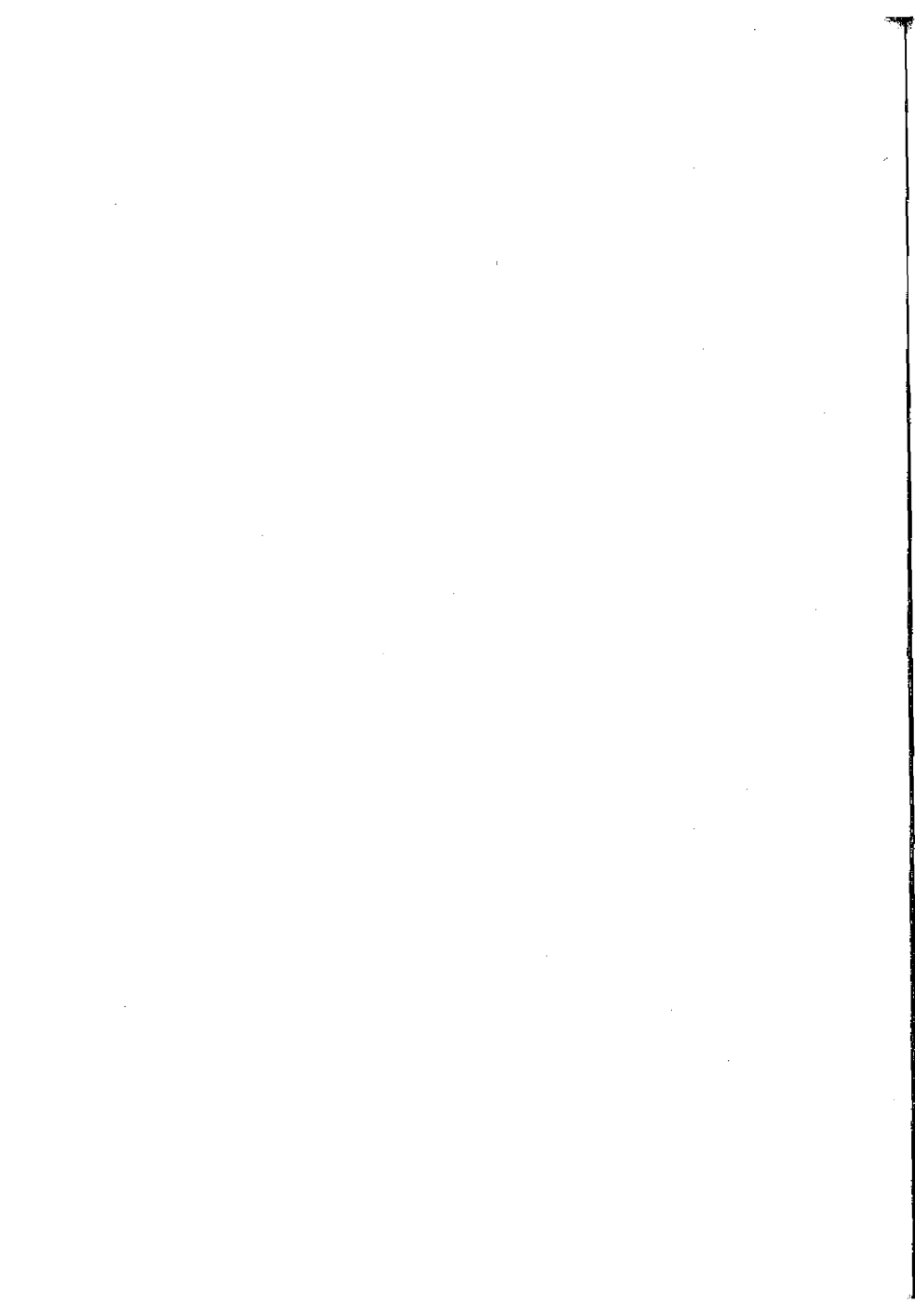
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pius; C. = Gaius; Cn. = Gnaeus; D. = Decimus; L = Lucius; M; = Marcus; M'. = Manius, N. = Numerius; P. = Publius; Q. = Quintus; Ser. = Servius; Sex. = Sextus; Sp. = Spurius; T. = Titus; Ti. = Tiberius (I omit one or two which do not occur in our text). The use of a *praenomen* by itself in address or reference is generally a sign of close intimacy, whether real or affected, but in the case of a rare or distinctive *praenomen*, as Appius and Servius, this is not so.

The practice of adoption, of males at any rate, was very common in Rome. According to traditional practice the adopted son took his new father's full name and added his old *nomen gentilicium* with the adjectival termination *-ianus* instead of *-ius*: e.g., C. Octavius, adopted by C. Julius Caesar, became C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. But in Cicero's time the practice had become variable. Sometimes the original name remained in use; sometimes an adoptive *nomen* was combined with an original *cognomen*.

A slave had only one name, and since many slaves came from the East, this was often Greek. If freed, he took his master's *praenomen* and *nomen*, adding his slave name as a *cognomen*: e.g., Tiro, when freed by M. Tullius Cicero, became M. Tullius Tiro. Occasionally the *praenomen* might be somebody else's. Atticus' slave Dionysius became M. Pomponius Dionysius in compliment to Cicero (instead of Titus).

Much the same applied to Greek or other provincials on gaining Roman citizenship. Such a man retained his former name as a *cognomen* and acquired the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the person to whom he owed the grant: e.g., the philosopher Cratippus became M. Tullius Cratippus after Cicero had got Caesar to give him citizenship.



## CONCORDANCE

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I.5	1	II.8	28
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## GLOSSARY

**ACADEMY** (*Academia*): A hall (*gymnasium*) and park at Athens sacred to the hero Academus, in which Plato established his philosophical school. Hence Plato's school or system of philosophy, which went through various phases after his time. The terminology became confused, but Cicero recognized the 'Old' Academy of Plato and his immediate successors and the 'New' Academy of Arcesilas and Carneades, which maintained the uncertainty of all dogma and to which he himself professed to belong. In his own times this was modified by his teachers Philo of Larissa and Antiochus of Ascalon, the latter of whom claimed to represent the 'Old' Academy with a system akin to Stoicism. Cicero gave the name 'Academy' to a hall which he built on his estate at Tusculum.

**AEDILE** (*aedilis*): Third in rank of the regular Roman magistracies. Four at this time were elected annually, two Curule and two Plebeian. They were responsible for city administration and the holding of certain public Games. The chief magistrates in some municipalities were also so called.

**ASSEMBLY**: I sometimes so translate *populus* or *comitia*, as describing the Roman people convened for electoral or legislative purposes. There were several different sorts

## GLOSSARY

varying with the convening magistrate and the business to be done.

**ATTIC(ISM):** One use of the word was in connection with Roman oratory. In Cicero's time a movement principally represented by Calvus and M. Brutus favoured an austere style like that of the Athenian Lysias.

**AUGUR:** The priestly College of Augurs were official diviners interpreting signs (mostly from the flight and cries of wild birds or the behaviour of the Sacred Chickens) before major acts of public (and sometimes private) business. The College, like that of Pontiffs, was in practice almost a preserve of the nobility, so that for a 'new man' like Cicero membership was a coveted social distinction.

**AUSPICES (*auspicia*):** Divination from birds or other signs was officially necessary as a preliminary to major acts by magistrates, who were said to 'have auspices,' i.e., the power of taking them.

**BACCHUS' DAY (*Liberalia*):** The festival of Liber Pater, commonly identified with the Greek god Dionysius or Bacchus, and Libera on 17 March. It was the usual day for a coming of age ceremony.

**BOARD OF FOUR:** Municipalities (not Roman colonies) were commonly governed by four principal magistrates (*quattuorviri*), divided into two pairs (*duoviri*), and a senate of *decuriones*.

**BONA DEA:** See GOOD GODDESS.

**BOY (*puer*):** Male slaves of any age were so called, as in later times.

**CAMPANIAN LAND (DOMAIN; *ager Campanus*):** Fertile land in Campania, originally confiscated by Rome in 211 and leased to small tenants. Caesar as Consul passed a bill

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(the Campanian Law) to distribute it among Pompey's veterans and the Roman poor.

**CAMPUS (MARTIUS):** The plain adjoining the Tiber on which assemblies of the Centuries were held, often for elections.

**CENSOR:** Two magistrates usually elected every five years for a tenure of eighteen months. They revised the roll of citizens, with property assessments, also the rolls of Knights and Senators, removing those deemed guilty of misconduct. They further supervised public contracts, including the lease of revenues to the tax farmers, and issued decrees as guardians of public morals.

**CENTURIES, ASSEMBLY OF (*comitia centuriata*):** Form of assembly in which voting took place by 'Centuries,' i.e., groups unequally composed so as to give preponderance to birth and wealth. It elected Consuls and Praetors, and voted on legislation proposed by them. The first Century to vote (*centuria praerogativa*) traditionally had a determining effect on the rest.

**CENTURION:** See LEGION.

**COHORT:** See LEGION.

**COMITIAL DAYS:** Days in the Roman calendar on which the popular assemblies (*comitia*) could legally be held. The Senate was normally not allowed to meet on these days.

**COMITIUM:** An area north of the Forum where assemblies were held.

**COMMISSION, FREE or VOTIVE:** See LEGATE.

**COMPITALIA:** See CROSSWAYS' DAY.

**CONSUL:** Highest of the annual Roman magistrates. Two were elected, usually in July, to take office on the following 1 January.

**CONSULAR:** An ex-Consul. The Consulars made up a corps

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of elder statesmen to whom the Senate would normally look for leadership.

**CROSSWAYS' DAY** (*Compitalia*): Festival in honour of the Lares Compitales (gods of the crossroads) held annually soon after the Saturnalia on a day appointed by the Praetor.

**CURIATE LAW** (*lex curiata*): A law passed by the Curies (*curiae*), the oldest form of Roman assembly. In Cicero's time it survived only in form, each of the thirty Curies being represented by a lictor, but still had certain legislative functions, notably the passage of laws to confirm the executive authority (*impertum*) of individual magistrates; but the precise nature of these laws is much in doubt.

**CURULE CHAIR** (*sella curulis*): Ivory chair, or rather stool, of state used by regular 'curule' magistrates, i.e., Consuls, Praetors, Curule Aediles, and certain others.

**DIKTATOR**: A supreme magistrate with quasi-regal powers appointed to deal with emergencies under the early Republic; his second-in-command, the Master of the Horse, was appointed by himself. The office was revised to legitimize the autocratic regimes of Sulla and of Julius Caesar.

**EDICT**: A public announcement or manifesto issued by a magistrate. The name applied to the codes issued by City Praetors and provincial governors at the beginning of their terms setting out the legal rules which they intended to follow.

**EPICUREANISM**: A materialistic school of philosophy named after its founder Epicurus, much in vogue among the Roman intelligentsia in Cicero's time.

**EQUESTRIAN ORDER**: See KNIGHTS.



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**ETESIAN WINDS** (*etesiae*): Northerly winds which blew every year during the Dog days.

**FASCES**: Bundles of rods carried by lictors in front of magistrates as a symbol of authority. Those of victorious generals were wreathed in laurel.

**FLAMEN**: Priest in charge of the cult of a particular deity. There were fifteen, three (those of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus) being superior to the rest.

**FORUM**: The chief square of Rome, centre of civic life.

**FREEDMAN** (*libertus*): A 'manumitted' slave.

**GAMES** (*ludi*): Gladiatorial and other shows, some recurring annually and supervised by magistrates, others put on for an occasion by private individuals. Of the former the Roman Games (*ludi Romani*) were held from 5 to 19 September, the Games of Apollo (*ludi Apollinares*) from 5 to 13 July. 'Greek Games' seem to have consisted of performances of Greek plays in the original language.

**GOOD GODDESS** (*Bona Dea*): A goddess whose worship was confined to women. Her yearly festival was held in the house of a Consul or Praetor and supervised by his wife.

**GOWN** (*toga*): Formal civilian dress of a Roman citizen. The gown of boys and curule magistrates (*toga praetexta*) had a purple hem. At sixteen or seventeen on coming of age a boy was given his White (or 'Manly') Gown (*toga pura, toga virilis*).

**GREEK GAMES**: See GAMES.

**GREEKS**: In Cicero's time the word was loosely used to include the more or less hellenized inhabitants of Western Asia and Egypt as well as those of Greece proper and the old Greek settlements elsewhere.

**HONEST MEN**: So I translate Cicero's *boni* ('good men', *les gens de bien*), a semi-political term for people of sub-

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- stance and respectability, supporters of the established order. Their opposites he calls *improbi* ('rascals').
- IMPERATOR:** Commander of a Roman army. But at this period the title was conferred on Generals by their soldiers after a victory and retained until they relinquished their *imperium*.
- IMPERIUM:** Literally 'command'; the executive authority appertaining to higher magisterial and promagisterial office.
- INTERCALATION:** See Appendix on Roman dates.
- INTERREGNUM:** If through death or otherwise the consular office stood vacant and no patrician magistrates holding *imperium* were in office, an Interrex was appointed from among the patrician members of the Senate to exercise consular functions for five days. He was then replaced by another Interrex, and so on until new Consuls could be elected.
- KNIGHTS (*equites*):** In effect non-Senators of free birth possessing property over a certain level. They were regarded as forming a class of their own (*ordo equestris*) with special privileges and insignia.
- LATIN FESTIVAL (*Feriae Latinae*):** Movable annual festival of the Romano-Latin League held on Mt Alba. Its date was determined from year to year by the Consuls.
- LECTURE HALL (*gymnasium*):** The Greek *gymnasium* was originally a sports ground containing a *palaestra* (see below). But literature, philosophy, and music were also taught in them.
- LEGATE (*legatus*):** A provincial governor took several Legates, normally Senators, on his staff as deputies. Caesar in Gaul made them commanders of legions. The duties might, however, be purely nominal. The Senate could

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also appoint its members to 'free' or 'votive' (i.e., to discharge a vow) *legationes*, thus enabling them to travel abroad with official status. I sometimes translate with 'commission(er).' The word can also be used for any kind of envoy.

**LEGION:** Roman army unit with a full complement of 6,000 men divided into ten cohorts. Each legion was officered by six Military Tribunes. Each cohort had six Centurions, the highest in rank being called *primi pili* (Chief Centurion). The ensign of a Legion was an eagle, and each cohort had its standard (*signum*).

**LESE MAJESTY (*maiestas*):** The term *maiestas* covered acts 'in derogation of the majesty of the Roman People,' as of magistrates or governors exceeding the bounds of their authority.

**LEX CORNELIA (*de provinciis*):** Law of Sulla regulating provincial administration.

**LEX CURIATA:** See above, CURIATE LAW.

**LEX GABINIA:** a law of 67 or 58 forbidding or restricting loans from Roman citizens to provincials.

**LEX JULIA (*de provinciis*):** Consular law of Caesar's on provincial administration.

**LEX JUNIA-LICINIA:** A law of 62 requiring that copies of proposed legislation be deposited in the Treasury.

**LEX POMPEIA:** Pompey's law against electoral corruption in 52.

**LEX ROSCIA:** A law of 67 assigning the first fourteen rows in the theatre to the Knights (the Senate sat below in the Orchestra).

**LEX SCANTINIA:** A law of uncertain date penalizing homosexual acts committed upon persons of free birth.

**LIBERALIA:** See BACCHUS' DAY.

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**LICTOR:** Official attendant of persons possessing magisterial authority (*imperium*), the number varying with the rank.

**LUPERCALIA:** Fertility festival on 15 February held in a cave below the Palatine Hill by the Luperci. There were two Colleges of these until 45–44, when Caesar added a third called the *Luperci Iulii*.

**MANUMISSION:** Process of freeing a slave. This could be done either formally or informally ('between friends'), but in the latter case the master could revoke it at will.

**MILE** (*mille passus*): The Roman mile was 1,618 yards.

**MIME** (*mimus*): Type of entertainment with dancing, music, and dialogue which became highly popular in the first century B.C. It was considered more sophisticated and risqué than the Atellan Farce, which it virtually superseded.

**MINERVA'S DAY** (*Quinquatrus*): Festival of Minerva on 19 March.

**NOBILITY:** Practically, a noble (*nobilis*) at this period meant a direct descendant of a Consul in the male line. In the early Republic the Roman community was divided into patricians and plebeians, the former holding a virtual monopoly of political power. But after the Consulship was thrown open to plebeians in the fourth century many plebeian families became 'noble,' and the remaining patricians were distinguished chiefly by their ineligibility to hold both Consulships in one year and for the plebeian offices of Tribune and Plebeian Aedile.

**NOMENCLATOR:** A slave whose duty it was to remind his master of the names of clients and acquaintances whom he happened to meet.

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**OPS:** Roman goddess in whose temple on the Capitol Caesar deposited the state treasure.

**OPTIMATES:** Literally 'those belonging to the best'—the leading conservatives in the Senate and their supporters throughout the community. Sometimes the term is practically equivalent to the 'honest men' (*boni*), though more purely political in its implications.

**OVATION:** A lesser form of Triumph.

**PALAESTRA:** A space surrounded by colonnades, found in all *gymnasia*. Literally 'wrestling school' (Greek).

**PATRICIANS:** See NOBILITY.

**PAYMASTER-TRIBUNES (*tribuni aerarii*):** At this time probably a class similar to the Knights but with a lower property qualification. Under the *lex Aurelia* of 70 juries were composed in equal numbers of Senators, Knights, and Paymaster-Tribunes.

**PLEBEIANS:** See NOBILITY.

**PONTIFF (*pontifex*):** These formed a priestly College in general charge of Roman religious institutions (including the Calendar), presided over by the Chief Pontiff (*pontifex maximus*), who was Julius Caesar from 63 until his death.

**PRAETOR:** Second in rank of the annual magistracies. Eight were elected at this period until Caesar increased the number to twenty. The City Praetor (*praetor urbanus*) was in charge of the administration of justice between Roman citizens, others presided over the standing criminal courts. After his year of office a Praetor normally went to govern a province as Propraetor or Proconsul.

**PRAETORIAN COHORT (*cohors praetoria*):** a special military unit forming a general's bodyguard.

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**PREFECT:** Officer appointed by a magistrate (usually as provincial governor) for military or civil duties. These might be only nominal, the appointment merely conferring official status and privileges. The 'Prefect of Engineers' (*praefectus fabrum*) acted as adjutant to his chief—no longer any connection with engineers.

**PROCONSUL** (*pro consule*): 'Acting Consul,' one who, not holding the office, exercised consular authority outside Rome by senatorial appointment. Similarly Propraetor (*pro praetore*) and Proquaestor (*pro quaestore*).

**PROSCRIPTION** (*proscriptio*): A procedure first employed by Sulla, then by the Triumvirs in 43. Lists of names were published, the persons thus 'proscribed' being declared outlaws and their goods confiscated. Their killers were rewarded, their protectors punished.

**QUAESTOR:** The first stage in the regular 'course of offices,' election to which carried life membership of the Senate. Since Sulla's time twenty were elected annually. The two City Quaestors (*quaestores urbani*) had charge of the Treasury and the Quaestors assigned to provincial governors (usually by lot) were largely concerned with finance.

**QUARTAN:** A fever recurring every third day; less grave therefore than a tertian, which recurred every other day.

**QUIRINUS' DAY** (Quirinalia): Festival in honour of Quirinus (the deified Romulus, founder of Rome) on 17 February.

**RESOLUTION** (*auctoritas*): A decree of the Senate vetoed by a Tribune was sometimes recorded under this name.

**ROSTRA:** The speakers' platform in the comitium, so called from the beaks (*rostra*) of captured warships which decorated it.

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**SATURNALIA:** Festival of Saturn on 17 December, marked by merrymaking reminiscent of modern Christmas, to which it contributed some elements.

**SECRETARY:** I so translate (with a capital letter) Latin *scriba*. The 'scribes' were a corporation of civil servants working in the Treasury and otherwise. City magistrates and provincial governors might be assigned official Secretaries for their personal assistance. Private clerks were called *librarii*.

**SENATE:** Governing body of the Roman Republic, numbering about 600 (increased to 900 by Caesar) and composed of magistrates and ex-magistrates.

**SHEPHERDS' DAY (*Parilia*):** Festival of the god and goddess Pales, protectors of flocks and herds, on 21 April.

**SOOTHSAYING:** For *haruspicina*, an Etruscan system of divination from the entrails of sacrificial animals, from portents, and from lightning. Some of its practitioners (*haruspices*) seem to have been organized as a body of sixty and were consulted officially.

**SOPHIST:** A professional 'wise man,' making money as a teacher and lecturer, often itinerant.

**STOICISM:** Philosophical school, named from the portico (*stoa*) in which its founder, Zeno of Citium (ca. 300), taught. Cato was its most prominent Roman adherent in Cicero's time.

**SUMPTUARY LAW:** A series of laws during the Republic attempted to impose restrictions on luxury spending, especially on food. One was enacted by Julius Caesar in 46.

**SUPPLICATION (*supplicatio*):** A thanksgiving ceremony decreed by the Senate in honour of a military success, the number of days varying according to the importance of

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the victory. It was generally regarded as a preliminary to a Triumph.

**TABLETS** (*codicilli*): Wooden tablets coated with wax and fastened together with thread, used for memoranda and short notes.

**TAX FARMERS** (*publicani*): Roman taxes, as on grazing land in the provinces or excise, were largely farmed out by the Censors to private companies who bid for the right of collection. The capitalists in Rome as well as their local agents were called *publicani*. In political terms *publicani* and Knights often amount to the same thing.

**TELLUS**: Earth goddess, whose temple was one of the meeting places of the Senate.

**TESTIMONIAL**: Renders *laudatio* (= 'eulogy') in one of its senses. It was customary for defendants to ask prominent persons to offer witness to their good character in court either orally or in writing.

**TETRARCH**: Literally 'ruler over a fourth part.' In Cicero's time many minor eastern princes were called by this title.

**TOGA**: See GOWN.

**TREASURY** (*aerarium*): The Roman state treasury was in the temple of Saturn in the Forum, managed by the City Quaestors, with the assistance of Secretaries.

**TRIBE** (*tribus*): A division, mainly by locality, of the Roman citizen body. The number had risen over the centuries from three to thirty-five (four of them 'urban,' the rest 'rustic'). Assemblies voting by tribes (*comitia tributa*) elected magistrates below Praetor and could pass legislation proposed by Tribunes.

**TRIBUNE**: (1) Of the Plebs. A board of ten, originally appointed to protect plebeians from patrician high-hand-



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edness. They had wide constitutional powers, the most important being that any one of them could veto any piece of public business, including laws and senatorial decrees. They could also initiate these. They took office on 10 December. (2) Military: See LEGION. (3) See PAY-MASTER-TRIBUNES.

**TRIUMPH:** Victory celebration by a general on his return to Rome. Permission had to be granted by the Senate.

**UNIFORM:** Magistrates leaving to take command of armies wore the general's red cloak (*paludamentum*) and were said to set out *paludati*.

**VALUATION** (*aestimatio*): Process by which a debtor's property could be transferred to his creditor in settlement. Caesar made such transfers compulsory on terms favourable to the debtor.

**WEAL:** The goddess Salus, who had a temple on the Quirinal Hill near Atticus' house.



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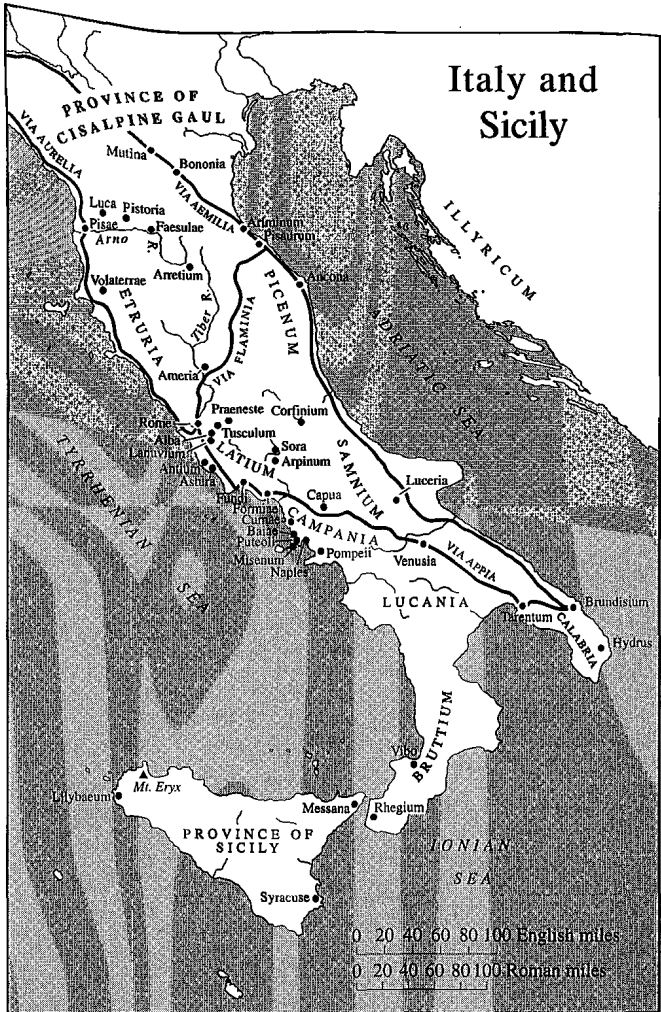
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## MAPS

# Italy and Sicily



0 20 40 60 80 100 English miles  
 0 20 40 60 80 100 Roman miles







