



M. T. C I C E R O .

*Surajaja Rajah 1827*

THE 75  
LETTERS  
OF  
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO  
TO  
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

---

WITH REMARKS

BY

WILLIAM MELMOTH, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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Quo fit ut omnis  
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella  
Vita senis. *Hor.*

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THE SIXTH EDITION.

To which is now added

A GENERAL INDEX.

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VOL. I.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LACKINGTON, ALLEN, AND CO. LONGMAN AND CO.  
CUTHELL AND MARTIN, VERNOR AND HOOD, CADELL AND  
DAVIES, DARTON AND HARVEY, J. WALKER, R. LEA,  
J. NUNN, J. ASPERNE, E. BOOKER, W. OTRIDGE  
AND SON, OGILVY AND SON, AND W.  
J. AND J. RICHARDSON.

1804.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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*THE principal design of the following attempt, is to trace the conduct and inquire into the character of Cicero. For this purpose the present Letters were preferred to those which are written to Atticus, as they shew the Author of them in a greater variety of connexions, and afford an opportunity of considering him in almost every possible point of view.*

*This correspondence includes a period of about twenty years; commencing immediately after Cicero's consulate, and ending a few months before his death.*

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LETTERS 75  
OF  
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO  
TO  
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS\*.

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BOOK I.

---

LETTER I.

[A. U. 691.]

To POMPEY the Great: Imperator<sup>1</sup>.

YOUR letter to the senate afforded inexpressible satisfaction, not only to myself, but to the public in general: as the hopes it brought  
us

\* These letters are placed according to their supposed dates: The reader will find at the end of each of these volumes an index, referring to the order in which they stand in the common editions.

<sup>1</sup> The title of *Imperator*, during the times of the republic, did not bear the least relation to that idea which is affixed to it in modern language; but was merely honorary and occasional. It was conferred on the Roman generals by the acclamations of their army in the field, after some signal advantage gained by their courage and conduct; and it was immediately dropped again as soon as they entered into Rome.

us of a peace, are agreeable to those expectations, which, in full confidence of your superior abilities, I had always encouraged the world to entertain<sup>2</sup>. I must acquaint you, however, that it entirely sunk the spirits of that party, who, from being formerly your declared enemies, have lately become your pretended friends: as it utterly disappointed their most sanguine hopes<sup>3</sup>.

Notwithstanding the letter which you wrote to me by the same express discovered but very slight marks of your affection; yet I read it with pleasure. The truth is, I am always abundantly

<sup>2</sup> Pompey was at this time carrying on the war in Asia against Mithridates, king of Pontus: and the letter to which Cicero alludes, probably brought an account of the progress of the campaign. Mithridates was a cruel but brave prince, who had given employment to the Roman arms for more than forty years. Pompey, however, had the good fortune to complete what Sylla and Lucullus, his predecessors in this command, were obliged to leave unfinished: and he not only defeated Mithridates, but annexed to the Roman dominions all that part of Asia which is between the Red, the Caspian, and the Arabian seas. *Flor.* iii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful to whom Cicero here alludes. Some of the commentators suppose that he points at Lucullus, who, as he had been recalled from the command in which Pompey was now employed, would not, it may well be imagined, be greatly pleased with the success of his rival.—Others think that he had Cæsar in view: and what renders this conjecture extremely probable is, that Cæsar and Pompey, who had been long opposites in politics, were now *apparently* reconciled; the former (for purposes which shall hereafter be explained) falling in with that party who were for conferring the highest and most unconstitutional honours on the latter.



ly satisfied with the consciousness of having exerted my best offices towards my friends; and if they do not think proper to make me an equal return, I am well contented that the superiority should remain on my side. But if my utmost zeal for your interests has not been sufficient to unite you to mine, I doubt not that our co-operating together upon the same patriot-principles, will be a means of cementing us more strongly hereafter. In the mean time, it would neither be agreeable to the openness of my temper, nor to the freedom of that mutual friendship we profess, to conceal what I thought wanting in your letter. I will acknowledge, then, that the public services I performed during my late consulship, gave me reason to expect, from your attachment both to myself and to the commonwealth, that you would have sent me your congratulations: and I am persuaded you would not have omitted them, but from a tenderness to certain persons<sup>4</sup>. Let me assure you, however, that

<sup>4</sup> Cicero was advanced to the consular office the year before the date of this letter; that is, An. Urb. 690. He particularly alludes to the part he acted during his administration, with regard to the suppressing of Catiline's conspiracy. [See *rem. 6. p. 13. and rem. 6. p. 25. of this vol.*] And he had undoubtedly cause to complain of Pompey's unexpected coolness in the present instance: the occasion of which seems to have been this. A very powerful party

that what I have performed for the preservation of my country, has received the concurrent applauses of the whole world. You will find, when you return hither, I conducted that important scene with so much spirit and policy, that you, like another Scipio, tho' far superior, indeed; to that hero in glory, will not refuse to admit me, like a second Lælius<sup>s</sup>, and not much behind him, I trust, in wisdom, as the friend and associate

was now forming against Cicero by Cæsar and Metellus the tribune: and Pompey was considered as a proper person to support their designs of destroying the great authority which Cicero had lately acquired. It is highly probable, therefore, from Pompey's reserve to our author, that he had received some overtures of this sort: and as he was jealous of every power that might obstruct his own, he was by no means disposed, it should seem, to advance Cicero's credit by gratifying him with those applauses which his conduct deserved. *Plut. in vit. Cicero.*

<sup>s</sup> Scipio Africanus the younger, to whom Cicero here alludes, was consul in the year of Rome 605; as Lælius was in the year 612. The strict intimacy which subsisted between these distinguished Romans, is celebrated by several of the classic writers: but Cicero has paid it the highest honours in his Dialogue upon Friendship. Scipio and Lælius used to retire together from the business of the state, to a villa situated on the sea-shore, near Laurentum; where these illustrious friends did not think it beneath their characters to descend to the humblest recreations. The *virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Læli*, the heroism of Scipio and the wisdom of Lælius could unbend in gathering shells and pebbles on the coast: and perhaps it is some evidence of their merit, that they were capable of being thus easily diverted. Less virtuous minds generally have recourse to more agitated relaxations, and are seldom entertained without carrying their passions into their amusements. *Orat. pro Muræ. 36. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. ver. 72. Cic. de Orat. ii. 6.*

associate of your private and public transactions. Farewel.

## LETTER II.

[A. U. 691.]

Quintus Metellus Celer<sup>6</sup>, Proconsul: to Cicero.

As I persuaded myself that our reconciliation and friendship was mutually sincere, I never imagined I should have had occasion to complain of being marked out in my absence as the object of your ridicule<sup>7</sup>. For the same reason I was equally far from supposing that you would have acted with so much bitterness against my relation Metellus<sup>8</sup>, as to persecute him

<sup>6</sup> Quintus Metellus Celer exercised the office of Prætor, the same year that Cicero was consul. Two years after the date of this letter, he was himself elected to that supreme dignity; and Cicero speaks of his administration with applause. He was at this time governor of Cisalpine Gaul. *Ad Att.* ii. 1.

<sup>7</sup> The reader will find this explained by Cicero's answer in the following letter.

<sup>8</sup> The person here alluded to, is Quintus Metellus Cæcilius Nepos, at this time a tribune of the people. He had lately attempted to procure a law for recalling Pompey out of Asia; pretending that his presence was necessary in order to quiet the commotions in the Republic. But his real view was to destroy the great credit and authority which Cicero now possessed, by throwing the whole power into Pompey's hands. Cato, who was likewise tribune at the same time, most strenuously opposed this design of his colleague; and the contests that rose between them, upon this occasion, were attended with great and dangerous disturbances. Metellus, however, being at length obliged to desist, retired in dis-



him even to the loss of his fortunes and his dignities, merely for a single word. If the regard which is due to his own character could not protect him from the unjust resentment of the senate; at least the zeal I have ever shewn for the interests of that illustrious order, the services I have rendered the commonwealth, and the consideration which is owing to our birth<sup>2</sup>, should have powerfully pleaded in his favour. But it has been *his* fate to be oppressed, as well as *mine* to be deserted, by those, who ought to have treated us in a very different manner: and the honour of that important command with which I am invested, cannot secure me, it seems, from having cause to lament the indignities which are offered both to myself and  
to

gust with his complaints to Pompey. After he had thus withdrawn himself, it was proposed, that the censure of the senate should be passed upon his turbulent conduct, as also that he should be deposed from his office: and it was these proceedings, together with the part that Metellus Celer supposed Cicero to have borne in them, which occasioned the warm remonstrances of the letter before us. Plutarch asserts it was owing to the prudence and moderation of Cato, that the motion against Metellus Nepos was not carried. Suetonius, on the other hand, expressly says that he was actually suspended: and indeed the following answer of Cicero renders it extremely probable that some decree of that kind had been voted, and afterwards repealed. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Suet. in Jul. Cæs. 16.*

<sup>2</sup> Within the space of twelve years, there had been no less than twelve of this family who were either consuls, censors, or distinguished with the honours of a triumph.—*Paterc. ii. 11.*

to my family. Since the senate have shewn themselves to be so little influenced by the dictates of equity, or those principles of moderation which distinguished our ancestors, it will be no wonder, if they should find reason to repent of their conduct. But as to yourself, I repeat it again, I never had the least suspicion that you were capable of acting with so much inconstancy to me and mine. However, neither this dishonour, which has been cast upon my family, nor any injuries which can be done to me, in my own person, shall ever alienate my affections from the republic. Farewel.

## LETTER III.

[A. U. 691.]

To Quintus Metellus Celer, Proconsul.

I HAVE received your letter, wherein you tell me, that, "you had persuaded yourself, you should never have had occasion to complain of being marked out as the subject of my railleries." I must assure you, in return, that I do not well understand to what you allude. I suspect, however, you may have been informed of a speech I lately made in the senate, wherein I took notice there was a considerable party

B 4

amongst

amongst us, who regretted that the commonwealth should have owed its preservation to my hands. I added, I confess, that, in compliance with the request “ of some of your relations, “ whose desires you could by no means refuse, “ you suppressed the applause with which you “ intended to have honoured me in that illustrious assembly. I mentioned, at the same time, “ that we had shared between us the glory of “ having saved the republic: and that whilst “ I was protecting Rome from the wicked designs of her intestine enemies, you were defending Italy from the open attacks and secret conspiracies of those who had meditated our general ruin. But that some of your family, nevertheless, had endeavoured to weaken this our illustrious association, and were unwilling you should make any return on your part, for those high honours with which you had been distinguished on mine.” As this was an open confession how much I was mortified in not receiving the applause I expected, it raised a general smile in the house: not indeed at you, but at myself, for ingenuously acknowledging my disappointment. And surely what I thus said cannot but be considered as highly to your credit: since it was an evidence that, amidst the highest honours, I still thought my glory



glory incomplete, without the concurrence of your approbation.

As to what you mention concerning a *mutual affection*, I know not what you may esteem as a mark of that disposition. But, according to my apprehension, it consists in an equal return of those good offices which one friend receives from another. If, as a proof of this gratitude on my part, I were to tell you that I gave up my pretensions to your present government; you might well suspect my veracity. The truth is, I renounced it as being inconsistent with that plan of conduct I had laid down to myself<sup>1</sup>: and I find every day more and more reason to be satisfied with having taken this resolution. But this, with strict sincerity, I can affirm, that I no sooner relinquished my claim to

<sup>1</sup> Cicero here alludes to the resolution he took of not accepting any government at the expiration of this consular office: a resolution, it must be owned, worthy of a generous and disinterested patriot. Accordingly, in a speech which he made in the senate on the day of his inauguration, he declared he would receive no honours at the close of his ministry, which it was in the power of the tribunes to obstruct; and indeed it was in their power to obstruct every honour the senate could decree. As the authority of these popular magistrates could thus disappoint the ambition of the consuls, it had often influenced them in the exercise of their functions. But by this self-denying renunciation which Cicero made, he had nothing to hope from their favour, or to fear from their resentment: and consequently divested himself of every motive that could check a vigorous opposition to their factious measures. *Orat. cont. Rub. i. 8.*

to your province, than I considered how to throw it into your hands. I need not mention the management which was employed in order to secure the lot in your favour: but this much I will say, that I hope you do not imagine the part my colleague acted in that affair was, in any of its circumstances, without my privity and consent. Let me desire you to recollect with what expedition I assembled the senate immediately after the balloting was over, and how fully I spoke upon that occasion in your applause. Accordingly, you then told me, that I had not only paid an high compliment to yourself, but at the same time cast a very severe reproach upon your colleagues. I will add, that so long as the decree shall subsist, which the senate passed at that juncture, there will not be wanting a public and conspicuous monument of my good offices towards you. Remember likewise the zeal with which I supported your interest in the senate; the encomiums with which I mentioned you in the assemblies of the people; and the affectionate letters I wrote to you, after your departure. And when you have laid these several circumstances together, I may safely leave it to your own determination, whether your behaviour to me, upon your last return to Rome, was suitable to these

these instances of my friendship. However, I know not what you mean by our *reconciliation*: an expression, it should seem, which cannot, with any propriety, be applied where there never was any formal rupture.

With respect to your relation, whom I ought not, you tell me, to have persecuted so severely in resentment of a single expression, I have this to say: In the first place, I most highly applaud the affectionate disposition you discover towards him: and, in the next, I hope you would pardon me, if that duty which I owe my country, and to which no man is more strongly devoted, had, at any time, obliged me to oppose his measures. But if I have only defended myself against his most cruel attacks, have you not reason to be satisfied that I never once troubled you with my complaints? On the contrary, when I perceived he was collecting the whole force of his tribunitial power, in order to oppress me, I contented myself with endeavouring to divert him from his unjust purpose, by applying to your wife<sup>2</sup> and sister;

<sup>2</sup> Sister to Claudius: a woman of most abandoned lewdness, and suspected of having poisoned Metellus, who died in 694, a few years after this letter was written.—Cicero, who attended him in his last moments, represents them as truly heroic. Metellus saw the approaches of death without the least concern upon his own account, and only lamented that



ter<sup>3</sup>; as the latter had often indeed, in consideration of my connexions with Pompey, exerted her good offices in my behalf. Nevertheless (and I am sure you are no stranger to the truth of what I am going to say) upon laying down my consular office, he prevented me from making the usual speech to the people: and thus, what had never been denied to the lowest and most worthless of our magistrates, he most injuriously refused to a consul who had preserved the liberties of his country. This insult, however, proved greatly to my honour; for, as he would only suffer me to take the oath<sup>4</sup>, I pronounced the sincerest and most glorious of asseverations with an uncommon exertion of voice: and the whole assembly of the people, as loudly called the gods to witness, that what I had sworn was most religiously true<sup>5</sup>. But tho' I received this signal affront from your cousin, yet I had the very same day sent an amicable

that he should lose his life at a time when his friend and his country would have most occasion for his services. *Pro Calio* 24.

<sup>3</sup> Mucia: she was married to Pompey, but afterwards divorced from him on occasion of her gallantries with Cæsar. *Ad Att.* i. 12. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

<sup>4</sup> The consuls, at the expiration of their office, took an oath that they had faithfully and zealously discharged their trust. *Manut.*

<sup>5</sup> Cicero did not confine himself to the usual terms of the oath; but swore that he had preserved Rome and the Republic from destruction. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

cable message to him by our common friends, with the hopes of persuading him into a better temper. The answer he returned was, that all applications of this kind were now too late. He had, indeed, asserted, some days before, in a speech which he made in a general assembly of the people, "that the man who had punished others without suffering them to be heard<sup>6</sup>, ought to be denied the privilege of being heard in his turn." Excellent and judicious patriot indeed! to maintain that the same punishment which had been decreed, and with the approbation too of every honest man in Rome, to those rebels and incendiaries who had attempted

<sup>6</sup> The principal conspirators concerned with Cataline being taken into custody, Cicero convened the senate; when it was debated in what manner to proceed against the prisoners. Silanus, the consul elect, advised that they should all be put to death. But this was against an express law, which prohibited the taking away the life of any citizen without a formal process. The proposal of Silanus was opposed by Cæsar, as being a stretch of the senate's power which might be productive of very dangerous consequences in a free state. It was his opinion, therefore, that the estates of the conspirators should be confiscated, and their persons closely imprisoned. Cicero, as Dr. Middleton observes, delivered his sentiments with all the skill both of the orator and the statesman; and while he seemed to shew a perfect neutrality, and to give equal commendation to both the opinions, was artfully labouring to turn the scale in favour of Silanus's, which he considered as a necessary example of severity in the present circumstances of the republic. A vote accordingly passed that the conspirators should suffer death; which Cicero immediately put in execution. *Life of Cic. Vol. i.* 219, 221, 230. See rem. 6. p. 25. of this Vol.

tempted to involve their country in the most dreadful calamities, was due to him who had preserved the senate, the city, and all Italy in general from destruction. These were the provocations that induced me to oppose your cousin openly and before his face: and accordingly, in a debate on the first of January, concerning the state of the republic, I thought proper to let him see that he had declared war against a man who did not want resolution to return his attack. In a speech which he made a few days afterwards, he was pleased to throw out several menacing expressions against me: and it was evidently his determined purpose to effect my ruin, not by bringing my actions to a fair and impartial trial, but by the most illegal methods of violence. Had I not acted then with spirit in opposition to his ill-considered measures, would not the world have thought (and thought too with reason) that the courage I exerted in my consulate was merely accidental, and not the result of a steady and rational fortitude? If you are ignorant of these instances of your cousin's deportment, he has concealed a very material article of his conduct. On the other hand, if he apprised you of them, you have reason to look upon me as having acted with great temper and forbearance



be in never interrupting you with my ex-  
stulations. In a word, you will find my  
complaint against him was not founded on a  
single expression, as you call it, but on a conti-  
nued series of malevolence. Let me now, there-  
fore, shew you, that my conduct in return was  
influenced by principles of the greatest good-  
nature: if good-nature it may be deemed, not  
to exert a proper resentment against injuries of  
so atrocious a kind. The truth is, I never once  
made a motion in the senate to his prejudice;  
the contrary, as often as any question arose  
in which he was concerned, I always voted on  
the most favourable side. I will add (tho' it is  
an instance, indeed, in which I ought not to  
be concerned myself) that I was so far from  
being displeased with the decree which passed  
in his favour, that, in consideration of his be-  
ing related to you, I actually promoted it to  
the utmost of my power.

Thus you see that, far from being the ag-  
gressor, I have only acted a defensive part. Nor  
have I, as you accuse me, betrayed a capri-  
cious disposition with regard to yourself: on  
the contrary, notwithstanding your failure in  
the amicable offices on your side, I have still  
reserved the same unvariable sentiments of  
friendship on mine. Even at this very instant  
when

when I have before me, I had almost call it your threatening letter, yet I will tell you that I not only excuse, but highly applaud the generous warmth you express in your cousin's behalf: as I know, by what passes in my own breast, the wonderful force of family-affection. I hope then you will judge of my resentment with the same candour, and acknowledge that if, without the least provocation on my part, I have been most cruelly and outrageous treated, by any of your relations, I had a right to be angry. I will not only say to defend myself, but to be supported in that defence, if it were necessary even by your whole army. Believe me, I have ever been desirous of making you my friend, as I have endeavoured to convince you, on all occasions, that I was entirely yours: sentiments which I still retain, and shall continue to retain just as long as you desire. To sum all in one word, I am much more disposed to sacrifice my resentment against your cousin to my friendship towards yourself, than to suffer the former, in any degree, to impair our mutual affection. Farewel.

## LETTER IV.

[A. U. 691.]

To CAIUS ANTONIUS: Imperator<sup>6</sup>.

I HAD determined not to trouble you with my letters, unless of the recommendatory kind: not that I had reason to expect my solicitations would have much weight with you; but as being unwilling it should appear to those who might apply for them, that any coolness had arisen between us. However, as our common friend Atticus, who has been a particular witness of the warmth with which I have ever promoted your interest, is coming into your province, I cannot forbear conveying a letter to you by his hand; especially as he very strongly importuned me for that purpose.

Were I to claim even your highest services, the demand could by no means be thought unreasonable, after having contributed everything on my part for the advancement of your ease, your interest, and your honours<sup>7</sup>. But I may

<sup>6</sup> The person to whom this letter is addressed, was uncle of the celebrated Mark Antony. He had been consul the year before with Cicero, and was now governor of Macedonia.

<sup>7</sup> The consuls, at the expiration of their office, used to draw lots to which of the provinces they should respectively succeed



may safely appeal to your own conscience whether you have ever made me the least return: so far from it, indeed, that I have heard (for I dare not say I have been *informed*<sup>s</sup>, as it is an expression, it seems, which you frequently, tho' I am sure injuriously, object to me) I have heard then that you have intimated something as if—But I leave it to Atticus to tell you the rest: as the report<sup>a</sup> has given him

no

succeed as governors. This which Antonius possessed, of the most desirable in all the Roman empire, having fallen to Cicero, he resigned it to his colleague.

<sup>s</sup> This alludes to an expression which Cicero had often occasion to employ in the affair of Cataline's conspiracy. As his principal intelligence arose from some of the conspirators themselves, who communicated to him from time to time the designs of their associates, he was obliged to conceal the authors of these discoveries: and, therefore, in laying his allegations before the senate or the people, he was under the necessity of speaking only in general terms, and of assuring them that he had been *informed* of the particular articles mentioned. But tho' the event proved that his information were true; yet, in general, this method of accusation was extremely odious, and of dangerous example. Cicero's enemies, therefore, did not fail to take advantage of this popular objection, and were perpetually repeating the phrase, *am informed*, whenever they were disposed to reproach his conduct in this transaction. See *Mong. rem.* 19. on the 19th let. of the first book to Atticus. *Plut. in vit. Cic. Sallust. Declam. in Cic.* 2.

<sup>a</sup> This report was of a very unfavourable kind indeed for it charged Cicero with having a share in the money which Antonius raised by his exactions on the unhappy people of his province. The very judicious French translator of the epistles to Atticus, seems to imagine there was some foundation for this report; as he thinks it probable that Antonius had agreed to pay Cicero a certain sum in consideration

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less concern than it gave myself. In the mean time, I will only say, that the senate and the whole Roman people have been witnesses of that uncommon zeal with which I have entered into your interest. What sentiments of gratitude this has impressed upon your mind, you yourself are the best judge; how much you owe me in consequence of it, let others determine. It was friendship that first engaged my good offices in your favour; and I afterwards was induced to continue them merely from a principle of constancy. But, believe me, your present<sup>9</sup> affairs

his having relinquished to him the government of Macedonia: but this is a conjecture altogether unsupported by any evidence. Thus much, however, is certain; in the first place, that Cicero had some demands upon Antonius, of a nature which he did not choose should be known; as, whenever he hints at them to Atticus, it is always in a very dark and enigmatical manner: and, in the next place, that he sacrificed his own judgment and the good opinion of the world, in order to support Antonius in his present government. From which facts the reader is left to draw the conclusion that he shall judge reasonable. *Vid. ad Att. l. xii. 13, 14.* See the following remark.

<sup>9</sup> Pompey had declared his intentions of very strenuously insisting that Antonius should be recalled from his government, in order to give an account of his administration: which, it seems, had been extremely oppressive. It was upon this occasion that Cicero promised him his service: and it seems, by the following letter, that he kept his word. But if he had not, his honour, perhaps, would not have been the more questionable: for it appears, from a letter to Atticus, that Cicero could not undertake the defence of Antonius without suffering in the opinion, not only of the populace, but of every worthy man in Rome. *Ad Att. l. i. 12.* See remark 5th on the following letter.

fairs require a much larger proportion of my zeal and pains: the utmost exertion of which shall not be wanting, provided I may have reason to think that they are not entirely thrown away. For I shall never be so absurdly officious, as to employ them where they are not acceptable. Atticus will inform you in what particular instances you may, probably, have occasion for my good offices: in the meanwhile, I very warmly recommend him to yours. I am well persuaded, indeed, that his own interest with you is his best advocate: however, if you have any remaining affection for me, let me entreat you to shew it (and it is the most obliging manner in which you can shew it) by your services to my friend. Farewel.

## LETTER V.

[A. U. 692.]

TO PUBLIUS SESTIUS, Quæstor<sup>1</sup>.

I COULD scarce credit your freedman Decius, as highly as I think of his fidelity and attachment to your interest, when he requested me  
in

<sup>1</sup> Every proconsul, or governor of a province, had a quæstor under him, who acted as a sort of paymaster-general to the provincial forces, and as superintendant likewise of the public revenues. Sestius was at this time exercising that office under Antonius, in Macedonia. Some further account will be occasionally given of him in the progress of these remarks.



in your name to use my endeavours that you may not at present be recalled. Remembering, indeed, the very different strain in which all the letters I had before received from you were written, I could not easily be induced to think that you had so greatly altered your mind. But after Cornelia's visit to my wife, and the discourse which I had myself with Cornelius, I could no longer doubt of this change in your inclinations: and accordingly I never failed to attend in your behalf, at every subsequent meeting of the senate. The question, however, did not come on till January last, when we carried it without much opposition: tho' I found some difficulty in persuading Quintus Fusius<sup>2</sup>, and the rest of your friends, to whom you had written upon this subject, to believe me rather than your own letters.

I had not agreed with Crassus for his house, when you wished me joy of the purchase: but I was so much encouraged by your congratulations, that I soon afterwards bought it at thirty-five hundred thousand sesterces<sup>3</sup>. I am now, therefore, so deeply involved in debt as  
to

<sup>2</sup> One of the tribunes of the people.

<sup>3</sup> About 28,000*l*. Cicero, it is said, borrowed a considerable part of this sum from a man whose cause he had undertaken to defend. But eloquence was not as yet professedly venal in Rome; and it was looked upon as highly dishonourable

to be full ripe, you must know, for a plot, if any malecontent will be so charitable as to admit me into one. But the misfortune is, this sort

honourable for an advocate, not only to receive any reward, but even a loan of his client. Cicero, therefore, being publicly reproached with this transaction, most confidently denied the charge; declaring at the same time that he had not the least intention of making this purchase. However, he soon afterwards completed his bargain: when being taxed in the senate with this unworthy falsehood, he endeavoured to laugh it off, by telling his censurers, that *they must know very little of the world indeed, if they imagined any prudent man would raise the price of a commodity, by publicly avowing his intentions of becoming a purchaser.* It is Aulus Gellius who gives us this story, which Dr. Middleton supposes might have picked up from some spurious collection of Cicero's jokes: and many such, it is certain, were handed about, even in Cicero's life-time. As every reader of taste and learning must wish well to the moral character of so valuable an author as Cicero, one cannot but regret that neither his own general regard to truth, nor the plea of an ingenious advocate, seem sufficient to discredit this piece of secret history. That Cicero was capable of denying facts where it was not for his advantage they should be discovered, will appear, perhaps, beyond controversy in the progress of these remarks. In the mean time a very strong instance of this may be produced from one of his letters to Atticus. Cicero had written an invective against some person whose interest he had occasion to make use of in the affair of his restoration. This piece of satire had stolen into the world, it seems, without his knowledge; but as he never had any formal quarrel with the man against whom it was levelled, and as it was drawn up in a style by no means equal to the usual correctness of his performances, it might easily, he tells Atticus, be proved not to have come from his hand. *puto posse probari non esse meam.* The truth of it is, sincerity does not seem to have been the virtue upon which Cicero was very solicitous of establishing his character. Thus, Plutarch assures us, that our author having made a speech in public, full of the highest encomiums on Crassus, he did not scruple a few days afterwards to reverse the panegyric, and represent

sort of patriots are all disposed to exclude me from their society: and whilst I am the aversion of some of them, as the avowed avenger of conspiracies, others suspect that I only plead poverty with a view of gaining their confidence, in order to betray them. They think it incredible, indeed, that the man who rescued the bags of all the usurers in Rome from a general attack, should ever be in distress for money<sup>4</sup>. The truth of the matter is, there is enough to be raised at six per cent. and I have gained this much, by the services I have done my country, that I am considered by your money-lenders, at least, as a *good* man.

I must not forget to mention that I have lately looked over your house and buildings, and am much pleased with the improvements you are making.

Notwith-

represent him before the same audience in all the darkest colours of his invective. Cicero being reminded, upon this occasion, of his former harangue, very gravely replied, "it was only by way of an oratorical exercise, and in order to try the force of his eloquence upon so bad a subject." *Aul. Gell.* xii. 12. See *Life of Cic.* i. 259. 8vo. Ed. *Ad Att.* iii. 12. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

<sup>4</sup> The chief of those who engaged in Cataline's rebellion, were men of the same desperate fortunes as himself: *Quicunque bona patria laceraverat*, says the historian of this conspiracy, *quicunque alienum æs grande conflaverat*, were the worthy associates of Cataline in this infamous enterprise: and though liberty was, as usual, the pretence; the true motive of their taking up arms was, in order to make war upon their creditors. *Sallust. Bell. Cat.* 14.



Notwithstanding all the world is sensible that Antonius has by no means acted towards me with the gratitude he ought, yet it did not prevent me from being his advocate lately in the senate: when, by the influence of my authority, and the force of what I said, I greatly disposed the house in his favour<sup>s</sup>. I will only add my wishes that you would write to me oftener. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>s</sup> The question in this debate probably turned on the recal of Antonius: a question, which seems either to have been carried in his favour, or to have been dropped during a considerable time. For it appears, by a letter to Atticus, written two years after the date of the present, that Antonius was still in his government: and Dion Cassius assures us, that he was not brought upon his trial till the consulate of Cæsar; that is, not till the year of Rome 694. He was then arraigned for his ill-conduct in Macedonia, and as being concerned likewise in Cataline's conspiracy. This last article of the impeachment could not be proved; but the truth of it, nevertheless, was generally believed; however, he was convicted of the former, and condemned to perpetual banishment. Cicero appeared as his advocate upon this occasion; and it was an occasion which contributed more, perhaps, than any other, to his future misfortunes. For, in the warmth of his speech, he indiscreetly threw out some reflections upon Cæsar; which, although that great master of his passions did not think proper at that time openly to resent, it is probable he never forgave. Dion Cassius, at least, informs us, that it was upon this account he secretly instigated Clodius to those violent measures which soon afterwards terminated in Cicero's exile. *Ad Att.* ii. 2. *Dio* xxxvii. See the last remark on the preceding letter, p. 19.

## LETTER VI.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA, to my dearest TULLIA, and  
to my Son<sup>6</sup>.

IF you do not hear from me so frequently as you might, it is because I can neither write to you, nor read your letters, without falling into a greater passion of tears than I am able to support: for though I am at all times, indeed, completely miserable, yet I feel my misfortunes with a particular sensibility upon those tender occasions.

Oh!

There is an interval of two years between the date of this and the foregoing letter; the correspondence which was carried on during the intermediate period being entirely lost, except that which he held with Atticus. The foregoing letters to Terentia, were written in our author's private hours, and will prove, either that Cicero was a philosopher in speculation, or that philosophy itself pretends to more than it has power to perform. Perhaps, they will prove both; for, as on the one hand they discover the most painful dejection of spirit; so it is certain, on the other, that much weaker minds have been able, with the assistance of better principles, to support with fortitude far severer trials. Those in which Cicero was at present exercised, were occasioned by Clodius, who procured himself to be elected tribune with the single view of destroying this his avowed adversary. It has already been observed in the sixth remark, on the third letter of this book, that Cicero, in his consulate, had put to death some of the conspirators concerned with Cataline, without any formal trial, and upon no other authority than a decree of the senate. And it was upon this charge that Clodius founded his impeachment. Cicero's conduct upon this occasion, has also been arraigned by a late very accurate and judicious historian; and it must be acknowledged that, as far as we can be competent judges of it at this distance from the time and scene of action, it seems to have been attended with some circumstances not easily

Oh! that I had been more indifferent to life. Our days would then have been, if not wholly unacquainted with sorrow, yet by no means thus wretched. However, if any hopes are still reserved to us of recovering some part at least of what we have lost, I shall not think that I have made altogether so imprudent a choice. But if our present fate is unalterably fixed---Ah! my dearest Terentia, if we are utterly and for ever abandoned by those whom you have so religiously adored, and those men whom I have so faithfully served, let me see you as soon as possible, that I may have the satisfaction of breathing out my departing sigh in your arms.

I have spent about a fortnight at this place with my friend Marcus Flaccus. This worthy man did not scruple to exercise the rites of friendship and hospitality towards me, notwithstanding the severe penalties of that iniquitous law against those who should venture to give me reception<sup>8</sup>. May I one day have it in my power

easily reconcileable to the principles either of justice or good policy. See *Hook's Rom. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 316.

<sup>7</sup> Brundisium: a maritime town in the kingdom of Naples, now called *Brindisi*. Cicero, when he first withdrew from Rome, intended to have retired into Sicily, but being denied entrance by the governor of that island, he changed his direction, and came to Brundisium, in his way to Greece. *Pro Planc.* 40, 41.

<sup>8</sup> As soon as Cicero had withdrawn from Rome, Clodius procured



power to make him a return to those generous services, which I shall ever most gratefully remember.

I am just going to embark, and purpose to pass thro' Macedonia in my way to Cyzicum<sup>9</sup>. And now, my Terentia, thus wretched and ruined as I am, can I entreat you, under all that weight of pain and sorrow with which, I too well know, you are oppressed, can I entreat you to be the partner and companion of my exile? But must I then live without you? I know not how to reconcile myself to that hard condition; unless your presence at Rome may be a mean of forwarding my return; if any hopes of that kind should indeed subsist. But should there, as I sadly suspect, be absolutely none, come to me, I conjure you, if it be possible: for never can I think myself completely ruined, whilst I shall enjoy my Terentia's company. But how will my dearest daughter dispose of herself? A question which you yourselves must consider: for, as to my own part, I am utterly at a loss what to advise. At all events, however, that poor unhappy girl must not take any measures that

secured a law, which, among other articles, enacted, that no person should presume to harbour or receive him on pain of death." *Life of Cic.* i. 354.

A considerable town in an island of the Propontis, which lay so close to the continent of Asia, as to be joined to it by a bridge.

that may injure her conjugal repose<sup>1</sup>, or affect her in the good opinion of the world. As for my son---let me not at least be deprived of the consolation of folding him for ever in my arms. But I must lay down my pen a few moments: my tears flow too fast to suffer me to proceed.

I am under the utmost solicitude, as I know not whether you have been able to preserve any part of your estate, or (what I sadly fear) are cruelly robbed of your whole fortune. I hope Piso<sup>2</sup> will always continue, what you represent him to be, entirely ours. As to the manumission of the slaves, I think you have no occasion to be uneasy. For, with regard to your own, you only promised them their liberty as they should deserve it; but, excepting Orpheus, there are none of them that have any great claim to this favour. As to mine I told them, if my estate should be forfeited I would give them their freedom, provided they could obtain the confirmation of that grant; but if I preserved my estate, that they should all of them, excepting only a few whom I particularly named, remain in their present condition. But this is a matter of little consequence.

W

<sup>1</sup> Tullia was at this time married to Caius Piso Frugi, a young nobleman of one of the best families in Rome. remark 9th, on letter ix. p. 42. of this book.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero's son-in-law, mentioned in the last note.

With regard to the advice you give me of keeping up my spirits, in the belief that I shall again be restored to my country, I only wish that I may have reason to encourage so desirable an expectation. In the mean time, I am greatly miserable, in the uncertainty when I shall hear from you, or what hand you will find to convey your letters. I would have waited for them at this place; but the master of the ship on which I am going to embark, could not be prevailed upon to lose the present opportunity of sailing.

For the rest, let me conjure you in my turn to bear up under the pressure of our afflictions with as much resolution as possible. Remember that my days have all been honourable; and that I now suffer not for my crimes, but my virtues. No, my Terentia, nothing can justly be imputed to me, but that I survived the loss of my dignities. However, if it was more agreeable to our children that I should thus live, let that reflection teach us to submit to our misfortunes with cheerfulness; insupportable as upon all other considerations they would undoubtedly be. But, alas, whilst I am endeavouring to keep up your spirits, I am utterly unable to preserve my own!

I have sent back the faithful Philetærus, as  
the



the weakness of his eyes made him incapable of rendering me any service. Nothing can equal the good offices I receive from Sallustius. Pescennius, likewise, has given me strong marks of his affection: and I hope he will not fail in his respect also to you. Sica promised to attend me in my exile, but he changed his mind, and has left me at this place.

I entreat you to take all possible care of your health, and be assured, your misfortunes more sensibly affect me than my own. Adieu, my Terentia, thou most faithful and best of wives adieu. And thou, my dearest daughter, together with that other consolation of my life, my dear son, I bid you both most tenderly farewell.

Brundisium,  
April the 30th.

## LETTER VII.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA, to my dearest TULLIA, and  
to my Son.

IMAGINE not, my Terentia, that I write longer letter to others than to yourself: be assured, at least, if ever I do, it is merely because those I receive from them require a more particular

particular answer. The truth of it is, I am always at a loss what to write; and as there is nothing in the present dejection of my mind, that I perform with greater reluctance in general; so I never attempt it with regard to you and my dearest daughter, that it does not cost me a flood of tears. For how can I think of you without being pierced with grief, in the reflection, that I have made those completely miserable whom I ought, and wished, to have rendered perfectly happy? And I should have rendered them so, if I had acted with less timidity.

Piso's behaviour towards us in this season of our afflictions, has greatly endeared him to my heart; and I have, as well as I was able in the present discomposure of my mind, both acknowledged his good offices, and exhorted him to continue them.

I perceive you depend much upon the new tribunes; and if Pompey perseveres in his present disposition, I am inclined to think that your hopes will not be disappointed; though, I must confess, I have some fears with respect to Crassus. In the mean while, I have the satisfaction to find, what, indeed, I had reason to expect, that you act with great spirit and tenderness in all my concerns. But I lament it should

should be my cruel fate to expose you to so many calamities, whilst you are thus generously endeavouring to ease the weight of mine. Be assured, it was with the utmost grief I read the account which Publius sent me, of the opprobrious manner in which you were dragged from the temple of Vesta, to the office of Valerius<sup>4</sup>. Sad reverse indeed ! that thou, the dearest object of my fondest desires, that my Terentia, to whom such numbers were wont to look up for relief, should be, herself, a spectacle of the most affecting distress ! and that I, who have saved so many others from ruin, should have ruined both myself and my family by my own indiscretion !

As to what you mention with regard to the area belonging to my house, I shall never look upon myself as restored to my country, till that spot of ground is again in my possession<sup>5</sup>. But this is a point that does not depend upon ourselves. Let me rather express my concern for what does, and lament that, distressed, as  
your

<sup>4</sup> Terentia had taken sanctuary in the temple of Vesta, but was forcibly dragged out from thence by the directions of Clodius, in order to be examined at a public office, concerning her husband's effects. Mr. Ross.

<sup>5</sup> After Clodius had procured the law against Cicero already taken notice of, he consecrated the area where his house in Rome stood, to the perpetual service of religion, and erected a temple upon it to the goddess Liberty. *Life of Cic.*



your circumstances already are, you should engage yourself in a share of those expences which are incurred upon my account. Be assured, if ever I should return to Rome, I shall easily recover my estate : but should fortune continue to persecute me, will you, thou dear unhappy woman, will you fondly throw away in gaining friends to a desperate cause, the last scanty remains of your broken fortunes ! I conjure you then, my dearest Terentia, not to involve yourself in any charges of that kind : let them be borne by those who are able, if they are willing, to support the weight. In a word, if you have any affection for me, let not your anxiety upon my account injure your health : which, alas ! is already but too much impaired. Believe me, you are the perpetual subject of my waking and sleeping thoughts : and as I know the assiduity you exert in my behalf, I have a thousand fears lest your strength should not be equal to so continued a fatigue. I am sensible, at the same time, that my affairs depend entirely upon your assistance : and therefore that they may be attended with the success you hope and so zealously endeavour to obtain, let me earnestly entreat you to take care of your health.

I know not whom to write to, unless to those who first write to me, or whom you particularly mention in your letters. As you and Tullia are

of opinion that I should not retreat farther from Italy, I have laid aside that design. Let me hear from you both as often as possible, particularly if there should be any fairer prospect of my return. Farewel, ye dearest objects of my most tender affection, Farewel !

Thessalonica<sup>6</sup>, Oct. the 5th.

### LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA, to my dearest TULLIA, and  
to my Son.

I LEARN, by the letters of several of my friends, as well as from general report, that you discover the greatest fortitude of mind, and that you solicit my affairs with unwearied application. Oh, my Terentia, how truly wretched am I, to be the occasion of such severe misfortunes to so faithful, so generous, and so excellent a woman ! And my dearest Tullia too !—That she who was once so happy in her father, should now derive from him such bitter sorrows ! But how shall I express the anguish I feel for my little boy ! who became acquainted with grief as soon as he was capable of any reflection<sup>7</sup>. Had these afflictions happened, as you tenderly represent them, by an unavoidable fate, they would

<sup>6</sup> A city in Macedonia, now called *Salonichi*.

<sup>7</sup> Cicero's son was at this time about eight years of age.  
*Manut.*

would have sat less heavy on my heart. But they are altogether owing to my own folly in imagining I was loved where I was secretly envied<sup>8</sup>, and in not joining with those who were sincerely desirous of my friendship<sup>9</sup>. Had I been governed, indeed, by my own sentiments, without relying so much on those of my weak or wicked advisers, we might still, my Terentia, have been happy<sup>1</sup>. However, since my friends

<sup>8</sup> The persons to whom he alludes are, Hortensius, Arrius, and others of that party, who (if we may believe Cicero's complaints to Atticus) took advantage of his fears, and advised him to withdraw from Rome on purpose to ruin him. But persons under misfortunes are apt to be suspicious, and are frequently therefore unjust: as Cicero seems to have been with respect to Hortensius at least, who does not appear to have merited his reproaches. *Ad Att.* iii. 9. 14. *Ad Q. F.* i. 3. See *Mongault's* remarks, vol. ii. p. 44.

<sup>9</sup> Caesar and Crassus frequently solicited Cicero to unite himself to their party, promising to protect him from the outrages of Clodius, provided he would fall in with their measures. *Life of Cic.* i. 288. 315. 8vo. Ed.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero is perpetually reproaching himself in these letters to Terentia, and in those which he wrote at the same time to Atticus, for not having taken up arms and resolutely withstood the violences of Clodius. He afterwards, however, in several of his speeches, made a merit of what he here so strongly condemns, and particularly in that for Sextius, he appeals to Heaven, in the most solemn manner, that he submitted to a voluntary exile in order to spare the blood of his fellow-citizens, and preserve the public tranquillity. *Te, te, patria, testor*, (says he) *et vos penates patriæque Dii, me vestrarum sedum templorumque causa, me propter salutem meorum civium, quæ mihi semper fuit mea carior vita, dimicationem cædemque fugisse*. But Cicero's veracity, in this solemn asseveration, seems liable to be justly questioned. It is certain that he once entertained a design of taking up arms in his own defence: and the single motive that appears to have determined him in the change of this resolution was, his finding himself



friends encourage me to hope, I will endeavour to restrain my grief, lest the effect it may have upon

most perfidiously deserted by Pompey, *Si—quisquam fuisset* (says he, in a letter to Atticus) *qui me Pompeii minus liberali responso perterritum, a turpissimo consilio revocaret;—aut occubuissem honeste, aut victores hodie viveremus.* iii. 15. Dion Cassius asserts, that Cicero, notwithstanding this unexpected desertion of Pompey, was preparing to put himself in a posture of defence; but that Cato and Hortensius would not suffer him to execute his purpose: *επεχειρησε μὲν σπῶλα ἀρᾶσθαι, κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Κατονῷ καὶ τῷ Οὔρτησι* &c. Lib. 38. Perhaps this author may be mistaken as to his having actually made any formal preparations of this kind: but that he had it in his intentions seems clear beyond all reasonable contradiction. The French historian of our author's banishment has relied, therefore, too much upon Cicero's pompous professions after his return, when he maintains that nothing could be farther from his thoughts than a serious opposition. *Hist. de l'exil de Cicer.* p. 148. The contrary appears most evidently to have been the case; and that the patriot-motive which he so often assigns in his subsequent orations for leaving his country, was merely an afterthought, and the plausible colouring of artful eloquence. Why else, it may be asked, is there not the least hint of any such generous principle of his conduct, in all the letters he wrote during this period? Why else is he perpetually reproaching his friends for having suffered him to take that measure? And why, in a word, does he call it, as in the passage above-cited, *turpissimum consilium*, the effect of a most ignominious resolution? But were it to be admitted that as regard to his country determined him to withdraw from it; still, however, he could not, with any degree of truth, boast of his patriotism upon that occasion; for the most partial of his advocates must acknowledge, that he no sooner executed this resolution, than he heartily repented of it. The truth is, how unwilling soever he might be to hazard the peace of his country in maintaining his post, he was ready to renounce all tenderness of that kind in recovering it; and he expressly desires Atticus to raise the mob in his favour, if there were any hopes of making a successful push for his restoration: *Oro te ut, si quæ spes erit posse studiis bonorum, auctoritate, multitudine comparata, rem confici, des operam ut uno impetu perfingatur.* Ad Att. iii. 23.

upon my health should disappoint your tender efforts for my restoration. I am sensible, at the same time, of the many difficulties that must be conquered ere that point can be effected: and that it would have been much easier to have maintained my post, than it is to recover it. Nevertheless, if all the tribunes are in my interest; if Lentulus is really as zealous in my cause as he appears; and if Pompey and Cæsar likewise concur with him in the same views, I ought not, most certainly, to despair.

With regard to our slaves, I am willing to act as our friends, you tell me, advise. As to your concern in respect to the plague which broke out here, it is entirely ceased: and I had the good fortune to escape all infection. However, it was my desire to have changed my present situation for some more retired place in Epirus, where I might be secure from Piso and his soldiers<sup>2</sup>. But the obliging Plancius was unwilling

<sup>2</sup> Lucius Calphurnius Piso, who was consul this year with Gabinius: They were both the professed enemies of Cicero, and supported Clodius in his violent measures. The province of Macedonia had fallen to the former, and he was now preparing to set out for his government, where his troops were daily arriving. Cicero has delineated the characters at large of these consuls in several of his orations: but he has, in two words, given the most odious picture of them that exasperated eloquence, perhaps, ever drew, where he calls them *duo reipublicæ portenta ac pæne funera*: an expression for which modern language can furnish no equivalent. *De prov. consul.* See remark 21. p. 174. of this vol. and remark 2. p. 102. vol. 2.

willing to part with me ; and still indeed detains me here in the hope that we may return together to Rome<sup>3</sup>. If ever I should live to see that happy day ; if ever I should be restored to my Terentia, to my children, and to myself, I shall think all the tender solitudes we have suffered, during this sad separation, abundantly repaid.

Nothing can exceed the affection and humanity of Piso's<sup>4</sup> behaviour towards every one of us : and I wish he may receive from it as much satisfaction, as, I am persuaded, he will honour. —I was far from intending to blame you with respect to my brother : but it is much my desire, especially as there are so few of you, that you should live together in the most perfect harmony. —I have made my acknowledgments where you desired, and acquainted the persons you mention, that you had informed me of their services.

As to the estate you propose to sell ; alas ! my dear Terentia, think well of the consequence : think what would become of our unhappy boy, should fortune still continue to persecute us. But my eyes stream too fast to suffer me to add more : nor would I draw the same tender flood  
from

<sup>3</sup> Plancius was, at this time, Quæstor in Macedonia, and distinguished himself by many generous offices to Cicero in his exile. *Pro Planc. passim.* See remark 1. on letter 2. B. viii.

<sup>4</sup> Cicero's son-in-law.



from yours. I will only say, that if my friends should not desert me, I shall be in no distress for money : and if they should, the money you can raise by the sale of this estate will little avail. I conjure you then, by all our misfortunes, let us not absolutely ruin our poor boy, who is well-nigh totally undone already. If we can but raise him above indigence, a moderate share of good fortune and merit will be sufficient to open his way to whatever else we can wish him to obtain. Take care of your health, and let me know by an express how your negotiations proceed, and how affairs in general stand.—My fate must now be soon determined. I tenderly salute my son and daughter, and bid you all farewell.

Dyrrachium<sup>5</sup>,  
November. 26.

P. S. I came hither, not only as it is a free city<sup>a</sup> and much in my interest, but as it is situated, likewise, near Italy<sup>6</sup>. But if I should find any inconvenience from its being a town of such great resort, I shall remove elsewhere, and give you due notice.

LETTER

<sup>5</sup> A city in Macedonia, now called *Durazzo*, in the Turkish dominions. This letter, though dated from Dyrrachium, appears to have been wholly written, except the postscript, at Thessalonica.

<sup>a</sup> That is a city which had the privilege, though in the dominions of the Roman republic, to be governed by its own laws.

<sup>6</sup> Besides the reasons here mentioned, there was another and much stronger, which induced Cicero to leave Thessalo-

## LETTER IX.

[A. U. 695.]

TO TERENTIA.

I RECEIVED three letters from you by the hands of Aristocritus, and have wept over them till they are almost defaced with my tears. Ah ! my Terentia, I am worn out with grief : nor do my own personal misfortunes more severely torture my mind, than those with which you and my children are oppressed. Unhappy indeed, as you are, I am still infinitely more so ; as our common afflictions are attended with this aggravating circumstance to myself, that they are justly to be imputed to my imprudence alone. I ought, most undoubtedly, either to have avoided the danger by accepting the commission<sup>7</sup> which was offered me ; or to have repelled force by force, or bravely to have perished in the attempt. Whereas nothing could have been more unworthy of my character, or more pregnant with misery, than the scheme I have

nica : for he had received intelligence that Piso's troops were approaching towards that city. *Ad Att.* iii. 22.

<sup>7</sup> As it answered Caesar's purposes either to gain Cicero, or to ruin him, he artfully laid his measures for both. And accordingly, after having instigated Clodius to pursue Cicero, he offered to take him into Gaul in the quality of his lieutenant, as a means of protecting him from that vengeance he had secretly inflamed. But Cicero being more disposed to try his strength with his adversary, imprudently declined the proposal. *Dio*, xxxvii. *Ad Att.* ii. 18. 19.

have pursued<sup>s</sup>. I am overwhelmed, therefore, not only with sorrow, but with shame: yes, my Terentia, I blush to reflect that I did not exert that spirit I ought for the sake of so excellent a wife and such amiable children. The distress in which you are all equally involved, and your own ill state of health in particular, are ever in my thoughts; as I have the mortification, at the same time, to observe, that there appear but slender hopes of my being recalled. My enemies are many; while those who are jealous of me are almost innumerable: and though they found great difficulty in driving me from my country, it will be extremely easy for them to prevent my return. However, as long as you have any hopes that my restoration may be effected, I will not cease to co-operate with your endeavours for that purpose; lest my weakness should seem, upon all occasions, to frustrate every measure in my favour. In the mean while, my person (for which you are so tenderly concerned) is secure from all danger: as, in truth, I am so completely wretched, that even my enemies themselves must wish, in mere malice, to preserve my life. Nevertheless, I shall not fail to observe the caution you kindly give me.

I have

<sup>s</sup> See remark 1. on the preceding letter.



I have sent my acknowledgments by Dexippus to the persons you desired me, and mentioned, at the same time, that you had informed me of their good offices. I am perfectly sensible of those which Piso exerts towards us with so uncommon a zeal: and, indeed, it is a circumstance which all the world speaks of to his honour. Heaven grant I may live to enjoy, with you and our children, the common happiness of so valuable a relation<sup>9</sup>!

The only hope I have now left, arises from the new tribunes; and that, too, depends upon the steps they shall take in the commencement of their office: for if they should postpone my affair, I shall give up all expectations of its ever being effected. Accordingly I have dispatched Aristocritus, that you may send me immediate notice of the first measures they shall pursue, together with the general plan upon which they propose to conduct themselves. I have likewise

<sup>9</sup> He had the great misfortune to be disappointed of this wish: for Piso died soon after this letter was written. Cicero mentions him in several parts of his writings, with the highest gratitude and esteem. He represents him as a young nobleman of the greatest talents and application, who devoted his whole time to the improvements of his mind, and the exercise of eloquence: as one whose moral qualifications were no less extraordinary than his intellectual, and, in short, as possessed of every accomplishment and every virtue that could endear him to his friends, to his family, and to the public. *Pro Sext.* 31. *De clar. orator.* 271, *Ad Quirites*, iii.

wise ordered Dexippus to return to me with all expedition, and have written to my brother to request he would give me frequent information in what manner affairs proceed. It is with a view of receiving the earliest intelligence from Rome, that I continue at Dyrrachium: a place where I can remain in perfect security, as I have, upon all occasions, distinguished this city by my particular patronage. However, as soon as I shall receive intimation that my enemies<sup>1</sup> are approaching, it is my resolution to retire into Epirus.

In answer to your tender proposal of accompanying me in my exile, I rather choose you should continue in Rome; as I am sensible it is upon you that the principal burthen of my affairs must rest. If your generous negotiations should succeed; my return will prevent the necessity of that journey: if otherwise——But I need not add the rest. The next letter I shall receive from you, or at most the subsequent one, will determine me in what manner to act. In the mean time, I desire you would give me a full and faithful information how things go on: though, indeed, I have now more reason to expect the final result of this affair, than an account of its progress.

Take

<sup>1</sup> The troops of Piso. See remark 2. on the former letter.

Take care of your health I conjure you ; assuring yourself, that you are, as you ever have been, the object of my fondest wishes. Farewel, my dear Terentia ! I see you so strongly before me whilst I am writing, that I am utterly spent with the tears I have shed. Once more, farewel<sup>2</sup>.

## LETTER

Dyrrachium,  
Nov. the 30th.

<sup>2</sup> " This great man, who had been the saviour of his country, who had feared, in the support of that cause, neither the insults of a desperate party, nor the daggers of assassins ; when he came to suffer for the same cause, sunk under the weight. He dishonoured that banishment which indulgent Providence meant to be the means of rendering his glory complete. Uncertain where he should go, or what he should do, fearful as a woman, and froward as a child, he lamented the loss of his rank, of his riches, and of his splendid popularity. His eloquence served only to paint his misery in stronger colours. He wept over the ruins of his fine house, which Clodius had demolished ; and his separation from Terentia, whom he repudiated not long afterwards, was, perhaps, an affliction to him at this time. Every thing becomes intolerable to the man who is once subdued by grief. He regrets what he took no pleasure in enjoying, and, overloaded already, he shrinks at the weight of a feather. Cicero's behaviour, in short, was such, that his friends, as well as his enemies, believed him to have lost his senses. Cæsar beheld, with a secret satisfaction, the man, who had refused to be his lieutenant, weeping under the rod of Clodius. Pompey hoped to find some excuse for his own ingratitude in the contempt which the friend, whom he had abandoned, exposed himself to. Nay, Atticus judged him too nearly attached to his former fortune, and reproached him for it. Atticus, even Atticus blushed for Tully, and the most plausible man alive assumed the style of Cato." *Boling. Reflect. on Exile. p. 253.*



## LETTER X.

[A. U. 696.]

TO QUINTUS METELLUS NEPOS, the  
Consul<sup>2</sup>.

THE letters I received both from my brother and my friend Atticus strongly encouraged me to hope, that you were not less disposed than your colleague to favour my recal. In consequence of this persuasion, I immediately wrote to you in terms suitable to my present unfortunate circumstances: acknowledging my grateful sense of your generous intentions, and entreating your future assistance. But I afterwards learned, not indeed so much by any hint of this kind from my friends, as from the report of those who passed this way, that you did not continue in the same favourable sentiments<sup>3</sup>: for which reason I would not venture to importune you any farther. My brother, however, having transmitted me a copy of the speech

<sup>2</sup> This is the same person, who, when he was tribune, gave occasion, by his ill-treatment of Cicero, to the second and third letters of this book. He was now consul with Publius Cornelius Lentulus.

<sup>3</sup> Whilst the friends of Cicero were exerting their endeavours to procure his restoration, Clodius was opposing their designs by every method of artifice and violence: in which he was protected by Metellus, notwithstanding he had given intimations of a disposition to favour Cicero's interest. *Life of Cic.* i. 408. 8vo. Edit.

speech you lately made in the senate, I found it animated with such a spirit of candour and moderation, that I was induced to write to you once more. Let me earnestly request you then to consider rather the interests than the passions of your family<sup>4</sup>, lest, by falling in with their unjust and cruel opposition to me, you should open a way by which they themselves may be oppressed in their turn. Is it possible, indeed, that you, who gained such a glorious conquest over yourself, as to sacrifice your own private enmities<sup>5</sup> to the welfare of the republic, should be prevailed upon to add strength to a resentment in others which evidently tends to its destruction? If you think proper then to afford me your assistance in this conjuncture, you may, upon all occasions, depend on my utmost services in return. On the other hand, should that lawless violence, which has wounded the commonwealth through my side, be suffered still

<sup>4</sup> Clodius was cousin to Metellus. *Post red. in sen.* 10.

<sup>5</sup> The first step that Lentulus took when he entered upon the administration of his office, was to move the senate that Cicero might be recalled. Upon which occasion, his colleague Metellus made the concession to which Cicero seems here to allude; declaring that he was willing to sacrifice his private resentment against Cicero, to the general inclinations of the senate and the people. Nevertheless, he still continued to support Clodius, as has been already observed in the note above. *Pro Sext.* 32. *post red. in sen.* iv. See remark 26. on letter 17. p. 178. B. ii.

still to prevail, it imports you to reflect, whether, if you should hereafter be inclined to recal the opportunity of preserving our general liberties, you will not have the misfortune of finding it much too late<sup>6</sup>. Farewel.

## LETTER XI.

[A. U. 696.]

TO FABIVS GALLVS<sup>a</sup>.

I HAVE been attacked with a disorder in my bowels, which continued with great violence during ten days: but as it was not attended with a fever, I could not persuade those who had

<sup>6</sup> Notwithstanding that Pompey, Cæsar, and indeed all the principal persons of the republic now concurred in favouring Cicero's return, yet the practices of Clodius prevented a decree for that purpose, till the first of June. Nor was it till the 4th of August following, that this decree passed into a general law: in consequence of which, Cicero soon afterwards made his triumphant entry into Rome. Metellus joined in procuring this decree: a change of sentiments which Cicero imputed to a most pathetic speech which Servilius Isauricus delivered in the senate upon this occasion, and which so softened Metellus, it seems, that he melted into tears. But the true cause is more probably to be ascribed to the influence of Cæsar and Pompey: who, in order to mortify Clodius, whose power now began to be troublesome to them, thought it convenient, for their purposes, that Cicero should be restored. *Pro Sext.* 31. 62. *Ad Quir.* 7.

<sup>a</sup> Gallus is only known by three or four letters which Cicero has addressed to him: from which, however, nothing particular can be collected concerning his history or character.



had occasion for my services, that I was really indisposed. In order, therefore, to avoid their importunities, I retired to Tusculanum; having observed so strict an abstinence for two days before, as not to have tasted even a drop of water. Reduced then as I am by my illness and my fasting, I had more reason to hope for a visit from you, than to imagine you expected one from me.

Distempers of every kind I greatly dread, but particularly of that sort for which the Stoics have censured your favourite Epicurus, where he complains<sup>b</sup> of being violently afflicted with the dysentery and the strangury; as the former, they assert, is the consequence of table indulgencies, and the latter of a more shameful intemperance. I had, indeed, great reason to apprehend a dysentery: but whether it be from change of air, or a relaxation from business, or that the distemper had almost spent itself, I know not; but I am somewhat better since I came hither. You will wonder, perhaps, what excesses I have been guilty of, to bring upon myself this disorder. I must inform you then, that I owe it to the frugal regulations

<sup>b</sup> In a letter which he wrote during his last sickness: a translation of which is given us by Cicero, in his treatise. *De finibus*, ii. 31.

tions of the sumptuary law<sup>c</sup>. The products of the earth being excepted out of the restrictions of that act; our elegant eaters, in order to bring vegetables into fashion, have found out a method of dressing them in so high a taste, that nothing can be more palatable. It was immediately after having eaten very freely of a dish of this sort, at the inauguration feast of Lentulus<sup>d</sup>, that I was seized with a diarrhœa, which has never ceased till this day. Thus you see, that I, who have withstood all the temptations that the noblest lampreys and oysters could throw in my way, have at last been overpowered by paltry beets and mallows: but it has taught me, however, to be more cautious for the future. As Anicius found me in one of my sick fits, you must undoubtedly have heard of my illness; I was in hopes, therefore, you would not have contented yourself with inquiring after my welfare, but would have given me the satisfaction

<sup>c</sup> Manutius conjectures, that the law alluded to is one which is ascribed by Aulus Gellius to Marcus Lucinius Crassus, and which passed in the year of Rome 643. By this law the expences of the table were regulated both in regard to ordinary and extraordinary occasions, with the express exception mentioned by Cicero in the next sentence, concerning the article of vegetables. *Vid. Aul. Gell. ii. 24.*

<sup>d</sup> He was son of Publius Cornelius Lentulus, one of the consuls of the present year, to whom the next letter and several of the following ones in this and the subsequent book are written. He gave this entertainment on occasion of his being chosen a member of the college of augurs. *Manut.*

faction of a visit. I purpose to continue here, till I shall have re-established my health: for I am extremely weakened and emaciated. But if I can once get the better of my disorder, I hope I shall find no difficulty in recovering all the rest. Farewel.

## LETTER XII.

[A. U. 697.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul<sup>1</sup>.

I FIND it much easier to satisfy the world than myself, in those sacred offices of friendship I exert in your behalf. Numberless, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> Publius Lentulus, was consul together with Quintus Metellus Nepos, A. U. 696, the year before this letter was written. During his administration of that office, he distinguished himself by his zeal in promoting Cicero's recall from banishment; which, after many difficulties thrown in the way by Clodius, he at length effected. At the expiration of his consulate, he succeeded to the government of Cilicia, one of the most considerable provinces in Asia minor, now called Carmania; and the following correspondence was carried on with him whilst he continued in that province. Cæsar had, upon many important occasions, given him very signal instances of his friendship, particularly in gaining him an entrance into the pontifical college; in procuring him the province of lower Spain, after he had passed through the office of prætor; and by assisting him in obtaining the consulship. Yet these obligations were not so powerful in the sentiments of Lentulus, as to supersede those more important ones which he owed to his country. Accordingly he opposed the illegal and dangerous demands of Cæsar, with great warmth and indignation in the senate; and, upon the breaking out of the civil war, joined himself with Pompey. He steadily persevered in following the cause and the fortune of  
that



deed, are the obligations you have conferred upon me, and as you persevered with unwearied zeal, till you had effected my recal from exile, I esteem it the greatest mortification of my life, that I cannot act in your affairs with the same success. The truth is, Ammonius, who resides here as ambassador from Ptolemy<sup>2</sup>, de-  
feats

that unhappy chief, notwithstanding Cæsar generously gave him his life and his liberty, when he fell into his hands upon the surrender of Corfinium. For it appears, by a letter in this collection, that he was afterwards at the battle of Pharsalia, from whence he fled with Pompey to Rhodes, and this is the farthest we can trace him. He is mentioned by Cicero among the celebrated orators of his age; though his merit of this kind was, it seems, more owing to his acquired, than his natural talents. *Cæs. B. C. i. Plut. in Cæs. Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 14. Cic. de opt. gen. dic.*

<sup>2</sup> King of Egypt, and father of the celebrated Cleopatra. He was surnamed *Auletes*, in allusion to his skill in playing upon a certain musical instrument called by the Greeks *Aulos*. The title of this prince to his throne being precarious, he found means, by the interest of Cæsar and Pompey, to be declared an ally of the Roman republic, about two years before the date of this letter, for which piece of service they were to receive no less a reward than one million one hundred sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds. The heavy taxes Ptolemy was obliged to impose in order to raise this immense tribute, together with other acts of tyranny and oppression, occasioned such a general discontent among his people, that they took up arms and drove him out of Egypt. In this exigency he had recourse to the republic, in virtue of the alliance just mentioned. His subjects likewise sent an embassy to Rome, composed of an hundred of their principal citizens, to plead their cause before the senate; but Ptolemy having notice of this deputation, procured part of them to be assassinated on their way thither; others as soon as they arrived; and the rest he silenced by proper applications to their fears and their avarice. This, together with his immense and open profusions

feats all my schemes by the most shameless and avowed bribery, and he is supplied with money for this purpose, from the same quarter as when you were in Rome. The party in the king's interest, (tho' their number, it must be owned, is inconsiderable) are all desirous that Pompey may be employed to re-instate him in his dominions. The senate, on the other hand, fall in with the pretended oracle<sup>3</sup>; not, indeed, as giving

among the venal part of the republic, rendered him generally detested at Rome; insomuch, that notwithstanding he was zealously supported by Pompey, who actually obtained a decree in his favour, yet the opposition was so strong, that the senate, after various debates, thought proper to let the affair wholly drop. His last resource, therefore, was to apply himself to Gabinius, proconsul of Syria. Accordingly, Gabinius, upon the promise of 10,000 talents, and at the recommendation of Pompey, boldly undertook, and effected his restoration without being authorised by any legal commission for that purpose. *Dio. xxxix. Liv. Epit. 105. Cic. Orat. in Pison.* See remark 7. p. 96. of this vol.

<sup>3</sup> Caius Cato, a relation of the celebrated M. Portius Cato, who killed himself at Utica, was in the number of those who most strenuously opposed the restoration of Ptolemy. He was a young man of a turbulent and enterprising disposition, which he supported with some degree of eloquence. This, at least, is the character which Fenestella gives of him, as that analist is cited by Nonius; but if he was never engaged in an opposition less reasonable than the present, history has not done him justice. Among other expedients which he employed to obstruct the designs of those who favoured Ptolemy, he had recourse to a prophecy which he pretended to have found in the Sibylline books, and which contained a severe denunciation against the state, if the Romans assisted a king of Egypt with their troops in recovering his throne. This had, in some measure, its desired effect; for the senate (which in general was in the same sentiments, as to this point, with Cato) voted it dangerous to the interests of the republic, to employ any force in favour of Ptolemy.

giving any credit to its predictions, but as being in general ill-inclined to this prince, and detesting his most corrupt practices. In the meanwhile, I omit no opportunity of admonishing Pompey with great freedom, and conjuring him not to act such a part in this affair, as would cast the deepest stain upon his character. I must do him the justice, at the same time, to acknowledge, that, so far as his own conduct is concerned, there does not appear the least foundation for any remonstrances of this sort. On the contrary, he is perpetually expressing the highest zeal for your interest: and he lately supported it in the senate, with the utmost force of eloquence, and the strongest professions of friendship. Marcellinus<sup>4</sup>, I need not tell you, is a good deal displeased at your soliciting this commission;

The Sibyls were certain supposed prophetesses, concerning whom there is a great variety of opinions; historians being by no means agreed as to their number, their country, or the age in which they lived. Those who are inclined to read a very ridiculous story, may find an account in Aulus Gellius, of the manner by which the Romans are said to have possessed themselves of these oracular writings. These prophecies were carefully deposited in the Capitol, and consulted upon certain extraordinary occasions. There are some ancient writings still extant which pass under the name of the Sibylline oracles; but these oracles "seem to have been all, from first to last, and without any exception, mere impostures." *Ad Q. Frat. ii. 2. Aul. Gell. i. 19. Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. p. 284.*

<sup>4</sup> One of the present consuls.



commission; in all other respects, I dare venture to say, he will very strenuously promote your interest. We must be contented to take him in his own way, for I perceive it is impossible to dissuade him from proposing that the injunctions of the oracle shall be complied with. And, in fact, he has already made several motions to that purpose.

I wrote this early on the 13th, and I will now give you an account of what has hitherto passed in the senate. Both Hortensius and Lucullus agreed with me in moving, that the prohibition of the oracle should be obeyed; and, indeed, it does not seem possible to bring this matter to bear upon any other terms. But we proposed, at the same time, that in pursuance of the decree<sup>5</sup> which was made on your own motion, you should be appointed to re-establish Ptolemy in his kingdom; the situation of your province lying so conveniently for that purpose. In a word, we consented that the army should be given up, in deference to  
the

<sup>5</sup> Before Lentulus set out for his government, the senate had come to a resolution of assisting Ptolemy with a body of troops; and (as has already been observed) a decree had actually passed for that purpose. It was voted at the same time that the consul, whose lot it should prove to administer the province of Cilicia, should be charged with this commission; and accordingly fortune decided it in favour of Lentulus. But the artifices of Caius Cato, taken notice of in the note above, prevented this decree from being carried into execution. *Orat. pro Rabir.*

the oracle; but insisted, nevertheless, that you should be employed in effecting this restoration. Crassus, on the other side, was for having this commission executed by three persons, to be chosen from among our generals: and consequently he did not mean to exclude Pompey. Marcus Bibulus joined with him as to the number, but thought that the persons to be nominated should not bear any military command. All the rest of the consulars were in the same sentiments, except Servilius, Afranius, and Volcatius. The first absolutely opposed our engaging in Ptolemy's restoration upon any terms whatsoever: but the two last were of opinion, that, agreeably to the motion of Lupus, this commission should be given to Pompey. This circumstance has increased the suspicion concerning the real inclinations of the latter, as his most particular friends were observed to concur with Volcatius. They are labouring this point with great assiduity; and, I fear, it will be carried against us. Libo and Hypsæus are openly soliciting for Pompey; and, in truth, the conduct of all his friends at this juncture makes it generally believed, that he is desirous of the office. Yet the misfortune is, that those who are unwilling it should fall into his hands, are not the more inclined to place it in yours, as th y

are much displeased at your having contributed to the late advancement of his power<sup>6</sup>. For myself, I find I have the less influence in your cause, as it is supposed I am solely governed by a principle of gratitude; at the same time, the notion which prevails that this affair affords an opportunity of obliging Pompey, renders my appli-

<sup>6</sup> Lentulus, during his consulate, proposed and carried a law in favour of Pompey, which, in effect, invested him with the whole power of the Roman empire. For, under a pretended scarcity of corn (as some of the historians seem to represent it, tho' Dion Cassius, indeed, speaks of it as real) he was commissioned to provide the republic with that commodity, by which means all those who were concerned in the naval, the commercial, and landed interest, either in Italy or the provinces, became his tributaries and dependents. By another law, Pompey was authorised, during the space of five years, to exercise proconsular power throughout all the Roman dominions; and it is to these extravagant grants that Cicero seems to allude. The former, indeed, of these two laws, Cicero himself very zealously promoted, in return to the services he had lately received from Pompey in the affair of his restoration. And tho' the latter invested that aspiring chief with a power much too exorbitant (as is intimated in a letter to Atticus) to be endured in a free state; yet Cicero suffered it to pass, without the least opposition. We learn, from his own confession, the mean motive of this unworthy silence. As the Pontifical college, it seems, had not yet made their report concerning the validity of Clodius's consecration of his area, (See remark 5. p. 32. of this vol.) he thought it unsafe to withstand any of Pompey's demands, lest he might influence their decision to his prejudice: *nos tacemus, et eo magis, quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc Pontifices responderunt*. Lentulus, on the other hand, was suspected of procuring these laws in view of his own designs, and in order to divert Pompey from the thoughts of being employed in re-establishing Ptolemy on his throne. Thus were the liberties of Rome sacrificed to the private purposes of her pretended patriots! *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Dio. xxxix. Ad Att. iv. 1.*



applications likewise not altogether so effectual as they might otherwise prove. It is thus I am labouring in this perplexed business ; which the king himself, long before you left Rome, as well as the friends and dependents of Pompey, had artfully embarrassed. To this I must add the avowed opposition I meet with from the consulars, who represent our assisting Ptolemy with an army, as a measure that would highly reflect upon the dignity of the senate. Be assured, however, I shall employ every means in my power of testifying both to the world in general, and to your friends in particular, the sincerity of that affection I bear you. And, were there any honour in those who ought to have shewn themselves influenced by its highest and most refined principles, I should not have so many difficulties to encounter. Farewel.

## LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 697.]

TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA<sup>a</sup>.

YOU remember, I doubt not, that when I attended you on your way towards your province,

<sup>a</sup> He had been prætor the year before, and very instrumental in procuring Cicero's recal from exile. At the expiration of his prætorship, he obtained the government of Africa : and this letter seems to have been written to him soon after his arrival in that province. *Pigh. annal.* ii. 384.

province, I took occasion, in the presence of Publius Cuspius, to desire you would consider every friend of his whom I should recommend to you, as in the number of my own : and that I afterwards repeated this request in the strongest manner. You then assured me, with great generosity and politeness, and agreeably to that affectionate regard with which you have ever distinguished me, that you would comply with my request. I am to inform you, then, that Cuspius, having been twice in Africa, during the time that he had the direction of the affairs of the company which farms the revenues of that province, contracted some acquaintance in that part of the world whom he greatly loves : and, as no man is more zealous to serve his friends, he very warmly espouses their interest. I am always ready to assist him, for that purpose, to the utmost of my credit and influence ; which I mention as a reason for my recommending his African friends in general to your protection. For the future, therefore, I shall only acquaint you that the person in whose behalf I may happen to write, is a friend of Cuspius : and then add the distinguishing mark we agreed upon<sup>b</sup>. But my present recommendation

<sup>b</sup> To distinguish those recommendations which were written merely in compliance with solicitations he could not refuse, from others that were the sincere dictates of his heart.

tion is of the strongest kind : as it is in compliance with the most earnest desire of Cuspius, that I entreat your good offices to Lucius Julius. If I were to request them in the terms that are usually employed in the sincerest solicitations of this nature, I should scarce satisfy, I believe, the zeal of my friend. He requires something more new and singular in the manner of my present address ; and imagines I am master of a certain art, that renders me extremely well qualified for the task. I promised, therefore, to recommend his friends to you, by all the most skilful and insinuating methods of persuasion. But, as I find myself incapable of executing this promise, I can only entreat you to give him reason to imagine, that there was something wonderfully efficacious in this letter. Now this he will certainly suppose, if you exercise towards Julius every generous act that your politeness and your station enable you to confer ; not only by distant services, but by your personal notice and distinction : for you cannot imagine, as you have not been long enough in your post to know it by your own observation, how great an advantage it is to a man to have the countenance of the governor of his province. I am persuaded that Julius well deserves every mark of your friendship upon his own account ;

not



not only because Cuspius has assured me that he does, (which, of itself, indeed, would be a very sufficient reason for my thinking so) but because I know the great judgment of the latter in the choice of his friends.

Time will soon discover the effects which this letter shall produce; and they will be such, I confidently trust, as to demand my acknowledgments. In the mean while, you may depend upon my best services here, in every instance wherein I shall imagine you would desire them. Farewel.

P. S. Publius Cornelius, the bearer of this letter, is one whom I likewise recommend to you at the request of Cuspius: and how much I am bound, both by inclination and gratitude, to do every thing for his sake that is in my power, is a circumstance of which I have already sufficiently informed you. Let me entreat you, therefore, that he may very soon, and very frequently, have the strongest reasons to thank me for this my recommendation of his friend. Farewel.

## LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 697.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul.

THE senate met on the 13th of January, but came to no resolution ; the greatest part of that day having been spent in some warm contests which arose between Marcellinus<sup>7</sup>, the consul, and Caninius, one of the tribunes of the people. I had myself also a very considerable share in the debates ; and I represented the zeal you have always shewn towards the senate, in terms that influenced them, I am persuaded, much to your advantage. The next day, therefore, we thought it sufficient briefly to deliver our opinions : as I perceived, not only by the favourable manner in which I was heard the day before, but also by inquiring into the sentiments of each particular member, that the majority was clearly on our side. The business of the day opened with reporting to the house the several opinions of Bibulus, Hortensius, and Volcatius. The respective questions, therefore, were, in the first place, whether three commissioners should be nominated for restoring the king, agreeably to the sentiments of  
Bibulus ;

<sup>7</sup> Cneius Lentulus Marcellinus, who was consul this year with L. Marcius Philippus.

Bibulus; in the next, whether, according to those of Hortensius, the office should be conferred upon you, but without employing any forces; or, lastly, whether, in conformity to the advice of Volcatius, this honour should be assigned to Pompey. The points being thus stated, it was moved that the opinion of Bibulus might be referred to the deliberation of the house in two separate questions<sup>3</sup>. Accordingly, as it was now in vain to oppose his motion, so far as it related to paying obedience to the declaration of the oracle, the senate in general came into his sentiments: but as to his proposal of deputing three commissioners, it was rejected by a very considerable majority. The opinion next in order was that of Hortensius. But, when we were going to divide upon it, Lupus, a tribune of the people, insisted, that, in virtue of his office, he had the privilege of dividing the house, prior to the consuls; and therefore demanded that the voices should be  
first

<sup>3</sup> "When an opinion was proposed to the senate which was thought too general, and to include several distinct articles, it was usual to require that each part might be propounded and voted separately. Thus Bibulus moved, that they might submit to the Sybilline oracle, and appoint three private senators to restore the king. But the house required that they might vote separately upon these two questions: and the event was, they unanimously agreed to the former, but rejected the latter." *Ross rem. on Cic. famil. epist. vol. i. p. 348.*



first taken upon the motion he had made in favour of Pompey. This claim was generally and strongly opposed; as, indeed, it was both unprecedented and unreasonable. The consuls themselves, however, did not greatly contest that point, nor did they absolutely give it up. Their view was to protract the debates, and they succeeded accordingly. They perceived, indeed, that, notwithstanding the majority affected to appear on the side of Volcatius, yet, upon a division, they would certainly vote with Hortensius. Nevertheless, several of the members were called upon to deliver their opinions, though, in truth, much against the inclinations of the consuls, who were desirous that the sentiments of Bibulus should prevail. These debates continuing till night, the senate broke up without coming to any resolution. I happened to pass the same evening with Pompey; and, as I had that day supported your cause, in the senate, with more than ordinary success, I thought it afforded me the most favourable opportunity of speaking to him in your behalf. And what I said seemed to make so strong an impression, that I am persuaded I have brought him wholly over to your interest. To say the truth, whenever I hear him mention this affair himself, I entirely acquit him of being secretly desirous

desirous of this commission. On the other hand, when I observe the conduct of his friends of every rank, I am well convinced (and indeed it is now evident likewise to the whole world) that they have been gained by the corrupt measures which a certain party, with the consent of Ptolemy and his advisers, have employed. I write this before sun-rise on the 16th of January, and the senate is to meet again on this very day. I hope to preserve my authority in that assembly, as far, at least, as is possible amidst such general treachery and corruption which has discovered itself upon this occasion. As to what concerns the bringing this matter before the people, I think we have taken such precautions as will render it impracticable, unless by actual violence, or in direct and open contempt both of our civil and religious institutions. For this purpose, a very severe order of the senate<sup>9</sup> (which, I imagine, was immediately transmitted to you) was entered yesterday in our journals, notwithstanding the tribunes Cato<sup>1</sup> and Caninius interposed their negatives.

You

<sup>9</sup> When an act passed the senate in a full house, held according to the prescribed forms, and without any opposition from the tribunes, (who had the privilege of putting a negative upon all proceedings in the senate) it was called a *senatus consultum*, a decree of the senate. But if any of these essentials were wanting, or a tribune interposed, it was then only styled a *senatus auctoritas*, an order of the senate, and considered as of less authority. *Manut.*

<sup>1</sup> See remark 3. p. 52, of this vol.

You may depend upon my sending you a faithful account of every other occurrence which may arise in this affair: and be assured I shall exert the utmost of my vigilance and my credit, to conduct it in the most advantageous manner for your interest. Farewel.

## LETTER XV.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same.

AULUS Trebonius, who is an old and intimate friend of mine, has some important affairs in your province, which require immediate dispatch. His own illustrious character, together with the recommendations of myself and others, have, upon former occasions of this kind, obtained for him the indulgence of your predecessors. He is strongly persuaded, therefore, from that affection and those mutual good offices which subsist between you and me, that this letter will not prove a less effectual solicitor in his behalf: and let me earnestly entreat you not to disappoint him in this his expectation. Accordingly I recommend his servants, his freed-men, his agents, and, in short, his concerns of every kind to your patronage: but, particularly, I beg you would confirm the de-



cree which Titus Ampius<sup>a</sup> passed in his favour. In one word, I hope you will take all opportunities of convincing him, that you do not consider this recommendation as a matter of common and unmeaning form. Farewel.

## LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same.

WHEN the senate met on the 16th of this month<sup>a</sup>, your affair stood in a very advantageous posture. We had succeeded the day before against the motion of Bibulus for appointing three commissioners, and had now only to contend with Volcatius; when our adversaries prevented the question from being put, by artfully protracting the debates. For they saw we had, in a very full house, and amidst great contrariety of opinions, carried our point, to the considerable mortification of those who were for taking the king's affairs out of your direction, and transferring them to another hand. Curio opposed us upon this occasion with extreme warmth; while Bibulus spoke with more temper, and, indeed, seemed almost

<sup>a</sup> The predecessor of Lentulus in this government. *Pigh. Ann.* U. C. 696.

<sup>2</sup> January.

almost inclined to favour our cause. But Cato and Caninius absolutely refused to suffer any decree to pass, till a general assembly of the people should be convened.

By the Pupian law, as you well know, there cannot be another meeting of the senate till the first of February: nor, indeed, throughout that whole month, unless all the foreign ambassadors should have received, or be refused, audience. In the mean while, a notion prevails among the people, that your adversaries have insisted upon this pretended oracle, not so much with an intent of obstructing your particular views, as in order to disappoint the hopes of those who may be desirous of this expedition to Alexandria, merely from the ambition of commanding an army. The whole world is sensible, indeed, of the regard which the senate has shewn to your character: and it is notoriously owing to the artifices of your enemies, that the house did not divide upon the question proposed in your favour. But should the same persons, under a pretended zeal for the public, (though, in fact, from the most infamous motives) attempt to bring this affair before a general assembly of the people, we have concerted our measures so well, that they cannot, possibly, effect their designs, without having re-

course to violence ; or, at least, without setting the ordinances of our country, both civil and religious, at avowed defiance<sup>3</sup>.—But I will neither ostentatiously display my own endeavours to assist you in this conjuncture, nor dwell upon the unworthy treatment you have received from others. What merit, indeed, can I thence claim to myself, who could not acquit half the obligations I owe you, were I even to sacrifice my life to your service ? On the other hand, what avails it to disquiet my mind with complaining of those injuries, which I cannot reflect upon without the deepest concern ? I will, therefore, only add, if methods of violence should be employed, I cannot pretend, in this general contempt of all legal authority, to answer for the event. In every other respect, I will venture to assure

<sup>3</sup> It was no very difficult matter for the contending parties in the republic, when they were disposed to obstruct the designs of an opposite faction, to find an expedient for that purpose. One cannot but wonder, indeed, that any public business could be carried on, when nothing more was necessary to embarrass the proceedings, than to procure some tribune to interpose his negative, or any magistrate to *observe the heavens*. This latter was a species of divination practised among the Romans, in order to determine whether any scheme under deliberation would be prejudicial or advantageous to the state. It consisted in remarking certain appearances in the heavens, or particular modes in the voice or flight of birds, which were supposed intimations of good or ill success. While this ceremony was performing, no assembly of the people could be legally held, nor any act pass into a law. To both these methods, it is probable, Cicero here alludes.



assure you, that both the senate and the people will pay the highest attention to your dignity and character. Farewel.

## LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same.

THERE is nothing I more ardently wish, than to convince both yourself, and the world, with how much gratitude I retain the remembrance of your services. I cannot, however, but extremely regret, that your affairs should have taken such a turn since your absence, as to give you occasion of trying the affection and fidelity of your friends. You are sensible, as I perceive, by your last letter, that you have been treated with the same insincerity by those who ought to have concurred in supporting your dignities, as I formerly experienced from some of my pretended friends, in the affair of my banishment. Thus, whilst I was exerting the utmost efforts of my vigilance, my policy, and my interest, in order to serve you in the article relating to Ptolemy, I was unexpectedly alarmed in a point of much more important concern, by the infamous law which Cato has

lately proposed to your prejudice<sup>4</sup>. Where affairs are thus embroiled, every thing is, undoubtedly, to be feared : yet my principal apprehension, I confess, arises from the treachery of your false friends. But, however that may be, I am earnestly endeavouring to counter-act the malevolent designs of Cato.

As to the Alexandrian commission, both yourself and your friends will, I trust, have abundant reason to be satisfied with my conduct. But, at the same time, I must say, I greatly fear it will either be taken out of your hands, or entirely dropped : and I know not which of these alternatives I should least choose. However, we have another expedient in reserve, which (should we be driven to it) neither Silius nor myself disapprove. By this scheme we shall, on the one hand, prevent the senate from refusing to assist Ptolemy, and, on the other, remove all appearance of our being disappointed, if that person should be employed, who, it is more than probable, will now obtain this commission. To be short, I shall take such precautions, that should our designs fail, you may not seem to have suffered the disgrace of  
a repulse :

<sup>4</sup> Caius Cato, in order to cut off all hopes at once from *Leitulus* of being employed in this contested commission, proposed a law to the people for recalling him from his government. *Ad Q. F. i. 3.*

a repulse: yet, at the same time, I shall remit nothing of my best efforts to support your claim, so long as there shall be the least prospect of success. But which ever way this point may finally be determined, it will be agreeable to those wise and elevated sentiments you possess, to consider the true glory of your character, as resulting entirely from the dignity of your actions and the virtues of your heart. And should the perfidiousness of a certain party deprive you of some of those honours, which fortune has conferred upon you; be assured, it will cast a much darker shade on their characters than on yours. In the meanwhile, your affairs are the constant subject of my thoughts: and I neglect no opportunity of acting in them for your best advantage. I concert all my measures for this purpose with Selicius: as, indeed, I know not any one of your friends who has a greater share of good sense, or a more affectionate zeal for your service. Farewel.



## LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same<sup>2</sup>.

YOU are informed, I imagine, by many hands, of what passes here. I will leave it, therefore, to your other friends to supply you with an account of our transactions, and content myself with only sending you my conjectures. To this end I must previously acquaint you, that, on the 6th of February, Pompey made a speech, in a general assembly of the people, in favour of Milo; during which he was insulted with much clamour and abuse. Cato afterwards inveighed in the senate against Pompey, with great acrimony, and was heard with the most profound silence and attention: both which circumstances seem to have affected him very sensibly. Now from hence I surmise, that he has entirely laid aside all thoughts of being employed in the Alexandrine expedition. That affair remains, as yet, entirely open to us: for the senate has hitherto determined nothing to your prejudice, but what they are obliged, in deference to the oracle, to refuse to every other candidate

<sup>2</sup> This and the foregoing letter are blended together in the common editions, but they are here separated upon the authority of Manutius and Gronovius.

candidate for this office. It is my present hope, therefore, as well as endeavour, that the king may throw himself into your hands, when he shall find that he cannot, as he expected, be restored by Pompey; and that unless he is replaced upon his throne by your assistance, his affair will be entirely dropped. And this step he will undoubtedly take, if Pompey should give the least intimation of its being agreeable to him. But I need not tell you of the difficulty of discovering the sentiments of a man of his reserve. However, I shall omit no method in my power to effect this scheme; as I shall easily, I trust, be able to prevent the injurious designs of Cato.

I do not find that any of the consulars are in your interest, except Hortensius and Lucullus: all the rest of that rank either openly, or in a more concealed manner, oppose your views. Nevertheless, my friend, be not discouraged: on the contrary, let it be still your hope, notwithstanding the attempts of the worthless Cato, that you will again shine out in all your former lustre<sup>a</sup>. Farewel.

LETTER

<sup>a</sup> See remark 4. p. 69.

## LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 697.]

To the same.

YOU will receive a full account from Pollio of all that has been transacted in your affair : as he was not only present, but a principal manager. Believe me, I am much concerned at the unfavourable aspect of this business. However, it affords me a very sensible consolation, that there is strong reason to hope the prudence of your friends will be able to elude the force of those iniquitous schemes, which have been projected to your prejudice. Even time itself will, probably, contribute to this end : as it often wears out the malevolence of those who, either professedly, or in a disguised manner, mean one ill. I am yet farther confirmed in these pleasing hopes, whenever I reflect upon the faction that was formerly raised against myself : of which I see a very lively image in the present opposition to you. In the latter instance, indeed, the attack is by no means so extensive, or so dangerous, as that which was made upon me ; nevertheless, there is, in general, a strong similitude between the two cases : and you must pardon me, if I cannot fear, upon your account, what you never thought



thought reasonable to be apprehensive of on mine. But, whatever may be the event, convince the world that you are influenced by those principles for which I have admired you from your earliest youth: and believe me, my friend, the malice of your enemies will only serve to render your character so much the more illustrious. In the mean time, do me the justice to hope, from my affection, whatever the warmest friendship can effect; and be assured, I shall not disappoint your expectations. Farewel.

## LETTER XX.

[A. U. 697.]

TO LUCIUS LUCCEIUS<sup>1</sup>.

I HAVE frequently had it in my intentions to talk with you upon the subject of this letter; but a certain awkward modesty has always restrained

<sup>1</sup> It is very little that is known of Lucceius, more than what the following letter informs us. Cicero, in one of his orations, speaks of his moral character with the highest applause, representing him as a man of the greatest humanity, and of the most unblemished honour. All that has been transmitted down to us of his public transactions is, that he was joint candidate with Cæsar in soliciting the consulship, in opposition to Bibulus: in which, however, he did not succeed. In the civil war which afterwards broke out, he took part with Pompey; if not actively, at least by his good wishes and advice: for it appears, by a passage in Cæsar's Commentaries, that the former was wholly guided by his counsels. It is unnecessary to mention the high reputation

restrained me from proposing in person, what I can, with less scruple, request at this distance: for a letter, you know, spares the confusion of a blush. I will own then, that I have a very strong, and, I trust, a very pardonable passion of being celebrated in your writings: and though you have more than once given me assurance of your intending me that honour, yet, I hope you will excuse my impatience of seeing your design executed. I had always, indeed, conceived an high expectation of your performances in this kind: but the specimen I have lately seen of them, is so far superior to all I had figured in my imagination, that it has fired me with the most ardent desire of being immediately distinguished in your glorious annals. It is my ambition, I confess, not only to live for ever in the praises of future ages, but to have the present satisfaction, likewise, of seeing myself stand approved in the authoritative records of my ingenious friend. I am sensible, at the same time, that your thoughts are already deeply engaged in the prosecution of your original design. But, as I perceive you have almost completed your account of the Italic and Ma-

rian

reputation he had gained by his literary abilities, as this part of his character will be sufficiently laid open to the reader in the present letter. *Orat. pro Calio, Suet. in Cæs. 19. Cæs. de bell. civ. iii.*

rian civil wars<sup>2</sup>, and remember you proposed to carry on the remainder of our history in a regular series; I cannot forbear recommending it to your consideration, whether it would be best to weave the relation of Catiline's conspiracy into the general texture of your performance, or cast it into a distinct work. It is certain, several of the Greek historians will justify you in this latter method. Thus Callisthenes wrote a narrative of the siege of Troy, as both Timæus and Polybius did of the Pyrrhic and Numantine wars, in so many detached pieces from their larger histories<sup>3</sup>. As to the honour that will arise to me, it will be much  
the

<sup>2</sup> The Italic war which broke out An. Urb. 663, owed its rise to a rejected claim of the Italian provinces to be admitted into the freedom of the city. It employed the arms of the republic for more than two years, and occasioned greater bloodshed and devastation than those wars in which she had been engaged with Hannibal and Pyrrhus. Towards the close of it, Cicero, who was at that time about 18 years of age, served as a volunteer under the father of Pompey the Great. *Flor.* iii. 18. *Philip.* xii. The Marian civil war immediately succeeded the Italic, and was occasioned by the insatiable ambition of Marius. This haughty Roman, envying Sylla the honour of leading the army of the republic against Mithridates, to which he had been appointed by the senate, procured a law for divesting him of that command, and transferring it into his own hands. This war was carried on between the two contending chiefs and their adherents, with various success, and the most unparalleled cruelty on both sides, till it terminated in the perpetual dictatorship of Sylla. *Flor.* iii. 21. *Plut. in vit. Mar. & Syll.*

<sup>3</sup> Callisthenes lived in the times of Alexander the Great, and attended that illustrious commander in his expedition  
into



the same, I must own, upon which ever scheme you may determine to proceed: but I shall receive so much the earlier gratification of my wishes, if, instead of waiting till you regularly advance to that period of our annals, you should enter upon it by this method of anticipation. Besides, by keeping your mind attentive to one principal scene and character, you will treat your subject, I am persuaded, so much the more in detail, as well as embellish it with higher graces. I must acknowledge, it is not extremely modest, thus to impose a task upon you which your occupations may well justify you in refusing; and then, to add a further request, that you would honour my actions with your applause: an honour, after all, which you may not think, perhaps, they greatly deserve.

However,

into Persia. Timæus was, by birth, a Sicilian, and flourished about the year of Rome 471: he appears, by the character which Cicero gives of him in another part of his writings, to have been a very learned and elegant historian: and he was an author in great esteem with Atticus. Plutarch, however, speaks of him with much contempt, for having affected to rival Thucydides: and he is noted by Longinus as a writer that abounded with cold and puerile conceits. He acknowledges, nevertheless, that Timæus had a flowing imagination, and, upon some occasions, rose up to the true sublime. Polybius, who died about 17 years before Cicero came into the world, wrote a general history in forty books: only five of which have reached these times. But he is not more distinguished by his composition, than by the friendship he enjoyed with Scipio and Lælius. *De Orat.* ii. 5. 8. *Ad Att.* vi. 1. *Plut. in vit. Nicia.* *Longin Sect.* 4. *Voss. de Hist. Græc.* i. 9. 12. 19.

However, when a man has once transgressed the bounds of decency, it is in vain to recede; and his wisest way is to push on boldly in the same confident course, to the end of his purpose. I will venture, then, earnestly to entreat you, not to confine yourself to the strict laws of history, but to give a greater latitude to your encomiums, than, possibly, you may think my actions can claim. I remember, indeed, you declare, in one of your very elegant prefaces, that you are as inflexible to all the pleas of affection, as Xenophon represents Hercules to have been to those of pleasure\*. Let me hope, nevertheless, if friendship should too strongly recommend my actions to your approbation, you will not reject her generous partiality; but give somewhat more to affection, than rigorous truth, perhaps, can justly demand.

If

\* The story to which Cicero here alludes, is this: Hercules, when he was yet a youth, as Prodicus relates the fable, retired into a place of undisturbed solitude, in order to determine, with himself, what course of life he should pursue. Whilst he was in the midst of his contemplations, Pleasure and Virtue appeared to him under the figures of two beautiful women, and each accosted him in her turn. He heard their respective pleas with great attention: but Virtue gained her cause, and entirely won the heart of the future hero. If the English reader is disposed to know this story in all its circumstances, he will find it wrought up into a very beautiful poem by the Rev. Mr. Lowth, and inserted in *Polymetis*, p. 135.

If I should prevail upon you to fall in with my proposal, you will find the subject, I persuade myself, not unworthy of your genius and your eloquence. The entire period from the rise of Catiline's conspiracy to my return from banishment, will furnish, I should imagine, a moderate volume. It will supply you likewise with a noble occasion of displaying your judgment in politics, by laying open the source of those civil disorders, and pointing out their proper remedies, as well as by giving your reasons for approving or condemning the several transactions which you relate. And should you be disposed to indulge your usual spirit of freedom, you will have an opportunity of pointing out, at the same time, with all the severity of your indignation, the treachery and perfidiousness of those who laid their ungenerous snares for my destruction. I will add too, that this period of my life will furnish you with numberless incidents, which cannot but draw the reader's attention in a very agreeable manner: as nothing is more amusing to the mind than to contemplate the various vicissitudes of fortune. And though they were far, it is true, from being acceptable in experience, they cannot fail of giving me much entertainment in description: as there is an inexpressible satisfaction in reflecting



ing at one's ease, on distresses we have formerly suffered. There is something likewise in that compassion, which arises from reading an account of the misfortunes which have attended others, that casts a most agreeable melancholy upon the mind. Who can peruse the relation of the last moments of Epaminondas at the battle of Mantinea, without finding himself touched with a pleasing commiseration? That glorious chief, you may remember, would not suffer the dart to be drawn out of his side, till he was informed that his shield was safe from the hands of his enemies: and all his concern amidst the anguish of his wound was, to die with glory<sup>5</sup>. What can be more interesting, also, than the account of the flight and death of Themistocles<sup>6</sup>! The truth of it is, a mere narrative

<sup>5</sup> Epaminondas headed the forces of the Thebans in a battle which they fought with the Lacedemonians at Mantinea, a town in Arcadia. The Thebans gained the victory, but lost their invaluable commander: whose death was attended with the circumstances which Cicero here mentions. *Justin.* vi. 7, 8.

<sup>6</sup> Themistocles, after having distinguished himself among his countrymen, the Athenians, by his military virtues, particularly in the wars in which they were engaged with Xerxes, had rendered himself so popular, that it was thought necessary to remove him: and accordingly he was obliged to withdraw from Athens. As the historians mention nothing of his return, Marutius proposes an emendation, suggested to him by one of his friends, who imagined, that instead of *reditu* it should be read *interitu*. This would agree very well

rative of general facts, affords little more entertainment to the reader, than he might find in perusing one of our public registers<sup>a</sup>. Whereas, in the history of any extraordinary person, our fear and hope, our joy and sorrow, our astonishment and expectation, are each of them engaged by turns. And if the final result of all should be concluded with some remarkable catastrophe, the mind of the reader is filled with the highest possible gratification. For these reasons I am the more desirous of persuading you to separate my story from the general thread of your narration, and work it up into a detached performance: as, indeed, it will exhibit a great variety of the most interesting and affecting scenes.

When

well with the account which is given of his death: for having been received in his exile by Artaxerxes, he was appointed to command a body of forces in an expedition which that prince was preparing against the Grecians. But Themistocles, rather than turn his arms against his country, chose to put an end to his life by a draught of poison. *Plut. in vita Themist.*

<sup>a</sup> These originally were books preserved in the pontifical college, wherein the several divisions of the Roman year were marked out as they were regulated by Numa, and the particular festivals noted upon which it was unlawful to transact any public affairs. These registers in the later ages of the republic were much enlarged, and contained a sort of journal of the most memorable events, both civil and religious, that happened in every year. *Liv. i. 19, 20. Dissert. sur les fastes par Coulure dans les Mem. de lit. de l'Academ. de bel. let. i. 67.*

When I tell you it is my ambition to be celebrated by your pen, I am, by no means, apprehensive you will suspect me of flattery. The consciousness of your merit must always incline you to believe, it is envy alone that can be silent in your praise: as, on the other side, you cannot imagine me so weak as to desire to be transmitted to posterity by any hand, which could not secure to itself the same glory it bestowed. When Alexander chose to have his picture drawn by Apelles<sup>7</sup>, and his statue formed by Lysippus<sup>8</sup>, it was not in order to ingratiate himself with those distinguished artists: it was from a firm persuasion that the works of these admired geniuses would do equal credit both to his reputation and their own. The utmost, however, that their art could perform, was to perpetuate the persons only of their celebrated contemporaries: but merit needs not any such visible exhibitions to immortalize its fame. Accordingly the Spartan Agesilaus, who would never suffer any picture or statue of him to be taken<sup>9</sup>,  
is

<sup>7</sup> See an account of this celebrated Grecian painter, in remark 29. p. 180, of this vol.

<sup>8</sup> A famous statuary, of whom Demetrius, as cited by Quintilian, remarks, that he was more celebrated for taking a strong than an agreeable likeness. *Quint. Inst. Orat.* xii. 10.

<sup>9</sup> Agesilaus, king of Sparta, was one of the most considerable persons of his age, both for civil and military virtues; insomuch that he justly acquired the appellation of



is not less universally known, than those who have been most fond of having their persons copied out for posterity. The single treatise which Xenophon has written in praise of that renowned general, is more to his glory, than all the pictures and statues of all the artists in the universe. It would be a much higher satisfaction to me, therefore, as it would be a far greater honour, to be recorded by your hand than that of any other; not only because your genius would raise and adorn my actions with the same advantage as Timæus<sup>1</sup>, has displayed those of Timoleon<sup>2</sup>, or Herodotus<sup>3</sup> those of Themistocles;

Agesilaus the *great*. But though nature had been uncommonly liberal to him in the nobler endowments of the mind, she had treated him very unfavourable in those of the body. He was remarkably low of stature, had one leg shorter than the other; and so very despicable a countenance, that he never failed of raising contempt in those who were unacquainted with his moral and intellectual excellencies. It is no wonder, therefore, that he was unwilling to be delivered down to posterity, under the disadvantages of so unpromising a figure. *Plut. in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nep. in vita Agesil. 8.*

<sup>1</sup> The works of Timæus are lost.

<sup>2</sup> Timoleon is one of the noblest characters in all antiquity, and distinguished not only by his private virtues, but by approving himself, upon every occasion, the great assertor of public liberty. He was employed by the Corinthians as general of those forces which they sent to the relief of the Syracusans, against the execrable tyranny of Dionysius. He executed this commission with great honour and success; for having driven Dionysius out of Sicily, and restored the inhabitants to their rights and privileges, he resigned the supreme command. He continued, however, to live among the Syracusans as a private man, enjoying, as

Plutarch

toles<sup>4</sup>; but because of the additional credit I shall receive from the applause of so illustrious, so experienced, and so approved a patriot. By this means I shall enjoy, not only the same glorious privilege which, as Alexander observed when he was at Sigeum, Achilles received from Homer<sup>5</sup>; but what is still more important, the powerful testimony of a man, who is himself distinguished by the noblest and most uncommon virtues. Accordingly, I have been always wonderfully pleased with the sentiment which Nævius<sup>6</sup> puts into the mouth of Hector, where

Plutarch observes, the glorious satisfaction of seeing so many cities owe their ease and happiness to his generous and heroic labours. *Plut. in vit. Timol.*

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus flourished about 440 years before the birth of Christ, under the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, kings of Persia.

<sup>4</sup> See above, remark 6. p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander being elected commander in chief of the confederate troops which the Grecians sent against Xerxes, crossed the Hellespont with his army, and landed at Sigeum, a promontory near Troy, where he visited the tomb of Achilles. Upon this occasion, he is said to have broken out into the following exclamation: "O happy youth! in having found an Homer to celebrate thy virtues." *Plut. in vit. Alex. Cic. pro Arch. poet.*

<sup>6</sup> A dramatic poet who died at Rome An. Urb. 550, about 203 years before the christian æra: some fragments of his works still remain. The sentiment here quoted from him, is truly noble; as there is not, perhaps, a more certain indication of a low and little mind, than to be elevated by undistinguishing applause, or depressed by vulgar censure. Trophies of honour, or monuments of disgrace, are not the works of every hand. Some men are incapable of blasting a reputation, but by approving it: and are never satyrists, but when they mean to be panegyrists.

where that hero, speaking of the approbation he had received from his illustrious father, adds, that it gave him so much the more satisfaction, as coming from one who was, himself, the great object of universal applause. But should want of leisure, (for it would be an injustice to our friendship to suppose it can be want of inclination,) should your occupations then prevent your compliance with this my request; I may, perhaps, be obliged to take a method, which, though often condemned, is supported, nevertheless, by several considerable examples: I mean, to be the historian of my own transactions. But you are sensible there are two inconveniences which attend this scheme: for a man must necessarily be more reserved in setting forth those parts of his conduct which merit approbation; as he will be inclined entirely to pass over others which may deserve reproach. I must add, likewise, that what a writer says to his own advantage, always carries with it a less degree of force and authority, than when it comes from any other pen. In a word, the world in general is little disposed to approve any attempt of this kind. On the contrary, one often hears the more modest method of the poets at the Olympic games, recommended upon such occasions, who,



who, after they have crowned the several victors, and publicly called over their names, always employ some other person to perform the same office to themselves, that they may not be the heralds of their own applause. This imputation, therefore, I would willingly avoid: as I certainly shall, if you should comply with my request, and take this employment out of my hands.

You will be surprised, perhaps, that I spend so much time and pains in soliciting you for this purpose, after having so often heard you declare your intentions of giving the world a very accurate history of my administration. But you must remember the natural warmth of my temper, and that I am fired, as I told you in the beginning of my letter, with an impatient desire of seeing this your design carried into execution. To own the whole truth, I am ambitious of being known to the present generation by your writings, and to enjoy, in my life-time, a fore-taste of that little share of glory which I may expect from future ages. If it be not too much trouble, therefore, I should be glad you would immediately let me know your resolution. And should it prove agreeable to my request, I will draw up some general memoirs of my transactions for your use: if other-

wise, I will take an opportunity of discoursing further with you upon this affair in person. In the mean time, continue to polish the work you have begun, and to love me as usual<sup>7</sup>. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>7</sup> Pliny has made a request to Tacitus, of the same nature with that which is the subject of the letter before us; and though it is by no means enlivened with so much spirit, it is dictated, however, by a far less extravagant passion. He confesses himself fond, indeed, of being transmitted to posterity, by the pencil of that celebrated historian: but adds, at the same time, that he is far from desiring him to paint his actions in colours more strong than fact will justify. See *Plin. let. vol. ii. p. 432. rcm. c.* This express restriction seems to glance at that most extraordinary passage in the present epistle, where Cicero entreats his friend "not to confine himself to the strict laws of history, but to give a greater latitude to his encomiums than Luceius might possibly think his actions could claim." And never did vanity, it must be acknowledged, utter or conceive a more ridiculous and contemptible wish! The voice of praise can alone be justly pleasing, when it harmonizes with conscious merit: and the applause that does not accord with truth, must, of all dissonancies, surely, prove the most offensive to a well-formed ear. But it is extremely observable how much Cicero's judgment was at variance with his practice: for he has himself shewn, in very strong terms, the absurdity of claiming more reputation than a man has merit to support. It is solid worth alone, he justly remarks, that can secure a lasting fame; for nothing can be durable that is fictitious. The former, says he, strikes its root deep, and spreads far: while the latter soon withers and dies away, like the beauties of a transient flower. *Vera gloria radices agit, et propagatur: ficta omnia celeriter, tanquam flosculi, decidunt; nec simulatum potest esse quidquam diuturnum.* De offic. ii. 12.

## LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 697.]

QUINTUS METELLUS NEPOS<sup>8</sup>, to CICERO.

THOSE calumnies with which the most virulent, surely, of the human race<sup>9</sup> is perpetually loading me in his public harangues, are well compensated by the satisfaction I receive from your obliging offices. When I consider, indeed, the worthless hand from whence these arrows take their flight, I look upon them with the contempt they deserve; and am very willing

<sup>8</sup> It is impossible to determine exactly when this letter was written, as it carries no internal marks sufficient to point out its date with precision. Ragazonius, who has taken the pains to settle the order of these epistles, places it under the present year, and supposes it to have been written by Metellus, when he was governor in Spain: to which province he went as proconsul after the expiration of his consulship.

<sup>9</sup> The commentators suppose that the person here alluded to is Clodius, who was now *Ædile*, and employing the power which that office gave him, to the same factious purposes as he had exercised his late tribuneship. But this conjecture appears altogether groundless. For Cicero taking notice to Atticus of the death of Metellus, which seems to have happened soon after this letter was written, tells him it was probable that he had appointed Clodius his heir: a circumstance utterly inconsistent with the supposition above mentioned. The same letter may be produced as an evidence, likewise, that, whatever were the good offices which Metellus here acknowledges, they did not proceed from the suggestions of Cicero's heart; for he speaks of him to Atticus as of one whose character and conduct he greatly disapproved. *Ad Att. iv. 7.*



willing he should cease to act as a relation, since I have the pleasure to see you assume that character in his stead. To say the truth, notwithstanding I had formerly so much regard for him, as to have twice preserved him, even in spite of himself, I should now be glad to forget there is such a person in the world.

That I might not trouble you too frequently with my letters, I have written to Lollius concerning my affairs: who will let you know what measures I am desirous may be taken in regard to the accounts of this province<sup>2</sup>. If it be possible, let me still enjoy a place in your affection. Farewel.

LETTERS

<sup>2</sup> Spain.

LETTERS  
OF  
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO  
TO  
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

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BOOK II.

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LETTER I.

[A. U. 698.]

TO QUINTUS ANCHARIUS<sup>4</sup>, Proconsul.

I RECOMMEND the two sons of my very excellent friend Aurelius, as well deserving your esteem. They are adorned, indeed, with every polite and valuable qualification: as they are  
in

<sup>4</sup> Quintus Ancharius was tribune An. Urb. 694; when he distinguished himself by his resolute opposition to the factious measures of his colleague Vatinius. In the year 697 he was chosen prætor; and at the expiration of that office, he

in the number, likewise, of those with whom I most intimately converse. If ever then my recommendation had any weight with you, (and much, I am sensible, it ever had) let it prevail, I conjure you, in the present instance. And be assured, the honours with which you shall distinguish these, my friends, will not only indissolubly unite to you two excellent and grateful young men, but, at the same time, confer a very singular obligation upon myself. Farewel.

## LETTER II.

[A. U. 693.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul.

I HAVE received your letter, wherein you assure me, that the frequent accounts I send you of your affairs, together with the convincing proofs I have given you of my friendship, are circumstances extremely agreeable to you. I should ill deserve, indeed, those singular favours you have conferred upon me, if I were capable of refusing you my best services: and nothing is more pleasing to me, in this long and very distant separation, than thus to converse  
with

He succeeded Piso in the government of Macedonia; in which province this letter is addressed to him. *Orat. pro Sext. 53. in Pison. 36. Ross remark on the epist. of Cic.*



with you as often as possible. If you do not hear from me as frequently as you wish, it is solely because I dare not trust my letters to every conveyance. But whenever I shall be able to put them into hands, upon which I may safely rely, be assured I shall not suffer the opportunity to slip by me.

It is not easy to give a satisfactory answer to your enquiry concerning the sincerity of your professed friends, and the disposition of others in general towards you. This only I will venture to say, that a certain party, and particularly those who have the strongest obligations, as well as the greatest abilities to distinguish themselves in your service, look upon you with envy: that (agreeably to what I have myself experienced upon a different occasion) those whom, in justice to your country, you have necessarily offended, are your avowed opposers; as others, whose interests and honours you have generously supported, are much less inclined to remember your favours than to oppose your glory. These are circumstances, indeed, which I long suspected, and have often intimated to you: but of which I am now most thoroughly convinced. I observed upon the same occasion (and I believe I told you so in a former letter,) both Horten-

sus

sus and Lucullus to be extremely in your interests: as among those who were in the magistracy, Lucius Racilius appeared very sincerely and affectionately to espouse your cause. But, excepting the two former, I cannot name any of the consulars, who discovered the least degree of friendship towards you, when your affair was before the senate. As for my own endeavours, they might, perhaps, be generally considered as flowing rather from those singular favours I have received at your hands, than from the uninfluenced dictates of my real sentiments. With regard to Pompey, he seldom attended the house at that season: but I must do him the justice to say, he often takes an opportunity, without my previously leading him into the subject, of discoursing with me concerning your affair; as well as very willingly enters into the conversation, whenever I start it myself. Your last letter, I perceived, was extremely agreeable to him; and I could not but observe, with equal admiration and pleasure, the polite and most judicious manner in which you addressed him. Before he received this letter, he seemed a little inclined to suspect, that the notion which some had entertained of his inclination to be your competitor, had alienated you from him. But you have now  
wholly

wholly fixed that excellent man in your interest: who, in truth, had all the antecedent reasons for being so, that an uninterrupted series of the highest services could possibly give him<sup>5</sup>. I must confess, he always appeared to me, even when the conduct of Caninius had raised the strongest suspicions of the contrary<sup>6</sup>, to favour your views: But I can now assure you, that I found him, after he had perused your letter, entirely disposed to promote whatever may contribute either to your interest, or your honours. You may consider then what I am going to offer as his immediate sentiments and advice: as indeed it is the result of frequent consultations which we have held together.

<sup>5</sup> See remark 6. p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> It was an usual artifice with Pompey to employ his friends in soliciting those honours in his behalf, to which he affected to appear himself perfectly indifferent, or even averse. This was his policy in the present instance; and at the same time that he pretended to serve Lentulus in this affair, his creature Caninius, a Tribune of the people, was practising every stratagem in order to procure this commission for Pompey. "And though Cicero (as Mr. Ross observes) either out of a tenderness for Lentulus, or out of an apprehension of displeasing Pompey, to whom he was at this time making his court, represents him in this place as acting an honest and friendly part: yet in a letter to his brother, where he may be supposed to deliver his real sentiments, he speaks quite differently: *nam quod de Pompeio Caninius agit, sane quam refrexit: neque enim res probatur; et Pompeius noster in amicitia P. Lentuli vituperatur, et hercule non est idem.* Ep. vi. L. 2. The truth of the case is this, when Pompey found it was impossible for him to procure this commission, he pretended a friendship for Lentulus, and joined with Cicero in giving the advice, which makes a great part of this letter."



gether. Accordingly we are of opinion, that it may be proper for you to consider, whether any advantages may be derived from your being in possession of Cicilia and Cyprus. For if there should appear a sufficient probability of being able to make yourself master of Alexandria and Egypt, we think it equally for your own honour, and that of the republic<sup>7</sup>, to march thither with your army, supported by your fleet; having first left the king at Ptolemais, or some other convenient place in that neighbourhood. By these means, when  
you

<sup>7</sup> A general sketch of Ptolemy's character has already been given in the notes on the preceding book; and it appears from thence, that nothing could be less to the honour of the commonwealth, than to interpose in the behalf of this justly-rejected monarch. Cicero himself represents him, in one of his orations, as unworthy of the crown he wore: *cum* (says he) *neque genere neque animo regis esse, inter omnes fere video convenire*. In Rull. ii. But what is still more extraordinary, Cicero makes the very measures which he here so strongly recommends to Lentulus, an article of his charge against Anthony. It was by the persuasion of the latter that Gabinus undertook (as has already been observed) the restoration of Ptolemy: and Anthony commanded the Roman cavalry in that expedition. This affords a topic of great indignation in one of the Philippics; and Cicero there speaks of this transaction (as he ought always to have spoken of it) as a most impudent violation of all authority both sacred and civil: *inde iter* (says he) *ad Alexandriam contra senatus auctoritatem, contra rempublicam et religiones*. Philip. ii. 19. But what opinion must every unprejudiced reader conceive of our author, when he thus finds him condemning and approving the same transaction, and advising his friend to pursue a step which he afterwards publicly and justly reproached in his adversary? See remark 2. p. 51. of this vol.

you shall have quieted the disturbances in Alexandria, and secured it by a proper number of forces; Ptolemy may safely take possession of his kingdom. Thus he will be restored by you, as the senate had once<sup>s</sup> decreed: and restored too without an army, agreeably to the sentiments of those who insist upon observing the injunctions of the oracle. We are the rather confirmed in recommending this measure, as there is no decree of the senate subsisting which particularly prohibits you from replacing Ptolemy on his throne. As to the order which absolutely forbids all assistance whatsoever to be given to him, you know it was not only protested against, when it was voted, but is generally looked upon rather as the warm dictates of an exasperated faction, than as having the full authority of a decree of the senate. However, we deem it necessary to add, that we are sensible the world will judge of the propriety of this scheme, entirely by the event. Should it succeed as we wish, your policy and resolution will universally be applauded; on the other hand, should it miscarry, it will undoubtedly be condemned as an action of ill-considered and unwarrantable ambition. How far

<sup>s</sup> See remark 5, p. 54. of this vol.

far this enterprise may be practicable, you, who are situated almost within view of Egypt, are the most competent judge. If, therefore, you are well satisfied of being able to render yourself master of that kingdom, we are clearly of opinion you should not delay your march one moment: but, if you are doubtful of the success, it is our advice that you by no means make the attempt. This I will venture to assure you, that, should you execute this project in the manner we wish, there will be a very considerable party to give it applause, even during your absence; as all Rome will unite in the same approbation, the moment you shall return amongst us. Nevertheless, I am persuaded, if this scheme should not take the desired effect, it may be attended with very disagreeable consequences to yourself; not only upon account of that order of the senate which I just now mentioned, but likewise in regard to the oracle. When, therefore, I recommend such measures as you shall have full assurance will terminate in your glory, I must, at the same time, strongly dissuade you from engaging in them, if you should have the least reason to apprehend an opposition. For (I repeat it again) the world will be determined in their opinion of this whole transaction, not as it is reasonable, but as it shall prove successful.

If



If the method here proposed, should appear too dangerous to be hazarded in your own person; we think it may at least be adviseable to assist the king with a number of your forces, provided he shall give sufficient security to your friends in the province, for repaying them the money they have advanced in support of his cause. And, indeed, the circumstances and situation of your government render it extremely easy, either to promote or obstruct his restoration, as you shall see proper. After all, you are the best judge what method will be most expedient to pursue; I thought it my part, however, to inform you of these our concurrent sentiments.

You congratulate me on the prosperous situation of my affairs in general, and particularly on the friendship of Milo, together with the vain and ineffectual schemes of the worthless Clodius. It is no wonder you should rejoice in these the generous effects of your own amicable offices. But to say truth, such an incredible perverseness (not to give it a more severe appellation) prevails amongst a certain party, that they rather choose to alienate me by their jealousies from the common cause, than to retain me in that interest by their favour and encouragement.

agement<sup>9</sup>. I will own to you, their malice has almost driven me from those principles which I have so long and so invariably pursued. At least, if they have not provoked me so far as to make me forget the dignity of my character; they have taught me that it is high time I should act with a view likewise to my own security. I might, consistently with the strictest duties of patriotism, reconcile both these distinct ends, were there any honour or fortitude in those of consular rank. But such a meanness of spirit prevails in general among them, that, instead of applauding the resolution with which my actions have been ever uniformly directed in the cause of the commonwealth, they look with envy upon those dignities to which my public services have advanced me. I the rather mention this, as it is to you that I am principally indebted, not only for the happiness of being restored to my country, but almost for my very first successful steps in the paths of patriotism, and of glory.

I perceive

<sup>9</sup> Cicero was, at this time, acting a part which gave great and just offence to those who were in the true interest of their country; for he was falling in with the measures of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus. He endeavours, therefore, to palliate this unworthy conduct as well as he can; but as he enters more fully into the motives of this step, in the 17<sup>th</sup> letter of this book; the reader is referred to the observations upon that epistle.

I perceive this opposition does not proceed (as I formerly suspected) from my not being of noble birth<sup>1</sup>, since they were actuated, I have observed, by the same malignant spirit against yourself, who are confessedly descended from one of the first families in Rome. Accordingly, though your enemies are contented to see you among those of principal rank in the republic, they will by no means suffer you to soar higher. I rejoice that the parallel between us extends no farther; and tho' we have met with an equal degree of malice from the world, that the respective consequences, however, have proved extremely different. For a wide difference there surely is between suffering some diminution in point of honours, and being abandoned to total ruin. If I have not greater reason to lament this cruel outrage of my adversaries, it must be attributed to your generous interposition, as it was by your means it proved, in the final event, of far more advantage to my reputation, than of prejudice to my fortunes. Suffer me, then, from a principle of gratitude as well as affection, to exhort you, earnestly, to

<sup>1</sup> Nobility among the Romans was considered (as Manutius observes upon this passage) not in opposition to the Plebeian rank, for many Plebeian families were noble; but in contra-distinction to those whose ancestors had not borne any of the honourable magistracies in Rome. And of this number was Cicero.



to pursue the dictates of that well-regulated ambition, with which you were inflamed from your earliest youth : nor let any injurious treatment depress that heroism of your mind which I have ever admired and valued. The world, believe me, entertains the highest opinion of your merit, and loudly proclaims that enlarged and generous spirit which distinguishes all your actions : and it particularly remembers, to your immortal honour, the patriotism of your illustrious consulship. You are sensible, therefore, how much the least additional glory, which shall accrue to you from your civil and military conduct in the government of your province, will increase and strengthen this general lustre of your reputation. But let me express my wishes at the same time, in the first place, that you would not engage in any enterprize with your army, without having long and maturely examined it in all its consequences, nor without being sufficiently prepared to carry it into execution : and in the next, that you would be persuaded, of what I doubt not you are already sensible, that you will find it extremely easy to continue in the possession of that pre-eminence amongst your fellow-citizens, to which you have always aspired. That you may not imagine, however, I am offering the idle  
tribute

tribute of unnecessary advice, I must add, that I could not reflect upon the treatment we have both received, without thinking it proper to exhort you well to consider, for the future, on whom you repose your confidence.

As to your enquiry concerning the situation of public affairs, there are great divisions amongst us: but the zeal and prudence of the several parties are by no means equal. Those who enjoy the largest share of wealth and power<sup>2</sup>, have gained a superiority of credit likewise by the folly and instability of their antagonists: for they have obtained from the senate, with very little opposition, what they had no hopes of receiving, even from the people, without raising great disturbances. Accordingly the house has voted Cæsar a sum of money for the payment of his army, together with a power of nominating ten lieutenants; as they have also, without the least difficulty, dispensed with the Sempronian law for appointing him a successor<sup>3</sup>. I do but slightly touch upon these particulars,

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

<sup>3</sup> These immoderate and fatal concessions to Cæsar's ambition, were absolutely unconstitutional, and most evidently tended to the subversion of the republic. But if the reader is surprised at so mean and so impolitic a compliance on the part of the senate, how much higher will his wonder rise, when he is informed that Cicero himself was the chief adviser and promoter of these very measures which he here con-

particulars, as I cannot reflect on our affairs with any satisfaction. However, I mention them as suggesting an useful caution to both of us, to preserve a proper poise between our interest and our honour, and not to advance one by an undue depression of the other. A maxim this which I have learned, not so much from my favourite philosophy, as from sad experience; and which, I would recommend to you, ere you are taught it by the same unpleasing method of conviction.

Your congratulations on my daughter's marriage with Crassipes<sup>4</sup>, are agreeable to your usual

demns? If this were a fact which stood upon the credit of historians, the passage before us would strongly incline one to suspect that they had misrepresented the truth. But we have a testimony to produce, which, though of undoubted authority, is the last one should have expected in the case; for it is the testimony of Cicero himself. In a speech which he pronounced at the bar either a little before, or soon after the date of this letter, he mentions each of these particular grants, which he enumerates to Lentulus, and then adds, *Harum ego sententiarum et Princeps et Auctor fui. Orat. pro Balbo. 27.*

The Sempronian law here spoken of, was procured by C. Sempronius Gracchus, a tribune of the people, A. U. 631. and enacted that the senate should annually appoint successors to the consular provinces.

<sup>4</sup> Tullia, when she married Crassipes, was the widow of Piso, surnamed Frugi; of whom an account has been given in the notes on the former book. This second match did not prove so satisfactory as Cicero here promises himself; for Crassipes soon took a disgust to Tullia, which ended in a divorce. As he is very seldom and but slightly mentioned in Cicero's writings, all that we know of him is, that he was a nobleman of the first rank.



usual politeness: I hope and believe this alliance will yield me great satisfaction.—Your son is a youth of so promising a turn, that I cannot forbear conjuring you to train him up in those refined arts which have ever been your peculiar taste and study; but chiefly in that best and noblest discipline, the imitation of your exalted virtues. Believe me, I greatly love and esteem him, not only in return to the singular affection he has ever shewn me, but particularly as he is the son, and the worthy son too, of my valuable friend. Farewel.

## LETTER III.

[A. U. 698.]

TO FABIVS GALLVS<sup>a</sup>.

I RECEIVED your letter immediately upon my return from Arpinum, together with one likewise from Avianus<sup>b</sup>, in which he very generously offers to give me credit as long as I shall require. Now let me desire you to imagine yourself in my situation, and then tell me, whether I can, with a good grace, ask him to allow me even the least time for the payment of

<sup>a</sup> The same person to whom the 11th letter of the foregoing book is written.

<sup>b</sup> He seems to have been the proprietor of the statues mentioned below.

of this money, much less above a year? Indeed, my dear friend, I should not have been in this difficulty, if you had not exceeded the limits of my commission, both in the particulars and the sum. However, I am not only willing to ratify the agreement you have made for the statues you mention, but am likewise much obliged to you. I am sensible, indeed, that in the zeal of your friendship, you have purchased for me what pleased your own eye, and what you imagined would be worthy of mine; and I always considered you as a man of the most judicious and elegant taste in every kind. Nevertheless, I shall be extremely glad if Damasippus<sup>c</sup> should continue in the resolution of taking these figures off my hands; for, to own the plain truth, I have no sort of inclination to them myself. As you were not apprised of my intentions, you have actually consented to pay more for these four or five pieces of sculpture<sup>d</sup>, than I would have given for all the statues in the universe. You compare the images of the priestesses of Bacchus, to those of the Muses which

<sup>c</sup> Damasippus was a celebrated virtuoso of these times, who, after having ruined his fortunes by his extravagant passion for antiques, turned Stoic. Horace has ridiculed his character and his conversion with great humour, in one of his satires. *Vid. Horat. Sat. ii. 3.*

<sup>d</sup> These statues appear, by what follows, to have been three Bacchanals, a Mars, and some figure designed for the support of a table.

which I bought of Metellus. But surely, my friend, the two instances are by no means parallel. For, in the first place, the Muses themselves would have condemned me, if I had ever rated them at so extravagant a price: and in the next, I purchased the figures you mention as bearing an allusion to my studies, and affording a suitable ornament to my library. But where can I, with any propriety, place these Bacchanals? That they are, as you assure me, extremely beautiful, I know full well; for I have frequently seen them; and, therefore, I should particularly have named them to you, if they had suited my purpose. The purchases which I usually make of this kind are such only as are proper to embellish my Palæstra<sup>e</sup>, in the same manner as the public Gymnasia are generally decorated. But would it not be absurd enough, my good friend, if I, who, upon all occasions, you know, have distinguished myself

<sup>e</sup> The Palæstra was properly a part of those public buildings which the Grecians (from whom the Romans took them) called Gymnasia, which were originally designed for exercises of various kinds, and in which, in after-times, the philosophers, likewise, held their schools. What Cicero here calls his *Palæstra*, seems to be the same building, which, in a letter to Atticus, he terms his *Academia*, and which appears to have been some apartments, or, perhaps, a distinct building, of his Tusculan villa, appropriated, principally, to the purposes of study, but adapted also to those bodily exercises which the ancients seldom passed a day without practising. *Vid. ad Att. i. 5, 6, 9.*



myself as the friend of peace, should erect a statue of the God of war. It is well there was not a Saturn too, for how could I have expected to have been out of debt, whilst I had lived under the aspect of two such unlucky divinities? Mercury would have been a much more welcome guest; for I should have hoped, by his influence, to have made a more advantageous bargain with Avianus. As to the figure designed for the support of a table, which you intended to reserve for your own use, you shall have it, if you still remain in the same mind, if not, I am ready to take it myself. Upon the whole, however, I had much rather have employed this money in the purchase of a little lodge at Tarracina<sup>b</sup>, that I might not always trouble my friend and host. But this mistake is partly owing to the carelessness of my freed-man, in not observing the instructions I gave him, and partly also to Junius, whom I suppose you know, as he is a particular friend of Avianus.

<sup>f</sup> Alluding (as Manutius observes) to the notions of the judicial astrologers, who pretended that Mars and Saturn were unlucky planets.

<sup>g</sup> Mercury was supposed to preside over commerce, from whence it is probable that the *Mercuriales*, mentioned in a letter of Cicero to his brother, were a company of merchants. *Vid. Ad. Q. P. ii. 5.*

<sup>h</sup> It is now called *Terracina*, a town in the *campagna di Roma*. It lay in the road from Rome to Cicero's villa at *Formiæ*.

Avianus. As I have lately built some additional apartments to my little portico at Tusculanum<sup>1</sup>, I was desirous of adorning them with a few pictures: for, if I take pleasure in any thing of this kind, it is in paintings. However, if I must have these statues, let me know where they are, when they will arrive, and by what conveyance you propose to send them. For, if Damasippus should change his intentions of buying them, I shall find, perhaps, some pretender to his taste, who may be glad of the purchase, and I should be willing to part with them even at a loss.

When I received your first letter concerning the house you want to take, belonging to Cassius, I was just setting out from Rome, and, therefore, I left your commission with my daughter. However, I took an opportunity myself of talking upon this affair with your friend Nicia, who, you know, is very intimate with Cassius. At my return hither, and before I had opened your last letter, I inquired of Tullia what she had done in this matter. She told me, she had applied to Licinia to speak to her

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, if we may credit the invective ascribed to Sallust, expended immense sums in this his favourite villa, which, probably, was a very fine one when it came into his possession, as it originally belonged to Sylla the dictator. Some considerable remains of it are still shewn at Grotta Ferrata. *Sallust. declam. in Cic. 63. Plin. H. N. xxii.*

her brother Cassius; but, I believe, he is not upon very good terms with his sister. The answer which Licinia gave my daughter was, that her husband being gone into Spain, she durst not remove<sup>i</sup> in his absence and without his knowledge. I am greatly obliged to you for being so desirous of my company as to be impatient to get into a house where you may not only be near me, but actually under the same roof. Be assured, I am no less desirous of having you for my neighbour, and as I am sensible how much it will contribute to our mutual satisfaction, I shall try every expedient for that purpose. If I should have any success, I will let you know: in the mean while, I beg you would return me a particular answer to this letter, and tell me at the same time when I may expect to see you. Farewel.

LETTER

<sup>i</sup> This lady seems to have been the tenant of the house, which Gallus wanted either to buy or hire.



## LETTER IV.

[A. U. 693.]

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul.

MARCUS Plætorius will fully inform you of the promises we have received from Pompey, together with every other circumstance that has been either attempted, or effected in your favour. He was not only present, but, indeed, a principal agent throughout the whole proceedings, and he acted in every article of your concerns, agreeably to what might be expected from a judicious, a vigilant, and an affectionate friend. To him, likewise, I must refer you for an account of public affairs, not well knowing what to say of them myself. This much, however, I can assure you, that they are in the hands (and in the hands they are likely to remain) of our professed friends<sup>5</sup>. As for myself, both gratitude and prudence, together with your particular advice, have determined me, as they ought, to join in *his*<sup>6</sup> interest, whom you were formerly desirous of associating with you in mine. You are sensible nevertheless,

<sup>5</sup> Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus.<sup>6</sup> Pompey.

less, how difficult it is to renounce our old and habitual notions of politics ; especially under a full persuasion of their rectitude. However, I conform myself to his system, since I cannot, with any decency, oppose him ; and whatever some may, perhaps, imagine, I am by no means acting in this a counterfeit part. The truth of it is, Pompey has gained such an absolute possession of my esteem, that I begin to look upon every thing as just and reasonable, which falls in with his interest or inclination<sup>7</sup>. I should think too, it would be no imprudent resolution, even in his adversaries themselves, to desist from an opposition to which they are evidently unequal. In the mean time, I have the satisfaction to find the world in general agreed, that my character requires I should support, or, at least, not obstruct the measures of Pompey ; while some are even of opinion I may reasonably retire from all public business, to my favourite pursuits of a literary kind. And, indeed, were I not prevented by my friendship to Pompey, I should most certainly adopt this latter scheme, as of all others the most suitable to my inclinations. For I can now no longer maintain that dignity in the senate, and that freedom in the commonwealth, which, was the  
single

<sup>7</sup> See remark 17th, p. 171. of this vol.

single motive of my ambition, and the sole end I proposed to myself in all my labours ; a misfortune, however, which is not peculiar to myself, but extends to every Roman in general. In a word, I am under the sad necessity either of tamely submitting to the sentiments of those few who lead the republic, or of imprudently joining in a weak and fruitless opposition<sup>a</sup>. I the rather mention this, that you may deliberate, before you return amongst us, what part it may be adviseable for you to act in the present conjuncture. To speak freely, the measures both of those of Senatorian and Equestrian rank ; and, indeed, the whole system of the commonwealth in general, are totally changed. All, therefore, that I have now to wish, is the preservation of the public tranquillity,

<sup>a</sup> A determined patriot could not have been reduced to the alternative which Cicero here mentions : as there was a third expedient which every man of strict political integrity, who dared to act up to his principles, would undoubtedly have embraced. " An honest physician," says Sir William Temple, " is excused for leaving his patient, when he finds the disease growing desperate, and can, by his attendance, expect only to receive his own fees, without any hopes or appearance of deserving them." Our author, in one of his orations, mentions it to the immortal honour of the celebrated Metellus, that *de Civitate decedere quam de sententia maluit* : and he who is actuated by the same sublime patriotism, will never find himself under the poor necessity of justifying wrong measures by the impossibility of enforcing right ones. See remark 30. p. 181. of this vol.



lity, which those, who are in the administration, seem to give us a prospect of enjoying, if a certain party could be prevailed upon to submit with less impatience to their power. As to any hopes of supporting, in the senate, that true consular character of a firm and inflexible patriot, it is in vain now to expect it; every mean for that purpose is totally lost, by the mistaken conduct of those who disoblged Pompey<sup>8</sup>, and dissolved that strong union which subsisted between the senate and the Equestrian order<sup>9</sup>.

But

<sup>8</sup> Pompey was very desirous of having the several grants which he had made to the cities of Asia, after his defeat of Mithridates, confirmed by the senate, in which he was strongly opposed by Cato, Metellus Celer, Lucullus, and others. This occasioned a breach between Pompey and the senate, and gave Cæsar an opportunity of establishing an interest with the former; which, at that juncture, he found necessary for his purposes. Accordingly, being soon after elected consul, he procured a law from the people to ratify these acts. *Suet. in Jul. Cæs.* 19.

<sup>9</sup> The farmers of the public revenues, who were composed of the principal persons among the Equestrian order, having, as they pretended, rented some branch of the finances at too high a rate, applied to the senate for relief. Their demands, it seems, were unreasonable; however, in the situation wherein public affairs then stood, it was thought prudent by the more moderate party, not to disoblige so considerable a body of men. But Cato obstinately opposed their demands; and, by his means, the senate, after keeping them in suspense for several months, at length rejected their petition. But Cæsar, who knew how to turn every incident to his advantage, took up the interests of these knights; and, in his consulship, obtained from the people a remission of one-third part of the stipulated rent. This single piece of policy

But to return to what more immediately relates to your own private affairs ;---Pompey is extremely your friend, and, by all that I can observe, you may obtain any thing you shall desire during his consulship<sup>1</sup>. At least I shall solicit him very strenuously for that purpose, and you may rely upon my most active offices in every instance where you are concerned. I am well persuaded my assiduity upon this occasion will not be disagreeable to him : on the contrary, he will receive it with pleasure, were it for no other reason than as affording him a proof of my grateful disposition. In the mean time, I entreat you to believe, that whatever bears the least connexion with your interests, is of more importance to me than my own. From these sentiments it is, that I despair not only of being able to return, but even sufficiently to acknowledge, the infinite obligations I owe you, tho', at the same time, I am conscious of having exerted, upon all occasions, the most unwearyed endeavours in your service.

It is rumoured here that you have obtained a complete victory, and we impatiently expect an  
express

policy (as one of the Greek historians observes) gave him a more considerable accession of power, even than he had before acquired by means of the people, as it gained over a much more important order to his party. *Ad Att.* ii. 1. *Suet. in Jul. Cæs.* 20. *Ap. B. C.* ii.

<sup>1</sup> Pompey and Crassus were at this time consuls.

express with the confirmation of this agreeable news. I have already talked with Pompey upon this subject, and as soon as your courier arrives, I shall employ my utmost diligence in convening the senate. In fine, were I to perform much more for your interest than lies within the compass of my present power, I should still think I had fallen far short of what you have a right to expect. Farewel.

## LETTER V.

[A. U. 693.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS<sup>2</sup>.

IF your general valetudinary disposition prevented you from being a spectator of our late public entertainments<sup>3</sup>, it is more to fortune than to philosophy, that I am to impute your absence. But if you declined our party for no other

<sup>2</sup> The person to whom this letter is addressed, seems to have been of a temper and constitution, that placed him far below the ambition of being known to posterity. But a private letter from Cicero's hand has been sufficient to dispel the obscurity he appears to have loved, and to render his retirement conspicuous.

<sup>3</sup> They were exhibited by Pompey, at the opening of his theatre; one of the most magnificent structures of ancient Rome, and so extensive as to contain no less than 80,000 spectators. It was built after the model of one which he saw at Mitylene, in his return from the Mithridatic war; and adorned with the noblest ornaments of statuary and painting. Some remains of this immense building still subsist. *Liv.* xxxix. *Plin. H. N.* vii. 3. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*



other reason than as holding in just contempt, what the generality of the world so absurdly admire, I must at once congratulate you both on your health and your judgment. I say this upon a supposition, however, that you were enjoying the philosophical advantages of that delightful scene, in which, I imagine, you were almost wholly deserted. At the same time that your neighbours, probably, were nodding over the dull humour of our trite farces; my friend, I dare say, was indulging his morning meditations in that elegant apartment, from whence you have opened a prospect to Sejanum, through the Stabian hills<sup>4</sup>.

And

<sup>4</sup> Sejanum (if that be the true reading, for the MSS. differ extremely) is found in no other ancient author. Stabiæ was a maritime town in Campania, situated upon the bay of Naples, from whence the adjoining hills here mentioned took their name. One may figure the philosophical Marius as looking down upon the world from this his delightful retirement, with reflections of the same kind as those which the poet has so exquisitely imaged, in the following beautiful lines:

*Here, on a single plank, thrown safe on shore,  
I hear the tumult of the distant throng,  
As that of seas remote, or dying storms,  
And meditate on scenes more silent still.  
Here, like a shepherd gazing from his hut,  
Touching his reed, or leaning on his staff,  
Eager ambition's fiery chase I see:  
I see the circling hunt of noisy men  
Burst law's inclosure, leap the mounds of right,  
Pursuing and pursu'd; each other's prey;  
As wolves for rapine, as the fox for wiles:  
Till death, that mighty hunter, earths them all!*

YOUNG.

And whilst you are employing the rest of the day in those various polite amusements, which you have the happy privilege to plan out for yourself; we, alas! had the mortification of tamely enduring those dramatical representations, to which Mætius<sup>5</sup>, it seems, our professed critic, had given his infallible sanction! but as you will have the curiosity, perhaps, to require a more particular account; I must tell you, that though our entertainments were extremely magnificent

<sup>5</sup> This person is supposed, by the commentators, to be the same to whose judgment Horace advises the Pisos to refer their poetical compositions :

—————*Si quid tamen olim*

*Scripseris, in Mæti descendat judicis aures.* Art Poet. 386.

But the compliment paid in these lines to the taste of Metius, ill agrees with the contemptuous manner in which Cicero here speaks of Pompey's Dramatic Censor.

It appears by an ancient scholiast on Horace, that Augustus instituted a kind of poetical court of judicature, consisting of five judges; the chief of which was Metius Tarpa, mentioned in the verses above quoted. They held their assemblies in the temple of Apollo: and no poet was permitted to bring his play upon the stage without their approbation. Domitian seems to have improved upon this establishment, and extended it into an academy that distributed prizes to those who excelled, not only in poetical, but prose compositions. We have seen societies of this sort formed among our neighbour nations, with good effect: and perhaps, if in this instance, as well as in some others, we were to follow their example, it might prove a mean, not only of refining our language, and encouraging a spirit of polite literature, but of calling off our minds from those political speculations, which, though the privilege, indeed, are not always the happiness of every idle Briton. *Dac remarq. sur la x. Sat. du 1. livre d'Horace. Suet in Domit. 4.*

magnificent indeed, yet they were by no means such as you would have relished : at least if I may judge of your taste by my own. Some of those actors who had formerly distinguished themselves with great applause, but had long since retired, I imagined, in order to preserve the reputation they had raised, were now again introduced upon the stage : as in honour, it seems, of the festival. Among these was my old friend Æsopus<sup>6</sup>: but so different from what

we

<sup>6</sup> He excelled in tragedy, and was the most celebrated actor that had ever appeared upon the Roman stage. Cicero experienced the advantage of his friendship and his talents during his exile ; for Æsopus being engaged in a part upon the stage, wherein there were several passages that might be applied to our author's misfortunes: this excellent tragedian pronounced them with so peculiar and affecting an emphasis, that the whole audience immediately took the allusion : and it had a better effect, as Cicero acknowledges, than any thing his own eloquence could have expressed for the same purpose. But it is not in this instance alone that Cicero was obliged to Æsopus, as it was by the advantage of his precepts and example, that he laid the foundation of his oratorical fame, and improved himself in the art of elocution. The high value which the Romans set upon the talents of this pathetic actor, appears by the immense estate which he acquired in his profession, for he died worth almost 200,000*l.* sterling. He left a son behind him, whose remarkable extravagance is recorded by the Roman satirist. This youth having received a present from a favourite lady of a pearl out of her ear, worth a million of sesterces, or about 8000*l.* of our money, dissolved it in a liquid, and gallantly drank it off: to the health, we may suppose, of his generous mistress. Pliny the naturalist, who likewise mentions this story, adds, that he presented, at the same time, to each of his guests, a cup of the same valuable ingredient. *Orat. pro Sext. 56. Plut. in vit. Cicer.*



we once knew him, that the whole audience agreed he ought to be excused from acting any more. For when he was pronouncing the celebrated oath,

*If I deceive, be Jove's dread vengeance hurl'd, &c.*

the poor old man's voice failed him: and he had not strength to go through with the speech. As to the other parts of our theatrical entertainments, you know the nature of them so well, that it is scarce necessary to mention them. They had less, indeed, to plead in their favour than even the most ordinary representations of this kind can usually claim. The enormous parade with which they were attended, and which, I dare say, you would very willingly have spared, destroyed all the grace of the performance. What pleasure could it afford to a judicious spectator, to see a thousand mules prancing about the stage, in the tragedy of Clytæmnestra; or whole regiments accoutred in foreign armour, in that of the *Trojan Horse*? In a word, what man of sense could be entertained with viewing a mock army drawn up on the stage in battle array? These, I confess, are spectacles extremely well adapted to captivate vulgar

gar eyes; but undoubtedly would have had no charm in yours. In plain truth, my friend, you would have received more amusement from the dullest piece that Protogenes could possibly have read to you<sup>7</sup>, (my own orations, however, let me always except) than we met with at these ridiculous shews. I am well persuaded, at least, you could not regret the loss of our Oscian and Grecian farces<sup>8</sup>. Your own noble senate will always furnish you with drollery sufficient of the former kind<sup>9</sup>: and as to the latter, I know you have such an utter aversion to every thing that bears the name of Greek, that you will not

<sup>7</sup> It was usual with persons of distinction amongst the Romans to keep a slave in their family, whose sole business it was to read to them. Protogenes seems to have attended Marius in that capacity.

<sup>8</sup> The Oscian farces were so called from the Osci, an ancient people of Campania, from whom the Romans received them. They seem to have been of the same kind with our Bartholemew drolls, and to have consisted of low and obscene humour. As to the nature of the Greek farces, the critics are not agreed. Manutius supposes they differed only from the former, as being written in the Greek language. But it does not appear that Greek plays were ever represented upon the Roman stage: and the most probable account of them is, that they were a sort of pantomimes in imitation of those on the Grecian theatre. *Liv. vii. 2. Mong. rem. sur les lett. à Att. vi. 449.*

<sup>9</sup> The municipal or corporate towns in Italy were governed by magistrates of their own, who probably made much the same sort of figure in their rural senate, as our Burgesses in their town-hall. This, at least, seems to have been the case in that corporation to which Marius belonged, and to have given occasion to our author's railery.

not even travel the Grecian road to your villa<sup>1</sup>. As I remember you once despised our formidable gladiators<sup>2</sup>, I cannot suppose you would  
have

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the Grecian road might be much out of repair, and little frequented at the time when this letter was written: and on that circumstance Cicero, it is possible, may have founded his witticism. Among the many instances of Roman magnificence, that of their public roads is particularly observable. They were formed at an immense cost, and extended to a great distance from all sides of the city. Lipsius computes the Appian way at 350 miles, some part of which still remains as entire as when it was first made; though it has now subsisted above 1800 years. It is twelve feet broad, and chiefly composed of blue stones, about a foot and a half square. Criminals of a less atrocious sort were generally employed in those useful works: and, perhaps, it might be well worthy the consideration of the legislature, whether punishments of this kind in delinquencies of the same nature, might not, in all respects, be of more advantage to the public, than that which seems to have so little effect in restraining the violences that are daily committed among us. *Lisp. de magnif. Rom. Burnet's Trav. let. iv. Plin. Epist. x. 33.*

<sup>2</sup> Grævius supposes (and it is a conjecture extremely probable) that this alludes to some services which Cicero had received from Marius, in defending him against the outrages of Clodius's mob.

The first shew of gladiators exhibited in Rome was given by the Bruti, in honour of their father's obsequies: about 200 years before the date of this letter. Originally the unhappy wretches who were exposed in this manner were either prisoners taken in war, or public criminals: but in process of time it grew into a profession, and there were men who hired themselves out for this purpose. Atticus, who seems to have omitted no opportunity of improving his finances, had a band of gladiators which he let out on public occasions, to those who were not rich enough to maintain them at their own expence. The passion for these combats became at length so immoderate, that it was usual to exhibit matches of gladiators at their private entertainments: and not only men of the first quality, but even women entered these lists. Reason, most undoubtedly, cannot



have looked with less contempt on our athletic<sup>a</sup> performers: and, indeed, Pompey himself acknowledges, that they did not answer the pains and expence they had cost him. The remainder of our diversions consisted in combats of wild beasts<sup>3</sup>, which were exhibited every morning and

cannot but rise up against spectacles of this sanguinary kind. It is observable, however, that they were not introduced among the Romans till they began to be civilized: and their passion for these cruel combats seems to have gathered strength in proportion as their manners, in all other respects, became more refined. There is, indeed, a wonderful disposition in human nature, to be pleased with sights of horror: which even the most polite nations, in their highest periods of improvement, have not been able entirely to subdue. A very ingenious French writer imagines, that if we did not profess a religion which absolutely forbids the wanton destruction of our species, we should soon convert our prize-fighters into gladiators, and be as sanguinary in our diversions as the Romans themselves. *Liv.* xxxix. 22. *Ad Att.* iv. 8. *Strab.* v. p. 173. *Stat. Sylv.* i. 6. *ver.* 53. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 39. *Reflex. sur la poes. et sur la peint.* i. 18.

<sup>a</sup> The athletic games were of a less cruel kind than those described in the preceding note, as they principally consisted of running, wrestling, and boxing-matches. It sometimes happened, indeed, that one of the combatants lost his life; but this was contrary to the laws of the sport: and if it appeared to have been the effect of design in his adversary, though he was not punished with death, he was punished in a way still more dreaded, by being deprived of the crown that would otherwise have been due to his victory. Pausanias mentions an athletic combatant, who having incurred this penalty, was so affected by the disgrace, that he lost his senses.

<sup>3</sup> Beasts of the wildest and most uncommon kinds were sent for, upon these occasions, from every corner of the known world; and Dion Cassius relates, that no less than 500 lions were killed at these hunting-matches, with which Pompey entertained the people. *Dio, Lib.* xxxix.

and afternoon during five days successively; and it must be owned, they were magnificent. Yet, after all, what entertainment can possibly arise to an elegant and humanized mind, from seeing a noble beast struck to the heart by its merciless hunter, or one of our own weak species cruelly mangled by an animal of much superior strength? But were there any thing really worth observing in spectacles of this savage kind, they are spectacles extremely familiar to you: and those I am speaking of had not any peculiar novelty to recommend them. The last day's sport was composed entirely of elephants: which, though they made the common people stare, indeed, did not seem, however, to afford them any great satisfaction. On the contrary, the terrible slaughter of these poor animals, created a general commiseration: as it is a prevailing notion, that these creatures, in some degree, participate of our rational faculties<sup>4</sup>.

That you may not imagine I had the happiness of being perfectly at my ease during the whole of this pompous festival, I must acquaint you,

<sup>4</sup> This was not merely a vulgar opinion, but entertained by some of the learned among the ancients, as appears from the last cited historian; who likewise takes notice how much the spectators of Pompey's shews were affected by the mournful cries of these poor animals. *Dio, Lib. xxxix.*

you, that while the people were amusing themselves at the plays, I was almost killed with the fatigue of pleading for your friend Gallus Caninius. Were the world as much inclined to favour my retreat, as they shewed themselves in the case of *Æsopus*, believe me, I would for ever renounce my art, and spend the remainder of my days with you and some others of the same philosophical turn. The truth of it is, I began to grow weary of this employment, even at a time when youth and ambition prompted my perseverance: and I will add, too, when I was at full liberty to exercise it in defence of those only whom I was inclined to assist. But in my present circumstances, it is absolute slavery. For, on the one side, I never expect to reap any advantage from my labours of this kind; and, on the other, in compliance with solicitations, which I cannot refuse, I am sometimes under the disagreeable necessity of appearing as an advocate in behalf of those who ill deserve that favour at my hands<sup>5</sup>. For these reasons I am framing every possible pretence for  
living

<sup>5</sup> Cicero was now wholly under the influence of Pompey and Cæsar: but the particular instances of his unworthy submission to which he here only alludes, are mentioned more fully in a subsequent letter to Lentulus, and will be considered in the remarks on that epistle. See letter 17. of this book, remarks 5, 34, and 39.



living hereafter according to my own taste and sentiments : as I highly both approve and applaud that retired scene of life which you have so judiciously chosen. I am sensible, at the same time, that this is the reason you so seldom visit Rome. However, I the less regret that you do not see it oftener, as the numberless unpleasing occupations in which I am engaged would prevent me from enjoying the entertainment of your conversation, or giving you that of mine : if mine, indeed, can afford you any. But if ever I should be so fortunate as to disentangle myself, in some degree at least, (for I am contented not to be wholly released) from these perplexing embarrassments, I will undertake to shew even my elegant friends, wherein the truest refinements of life consist. In the meanwhile, continue to take care of your health, that you may be able, when that happy time shall arrive, to accompany me in my litter to my several villas.

You must impute it to the excess of my friendship, and not to the abundance of my leisure, that I have lengthened this letter beyond my usual extent. It was merely in compliance with a request in one of yours, where you intimate a desire that I would compensate in this manner what you lost by not being present at our public diversions.

diversions. I shall be extremely glad if I have succeeded ; if not, I shall have the satisfaction however to think that you will, for the future, be more inclined to give us your company on these occasions, than to rely on my letters for your amusement. Farewel.

## LETTER VI.

[A. U. 698.]

TO QUINTUS PHILIPPUS : Proconsul<sup>a</sup>.

THOUGH I am too well convinced of your friendship and esteem, to suspect that you are unmindful of my former application in behalf of my friends Oppius and Egnatius ; yet, I cannot forbear again recommending their joint affairs to your protection. My connexion, indeed, with the latter, is of so powerful a kind, that I could not be more solicitous for my own personal concerns. I entreat you, therefore, to give him proofs of my enjoying that share of your affection, which I persuade myself I possess :

<sup>a</sup> The person to whom this letter is addressed, and the time when it was written, are equally unknown. Pighius supposes he was governor of Asia, in the year of Rome 708. But, in this instance, the usual accuracy of that laborious annalist seems to have failed him. For it appears, by a letter of congratulation which Cicero writes to Philippus upon his return from the province, that he must have been proconsul at some period previous to the civil war : *Gratulor tibi* (says he) *quod ex provincia saluum te ad tuos recepisti incolumi fama et REPUBLICA.* *Epist. Famil. xiii. 73.* See let. 22. p. 210. of this vol.

sess: and be assured you cannot shew me a more agreeable instance of your friendship. Farewel.

## LETTER VII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO MARCUS LICINIUS CRASSUS<sup>6</sup>.

I AM persuaded that all your friends have informed you of the zeal with which I lately both defended and promoted your dignities<sup>7</sup>:

as

<sup>6</sup> He had been twice consul in conjunction with Pompey, and was at this time governor of Syria: to which province he succeeded at the expiration of his second consulate, the year preceding the date of this letter. He was esteemed among the considerable orators of his age: but his principal distinction seems to have been his immense wealth, the greatest part of which he acquired by sharing in the confiscated estates of those unhappy victims who fell a sacrifice to the cruel ambition of Sylla. In his first consulate he gave a general treat to the people upon ten thousand tables, and, at the same time, distributed to them a largess of three months provision of corn. *Plut. in vit. Crassi. Dion Cass. xxix.*

<sup>7</sup> Crassus accepted the province of Syria merely with a design of making war upon the Parthians: for which, however, there was no other pretence than what his boundless avarice and ambition suggested. Accordingly, some of the tribunes endeavoured to obstruct his levies for this expedition: and when that attempt failed, Ateius, one of their number, had recourse to certain superstitious ceremonies of their religion, and devoted him in form to destruction. It was a general persuasion that none ever escaped the effect of those mysterious execrations: and, in the present instance, the event happened to correspond with this popular belief. For Crassus, together with his army, perished in this enterprise. The judicious Manutius conjectures, that after Crassus had left Rome, some motion was made in the senate for recalling him, which gave occasion to Cicero's services and  
to



as indeed it was too warm and too conspicuous to have been passed over in silence. The opposition I met with from the consuls<sup>8</sup>, as well as from several others of consular rank, was the strongest I ever encountered, and you must now look upon me as your declared advocate upon all occasions, where your glory is concerned. Thus have I abundantly compensated for the intermission of those good offices, which the friendship between us had long given you a right to claim; but which, by a variety of accidents, have lately been somewhat interrupted. There never was a time, believe me, when I wanted an inclination to cultivate your esteem, or promote your interest. Though, it must be owned, a certain set of men, who are the bane of all amicable intercourse, and who envied us the mutual honour that resulted from ours, have, upon some occasions, been so unhappily successful as to create a coolness between us<sup>9</sup>. It has

to the present letter. This supposition, however, tho' indeed highly probable, is not supported by any of the historians. *Plut. in vit. Crassi. Dio. xxxix. Vel. Pat. ii. 46.*

<sup>8</sup> The consuls of this year were L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Appius Claudius Pulcher.

<sup>9</sup> How effectually soever Cicero might have served Crassus upon the occasion to which this letter relates; it is most certain his good offices did not proceed from a principle of friendship. It is extremely probable, indeed, that his supporting the cause of Crassus in the senate is one of those instances of our author's subjection, of which he complains

has happened, however, (what I rather wished than expected) that I have found an opportunity, even when your affairs were in the most prosperous train, of giving a public testimony by my services to you, that I always most sincerely preserved the remembrance of our former amity. The truth is, I have approved myself your friend, not only to the full conviction of your family in particular, but of all Rome in general. In consequence of which, that most valuable of women, your excellent wife<sup>1</sup>, together with

in the preceding letter: and that it was entirely in compliance with the inclinations of Cæsar and Pompey, with whom Crassus was now united. The coolness, here mentioned, seems to have subsisted ever since the affair of Catiline; in whose conspiracy, as one of the witnesses examined upon that occasion deposed, Crassus was concerned. There were few, indeed, who gave credit to this evidence, and the senate, upon the motion of Cicero, voted it false and malicious. Crassus, nevertheless, assured Sallust (as that historian declares) that this affront was thrown upon him by the artifices of Cicero himself. But whether Crassus had any just ground for this suspicion, or whether it was suggested to him by the false insinuations of those to whom Cicero here alludes, is a question by no means capable of being determined by any circumstance in the history or character of the two men. It is certain that Crassus, from this time, conceived a strong and lasting aversion to our author; as, on the other hand, that Cicero, after the death of Crassus, published an oration in which he expressly charged him with being engaged in this conspiracy. However, a formal reconciliation had lately passed between them, and when Crassus set out for his eastern expedition, they parted with all the exterior marks of a sincere friendship. *Ad Att.* iv. 13. *Sallust. Bel. Cat.* 49. *Plut. in vit. Crassi.* *Epist. Fam.* i. 9.

<sup>1</sup> This lady's name was Tertulla; and, if Suetonius may be

with those illustrious models of virtue and filial piety, your two amiable sons have perpetual recourse to my assistance and advice; and the whole world is sensible, that no one is more zealously disposed to serve you than myself.

Your family correspondents have informed you, I imagine, of what has hitherto passed in your affair, as well as of what is at present in agitation. As for myself, I entreat you to do me the justice to believe, that it was not any sudden start of inclination, which disposed me to embrace this opportunity of vindicating your honour; on the contrary, it was my ambition, from the first moment I entered the forum, to be ranked in the number of your friends<sup>2</sup>. I have the satisfaction to reflect, that I have never, from that time to this hour, failed in the highest sentiments of esteem for you; and, I doubt not, you have always retained the same affectionate regard towards me. If the effects of this mutual disposition have been interrupted by any little suspicions, (for suspicions only, I am sure they were) be the remembrance of

be credited, she was better acquainted with some of Cæsar's talents than was altogether consistent with her being (what Cicero here calls her) *the most valuable of all women*. Suet. in J. Cæs. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Crassus was almost ten years older than Cicero; so that when the latter first appeared at the bar, the former had already established a character by his oratorical abilities.



of them for ever blotted out of our hearts. I am persuaded, indeed, from those virtues which form *your* character, and from those which I am desirous should distinguish *mine*, that our friendly union, in the present conjuncture, cannot but be attended with equal honour to us both. What instances you may be willing to give me of your esteem, must be left to your own determination; but they will be such, I flatter myself, as may tend most to advance my dignities. For my own part, I faithfully promise the utmost exertion of my best services, in every article wherein I can contribute to increase yours. Many, I know, will be my rivals in these amicable offices, but it is a contention in which all the world, I question not, and particularly your two sons, will acknowledge my superiority. Be assured, I love them both in a very uncommon degree; tho' I will own, that Publius<sup>3</sup> is my favourite. From his infancy, indeed,

<sup>3</sup> Whatever sincerity might be wanting in our author's professions of friendship to the father; it is certain he had a very unfeigned affection for the son; as, indeed, Cicero had been greatly obliged to his zealous services when he was persecuted by Clodius. Soon after this letter was written, Publius followed his father with a body of Gallic cavalry into Parthia, where he behaved with uncommon bravery, but perished in that unfortunate expedition. He fell not, indeed, by the enemy, but by the hand of one of his attendants, who stabbed him by his own orders, as scorning to survive so shameful a defeat. *Cic. in Brut. Plut. in vit. Crassi.*

indeed, he discovered a singular regard to me, as he particularly distinguishes me at this time with all the marks even of filial respect and affection.

Let me desire you to consider this letter, not as a strain of unmeaning compliment, but as a sacred and solemn covenant of friendship, which I shall most sincerely and religiously observe<sup>4</sup>. I shall now persevere in being the advocate of your honours, not only from a motive of affection, but from a principle of constancy, and without any application on your part, you may depend on my embracing every opportunity, wherein I shall think my services may prove agreeable to your interest, or your inclinations. Can you once doubt, then, that  
any

<sup>4</sup> It has been asserted, in these remarks, that Cicero acted a counterfeit part in his professions of friendship to Crassus, but as he here very strongly affirms the contrary, it will be proper to produce the evidence. This, indeed, is Cicero himself, who, in a letter to Atticus, written not long before the present, and wherein he gives an account of the departure of Crassus, for his Parthian expedition, speaks of him in a style utterly irreconcilable with the sentiments he here professes, and in terms of the utmost contempt. "*Crassum nostrum*," says he, "*minore dignitate aiunt profectum paludatum, quam olim—L. Paulum. O HOMINEM NEQUAM!*" It must be owned, at the same time, that it is highly probable the heart of Crassus was as little concerned in their pretended reconciliation as that of Cicero; for Crassus generally regulated his attachments by his interest, and was no farther a friend or an enemy than as it suited with his avarice and ambition. *Ad Att. iv. 13. Plut. in vit. Crassi.*

any request to me for this purpose, either by yourself or your family, will meet with a most punctual observance? I hope, therefore, you will not scruple to employ me in all your concerns, of what nature or importance soever, as one who is most faithfully your friend: and that you will direct your family to apply to me in all their affairs of every kind, whether relating to you or to themselves, to their friends, or their dependents. And be assured, I shall spare no pains to render your absence as little uneasy to them as possible. Farewel.

## LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO JULIUS CÆSAR.<sup>5</sup>

I AM going to give you an instance how much I rely upon your affectionate services, not only towards myself, but in favour also of my friends. It was my intention, if I had gone abroad in any foreign employment, that Trebatius<sup>6</sup> should have accompanied me; and he would not have returned without receiving the highest and  
most

<sup>5</sup> Cæsar was at this time in Gaul, preparing for his first expedition into Britain, which, as Tacitus observes, he rather discovered than conquered.

<sup>6</sup> See an account of him in the following letter.



most advantageous honours I should have been able to have conferred upon him. But as Pompey, I find, defers setting out upon his commission longer than I imagined<sup>7</sup>: and I am apprehensive, likewise, that the doubts you know I entertain in regard to my attending him, may possibly prevent, as they will certainly at least delay, my journey, I take the liberty to refer Trebatius to *your* good offices, for those benefits he expected to have received from mine. I have ventured, indeed, to promise, that he will find you full as well-disposed to advance his interest, as I have always assured him he would find me: and a very extraordinary circumstance occurred, which seemed to confirm this opinion I entertained of your generosity. For, in the very instant I was talking with Balbus upon this subject, your letter was delivered to me: in the close of which you pleasantly tell me, that “in compliance with  
“my request, you will make Orfius king of  
“Gaul,

<sup>7</sup> A law had lately passed, by which Pompey was invested with the government of Spain during five years; and it was upon this occasion that Cicero had thoughts of attending him as his lieutenant. Pompey, however, instead of going to his province, chose to continue in Italy; though he seems to have amused Cicero with a notion of his intending the contrary. For it appears, by a letter to Atticus, written towards the latter end of this year, that our author had fixed the day for his departure. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Ad Att. iv. 18.*

“Gaul, or assign him over to Lepta, and advance any other person whom I should be inclined to recommend.” This had so remarkable a coincidence with our discourse, that it struck both Balbus and myself as a sort of a happy omen, that had something in it more than accidental<sup>8</sup>. As it was my intention, therefore, before I received your letter, to have transmitted Trebatius to you; so I now consign him to your patronage, as upon your own invitation. Receive him then, my dear Cæsar, with your usual generosity; and distinguish him

<sup>8</sup> Among the various kinds of omens observed with much superstition by the Romans, that of words happening to coincide with any particular subject under consideration, was esteemed of singular regard. A remarkable instance of this sort is recorded by Livy. After the burning of Rome by the Gauls, it was debated whether the capital city should not be removed into the country of the Veii. This point was long and warmly discussed, till, at length, the question was decided by an officer of the guards, who, accidentally passing by the senate-house with his company, called out to the ensign, *Signifer, statue signum: hic manebimus optime*. These words being heard by the fathers in-council, were considered as a divine intimation: and it was immediately and unanimously agreed to rebuild the city on its former site. Cæsar, of all the Roman historians, has most avoided the marvellous of this kind: and it is observable, that he does not mention a single prodigy throughout his whole Commentaries, except in his relation of the battle of Pharsalia. Upon that occasion, indeed, he very artfully falls in with this popular superstition, and gives an account of many predictive intimations of that day's important event. And nothing, in truth, could be more to his purpose than this indirect manner of persuading his countrymen that the Gods were parties in his cause. *Liv. v. 55. Cæs. bel. civ. iii. 85.*

him with every honour that my solicitations can induce you to confer. I do not recommend him in the manner you so justly rallied, when I wrote to you in favour of Orfius: but I will take upon me to assure you, in true Roman sincerity, that there lives not a man of greater modesty and merit. I must not forget to mention also (what indeed is his distinguishing qualification) that he is eminently skilled in the laws of his country<sup>9</sup>, and happy in an uncommon strength of memory. I will not point out any particular piece of preferment which I wish you to bestow upon him: I will only, in general, entreat you to admit him into a share of your friendship. Nevertheless, if you should think proper to distinguish him with the tribunate or præfecture<sup>1</sup>, or any other

<sup>9</sup> The profession of the law was held among the Romans, as it is with us, in great esteem; but this body of men seem, in general, to have acted rather in the nature of our chamber counsel, than as advocates at the bar. The law was properly the province of those whom they called their *orators*: and for which every man of good sense, a ready utterance, and a general knowledge of the constitutions of his country, was thought qualified. *Cic. de off. ii. 19. de Orat. 55, &c*

<sup>1</sup> The military tribunes were next in rank to the lieutenants or commanders in chief under the general; as the *præfectus legionis* was the most honourable post in the Roman armies after that of the military tribunes. The business of the former was, among other articles, to decide all controversies that arose among the soldiers; and that of the latter was to carry the chief standard of the legion.



little honours of that nature, I shall have no manner of objection. In good earnest, I entirely resign him out of my hands into yours, which never were lifted up in battle, or pledged in friendship, without effect.—But I fear I have pressed you farther upon this occasion than was necessary: however I know you will excuse my warmth in the cause of a friend. Take care of your health, and continue to love me. Farewel.

## LETTER IX.

[A. U. 699.]

To TREBATIUS<sup>2</sup>.

I NEVER write to Cæsar or Balbus, without taking occasion to mention you in the advantageous terms you deserve: and this in a style that evidently distinguishes me for your sincere well-wisher. I hope, therefore, you will check

<sup>2</sup> This is the same person in whose behalf the foregoing letter to Cæsar is written, and which seems to have had so good an effect, that we find him mentioned by Suetonius as in the number of Cæsar's particular favourites. He appears, in this earlier part of his life, to have been of a more gay and indolent disposition than is consistent with making a figure in business; but he afterwards, however, became a very celebrated lawyer: and one of the most agreeable satires of Horace is addressed to him under that honourable character. If the English reader is desirous of being acquainted with the spirit of that performance, he will find it preserved, and even improved, among Mr. Pope's excellent imitations of Horace. *Suet. in vit. Jul. Cæsar. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. Pope's poems, vol. ii. p. 109.*

check this idle passion for the elegancies of Rome, and resolutely persevere in the purpose of your journey, till your merit and assiduity shall have obtained the desired effect. In the mean time, your friends here will excuse your absence, no less than the ladies of Corinth did that of Medea in the play<sup>3</sup>, when she artfully persuades them not to impute it to her as a crime, that she had forsaken her country : For, as she tells them,

*There are who distant from their native soil,  
Still for their own and country's glory toil :  
While some, fast-rooted to their parent-spot,  
In life are useless, and in death forgot.*

In this last inglorious class you would most certainly have been numbered, had not your friends all conspired in forcing you from Rome. But more of this another time : in the mean while, let me advise you, who know so well how to manage securities for others, to *secure* yourself from

<sup>3</sup> Medea being enamoured of Jason, assisted him in obtaining the golden fleece, and then fled with him from her father's court. He afterwards, however, deserted her for Creusa, the daughter of Creon, king of Corinth, whom Medea destroyed by certain magical arts. Ennius, a Roman poet, who flourished about a century before the date of this letter, formed a play upon this story : from which performance the following lines are quoted.

from the British charioteers<sup>4</sup>. And since I have been *playing* the Medea, let me make my exit with the following lines of the same tragedy, which are well worth your constant remembrance :

*His wisdom, sure, on folly's confines lies,  
Who, wise for others, for himself's unwise.*

Farewel.

### LETTER X.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

I TAKE all opportunities of writing in your favour: and I shall be glad you would let me know with what success. My chief reliance is on Balbus: in my letters to whom I frequently and warmly recommend your interest. But why do you not let me hear from you every time my brother dispatches a courier?

I am informed there is neither gold nor silver in all Britain<sup>5</sup>. If that should be the case, I would

<sup>4</sup> The armies of the ancient Britons were partly composed of troops who fought in open chariots, to the axletrees of which were fixed a kind of short scythe. *Cæs. de bell. Gall.* iv. 29. Sir William Temple's introduction to the *Hist. of England*.

<sup>5</sup> A notion had prevailed among the Romans, that Britain abounded in gold and silver mines: and this report, it is probable,



would advise you to seize one of the enemy's military cars, and drive back to us with all expedition. But if you think you shall be able to make your fortune without the assistance of British spoils, by all means enrich yourself in Cæsar's friendship. To be serious; both my brother and Balbus will be of great service to you for that purpose: but, believe me, your own merit and assiduity will prove your best commendation.

probable, first suggested to Cæsar the design of conquering our island. It was soon discovered, however, that these sources of wealth existed only in their own imaginations: and all their hopes of plunder ended in the little advantage they could make by the sale of their prisoners. Cicero, taking notice of this circumstance to Atticus, ridicules the poverty and ignorance of our British ancestors; which gives occasion to the ingenious historian of his life, to break out into the following pertinent and useful observations: "From their railleries of this kind (says Dr. Middleton) one cannot help reflecting on the surprising fate and revolutions of kingdoms: how Rome, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire, and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance, and poverty; enslaved to the most cruel as well as to the most contemptible of tyrants, superstition and religious imposture: while this remote country, anciently the jest and contempt of the polite Romans, is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters, flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life; yet, running, perhaps, the same course which Rome itself had run before it; from virtuous industry to wealth; from wealth to luxury; from luxury to an impatience of discipline, and corruption of morals; till, by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls a prey, at last, to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valuable, sinks gradually again into its original barbarism." *Ad Att. iv. Life of Cic. ii. 102.*

commendation. You have every favourable circumstance indeed for your advancement that can be wished. On the one hand, you are in the prime and vigour of your years; as on the other, you are serving under a commander distinguished for the generosity of his disposition, and to whom you have been recommended in the strongest terms. In a word, there is not the least fear of your success, if your own concurrence be not wanting. Farewel.

## LETTER XI.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same,

I HAVE received a very obliging letter from Cæsar, wherein he tells me, that though his numberless occupations have hitherto prevented him from seeing you so often as he wishes, he will certainly find an opportunity of being better acquainted with you. I have assured him, in return, how extremely acceptable his generous services to you, would prove to myself. But surely you are much too precipitate in your determinations: and I could not but wonder that you should have refused the advantages of a tribune's commission, especially

as

as you might have been excused, it seems, from the functions of that post. If you continue to act thus indiscreetly, I shall certainly exhibit an *information* against you to your friends Vacerra and Manilius. I dare not venture, however, to *lay the case* before Cornelius; for as you profess to have learned all your wisdom from his instructions; to arraign the pupil of imprudence, would be a tacit reflection, you know, upon the tutor. But in good earnest, I conjure you not to lose the fairest opportunity of making your fortune, that probably will ever fall again in your way.

I frequently recommend your interests to Precianus, whom you mention; and he writes me word that he has done you some good offices. Let me know of what kind they are. I expect a letter upon your arrival in Britain. Farewel.

LETTER



## LETTER XII.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

I HAVE made your acknowledgments to my brother, in pursuance of your request : and am glad to have an occasion of applauding you for being fixed, at last, in some settled resolution. The style of your former letters, I will own, gave me a good deal of uneasiness. And allow me to say, that in some of them, you discovered an impatience to return to the polite refinements of Rome, which had the appearance of much levity : that, in some, I regretted your indolence, and in others your timidity. They frequently, likewise, gave me occasion to think, that you were not altogether so reasonable in your expectations, as is agreeable to your usual modesty. One would have imagined, indeed, you had carried a bill of exchange upon Cæsar, instead of a letter of recommendation : for you seemed to think you had nothing more to do than to receive your money and hasten home again. But money, my friend, is not so easily acquired : and I could name some of our acquaintance who have been obliged to travel as far as Alexandria in pursuit of it, without having yet been able to obtain

obtain even their just demands<sup>6</sup>. If my inclinations were governed solely by my interest, I should certainly choose to have you here: as nothing affords me more pleasure than your company, or more advantage than your advice and assistance. But as you sought my friendship and patronage from your earliest youth, I always thought it incumbent upon me to act with a disinterested view to your welfare; and not only to give you my protection, but to advance, by every means in my power, both your fortunes and your dignities. In consequence of which I dare say you have not forgotten those unsolicited offers I made you, when I had thoughts of being employed abroad<sup>7</sup>. I no sooner gave up my intentions of this kind, and perceived that Cæsar treated me with great distinction and friendship, than I recommended you, in the strongest and warmest terms, to his favour, perfectly well knowing the singular probity and benevolence of his heart. Accordingly he shewed, not only by his letters to me, but by his conduct towards you, the great regard he paid to my recommendation. If you  
have

<sup>6</sup> This alludes to those who supplied Ptolemy with money when he was soliciting his affairs in Rome: an account of which has already been given in the notes on the foregoing book. See rem. 2. p. 51, of this vol.

<sup>7</sup> See rem. 7. p. 135. of this vol.

have any opinion, therefore, of my judgment, or imagine that I sincerely wish you well, let me persuade you to continue with him. And notwithstanding you should meet with some things to disgust you; as business, perhaps, or other obstructions may render him less expeditious in gratifying your views than you had reason to expect; still, however, persevere; and trust me, you will find it prove in the end both for your interest and your honour. To exhort you any farther, might look like impertinence: let me only remind you, that if you lose this opportunity of improving your fortunes, you will never meet again with so generous a patron, so rich a province, or so convenient a season for this purpose. And (to express myself in the style of you lawyers) Cornelius has *given his opinion* to the same effect.

I am glad, for my sake, as well as yours, that you did not attend Cæsar into Britain: as it has not only saved *you* the fatigue of a very disagreeable expedition, but *me* likewise that of being the perpetual auditor of your wonderful exploits. Let me know in what part of the world you are likely to take up your winter-quarters, and in what post you are, or expect to be employed. Farewel.

LETTER



## LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

IT is a considerable time since I have heard any thing from you. As for myself, if I have not written these three months, it was because, after you were separated from my brother, I neither knew where to address my letters, nor by what hand to convey them. I much wish to be informed how your affairs go on, and in what part of the world your winter-quarters are likely to be fixed. I should be glad they might be with Cæsar: but, as I would not venture, in his present affliction<sup>s</sup>, to trouble him with a letter, I have written upon that subject to Balbus. In the mean while, let me entreat you not to be wanting to yourself: and  
for

<sup>s</sup> Cæsar, about this time, lost his daughter Julia, who died in child-bed. She was married to Pompey, who was so passionately fond of her, that she seems, during the short time they lived together, to have taken entire possession of his whole heart, and to have turned all his ambition into the single desire of appearing amiable in her eye. The death of this young lady proved a public calamity, as it dissolved the only forcible bond of union between her father and her husband, and hastened that rupture which ended in the destruction of the commonwealth. It is in allusion to this that the elegant Paternulus calls her *medium male coherentis inter Pompeium et Cæsarem concordiae pignus*. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. et Cæsar. Vel. Patern. i. 47.*

for my own part, I am contented to give up so much more of your company, provided the longer you stay abroad the richer you should return. There is nothing, I think, particularly to hasten you home, now that Vacerra is dead. However you are the best judge: and I should be glad to know what you have determined.

There is a queer fellow of your acquaintance, one Octavius or Cornelius (I do not perfectly recollect his name) who is perpetually inviting me, as a friend of yours, to sup with him. He has not yet prevailed with me to accept his compliment: however, I am obliged to the man. Farewel.

#### LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 699.]

TO MUNATIUS<sup>2</sup>.

LUCIUS Livineius Trypho is the freedman of my very intimate friend Regulus: And though the misfortunes of the latter cannot raise him higher in my affection, they have,  
however,

<sup>2</sup> The person to whom this letter is addressed, is unknown, as is the precise time, likewise, when it was written: It seems probable, however, not to have been very long after Cicero's return from banishment. For by the expression, *his nostris temporibus*, he undoubtedly alludes (as Mr. Ross observes) to the misfortunes which were brought upon him by Clodius.

however, rendered me more assiduous to testify it in every instance wherein he is the least concerned. But I have still a farther reason to interest myself in behalf of his freed-man, as I experienced his services at a season when I had the best opportunity of proving the sincerity of my friends. I recommend him, therefore, to your protection with all the warmth of the most sensible gratitude; and I shall be extremely obliged to you for shewing him, that you place to your own account, those many dangerous winter voyages he formerly undertook upon mine. Farewel.

## LETTER XV.

[A. U. 699.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I PERCEIVE, by your letter, that my friend Cæsar looks upon you as a most wonderful lawyer; and are you not happy in being thus placed in a country where you make so considerable a figure upon so small a stock<sup>a</sup>? But  
with

<sup>a</sup> The ludicrous author of the *Tale of a Tub* has applied this passage with more humour, perhaps, than it was first conceived. He is accounting for the propagation of the several absurd doctrines of philosophy and religion that have prevailed in the world, by supposing that every system-maker is always sure of finding a set of disciples whose tone of understanding is exactly pitched to the absurdity or extravagance of his tenets. "And in this one circumstance," says



with how much greater advantage would your noble talents have appeared, had you gone into Britain? Undoubtedly there would not have been so profound a sage in the law throughout all that extensive island.

Since your epistle has provoked me to be thus jocose, I will proceed in the same strain, and tell you there was one part of it I could not read without some envy; and how, indeed, could it be otherwise, when I found that, whilst much greater men were in vain attempting to get admittance to Cæsar, you were singled out from the crowd, and even summoned to an audience<sup>1</sup>? But after giving me an account of affairs which concern others, why were you silent as to your own, assured as you are

he, "lies all the skill or luck of the matter. Cicero understood this very well, when writing to a friend in England, "with a caution, among other matters, to beware of being "cheated by our hackney-coachmen, (who, it seems, in "those days, were as errant rascals as they are now) has "these remarkable words: *est quod gaudeas te in ista loca* " *venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere*. For, to speak a bold "truth, it is a fatal miscarriage, so ill to order affairs, as to "pass for a fool in one company, when in another you "might be treated as a philosopher; which I desire some "certain gentlemen of my acquaintance to lay up in their "hearts as a very seasonable inuendo." *Tale of a Tub*. p. 164.

<sup>1</sup> Trebatius, it is probable, had informed Cicero, in the letter to which this is an answer, that he had been summoned by Cæsar to attend him as his assessor upon some trial; which seems to have led our author into the raileries of this and the preceding passages.

are that I interest myself in them with as much zeal as if they immediately related to myself. Accordingly, as I am extremely afraid you will have no *employment* to keep you warm in your winter-quarters, I would, by all means, advise you to lay in a sufficient quantity of fuel. Both Mucius and Manilius<sup>2</sup> have *given their opinions* to the same purpose; especially as your *regimentals*, they apprehend, will scarce be ready soon enough to secure you against the approaching cold. We hear, however, there has been *hot* work in your part of the world, which somewhat alarmed me for your safety; but I comforted myself with considering, that you are not altogether so *desperate* a soldier, as you are a lawyer. It is a wonderful consolation, indeed, to your friends, to be assured that your passions are not an over-match for your prudence. Thus, as much as I know you love the water<sup>3</sup>, you would

<sup>2</sup> Mucius and Manilius, it must be supposed, were two lawyers, and particular friends of Trebatius, as the humour of this witticism evidently consists in an allusion to that profession.

<sup>3</sup> In the original it is *studiosissimus homo natandi*, the ambiguity of which could not have been preserved in a more literal translation. The art of swimming was among the number of polite exercises in ancient Rome, and esteemed a necessary qualification for every gentleman. Thus we find Cato the elder himself instructing his son in this accomplishment; as Augustus likewise performed the same office

would not venture, I find, to *cross* it with Cæsar; and tho' nothing could keep you from the  
*combats*

in the education of his two grandsons, Caius and Lucius. It was, indeed, one of the essential arts in military discipline, as both the soldiers and officers had frequently no other means of pursuing or retreating from the enemy. Accordingly the *Campus Martius*, a place where the Roman youth were taught the science of arms, was situated on the banks of the Tiber; and they constantly finished their exercises of this kind by throwing themselves into the river.—This shews the wonderful propriety of those noble lines which Shakespear puts into the mouth of Cassius, in that masterly scene where he is endeavouring to sound the sentiments, and fire the indignation of Brutus towards Cæsar.

We can both

Endure the winter's cold as well as he.  
 For once upon a raw and gusty day,  
 The troubled Tiber chafing with his shores,  
 Cæsar says to me, "Darest thou, Cassius, now  
 Leap in with me into this angry flood,  
 And swim to yonder point?" Upon the word,  
 Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,  
 And bade him follow: so indeed he did.  
 The torrent roar'd, and we did buffet it  
 With lusty sinews, throwing it aside,  
 And stemming it with hearts of controversy.  
 But ere we could arrive the point proposed,  
 Cæsar cry'd, "Help me, Cassius, or I sink."  
 If, as Æneas, our great ancestor,  
 Did from the flames of Troy, upon his shoulder,  
 The old Anchises bear, so from the waves of Tyber  
 Did I the tir'd Cæsar: and this man  
 Is now become a God, &c.

Monsieur Dacier observes, that this passage of Cicero discovers the justness of those verses in Horace, where Trebatius is represented as advising the Roman satirist to swim across the Tyber, as an excellent remedy against his poetical propensity: since, like other physicians, he prescribed a regimen, it seems, most agreeable to his own taste and practice. *Plut. in vit. Cato. Censor. Suet. in vit. Augusti* 64. *Veget. de re milit.* i. 10. *Dacier rem. sur la Sat. i. du liv. ii. d'Hor.*



*combats*<sup>4</sup> in Rome, you were much too wise, I perceive, to attend them in Britain<sup>5</sup>.

But pleasantry apart: you know, without my telling you, with what zeal I have recommended you to Cæsar; though, perhaps, you may not be apprised, that I have frequently, as well as warmly, written to him upon that subject. I had, for some time, indeed, intermitted my solicitations, as I would not seem to distrust his friendship and generosity; however, I thought proper, in my last, to remind him once more of his promise. I desire you would let me know what effect my letter has produced, and at the same time, give me a full account of every thing that concerns you. For I am exceedingly anxious to be informed of the prospect and situation of your affairs, as well as how long you imagine your absence is likely to continue. Be persuaded, that nothing could reconcile me to this separation, but the hopes of its proving to your advantage. In any other view, I should not be so impolitic as not to insist on your return; as you would be too prudent, I day say, to delay it. The truth is, one hour's gay, or serious conversation together, is of more importance to us, than all the foes and all the friends that the whole nation of Gaul can produce. I entreat  
you

<sup>4</sup> Alluding to his fondness of the gladiatorial games.

<sup>5</sup> See remark 5. p. 134. of this vol.

you, therefore, to send me an immediate account in what posture your affairs stand ; and be assured, as honest Chremes says to his neighbour in the play<sup>6</sup>,

*Whatever cares thy lab'ring bosom grieve,*

*My tongue shall soothe them, or my hand relieve.*

Farewel.

### LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

YOU remember the character given of the Phrygians in the play<sup>7</sup> ; “ that their wisdom “ ever came too late : ” but you are resolved, my dear cautious old gentleman<sup>8</sup>, that no imputation of this kind shall be fixed upon you. Thank heaven, indeed, you wisely subdued the romantic spirit of your first letters, as you were not so obstinately bent upon new adventures, as to hazard a voyage for that purpose into

<sup>6</sup> In Terence's play called the *Self-tormentor*.

<sup>7</sup> A tragedy called the *Trojan Horse*, which seems, by Cicero's frequent quotations from it, to have been in great esteem.

<sup>8</sup> The celebrated Monsieur Dacier produces this passage as a proof that Trebatius must have been more than four-score years of age, when Horace addressed the satire to him mentioned in the remarks on the preceding letter. But that learned critic has been led into this error by taking in a serious sense, what Cicero most evidently meant in a ludicrous one.

into Britain; and who, in troth, can blame you? It is the same disposition, I imagine, that has immoveably fixed you in your winter-quarters, and certainly there is nothing like acting with circumspection upon all occasions. Take my word for it, prudence is the safest shield.

If it were usual with me to sup from home, most undoubtedly I could not refuse your gallant friend Octavius. I will own, however, I love to mortify the man's vanity; and, whenever he invites me, I always affect to look with some surprise, as not seeming to recollect his person. Seriously, he is a wondrous pretty fellow; what pity it is that you did not take him abroad with you<sup>a</sup>!

Let me know how you are employed, and whether there is any probability of seeing you in Italy this winter. Balbus assures me, that you will certainly return immensely rich; but, whether he means in the vulgar sense, or agreeably to the maxim of his friends the Stoics, who maintain, you know, "that every man is rich, "who has the free enjoyment of earth and "air;" is a doubt which time will clear up.

I find, by those who come from your part of the world, that you are grown wonderfully *reserved*: for they tell me, you answer no *queries*.

<sup>a</sup> See the conclusion of let. xiii. p. 148. of this vol.



ries<sup>9</sup>. However, it is on all hands a *settled point*, (and you have reason, certainly, to congratulate yourself upon it) that you are the most profound sage in the law, throughout the whole city of Samarobriva<sup>10</sup>. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>9</sup> The witticism of this passage consists in the double sense of the verb *respondere*, which, besides its common acceptance, signifies likewise the giving *an opinion as a lawyer*. This conceit, such as it is, seems to have been a favourite one with our author, for he repeats it in a subsequent letter, where he is rallying another of his friends upon an occasion of the same nature. See note 6. p. 213. of this vol. But—

*Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic  
Omnia dixisset !——— Juv.*

<sup>10</sup> A principal town in Gaul, now called Amiens, and where Trebatius seems to have had his winter-quarters.

## LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO LENTULUS.

IT is with singular pleasure I perceive, by your letter, that you are sensible, I will not say of my affection only, but of my devotion towards you. Even that sacred term, indeed, can but ill express the sentiments you merit from me : and if you esteem yourself (as you would persuade me) obliged by my endeavours to serve you, it is your friendship alone which can make you think so. I am sure, at least, I could not refuse you my best good offices, without being guilty of the most unpardonable ingratitude. You would have experienced, however, much stronger and more powerful instances of my friendship, if, instead of being thus long separated from each other, we had passed this interval together at Rome. It is not only in the particular article you mention, and in which no man is more qualified to shine, that I impatiently wish to receive you as my co-adjutor : it is not, I say, in the senate alone, that our amicable concurrence would have been distinguished ; it would have appeared conspicuous, my friend, in every act of public concernment.

ment. Suffer me then to add, previously to the information you request me to give you of my political sentiments and situation, that if fortune had not thus divided us, I should have enjoyed in you a wise and faithful guide; as you would have found in me, a kind, a friendly, and, perhaps, no unexperienced associate. However, I rejoice (as undoubtedly I ought) at the honourable occasion of your absence, and in which your military conduct and success has procured you the illustrious title of *Imperator*<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, I must repeat it again, it is owing to this circumstance, that you have not received far more abundant and efficacious fruits of that friendship, to which you have so undisputed a claim. In particular, I should most strenuously have united with you in taking just vengeance on those whose ill offices you have experienced, partly in resentment of your having supported and protected me in my adversity, and partly as they envy you the glory of so generous an action. One of them, however, has sufficiently anticipated our revenge, and drawn down by his own hands the chastisement he merits from ours. The person I mean

15

<sup>2</sup> History is altogether silent as to the occasion upon which Lentulus was saluted by his army with this title.



is that man who has ever distinguished himself by opposing his benefactors, and who, after having received from you the highest services, singled you out as the object of his impotent malice. This man, in consequence of being detected in his late infamous attempts, has entirely and irretrievably lost at once both his honour and his liberty<sup>2</sup>. As to yourself, tho' I had much rather you should gain experience by my misfortunes than your own, yet it affords me some consolation, under your present disappointment<sup>3</sup>, that you have not paid so severe a fine as I did, for being taught the little dependence there is upon the professions of the world. A reflection this, which may very properly serve as an introduction to the account you require of the motives of my late transactions.

You are informed, then, it seems, that I am reconciled with Cæsar and Appius<sup>4</sup>: a step, you assure me, which you do not disapprove.

But

<sup>2</sup> The conjecture of Manutius seems highly probable, that the person to whom Cicero alludes is Caius Cato, whose ill offices to Lentulus have been often mentioned in the preceding letters. But what the secret practices were which had been discovered so much to his disgrace, is a point in which history does not afford any light.

<sup>3</sup> In not obtaining the commission to replace Ptolemy on his throne.

<sup>4</sup> He was embroiled with Appius, as being the brother of his inveterate enemy, Clodius.

But you are at a loss to guess what reasons could induce me to appear at the trial of Vatinius, not only as an advocate, but as a witness in his favour<sup>s</sup>. To set this matter in the clearest light, it will be necessary to trace back the motives of my conduct to their original source. Let me observe then, my Lentulus, that when I was recalled from exile by your generous offices, I considered myself as restored, not only to my friends and to my family, but to the commonwealth in general. And as you had a right to the best returns of my affection and gratitude  
for

<sup>s</sup> It was customary at trials for the person arraigned to produce witnesses to his character, who were called *Laudatores*, and ten was the number requisite for this purpose. Vatinius was tribune of the people in the consulate of Cæsar, and had been in the number of Cicero's most inveterate enemies, as he was his constant opposer likewise in politics. He was a man of a most abandoned character, and whose person (as Paterculus assures us) was not less deformed than his mind. A very learned and polite author, whose just esteem for Cicero's writings has betrayed him, perhaps, into some partiality towards his actions, acknowledges that "the defence of Vatinius gave a plausible handle for some censure upon Cicero." The truth of it is, the censure was more than *plausible*, for nothing certainly could discover more meanness of spirit than thus, in compliance with those in power, not only to defend Vatinius as an advocate, but to bear public testimony likewise to his general good conduct. Some colourable excuse, indeed, may be given for the former, by considering it in the light which Valerius Maximus has placed it, as an instance of Cicero's generosity towards his enemies; but the latter seems to stand beyond the reach even of a *plausible* justification. *Pat. ii. 69. Nat. Max. iv. 2.*

for the distinguished part you acted in that affair: so I thought there was something more than ordinary due from me to my country, which had so singularly co-operated with you upon this occasion. I often took an opportunity, during your consulate, of publicly declaring these my sentiments in the senate; as I always, you well know, expressed myself to the same purpose in our private conversations. Nevertheless, I had many reasons at that time to be highly disgusted, I could not, in truth, but observe the disguised malice of some, and the coolness of others, when you were endeavouring to procure a decree for restoring the inscription of that honourable monument of my public services, which had been erected by the senate<sup>6</sup>. But it was not only in this instance that those who had many obligations to concur in your good offices towards me, acted a part I had little reason to expect. They looked indeed with much ungenerous indifference on the cruel

<sup>6</sup> The expression which Cicero makes use of in this place is ambiguous: *neque de monumentis meis ab iis adjutus, es*, &c. The commentators have supposed that this relates to Cicero's house: but Mr. Ross, with much greater probability, imagines it alludes to the *Atrium Libertatis*, which had been erected, by order of the senate, as a memorial of Cicero's services in rescuing the commonwealth from the dangerous conspiracy of Catiline. For Clodius had erased the original inscription, and placed his own name in its stead. See rem. 27 on this letter.



cruel outrage which was offered to my brother and myself under our own roof<sup>7</sup>; and the estimate they made, in pursuance of the senate's order, of the damages I had sustained by these acts of violence, was far unequal to my real loss<sup>8</sup>. This last article of their injustice, tho' least, indeed, in my concern, I could not but very sensibly feel amidst the general wreck of my fortunes. But though these mortifying marks

<sup>7</sup> Clodius, after having procured a law which declared it treason to vote or take any step towards recalling Cicero from his banishment, proceeded to pillage and burn all his houses both in town and country. Cicero, however, being restored in the manner which he himself will relate, in a subsequent part of this letter, the senate decreed that his houses should be rebuilt at the public expence. But while the workmen were employed on his Palatine house, and had carried it up almost to the roof, Clodius made a second attack, and, after driving them off, set fire to the adjoining edifice, which belonged to Cicero's brother, and wherein he himself likewise at that time was; so that they were both obliged to make their escape with the utmost precipitation. *Ad Att. iv. Orat. post. red.*

<sup>8</sup> His house upon the Palatine hill in Rome, together with his Tusculan and Formian villas, were jointly estimated at 22,000*l.* a valuation universally condemned as extremely unequitable. But "those who had clipt his wings (as he expresses himself in a letter to Atticus upon this occasion) were not disposed they should grow again." It seems highly probable that Lentulus himself was in this number; as it appears, by a letter of our author to his brother, that he had reasons to be dissatisfied with his conduct towards him. But though, in the passage before us, he speaks of the injustice that had been done him, as arising solely from those who were concerned with Lentulus in taking an estimate of his losses; yet, at the same time, he expresses himself in such a manner, as to throw a very artful reproach upon the latter. *Ad Att. iv. 2. Ad Q. F. ii. 2.*

marks of their disposition towards me were much too notorious to escape my observation, they could not efface the more agreeable impressions of their former friendship. For this reason, notwithstanding those high obligations I had to Pompey, of which you yourself were witness, and have often mentioned, notwithstanding also the affection and esteem which I always entertained for him; yet I still firmly adhered to my political principles, nor suffered these considerations of private amity to influence me in favour of his public measures. Accordingly, when Vatinius (who at the trial of P. Sextius<sup>9</sup> was examined as a witness against him) intimated that Cæsar's successes had reconciled me to his party, I told him, in the presence of Pompey, that I preferred the fate of Bibulus, unhappy as he might esteem it, to all the splendid triumphs of the most victorious general<sup>10</sup>. I asserted, likewise, upon another occasion,

<sup>9</sup> "P. Sextius was a tribune of the people A. U. 696. in the consulship of Lentulus, and a great instrument in restoring Cicero. He resisted the faction of Clodius by force of arms, and was, upon that account, in the following year, accused of public violence by M. Tullius Albinovanus. Cicero defended him in an excellent oration, which is still extant, and he was acquitted by the suffrages of all the judges." *Mr. Ross.*

<sup>10</sup> M. Calpurnius Bibulus was joint consul with J. Cæsar A. U. 694. The senate secured the election of the former, in order to his being a check to the ambitious designs of his

occasion (and asserted too, in the hearing of Pompey,) that the same persons who confined Bibulus to his house, had driven me from mine. Indeed, the whole series of those interrogatories<sup>11</sup>, which I put to Vatinius at this trial, was entirely designed as an invective against his tribunate: and I particularly exposed, with much freedom and indignation, his contempt of the auspices, his corrupt disposal of foreign kingdoms<sup>12</sup>, together with the rest of his violent

his colleague; and it was thought of so much importance to the republic, that he should be chosen, that even Cato did not scruple, upon this occasion, to employ methods of bribery for that purpose. But Bibulus, after many vain efforts of patriotism, and being grossly insulted in the forum by Cæsar's mob, at length withdrew from the functions of his office, and voluntarily confined himself (as Suetonius relates) to his own house; though, by the expression which Tully here uses, it rather seems as if Cæsar had employed some force in keeping him there. After which, as the same historian informs us, Cæsar governed the republic without control. *Suet. in Jul. Cæsar. c. 20.*

<sup>11</sup> "Cicero, instead of examining Vatinius upon the facts in his evidence against Sextius, put to him a series of questions in such an artful manner, that he exposed all the intrigues and iniquity of his tribunate. This examination is still extant, under the title of *Interrogatio in Vatinium.*" Mr. Ross.

<sup>12</sup> It is wholly uncertain to what particular facts Cicero alludes, when he imputes to Vatinius what he calls the *donatio regnorum*: however, by comparing this expression with the oration to which it refers, and with a passage in a letter to Atticus, it seems probable that Vatinius, when he was tribune, had been bribed to procure a confirmation from the people of some disputed regal title, or, perhaps, to obtain assistance from the republic, in transferring a contested crown from its rightful possessor into the hands of an usurper. It is certain, at least, that such unworthy methods



violent and illegal proceedings. But it was not only upon this occasion that I spoke thus unreservedly, I frequently avowed my sentiments with the same resolute spirit in the senate. Thus, when Marcellinus and Philippus were\* consuls, I carried a motion that the affair of the Campanian lands<sup>13</sup> should be referred to the re-consideration of a full house<sup>14</sup>, on the 15th of May following. Now tell me,  
my

methods were frequently practised at this time, in order to gratify the insatiable avarice and profusion of these degenerate Romans. *Orat. in Vat. Ad Att. ii. 9.*

\* They were consuls. A. U. 697.

<sup>13</sup> The lands in Campania, a district in Italy, now called the Terra di lavoro, in the kingdom of Naples, were partly appropriated to the use of the republic, and partly in private hands. Cæsar had procured a law for dividing the former among 25,000 poor citizens, and for purchasing the latter in order to distribute them in the same manner. Both these designs seem to have been very artfully calculated by Cæsar to promote and facilitate his grand purpose of usurping the supreme power. For by parcelling out these lands among the common people which belonged to the republic, he secured the populace to his interest, and, at the same time, deprived the government of those very considerable supplies both of money and corn, which it derived from its demesnes in Campania; as on the other side, by purchasing the remainder of these estates, he must necessarily have weakened those public treasures which were already much impoverished, and consequently rendered the commonwealth less capable of opposing his ambitious measures. *Suet. in J. Cæs. c. 20. Cic. Agrar. ii. 29.*

<sup>14</sup> A decree of the senate had not its complete force, unless it passed in a full house; that is, when a competent number of the members were present. It seems, by a passage which Manutius quotes from Dio, l. 54. that before the times of Augustus, who made some alteration therein, the number requisite to make an act valid was 400.

my friend, could I possibly have made a bolder or more formidable attack upon this party? Could I possibly have given a more convincing evidence, that I had not departed from my old principles, notwithstanding all I had formerly suffered for their sake? The truth of it is, this motion greatly exasperated, not only those whom it was reasonable to expect it would offend, but others upon whom I did not imagine it would have had any such effect. Pompey, soon after this decree had passed, set forward upon his expedition into Sardinia and Africa<sup>a</sup>, without giving me the least intimation of his being disgusted. In his way thither, he had a conference with Cæsar at Lucca<sup>b</sup>, who made great complaints

<sup>a</sup> This expedition of Pompey into Sardinia and Africa, was in pursuance of the commission with which he had been invested for supplying the public magazines with corn. See rem. 6. p. 56. of this vol.

<sup>b</sup> Lucca was a frontier town in Cæsar's province of Cisalpine Gaul, adjoining to Italy: it still subsists under the same name, and is a celebrated republic. It was Cæsar's policy, at the end of every campaign, to fix his winter-quarters as near Italy as possible, in order to be within observation of what passed at Rome. A numerous court was immediately formed around him in these places of his residence, consisting of the most distinguished persons in Rome, and the neighbouring provinces, and no less than 200 senators have been observed among his attendants upon these occasions. Candidates for offices; young men who had run out their estates; and, in a word, all whose affairs of any kind, were embarrassed, flocked to him in these cities; and by liberal concessions to their respective wants and interests, he strengthened

complaints of this motion. He had before<sup>c</sup>, it seems, been informed of it by Crassus at Ravenna<sup>c</sup>; who took that opportunity of incensing him against me. And it appeared afterwards that Pompey was likewise much dissatisfied upon the same account. This I learnt from several hands, but particularly from my brother, who met him in Sardinia, a few days after he had left Lucca. Pompey told him he was extremely glad of that accidental interview, as he wanted much to talk with him. He begun with saying, that as my brother stood engaged<sup>d</sup>, for my conduct, he should expect him to exert all his endeavours to influence me accordingly. Pompey then proceeded very warmly to remonstrate against my late motion in the senate; reminding my brother of his services to us both, and particularly of what had passed between them concerning Cæsar's edicts, and of those assurances,

strengthened his faction, and forwarded his grand enterprise. It was thus (as the judicious Plutarch observes) he had the address to employ the forces of the republic against Gaul, and the spoils of Gaul against the republic. *Plut. in Cæs. & Pomp. Suet. in Jul.*

<sup>c</sup> A city in Cisalpine Gaul, still subsisting under the same name in the Pope's dominions.

<sup>d</sup> This alludes to those engagements which Quintus Cicero entered into in behalf of his brother, in order to induce Pompey to favour his recal from banishment. And, it appears, by what follows, that he promised, on the part of Cicero, an unlimited resignation to the measures of that ambitious chief.



assurances, he said, my brother had given him of the measures I would pursue with respect to that article. He added, that my brother himself was a witness that the steps he had formerly taken for procuring my recal, were with the full consent and approbation of Cæsar. Upon the whole, therefore, he entreated him, if it were either not in my power or my inclination to support the interest and dignity of the latter, that he would at least prevail with me not to oppose them. The account which my brother gave me of this conversation, together with a message I had before received from Pompey by Vibullius, to request that I would not proceed any farther in the affair of the Campanian lands, till his return, threw me into a very serious train of reflections. I could not but think, after having performed and suffered so much for my country, that I might now at least be permitted to consider what was due to gratitude and to the honour of my brother; and as I had ever conducted myself with integrity towards the public, I might be allowed, I hoped, to act the same honest part in my more private connexions<sup>15</sup>.

During

<sup>15</sup> The destructive views of Cæsar, in procuring the law in question, have been already considered in these notes: weak, therefore, undoubtedly, is the reason which Cicero here

During the time I was engaged in these votes and other proceedings with which Pompey appeared thus dissatisfied, I was informed of what passed in the conversations of a set of men, whom you will now guess without my naming. This party, though they approved of my public measures, as being agreeable to what had ever been their professed sentiments, were yet so ungenerous as to express great satisfaction in believing that my conduct would by no means oblige Pompey, at the same time that it would highly exasperate Cæsar. Well might I resent, indeed, so injurious a treatment;

here assigns, for renouncing an opposition so evidently important to the true interest of his country. Had Cæsar and Pompey, indeed, been ever so much his real friends, no considerations of amity ought to have prevailed with him, to have acquiesced in a scheme which was contrary to the sentiments of all the real patriots of the republic, and contrary likewise to his own; a scheme which he himself tells Atticus was formed for the destruction of the commonwealth. *Ad Att. ii. 17.* Had he attended to the indisputable maxim which he himself lays down in one of his philosophical treatises, it would have decided at once the conduct which became him to observe upon an occasion where private friendship interfered with more extensive obligations: *Hæc prima lex in amicitia sancitur* (says he) *ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati.* But the truth of it is, private friendship was not concerned in the case; for he well knew that neither Pompey nor Cæsar had any attachments to him of that kind. It was fear alone that determined his resolution; and, having once already suffered in the cause of liberty, he did not find himself disposed to be twice a martyr. The awkward manner, however, in which he attempts to justify himself throughout this letter, very evidently shews how impossible it is to bid farewell to integrity with a good grace.

ment; but much more when I saw them, even before my face, maliciously encouraging and caressing my avowed enemy<sup>16</sup>;---mine do I call him? Rather let me say, an enemy to the laws and tranquillity of his country, and to every character of worth and virtue amongst us.

Their malevolence, however, had not the effect they intended, and it could not warm me into those transports of indignation, of which my heart is now, indeed, no longer susceptible. On the contrary, it only induced me to examine my situation in all its various circumstances and relations, with the greatest coolness and impartiality; the process and result of which I will lay before you, in as few words as I am able.

There have been times, as experience no less than history has taught me, when the power of the commonwealth was in worthless and wicked hands. In such a conjuncture, no hope of interest (which I have at all times most heartily contemned) nor fear of danger (which, upon some occasions, however, has influenced the greatest minds) should prevail with me to co-operate in their measures: no not though I were attached to them by the strongest ties of friendship

<sup>16</sup> Clodius.



friendship and gratitude. But when a man of Pompey's distinguished character presides over the republic; a man who has acquired that eminence of power and honour by the most heroic actions, and the most signal services; I could not imagine it would be imputed to me as a levity of disposition, if, in some few instances, I declined a little from my general maxims, and complied with his inclinations<sup>17</sup>. But my justification, I thought, would still rise in strength, when it should be remembered that I favoured his credit and dignity even from the earliest part of my life, as I particularly promoted them in my prætorship and consulate; when it should be remembered, that he not only assisted me with his vote and his influence in the senate during my adversity, but  
 joined

<sup>17</sup> It appears by what has already been remarked, that Cicero's compliance can by no means be considered in the favourable light in which he here represents it; but was in reality, a concession most injurious to his honour and fatal to the liberties of Rome. It is certain, likewise, that it was not from any advantageous opinion of Pompey's political character and designs, that he was induced to fall in with his measures. On the contrary, Cicero most undoubtedly had no esteem for him; and, as to his political views, he saw and acknowledged long before the date of this letter, that they were turned on the destruction of the republic, *Ὁμολογούμενος* (says he in one of the epistles to Atticus) *τυραννίδα συσκευάζεται*; as in another, written upon the breaking out of the civil war, he calls him *hominem απολατικοτατον*, a man utterly unacquainted with the arts of government. *Ad Att.* ii. 17. viii. 16. See remark 4. p. 27. vol. ii.

joined his counsels and his efforts with yours, for the same generous purpose: in a word, when it should be remembered, that he has no other enemy in the whole commonwealth, except the man who is my professed adversary<sup>18</sup>. In consequence of these sentiments, it was absolutely necessary for me, you see, to unite with Cæsar, as one who was joined in the same views and the same interest. His friendship, likewise, which, you are sensible, my brother and I have long shared, together with his humane and generous disposition, which I have abundantly experienced, both by his late letters, and his good offices towards me, contributed greatly to confirm me in these resolutions. To which I must add, that the commonwealth in general seemed to be most strongly averse from giving any opposition to these extraordinary men: more especially after Cæsar had performed such great and glorious exploits for the honour of his country. But what had still a farther and very powerful weight in my deliberations, was Pompey's having engaged his word for me to Cæsar, as my brother had given the same assurances to Pompey.

Plato,

<sup>18</sup> Clodius, after having driven Cicero out of Rome, entered most strenuously into the opposition against Pompey and Cæsar. *Manutius*. See below, rem. 24.

Plato, I remembered, lays it down as a maxim, in his divine writings, that "the people generally model their manners and their sentiments by those of the great:" a maxim which, at this juncture, I thought merited my particular attention. I was convinced, indeed, of its truth, when I reflected on the vigorous resolutions which were taken in the senate, on the memorable<sup>19</sup> Nones of December: and it seemed no wonder so noble a spirit should appear in that assembly, after the animating example I had given them upon my first entering on the consular office. I reflected also, that, during the whole time which intervened between the expiration of my consulship, and that of Cæsar and Bibulus<sup>20</sup>, when I still retained a very considerable authority in the senate, all the better part of the republic were united in their sentiments. On the other hand,

about

<sup>19</sup> The fifth. It was on this day, in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius A. U. 690, that the senate came to a resolution of inflicting capital punishment on all those who were concerned in Catiline's conspiracy: "And it is certain (as the learned and polite historian of Cicero's life observes) that Rome was indebted to him on this day for one of the greatest deliverances which it had ever received since its foundation; and which nothing, perhaps, but his vigilance and sagacity could have so happily effected." *Vol. i. 231.*

<sup>20</sup> Cicero was chosen consul in the year of Rome 690. Cæsar and Bibulus in the year 694.



about the time you took possession of your government in Spain, the commonwealth could not so properly be said to be under the administration of consuls, as of infamous barterers of provinces<sup>21</sup>, and the mean vassals and ministers of sedition. It was then that discord and faction spread thro' all ranks amongst us; and I was marked out as the victim of party rage. In this critical season, however, not only every man of worth, but the greater part of the senators, and indeed all Italy in general, rose up with remarkable unanimity in my cause<sup>22</sup>. What the event proved, I forbear to mention;

<sup>21</sup> The consuls to whom Cicero alludes, are Lucius Calpurnius Piso, whose daughter Cæsar had married; and Aulus Gabinius, a dependent and favourite of Pompey. They succeeded Cæsar and Bibulus in this office in 695, the year when Cicero went into exile. "Clodius secured them to his measures by a private contract to procure for them, by a grant from the people, two of the best governments of the empire: Piso was to have Macedonia, with Greece and Thessaly; Gabinius, Cilicia. For this price they agreed to serve him in all his designs, particularly in the oppression of Cicero." *Middleton's Life of Cic.* i. 236.

<sup>22</sup> "Clodius procured a law, importing, *that whoever had taken the life of a citizen uncondemned, and without a trial, should be prohibited from fire and water.* Tho' Cicero was not named, yet he was marked out by this law. His crime was, the putting Catiline's accomplices to death; which, tho' not done by his single authority, but by a general vote of the senate, and, after a solemn hearing and debate, was alledged to be illegal, and contrary to the liberties of the people. Cicero, finding himself thus reduced to the condition of a criminal, changed his habit upon it, as was usual in the case of a public

mention; as, in truth, it is to be imputed to a complication of errors and artifices. But this, I will say, it was not forces, so much as leaders to conduct them, that were wanting to me at this crisis. I must add, that whatever censure may justly fall on those who refused me their assistance; most certainly they who first promised it and then deserted me, are not less to be blamed<sup>23</sup>. In a word, if some of my friends may well be reproached for the timid, tho' sincere, counsels they gave me; how much more severe

“a public impeachment, and appeared about the streets in  
 “a mourning gown, to excite the compassion of his fellow-  
 “citizens; whilst Clodius, at the head of his mob, contrived  
 “to meet and insult him at every turn. But Cicero soon  
 “gathered friends enough to secure him from such insults;  
 “and the whole body of the knights, together with the  
 “young nobility, to the number of 20,000, headed by  
 “Crassus the son, all changed their habit, and perpetually at-  
 “tended him about the city to implore the protection and  
 “assistance of the people.” *Plut. in Cic. Orat. post. ed.*  
*Middletons Life of Cic.* i. 340.

<sup>23</sup> In this number was Pompey himself, who, though he had given Cicero the most solemn assurances that he would, at the hazard of his life, protect him against Clodius; yet, when afterwards our author solicited the execution of this promise, he treated him with much rudeness, as well as great treachery, and absolutely refused to concern himself in the affair. *Ad Att.* ii. 20. x. 4. It seems altogether unaccountable that Cicero should be so injudicious as to touch upon a circumstance that destroys the whole force of his apology; so far, I mean, as he intended to justify his conduct by his friendship to Pompey. For it exceeds all power of credulity to imagine, that he could really be influenced by a motive of that kind with respect to a man, whose insincerity he had so lately and so severely experienced.

severe must their condemnation prove, who artfully alarmed me with their pretended fears? Let it be noted at the same time to my honour, that zealous as my fellow-citizens shewed themselves to rise up in the defence of a man who had formerly stood forth in theirs; yet I would not suffer them to be exposed (unsupported as they were by those who ought to have been their protectors) to the barbarous insults of a lawless banditti. On the contrary, I rather chose the world should judge by the power of my friends in recalling me from my exile, what their honest unanimity could have effected, had I permitted them to have drawn their swords to prevent it.

You were sensible of this general zeal in my favour, when you undertook my cause, and you not only encouraged, but confirmed it, by your influence and authority. I shall always most willingly acknowledge, that you were assisted upon this occasion by some of the most considerable persons in Rome<sup>24</sup>; who, it must be

<sup>24</sup> Clodius was so elated with his success against Cicero, that he had no sooner driven him out of Rome, than he conceived hopes of rendering himself no less formidable to Cæsar and Pompey. Accordingly, he entered into an open opposition against them both; which he carried on with so much warmth and petulance, that at length they found it expedient for their purposes, to mortify him by recalling Cicero.



be owned, exerted themselves with much greater vigour in procuring my return, than in preventing my banishment. And had they persisted in the same resolute disposition, they might have recovered their own authority at the same time that they obtained my restoration. The spirits, in truth, of the aristocratical part of the republic were, at this juncture, greatly raised and animated by the inflexible patriotism of your conduct during your consulship, together with Pompey's concurrence in the same measures. Cæsar, likewise, when he saw the senate distinguishing his glorious actions by the most singular and unprecedented honours, joined in adding weight to the authority of that assembly. Had these happy circumstances, therefore, been rightly improved, it would have been impossible for any ill-designing citizen, to have violated the laws and liberties of the commonwealth. But let me entreat you to reflect a moment on the subsequent conduct of my political associates. In the first place, they screened from punishment that infamous intruder on the matron-mysteries, who shewed no more reverence for the awful ceremonies of the goddess in whose honour these sacred solemnities are celebrated, than for the chastity of his three sisters<sup>25</sup>.

And

<sup>25</sup> Clodius (as Plutarch relates the story) had an intrigue  
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And thus, by preventing a worthy tribune of the people from obtaining that justice upon Clodius which he endeavoured to procure, they deprived future times of a most salutary example of chastised sedition<sup>26</sup>. Did not they suffer, likewise, that monument, that

with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife: but as he could not easily gain access to her, he took the opportunity, while she was celebrating the mysteries of the *bona Dea* at her own house, to enter disguised in a woman's habit. While he was waiting in one of the apartments for Pompeia, he was discovered by a maid servant of Cæsar's mother: who immediately giving the alarm, he was driven out of this female assembly with great indignation. The *bona Dea*, as the same author informs us, was supposed to have been a Dryad with whom the God Faunus had an amour. These rites were held in the highest veneration, and conducted with the most profound secrecy. They were celebrated annually by women at the house of the consul or prætor, and it was not lawful for any male to be present. Seneca tells us, they carried this precaution so far, that if there happened to be a picture of any male animal in the room where these mystic ceremonies were performing, it was thought necessary it should be veiled. *Plut. in Cæs. Sen. ep. 97.*

Clodius was suspected of having a criminal commerce with his three sisters.

<sup>26</sup> Lentulus, immediately upon entering on his consular office, A. U. 696, moved the senate that Cicero might be restored: in which he was seconded by Pompey with much zeal, and the whole house unanimously concurred in the motion. Serranus, however, a tribune of the people, interposing his negative, no decree could pass at that time: nevertheless, it was with one consent resolved, that, on the 22d of the same month, a law should be proposed to the people for Cicero's recal. When the appointed day arrived, the friends of Cicero found the Forum in the possession of Clodius, who had planted his mob there over-night in order to prevent the promulgation of this law. A very bloody skirmish ensued, in which several lives were lost and many other outrages committed: in consequence of which, Clodius was impeached by Milo as a disturber of the public peace.

that glorious monument, which was erected, not indeed with the spoils I had gained in foreign wars, but by the generosity of the senate for my civil services; did they not most shamefully suffer it to be inscribed with the name of the cruel and avowed enemy of his country<sup>27</sup>? Obligated, most certainly, I am to them for having restored me to the commonwealth: but I could wish they had conducted themselves, not only like physicians, whose views terminate merely in the health of their patients, but like the *Aliptæ*<sup>28</sup> also, who endeavour to establish the spirits and vigour of those

peace. But Metellus, the colleague of Lentulus, together with Appius the prætor, and Serranus the tribune, determined to screen Clodius: and accordingly, by a most dangerous exercise of their authority, they published their several edicts, commanding all farther proceedings in this prosecution to be discontinued. It was a very impolitic power (as a late ingenious writer upon government observes) which was lodged in the tribunes, of thus preventing the execution of the laws as well as the passing of them, and which caused infinite mischiefs to the republic. *Orat. pro sext.* 34, 35, 41. *L'Esprit des loix*, i. 223.

<sup>27</sup> “ After the suppression of Catiline’s conspiracy, the senate decreed that a temple should be erected to liberty, as a public monument of their late happy deliverance. This temple was raised at the foot of Mount Palatine, near Cicero’s house. And as the inscription fixed thereon, undoubtedly mentioned Cicero with honour, Clodius erased those words, and placed his own name in their stead.” *Manutius*.

<sup>28</sup> The *Aliptæ* were persons who prepared the bodies of the athletic combatants, by unctions and other proper methods, for rendering them vigorous and active in their gymnastic exercises.



those under their care. Whereas they have acted with regard to me, as Apelles did in relation to his celebrated picture of Venus<sup>29</sup>: they have finished one part of their work with great skill and accuracy, but left all the rest a mere rude and imperfect sketch.

In one article, however, I had the satisfaction to disappoint my enemies. They imagined my banishment would have wrought the same effect on me, which they falsely supposed a calamity of a like kind produced formerly in Quintus Metellus. This excellent person (whom I look upon to have been a man of the greatest fortitude and magnanimity of any in his times) they represented

<sup>29</sup> Apelles, one of the greatest masters of painting in ancient Greece, was a native of Coos, and flourished in the 112th Olymp. or about 332 years before Christ. His principal excellency consisted in the inimitable grace which distinguished all his performances. Pliny the elder has, by a very strong expression, informed us of the amazing force of his pencil: *pinxit* (says that author) *quæ pingi non possunt, tonitrua, fulgura et fulgetra*. He could even convey ideas which seemed impossible to be raised by colours, and animate his sublime pieces with all the terrors of thunder and lightning. His capital performance was a figure of Venus, which appears to have been at Rome in the times of Augustus. The lower parts of this picture being damaged, no painter would venture to retouch it. Something of the same kind is mentioned to the honour of Raphael, whose paintings in the little Farnese, at Rome, being somewhat spoiled, it was with the greatest difficulty that even Carlo Maratti was prevailed upon to restore them. Apelles began a second figure of Venus which he intended should excel his first: but he died before he had proceeded any farther in that design than the head and shoulders. *Quinct. xii. 10. Plin. H. N. xxxv. 10. Reflex. sur la Poes. et sur la Peint.*

sented as broken and dispirited after his return from exile<sup>30</sup>. But if broken he really were, it could

<sup>30</sup> Q. Cæcilius Metellus was in the number of those who opposed the faction of Caius Marius; in consequence of which he was at length driven into exile. The immediate occasion, however, of his sentence was this: Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and creature of Marius, proposed a law in the year 653, which, among other things, enacted, that "the senators should swear to ratify whatever the people ordained." This oath, Metellus, with the true spirit of ancient Rome, resolutely refused to take, and when his friends represented to him the dangerous consequences which would probably attend his persevering in that honest resolution, he nobly replied, "*it is the characteristic of a man of virtue and honour to act rightly, whatever consequences may ensue.*" Accordingly, a decree passed in an assembly of the people for his banishment; and when his friends offered him their assistance to withstand this piece of public injustice, he generously refused their aid; "*for,*" said he, "*either public measures will be changed, and the people will repent of the injury they have done me; and then I shall be recalled with honour: or they will continue in the same sentiments; and in that case banishment will be a happiness.*" He greatly chose, therefore, to withdraw himself from the destructive politics of his country; and, retiring to Rhodes, he calmly spent his time in philosophical studies. His virtues, however, prevailed at last over the iniquity of his persecutors, and he was restored to the republic, notwithstanding all the opposition of Marius. Cicero has recorded a circumstance relating to Metellus, that gives one the highest idea of the character he enjoyed amongst his countrymen. He was accused, it seems, by the Marian faction, of having been guilty of public extortion; but when he entered upon his defence, and produced his accounts, the judges refused to inspect them, as being well convinced that Metellus had a soul much too enlarged to be capable of any thing so mean as injustice. I cannot forbear mentioning likewise a noble expression of this great man in a letter written during his banishment, as it shews the spirit with which he bore his misfortune. *Illi* (inimici sc.) *jure et honestate interdicti; ego neque aqua neque igni careo, et summa gloria fruniscor.* "Whilst my enemies,"

could not be the effect of his adversity ; as it is certain he submitted to his sentence without the least reluctance, and lived under it, not only with indifference, but with cheerfulness. The truth is, no man ever equalled him in the strength and heroism of his mind ; no, not even the celebrated Marcus Scaurus<sup>31</sup>. Nevertheless,

*says he*, “ vainly hoped to banish me from the common benefits of society ; which, however, I still enjoy, together with the highest glory ; they have much more severely banished from their own breasts, all sentiments of justice and honour.” One cannot but acknowledge with regret, that neither the enemies nor the friends of Cicero did him justice, when they compared him to Metellus ; for, besides the great superiority of the latter in the present instance, he, upon all occasions, acted consistently with his avowed political principles, and preserved an uniform and unsullied reputation to the end of his days. *Plut. in vit. C. Mar. Ep. ad Att. i. 16. Orat. pro Balbo in princip. Aul. Gel. xvii. 2. Sal. bel. Jugurth. 47.*

<sup>31</sup> M. Æmilius Scaurus was advanced a second time to the honour of the consular office, in the year of Rome 646, having enjoyed that dignity eight years before. He is mentioned by Cicero among the orators of that age ; but there was more of force and authority in what he delivered, than of grace in his manner, or elegance in his expression. He was accused, in his latter days, of having carried on a traitorous correspondence with Mithridates. The short speech which he made in his defence, is extremely remarkable, and gives one a lively image of that manly contempt with which a mind, conscious of its integrity, ought ever to treat the calumnies of an accuser, whose *known character* affords the best and most expeditious antidote against his malice. The venerable old man stood forth in the midst of the assembly, and addressing himself to the whole audience, spake to this effect : “ It is somewhat hard, my countrymen, that I should be obliged to give an account to the present generation, of what I transacted before they were born. But, notwithstanding



less, such as they had heard, or, at lease, chose to imagine Metellus to have been, they figured me to themselves; or, if possible, indeed, even yet more abject. The reverse, however, proved to be the case, and that general concern which the whole republic expressed at my absence, inspired me with more vigorous spirits than I had ever before enjoyed. The fact is, that the sentence of banishment against Metellus was repealed by a law proposed only by a single tribune of the people; whereas, I was recalled from mine upon the motion of the consul himself<sup>32</sup>, and by a law in which every magistrate of Rome concurred. Let me add, likewise, that each order and degree in the commonwealth, headed by the senate, and supported by all Italy, zealously

“standing the greater part of this assembly are too young to  
“have been witnesses of the services and honours of my  
“former life, I will venture to rest the whole of my defence  
“upon a single question. Varius, then, asserts, that Scaurus was bribed to betray his country; Scaurus, on the other  
“hand, utterly denies that he ever was tainted with a crime  
“of this nature. Now lay your hands upon your hearts,  
“and tell me, my fellow-citizens, to which of these two  
“men you will give credit?” The people were so struck with the honest simplicity of this speech, that Scaurus was dismissed with honour, and his infamous accuser hissed out of the assembly. *De clar. Orat.* 110, 111. *Val. Max.* iii. 7. *Salust. bel. Jugurth. Orat pro Fronteio. Act. 1. in Ferr.*

<sup>32</sup> Lentulus, the person to whom this letter is addressed.

lously united in one common effort for recovering me to my country. Yet, high as these unexampled honours were, they have never elated my heart with pride, or tempted me to assume an air which could give just offence even to the most malevolent of my enemies. The whole of my ambition is, not to be wanting either in advice or assistance to my friends; or even to those whom I have no great reason to rank in that number. It is this, perhaps, which has given the real ground of complaint to those who view only the lustre of my actions, but cannot be sensible of the pains and solicitude they cost me. But whatever the true cause may be, the pretended one is, my having promoted the honours of Cæsar; a circumstance which they interpret, it seems, as a renunciation of my old maxims. The genuine motives, however, of my conduct, in this instance, are, not only what I just before mentioned, but particularly what I hinted in the beginning of my letter, and will now more fully explain.

You will not find then, my friend, the aristocratical part of the republic disposed to pursue the same system as when you left them. That system, I mean, which I endeavoured to establish when I was consul, and which, tho' afterwards occasionally

occasionally interrupted, and at length entirely overthrown, was again fully restored during your administration. It is now, however, totally abandoned by those who ought most strenuously to have supported it. I do not assert this upon the credit only of appearances, in which it is exceedingly easy to dissemble; I speak it upon the unquestionable evidence of facts, and the public proceedings of those who were styled patriots in my consulate. The general scheme of politics, therefore, being thus changed, it is time, most certainly, for every man of prudence (in which number I have the ambition to be justly accounted) to vary likewise his particular plan. Accordingly that chief and favourite guide of my principles, whom I have already quoted, the divine Plato himself, advises not to press any political point farther than is consonant with the general sense of the community; for methods of violence, he maintains, are no more to be used towards one's country, than one's parent. Upon this maxim, he tells us, he declined engaging in public affairs; and, as he found the people of Athens confirmed, by long habit, in their mistaken notions of government, he did not think it lawful to attempt, by force, what he despaired of effecting by persuasion. My situation, however, is, in this respect, different  
from



from Plato's; for, on the one hand, as I have already embarked in public affairs, it is too late to deliberate whether I should now enter upon them or not: so, on the other, the Roman people are by no means so incapable of judging of their true interest, as he represents the Athenians. It is my happiness, indeed, to be able, by the same measures, to consult at once both my own and my country's welfare<sup>33</sup>. To these considerations

<sup>33</sup> If Cicero was sincere in what he here asserted, and really imagined, that, by falling in with the schemes of Cæsar and Pompey, he could more effectually serve his country, as well as himself, his policy, as far as we can judge of it at this distance, seems to have been very extraordinary.—To have supported the one, in opposition to the other, might, perhaps, have been a probable method of defeating the designs of both, as they could neither of them have advanced to so formidable a height, if they had not mutually assisted in raising each other. But to join in their coalition, was in effect to be accessory in cementing an union most evidently calculated for the ruin of the commonwealth. This reasoning is not built merely upon distant speculation, but is supported by the express testimony of one who was not only an actor in this important scene, but well understood the plot that was carrying on. “You are mistaken (said Cato, to those who were lamenting the breach that afterwards happened between Pompey and Cæsar) you are mistaken in charging our calamities on that event: they owe their rise to another cause, and began, not when Pompey and Cæsar became enemies, but when they were made friends.” The difficulty of justifying Cicero in this measure grows still stronger, when it is remembered that he must have been sensible at this very time how much was to be dreaded from the power of these his pretended friends. For he assures Atticus, in a letter which was written at the breaking out of the civil war, that he foresaw the storm that had been gathering to destroy the republic, fourteen years before it fell; and calls the union of these ambitious chiefs, *seclerata consensionis fides*, a wicked confederacy. To which he adds, that

considerations I must add those uncommon acts of generosity which Cæsar had exerted both towards my brother and myself: so much, indeed, beyond all example, that, even whatever had been his success, I should have thought it incumbent upon me at least to have defended him. But now, distinguished as he is by such a wonderful series of prosperity, and crowned with so many glorious victories, I cannot but esteem it a duty which I owe the republic, abstracted from all personal obligations to himself, to promote his honours as far as lies in my power. And believe me, it is at once my confession and my glory, that, next to you, together with the other generous authors of my restoration, there is not a man in the world from whom I have received such amicable offices.

And now, having laid before you the principal motives of my conduct in general, I shall be the better able to satisfy you concerning my behaviour with respect to Crassus and Vatinius in particular: for as to Appius and Cæsar, I have the pleasure to find that you acquit me of all reproach.

My

that they had, upon all occasions, preferred the interest of their families, and the advancement of their power, to the honour and welfare of their country. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Add Att. x. 4.*

My reconciliation then with Vatinius<sup>34</sup> was effected by the mediation of Pompey, soon after the former was elected Prætor. I must confess, when he petitioned to be admitted a candidate for that office, I very warmly opposed him in the<sup>35</sup> senate : but it was much less from

<sup>34</sup> Some observations have already been made upon Cicero's conduct with regard to Vatinius : see remark the 5th on this letter.

<sup>35</sup> The passage in the original, it is acknowledged, does not absolutely imply the sense which is given to it in the translation. It runs thus: *cum quidem ego ejas petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem*. But it is not easy to conceive in what manner the competition between Cato and Vatinius, in relation to the office of Prætor, could come before the senate, unless the authority of that assembly were some way necessary in nominating or recommending the candidates to the people. This interpretation seems to be favoured by a passage in one of Pliny's letters. *Meo suffragio* (says he, speaking of a friend for whom, not being legally qualified to sue for the Tribunate, he had obtained a dispensation from the Emperor for that purpose) *Meo suffragio pervenit ad jus Tribunatum petendi, quem nisi obtinet in senatu, vereor ne decepisse Cæsarem videar*. ii. 9. That the Senate originally claimed this prerogative with respect to the election of kings, is indisputable. *Patres decreverunt* (as Livy informs us) *ut cum populus regem jussisset, id sic ratum esset, si patres auctores fierent*. i. 17. It is equally clear, likewise, that the Senate exercised a privilege of the same kind, after the republican government was established; for Cicero, taking notice, in one of his orations, of an unsuccessful attempt that had been formerly made by that August assembly, in order to extend their power, adds, *tum enim magistratum non gerebat is qui ceperat, si patres auctores non erant facti*. Orat. pro Planc. 3. But the difficulty is, this speech was delivered in the very same year in which the present letter was written; so that the passage quoted from it seems to imply that no such right subsisted at the time under consideration: and indeed Dr. Chapman produces it in confirmation of this notion, (Essay on R. S. p. 317.)



my resentment to the man himself, than in order to support the honour and interest of Cato<sup>a</sup>. Soon after this, he was impeached; and it was in compliance with the earnest solicitation of Cæsar, that I undertook his defence. But you must not enquire why I appeared at this trial, or, indeed, at any other of the same kind, as a witness in favour of the accused, lest I should hereafter have an opportunity of retorting the question upon you. Though, to say truth, I may fairly ask it even now; for do you not remember, my friend, in whose behalf it was that you formerly transmitted certain honourable

The difficulty, however, may, perhaps, be solved by supposing that Cicero's meaning is to be taken restrictively, and that the prerogative of the senate, in the nomination of candidates for the several magistracies, or at least in confirming their election, was abolished only with respect to the election of *Ædiles*, which it is certain he had principally in view, but remained, nevertheless, in its usual force as to all others. Conjectures are allowable in points of so much obscurity, and in which neither critics nor commentators afford any light: but what solidity there may be in that which runs through the present remark, is submitted to the judgment of more successful inquirers.

<sup>a</sup> Cato, the year before the date of this letter, had solicited the prætorship, in order to arm himself with the authority of that important office against the dangerous designs of Crassus and Pompey, who were at that time Consuls. But they were too well aware of the honest purposes of this inflexible patriot, not to obstruct his election; and accordingly they carried it against him in favour of the pliant and worthless Vatinius, whose pretensions they supported by every infamous method of artifice, corruption, and violence. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

nourable testimonials even from the utmost limits of the Roman Empire? You need not scruple, however, to acknowledge the fact: for I have acted, and shall continue to act, the same part towards those very persons. But to return to Vatinius: besides the reasons I have already assigned, I was provoked to engage in his defence, by an opposition of the same sort which the parasite recommends to the amorous soldier in the play<sup>36</sup>. The obsequious Gnatho, you know, advises his friend, the captain, whenever his mistress endeavours to pique his jealousy, by mentioning his rival Phædria, to play off Pamphila upon her in return. Thus, as I told the judges at this trial, since certain honourable persons, who were formerly much in my interest, had thought proper, by many little mortifying instances in the senate, to caress my avowed enemy before my face, I thought it but equitable to have a Clodius on my part, in opposition to the Clodius on their's. Accordingly, I have upon many occasions acted suitably to this declaration, and all the world acknowledges I have reason<sup>37</sup>.

Having

<sup>36</sup> The Eunuch of Terence.

<sup>37</sup> The conduct of Cicero, with regard to Vatinius, appears by no means parallel with that of the aristocratical party towards Clodius. The latter was now at variance with Cæsar and Pompey; and it was undoubtedly a just and rational policy to take advantage of that dissention,

Having thus explained my conduct with regard to Vatinius, I will now lay before you those motives which determined me in respect to Crassus<sup>38</sup>. I was willing, for the sake of the common cause, to bury in oblivion the many and great injuries I had formerly received from him. Agreeably to this disposition, as we were then upon good terms, I should have borne his unexpected defence of Gabinius<sup>39</sup>, (whom he had very lately with so much warmth

and endeavour by an artful management to gain him over to the cause of liberty. But Cicero's engaging in the support of Vatinius, cannot be justified by any political reasons of this nature; and, to speak truth, it seems to be altogether without excuse. For Vatinius was actually in league with the enemies of his country; to espouse his cause, therefore, was to strengthen their faction, and sacrifice public interest to private pique.

<sup>38</sup> See the remarks on the 7th letter of this B. particularly rem. 6. and 9. p. 128.

<sup>39</sup> Aulus Gabinius was consul the same year in which Cicero was so outrageously persecuted by Clodius; with whom (as has been observed in the notes above) Gabinius most zealously concurred. To give his character as Cicero himself has drawn it, in several of his orations, he was effeminate in his mien, dissolute in his principles, and a professed libertine in every kind. After the expiration of his consulate, in 696, he went governor into Syria; from whence he was recalled the following year by a decree of the senate. Cicero spoke very warmly in favour of the decree, and it is probable that the dispute here mentioned between him and Crassus, happened in the debates which arose upon this occasion. Not many months after the date of this letter, Gabinius was impeached for mal-practices during the administration of his proconsular government, and Cicero was now so entirely at the disposal of Cæsar and Pompey, that, in compliance with their request, he meanly undertook his defence



warmth opposed) if he had avoided all personal reflections on myself. But when, with the most unprovoked violence, he broke in upon me whilst I was in the midst of my speech, I must confess it raised my indignation; and, perhaps, I took fire so much the sooner, as possibly there still remained in my heart some latent sparks of my former resentment. However, my behaviour in the senate upon this occasion was much and generally applauded. Among the rest, I was complimented likewise by the same men whom I have often hinted at in this letter, and who acknowledged I had rendered a very essential service to their cause, by that spirit which I had thus exerted. In short, they affected to speak of me in public, as being now, indeed, restored to the commonwealth in the best and

most

fence. But it was not without great struggles with himself, that he submitted to an office so unworthy of his principles and his character. However, he endeavoured to represent it to the world as an act of pure generosity; and, indeed, the sentiment with which he defended himself from the censure that passed upon him on this occasion, is truly noble: *Neque me vero pœnitent mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere.* But Gabinius was by no means entitled to the benefit of this generous maxim, nor was it true (as will uncontestedly appear by a passage I shall presently have occasion to produce) that Cicero was governed by it in the case under consideration. Cicero's conduct, indeed, upon this occasion, is so utterly indefensible, that his very ingenious and learned advocate, Dr. Middleton himself is obliged to confess, that it was "contrary to his judgment, his resolution, and his dignity." *Orat. pro. Sext. in Piso de Prov. consular. pro Rabir. Plut. in vit. Caton. Uticin. Life of Cicer. II. 121. 8vo. Edit.* See remark 44 below.

most glorious sense. Neverthelsss, they had the malice in their private conversations (as I was informed by persons of undoubted honour) to express singular satisfaction in the new variance that had thus happened between Crassus and myself; as they pleased themselves with imagining it would for ever throw me at a distance from those who were joined with him in the same interest<sup>40</sup>. Pompey, in the mean time, employed incredible pains to close this breach: and Cæsar also mentioned it in his letters, as an incident that gave him much concern. Upon these considerations, therefore, I thought it expedient to act agreeably both to the dictates of my natural temper, and to that experience which I had gained by my former misfortunes. In pursuance of these sentiments, I consented to a reconciliation; and, in order to render it more conspicuous to the world, Crassus set out for his government<sup>41</sup> almost from under my roof; for, having

<sup>40</sup> Cæsar and Pompey. The former (who was undoubtedly as much superior to the rest of his contemporaries in genius as in fortune) finding it necessary for his purposes that Crassus and Pompey should act in concert, procured a reconciliation between them; and by this means, says Plutarch, formed that invincible Triumvirate which ruined the authority both of the senate and the people; and of which he alone received the advantage. *Plut. in Crass.*

<sup>41</sup> The province of Syria was allotted to Crassus, for which he set out a month or two before the expiration of his consulate, in the year 698, and from whence he never returned,

having invited himself to spend the preceding night with me ; we supped together in the gardens of my son-in-law Crassipes<sup>42</sup>. It was for these reasons that I thought my honour obliged me to defend his cause in the senate<sup>43</sup>, and I confess, I mentioned him with that high applause, of which, it seems, you have been informed.

Thus I have given you a full detail of the several views and motives by which I am governed in the present conjuncture, as well as of the particular disposition in which I stand with respect to the slender part I can pretend to claim in the administration of public affairs. And, believe me, I should have judged and acted entirely in the same manner, had I been totally free from every sort of amicable bias. For, on the one hand, I should have esteemed it the most absurd folly to have attempted to oppose so superior a force; and, on the other, supposing it possible, I should yet have deemed it imprudent to weaken the authority of persons so eminently and so justly distinguished in the commonwealth<sup>44</sup>. Besides, it appears to me

to

turned, as has already been observed in the notes on the 7th letter of this book. See p. 128.

<sup>42</sup> These gardens were situated a small distance from Rome, on the banks of the Tiber. *Ad Att.* iv. 12. *Ad Q. F.* iii. 7.

<sup>43</sup> See rem. 7. p. 128. of this vol.

<sup>44</sup> It will appear very evident, perhaps, from the foregoing



to be the dictates of sound policy, to act in accommodation to particular conjunctures, and not inflexibly pursue the same unalterable scheme, when public circumstances, together with the sentiments of the best and wisest members of the community, are evidently changed. In conformity to this notion, the most judicious reasoners on the great art of government, have universally condemned an obstinate perseverance in one uniform tenor of measures. The skill of the pilot is shewn in  
weathering

going observations, that what Cicero here asserts, could not possibly be his real sentiments. That it was not practicable to bring down Cæsar and Pompey from that height of power to which they were now arrived, will not, probably, be disputed; though, at the same time, it is very difficult to set limits to what prudence and perseverance may effect. This, at least, seems undeniable, that if their power were absolutely immoveable, Cicero's conduct was in the number of those causes which contributed to render it so. However, one cannot but be astonished to find our author seriously maintaining, that, granting it had not been impossible, it would yet have been impolitic, to have checked these towering chiefs in their ambitious flight. For it is plain, from a passage already cited out of his letters to Atticus, (see above, remark 33.) that he long foresaw their immoderate growth of power, would at last overturn the liberties of the commonwealth. It had already, indeed, destroyed his own; and this too, by the confession of himself. For, in a letter which he writes to his brother, taking notice of the strong applications that Pompey had made to him to defend Gabinius, he declares he never will comply with that unworthy request, so long as he retained the least spark of liberty. But, comply, however, he actually did; equally, in truth, to his own disgrace, and to the confutation of the doctrine he here advances. *Ad Q. F. iii. 1.* See remark 39. above.

weathering the storm at least, tho' he should not gain his port; but if shifting his sails, and changing his direction will infallibly carry him with security into the intended harbour, would it not be an instance of most unreasonable tenaciousness to continue in the more hazardous course, wherein he began his voyage? Thus (and it is a maxim I have often had occasion to inculcate) the point we ought all of us to keep in view in our administration of the commonwealth, is the final enjoyment of an honourable repose; but the method of securing to ourselves this dignity of retreat, is by having been invariable in our intentions for the public welfare, and not by a positive perseverance in certain favourite modes of obtaining it<sup>45</sup>. To repeat, therefore, what I just now declared, had I been absolutely uninfluenced by every motive of friendship, I should still have pursued the same public measures in which I

am

<sup>45</sup> The reasoning which Cicero here employs is certainly just, considered abstractedly; but by no means applicable to the present case. The question between the aristocratical party, and those who were favourers of Cæsar and Pompey, was, not what road should be taken to the same end, but whether Rome should be free or enslaved. Let who would then have changed their sentiments in this point, it became not the *further of his country* to increase the number. But as Cicero acquired that most honourable of all appellations, by Catiline, he lost it again by Clodius; or, to express the same thing in his own words, *non recorder* (as he confesses to Atticus) *unde ceciderim, sed unde serrexerim*. *Ad Att.* iv. 16.

am now engaged. But when gratitude and resentment both conspire in recommending this scheme of action to me, I cannot hesitate a moment in adopting it, especially, since it appears most conducive to the interests of the republic in general, as well as to my own in particular. To speak freely, I act upon this principle so much the more frequently, and with the less reserve, not only as my brother is Lieutenant under Cæsar, but as the latter receives the slightest action or even word of mine in his favour, with an air that evidently shews he considers them as obligations of the most sensible kind. And, in fact, I derive the same benefit from that popularity and power which you know he possesses, as if they were so many advantages of my own. The sum of the whole, in short, is this: I imagined that I had no other method of counteracting those perfidious designs with which a certain party were secretly contriving to undermine me, than by thus uniting the friendship and protection of the men in power, with those internal aids which have never yet been wanting to my support\*.

I am

\* There is no character in all antiquity, perhaps, that lies so open to discovery as that of Cicero; and yet there is none, at the same time, which seems to be less generally understood. Had there been no other of his writings extant, however, but this single letter, the patriot character, one



I am well persuaded, had you been in Rome, you would have concurred with me in these sentiments. I know, indeed, the candour and moderation of your temper; and I know, too, that your heart not only glows with friendship towards me, but is wholly untainted with malevolence towards others; in a word, I know that as you possess every sublime and generous affection, you are incapable of any thing so mean as artifice and disguise. Nevertheless, even this elevated disposition has not secured you from the same unprovoked malice, which I have experienced in my own affairs. I doubt not, therefore, if you had been an actor in this scene, the same motives would have swayed *your* conduct, which have governed *mine*. But, however

should have imagined, would have been the last that the world would ever have ascribed to our author. It is observable, and it is an observation for which I am obliged to a gentleman, who, amidst far more important occupations, did not refuse to be the censor of these papers) that "the principles by which Cicero attempts to justify himself in this epistle, are such as will equally defend the most abandoned prostitution and desertion in political conduct. Personal gratitude and resentment; an eye to private and particular interest, mixed with a pretended regard to public good; an attention to a brother's advancement and farther favour; a sensibility in being caressed by a great man in power; a calculation of the advantages derived from the popularity and credit of that great man to one's own personal self, are very weak foundations, indeed, to support the superstructure of a true patriot's character. Yet these are the principles which Cicero here expressly avows and defends!"

however that may be, I shall most certainly submit all my actions to your guidance and advice, whenever I shall again enjoy your company; and I am sure you will not be less attentive to the preservation of my honour, than you formerly were to that of my person. Of this, at least, you may be persuaded, that you will find me a faithful friend and associate in all your counsels and measures; as it will be the first and daily purpose of my life, to supply you with additional and more powerful reasons for rejoicing in those obligations you have conferred upon me.

As you desire me to send you those compositions which I have written since you left Rome, I shall deliver some orations into the hands of Menocrates for that purpose. However, not to alarm you, their number is but inconsiderable; for I withdraw as much as possible from the contention of the bar, in order to join those more gentle Muses which were always my delight, and are particularly so at this juncture. Accordingly, I have drawn up three dialogues upon oratory, wherein I have endeavoured to imitate the manner of Aristotle. I trust they will not prove altogether useless to your son, as I have rejected the modern precepts of rhetoric, and adopted the ancient

Aristotelian and Isocratic rules. To this catalogue of my writings, I must also add an historical poem which I have lately composed in three cantos, upon the subject of my banishment<sup>46</sup>, and as a lasting memorial likewise of your friendship and my gratitude. This I should long since have transmitted to you, had it been my immediate intention to make it public. But I am discouraged from this design at present, not, indeed, as fearing the resentment of those who may imagine themselves the objects of my satire, (for, in this respect, I have been extremely tender) but as finding it impossible to make particular mention of every one from whom I received obligations at that season. However, when I shall meet with a proper opportunity, I will send it to you; submitting my writings as well as my actions entirely to your judgment. I know, indeed, these literary meditations have ever been the favourite employment of your thoughts, no less than of mine<sup>47</sup>.

Your

<sup>46</sup> This poem Cicero delivered, sealed up, to his son; enjoining him, at the same time, not to publish or read it till after his death. *Manut.*

<sup>47</sup> To turn from the actions of Cicero to his writings, is changing our point of view, it must be acknowledged, extremely to his advantage. It is on this side, indeed, that his character can never be too warmly admired; and admired it will undoubtedly be, so long as manly eloquence and genuine philosophy have any friends. Perhaps there is something



Your family concerns, which you recommend to me, are so much a part of my own, that I am sorry you should think it necessary even to remind me of them. I could not, therefore, read your solicitations for that purpose, without some uneasiness.

I find you were prevented, by an indisposition, from going the last summer into Cilicia; which was the occasion, it seems, of your not settling my brother's affairs in that province. However, you give me assurance that you will now take all possible methods of adjusting them. You cannot, indeed, oblige him more: and he will think himself as much indebted to you for procuring him this additional farm, as if you had settled him in the possession of his patrimony. In the mean time, I entreat you to inform me frequently and freely of all your affairs, and particularly give me an account of the studies and exercises in which your son is engaged. For be well persuaded, never friend was more agreeable or more endeared to another, than  
you

something in that natural mechanism of the human frame necessary to constitute a fine genius, which is not altogether favourable to the excellencies of the heart. It is certain, at least, (and let it abate our envy of uncommon parts) that great superiority of intellectual qualifications, has not often been found in conjunction with the much nobler advantages of a moral kind.

you are to me : and of this truth I hope to render not only you, but all the world, and even posterity itself, thoroughly sensible.

Appius<sup>49</sup> has lately declared in the senate (what he had before, indeed, often intimated in conversation) that if he could get his proconsular commission confirmed in an assembly of the Curia<sup>50</sup>, he would cast lots with his colleague for the particular province to which they should respectively succeed : if not, that, by an amicable agreement between themselves, he had resolved upon yours<sup>51</sup>. He added, that, in the case of a consul, it was not absolutely necessary, tho', perhaps, it might be expedient, to procure a law of this kind : and, as a government had been appointed him by a decree of the senate, he was entitled, he said, in consequence

<sup>49</sup> Appius Claudius Pulcher, one of the present consuls. See remark 3. p. 225 of this vol.

<sup>50</sup> Romulus divided the city into a certain number of districts called Curia<sup>e</sup>, which somewhat resembled our parishes. When the people were summoned together, to transact any business agreeably to this division, it was called an assembly of the Curia<sup>e</sup> : where the most votes in every Curia<sup>e</sup> was considered as the voice of the whole district, and the most Curia<sup>e</sup> as the general consent of the people. *Ken. R. A.*

<sup>51</sup> The senate annually nominated the two provinces to which the consuls should succeed at the expiration of their office ; but it was left to the consuls themselves to determine, either by casting lots, or by private agreement, which of the particular provinces so assigned, they should respectively administer. *Manut. de leg. c. x.*

quence of the Cornelian law, to a military command, till the time of his entrance into Rome<sup>52</sup>. I know not what accounts you may have received of this matter from your other friends: but I find the sentiments of the world are much divided. Some are of opinion, that you are not obliged to resign your government, if your successor should not be authorised by an assembly of the *Curiae*: whilst others maintain, that, notwithstanding you should think proper to leave the province, you may, nevertheless, depute a person to preside in your absence. As to myself, I am not altogether so clear with respect to the law in question: tho' I must

<sup>52</sup> Tho' the nomination of the proconsular provinces was a privilege reserved to the senate, yet it was the prerogative of the people to confer on the proconsuls the power of executing the military functions, and likewise it should seem to grant the necessary appointments for conveying them to their respective governments. By a law, however, which was made by Cornelius Sylla, during his Dictatorship, in the year 672, it was enacted, that, whatever magistrate, at the expiration of his office, should obtain a province by a decree of the senate, he should be invested with the full power of a proconsul, notwithstanding his commission were not confirmed by an assembly of the *Curiae*. But Sylla's dictatorship being considered as an usurpation, it is probable, from the passage before us, that this law was not generally esteemed valid. Appian, nevertheless, endeavoured to avail himself of it, from an apprehension that he might meet with some obstruction in the usual method of applying for a ratification of his powers: and, indeed, it may be collected from a letter to Atticus, that he at last set forward to his government without the sanction of the people. *Manut. de Leg. Græc. præf. in antiq. 1. Ad Att. iv. 16.*



I must own, at the same time, that my doubts are by no means considerable. Of this, however, I am perfectly sure, that it is agreeable to your honour, and to that generosity of conduct in which I know you place your highest gratification, quietly to yield up your province to your successor; especially as you cannot in this instance oppose his ambitious views, without incurring the suspicion of being influenced by the same motives yourself. But, be that as it will, I thought it incumbent upon me to inform you of my sentiments, as I shall certainly defend yours, whichever way they may determine you to act.

After I had finished my letter, I received your last concerning the farmers of the revenues<sup>53</sup>. Your decision appears to me, I must own, perfectly equitable; yet, at the same time, I cannot but wish you might be so happy as not to disgust a body of men whose interest you have hitherto always favoured. However, you may be assured I shall support the decrees  
you

<sup>53</sup> The society of farmers of the public revenues, among the Romans, was a body of men in high repute, as being composed of the principal persons of the equestrian order: *Flos equitum Romanorum*, says Cicero, *ornamentum civitatis, firmamentum reip.* *Publicanorum ordine continetur. Pro Planc.* Disputes frequently arose between these and the tributary provinces: and it is to some difference of this kind wherein Lentulus had given judgment against them, that Cicero seems to allude.

you have made upon this occasion: tho' you well know the temper and disposition of these people, and what formidable enemies they proved to the excellent Quintus Scævola<sup>54</sup>. I would recommend it to you, therefore, if possible, to recover their good graces, or at least to soften them. The task, I confess, is difficult; but prudence, I think, requires you should use your best endeavours for that purpose. Farewel.

<sup>54</sup> There were two very eminent persons of this name in Cicero's time. The first, the most celebrated lawyer and politician of his age, is distinguished by the title of Augur. The other, who was high Priest, was slain at the entrance of the temple of Vesta, as he was endeavouring to make his escape from that general massacre of the senators which was perpetrated by the orders of the young Marius. To which of these Tully alludes is uncertain. Manutius supposes to the former, but without assigning his reasons. It seems not unlikely, however, to be the latter, as there is a passage in Valerius Maximus, by which we find that he exercised his Asiatic government with so much honour and integrity, that the senate, in their subsequent decrees for nominating the Proconsuls to that province, always recommended him as an example worthy of their imitation. It appears, by a fragment of Diodorus Siculus, that he endeavoured, during his administration in Asia, to reform the great abuses which were committed by the farmers of the revenues in his province, and imprisoned many of them for their cruel oppressions of the people. This drew upon him their indignation: but in what particular instance he was a sufferer by it, history does not mention. *Liv. epit.* 86. *Val. Max.* viii. 15.

LETTER

## LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO LUCIUS CULLEOLUS, Proconsul<sup>1</sup>.

IT was with the warmest expressions of gratitude, that my friend Lucceius<sup>2</sup> acquainted me, you had generously assured his agents of your assistance: as, indeed, I know not a man in the world who has a heart more sensible of obligations. But if your promises only were thus acceptable to him, how much more will he think himself indebted to you when you shall have performed (as I am well persuaded you will most faithfully perform) these your obliging engagements?

The people of Bullis<sup>3</sup> have intimated a disposition to refer the demands in question between Lucceius and themselves, to Pompey's arbitration: but as the concurrence of your influence and authority will be necessary, I very strongly entreat you to exert both for this purpose.

It

<sup>1</sup> The person to whom this letter is addressed, and the province of which he was proconsul, are equally unknown.

<sup>2</sup> An account of Lucceius has already been given in rem. 1. p. 75 of this vol.

<sup>3</sup> Geographers are not agreed as to the situation of this city, some placing it in Illyria, others in Macedonia.



It affords me great satisfaction to find that your letter to Lucceius, together with your promises to his agents, have convinced them that no man has more credit with you than myself: and I earnestly conjure you to confirm them in these sentiments, by every real and substantial service in your power. Farewel.

## LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 699.]

To the same.

YOU could never have disposed of your favours where they would be more gratefully remembered, than on my friend Lucceius. But the obligation is not confined to him only; Pompey likewise takes a share in it: and whenever I see him (as I often do) he never fails to express, in very strong terms, how much he thinks himself indebted to you. To which I will add (what I know will give you great satisfaction) that it afforded me also a very sensible pleasure. As you cannot now discontinue these obliging offices, without forfeiting your character of constancy, I doubt not of your persevering in the same friendly services for your own sake, which you at first engaged in for ours. I cannot forbear, nevertheless, most earnestly

earnestly entreating you to proceed in what you have thus generously begun, till you shall have perfectly completed the purposes for which we requested your assistance. You will by these means greatly oblige not only Lucceius, but Pompey: and never, I will venture to assure you, can you lay out your services to more advantage. I have nothing further to add, having given you my full sentiments of public affairs, in a letter which I wrote to you a few days ago, by one of your domestics.—Farewel.

## LETTER XX.

[A. U. 699.]

To CURIUS, Proconsul<sup>a</sup>.

I HAVE long been intimately connected with Quintus Pompeius, by a variety of repeated good offices. As he has upon many former occasions supported his interests, his credit, and his authority in your province, by my influence; so, now the administration is in your hands, he ought undoubtedly to find, by the effects of this letter, that none of your predecessors have ever paid a greater regard to my recommendations. The strict union indeed that subsists between you and myself, gives me a  
right

<sup>a</sup> The person to whom this letter is addressed, and the time when it was written, are unknown.

right to expect that you will look upon every friend of mine as your own. But I most earnestly entreat you to receive Pompeius in so particular a manner into your protection and favour, as to convince him that nothing could have proved more to his advantage and his honour than my applications to you in his behalf. Farewel.

## LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 699.]

TO BASILIUS<sup>b</sup>.

I CONGRATULATE both you and myself on the present joyful occasion. All your affairs here are much my concern, as your person is infinitely dear to me. Love me in return, and let me know what you are doing, and what is going forward in your part of the world.—Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>b</sup> If Basilius be the true name of the person to whom this letter is inscribed, (and, indeed, all the editions agree in calling him so) no account can be given concerning him. But, if we may be allowed to suppose the genuine reading to be *Bacilus*, he was prætor in the year 708: and Cæsar not having given him a province, as was usual, at the expiration of his office, he was so mortified with the affront, that he put an end to his life. *Dio*, xliii. p. 237.



## LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO QUINTUS PHILIPPUS, Proconsul.<sup>b</sup>

I CONGRATULATE your safe return from your province, in the fulness of your fame, and amidst the general tranquillity of the republic. If I were in Rome, I should have waited upon you, for this purpose, in person, and in order, likewise, to make my acknowledgments to you for your favours to my friends Egnatius and Oppius.

I am extremely sorry to hear that you have taken great offence against my friend and host, Antipater. I cannot pretend to judge of the merits of the case; but I know your character too well, not to be persuaded that you are incapable of indulging an unreasonable resentment. I conjure you, however, by our long friendship, to pardon, for my sake, his sons, who lie entirely at your mercy. If I imagined you could not grant this favour consistently with your honour, I should be far from making the request; as my regard for your reputation is much superior to all considerations of friendship which I owe to this family. But,  
if

<sup>b</sup> See rem.<sup>a</sup> p. 127 of this vol.

if I am not mistaken, (and, indeed, I very possibly may) your clemency towards them will rather add to your character, than derogate from it. If it be not too much trouble, therefore, I should be glad you would let me know how far a compliance with my request is in your power ; for that it is in your inclination, I have not the least reason to doubt.—  
Farewel.

P 2

LETTER

## LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 699.]

TO LUCIUS VALERIUS<sup>4</sup>, the Lawyer.

FOR<sup>5</sup> why should I not gratify your vanity with that honourable appellation? Since, as the times go, my friend, confidence will readily pass upon the world for skill.

I have executed the commission you sent me, and made your acknowledgments to Lentulus. But I wish you would render my offices of this kind unnecessary, by putting an end to your tedious absence. Is it not more worthy of your mighty ambition to be blended with your learned brethren at Rome, than to stand the sole great wonder of wisdom, amidst  
a parcel

<sup>4</sup> Valerius is only known by this letter and another, wherein Cicero recommends him to Appius as a person who lived in his family, and for whom he entertained a very singular affection. By the air of this epistle he seems to have been one of that sort of lawyers who may more properly be said to be of the profession than the science. But, as the vein of humour which runs through this letter partly consists in playing upon words, it is not very easy, perhaps it is impossible, to be preserved in a translation; and, as it alludes to circumstances which are now altogether unknown, it must necessarily lose much of its original spirit.

<sup>5</sup> The abrupt beginning of this letter has induced some of the commentators to suspect that it is not entire. But Manutius has very justly observed, that it evidently refers to the inscription; and he produces an instance of the same kind



a parcel of paltry provincials<sup>6</sup>? But I long to rally you in person: for which merry purpose I desire you would hasten hither as expeditiously as possible. I would by no means, however, advise you to take Apulia in the way, lest some disastrous adventure, in those unlucky regions, should prevent our welcoming your safe arrival. And, in truth, to what purpose

kind from one of the epistles to Atticus. *Vid. Ad Att. iii. 20.*

<sup>6</sup> After this passage in the original, Cicero goes on in the following strain: *Quaquam qui istinc veniunt, partim te superbum esse dicunt, quod nihil respondeas; partim contumeliosum, quod male respondeas.* The translator, however, has ventured to omit this witticism, upon the advice of Horace.

Quæ

*Desperat tentata nitescere posse, relinquit.*

It is a pun, indeed, which has already occurred in one of the preceding letters to Trebatius, where our author plays in the same manner upon the equivocal sense of the verb *respondere*. See p. 156 of this vol. Voiture has managed an allusion of this kind much more successfully. *Si vous pretendez* (says that agreeable writer to his friend the plenipotentiary at Munster) *que la dignité de plenipotentiaire vous dispense de répondre, Papinian avoit à sa charge toutes les affaires de l'empire Romain, et je vous montrerai en cent lieux dans de gros livres, Papinianus respondit, et respondit Papinianus. Les plus sages et les plus prudens étoient ceux qui avoient accoustumé de répondre, et de la responsa sapientum, et prudentum responsa. Les oracles mêmes, quand vous en seriez un, répondoient; et il n'est pas qu'aux choses inanimées, qui ne se mettent quelquefois en devoir de répondre:*

*Les eaux et les rochers et les bois lui répondent.*

*Let. de Voit. i. 165.*

pose should you visit this your native province?<sup>7</sup>  
For, like Ulysses, when he first returned to  
his

<sup>7</sup> Manutius imagines that Cicero means to rally the obscurity of his friend's birth. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth, to acknowledge, that it is impossible to know what he means: yet, as this sense is as consistent with the original as any other, it is adopted in the translation. But if this very learned commentator be right in his general notion of this passage, he is certainly deceived in his interpretation of *tantum Ulysses, cognoscet tuorum neminem*, with which the letter concludes. For he takes the verb *cognosco* in its usual acceptation: by which means he makes Cicero mistake so well known a story as that of the behaviour of Ulysses upon his first return to Ithaca. However, he is persuaded that this is a designed misrepresentation in his author: and discovers I know not what improvement of the humour by this very perversion of the fable. The labours of this penetrating commentator have cast such a light upon the writings of Cicero, that even his errors deserve to be treated with respect, otherwise one might justly laugh at a notion so exactly in the true spirit of a fanciful critic, who refines upon his own mistakes. It is a mistake, nevertheless, in which all the succeeding commentators concur with him, except Mr. Ross, who has removed the whole difficulty of the passage, by explaining *cognosco* in the sense of *agnosco*. This sense (in which, indeed, it is not unfrequently used) reconciles the allusion to the truth of the fact: and where a word has several significations, it would be out of all rule of criticism to understand it in an application the least favourable to an author's meaning. It is not always so easy, however, to justify Cicero with respect to Homer; and he has, in one instance, at least, been betrayed into an error in quoting that poet. The instance occurs in his Tusculan disputations, where he takes notice of that passage in the seventh Iliad, in which Ajax is described as going forth to accept the challenge of Hector. *Videmus*, says he, *progredientem apud Homerum, Ajacem multa cum hilaritate cum depugnaturus esset cum Hectore; cujus, ut arma sumpsit, ingressio letitiam attulit sociis, terrorem autem hostibus: ut ipsum Hectorem, quemadmodum est apud Homerum, toto pectore trementem, provocasse ad pugnam paniteret. Tusc. disp. iv. 22.* But Homer by no means represents Hector thus totally dismayed

his Ithaca, you will be much too prudent, undoubtedly, to lay claim to your noble kindred. Farewel.

## LETTER

dismayed at the approach of his adversary: and, indeed, it would have been inconsistent with the general character of that hero to have described him under such circumstances of terror.

Τον δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μέγ' ἐγρήθεον εἰσόρουντες·  
 Τροῶς δὲ τρομος αἶνος ὑψηλῷ γυῖα ἔκασον,  
 Ἑκτορι τ' αὐτῷ θυμός ἐν στήθεσσι πατάσσει

Ver. 214.

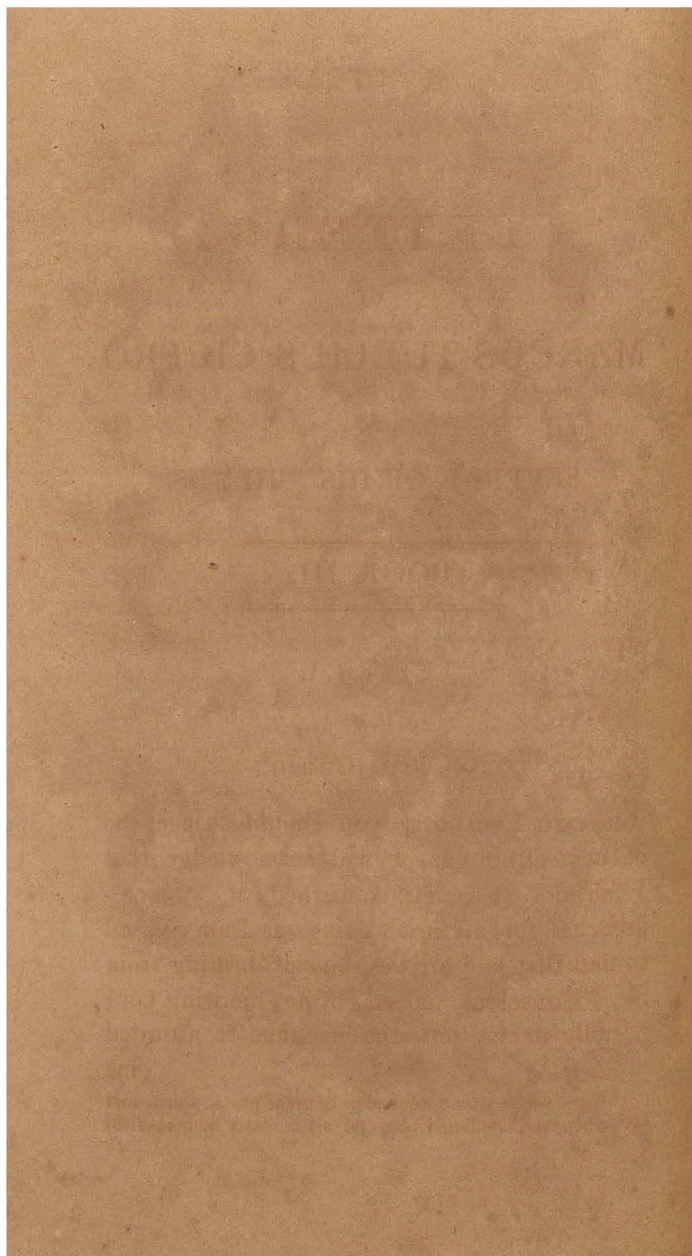
But there is a great difference (as Dr. Clarke observes, in his remarks upon these lines) between *θυμός ἐν στήθεσιν πατάσσει*, and *καρδίῃ ἔσω στήθεων ἐθρῶσκει*, or *τρομος αἶνος ὑψηλῷ γυῖα*. The Trojans, says Homer, trembled at the sight of Ajax; and even Hector himself felt some emotion in his breast; or to express it in the same spirit of poetry which distinguishes the original,

*Thro' ev'ry Argive heart new transport ran:  
 All Troy stood trembling at the mighty man.  
 E'en Hector paus'd; and, with new doubt oppress'd,  
 Felt his great heart suspended in his breast.*

POPE.

Perhaps this slip of attention in so great an author may not be improperly pointed out, as engaging the candour of the reader towards those errors of the same nature, which he will too probably meet with in the course of this attempt.





LETTERS  
OF  
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO  
TO  
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

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BOOK III.

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LETTER I.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO<sup>1</sup>.

THOUGH I am sorry you should suspect me of neglecting you, I will acknowledge that I am not so much concerned at your reproaches for my not writing, as I am pleased to find that you are desirous of hearing from me. Conscious, indeed, of not meriting your friendly accusation, the instance it afforded me

<sup>1</sup> Curio was a young nobleman of great parts, spirit, and eloquence; but addicted, beyond all modesty or measures, to

me that my letters were acceptable to you,  
was a very agreeable proof of the continuance  
of

to the prevailing luxury and gallantries of a most dissolute age. After having dissipated his fortune by extravagant indulgencies, for which no estate could suffice, he fell an easy prey to corruption. Accordingly, Cæsar paid his debts, amounting to almost 500,000*l.* and by that means gained him over from the cause of liberty, to become one of the warmest and most active of his partizans. It is generally imagined that Virgil glances at him in those well-known lines, *vendidit hic auro patriam, &c.* though, indeed, they are applicable to so many others of his contemporaries, that there seems no great reason to imagine the poet had Curio particularly in his view. Lucan mentions him as one whose talents would probably have been of the highest honour and benefit to his country, if he had lived in times of less contagious depravation :

*Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma,  
Aut cui plus leges deberent, recta sequenti.  
Perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt secula, postquam  
Ambitus et luxus, et opum metuenda facultas,  
Transverso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt.*

*A soul more form'd to aid his country's cause,  
Avenge her insults, and support her laws,  
Rome never knew ; but ah ! in evil hour,  
Fate bade thee live when virtue was no more !  
When lawless lust of power, and avarice dread,  
And baneful luxury the land o'erspread.  
Thy wav'ring mind the torrent ill-withstood,  
Borne, scarce resisting, down th' impetuous flood.*

He distinguished himself with great bravery in support of Cæsar's cause in Africa, where Varus commanded on the part of the republic. But, after some successful engagements, he lost his life before the battle of Pharsalia, in an action against the troops of Juba, near Utica. At the time when this letter, and the rest that are addressed to him in the present book, were written, he resided in Asia, where, as Manutius conjectures, he was employed in quality of quæstor to Caius Clodius. *Vel. Pat.* ii. 48. *Plut. in vit. Cæs.* *Val. Mar.* ix. 6. *Æn.* vi. 620. *Luc.* iv. 814. *Liv. epist.* 110.



of that affection which I have already so frequently experienced. Believe me, I have never omitted writing, whenever any person offered whom I imagined likely to convey my letters into your hands; and, which of your acquaintance, I will venture to ask, is a more punctual correspondent than myself? In return, however, I have scarce received more than one or two letters from you since you left Rome; and those two extremely concise. Thus, you see, I can justly retort your charge; you must not, therefore, pass too severe a sentence on your part, if you hope to receive a favourable one on mine. But I will dwell no longer on this article than to assure you, that since you are disposed to accept these memorials of my friendship, I doubt not of acquitting myself to your full satisfaction.

Tho' I regret extremely the being thus long<sup>a</sup> deprived of your very agreeable company, yet I cannot but rejoice at an absence which has contributed so much to your honour; as fortune, indeed, has, in all that concerns you, answered my warmest wishes. I have only to offer you one short piece of advice, and I offer it in compliance

<sup>a</sup> "Curio had been most probably absent from Rome about two years; for Caius Clodius, to whom he is supposed to have been quæstor, obtained the government of Asia an urb. 698. *Pig. Annal.*" Mr. Ross.

compliance with the sincere dictates of that singular affection I bear you. Let me earnestly then, entreat you, to come well-prepared, at your return, to act up to those great ideas which the world has, with so much reason, conceived of your spirit and talents. And as nothing can ever wear out the deep impressions your good offices have stamped upon my mind<sup>3</sup>; so, I hope, you will not forget, on your side, that you could not have attained those honours or advantages that attend you, if you had not, in the earlier part of your life, complied with my faithful and affectionate admonitions<sup>4</sup>. Have I not reason, then, to expect in return, that as the weight of old age now begins to bend me down<sup>5</sup>, you will suffer me to repose my declining years upon your youth and friendship? Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>3</sup> Curio assisted him in his contest with Clodius.

<sup>4</sup> Curio, when he was a very young man, had entered into a commerce of the most criminal and detestable kind with Antony. His father, in order to break off this infamous intercourse, was obliged to call in Cicero to his assistance; who, by his prudent and friendly advice, weaned the son from a passion not less expensive, it seems, than it was execrable; and, by this means, (as Cicero reproaches Antony in one of his Philippics) he saved an illustrious family from utter ruin. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Cic. Plut. ii. 18.*

<sup>5</sup> Cicero was at this time in the 54th year of his age. *Manut.*

## LETTER II.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

IF you were not already in the number of our absentees, undoubtedly you would be tempted to leave us at this juncture, for what business can a lawyer expect in Rome, during this long and general suspension of all juridical proceedings<sup>6</sup>! Accordingly, I advise my friends who have any actions commenced against them, to petition each successive interrex<sup>7</sup> for a double enlargement of the usual time for putting in their pleas: and is not this a proof how wonderfully I have profited by your sage instructions in

<sup>6</sup> The funds in the republic were raised to so great a height towards the latter end of the preceding year and the beginning of the present, that the office of the late consuls had expired several months before new ones could be elected. In exigencies of this kind, the constitution had provided a magistrate called an *Interrex*, to whom the consular power was provisionally delegated. But public business, however, was at a stand, and the courts of judicature, in particular, were shut up during this interregnum, a circumstance from which Cicero takes occasion to enter into his usual vein of pleasantry with Trebatius, and to rally him in perpetual allusions to his profession. *Dio. xl.*

<sup>7</sup> This office of *Interrex* continued only five days; at the expiration of which, if consuls were not chosen, a new *Interrex* was appointed for the same short period. And in this manner the succession of these occasional magistrates was carried on, till the elections were determined.



in the law<sup>s</sup>? But tell me, my friend, since your letters, I observe, have lately run in a more enlivened strain than usual, what is it that has elevated you into so gay a humour? This air of pleasantry I like well, it looks as if the world went successfully with you, and I am all impatience to know what it is that has thus raised your spirits. You inform me, indeed, that Cæsar does you the honour to advise with you. For my own part, however, I had rather hear that he *consulted* your interest, than your judgment. But seriously, if the former is really the case, or there is any probability of its proving so, let me entreat you to continue in your present situation, and patiently submit to the inconveniences of a military life; as, on my part, I shall support myself under your absence with the hopes of its turning to your advantage. But if all expectations of this kind are at an end, let us see you as soon as possible; and, perhaps, some method may be found here, of improving  
your

<sup>s</sup> The minute forms of law-proceedings among the Romans, are not sufficiently known to distinguish precisely the exact point on which Cicero's humour in this passage turns; and, accordingly, the explanations which the commentators have offered, are by no means satisfactory. It would be foreign to the purpose of these remarks, to lay before the reader their several conjectures; it will be sufficient, in general, to observe, that there was some notorious impropriety in the advice which Cicero here represents himself as having given to his friends, and in which the whole force of his pleasantry consists.

your fortunes. If not, we shall at least have the satisfaction of enjoying each other's company, and one hour's conversation together is of more value to us, my friend, than the whole city of Samarobriva<sup>9</sup>. Besides, if you return soon, the disappointment you have suffered may pass unremarked; whereas a longer pursuit to no purpose, would be so ridiculous a circumstance, that I am terribly afraid it would scarce escape the drollery of those very arch fellows<sup>1</sup>,

Laberius

<sup>9</sup> A city in Belgic Gaul, and probably the place wherein Trebatius had his present quarters.

<sup>1</sup> Laberius was a Roman knight, who distinguished himself by his comic humour, and he had written several farces which were acted with great applause. He was prevailed upon by Cæsar to take a part himself in one of his own performances, and the prologue which he spoke upon that occasion is still extant. The whole composition is extremely spirited, and affords a very advantageous specimen of his genius; but there is something so peculiarly just and beautiful in the thought of the concluding lines, that the reader, perhaps, will not regret the being carried out of his way in order to observe it. Laberius was sixty years of age, when, in complaisance to Cæsar, he thus made his first entrance upon the stage; and, in allusion to a circumstance so little favourable to his appearing with success, he tells the audience,

*Ut hederæ serpens vires arboreas necat;  
Ita me vetustus amplexu annorum enecat:  
Sepulchri similis, nihil nisi nomen retineo!*

*While round the oak the fraudulent ivy twines,  
Robb'd of its strength, the sapless tree declines,  
Thus envious age, advanc'd with stealing pace,  
Clasps my chill'd limbs, and kills with cold embrace.  
Like empty monuments to heroes' fame,  
Of all I was retaining but the name!*

Macrob. Saturn. ii. 7.

Laberius and my companion Valerius<sup>2</sup>. And what a burlesque character would a British lawyer furnish out for the Roman stage! You may smile, perhaps, at this notion; but tho' I mention it in my usual style of pleasantry, let me tell you it is no jesting matter. In good earnest, if there is any prospect that my recommendations will avail in obtaining the honours you deserve; I cannot but exhort you, in all the sincerity of the warmest friendship, to make yourself easy under this absence, as a means of increasing both your fortunes and your fame: if not I would strongly advise your return. I have no doubt, however, that your own merit, in conjunction with my most zealous services, will procure you every advantage you can reasonably desire. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>2</sup> This Valerius is supposed by some of the commentators to be Quintus Valerius Catullus, a celebrated poet, who, as appears by his works, which are still extant, was patronized by Cicero. But the opinion of Manutius is much more probable, that the person here meant is the same to whom the 13th letter of the first book in this collection is addressed, and who is likewise mentioned in the following epistle.



## LETTER III.

[A. U. 700.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER<sup>3</sup>.

IF the genius of Rome were himself to give you an account of the commonwealth, you could not be more fully apprised of public affairs, than by the information you will receive from Phantias: a person, let me tell you, not only of consummate politics, but of infinite curiosity. I refer you, therefore, to him, as to the shortest and safest means of being acquainted with our situation. I might trust him likewise with assuring you, at the same time, of the friendly disposition of my heart towards you: but that is an office which I must claim the privilege of executing with my own hand. Be persuaded then, that I think of you with the highest affection: as, indeed, you have a full

<sup>3</sup> Appius Clodius Pulcher had been consul the preceding year, and was, at this time, governor of Cilicia. The particular traits of his character will be occasionally marked out in the observations on the several letters addressed to him in this and the subsequent books. In the mean time it may be sufficient to observe that Cicero very zealously cultivated his friendship, not from any real opinion of his merit, but as one whose powerful alliances rendered him too considerable to be despised as an enemy. For one of Appius's daughters was married to Pompey's son, and the other to Brutus. See *Life of Cic.* ii. 204. 8vo. ed. *Ep. Fam.* ii. 13.

full right to these sentiments, not only from the many generous and amiable qualities of your mind, but from that grateful sensibility, with which, as I am informed, both by your own letters and the general account of others, you receive my best services. I shall endeavour, therefore, by my future good offices, to compensate for that long intermission which unhappily suspended our former intercourse<sup>4</sup>. And since you seem willing to renew our amicable commerce, I doubt not of engaging in it with the general approbation of the world<sup>5</sup>.

Your freedman Cilix, was very little known to me before he delivered your obliging letter into my hands: the friendly purport of which he confirmed with great politeness. The account indeed

<sup>4</sup> Appius was brother to Cicero's declared enemy, the turbulent Clodius, which occasioned that interruption of their friendship to which he here alludes. It appears by a passage in the oration for Milo, that Clodius, in the absence of his brother, had forcibly taken possession of an estate belonging to Appius; and the indignation which this piece of injustice must necessarily raise in the latter, rendered him, it is probable, so much the more disposed to a re-union with Cicero. *Orat. pro Mil. 27.*

<sup>5</sup> The whole passage, in the original, stands thus: "*Idque me, quoniam tu ita vis, puto non invita Minerva facturum: quam quidem ego, si forte de tuis sumpsero, non solum Pallada, sed etiam Appiada nominabo.*" The former part of this sentence is translated agreeably to the interpretation of the learned Gronovius: but the latter is wholly omitted. For, notwithstanding all the pains of the commentators to explain its difficulties, it is utterly unintelligible: at least, I do not scruple to confess, it is so to me.

indeed he gave me of you sentiments, as well as of the frequent and favourable mention you are pleased to make of my name, were circumstances which I heard with much pleasure. In short, during our two days conversation together, he entirely won my heart: not to the exclusion, however, of my old friend Phantias, whose return I impatiently expect. I imagine you will speedily order him back to Rome: and I hope you will not dismiss him without sending me, at the same time, your full and unre-served commands.

I very strongly recommend to your patronage Valerius the lawyer<sup>6</sup>; even though you should discover that he has but a slender claim to that appellation. I mention this, as being more cautious in obviating the flaws in his *title*, than he usually is in guarding against those of his clients. But, seriously, I have a great affection for the man: as indeed he is my particular friend and companion. I must do him the justice to say, that he is extremely sensible of the favours you have already conferred upon him. Nevertheless he is desirous of my recommendation, as he is persuaded it will have much weight with you. I entreat you to convince him that he is not mistaken. Farewel.

LETTER

<sup>6</sup> See p. 212. of this vol.



## LETTER IV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS MEMMIUS<sup>7</sup>.

YOUR tenant Caius Evander, is a person with whom I am very intimate: as his patron Marcus Æmilius is in the number of my most particular friends. I entreat your permission, therefore, that he may continue some time longer in your house, if it be not inconvenient to you: for as he has a great deal of work upon his hands, he cannot remove so soon as the first of July, without being extremely hurried. I should be ashamed to use many words in soliciting a favour of this nature at your hands: and I am persuaded that, if it is not very much to your prejudice, you will be as well inclined to grant me this request, as I should be to comply with any of yours. I will only add, therefore, that your indulgence will greatly oblige me. Farewel.

LETTER

<sup>7</sup> See an account of him in remark 5. on the 27th letter of this book, p. 281.

## LETTER V.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I WAS wondering at the long intermission of your letters, when my friend Pansa accounted for your insolence, by assuring me that you were turned an Epicurean. Glorious effect indeed of camp-conversation ! But if a metamorphosis so extraordinary has been wrought in you amidst the martial air of Samarobriva, what would have been the consequence had I sent you to the softer regions of Tarentum<sup>s</sup> ? I have been in some pain for your principles, I confess, ever since your intimacy with my friend Seius. But how will you reconcile your tenets to your profession, and act for the interest of your client, now that you have adopted the maxim of doing nothing but for your own ? With what grace can you insert the usual clause in your deeds of agreement: *The parties to these presents as becomes good men and true, &c.* ? For neither truth nor trust can there be in those who professedly

<sup>s</sup> Tarentum was a city in Italy distinguished for the softness and luxury of its inhabitants. Geographers inform us that the greatest part of their year was consumed in the celebration of stated festivals. *Vid. Bunon. comment. in Cluverii Geograph.*

fessedly govern themselves upon motives of absolute selfishness? I am in some pain, likewise, how you will settle the law concerning the partition of "rights in common:" as there can be nothing in common between those who make their own private gratification the sole criterion of right and wrong. Or can you think it proper to administer an oath, while you maintain that Jupiter is incapable of all resentment? In a word, what will become of the good people of Ulubræ<sup>9</sup> who have placed themselves under your protection; if you hold the maxim of your sect, "that a wise man ought not to engage himself in public affairs?" In good earnest I shall be extremely sorry, if it is true that you have really deserted us. But if your conversion is nothing more than a convenient compliment to the opinions of Pansa, I will forgive your dissimulation, provided you let me know soon how your affairs go on, and in what manner I can be of any service in them. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>9</sup> "Cicero jocosely speaks of this people, as if they belonged to the most considerable town in Italy; whereas it was so mean and contemptible a place, that Horace, in order to shew the power of contentment, says, that a person possessed of that excellent temper of mind, may be happy even at Ulubræ:

*"Est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit æquus."*

Mr. Ross.



## LETTER VI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

OUR friendship, I trust, needs not any other evidence to confirm its sincerity, than what arises from the testimony of our own hearts. I cannot, however, but consider the death of your illustrious father, as depriving me of a most venerable witness to that singular affection I bear you<sup>1</sup>. I regret that he had not the satisfaction of taking a last farewell of you, before he closed his eyes: it was the only circumstance wanting to render him as much superior to the rest of the world in his domestic happiness, as in his public fame<sup>2</sup>.

I sincerely wish you the happy enjoyment of your estate: and be assured, you will find in me a friend who loves and values you with the same tenderness as your father himself conceived for you. Farewel,

LETTER

<sup>1</sup> See remark 4th on the first letter of this book.

<sup>2</sup> He was consul in the year of Rome 676, when he acted with great spirit in opposition to the attempts of Sicinius, for restoring the tribunitial power, which had been much abridged by Sylla. In the following year he went governor into Macedonia, and, by his military conduct in that province, obtained the honour of a triumph. He distinguished himself among the friends of Cicero when he was attacked by Clodius. *Freinshem. supplem. in Liv. xci. ciii.*

## LETTER VII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

CAN you seriously suppose me so unreasonable as to be angry, because I thought you discovered too inconstant a disposition in your impatience to leave Gaul? And can you possibly believe it was for that reason I have thus long omitted writing? The truth is, I was only concerned at the uneasiness which seemed to have overcast your mind: and I forebore to write upon no other account, but as being entirely ignorant where to direct my letters. I suppose, however, that this is a plea which your loftiness will scarce condescend to admit. But tell me then, is it the weight of your purse, or the honour of being the counsellor of Cæsar, that most disposes you to be thus insufferably arrogant? Let me perish if I do not believe that thy vanity is so immoderate, as to choose rather to share in his councils than his coffers. But should he admit you into a participation of both, you will undoubtedly swell into such intolerable airs, that no mortal will be able to endure you: or none, at least, except myself, who am philosopher enough, you know, to endure

endure any thing. But I was going to tell you, that as I regretted the uneasiness you formerly expressed, so I rejoice to hear that you are better reconciled to your situation. My only fear is, that your wonderful skill in the law will little avail you in your present quarters; for I am told, that the people you have to deal with,

*Rest the strength of their cause on the force of  
their might,*

*And the sword is supreme arbitrator of right<sup>3</sup>.*

As I know you do not choose to be concerned in *forcible entries*, and are much too peaceably disposed to be fond of making *assaults*, let me leave a piece of advice with my lawyer, and by all means recommend it to you to avoid the Treviri<sup>4</sup>: for I hear they are most formidable fellows. I wish from my heart they were as harmless as their name-sakes round the edges of our coin<sup>5</sup>. But I must reserve the rest of my jokes

<sup>3</sup> Ennius.

<sup>4</sup> The Treviri were a most warlike people, bordering on Germany. They were defeated about this time by Labienus, one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Gaul. *Cæsar. Bel. Gal. viii.*

<sup>5</sup> The public coin was under the inspection of three officers called *Treviri monetales*: and several pieces of money are still extant in the cabinets of the curious, inscribed with the names of these magistrates. *Vid. Petri Bembi epist. apud Manut.*



jokes to another opportunity: in the mean time, let me desire you would send me a full account of whatever is going forward in your province. Farewel.

March the 4th.

### LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CORNIFICIUS<sup>a</sup>.

YOUR letter was extremely agreeable to me in all respects, except that I was sorry to find by it, you had slighted my lodge at Sinnuessa. I shall not excuse the affront you have thus passed upon my little hovel, unless you give me double satisfaction by making use both of my Cuman and Pompeian villas. Let me entreat you then to do so, and to preserve me likewise in your affection. I hope you will provoke me to enter into a literary contest with you, by some of your writings: as I find it much easier to answer a challenge of this kind, than to send one. However, if you should persevere in your usual indolence, I shall venture to lead the way myself; in order to shew you, that your idleness has not infected me.

I steal

<sup>a</sup> See an account of him, vol. iii. p. 61. rem. 6.

I steal a moment to write this whilst I am in the senate: but you shall have a longer letter from me when I shall be less engaged. Farewel.

## LETTER IX.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I AM giving you an instance, that those who love are not easily to be pleased, when I assure you, that though I was very much concerned when you told me that you continued in Gaul with reluctance, yet I am no less mortified now your letter informs me, that you like your situation extremely well. To say the truth, as I regretted you should not approve a scheme, which you pursued upon my recommendation; so I can ill bear that any place should be agreeable to you where I am not. Nevertheless, I had much rather endure the uneasiness of your absence, than suffer you to forego the advantages with which, I hope, it will be attended. It is impossible, therefore, to express how much I rejoice in your having made a friendship with a man of so improved an understanding and so amiable a disposition as Matius: whose esteem, I hope, you will endeavour to cultivate,

vate, by every means in your power. For, believe me, you cannot bring home a more valuable acquisition. Farewel.

## LETTER X.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

YOU must not impute it to any neglect in Rupa, that he has not executed your commission; as he omitted it merely in compliance with the opinion of myself and the rest of your friends. We thought it most prudent that no steps should be taken during your absence, which might preclude you from a change of measures after your return: and, therefore, that it would be best he should not signify your intentions of entertaining the people with public games<sup>6</sup>. I may, perhaps, in some future letter, give you my reasons at large, against your executing that design: or rather, that you may not come prepared to answer my objections,

<sup>6</sup> Curio's pretence for exhibiting these games, was to pay an honour to the memory of his father, lately deceased: but his principal motive was to ingratiate himself with the people, who were passionately attached to entertainments of this kind. As Cicero well knew the profusion of Curio's temper, and that the scheme he was meditating could not be executed without great expence, he acted a very judicious and honest part, in labouring to turn him aside from a project that would contribute to embarrass his finances, and most probably, therefore, impair the foundation of his integrity.



objections, I believe it will be the wisest way to reserve them till we meet. If I should not bring you over to my sentiments, I shall have the satisfaction, at least, of discharging the part of a friend: and should it happen, (which I hope, however, it will not) that you should hereafter have occasion to repent of your scheme; you may then remember that I endeavoured to dissuade you from it. But this much I will now say, that those advantages which fortune, in conjunction with your own industry and natural endowments, have put into your possession, supply a far surer method of opening your way to the highest dignities, than any ostentatious display of the most splendid spectacles. The truth of it is, exhibitions of this kind, as they are instances of wealth only, not of merit, are by no means considered as reflecting any honour on the authors of them: not to mention that the public is quite satiated with their frequent returns.—But I am fallen unawares into what I designed to have avoided, and pointing out my particular reasons against your scheme. I will wave all farther discussions, therefore, of this matter, till we meet; and in the mean time, inform you, that the world entertains the highest opinion of your virtues. Whatever advantages may be hoped

hoped from the most exalted patriotism united with the greatest abilities, the public, believe me, expects from you. And should you come prepared (as I am sure you ought, and I trust you will) to act up to these its glorious expectations, then, indeed, you will exhibit to your friends, and to the commonwealth in general, a spectacle of the noblest and most affecting kind<sup>7</sup>. In the mean while, be assured, no man has a greater share of my affection and esteem than yourself. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>7</sup> Curio was not of a disposition to listen to this prudent council of his friend : but, in opposition to all the grave advice of Cicero, he persevered in his resolution, and executed it with great magnificence. The consequence was, just what Cicero foresaw and dreaded : he contracted debts which he was incapable of discharging, and then sold himself to Cæsar, in order to satisfy the clamours of his creditors. See rem. 1. on the first letter of this book,

## LETTER XI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

TWO or three of your letters which lately came to my hands at the same time, though of different dates, have afforded me great pleasure: as they were proofs that you have reconciled yourself, with much spirit and resolution, to the inconveniences of a military life. I had some little suspicion, I confess, of the contrary: not that I questioned your courage, but as imputing your uneasiness to the regret of our separation. Let me entreat you then to persevere in your present temper of mind: and, believe me, you will derive many and considerable advantages from the service in which you are engaged. In the mean while, I shall not fail to renew my solicitations to Cæsar in your favour, upon all proper occasions; and have herewith sent you a Greek letter to deliver to him for that purpose: for, in truth, you cannot be more anxious than I am that this expedition may prove to your benefit. In return, I desire you would send me a full relation of the Gallic war: for you must know, I always depend  
most



most upon the accounts of those who are *least engaged* in the action.

As I do not imagine you are altogether so considerable a person as to retain a secretary in your service, I could not but wonder you should trouble yourself with the precaution of sending me several copies of the same letter. Your parsimony, however, deserves to be applauded; as one of them, I observed, was written upon a tablet that had been used before. I cannot conceive what unhappy composition could be so very miserable as to deserve to give place upon this occasion: unless it were one of your own conveyances. I flatter myself, at least, it was not any sprightly epistle of mine that you thus disgraced, in order to scribble over it a dull one of your own. Or was it your intention to intimate affairs go so ill with you, that you could not afford any better materials? If that should be your case, you must even thank yourself for not leaving your modesty behind you.

I shall recommend you in very strong terms to Balbus, when he returns into Gaul. But you must not be surprised if you should not hear from me again so soon as usual: as I shall be absent from Rome during all this month. I

write this from Pomptinus, at the villa of Metrilius Philemon, where I am placed within hearing of those croaking clients whom you recommended to my protection: for a prodigious number, it seems, of your<sup>s</sup> Ulubrean frogs are assembled, in order to compliment my arrival among them. Farewel.

April the 8th.

P. S. I have destroyed the letter I received from you by the hands of Lucius Aruntius, though it was much too innocent to deserve so severe a treatment: for it contained nothing that might not have been proclaimed before a general assembly of the people. However it was your express desire I should destroy it: and I have complied accordingly. I will only add, that I wonder much at not having heard from you since; especially as so many extraordinary events have lately happened in your province.

#### LETTER

<sup>s</sup> Cicero ludicrously gives the inhabitants of Ulubræ this appellation, in allusion to the low and marshy situation of their town. See rem. 9, p. 230. of this vol.

## LETTER XII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

NUMBERLESS are the subjects which may enter into a correspondence of the epistolary kind: but the most usual, and which indeed gave the first rise to this amicable commerce is, to inform an absent friend of those private affairs, which it may be necessary, either for his interest or our own, that he should know. You must not, however, expect any thing of the latter sort from me: as your family correspondents, I am sensible, communicate to you what relates to your own concerns; and nothing new has happened in mine. There are two other species of letters, with which I am particularly pleased: those, I mean, that are written in the freedom and pleasantry of common conversation; and those which turn upon grave and moral topics. But in which of these it would be least improper for me to address you at this juncture, is a question not easily determined. Ill, indeed, would it become me to entertain you with letters of humour, at a season when every man of common sensibility has bidden adieu to mirth.



mirth<sup>9</sup>. And what can Cicero write that shall deserve the serious thoughts of Curio, unless it be on public affairs? My situation, however, is such, that I dare not trust my real sentiments of those points in a letter<sup>1</sup>: and none other will I ever send you<sup>2</sup>. Thus precluded as I am from every other topic, I must content myself with repeating what I have often urged: and earnestly exhort you to the pursuit of true and solid glory. Believe me, it will require the utmost efforts of your care and resolution, to act up to those high and uncommon expectations which the world has conceived of your merit. There is, indeed, but one possible method that can enable you to surmount this arduous task.

The

<sup>9</sup> Affairs at Rome were, at this time, in the utmost confusion, occasioned (as has already been observed in the notes above) by the factious interruption that was given to the usual election of the magistrates. See note 6. p. 221. of this vol. This state of tumult, or indeed, to speak more properly, of almost absolute anarchy, was, however, somewhat composed towards the latter end of the present year, by the election of Domitius Calvinus and Valerius Messala to the consular office. *Dio*, xl. p. 141.

<sup>1</sup> The disturbances mentioned in the preceding note, were artfully fomented by Cæsar and Pompey, in order to turn them to the advantage of their ambitious purposes. But this was too delicate a circumstance for Cicero to explain himself upon: especially as he was now cultivating a friendship with both.

<sup>2</sup> The text in the original is evidently defective: *atque in hoc genere hac mea causa est, ut neque ea que non sentio velim scribere*. The sense is supplied in the translation, in a way that seemed to coincide best with this mutilated sentence.

The method I mean is, by diligently cultivating those qualities which are the foundation of a just applause: of that applause, my friend, which I know is the constant object of your warmest ambition. I might add much more to this purpose: but I am sensible you stand not in need of any incitements. And indeed I have thrown out these general hints, far less with a view of inflaming *your* heart, than of testifying the ardency with which I give you *mine*. Farewel.

## LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO MEMMIUS.

I CLAIM the promise you gave me when we met last, and desire you to treat my very intimate and zealous friend Aulus Fusius in the manner you assured me you would. He is a man of letters as well as great politeness: and, indeed, in every view of his character, he is highly deserving your friendship. The civilities you shall shew him will be extremely agreeable to me: as they will, at the same time, for ever attach to your interest a person of a most obliging and friendly disposition. Farewel.

LETTER

## LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO CAIUS CURIO.

PUBLIC affairs are so circumstanced, that I dare not communicate my sentiments of them in a letter. This, however, I will venture in general to say, that I have reason to congratulate you on your removal from the scene in which we are engaged. But I must add, that in whatever part of the world you might be placed, you would still (as I told you in my last<sup>3</sup>) be embarked in the same common bottom with your friends here. I have another reason likewise for rejoicing in your absence, as it has placed your merit in full view of so considerable a number of the most illustrious citizens, and allies of Rome: and indeed the reputation you have acquired is universally, and without the least exception, confirmed to us on all hands. But there is one circumstance attending you, upon which I know not whether I ought to send you my congratulations, or not: I mean with respect to those high and singular advantages

<sup>3</sup> The letter to which Cicero refers is not extant.



advantages which the commonwealth promises itself from your return amongst us. Not that I suspect your proving unequal to the opinion which the world entertains of your virtues; but as fearing that whatever is most worthy of your care will be irrecoverably lost ere your arrival to prevent it: such, alas, is the weak and well-nigh expiring condition of our unhappy republic! But prudence, perhaps, will scarce justify me in trusting even this to a letter: for the rest, therefore, I must refer you to others. In the mean while, whatever your fears or your hopes of public affairs may be; think, my friend, incessantly think on those virtues which that generous patriot must possess, who, in these evil times, and amidst such a general depravation of manners, gloriously purposes to vindicate the ancient dignity and liberties of his oppressed country. Farewel.

LETTER

## LETTER XV.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

IF it were not for the compliments you sent me by Chrysippus, the freedman of Cyrus the architect, I should have imagined I no longer possessed a place in your thoughts. But surely you are become a most intolerable fine gentleman, that you could not bear the fatigue of writing to me; when you had the opportunity of doing so by a man, whom, you know, I look upon as one almost of my own family. Perhaps, however, you may have forgotten the use of your pen, and so much the better, let me tell you, for your clients; as they will lose no more causes by its blunders. But if it is myself only that has escaped your remembrance, I must endeavour to refresh it by a visit, before I am worn out of your mind beyond all power of recollection. After all, is it not the apprehensions of the next summer's campaign, that has rendered your hand too unsteady to perform its office? If so, you must e'en play over again the same gallant stratagem you practised last year in relation to your British expedition, and frame some heroic excuse for your absence.

However, I was extremely glad to hear, by Chrysippus, that you are much in Cæsar's good graces. But it would be more like a man of *equity*, methinks, as well as more agreeable to my inclinations, if you were to give me frequent notice of what concerns you, by your own hand: a satisfaction I should undoubtedly enjoy, if you had chosen to study the laws of good fellowship, rather than those of contention. You see I rally you as usual, in your own way, not to say a little in mine. But to end seriously; be assured, as I greatly love you, I am no less confident than desirous of your affection in return. Farewel.

## LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO PUBLIUS SEXTIUS<sup>a</sup>.

I HOPE you will not imagine by my long silence that I have been unmindful of our friendship, or that I had any intention of dropping my usual correspondence with you. The sincere

<sup>a</sup> The commentators are greatly divided as to the time when this letter was written, and the person to whom it is addressed. To examine the several reasons upon which they support their respective opinions, would be leading the English reader into a field of criticism, which could afford him neither amusement nor instruction. The subject, indeed, of this letter, which is merely consolatory, to a friend in exile, is not of consequence enough to merit any pains in ascertaining (if it were possible to ascertain) its



cere truth is, I was prevented from writing during the former part of our separation, by those calamities in which the general confusion of the times had involved me : as I afterwards delayed it, from an unwillingness to break in upon you, whilst your own severe and unmerited injuries were yet fresh upon your mind. But when I reflect that a sufficient time has elapsed, to wear off the first impressions of your misfortunes : and consider, likewise, the virtues and magnanimity of your heart ; I think I may now write to you consistently with my general caution of avoiding an unseasonable officiousness.

You are sensible, my dear Sextius, that I warmly stood forth your advocate, when a prosecution was formerly commenced against you in your absence : as afterwards, when you was involved in that accusation which was brought against your friend, I exerted every means in my power for your defence. Thus, likewise, upon my return into Italy<sup>b</sup>, tho' I found your affairs had been managed in a very different manner than

its precise date : and it is sufficient to observe, that it contains nothing but what perfectly coincides with the circumstances both of Cicero's affairs and those of the republic in the present year. As to the person to whom this letter is written ; it is impossible to determine any thing concerning him : for the MSS. and printed copies are by no means agreed as to his name ; some calling him *Titius*, others *Sitius*, and others *Scxtius*.

<sup>b</sup> Probably, when he returned from exile : in the year 696.

than I should have advised ; yet, I omitted no opportunity of rendering you my utmost services. And, upon this occasion, when the clamour that was raised against you, on account of the corn<sup>c</sup>, by those that were the enemies, not only of yourself, but of all who endeavoured to assist you : when the general corruption of the judges, and, in short, when many other public iniquities had prevailed to your condemnation against all truth and justice, I was not wanting in my best good offices of every kind towards your son. Having, therefore, thus faithfully performed every other sacred duty of friendship, I would not omit this likewise of entreating and exhorting you to bear your afflictions as becomes a man of your distinguished spirit and fortitude. In other words, let me conjure you to support with resolution, those common vicissitudes of Fortune, which no prudence can prevent, and for which no mortal is answerable ; remembering, that, in all popular governments, as well as in our own, it has been the fate of many of the best and greatest men to fall a sacrifice to the injustice of their country. I will add, (and

I wish

<sup>c</sup> It was the business of the *Ædiles*, amongst other parts of their duty, to superintend the markets and public magazines of corn. It seems probable, therefore, from this passage, that *Sextius* was banished for some real, or pretended misconduct in the administration of that office.

I wish I could, with truth, be contradicted) that the injurious sentence you lament, has only banished you from a commonwealth in which no rational mind can receive the least satisfaction.

If I were to say nothing of your son, it would look as if I were inattentive to that general applause which his virtues so justly receive: on the other hand, were I to tell you all that I hear and think of him, I am afraid I should only renew your grief for being thus separated from his company. However, you should wisely consider his uncommon virtues as a possession which inseparably attends you, in whatever part of the world you may be placed. For surely the objects of the mind are not less intimately present with us, than those of the eye. The reflection, therefore, on his singular merit and filial piety, the fidelity of myself and the rest of those friends whom you have found, and will ever find, to be the followers, not of your fortune, but of your virtue; and, above all, the consciousness of not having deserved your sufferings, are circumstances which ought to administer the highest consolation to you. And they will more effectually do so, if you consider, that it is guilt, and not misfortune; one's own crimes, and not the injustice of others, which  
ought



ought to disturb the serenity of a well-regulated mind. In the mean time, be assured, that, in compliance with the dictates of that friendship I have long entertained for you, and of that esteem which I bear for your son, I shall neglect no opportunity, both of alleviating your afflictions, and of contributing all I can to support you under them. In a word, if, upon any occasion, you should think it necessary to write to me, you shall find that your application was not made in vain. Farewel.

## LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 200.]

To CURIO.

I DISPATCH Sextus Villius, a domestic of my friend Milo, to meet you with this letter, notwithstanding we have received no account of your being yet advanced near Italy. However, we are assured that you are set forward from Asia<sup>4</sup>: and as it is generally believed, it will not be long ere you arrive in Rome, I persuade myself that the importance of the affair which occasions you this application, will justify my desire of making it as early as possible.

If

<sup>4</sup> See p. 218. rem. 1. towards the end.

If I estimated my services towards you by the same enlarged standard that you gratefully measure them yourself, I should be extremely reserved in requesting any considerable favour at your hands. It is painful, indeed, to a man of a modest and generous mind, to solicit great obligations from those whom he has greatly obliged; lest he should seem to claim the price of his good offices, and ask a matter of right rather than of grace. But I can have no scruples of this sort with respect to you; as the services you have conferred upon me, and particularly in my late troubles, are not only of the highest, but most conspicuous nature. An ingenuous disposition, where it already owes much, is willing to owe more: and it is upon this principle, that I make no difficulty of requesting your assistance in an article of the last importance to me. I have no reason, indeed, to fear, that I should sink under the weight of your favours, even if they were to rise beyond all number: as I trust there is none so considerable that I should not only receive with gratitude, but return with advantage.

I am exerting the utmost efforts of my care, my industry, and my talents, in order to secure the election of Milo to the consulate; and I think myself bound, upon this occasion, to give  
a proof

a proof to the world, of the more than common affection with which I enter into his interest. I am persuaded, no man ever was so anxious for the preservation of his own person and fortunes, as I am, that Milo may obtain this honour: an event upon which the security of my own dignities, I am sensible, depends. Now, the assistance which it is in your power to give my friend, is so very considerable, that it is all we want to be assured of victory: for thus our forces stand. In the first place, Milo's conduct towards me in his tribunate<sup>6</sup>, has gained him (as I hope you perfectly well know) the affections of all our patriots: as the liberality of his temper and the magnificence of his shews have secured to him the favour of the populace<sup>7</sup>. In the next place, all the young part of the republic, together with those who have the most influence in elections, are wholly in his interest, as having received, or expecting to receive, the benefit of his own popularity and active offices

<sup>6</sup> Milo was tribune in the year of Rome 696: at which time he conferred very singular obligations on Cicero, by most zealously exerting all his power and credit in promoting his recal from exile. *Orat. pro Milon.*

<sup>7</sup> Milo had dissipated three very considerable estates in the extravagant shews which, upon different occasions, he had exhibited to the people; as he was likewise at this time proposing to entertain them in the same magnificent manner, at the expence of 250,000*l.* *Orat. pro Milon.* 25. *Ad Q. F.* iii. 9.



offices upon occasions of a like nature. I will add, likewise, that he has my suffrage: which, though it may not draw after it any considerable effects, is, however, universally approved as a tribute which is justly his due: and so far, perhaps, it may be considered as of some weight with the public. All, therefore, that we farther require, is a person to appear as the leader of these our rude forces, and to unite them together under one head: and had we the choice of the whole world, we could not fix upon a man so well qualified for this purpose as yourself. If you believe then, that I have any worth or gratitude, or can even infer it from these my earnest endeavours to serve Milo; in a word, if you esteem me deserving of your favours, I entreat you to co-operate with me in this affair, upon which my character (or to come still nearer to the truth) upon which almost my very preservation depends<sup>3</sup>. With regard to  
Milo

<sup>3</sup> Cicero was particularly concerned to secure Milo's election, not only from a principle of gratitude, but of self-preservation. For Clodius, our author's implacable enemy, was now soliciting the office of prætor: and if Milo were rejected from the consulship, it would fall into the hands of Plautus Hypsæus and Metellus Scipio, who were both under the influence of Clodius. By these means, the latter would once again have been armed with the principal authority of the commonwealth; and Cicero knew, by sad and recent experience, that he had every thing to fear from  
such

Milo himself, I will only assure you, that you never can oblige a man of a more solid turn of mind, of a more resolute spirit, or one who, if you should embrace his interest, will receive your good offices with a more affectionate gratitude. You will at the same time also confer so singular an honour upon myself, as to convince me, that you have no less regard for the support of my credit, than you formerly shewed for the safety of my person. I should enlarge much farther upon this subject, if I were not persuaded that you are perfectly sensible of the infinite obligations I have received from Milo; and that it is incumbent upon me to promote his election with my utmost zeal, and even at the hazard of my life<sup>9</sup>. I will only then, in one word, recommend this affair, and therein

such an enemy when he could add power to malice. His interest, therefore, conspired with his friendship in supporting the pretensions of Milo, who had, upon all occasions, opposed the designs of Clodius with great warmth and spirit: and who, in the present instance, would have proved a counter-balance, if Clodius should have attempted a second time to fall with his whole weight upon Cicero. *Vid. Orat. pro Milon. passim.*

<sup>9</sup> In this declining state of the republic, the elections were carried on, not only by the most shameful and avowed bribery, but by the several mobs of the respective candidates. These, it may well be imagined, were both disposed and prepared to commit every outrage, that the cause of their leaders should require. Accordingly, the party of Milo, and that of his competitors, had such frequent and bloody engagements with each other, as to raise a general apprehension of a civil war. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

therein the most important of my concerns, to your favour and protection: and be assured, I shall esteem your compliance with my request as an obligation superior, I had almost said, even to that for which I am so greatly indebted to Milo. The truth of it is, it would give me more pleasure to make him an effectual return for the very considerable part he bore in my restoration, than I received even from the benefit of his good offices themselves. And this, I am confident, your single concurrence will fully enable me to perform<sup>1</sup>. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>1</sup> Soon after this letter was written, an unfortunate adventure disconcerted all Cicero's measures in behalf of his friend, and obliged him, instead of soliciting any longer for Milo as a candidate, to defend him as a criminal. It happened that Milo and Clodius having met, as they were travelling the Appian road, a rencounter ensued, in which the latter was killed. Milo was arraigned for this murder: and being convicted, was sentenced to banishment. Cicero, in his defence, laboured to prove, by a variety of circumstances, that this meeting could not have been premeditated on the part of his client: and, indeed, it seems probable that it was not.

ut however casual that particular incident might have been, Milo, it is certain, had long before determined to assassinate Clodius: and it appears too, that Cicero himself was apprised of the design. This is evident from a letter to Atticus, written about four years antecedent to the fact of which I am speaking. *Reum Publium*, says Cicero, (*nisi ante occisus erit*) fore a *Milone Puto*. *Si se inter viam obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video*. *Non dubitat facere; præ se fert*. Dio, xl. p. 143, 146. Orat. pro Milon. ad Att. iv. 3.



## LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TITUS FADIUS<sup>2</sup>.

I KNOW not any event which has lately happened, that more sensibly affects me than your disgrace. Far, therefore, from being capable of giving you the consolation I wish, I greatly stand in need of the same good office myself. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear, not only to exhort, but to conjure you likewise by our friendship, to collect your whole strength of reason, in order to support your afflictions with a firm and manly fortitude. Remember, my friend, that calamities are incident to all mankind, but particularly to us who live in these miserable and distracted times. Let it be your consolation, however, to reflect, that you have lost far less by fortune, than you have acquired by merit: as there are few under the circumstances of your birth, who ever raised themselves to the same dignities; though there are numbers of  
the

<sup>2</sup> It is altogether uncertain to whom this letter is addressed; as there is great variety in the several readings of its inscription. If the title adopted in the translation be the true one, (and it is that which has the greatest number of commentators on its side,) the person to whom it is written was quæstor to Cicero in his consulate; and afterwards one of those tribunes who, in the year of Rome 696, promoted the law by which he was restored to his country. *Vid. Att. iii. 23.*

the highest quality who have sunk into the same disgrace. To say truth; so wretched is the fate which threatens our laws, our liberties, and our constitution in general, that well may he esteem himself happily dealt with, who is dismissed from such a distempered government upon the least injurious terms. As to your own case, in particular, when you reflect that you are still undeprived of your estate: that you are happy in the affections of your children, your family, and your friends; and that, in all probability, you are only separated from them for a short interval: when you reflect, that among the great number of impeachments which have lately been carried on<sup>3</sup>, yours is the only one that was considered as entirely groundless; that you were condemned by a majority only of one single vote; and that, too, universally supposed to have been given in compliance with some powerful influence.— These, undoubtedly, are considerations which ought

<sup>3</sup> The circumstance here mentioned renders it probable that the letter before us was written in the present year. For Pompey being at this time appointed sole consul, made several salutary regulations with respect to the method of trials, and encouraged prosecutions against those who had been guilty of illegal practices in order to secure their elections. Accordingly, many persons of the first rank in Rome were arraigned and convicted: and Fadius seems to have been one of that number. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. et Caton.*

ought greatly to alleviate the weight of your misfortune. I will only add, that you may always depend upon finding in me that disposition both towards yourself and your family, as is agreeable to your wishes, as well as to what you have a right to expect. Farewel.

## LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TITUS TITIUS.

IT is by no means as suspecting that my former recommendation was not sufficient, that I give you this second trouble, but merely in compliance with the request of my friend Avianus Flaccus: to whom I neither can, nor indeed ought to refuse any thing. The truth is, notwithstanding your very obliging answer when I mentioned his affair to you in person, and that I have already written to you in strong terms upon the same subject; yet he imagines I cannot too often apply to you in his behalf. I hope, therefore, you will excuse me, if in thus yielding to his inclinations, I should seem to  
forget

\* The person to whom this letter is inscribed, is wholly unknown: and the occasion upon which it was written is not of importance enough to deserve any animadversions.



forget that you are incapable of receding from your word; and again entreat you to allow him a convenient port and sufficient time for the exportation of his corn. Both these favours I obtained for him when Pompey had the commission in which you are now employed: and the term he granted him was three years. To say all in one word, you will very sensibly oblige me by convincing Avianus, that I enjoy the same share in your affection, which he justly imagines he possesses of mine. Farewel.

## LETTER XX.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I ACQUAINTED you with the affair of Silius. He has since been with me: when I informed him that it was your opinion we might safely enter into the usual recognizance. But he has consulted, he tells me, with Servius, who assures him, that where a testator has no power to make a will, it must be considered, to all intents and purposes, as if it had never subsisted: and Offilius, it seems, agrees in this opinion. He told me, at the same time, that he had not applied to you upon this subject: but desired I would recommend both himself

and his cause to your protection. I do not know a worthier man than Silius, nor any one, excepting yourself, who is more my friend. You will extremely oblige me, therefore, my dear Trebatius, by calling upon him in order to give him the promise of your assistance: and I earnestly entreat you, if you have any regard for me, to pay this visit as soon as possible. Farewel.

## LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 700.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS.

I SHALL punctually execute your commission: But is it not a most wonderful specimen of your sagacity, thus to employ a man in making a purchase for you, whose interest it is to advance the price as high as possible? Above all, I most admire the wisdom of your restriction, in confining me to a particular sum. For had you trusted me with an unlimited order, I should have thought myself obliged, in point of friendship, to have settled this affair with my coheirs upon the most advantageous terms in your behalf: whereas, now I know your price, you may depend upon it, I shall rather set up a fictitious bidder, than suffer the

estate to be sold for less than the money you mention. But jesting apart; be assured I shall discharge the commission you have assigned me, with all the care I ought.

I know you are well pleased with my victory over Bursa<sup>5</sup>: but why then did you not more warmly congratulate me upon the occasion? You were mistaken in imagining the character of the man to be much too despicable to render this event a matter of any great exultation. On the contrary, the defeat of Bursa has afforded me a more pleasing triumph, even than the fall of Clodius. Much rather, indeed, would I see my adversaries vanquished  
by

<sup>5</sup> Minutius Plancus Bursa was tribune the year before this letter was written, and had distinguished himself by inflaming those disturbances in Rome, which were occasioned by the assassination of Clodius. The body of Clodius being produced before the people in the Forum, Bursa, together with one of his colleagues, infused such a spirit of riot into the populace, that, snatching up the corpse, they instantly conveyed it to the *curia hostilia*; (a place in which the senate sometimes assembled,) where they paid it the funeral honours. This they executed in the most insolent and tumultuous manner, by erecting a funeral pile with the benches, and setting fire to the senate-house itself. Bursa, not satisfied with these licentious outrages, endeavoured likewise to instigate the mob to fall upon Cicero, the avowed friend and advocate of Milo, by whom Clodius had been killed. Cicero, therefore, as soon as Bursa was out of his office (for no magistrate could be impeached during his ministry) exhibited an information against him, for this violation of the public peace: and Bursa being found guilty, was sentenced to suffer banishment. *Dio*, xl. p. 143, 146, *Ascon. argument. in Orat. pro Milon.*



by the hand of justice, than of violence: as I would choose it should be in a way that does honour to the friends of my cause, without exposing them, at the same time, to any uneasy consequences. But the principal satisfaction I derive from this affair, is in that honest and undaunted zeal with which I was supported against all the incredible efforts of a very great man<sup>6</sup>, who most warmly exerted his power in favour of my antagonist. I will mention another circumstance, likewise, that recommends this victory to me, and which, though perhaps you will scarcely think it a probable one, is, nevertheless, most assuredly the case: I have conceived a much stronger aversion to this man, than I ever entertained even against Clodius himself. To speak truth, I had openly declared war against the latter: whereas I have been the advocate and protector of the former. Besides, there was something enlarged, at least, in the views of Clodius, as he aimed, by my destruction, at overturning the whole commonwealth: and even in this he acted less from the motions of his own breast, than by the instigations of a party, who were sensible they could never be secure, whilst I had any remaining credit. But the contemptible Bursa, on the contrary,

<sup>6</sup> Pompey, *Vid. Dio*, p. 146.

contrary, singled me out for the object of his malice, in mere gaiety of heart: and without the least provocation, offered himself to some of my enemies as one who was entirely at their service upon any occasion wherein they could employ him to my prejudice. Upon these considerations, my friend, I expect that you warmly congratulate my success, as, indeed, I esteem it an event of very considerable importance. Never, in truth, did Rome produce a set of more inflexible patriots, than the judges who presided at this trial: for they had the honest courage to pass sentence against him, in opposition to all the power and influence of the very person by whom they were appointed<sup>7</sup> to this honourable office. And, undoubtedly, they would not have acted with such uncommon spirit, had they not considered the insults I suffered from this man, as so many indignities offered to themselves.

I have, at present, a great deal of troublesome business upon my hands: as several considerable impeachments are going forward, and many new laws are in agitation. It is my daily wish,

<sup>7</sup> Pompey, in his late consulship, made some alterations with respect to the method of chusing the judges, and elected a certain number out of the three orders of the state, for the cognizance of civil and criminal causes. *Manut. de leg.* p. 122. *Vcl. Paterc.* ii. 76.

wish, therefore, that no intercalation<sup>s</sup> may protract these affairs beyond the usual period, and prevent the pleasure I propose to myself, of paying you a visit very soon. Farewel.

## LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO TREBATIUS.

YOU laughed at me yesterday, when I asserted, over our wine, that it was a question among the lawyers, whether an action of theft could be brought by an heir, for goods stolen before he came into possession. Though it was late when I returned home, and I had drunk pretty freely, I turned to the placé where this question is discussed, and have sent you an extract

<sup>s</sup> The Roman months being lunar, a proper number of supplemental days were added every two years in order to adjust their reckoning to the course of the sun. This was called an *intercalation*; and was performed by the pontifical college at their own discretion. Accordingly they often exercised this important trust as interest or ambition dictated: and by their arbitrary intercalations, either advanced or retarded the stated times for transacting civil or religious affairs, as best suited the private purposes of themselves or their friends. By these means, these unworthy observers of the heavenly motions, had introduced so great a confusion into their calendar, that, when Cæsar undertook its reformation, all the seasons were misplaced; and the appointed festivals for harvest and vintage, were no longer found in the summer and autumn quarters. *Suet. in Jul.* 40. *Macrobi. Saturn.* 1.



tract of the passage : in order to convince you, that a point which you imagined had never been maintained by any man, was actually holden by Sextus Ælius, Marcus Manlius, and Marcus Brutus<sup>a</sup>. But, notwithstanding these great names, I agree in opinion with Scævola and Trebatius<sup>b</sup>. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>a</sup> These were all of them lawyers of great note in their respective generations, and whose writings in the science they professed were in much esteem. The two former flourished about the year of Rome 545, and 600 : the latter about the year 630. *Pompon. de orig. Juris.*

<sup>b</sup> Scævola was one of the names of Trebatius, as appears by a letter to Atticus wherein he is so called. There was likewise a Quintus Mucius Scævola, a lawyer of very considerable eminence, who lived about fifty years before the present date, and who compiled a body of laws in eighteen volumes. Manutius imagines, therefore, that in allusion to this person, Cicero jocularly separates the names *Scævola* and *Trebatius* by an intervening copulative, as if he were speaking of two different men, though he only means his friend to whom he is writing.

## LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 700.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I FIND myself obliged, contrary, indeed, to my expectation, as well as my wishes, to accept the government of your province<sup>9</sup>. Amidst the numberless uneasy thoughts and occupations which this circumstance occasions me, it is my single consolation, that I could not have succeeded any man in this employment who would be more disposed than yourself, to deliver

<sup>9</sup> The great commotions that had been raised the last year in Rome, on account of the elections, have already been mentioned in the notes above. In order, therefore, to remedy these evils for the future, by abating the intemperate ardour with which the magistracies were pursued; it was thought expedient to deprive the prætorship and consulate of one of their principal and most tempting advantages. This consisted in the government of provinces: to which those magistrates of course succeeded at the expiration of their respective administrations. For these governments not only secured them from any impeachments during the time they continued in them, but were likewise inexhaustible sources of wealth to those who were not scrupulous in the means of obtaining it. Accordingly a law passed, by which it was enacted, that no future prætor or consul should be capable of a provincial charge, till five years after the expiration of his office: and, in the mean time, that the provinces should be supplied from among those of prætorian and consular rank, who had laid down their offices without succeeding to any government. Cicero was of this number: and it is probable, there were so few of them, that he was not at liberty to refuse, what it is very certain he had no inclination to accept. *Dio*, xl. p. 142.

liver it up to me as little embarrassed as possible. I hope you entertain the same opinion of my disposition with regard to you: and be assured I shall never disappoint you in this expectation. I most earnestly then entreat you, by all the ties of our friendship in particular, as well as by that uncommon generosity which distinguishes your actions in general, to render me, upon this occasion, every good office in your power: as undoubtedly there are many.

You will observe, from the decree of the senate, that I was under a necessity of accepting the government of some province: and I must repeat it once more, the ease with which I shall pass through the functions of my ministry, depends upon your smoothing, as far as in you lies, the difficulties at my first entrance. You are the best judge in what particular instances you can contribute to this end: I will only, in general, beseech you to do so in every article wherein you imagine your services may avail me. I might enlarge on this subject, if either your own generous temper, or our mutual friendship, would suffer me to dwell upon it any longer: and I may add too, if the nature of my request did not sufficiently speak for itself. I will only, therefore, assure you, that if I should not make this application in vain, you  
may



may depend upon receiving a strong and lasting satisfaction from the faithful returns of my gratitude. Farewel.

## LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 700.]

To the same.

I ARRIVED on the 22d of May at Brundisium, where I found your lieutenant<sup>1</sup> Quintus Fabius: who, agreeably to your orders, informed me, that it is highly expedient Cilicia should be strengthened with an additional number of forces. This was conformable, not only to my own sentiments, who am more immediately concerned in the security of that province, but to the opinion likewise of the senate: who thought it reasonable, that both Bibulus<sup>2</sup> and myself should reinforce our respective legions with recruits from Italy. But it was strongly opposed

<sup>1</sup> Every proconsul, or governor of a province, was accompanied with a certain number of lieutenants, in proportion to his rank and quality. These officers served him as a kind of first ministers in civil affairs: and they commanded in chief under him when he took the field.

<sup>2</sup> Some account has already been given of Bibulus in the notes on the preceding book. See rem. 10. p. 163. He was appointed governor of Syria, a province bordering on that of Cilicia; to which Cicero was on his way when he wrote the present letter, and all the subsequent ones in this book.

opposed by Sulpicius<sup>3</sup> the consul: though not without very warm remonstrances on our parts. However, as it seemed to be the general inclination of the senate that we should hasten our departure, we were obliged to submit: and we set forward accordingly.

Let me now repeat the request I made in my last from Rome, and again entreat you to favour me in all those instances wherein one friend can oblige another who succeeds to his government. In short, let it be *your* care to convince the world that I could not have followed a more affectionate predecessor: as it shall be *mine* to give conspicuous proofs, that you could not have resigned your province to one more sincerely devoted to your interest.

I understood by the copy which you communicated to me of those dispatches you sent to the senate, that you had actually disbanded a considerable part of your army. But Fabius assures me, this was a point which you only had in your intention; and that when he left you, the whole number of your legions was complete. If this be the case, you will greatly oblige me by keeping the few forces under your command

<sup>3</sup> Servius Sulpicius Rufus was consul this year, together with Marcus Claudius Marcellus. For a more particular account of the former, see rem. 1. p. 119. vol. iii. and of the latter, rem. 3. let. 35. of this book.

command entire: as I suppose the decree of the senate which passed in relation to this article, has already been transmitted to you. To comprise all in one word, I pay so great a deference to your judgment, that whatever measures you may think proper to pursue, I shall, undoubtedly, believe them reasonable: though I am persuaded, at the same time, you will pursue such only as shall appear to be for my benefit.

I am waiting at Brundisium for my lieutenant Caius Pontinius, whom I expect here on the first of June: and I shall take the earliest opportunity, after his arrival, of proceeding on my voyage. Farewel.

## LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 702.]

CÆLIUS<sup>4</sup> to CICERO.

AGREEABLY to my promise when we parted, I have sent you a full account of every event that has happened since you left Rome. For this purpose, I employed a person to collect the news of the town: and am only  
afraid

<sup>4</sup> Manutius has, with great industry, drawn together the several scattered passages in the ancient historians, relating to Cælius: and it is but a piece of justice due to that learned critic to acknowledge, that the following account is extracted from those materials, which his labours spared me the trouble of collecting.



afraid you will think he has executed his office much too punctually. I am sensible, at the same time, that you are a man of infinite curiosity; and that travellers take pleasure in being informed of every little circumstance transacted at home. But I hope you will not impute it to any want of respect, that I assigned over this employment to another hand. On the contrary, as much engaged as I really am, and as little fond of writing as you know me to be, I should with great pleasure execute my commission, which gave me occasion to think of you.

Marcus Cœlius was tribune of the people, the year before this letter was written. He distinguished himself in that office by zealously and boldly supporting the claims of the senate and the interests of the aristocratical party, against the attacks of the opposite faction. When the civil war broke out between Pompey and Cæsar, he affected at first to stand neuter: he afterwards, however, thought proper to join with the latter. But Cæsar not gratifying his ambition in the manner he expected, he changed sides, and raised great disturbances in Rome in favour of Pompey.

Cœlius applied himself early to the art of oratory: and, for that purpose, was introduced by his father to the acquaintance of Cicero, under whose direction he formed his eloquence. His parts and genius soon distinguished him in the forum: but, though his speeches were conceived with peculiar spirit and vivacity, his language was thought forced, and the harmony of his periods too much neglected. His morals were suitable to the degenerate age in which he lived: luxurious and dissolute: as his temper was remarkably inflammable, and apt to kindle into the most implacable resentments. *Cic. orat. pro Calio. Cæs. Bel. Civ. iii. Vel. Paterc. ii. Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent. Senec. de Ira. iii.* See rem. 6. p. 145. and rem. 12. p. 147. of vol. ii.

you. I trust, however, when you cast your eye upon this volume of news, you will very readily admit my excuse; as I know not, indeed, who else, except the compiler, could find leisure, I will not say to transcribe, but even to peruse such a strange medley. It contains a collection of decrees of the senate and rumours of the people; of private tales and public edicts. Should it happen, nevertheless, to afford you no sort of entertainment, give me due notice, that I may not put myself to this *prodigious* expence only to be impertinent. If any events of more importance should arise, and which are above the force of these hackney news-writers, I will take the relation upon myself, and give you a full account of the sentiments and speculations of the world concerning it: but, at present, there is little of this kind stirring.

As to the report which was so current when we were at Cumæ<sup>5</sup>, of enfranchising the colonies on the other side the Po<sup>6</sup>; it does not seem to

<sup>5</sup> A city in Campania, situated upon the sea coast: near which Cicero had a villa.

<sup>6</sup> Cisalpine Gaul was divided into two parts by the river Po; and, accordingly, as the inhabitants were situated with respect to Italy, either on one side or the other of that river, they were called *Cispadani*, or *Transpadani*. Cæsar had a scheme of putting the latter on the same foot with the municipal towns of Italy; the chief magistrates whereof had a right of suffrage in the assemblies of the Roman people, and were capable of being elected to the offices of the republic.

to have travelled beyond that city : at least, I have heard no mention of this affair since my return to Rome. Marcellus not having yet moved that Cæsar may be recalled from his government in Gaul, and intending to defer it, as he told me himself, to the first of June, it has occasioned the revival of those suspicions to his disadvantage, which so strongly prevailed when you were here<sup>7</sup>.

If you had an interview<sup>8</sup> with Pompey (as I remember it was your intention) let me know the conversation that passed between you, and what you could discover of his designs : for though he seldom speaks his real sentiments, he has not artifice enough to conceal them<sup>9</sup>. As  
to

This seems to be the circumstance to which Cælius here alludes : as Cicero obscurely hints at it likewise in one of his letters to Atticus. See *Ad Att.* v. 2. and the remark of Mongault upon that passage.

<sup>7</sup> Marcellus, the present consul, distinguished himself throughout his whole administration by a warm opposition to Cæsar : as he afterwards actually made the motion, of which Cælius here speaks. He was not, however, so fortunate as to succeed in it ; being opposed by his colleague Sulpicius in conjunction with some of the tribunes. *Dio.* xli. p. 148. See his character in remark 3. on the 35th letter of this book, p. 320.

<sup>8</sup> Pompey was at this time at Tarentum, a maritime city of Calabria : where Cicero spent a few days with him in his way to Cilicia, while he waited the arrival of his lieutenant Pontinius. *Ad Att.* v. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Cicero in his letters to Atticus often mentions the difficulty of penetrating into Pompey's real designs : but if Cælius may be credited, he was, it seems, one of those over-



to Cæsar, we have frequent, and no very favourable reports concerning him: however, they are at present, nothing more than rumours. Some say he has lost all his cavalry; and I believe this is the truth of the case: others, that the seventh legion has been entirely defeated, and that he himself is surrounded by the Bellovaci<sup>1</sup>, that he cannot possibly receive any succours from the main body of his army. But this news is not publicly known: on the contrary, it is only the whisper of a party which I need not name, and who mention it with great caution; particularly Domitius<sup>2</sup>, who tells it in your ear with a most important air of secrecy.

A strong report prevailed here, that you were assassinated upon the road on the 24th of May, by Quintus Pompeius<sup>3</sup>. I heartily cursed the idle authors of this alarm: however, it did not give me any great disturbance, as I knew Pompeius

refined dissemblers, who, as our British Horace observes, are,

—*So very close they're hid from none.* POPE.

<sup>1</sup> A most martial and powerful people in Belgic Gaul, against whom Cæsar was at this time making war.

<sup>2</sup> Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, one of Cæsar's avowed enemies. A particular account will be given of him in the remarks on the letter addressed to him in this collection.

<sup>3</sup> Quintus Pompeius Rufus was tribune the last year, and a principal author of those disturbances which ensued upon the death of Clodius. See remark 5. p. 263. of this vol.

At

peius to be then at Baulis<sup>4</sup>, where the poor man is reduced to exercise the miserable office of a pilot, to keep himself from starving. May you ever be as secure from all other dangers, as you were from this!

Your friend<sup>5</sup> Plancus is at Ravenna: and, notwithstanding the very considerable benefaction he has lately received from Cæsar<sup>6</sup>, the man is still in distress.

Your political treatise<sup>7</sup> is universally read and much admired. Farewell.

## LETTER

At the expiration of his office, therefore, being convicted of these misdemeanors, he was banished from Rome. *Dio.* xl. p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> A city in Campania.

<sup>5</sup> Munatius Plancus Bursa: of whom an account has been given in remark 5. p. 263. of this vol. Cælius speaks ironically, when he calls him Cicero's friend.

<sup>6</sup> See remark<sup>b</sup>, p. 166. of this vol.

<sup>7</sup> "It was drawn up in the form of a dialogue, in which the greatest persons of the republic were introduced. From the fragments of this work which still remain, it appears to have been a noble performance, and one of his capital pieces; where all the important questions in politics and morality were discussed with the greatest elegance and accuracy." *Mid. Life of Cic.* vol. ii. p. 94. 8vo. edit.

## LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I RECEIVED your letter at this place<sup>9</sup> on the 4th of June, by which I am informed that you have charged Lucius Clodius with a message to me. I am therefore waiting for his arrival, that I may hear, as early as possible, whatever he has to say on your part. In the mean time, notwithstanding I have already, by many instances convinced you, I hope, of my friendship: yet, let me assure you, that I shall particularly endeavour to shew it upon every occasion, by the most tender regard for your character. I have the satisfaction in return to be informed, not only by Fabius and Flaccus, but particularly by Octavius, of the share you allow me in your esteem. I had before, indeed, many reasons for believing I enjoyed that privilege; but, chiefly by that very agreeable present of your treatise upon augury, which

<sup>9</sup> Brundisium. This letter was written but a few days after the last addressed to Appius, which is likewise dated from this place: where Cicero continued about a fortnight. He was prevented from embarking sooner, not only as he waited the arrival of his lieutenant Pontinius, but also by a slight indisposition. *Ad Att.* v. 8.



which you have so affectionately addressed to me<sup>1</sup>. No testimony shall be wanting on my part, likewise, of the singular friendship I bear you. The truth is, you have continually risen in my affection ever since you first distinguished me with yours: but you are now still more endeared to me from that regard I entertain for those illustrious persons with whom you have formed a family alliance<sup>2</sup>. For Pompey and Brutus, though so distant from each other in point of age, have both of them the same high rank in my esteem. I must add, that the connexion between us as fellow-members of the same sacred college<sup>3</sup>, especially after the honourable applause I have lately received from you,

<sup>1</sup> This treatise was drawn up in vindication of the augural science, or the art of foretelling events, from certain signs which providence was supposed to have intended as intimations of futurity. This science was generally exploded by the wiser part of their philosophers, as having no foundation in reason or experience: but Appius was so weakly credulous, it seems, as seriously to believe and maintain the contrary. See *Life of Cic.* v. iii. p. 348. 8vo. *Edit.*

<sup>2</sup> See the latter end of remark 3. on letter 3. of this book, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> The college of Augurs, of which Cicero and Appius were members, consisted at this time of fifteen *Fellows*, (if that term may be allowed) who were all of them persons of the first distinctions in Rome. Their office was to determine whether the omens, which were always consulted previously to the transacting of any public business, were favourable for that purpose, or observed in a proper manner. This gave them a very considerable authority in the commonwealth;

you<sup>4</sup>, is a very powerful cement of our mutual friendship.

If I should have an interview with Clodius, whom I shall endeavour to see as soon as possible, I shall have occasion to write to you more fully. I will at this time, therefore, only farther assure you, that I read with great pleasure, that part of your letter where you tell me, your single reason for continuing in the province, is in order to give me a meeting. Farewel.

#### LETTER

as it was in their power to obstruct the most important affairs of the state, by declaring that they were unwarranted by the auspices. Cicero, about two years before the date of the present letter, was elected into this college, in the place of young Crassus: who perished (as has already been observed) in the unfortunate expedition which is father undertook against the Parthians.

<sup>4</sup> This alludes to the treatise mentioned above, which Appius inscribed to Cicero.

## LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CAIUS MEMMIUS<sup>5</sup>.

I AM doubtful whether I have more reason to regret or rejoice, that I did not find you, as I expected,

<sup>5</sup> The family of Caius Memmius was esteemed one of the most ancient in all Rome; being descended, it was said, from Mnestheus, a companion of Æneas in his expedition into Italy. Memmius, having passed through the offices of tribune and prætor, offered himself as a candidate for the consulship, in the year of Rome 699: and the iniquitous engagement into which he entered, in order to secure his election, affords a very remarkable specimen, not only of his own character, but of the unparalleled degeneracy of the age in which he lived. The consuls of that year were Domitius Ænobarbus, and Appius Pulcher, the person to whom the preceding letter, and several others in this book, are addressed. It was stipulated between these worthy magistrates, and the two associates who were joint-candidates to succeed them, that they should mutually assist each other in their respective views. On the part of the consuls it was agreed, that they should promote the election of Memmius and his friend Calvinus, with all their credit and power. These, in return, entered into a bond in the penalty of somewhat more than 3000*l*. by which they obliged themselves to procure three Augurs, who should attest, that they were present in the Comitia when a law passed to invest these consuls with the military command in their provinces. The contract farther added, that they would also produce three persons of consular rank, who should likewise depose, that they were not only present in the senate, but actually in the number of those who signed a decree, by which the usual proconsular appointments were granted to Appius and Ænobarbus. The truth, however, was, that so far from any law or decree of this nature ever having passed, it had not even been *proposed* either to the people or the senate. *En.*

*Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam!*

Extraordinary



expected in Athens<sup>6</sup>. On the one hand, if that meeting would have renewed my concern for the

Extraordinary as this infamous association was, it is still more surprising that Memmius should have had the front publicly to avow it, by becoming himself the informer of the whole transaction. Yet so the fact is: and, in compliance with the persuasions of Pompey, he laid open the whole of this shameful agreement to the senate. It is difficult to imagine the motive that could induce Memmius to make a discovery, which must shew him to the world, in every view, so completely abandoned. But Pompey, it is highly probable, instigated him to this resolution, with the hope that the rendering public so unexampled a violation of all that ought to be held most sacred in society, would add strength to those flames which now raged in the commonwealth. For most of the historians agree, that Pompey secretly fomented the present tumults, in order to reduce the republic to the necessity of investing him with the supreme authority. What resolutions were taken in the senate, upon this occasion, do not clearly appear: for those passages in the letters to Atticus wherein their proceedings in relation to this affair seem to be hinted at, are extremely dark; and rendered still more obscure by the negligence of the transcribers, in blending epistles together of different and distant dates. It is certain, however, that Memmius lost his election: some time after which, being impeached, and sentenced to banishment, he retired to Athens; where he seems to have spent the remainder of his days. He was a man of greater parts than application, and would have proved an excellent orator, if he had trusted less to the strength of his natural genius: or rather, indeed, if he had not been too indolent to improve his faculties of this kind, by an habitual exercise. He was not too lazy, however, to employ them with the ladies: in which he was extremely successful: particularly with the wife of Marcus Lucullus, brother to the celebrated Lucius Lucullus, so well known to every reader of the Roman story. He seems, in truth, to have been one of that sort of men, who, in the language of Shakespear, is *formed to make woman false*; at least if a poet may be supposed no flatterer in the picture he draws of his patron. For Lucretius, who inscribed his poem to Memmius, represents Venus, in his invocation to that goddess,

the injustice<sup>7</sup> which has been done you; I should have had the satisfaction, on the other, of being a witness of your supporting it with the most philosophical magnanimity. Upon the whole, however, I cannot but lament that

I did

dess, as having bestowed upon this her favourite, every charm that could render him the most graceful and accomplished of the sons of men:

*Te sociam studeo scribundis versibus esse,  
Quos ego de Rerum Natura pangere conor  
Memmiadæ nostro: quam tu, Dea, tempore in omne  
Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.*

Thy aid, celestial Queen of beauty, bring,  
While nature's laws in vent'rous verse I sing;  
To Memmius sing: the man by Thee design'd,  
With ev'ry grace and ev'ry art refin'd,  
To shine the first and fairest of his kind.

*Gifanii prolegom. in Lucret. de gent. Memmia. Ad Att. iv. 18. Suet. in Aug. 40. Virgil. Æn. i. 286. De clar. orat. 70. Ad Att. i. 18. Lucret. i. 25.*

<sup>6</sup> Cicero took Athens in his way to Cilicia: and Memmius left that city the day before his arrival. Manutius supposes that he withdrew on purpose to avoid our author, with whom, he imagines, Memmius was disgusted for not having given him his assistance at his trial. But this is merely conjecture: and has so much the less foundation, as there is not the least hint of this kind in the letter to Atticus, wherein Cicero acquaints him with the circumstance of his not meeting with Memmius. *Ad Att. v. 10.*

<sup>7</sup> It is by no means certain upon what occasion Memmius was banished. The principal commentators, indeed, are of opinion, that it was in consequence of a prosecution that was commenced against him for those corrupt practices mentioned in the first remark on this letter. But it seems to appear from Cicero's epistles to his brother, either that Memmius and his associates were all acquitted of that impeachment, or that their several prosecutions were dropped. *Vid. ad Q. F. iii. 2. 3. 8.*

I did not see you : for the uneasiness I feel at your unmerited sufferings is too great to have admitted of much increase by that interview ; and, in all other respects, it would have added very considerably to my pleasure. It is a pleasure, therefore, in which I shall, without scruple, indulge myself, the first convenient opportunity. In the mean time, so much of the purpose of my intended visit as may be explained, and, I should hope, settled too, in a letter I will now lay before you. The favour I am going to request, though of little consequence to you, is of much importance to me : however, ere I enter upon the subject, let me previously assure you, that I do not desire you to comply with my inclinations any farther than it shall be agreeable to your own. I must inform you then, in the first place, that I am most intimately united with Patro, the Epicurean ; in every article, I mean, except his philosophy : for there, indeed, we are at a great distance. I received the first marks of his esteem, so long ago as when he distinguished himself at Rome by his singular attachment to you and your family : and in the cause which he lately gained in our courts, I was a principal advocate both for him and his associates. I must add, that he was recommended to me by my very worthy  
3 friend



friend<sup>9</sup> Phædrus: a man whom, long before I became acquainted with Philo<sup>1</sup>, and, indeed, from my childhood, I always highly valued. The first quality that recommended him to my esteem, was his philosophical abilities: as I afterwards had reason to admire him for his moral and social virtues. Before I left Rome, I received a letter from Patro requesting me, in the first place, to intercede with you to be reconciled to him; and in the next, that you would make him a grant of an old ruinous edifice which belongs, it seems, to the college of Epicurus<sup>2</sup>. I forbore writing to you, however, upon this subject, as being unwilling to interrupt you in the design, which I then thought you entertained, of building upon that spot. But I now comply with his solicitation, as he has assured me, since my arrival in Athens, that it is the general opinion of your friends, that you have totally laid aside this scheme.

<sup>9</sup> Phædrus, it is supposed, was the predecessor of Patro in the Epicurean college.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, in another part of his writings, mentions an Academic philosopher of this name, whose lectures he attended. If the same person be meant in both places, as indeed is highly probable, Mr. Ross is undoubtedly right in charging the learned Manutius with a mistake, in imagining Philo to have been an Epicurean, and predecessor to Phædrus.

<sup>2</sup> Memmius had obtained a grant of this edifice from the Athenians, in order to build a house for his own use.

scheme. Should this prove to be the real case, and your particular interest should no longer interfere, let me prevail with you to grant his petition. And if you should have taken any little prejudice against my friend, by the ill offices of his countrymen, (whose capricious tempers I am well acquainted with) I entreat you to renounce your resentment, not only for my sake, but in compliance also with the suggestions of your own generous nature. Shall I freely own to you my real sentiments? To confess the truth then, there does not appear any just reason either for his being so earnest in pressing this affair of the edifice, or for your persisting in your refusal. This, at least, is most evident, that it is much more suitable to a man of his character, than of yours, to be obstinate in trifles. You are well apprised, I know, of the plea which Patro alledges, to justify his warmth upon this occasion. I need not mention, therefore, that he urges the honour and reverence which is due to the last injunctions of Epicurus<sup>3</sup>; the particular regard he

<sup>3</sup> "Diogenes Laertius hath preserved, in his life of Epicurus, the will of that great philosopher. In the first article, the schools and gardens, and every thing belonging to them, are entailed upon his successors in that sect of philosophy, which should be called after his name." Mr. Ross.

he owes to the earnest request of Phædrus: together with that veneration which ought to be paid to a mansion impressed with the foot-steps of so many celebrated philosophers. One cannot, indeed, condemn his zeal in this instance, without deriding, at the same time, the whole system of his philosophy. But neither you nor I are such enemies to those of his sect, as not to be inclined to pardon an enthusiasm of this sort; especially as it is a prejudice (if it be a prejudice) that arises from the weakness, not the wickedness, of his heart. But I must not forget to mention another inducement, which engaged me to apply to you in his favour. I will introduce it by assuring you, that I look upon Atticus as my brother: and, indeed, there is no man who has a more considerable share of my heart, or from whose friendship I derive greater satisfaction\*. It is in pursuance of his most earnest entreaty, as well as of Patro's, that I make the present application. And, though Atticus is by no means of a temper to be importunate, nor has any ambitious

\* The friendship which subsisted between Cicero and Atticus is so well known, even to the most common reader, that it would be impertinent to make it the subject of a note: as it would be foreign to the purpose of these remarks, to enter into the character of that celebrated Roman, who is only mentioned incidentally in this place, and bears no part in the correspondence contained in the present collection.



bitious purposes of his own to gratify ; yet he has desired me, with all the ardour imaginable, to exert my utmost interest with you in this affair. Not that he is influenced by his particular attachment to this sect ; for he has too much learning as well as judgment, to be a bigot to their unphilosophical tenets : but he is swayed entirely by his friendship for Patro, and the esteem he entertained for his predecessor in this college, the worthy Phædrus. He is persuaded that my influence with you is so great, that the slightest intimation from me would prevail with you to relinquish your right to this edifice, even though you had intended to make use of it for your own purposes. If he should hear, therefore, that notwithstanding you have no such design, I have, nevertheless, proved unsuccessful in my application ; he will have a worse opinion of *my* friendship than of *yours*, and imagine I did not sufficiently enforce his request. I entreat you then to signify to your agents at Athens, your consent to the repeal of the decree of the Areopagites<sup>5</sup>, which has been made in relation to this structure. Nevertheless, I will end as I began, and again assure

<sup>5</sup> The Areopagites were magistrates who presided in the supreme council and court of judicature at Athen, called the Areopagus.

assure you, that although nothing will be more acceptable to me, than your compliance in the present instance; yet I press it no farther than as it may co-incide with your own inclinations. Farewel.

## LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS<sup>6</sup>.

COULD you seriously then imagine, my friend, that I commissioned you to send me the idle news of the town; matches of gladiators, adjournments of causes, robberies, and the rest of those uninteresting occurrences which no one ventures to mention to me, even when I am in the midst of them at Rome? Far other are the accounts which I expect from your hand, as I know not any man whose judgment in politics I have more reason to value. I should esteem it a misemployment of your talents, even were you to transmit to me those more important transactions that daily arise in the republic, unless they should happen to relate immediately to myself. There are other less penetrating politicians, who will send me intelligence

<sup>6</sup> This letter, as well as the preceding one, was written from Athens, and is an answer to the 25th of this book, p. 272.

intelligence of this sort, and I shall be abundantly supplied with it likewise by common fame. In short, it is not an account either of what has lately been transacted, or is in present agitation, that I require in your letters: I expect, as from one whose discernment is capable of looking far into futurity, your opinion of what is likely to happen. Thus, by seeing a plan, as it were, of the republic, I shall be enabled to judge what kind of structure will probably arise. Hitherto, however, I have no reason to charge you with having been negligent in communicating to me your prophetic conjectures. For the events which have lately happened in the commonwealth, were much beyond any man's penetration; I am sure, at least, they were beyond mine.

I passed several days with Pompey<sup>7</sup> in conversation upon public affairs; but it is neither prudent, nor possible, to give you the particulars in a letter. In general, however, I will assure you, that he is animated with the most patriot sentiments<sup>8</sup>, and is prudently prepared,  
as

<sup>7</sup> See rem. 8. p. 275. of this vol.

<sup>8</sup> Cicero so often changed his opinion, or, at least, his language, in regard to Pompey, that it is difficult to determine what his true sentiments of him were. It is probable, however, that he here speaks the dictates of his real thoughts, not only as he gives the same account to Atticus, but because Pompey received him with particular civility, a circumstance



as well as resolutely determined, to act as the interest of the republic shall require. I would advise you, therefore, wholly to attach yourself to him; and, believe me, he will rejoice to embrace you as his friend. He now, indeed, entertains the same opinion both with you and myself, of the good and ill intentions of the different parties in the republic.

I have spent these last ten days at Athens; from whence I am this moment setting out. During my continuance in this city, I have frequently enjoyed the company of our friend Gallus Caninius<sup>9</sup>.

I recommend all my affairs to your care and protection, but particularly (what, indeed, is my principal concern) that my residence in the province may not be prolonged<sup>1</sup>. I will not pre-  
scribe

cumstance which seems at all times to have had a very considerable influence upon Cicero's judgment, concerning the characters and designs of men. *Vid. Ad Att. v. 6, 7.*

<sup>9</sup> It appears, by the fifth letter of the preceding book, that when Pompey was exhibiting his entertainments at the opening of his celebrated theatre; Cicero was engaged in the defence of one Gallus Caninius. Manutius conjectures, that this is the same person, who, in consequence of that impeachment, was now, he supposes, an exile at Athens.

<sup>1</sup> The succession to the several provinces was usually annual. As Cicero entered upon his government much against his inclinations, he was extremely uneasy, lest, by any accidental circumstances of the republic, he should be continued in it beyond the expiration of his year. The province was a scene by no means suitable to his temper or talents; and he was impatient to return to the forum, and the

scribe the methods you should employ for that purpose, as you are the most competent judge by what means, and by whose intervention it may be best effected. Farewel.

July the 6th.

## LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS<sup>2</sup> to CICERO.

YES, my friend, Messalla<sup>3</sup> is most certainly acquitted, and acquitted too, not only by a majority in the several orders<sup>4</sup>, which compose the

senate, where he imagined he could shine with a much more advantageous lustre. His conduct, however, was in no part of his life so unquestionably laudable, as in his administration of Cilicia, as will appear, perhaps, from the remarks on the following book. *Ad Att.* v. 10. 15.

<sup>2</sup> It seems probable, from one of the epistles to Atticus, that Cicero received this letter at Gyarus, a little island in the Ægean sea, at which he touched in his voyage to Cilicia. *Ad Att.* v. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Marcus Valerius Messalla was consul in the year of Rome 700. The corrupt measures which he, as well as the rest of those who were joint-candidates with him, pursued, in order to secure their election, were so extravagantly profuse, as to occasion the interest of money to advance to double the usual rate. It was for those illegal practices, that he was this year brought upon his trial. *Ad Att.* iv. 15.

<sup>4</sup> The bench of judges, by a late regulation of Pompey, was composed of senators, knights, and certain officers always chosen from among the Plebeians, called *Tribuni ærarii*, who, in modern language, might, perhaps, be styled auditors of the treasury. These judges (somewhat in the nature of our juries) were divided into three classes, agreeably

the bench of judges, but by every individual member of each respective class. I give you this as a fact within my own knowledge, for I was present when their verdict was delivered. You must not imagine, however, that the world is convinced of his innocence; on the contrary, never was there an event more unexpected, or which raised so universal an indignation. For my own part, even with all my prejudices in his favour, I was under the utmost astonishment when I heard him pronounced not guilty; and, indeed, it was a circumstance I so little expected, that I was actually preparing to condole with him on the reverse. What must have been the surprise then of others, less biassed in his behalf! The whole assembly, in truth, warmly exclaimed against the judges, and very strongly intimated, that they looked upon them as guilty of the most insufferable corruption. My friend, in the mean time, is in much greater danger than he was before, as he will now most assuredly be indicted on the Licinian law<sup>5</sup>. I must not forget

ably to their respective orders, and gave their verdict by ballots.

<sup>5</sup> The author of this law was M. Licinius Crassus, when he was consul with Pompey, an. urb. 698. It was called *de Sodalitiis*, by which seems to have been understood an unlawful making of parties at elections. See *Ken. R. Antiq.* p. 177.



forget to add, that the day after his trial, his advocate Hortensius<sup>6</sup> appeared in Curio's theatre<sup>7</sup>, with a view, as I suppose, of receiving the general congratulations. But he no sooner entered, than lo !

*The hiss contemptuous, and indignant roar,  
With thunder harsh the rending concave tore.*

This circumstance is so much the more observable, as Hortensius has passed on to a good old age, without ever having before been thus insulted. But it broke out upon him with so much violence in the present instance, that it might well suffice for a whole life ; as I am persuaded, indeed, it occasioned him heartily to repent of the victory he had obtained.

I have no political news to send you. Marcellus has dropped the design<sup>8</sup>, upon which he was lately so intent ; but not so much from indolence, I believe, as prudence. It is wholly uncertain

<sup>6</sup> Hortensius was uncle to Messalla, and the only orator of this age whose eloquence stood in any degree of competition with Cicero's. See vol. ii. p. 45. rem. 5.

<sup>7</sup> This theatre was erected by Curio on occasion of those games which he exhibited in honour of his father's memory. See rem. 6. p. 236. of this vol.

<sup>8</sup> Cælius in this instance was not so happy in his conjectures, as Cicero represents him in the foregoing letter. For Marcellus had not dropped the design to which Cælius here alludes ; as appears, not only from the authority cited in rem. 7. p. 275. of this vol. but also from one of his own subsequent epistles. See the 7th letter of the following book. p. 359.

uncertain who will be our succeeding consuls. As to my own pursuits, there are two competitors with me for the Ædileship; the one really is, and the other would fain be thought a man of quality. In short, Marcus Octavius<sup>9</sup>, and Caius Hirrus<sup>1</sup> are candidates with me for that office<sup>2</sup>. I mention this, as I know your contempt

<sup>9</sup> No particular account can be given of the person here mentioned. It is certain, however, he was not the same Octavius who was father of Augustus Cæsar. For it appears by the epistles to Atticus that the latter was governor of Macedonia long before the time when this letter was written; and consequently could not now be a candidate for the office of Ædile.

<sup>1</sup> Hirrus was a warm partizan of Pompey; but if Cicero, who was his declared enemy, may be credited, he was of a character more likely to prejudice than advance any cause he should espouse; for he represents him as an empty conceited coxcomb, who had the mortification to stand unrivall'd in the good opinion he entertained of his own merit and importance. *O Dii!* (says he, speaking of Hirrus in a letter to his brother) *O Dii! quam ineptus; quam se ipse amans sine rivali!* Yet a time came when Cicero did not scruple to court the friendship of this man, whom he so much affected to despise, and when he was making interest to obtain the honour of a triumph for his exploits in Cilicia, we find him applying to Atticus for his good offices, in order to close the breach between Hirrus and himself. Cicero seems, indeed, upon many occasions, to have recollected too late, that in popular governments, a man who is not superior to the ambition and interests of the world, can scarcely make a contemptible enemy. *Ad Q. F.* iii. 8. *Ad Att.* vii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Ædiles were of two kinds, plebeian and curule; and it was the latter office that Cælius was at this time soliciting. They had the care of the temples, theatres, and other public structures; they were the judges, likewise, in all causes relative to the selling or exchanging estates. *Rosin. Antiq.*

tempt for the latter will raise your impatience to be informed of the event of this election. I entreat you, as soon as you shall hear that I am chosen, to give proper directions about the Panthers<sup>3</sup>; and, in the mean time, that you would endeavour to procure the sum of money which is due to me on the bond of Sittius.

I sent my first collection of domestic news by Lucius Castrinius Pætus, and I have given the subsequent part to the bearer of this letter. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>3</sup> It was customary for the Ædiles to entertain the people with public shews twice, during their office. The principal part of these entertainments consisted in combats of wild beasts of the most uncommon kind. *Manut.*



## LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 702.]

From the same.

OWN the truth, my friend: have I not verified what I could not persuade you to believe, when you left Rome, and written to you as frequently as I promised? I am sure, at least, if all my letters have reached your hands, you must acknowledge that I have been a more punctual correspondent than yourself. I am the more regular in my commerce of this kind, as it is the only method I have of amusing those few vacant hours I can steal from business, and which I used to take so much pleasure in passing with you. I greatly, indeed, lament your absence, and look upon it, not only as having reduced me, but all Rome in general, to a state of total solitude. When you were within my reach, I was careless enough to let whole days slip by me without seeing you: but now you are absent, I am every moment regretting the loss of your company. Thanks to my noble competitor, Hirrus, for giving me an additional reason thus frequently to wish for you. It would afford you high diversion, in truth, to observe with what a ridiculous awkwardness

wardness this formidable rival of yours<sup>4</sup> endeavours to conceal his mortification, in finding that my interest in the approaching election<sup>5</sup> is much stronger than his own. Believe me, however, it is more for your gratification than mine, that I am desirous you may soon receive such an account of his success in this pursuit, as I know you wish. For, as to myself, his disappointment may possibly prove a means of my being chosen in conjunction with a colleague, whose superior finances will draw me, I fear, into much inconvenient expence. But, however that may be, I shall rejoice if Hirrus should be thrown out, as it will supply us with an inexhaustible fund of mirth. And this appears likely enough to prove the case; for the disgust which the people have conceived against the other candidate, Marcus Octavius, does not seem to have any great effect in lessening their many objections to Hirrus.

As to what concerns the behaviour of Philotimus, in relation to Milo's estate<sup>6</sup>, I have endeavoured

<sup>4</sup> Hirrus stood in competition with Cicero for the office of Augur, when the latter was chosen.

<sup>5</sup> See the preceding letter.

<sup>6</sup> Milo having been sentenced to banishment, (See rem. 1. p. 257. of this vol.) his estate was sold for the benefit of his creditors. Philotimus, a freedman of Cicero, bought this estate, in partnership with some others, at an undervalue. It was thought strange that Cicero should suffer  
Philotimus,

deavoured that he shall act in such a manner as to give full satisfaction to Milo and his friends, and at the same time clear your character from all imputation.

And now I have a favour to beg in my turn: let me entreat you, when your leisure shall permit (as I hope it soon will) to give me an instance of your regard, by inscribing to me some of your literary performances. You will wonder, perhaps, at the oddness of this request; but I am very desirous, I confess, that posterity should see, among the many ingenious monuments you have erected to friendship, some memorial, likewise, of the amity which subsisted between us. You who possess the whole circle of science will best judge what would be the most proper subject for this purpose; but I should be glad it might be of a kind

Philotimus, who acted as a sort of steward in his family, to engage in a purchase of this kind, which was always looked upon as odious, and was particularly so in the present case: for Cicero had received great obligations from Milo. Accordingly the latter complained of it, in the letters he wrote to his friends at Rome. This alarmed Cicero for his reputation, and he seems to have written to Cælius, as he did to several others of his correspondents, to accommodate this affair in the way that would be most to his honour. It was not easy, however, entirely to vindicate him upon this article: for though he pleaded in his justification an intent of serving Milo, yet it appears very evidently, from his letters to Atticus upon this subject, that he shared with Philotimus in the advantages of the purchase. *Ascon. in orat. pro Milon. Ad Att. v. 8. vi. 4. 5. See also Mong. rem. sur les let à Att. vol. iii. p. 48.*



kind that will take in the greatest number of readers, and at the same time bear a proper relation to my own studies and character.—Farewel.

## LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I ARRIVED at Tralles<sup>7</sup> on the 27th of July, where I found Lucilius waiting for me with your letter, which he delivered, together with your message. You could not have employed upon this occasion a more friendly hand, or one who is better qualified to give me light into those affairs concerning which I was so desirous of being informed. Accordingly I listened to his account with great attention, as I read your letter with much pleasure. I will not remind you of the numerous good offices which have passed between us; since that part of my last, you tell me, tho' extremely agreeable to you, was by no means necessary. I entirely agree with you, indeed, that a well-confirmed friendship needs not to be animated with any memorials of this nature.—You must allow me, however, to return those acknowledgments I so justly owe you, for the obliging

<sup>7</sup> A city in Asia Minor.

obliging precautions which I find, by your letter, you have taken, in order to ease me in the future functions of my government.— Highly acceptable to me as these your generous services are, can I fail of being desirous to convince both you and the world that I am most warmly your friend? If there be any who pretend to doubt of this truth, it is rather because they wish it otherwise, than because it is not sufficiently evident. If they do not yet perceive it, however, they certainly shall: as we are neither of us so obscure, that our actions can pass unregarded: and the proofs I purpose to give, will be too conspicuous not to force themselves upon their observation.— But I will not indulge myself any farther on this subject, choosing to refer you to my actions, rather than my professions.

As I find the route I proposed to take has raised some doubt in you, whether you shall be able to give me a meeting, I think it necessary to explain that matter. In the conversation which I had with your freedman, Phantias, at Brundisium, I told him I would land in any part of the province that should be most convenient to you. Accordingly he mentioned Sida, as being the port, he said, where you intended to embark. It was my resolution, therefore,

therefore, to have sailed thither; but meeting afterwards with our friend Clodius at Corcyra<sup>8</sup>, he dissuaded me from that design; assuring me that you would be at Laodicea on my arrival. I should have preferred the former, as being much the nearest port, and, indeed, the most agreeable to me, especially as I imagined it would be so to you. But you have since, it seems, altered your plan; and, therefore, you now can best settle the measures for our interview. As for myself, I propose to be at Laodicea<sup>9</sup> about the first of August, where I shall continue a few days, in order to get my bills exchanged. From thence I intend to go to the army; so that I hope to reach Iconium<sup>1</sup> towards the 13th of the same month. But if any accident should prevent or retard these designs, (as, indeed, I am at present far distant both from the places and the purposes of my destination) I will take care to give you as frequent and as expeditious notice as possible of the several times and stages of my journey. I neither ought, nor, in truth, desire to lay you under any difficulties: however, if it might be effected

<sup>8</sup> An island in the Ionian sea, at which Cicero touched in his voyage to Cilicia. It is now called *Corfou*, and belongs to the republic of Venice.

<sup>9</sup> A city in Phrygia, situated on the river Lycus.

<sup>1</sup> A principal city in the province of Cilicia. It still subsists under the name of *Cogni*, and belongs to the Turkish dominions.



effected without inconvenience to yourself, it seems greatly for our mutual interest that we should have a conference before you leave the province. Nevertheless, if any disappointment should obstruct our interview, you may still rely upon my best services, and with the same security as if we had met. In the meanwhile, I shall forbear to enter upon the subject of our affairs by letter, till I despair of talking them over with you in person.

I spent the three days I continued at Ephesus<sup>2</sup>, with Scævola<sup>3</sup>. But though we entered very freely into conversation, he did not mention the least word of your having desired him to take upon himself the government of the province, during the interval between your leaving it and my arrival. I wish, however, it had been in his power (for I cannot persuade myself it was not in his inclination) to have complied with your request. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>2</sup> A very celebrated city in Ionia, situated not far from Smyrna.

<sup>3</sup> He was probably either quæstor, or lieutenant, to Appius.

## LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

YOU are certainly to be envied, who have every day some new wonder to enjoy : as your admiration receives constant supplies in the accounts of those strange events that happen amongst us. Thus, with what astonishment will you hear that Messalla<sup>4</sup>, after having been acquitted of his first impeachment, was condemned on a second ; that Marcellus<sup>5</sup> is chosen consul ; that Calidius<sup>6</sup>, after having lost his election, was

<sup>4</sup> He was cousin to the present consul, Marcus Marcellus. The reader will find an account of him in the farther progress of these remarks.

<sup>5</sup> In the text he is called Marcus Claudius : but Manutius and Corradus both agree in the reading here adopted, which is likewise confirmed by Pighius. He was competitor for the consulate with Marcellus, mentioned in the preceding note. The wonder, therefore, in these two instances, was, (as Mr. Ross observes) that Marcellus should be chosen consul, who was an avowed enemy to Cæsar ; while Calidius, though supported by the Cæsarian party, lost his election.

<sup>6</sup> Calidius was one of the most agreeable orators of his age, as Cicero, who has drawn his character at large, informs us. His sentiments were conceived with uncommon delicacy, as they were delivered in the most correct, perspicuous, and elegant expression. His words were so happily combined together, and accorded with each other in such a well-adjusted arrangement, that Cicero, by a very

was immediately impeached by the two Galli; and that Dolabella<sup>7</sup> is appointed one of the Quindecimvirs<sup>8</sup> ! In one article, however, you are a loser by your absence ; as it deprived you of a most diverting spectacle in the rueful countenance which Lentulus<sup>9</sup> exhibited, when he found himself disappointed of his election. It was an event for which he was lo little prepared, that he entered the field in all the gay confidence of victory : whilst his competitor Dolabella, on the contrary, was so diffident of success, that if  
our

very strong image, compares his style to a piece of beautiful in-laid work. His metaphors were so justly imagined and so properly introduced, that they rather seemed to arise spontaneously out of his subject, than to have been transplanted from a foreign soil. His periods, at the same time, were exquisitely musical. They did not, however, lull the ear with one uniform cadence ; but were artfully diversified with all the various modulations of the most skilful harmony. In short, if to instruct and to please had been the single excellencies of an orator ; Calidius would have merited the first rank in the Roman Forum. But he forgot that the principal business of his profession was to animate and to inflame. *Cic de clar. orat.* 274.

<sup>7</sup> A particular account will be given of him in the notes on the following book.

<sup>8</sup> They were the presiding magistrates at the Appollinarian and secular games, and entrusted likewise with the care of the Sibylline oracles. See Mr. Ross on this epistle.

<sup>9</sup> There is some variation amongst the MSS. in the reading of this name. The best commentators, however, suppose, that this person is the same who was advanced to the consulship two years after the date of this letter : that is, in the year of Rome 704. It appears he was a competitor with Dolabella for the office of Quindecimvir.



our friends of the Equestrian order had not been too wise to have suffered him, he would have tamely retreated without the least contest. But as much disposed as you may be to wonder at our transactions, you will not be surprised, I dare say, when I inform you that Servius, the Tribune elect, has been tried and convicted; and that Curio<sup>10</sup> is a candidate to succeed him. This last circumstance greatly alarms those who are unacquainted with the real good qualities of Curio's heart. I hope, and indeed believe, he will act agreeably to his professions, and join with the senate in supporting the friends of the republic. I am sure, at least, he is full of these designs at present: in which Cæsar's conduct has been the principal occasion of engaging him. For Cæsar, though he spares no pains or expence to gain over even the lowest of the people to his interest<sup>11</sup>, has thought fit to treat Curio with singular contempt. The latter has behaved with so much temper upon this occasion, that he,  
who

<sup>10</sup> See rem. 1. p. 217. of this vol.

<sup>11</sup> The account which Dion Cassius gives of Cæsar, exactly corresponds with what Cælius here asserts. For it appears, from this historian, that Cæsar, when he could not by direct means secure the master in his interest, insinuated himself by proper applications into the good graces of the favourite slave: and, by condescensions of this political kind, he gained over many persons of principal rank in Rome. *Dio*, xl. p. 149.

who never acted with artifice in all his life<sup>12</sup>, is suspected to have dissembled his resentment, in order, the more effectually, to defeat the schemes of those who oppose his election: I mean the Lælii and the Antonii, together with the rest of that wonderful party.

I have been so much engaged by the difficulties which have retarded the several elections, that I could not find leisure to write to you sooner: and, indeed, as I every day expected they would be determined, I waited their conclusion, that I might give you, at once, an account of the whole. But it is now the first of August, and they are not yet over; the elections of prætors having met with some unexpected delays. As to that in which I am candidate, I can give you no account which way it is likely to be decided: only it is generally thought that Hirrus will not be chosen. This is collected from the fate that has attended Vinicianus, who  
was

<sup>12</sup> If Curio did not act with artifice in the present instance: (of which, however, there is great reason to doubt) it is certain, at least, that he was far from being so incapable of assuming that character, as Cælius here represents him. On the contrary, it appears by the concurrent testimony of the ancient historians, that he secretly favoured the cause of Cæsar, long before he avowed his party. And Dion Cassius, in particular, assures us, that Curio, at the same time that he pretended to act in concert with the enemies of Cæsar, was only gaining their confidence, in order to betray them. *Vcl Paterc.* ii. 48. *Dio.* xl. p. 149.

was a candidate for the office of Plebeian Ædile<sup>13</sup>. That foolish project of his for the nomination of a dictator<sup>14</sup> (which we formerly, you may remember, exposed to so much ridicule) suddenly turned the election against him: and the people expressed the loudest acclamations of joy at his repulse. At the same time, Hirrus was universally called upon by the populace to give up his pretensions at the ensuing election. I hope, therefore, you will very soon hear that this affair is determined in the manner you wish with respect to me, and which you scarce dare promise yourself<sup>15</sup>, I know with regard to Hirrus.

As to the state of the commonwealth; we begin to give up all expectation that the face of  
public

<sup>13</sup> The Plebeian Ædiles were chosen out of the commons: and were, in some respects a sort of coadjutors to the Tribunes.

<sup>14</sup> The dictator was a magistrate invested with supreme and absolute power: but was never created unless on emergencies of great and sudden danger, which required the exertion of an extraordinary authority. Accordingly, it was on occasion of the disturbances that happened at Rome in the year 700, (See rem. 9. p. 256. and rem. 5. p. 263. of this vol.) that some of the friends and flatterers of Pompey proposed him for this office. Vinicianus and Hirrus were the principal promoters of this scheme: but it was so unacceptable to the people in general, that this single circumstance, it appears, turned the election against the former; and, probably, was the chief reason that the latter was likewise disappointed of the Ædileship. See let. 29. of this book, p. 295. *Ad. Q. F. iii. 8.*

<sup>15</sup> Because Hirrus was supported by Pompey.



public affairs will be changed. However, at a meeting of the senate, holden on the 22d of the last month in the temple of Apollo, upon a debate relating to the payment of the forces commanded by Pompey<sup>16</sup>, mention was made of that legion, which, as appeared by his accounts, had been lent to Cæsar : and he was asked, of what number of men it consisted, and for what purposes it was borrowed. In short, Pompey was pushed so strongly upon this article, that he found himself under a necessity of promising to recal this legion out of Gaul : but he added, at the same time, that the clamours of his enemies should not force him to take this step too precipitately. It was afterwards moved, that the question might be put concerning the election of a successor to Cæsar. Accordingly the senate came to a resolution, that Pompey (who was just going to the army at Ariminum<sup>17</sup>, and is now actually set out for that purpose) should be ordered

<sup>16</sup> Pompey, though he remained in Rome, was at this time governor of Spain : which had been continued to him for four years at the end of his late consulship. It was the payment of his troops in that province, which was under the consideration of the senate. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

<sup>17</sup> Now called Rimini, situated upon the Rubicon : a river which divided Italy from that part of the Roman province called Cisalpine Gaul. The army here mentioned, is supposed to be part of those four legions which were decreed to Pompey for the support of his government in Spain. *Vid. Plut. ibid.*

ordered to return to Rome with all expedition, that the affair relating to a general election of new governors for all the provinces, might be debated in his presence. This point, I imagine, will be brought before the senate on the 13th of this month: when, if no infamous obstacles should be thrown in the way by the tribunes<sup>18</sup>, the house will certainly come to some resolution. For Pompey, in the course of the debate, let fall an intimation, that he “thought every man owed obedience to the authority of that assembly.” However, I am impatient to hear what Paulus, the senior consul elect, will say when he delivers his opinion upon this question.

I repeat my former request in relation to the money due to me on the bond of Sittius: and I do so, that you may see it is an article in which I am greatly interested. I must again, likewise, entreat you to employ the Cybiratæ<sup>19</sup>,  
in

<sup>18</sup> Some of the tribunes, together with Sulpicius, one of the present consuls, were wholly in Cæsar's interest.—They thought, or pretended to think, that it was highly unjust to divest Cæsar of his government, before the time was completed for which it had been decreed: and of which there now remained about two years unexpired. *Dio*, xl. p. 148.

<sup>19</sup> “Cibyra was a city of Phrygia major, situated upon the banks of the river Meander, and gave name to one of the three Asiatic dioceses, which were under the jurisdiction of the governor of Cilicia.” *Mr. Ross*.

in order to procure me some Panthers. I have only to add, that we have received certain accounts of the death of Ptolemy<sup>20</sup>. Let me know, therefore, what measures you would advise me to take upon this occasion; in what condition he has left his kingdom; and in whose hands the administration is placed. Farewel.

August the first.

### LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 702.]

From the same.

How far you may be alarmed at the invasion<sup>1</sup> which threatens your province and the neighbouring countries, I know not; but for myself,

<sup>20</sup> Ptolemy Auletes: of whom an account has been given in the notes on the first book. By the following inquiries which Cælius makes, it is probable, he was one of those who had lent money to that king when he was at Rome, soliciting the senate to assist him with troops for the recovery of his dominions. See rem. 2. p. 51. of this vol.

<sup>1</sup> The Parthians, having lately obtained a most signal victory over Crassus, (an account of whose unfortunate expedition has already been given in the course of these notes) were preparing to make an incursion in the Roman provinces that lay contiguous to their dominions.—Accordingly they soon afterwards executed this design by invading Syria and Cilicia: as will be related at large in the letters of the following book.

The kingdom of Parthia is now included in the empire of Persia; of which it makes a very considerable province.



myself, I confess, I am extremely anxious for the consequence. Could we contrive, indeed, that the enemy's forces should be only in proportion to the number of yours, and just sufficient to entitle you to the honour of a triumph<sup>2</sup>; there could not be a more desirable circumstance. But the misfortune is, if the Parthians should make any attempt, I well know it will be a very powerful one: and I am sensible, at the same time, that you are so little in a condition to oppose their march, that you have scarce troops to defend a single defile. But the world, in general, will not be so reasonable as to make the proper allowances for this circumstance. On the contrary, it is expected from a man in your station, that he should be prepared for every occurrence that may arise, without once considering whether he is furnished with the necessary supplies for that purpose. I am still the more uneasy upon your account, as I foresee the contests concerning affairs in Gaul will retard the nomination of your successor: and though I dare say you have already had this contingency in your view, yet I thought proper to apprise you of its probability,

<sup>2</sup> No general could legally claim this honour, unless he had destroyed 5000 of the enemy in one engagement. *Val. Max.* ii. 8.

lity, that you might be so much the more early in adjusting your measures accordingly. I need not tell you that the usual artifices will undoubtedly be played off. A day will be appointed for considering of a successor to Cæsar: Upon which some tribune<sup>3</sup> will interpose his negative; and then a second will probably declare, that unless the senate shall be at liberty to put the question freely, concerning all the provinces in general, he will not suffer it to be debated with regard to any in particular. And thus we shall be trifled with for a considerable time: possibly, indeed, two or three years may be spun out by these contemptible artifices.

If any thing new had occurred in public affairs, I should, as usual, have sent you the account, together with my sentiments thereupon: but, at present, the wheels of our political machine seem to be altogether motionless. Marcellus is still pursuing his former designs concerning the provinces: but he has not yet been able to assemble a competent number of senators. Had<sup>4</sup> this motion been brought on the preceding

<sup>3</sup> See rem. 18. on the foregoing letter.

<sup>4</sup> There is an obscurity in the original, which the commentators have endeavoured to dissipate by various readings. None of their conjectures, however, appear so much to the purpose as that of an ingenious gentleman, to whose animadversions I have already acknowledged myself indebted. See rem.<sup>c</sup> p. 197 of this vol. My judicious friend supposes that  
some

preceding year, and had Curio at the same time been tribune: *it would, probably, have succeeded*: but as affairs are now circumstanced, you are sensible how easy it will be for Cæsar, regardless as he is of the public interest, when it stands in competition with his own, to obstruct all our proceedings. Farewel.

## LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 702.]

From the same.

WILL you not be surprised when I tell you of the victory I have gained over Hirrus<sup>5</sup>? But if you knew how easy a conquest he proved, you would blush to think, that so powerless a competitor once ventured to stand forth as your rival<sup>a</sup>. His behaviour, since this repulse, affords us much diversion: as he now affects, upon all occasions, to act the patriot, and vote against Cæsar. Accordingly, he insists upon Cæsar's being immediately recalled: and most unmercifully inveighs against the conduct of Curio.

some words of the same import with those which are distinguished by Italics in the translation, have been omitted by the carelessness of transcribers; a supposition extremely probable, and which solves the principal difficulty of the text.

<sup>5</sup> At the election for curule Ædiles. See let. 29. of this book.

<sup>a</sup> As a candidate with Cicero for the office of Augur.



Curio. In a word, as little conversant as he is in the business of the Forum, he is now become an *advocate* professed; and most magnanimously pleads the cause of liberty<sup>a</sup>. You are to observe, however, that it is only in a morning he is seized with these violent fits of patriotism: for he is generally much too elevated in an afternoon to descend into so grave a character.

I mentioned, in one of my former, that the affair of the provinces would come before the senate on the 13th of the last month: nevertheless, by the intervention of Marcellus, the consul elect, it was put off to the first of this instant. But when the day arrived, they could not procure a sufficient number of senators to be present. It is now the second of September, and nothing has yet been done in this business: and I am persuaded it will be adjourned to the following year. As far as I can foresee, therefore, you must be contented to leave the administration of your province in the hands of some person, whom you shall think proper to appoint for that purpose: as I am well convinced you will not soon be relieved by a successor. For as Gaul must take the same fate with the rest of the provinces; any attempt that shall be made for settling the general succession, will certainly  
be

<sup>a</sup> Instead of *agit causas liberalis*, as in the common editions, I read with Gronovius, *agit causam libertatis*.

be obstructed by Cæsar's party. Of this I have not the least doubt, and therefore I thought it necessary to give you notice, that you may be prepared to act accordingly.

I believe I have reminded you of the Panthers, in almost every one of my letters : and surely you will not suffer Patiscus to be more liberal in this article than yourself. He has made Curio a present of no less than half a score: great, therefore, will be your disgrace, if you should not send me a much larger number. In the mean time, Curio has given me those he received from Patiscus, together with as many more from Africa : for you are to know, it is not only in granting away the lands of the<sup>7</sup> public, that the generous Curio displays his liberality. As to yourself, if you can but charge your memory with my request, you may easily procure me as many of these animals as you please : it is only sending for some of the Cybira<sup>tæ</sup> to hunt them, and issuing forth your orders, likewise, into Pamphylia ; where, I am told, they are taken in great abundance. I am the more solicitous upon this article, as I believe my colleague and I shall exhibit our games separately ; so that the whole preparation for  
them

<sup>7</sup> This seems to allude to some attempts which Curio had lately made to revive the Agrarian law. See rem. 13. p. 165. of this vol.

them must lie singly upon myself. I know you love ease as well as I do: but I should be glad if you could by any means prevail with yourself to part with a little of it upon the present occasion. In good earnest, you will have no other trouble, than merely to give your commands: as my people, whom I have sent into your province, in order to recover the money due to me from Sittius, will be ready to receive the Panthers, and convey them into Italy. It is probable, likewise, if you should give me any hopes of succeeding in my request, that I may send a reinforcement to assist them.

I recommend Marcus Feridius, a Roman knight, to your protection and friendship, who comes into Cilicia to transact some business relating to his private affairs. He is a young man of great worth and spirit; and his father is my very particular friend. He holds an estate under certain cities in your government, of which he is desirous to procure the enfranchisement: and I am persuaded he may easily obtain his point, by the intervention of your good offices. Your employing them upon this occasion, will, indeed, be doing an honour to yourself: as it will oblige two men of great merit, who, I will venture to assure you, are not capable of proving ungrateful.

You



You were mistaken when you imagined that Favonius<sup>8</sup> was opposed by the more contemptible part of the people : on the contrary, it was all the better sort that voted against him. Your friend Pompey openly declares that Cæsar ought not to be admitted as a candidate for the consulship, while he retains his command in the province<sup>9</sup>. He voted, however, against passing a decree for this purpose at present.—Scipio<sup>1</sup> moved, that the first of March next, might be appointed for taking into consideration the nominating a successor in the Gallic provinces ; and that this matter should be proposed to the house separately, and without blending it with any other question. Balbus  
Cornelius

<sup>8</sup> He was a great admirer and imitator of the virtues and manners of Cato : as he was also in the number of those who assassinated Cæsar. Manutius conjectures that he was at this time chosen prætor. *Plut in vit. Pomp. Dio*, xlvii. p. 356.

<sup>9</sup> Pompey, who contributed more than any man to the advancement of Cæsar's power, had lately procured a law, by which the personal appearance of the latter was dispensed with in soliciting the consular office. But Pompey now began to repent of a concession so entirely unconstitutional : not that his own designs were more favourable to the liberties of Rome, than those of Cæsar : but as discovering at last that they could not both subsist together. His present opposition, however, was as impotent as his former compliances were impolitic ; and only tended to bring on so much the sooner his own destruction, together with that of the republic. *Vid. ad Att. viii. 3.*

<sup>1</sup> Metellus Scipio : he was chosen consul by Pompey the latter end of the last year, agreeably to a power with which he was invested by the senate, for nominating his colleague.

Cornelius<sup>2</sup> was much discomposed at this motion: and I am well assured, he has complained of it to Scipio in very strong terms.

Canidius defended himself, upon his trial, with much eloquence: but in the impeachment which he afterwards exhibited, he supported his charge with little force or spirit. Farewel.

## LETTER

league. Pompey likewise married his daughter, the amiable Cornelia: who added to the charms of her person every moral and intellectual qualification that could render her the most estimable and accomplished of her sex. And yet with all these extraordinary endowments, she was still more distinguished by that singular modesty and humility with which they were accompanied. It is Plutarch who gives her this character: upon which Monsieur Dacier remarks; *Je dois être plus persuadé qu'un autre, que l'éloge que Plutarque donne à Cornélie, peut n'être point flatté. J'ai un exemple domestique, qui prouve que beaucoup d'esprit et de savoir, et de grands talens peuvent se trouver dans une femme, et être accompagnés d'une modestie aussi grande et plus estimable encore que ses talens.* May I add my suffrage to that of this celebrated critic, by declaring from the same domestic experience, that uncommon knowledge and a superior understanding, are perfectly consistent with those more valuable qualities of the heart, which constitute the principal grace and ornament of the female character. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Les vies de Plut. par Dac. vol. v. p. 498. rem. 89.*

<sup>2</sup> He was inviolably attached to Caesar, and seems to have been the principal manager of his affairs at Rome.

## LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS<sup>3</sup>, Consul.

I VERY warmly congratulate you on your relation Caius Marcellus being elected to succeed you : as I sincerely rejoice in your having received this happy fruit of your pious affection to your family, of your patriot zeal to your country, and of your illustrious deportment in the

<sup>3</sup> He was distinguished by a long line of ancestors, who had borne the most honourable offices in the republic : as he himself was advanced to the consular dignity this year, in conjunction with Servius Sulpicious Rufus. It is mentioned to the credit of both these illustrious magistrates, that they were chosen without having employed those corrupt and violent measures, which were at this period so generally practised : and Marcellus, in particular, had recommended himself to the people by the superior grace and energy of his eloquence. It has already been observed in these remarks, that he was extremely zealous in promoting the decree by which Caesar was recalled from his province, and which forwarded the flames of that unhappy civil war, which soon afterwards broke out to the destruction of the commonwealth. Upon that occasion Marcellus took the part of Pompey. But after the battle of Pharsalia, he threw down his arms, and withdrew to Mitylenæ, the capital of Lesbos, where he purposed to devote the remainder of his days to a philosophical retirement. But being persuaded by his friends, and particularly by Cicero, to accept the clemency of the victor ; he, at length, yielded to their solicitation : and was preparing to return home, when he was cruelly assassinated by a man who had been in the number of his clients. The reader will find a particular account of this murder, together with some other circumstances concerning Marcellus, in the farther progress of these letters and remarks. *Suet. in vit. Tiber. 1. Dio, xl. p. 148. Cic. de clar. orat. 250. ep. Fam. iv. 12.*



the consular office. I can easily imagine the sentiments which your address, upon this occasion, has created in Rome: and, as to myself, whom you have sent to these far distant parts of the globe, believe me, I speak of it with the highest and most unfeigned applause. I can, with strict truth, assure you, that I have ever had a particular attachment to you from your earliest youth: and I am sensible, you have always shewn, by your generous offices in promoting my dignities, that you deemed me worthy of the most distinguished honours. But this late instance of your judicious management in procuring the consulship for Marcellus, together with the proof it affords of the favour in which you stand with the republic, has raised you still higher in my esteem. It is with great complacency, therefore, that I hear it observed by men of the first distinction for sense and merit, that, in all our words and actions, our tastes and studies, our principles and pursuits, we bear a strong resemblance to each other. The only circumstance that can render your glorious consulate still more agreeable to me, will be your procuring a successor to be nominated to this province, as soon as possible. But if this cannot be obtained, let me entreat you, at least, not to suffer my continuance here to be prolonged beyond the time

limited by your decree and the law which passed for that purpose. In a word, I hope, upon all occasions, to experience, in my absence, the benefit of your friendship and protection. Farewel.

P. S. I have received some intelligence concerning the Parthians : but as it is not at present sufficiently confirmed, I forbear to communicate the particulars to you. For, as I am writing to a consul, my letter, perhaps, might be considered as an information to the senate.

### LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS<sup>4</sup>, Consul elect.

I RECEIVED great pleasure in hearing of your advancement to the consulate. May the gods give you success in the enjoyment of this honour ; and may you discharge its important duties in a manner worthy of your own illustrious character and that of your excellent father ! You have my best wishes indeed upon this occasion, not only from affection, but gratitude, and in return to those warmest instances of your  
friendship

<sup>4</sup> He was cousin german to Marcus Marcellus, to whom the preceding letter is addressed : and by whose interest, in conjunction with that of Pompey, he was elected to succeed him in the consular office. He pursued the politics of his illustrious relation and predecessor, by firmly opposing the views of Cæsar. *Dio*, xl.

friendship, which I have ever experienced in all the various incidents of my life. Many and important are the obligations, likewise, which I have received from your father, both as my protector in adversity, and as having contributed to adorn my prosperity. I must add, also, to this family-list of my benefactors, your worthy mother: whose zealous services in behalf both of my person and dignities have risen much higher than could have been expected from one of the tender sex. Being then, as I most certainly ought, entirely devoted to your family, let me earnestly entreat your friendship and protection in my absence. Farewel.

## LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS<sup>5</sup>.

THE advancement of your son to the consular dignity, and your enjoying a pleasure you so much wished to obtain, are circumstances which afford me a very uncommon satisfaction. They do so not only upon his account, but yours, whom I esteem as highly deserving of every advantage that Fortune can bestow. Let  
me

<sup>5</sup> Father of Caius Marcellus, to whom the foregoing letter is written.



me acknowledge, at the same time, that I have experienced your singular good-will towards me, both in the adverse and prosperous seasons of my life: and, indeed, my welfare and honours have been the zealous concern of your whole family. I shall be extremely obliged to you, therefore, for making my sincere and particular congratulations upon this occasion, to that excellent woman your wife. To which request, I will only add, that I entreat the continuance of your friendship and protection in my absence. Farewel.

## LETTER XXXVIII.

[A. U. 702.]

To LUCIUS PAULUS<sup>6</sup>, Consul elect.

THOUGH I never once doubted, that, in consideration of your most illustrious family, and of those important services you have yourself likewise rendered to the commonwealth, you would be unanimously elected consul; yet, the confirmation of this desirable news, afforded me  
an

<sup>6</sup> He was colleague with Caius Marcellus, mentioned in the last note. He set out in his administration, it was thought, with principles agreeable to those of his associate. But Cæsar perfectly well knew how to make him change his sentiments: and, by proper applications to his avarice and profusion, he added him to the number of his supple mercenaries. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

an inexpressible satisfaction. It is my sincere wish, that the gods may give success to your administration, and that you may acquit yourself of this honourable and important trust, as becomes your own character and that of your distinguished family. I should have thought myself extremely happy to have been present at your election, and to have contributed those services which your extraordinary favours to me require. But, as the unexpected government of this province has deprived me of that pleasure, I hope I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you, at least, in the worthy exercise of your consular office. For this purpose, I most earnestly entreat you not to suffer me to be injuriously continued in this province beyond the expiration of my year: a favour which I shall esteem as a very considerable addition to those instances of friendship I have already received at your hands. Farewel.

THE

AMERICAN

REVIEW

OF

THE

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REVIEW

OF



LETTERS  
OF  
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO  
TO  
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

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BOOK IV.

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LETTER I.

[A. U. 702.]

To the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of  
the People, and the Senate.

THE many obstructions I met with in my  
way to this province<sup>1</sup>, both by sea and land,  
prevented me from reaching it sooner than the  
last of July. I thought it my first duty, on  
my

<sup>1</sup> Cicero's province comprehended not only Cilicia, but  
Pamphylia, Lycaonia, part of Phrygia, and the island of Cy-  
prus, together with some other less considerable appendages.

my arrival, to see that the Militia and Garrisons were in good order ; being articles in which the interest of the republic is principally concerned. Accordingly, I have taken all proper measures to that end : though I cannot forbear adding, that I have been enabled to effect this, more by my own care and diligence, than from any supplies I was furnished with for that purpose. Having thus adjusted my military preparations, and receiving daily intelligence that the Parthians had actually invaded Syria, I thought it adviseable to move with my forces through Lycaonia, Isaurica, and Cappadocia. It seemed highly probable, indeed, if the enemy had any design of attempting an irruption into my province, that they would direct their route thro' Cappadocia ; as being a country that could give them the least opposition. I marched, therefore, into that part of Cappadocia which lies contiguous to Cilicia, and encamped at Cybistra : a town at the foot of Mount Taurus. I had a double view in leading my troops to this place. The first was, that in whatever disposition Artuades, king of Armenia, stood towards us, he might be sensible

Cilicia was first added to the Roman provinces by Publius Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, in the year of Rome 680. *Ad Att.* v. 21. *Am. Marcellin.* xiv. 8.

sible that a Roman army was not far from his frontiers; and in the next place, that I might be as near as possible to Deiotarus<sup>2</sup>: a prince, I well knew, extremely our friend, and whose counsel and assistance might prove of great advantage in the present conjuncture. As soon as I had finished my encampment, I detached my cavalry before me into Cilicia. This I did in order to confirm the several cities in that part of my province in their allegiance, by giving them notice of my arrival: and likewise that I might have the earliest intelligence of what was transacting in Syria. During the three days that I continued in this camp, I was engaged in discharging a commission equally necessary and important. I had received your express commands to take the worthy and faithful Ariobarzanes

<sup>2</sup> He was prince of Galatia; a country bordering on Phrygia. He distinguished his zeal for the republic in all the Asiatic wars in which the Romans were engaged during his reign, and was particularly serviceable to Pompey in his expedition against Mithridates: for which he was honoured by the senate with the title of king. Some time after the battle of Pharsalia, (in which he joined with Pompey) his own grandson came to Rome with an impeachment against him. He pretended that Deiotarus formed a design, when Cæsar was his guest, as he lately passed through his dominions, of assassinating that general. This cause seems to have been pleaded in Cæsar's own house: where both Cicero and Brutus appeared as advocates for Deiotarus. The speech which the former made upon this occasion is still extant: and if an orator may be credited in the character he gives of his client, this prince was endowed with every royal virtue.  
*Orat. pro Deiot.*



Ariobarzanes<sup>3</sup> under my particular protection; and to defend both his person and his kingdom to the utmost of my power. In your decree, which passed for this purpose, a clause was inserted, declaring that “the welfare of this province was much the concern of the people and senate of Rome:” an honour which was never before paid to any potentate. For this reason, I thought it became me to signify to him, in person, the distinction which you had conferred upon him. I acquainted him, therefore, in the presence of my council, with the instructions you had given me in his behalf: and called upon him to let me know if there was any instance in which he had occasion for my service. I assured him at the same time,

<sup>3</sup> The kingdom of Cappadocia, of which Ariobarzanes was monarch, was of a very large extent; comprehending the greater part of those countries, at present under the Ottoman dominion, which are now called Amasia, Genec, and Tocat. It appears, however, by the letters to Atticus, that this kingdom was so extremely impoverished, that the crown was almost wholly destitute of any revenues: a circumstance to which Horace alludes in one of his epistles.

*Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum Rex.*

The instance that Plutarch gives of the great scarcity of money among these people is indeed almost incredible, if what the ancient geographers assert be true, that their country abounded in silver mines: for that historian tells us, that when Lucullus was carrying on the war against Mithridates, in this part of the world, an ox sold in Cappadocia for about fourpence, and a slave for sixpence. *Ad Att. vi. 1. Hor. ep. i. 6. Plut. in vit. Luculli.*

time, on my own part, that I offered him my protection with the utmost zeal and fidelity. He began his speech with expressing a proper sense of the high honour thus conferred upon him by the people and senate of Rome. He then addressed his acknowledgments to me in particular, for having executed my commission in such a manner as to convince him both of the sincerity with which I proffered him my good offices, and of the strong injunctions I had received from the republic for that purpose.

It gave me great satisfaction to hear him say in this our first interview, that he neither knew, nor indeed suspected, any designs to be carrying on either against his life, or his crown. After I had congratulated him upon so happy a circumstance, and exhorted him, in remembrance of his father's fate, carefully to observe the admonitions of the senate in being particularly cautious of his person, he took his leave, and returned to Cybistra. The next day, however, he paid me a second visit in my tent, accompanied by his brother Ariarathes, together with several venerable old ministers of his late father: who, in a very plaintive and affecting manner, all joined with him in imploring my protection. Upon my inquiring,  
with

with much surprise, what sudden accident had occasioned this unexpected visit, he told me that he had just received certain information of a design to seize his crown: that those who were apprised of this conspiracy, had not the courage to disclose it till my arrival, but in confidence of my protection, had now ventured to lay open to him the whole plot; and that the disaffected party had actually made treasonable applications to his brother, of whose singular loyalty and affection he expressed, at the same time, the strongest assurance. This account was confirmed to me by Ariarathes himself, who acknowledged that he had been solicited to accept the government: which, in effect, he said, was avowing their intention of destroying Ariobarzanes, as he could never reign during his brother's life. He added, that he had not acquainted the king with these treasonable overtures before, as being apprehensive for his own person, if he had ventured to reveal them sooner. When he had finished, I exhorted Ariobarzanes to take all proper precautions for his security: and then turning to the approved and experienced ministers of his father's and grandfather's reign, I reminded them of the cruel fate that had attended their late sovereign, and admonished



admonished them to be so much the more particularly vigilant in protecting their present.

The king requested me to supply him with some troops both of horse and foot; which, however, I refused, notwithstanding I was empowered, and indeed directed, to do so by your decree. The truth is, the daily accounts I received of what was transacting in Syria, rendered it expedient, for the interest of the republic, that I should march my whole army, with all expedition, to the borders of Cilicia. Besides, as the conspiracy against Ariobarzanes was now fully detected, he appeared to be in a condition of defending his crown without the assistance of a Roman army. I contented myself, therefore, with giving him my advice: and recommended it to him, as the first art of government, to found his security on the affections of his people. With this view, I persuaded him to exert his royal authority in the present conjuncture, no farther than necessity should require, and against those only whom he perceived to be most deeply engaged in the plot: as for the rest, that he should grant them a free and general pardon. To which I added, that the best use he could make of my army was, to intimidate the guilty from persevering in their designs, rather

rather than actually to turn it against them: and that, when the decree of the senate in his favour should be generally known, the disaffected party would be well convinced that I should not fail of assisting him, pursuant to your orders, if occasion required.

Having thus encouraged him, I struck my tents: and am now proceeding on my march to Cilicia. I had the satisfaction, in leaving Cappadocia, to reflect, that my arrival had wonderfully, and indeed almost providentially, delivered that monarch from a conspiracy which was upon the very point of taking effect. This reflection was so much the more agreeable to me, as you had not only voluntarily, and without any application for that purpose, honoured Ariobarzanes with the acknowledgment of his regal title, but had particularly recommended him to my protection, and expressly declared in your decree that his security was highly your concern. I judged it proper, therefore, to send you this minute account of what has passed in relation to Ariobarzanes, that you might see with how much prudence you had long before provided against a contingency which had well nigh happened. And this I the rather do, as that prince appears to be so faithfully attached to the republic, as well

as endowed with such great and excellent qualities, as to justify the extraordinary zeal you have shewn for his interest.

## LETTER II.

[A. U. 702.]

To THERMUS, Proprætor<sup>4</sup>.

LUCIUS GENUCILIUS CURVUS, has been long in the number of my most intimate friends: and indeed no man possesses a worthier or more grateful heart. I recommend him, therefore, most warmly and entirely to your protection; beseeching you to assist him upon every occasion that shall not be inconsistent with your honour and dignity. This is a restriction, however, which I might well have spared; as I am sure he will never make you a request unworthy either of your character or his own. But I must particularly entreat your favour in relation to his affairs in Hellespontus. In the first place, then, I beg you would confirm the grant of certain lands which was made to him by the city of Parion<sup>5</sup>, and which he has hitherto enjoyed without

<sup>4</sup> Quintus Minucius Thermus, was prætor in the year of Rome 701. At the expiration of his office, he was appointed proprætor, or governor of that part of the Asiatic continent, styled *Asia proper*: which included Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Mysia, and part of Phrygia. Cicero speaks of him in a letter to Atticus, as exercising his administration with great integrity. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.

<sup>5</sup> A city in Hellespont.



without molestation: in the next place, that if any inhabitant of Hellespontus should controvert his rights of this kind, you would direct the cause to be heard in that district. But, after having already assigned him wholly to your patronage, it is unnecessary to point out particular articles wherein I request your good offices. To say all then in one word: be assured I shall consider every instance wherein you shall advance either his honour or his interest, as so many immediate favours conferred upon myself. Farewel.

## LETTER III.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

THOUGH I am by no means disposed to be more favourable to myself than to you, in judging of the part we have respectively acted towards each other; yet, when I reflect on our late mutual behaviour, I have far greater reason to be satisfied with my own conduct than with yours. As I knew the high rank which Phantias justly possesses in your confidence and esteem, I enquired of him when we met at Brundisium, in what part of the province he imagined you chose I should

should receive the resignation of your government. He assured me it would be extremely agreeable to you if I landed at Sida<sup>6</sup>. For this reason, notwithstanding I could not have made so splendid an entrance from that city, and it was inconvenient to me, likewise, upon many other accounts, yet I told him I would certainly comply with your inclinations. Sometime afterwards, I had a conference with your friend Clodius, at Corcyra, and I always consider myself as talking to you, whenever I am conversing with him. I repeated, therefore, the same promise I had given to Phantias, and assured him that I intended to pursue the route which the latter had marked out to me. Clodius made many acknowledgments upon this occasion in your name, but entreated me to change my design, and proceed directly to Laodicia. For it was your purpose, he said, to advance towards the maritime part of the province, in order to embark as soon as possible. He added, at the same time, that it was from your great desire to see me that you had deferred your departure; for, had any other person been your successor, you would not have waited his arrival. And this, indeed, corresponded with the letters

<sup>6</sup> A sea-port town of considerable note in Pamphylia.

letters I received from you at Rome, by which I perceived your great impatience to leave the province. I informed Clodius that I would comply with his request, and with much more willingness, I told him, than if I had been to have executed my first engagement with Pharnias. I, therefore, changed my plan, and immediately gave you notice of it with my own hand: which, I find by your letter, you received in due time. When I reflect upon my conduct in this instance, I have the satisfaction to be assured that it is perfectly consonant to the strictest friendship. And now let me desire you to consider your behaviour in return. You were so far then from waiting in that part of the province which would have given us the earliest opportunity of an interview, that you withdrew<sup>7</sup> to such a distance, as to render it impossible for me to reach you within the thirty days limited (if I mistake not) by the Cornelian law,

<sup>7</sup> It was usual for the governors of provinces when they entered upon their administration, to publish what they styled an *edict*; which was a kind of code or formulary of laws, by which they intended to proceed in the dispensation of justice. Cicero's institutes of this sort were founded upon maxims so extremely different from those by which Appian had regulated himself, that the latter looked upon them as so many indirect reflections upon his own unworthy conduct. And this seems to have been the occasion of his treating Cicero in the manner, of which he here, and in other subsequent letters, so much and so justly complains. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.



law<sup>8</sup>, for your departure. This proceeding (to speak of it in the softest terms) must look with no friendly aspect in the eye of those who are unacquainted with our real sentiment towards each other; as it has the appearance of your industriously avoiding a conference. Whereas, mine, on the contrary, must undoubtedly be deemed conformable to whatever could be expected from the strongest and most intimate union.

In the letter I received from you before my arrival in the province, though you mentioned your design of going to Tarsus<sup>9</sup>, you still flattered me with hopes of a meeting. In the mean time, there are some who have the malice (for malice, I suppose, is their motive, as that vice, indeed, is widely diffused among mankind) to lay hold of this plausible pretence to alienate me from you, little aware that I am not easily shaken in my friendships. They assure me, that when you had reason to believe I was arrived in the province, you held a court of  
judicature

<sup>8</sup> This law was so called from its author, Cornelius Sylla, the dictator.

<sup>9</sup> The capital city of Cilicia. It is celebrated by Strabo, for having once vied with Athens and Alexandria in polite and philosophical literature; but it is far more worthy of notice as being the birth-place of that great apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul.

judicature at Tarsus, and exercised such other acts of authority, as even those who have yet some little time unexpired in their ministry, do not usually choose to discharge. Their insinuations, nevertheless, are far from making any impression upon me. On the contrary, I rather consider you as having kindly eased me of part of my approaching trouble; and I rejoice that you have thus abridged me of one fatiguing month out of the twelve I must pass through in my government. To speak freely, however, there is a circumstance that gives me concern; and I cannot but regret to find, that out of the small number of forces in the province, there are no less than three complete cohorts wanting, and I know not in what part they are dispersed. But my principal uneasiness is, that I cannot learn where I shall see you; and I should have sooner told you so, if I had not concluded, from your total silence, both as to what you were doing, and where you proposed to give me an interview, that I might daily expect your arrival. I have, therefore, dispatched my brave and worthy friend Antonius, præfect of the Evocati<sup>1</sup>, with this letter; and, if  
you

<sup>1</sup> These were troops composed of experienced soldiers, who had served out their legal time, or had received their dismissal as a reward of their valour. They usually guard-  
ed

you think proper, you may deliver up to him the command of the troops, that I may be able to enter upon some action ere the season is too far advanced. I had reason to hope, both from our friendship and your letters, to have had the benefit of your advice upon this occasion; and, indeed, I will not even yet despair of enjoying that advantage. However, unless you give me notice, it is impossible I should discover either when or where I am to have that satisfaction. In the mean while, I shall endeavour to convince even the most uncandid, as well as the equitable part of the world, that I am sincerely your friend. I cannot forbear saying, nevertheless, that those who are not disposed to judge in the most favourable manner, have some little cause to imagine that you do not bear the same amicable disposition towards me, and I shall be much obliged to you for endeavouring to remove their suspicions.

That you may not be at a loss what measures to take in order to our meeting consistently<sup>2</sup> with

ed the chief standard, and were excused from the more servile employments of the military functions.

<sup>2</sup> It appears, by what follows, that this time was already elapsed. Mr. Ross was aware of this difficulty, and has solved it by supposing that Cicero "must mean some place *without* the limits of the province." For otherwise Cicero's request cannot be reconciled, that commentator observes, to the terms of the Cornelian law.



with the terms of the Cornelian law; I think it necessary to inform you, that I arrived in the province on the last day of July; that I marched from Iconium on the 31st of August, and am now advancing to Cilicia by the way of Cappadocia. After having thus traced out my route, you will let me know, in case you should think proper to meet me, what time and place will be most convenient to you for that purpose. Farewel.

## LETTER IV.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CATO<sup>3</sup>.

I THOUGHT it agreeable to our friendship to communicate to you the intelligence I have lately received. I am to inform you, then, that envoys from Antioches, king of Commagene<sup>4</sup>, arrived in my camp at Iconium, on the 30th of August. They brought me advice that the king of Parthia's son, who is married, it seems, to a sister of the king of Armenia, was advanced to the banks of the Euphrates; that he was at the head of a very considerable army,  
composed

<sup>3</sup> Some account will be given of this great and celebrated patriot, in the notes on the first letter of the following book.

<sup>4</sup> Commagene was a part of Syria not subjected to the Roman dominion.

composed of his own nation, together with a large body of foreign auxiliaries: that he had actually begun to transport his troops over the river; and that it was reported the king of Armenia had a design to invade Cappadocia. I have forborne to acquaint the senate with this news, for two reasons. The first is, because the Commagenian envoys assured me that Antiochus had immediately dispatched an express to Rome with this account; and, in the next place, knowing that the proconsul Marcus Bibulus<sup>a</sup> had sailed from Ephesus with a favourable wind about the 13th of August, I imagined he had by this time reached his province, and would be able to give the senate a more certain and particular intelligence.

As to my own situation with respect to this important war, it is my utmost endeavour to find that security from the clemency of my administration, and the fidelity of our allies, which I can scarce expect from the strength and number of my troops. I have only to add my entreaties that you would continue, as usual, to favour me with your friendly offices in my absence. Farewel.

LETTER

<sup>a</sup> Proconsul of Syria.

## LETTER V.

[A. U. 702.]

To THERMUS, Proprætor.

CLUVIUS PUTEOLANUS distinguishes me, upon all occasions, with the highest marks of esteem; indeed, we are united in the strictest bands of amity. He has some affairs in your province, and, unless he should be able by my means to settle them during your administration, he looks upon them as utterly desperate. This task, my very obliging friend having assigned to my care, I take the liberty (in confidence of that most amicable disposition you have ever discovered towards me) of transferring it to yours; with this restriction, nevertheless, that it do not engage you in too much trouble. I am to inform you, then, that the corporations of Mylata and Alabanda<sup>5</sup>, are respectively indebted to Cluvius; and that Euthydemus assured me, when I saw him at Ephesus, he would take care that Syndics<sup>6</sup> should be sent to Rome from the former, in order to adjust the matters in controversy between them. This, however, has not been

<sup>5</sup> Two cities of Caria, in Asia Minor.

<sup>6</sup> These officers were a kind of solicitors to the treasury of their respective corporations.



been performed : on the contrary, I hear they have commissioned deputies to negotiate this affair in their stead. But Syndics are the proper persons, and therefore I entreat you to command these cities to dispatch those officers to Rome, that this question may be soon and finally determined. I am farther to acquaint you, that Philotes, of Alabanda, has assigned certain effects to Cluvius by a bill of sale. But the time for payment of the money, for which they are a security, being elapsed, I beg you would compel him either to discharge the debt, or to deliver the goods to the agents of Cluvius. My friend has likewise some demands of the same kind upon the cities of Heraclea and Bargylos<sup>7</sup>. I beseech you, therefore, either to procure him satisfaction, by an immediate payment, or to oblige them to put him in possession of a proportionable part of their demesnes. The corporation of Caunus<sup>8</sup> is also indebted to Cluvius : but they insist that, as the money has been ready for him, and actually lodged in the temple, for that purpose, he is not entitled to any interest beyond the time the principal was so deposited<sup>9</sup>.

I entreat

<sup>7</sup> In Caria.

<sup>8</sup> This city was likewise in Caria.

<sup>9</sup> This passage is rendered in a sense very different from that in which all the commentators have understood it.

the favour of you to enquire into the truth of the fact, and if it shall appear that the sum in question was not paid into the sacred treasury either

They take the expression, *aiunt se pecuniam depositam habuisse*, to mean, that the Caunians pretended the money in dispute was a deposite; and, therefore, that they were not liable to pay interest. But if we suppose the question between the Caunians and Cluvius to have been, whether the sum he demanded was or was not a deposite; the request which Cicero afterwards makes must be highly unjust: *sic intellexeris eos neque ex edicto neque ex decreto depositam habuisse, des operam ut usurae Cluvio conserventur*. For if they were merely trustees, it could make no equitable difference whether the money came to them by a judicial decree, or from a private hand: and in either case it must have been equally oppressive to oblige them to pay interest. Now this difficulty will be entirely removed, by supposing that the expression *depositam habuisse*, is periphrastical, and to be resolved into *deposuisse*. And this is agreeable to the idiom of the Latin language, as well as to the manner in which Cicero expresses himself upon other occasions. Thus in his treatise *De clar. orat.* 147. *habere cognitum Scævolum*, is equivalent to *cognoscere*: as in Plautus *vobis hanc habeo edictionem*, is the same as *edico*. *Pseud. i. ii. 39.* But if *pecuniam depositam habuisse*, is a circumlocution for *deposuisse*, some substantive must be understood to complete the sense: and accordingly, a passage in the letters to Atticus will not only point out the word required, but prove likewise that *depono* is used in this elliptical manner.—Cicero, giving an account to Atticus of a transaction relating to the claim of a debt due from the city of Salamis, in Cyprus, tells him, that *deponere volebant*. *Ad Att. vi. 1.* which, in another letter, where he is speaking of the very same affair, he expresses at full length: *ut in fano deponentes postulantibus*, says he, *non concessi*. *Ad Att. v. 21.* And the last cited passages will not only justify, but explain, the sense contended for: as they prove that it was usual where any controversy arose concerning the quantum of a debt, for the defendant to apply for leave to pay the money into some temple; from which time it no longer carried interest. Thus Cicero tells Atticus that the interest upon the debt

either in conformity to the general edict<sup>b</sup>, or special decree, of the prætor; to direct that Cluvius may have such a rate of interest allowed him, as is agreeable to the laws you have established in these cases.

I enter with so much the more warmth into these affairs, as my friend Pompey likewise makes them his own; and, indeed, seems more solicitous for their success than even Cluvius himself. As I am extremely desirous that the latter should have reason to be satisfied with my good offices, I most earnestly request yours upon this occasion. Farewel.

#### LETTER

debt due from the city of Salamis ought to have ceased, *consistere usura debuit*: and assigns this reason for it: *deponere volebant*: they were ready and desirous to have lodged it in the sacred treasury. But, in the case of Cluvius, if the Caunians had paid in the money without giving him notice, (which might very possibly have been the fact, if they had not acted under a judicial order) it was no unreasonable request to desire they might be compelled to pay the whole interest up to the time when Cluvius should receive the principal.

<sup>b</sup> By the term *edict* is meant, in this place, that formulary of provincial laws explained in rem. 7. p. 338. of this vol.



## LETTER VI.

[A. U. 702.]

To the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of  
the People, and the Senate.

THE first intelligence I received that the Parthians had passed the greatest part of their army over the Euphrates, was extremely positive. However, as I imagined the proconsul, Marcus Bibulus, could give you a more certain account of this event, I did not think it necessary to charge myself with the relation of what more immediately concerned the province of another. But, since my last dispatch, I have been farther and more satisfactorily assured of this fact, by several expresses and deputations that have been sent to me for that purpose.—When I consider, therefore, the great importance of this news to the republic; that it is uncertain, likewise, whether Bibulus is yet arrived in Syria; and that I am almost equally concerned with him in the conduct of this war; I deem myself obliged to communicate to you the purport of my several informations.

The first advice I received was from the ambassadors of Antiochus, king of Commagene;

gene; who acquainted me that the Parthians had actually begun to transport a very considerable body of forces over the Euphrates.— But, as it was the opinion of some of my council, that no great credit was to be given to any intelligence that came from this quarter, I thought proper to wait for better information. Accordingly, on the 19th of September, whilst I was on my march towards Cilicia, I was met by a courier on the frontiers of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with an express from<sup>9</sup> Tarcondimotus: a prince esteemed the most faithful of our allies on that side the Taurus, and extremely in the interest of the Romans. The purport of his dispatches was to inform me, that a powerful body of horse, commanded by Pacorus, the son of Orodes, king of Parthia, had passed the Euphrates, and were encamped at Tyba; and that the province of Syria was in great commotion. The same day I received an express likewise to this purpose from Jamblichus, an Arabian Phylarch<sup>1</sup>, and one who has the general reputation of being a friend to  
the

<sup>9</sup> His dominions lay on the southern side of Mount Taurus, in a part of Cilicia which the Romans had not thought proper to annex to their province. A coin of this prince is still extant. See *Biblioth. raisonnée*, Tom. xlii. p. 329.

<sup>1</sup> The lord or chief of a clan.

the republic. Upon the whole, therefore, I came to a resolution of leading my army to Tarsus<sup>2</sup>. I was sensible that our allies in general were far from being warm in our interest, and were only waiting the opportunity of some favourable revolution to desert us. I flattered myself, however, that the lenity and moderation of my conduct towards such of them through whose territories I had already passed, would render them better inclined to the Romans, as I hoped to strengthen Cilicia in its allegiance, by giving that part of my province an opportunity of experiencing also the same equitable administration. But I had still a farther inducement: I determined upon this march, not only in order to chastise those who had taken up arms in Cilicia, but also to convince our enemies in Syria, that the army of the Romans, far from being disposed to retreat upon the news of their invasion, were so much the more eager to advance.

If my advice, then, has any weight, let me earnestly exhort and admonish you to take proper measures for the preservation of these provinces: measures, indeed, which ought to have

<sup>2</sup> In the original it is *ad Taurum*; but Mr. Ross with good reason supposes there is an error in the text, and that it should be read *ad Tarsum*.



have been concerted long before, as you were well apprised of those dangers which are now almost within my view. I need not inform you in what manner you thought proper to equip me when I was sent into this part of the world, under a full expectation of being engaged in so important a war. If I did not, however, refuse this commission, it was not because I was so weak as to be insensible how ill provided I was to execute it in a proper manner, but merely in submissive deference to your commands. The truth is, I have at all times willingly exposed myself to the utmost hazards, rather than not testify my implicit obedience to your authority. But the plain fact is, that, if you do not speedily send a very powerful reinforcement into these provinces, the republic will be in the greatest danger of losing the whole of her revenues in this part of the world. If your reliance is upon the provincial militia, be assured you will be extremely disappointed; as they are very inconsiderable in point of numbers, and such miserable dastards as to run away upon the first alarm. The brave Marcus Bibulus is so sensible of the nature of these Asiatic troops, that he has not thought proper to raise any of them, tho' he had your express permission for that purpose. As to the assistance that may be expected from  
our

our allies, the severity and injustice of our government has either so greatly weakened them, as to put it out of their power to be of much service to us, or so entirely alienated their affections, as to render it unsafe to trust them. The inclinations, however, and the forces too, (whatever they be<sup>a</sup>) of king Deiotarus, I reckon as entirely ours. Capadocia is wholly unfurnished with any place of strength: and as to those other neighbouring princes, our allies, they are neither willing nor able to afford us any considerable succours. Ill provided, however, as I am with troops, my courage, you may be assured, shall not be wanting; nor, I trust, my prudence. What the event may prove, is altogether uncertain: I can only wish that I may be in a condition to defend myself with as much success as I certainly shall with honour.

## LETTER

<sup>a</sup> It is probable that Cicero did not at this time know their number; but they were by no means inconsiderable.—For it appears, by a letter to Atticus, that they amounted to 12,000 foot, armed in the Roman manner, and 2,000 horse. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.

## LETTER VII.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS to CICERO.

THOUGH I have some political news to communicate to you, yet I can acquaint you with nothing, I believe, that will give you more pleasure than what I am going previously to mention. You are to know, then, that Rufus<sup>5</sup>, your *favourite* Sempronius Refus, has been lately convicted of false accusation<sup>6</sup>, to the singular joy of the whole city. This prosecution was occasioned by the following circumstance. Rufus, soon after the exhibition of the

<sup>5</sup> Cicero mentions this person in a letter to Atticus, as a man who had failed in the civilities he owed him, by not waiting upon him before he set out for Cilicia; but, at the same time, expresses a satisfaction in having by that means been spared the trouble of a very disagreeable visitor. The epithet, therefore, which Cælius here gives to Rufus, must be understood ironically. *Ad Att. v. 2.*

<sup>6</sup> “The Roman laws were particularly severe against those who were discovered to have offended in this point. In criminal causes they inflicted banishment, and *ordinis amissio*, (the loss of rank.) In civil causes the plaintiff generally deposited a sum of money, which he forfeited if he was found guilty of bringing a vexatious suit. Cicero alludes to another punishment of marking a letter upon the forehead of the false informer, *pro Rosc. Am. 20.* It was the letter K which was impressed upon them, that being the first letter, according to the old orthography, in the word *Kalumniæ*.” *Mr. Ross.*



the Roman games<sup>7</sup>, was impeached by Marcus Tuccius; and being sensible that the charge would be proved against him, and that his trial must unavoidably come on this year, unless some other of an higher nature<sup>8</sup> intervened, he determined upon an expedient for that purpose. Accordingly, as no one, he thought, had so good a title to the honour of this precedence as his prosecutor: he preferred an accusation upon the Plotian law<sup>9</sup> against Tuccius, for a violation of the public peace; a charge, however, which he could not prevail with a single person to subscribe<sup>1</sup>. As soon as I was apprised of this affair,

I flew

<sup>7</sup> These games were instituted by Tarquinius Priscus, A. U. 138, in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Their annual celebration commenced on the 9th of September, and continued nine days.

<sup>8</sup> It is probable, as Manutius observes, that the judges of the present year were in general no friends to Refus, which made him endeavour to postpone his trial. The same learned commentator remarks, that all trials were brought on in a regular rotation, unless in accusations that were connected with some other cause, that had been immediately before adjudged, or in the case of impeachments for the violation of the public peace. These, he proves, by several instances, were always determined preferably to all other causes whatsoever.

<sup>9</sup> The author of this law was P. Plautius, or Plautius, tribune of the people, an. urb. 675; and the penalty inflicted by it was banishment.

<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been customary for the prosecutor in capital causes to procure some of his friends to join with him in signing the articles of his impeachment. These were styled *subscriptores*, and acted as a sort of seconds to him in this judicial combat. They could not, however, be admitted

I flew to the assistance of Tuccius, without waiting his request. But when I rose up to speak, I forbore entering into a particular defence of my friend, contenting myself with displaying the character of his adversary in all its true and odious colours, in which you may be sure I did not forget the story concerning Vestorius, and his unworthy conduct towards you.

I must inform you, likewise, of another trial, which at present greatly engages the Forum. Marcus Servilius had been convicted of extortion in his office<sup>2</sup>, and I ventured to be his advocate, notwithstanding the popular clamour was strongly against him. Servilius, however, having dissipated his whole estate, and being utterly insolvent, Pausanius<sup>3</sup> petitioned the prætor Laterensis (and I spoke, likewise, in support of this petition) that he might be empowered

ted into this association without a special licence from the judges for that purpose. *Vid. Hottom. in Q. Cæcil. divin.* 15.

<sup>2</sup> The whole account of the following transactions concerning Servilius, is extremely (perhaps impenetrably) obscure in the original; and has exercised the ingenuity of all the commentators to enlighten. The translator, however, has ventured, in some instances, to depart from them; tho' he acknowledges, at the same time, that he is scarce more satisfied with his own interpretation, than with theirs.

<sup>3</sup> Who this person was, or in what manner concerned in the present cause, is altogether undiscoverable. Perhaps, as Mr. Ross conjectures, he might have been the prosecutor.

powered to pursue the sum in question, into whose hands soever it should appear to have been paid<sup>4</sup>. But this petition was dismissed; the prætor alledging that Pilius, a relation of our friend Atticus, had also exhibited articles of impeachment against my client for a crime of the same kind. This news immediately spread throughout Rome, and it was generally said in all conversations, that Pilius would certainly make good his charge. Appius, the younger, was much disturbed at this report, as having a claim upon Servilius, of eighty-one hundred thousand sesterces<sup>5</sup>, a sum which he scrupled not to avow, had been deposited in the hands of Servilius, in order to be paid over to the prosecutor in an information against his father, provided the informer would suffer himself to be nonsuited. If you are surprised at the weakness of Appius, in thus acknowledging

so

<sup>4</sup> It appears, by a passage which Manutius produces from the oration in defence of Rabirius, that in convictions of this kind the money was recoverable by the Julian law from any hand, into which it could be proved to have been paid. *Pro Rabir. Post. 4.*

<sup>5</sup> About 65,367*l.* of our money. This sum must appear excessive, if considered only with respect to the wealth of the present times. But Appius might well be enabled to give it, and it might have been extremely prudent in him, likewise, to have done so, if this prosecution was (what seems highly probable) on account of his father's having plundered some province committed to his administration.



so shameful a bargain, how much higher would your astonishment have risen, if you had heard his evidence upon the trial of that very ill-judged action which he brought against Servilius for this money? He most clearly, indeed, made appear, to the full satisfaction of the whole court, both his own folly and his father's guilt. To complete the absurdity of his conduct, upon this occasion, he was so imprudent as to summon the very same judges upon this cause, who tried the information I just now mentioned to have been brought against his father. It happened, however, that their voices were equally divided<sup>6</sup>. But the prætor, not knowing how the law stood in this case, declared that Servilius had a majority of the three classes of judges in his favour; and, accordingly, acquitted him in the usual form. At the rising of the court, therefore, it was generally imagined that the acquittal of Servilius would be enrolled. But the prætor thinking it adviseable to look into the laws upon this point, before he made up the record, found it expressly enacted, that "in all causes sentence shall be pronounced according to the majority of the votes in the whole collective number

<sup>6</sup> In this case the Roman law determined by the most favourable presumption, and absolved the defendant.

“ber of judges<sup>7</sup>.” Instead, therefore, of registering the acquittal of Servilius, he only inserted in the roll the number of voices as they stood in each respective class. Appius, in consequence of this mistake, re-commenced his suit, while the prætor, by the intervention of Lollius, promised to amend the record, and enter a proper judgment. But the hapless Servilius, neither entirely acquitted, nor absolutely condemned, is, at length, to be delivered over, with this his blasted character, to the hands of Pilius. For Appius not venturing to contend with the latter, which of their actions should have the priority, has thought proper to wave his prosecution. He, himself, is likewise impeached by the relations of Servilius for bribery: as he has also another accusation laid against him by one Titius, a creature of his own, who has charged him with a breach of the peace. And thus are these

<sup>7</sup> It has already been observed in the foregoing remarks, that the judges were divided into three classes. See rem. 4. p. 292 of this vol. It is obvious, therefore, that there might have been a majority in two of the classes out of the three, in favour of Servilius, and yet that the voices considered with respect to the whole number of judges, might have been equal. But it is inconceivable that a magistrate of Prætorian rank could possibly be ignorant of a practice which one can scarce suppose the most common citizen of Rome to have been unacquainted with. Notwithstanding, therefore, Cælius ascribes the prætor’s conduct to ignorance, it seems much more probable to have arisen from design.

these two worthy combatants most equally matched.

As to public affairs; we had waited several days in expectation that something would be determined concerning Gaul; frequent motions having been made in the senate for this purpose, which were followed by very warm debates. At length, however, it plainly appearing, agreeable to Pompey's sentiments, that Cæsar's command in Gaul should not be continued longer than the first of March, the senate passed the following orders and decrees<sup>8</sup>.

“BY AUTHORITY OF THE SENATE, held  
“in the temple of Apollo, on the 30th day of  
“September. Signed<sup>9</sup>: L. Domitius Ahenobarbas; Q. Cæcilius; Metullus Pius Scipio;  
“L. Villius Annalis; C. Septimius; Caius  
“Luceius Hirrus; C. Scribonius Curio; L.  
“Atteius Capito; M. Oppius. WHEREAS a  
“motion was made by Marcus Marcellus, the  
“consul, concerning the consular provinces,  
“it is ORDERED, that Lucius Paulus, and Caius  
“Marcellus, consuls elect, shall, on the first of  
“March next, following their entering upon  
their

<sup>8</sup> With regard to the difference between an order and a decree of the senate, see remark 9. p. 64. of this vol.

<sup>9</sup> The decrees of the senate were usually signed in this manner by those who were the principal promoters of the question.



“ their office, move the senate concerning the  
“ consular provinces, at which time no other  
“ business shall be proceeded upon, nor any  
“ other motion made in conjunction therewith.  
“ And, for this purpose, the senate shall con-  
“ tinue to assemble, notwithstanding the comi-  
“ tial days<sup>10</sup>, and until a decree shall be passed.”

“ ORDERED, that when the consuls shall  
“ move the senate upon the question aforesaid,  
“ they shall be empowered to summon such of  
“ the 300 judges who are members of the se-  
“ nate to attend<sup>11</sup>.”

“ RESOLVED, that if any matters shall arise  
“ upon the question aforesaid, which shall be  
“ necessary to be laid before the people; that  
“ Servius Sulpicius, and Marcus Marcellus,  
“ the present consuls, together with the prætors  
“ and

<sup>10</sup> The comitial days were those on which the *Comitia*, or assemblies of the people were held; and, on these, the law prohibited the senate to be convened. The senate, however, in the present instance, and agreeably to a prerogative which they claimed and exercised upon many other occasions, took upon themselves to act with a dispensing power. See *Mid. on the Rom. Sen.* p. 121.

<sup>11</sup> This clause was inserted in order to secure a full house, a certain number of senators being necessary to be present for making a decree valid. See remark 14. p. 165. of this vol. The correction of Manutius has been adopted in the translation, who, instead of *scr abducere liceret*, reads *eos abducere*, &c.

“ and tribunes of the people, or such of them  
“ as shall be agreed upon, shall call an assem-  
“ bly of the people for this purpose : and if the  
“ magistrates aforesaid shall fail herein, the same  
“ shall be proposed to the people by their suc-  
“ cessors.”

“ THE THIRTIETH DAY OF SEPTEMBER,  
“ in the temple of Apollo. Signed: L. Domi-  
“ tius Ahenobarbus ; Q. Cæcilius ; Metullus  
“ Pius Scipio ; L. Villius Annalis ; C. Septi-  
“ mius ; C. Scribonius Curio ; M. Oppius.

“ The consul, Marcus Marcellus, having  
“ moved the senate concerning the provinces,

“ RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of the  
“ senate, that it will be highly unbecoming  
“ any magistrate, who has a power of control-  
“ ling their proceedings, to occasion any hin-  
“ drance whereby the senate may be prevented  
“ from taking the aforesaid motion into con-  
“ sideration as soon as possible : and that  
“ whosoever shall obstruct or oppose the same  
“ shall be deemed an enemy to the republic.

“ ORDERED, that if any magistrate shall  
“ put a negative upon the foregoing resolu-  
“ tion, the same shall be entered as an order of  
“ the

“the senate, and again referred to the consideration of this house.”

This resolution was protested against by Caius Cœlius, Lucius Vinicius, P. Publius Cornelius, and Caius Vibius Pansa.

“RESOLVED, that the senate will take into consideration the case of such of the soldiers under Cæsar’s command, who have served out their legal time, or who, for other reasons, are entitled to a discharge: and make such order thereupon as shall be agreeable to equity<sup>12</sup>.”

“RESOLVED, that, if any magistrate shall put his negative upon the foregoing decree, the same shall stand as an order of senate, and be again referred to the consideration of this house.”

This resolution was protested against by Caius Cœlius, and Caius Pansa, tribunes of the people.

“ORDERED, that such of the present prætors, who have never held any provincial command,

<sup>12</sup> A Roman soldier could not be compelled to bear arms after having been in the service ten years. As the strength of Cæsar’s army in Gaul consisted principally in his veterans, this clause was added, as Gronovius observes,



“ command, shall draw lots to succeed respec-  
“ tively to the government of Cilicia, and the  
“ eight remaining Prætorian<sup>13</sup> provinces. But  
“ if there shall not be a sufficient number<sup>14</sup> of  
“ these to fill up the aforesaid governments;  
“ then, and in this case, the deficiency shall be  
“ supplied by lot out of the first college<sup>15</sup> of  
“ prætors, among those who have never held a  
“ foreign government. And if there shall not  
“ be found a sufficient number among these  
“ last, so qualified as aforesaid, the same shall  
“ be supplied from the members of each pre-  
“ ceding college, till the whole number re-  
“ quired be completed.

“ RESOLVED, that, if any magistrate shall  
“ put his negative upon the foregoing decree,  
“ the same shall stand as an order of the se-  
“ nate.”

This decree was protested against by Caius  
Coelius,

serves, with a view of drawing off those soldiers from his troops.

<sup>13</sup> The provinces of lesser note were usually assigned to the prætors; and from thence they were distinguished by the name of the Prætorian provinces.

<sup>14</sup> The number of prætors varied in different periods of the republic. In the times of Cicero this magistracy was composed of eight persons, as Cellarius remarks in his note upon this passage.

<sup>15</sup> Every annual set of prætors were distinguished by colleges, styled the 1st, 2d, 3d, &c. according to their several removes from the current year.

Cœlius, and Caius Pansa, tribunes of the people.

In the debates which preceded these decrees, Pompey let fall an expression that was much observed, and gave us very confident hopes of his good intentions. “He could not, without great injustice, he said, determine any thing in relation to the provinces under Cæsar’s command, before the first of March: but, after that time, he assured the senate he should have no sort of scruple.” Being asked, “what if a negative should then be put upon a decree of the senate for recalling Cæsar?” He declared that he should look upon it as just the same thing, whether Cæsar openly refused to obey the authority of the senate, or secretly procured some magistrate to obstruct their decrees. But suppose, said another member, Cæsar should pursue his pretensions to the consulate, and retain his command abroad at the same time. “Suppose,” replied Pompey, with great temper, “my own son should lay violent hands upon me?” From expressions of this kind the world has conceived a notion that a rupture will undoubtedly ensue between Pompey and Cæsar. I am of opinion, however, that the latter will submit to  
one

one of these two conditions ; either to give up his present pretensions to the consulate, and continue in Gaul, or to quit the province, provided he can be assured of his election.—Curio is preparing most strongly to oppose his demands. What he may be able to effect, I know not ; but sure I am, that a man who acts upon such patriot principles, must gain honour at least, if he gain nothing else. He treats me upon all occasions with great generosity ; and, indeed, in a late instance, has been more liberal than I could have wished ; as his civility has drawn upon me a trouble which, perhaps, I might otherwise have escaped. He has presented me with some African panthers, which he had procured for his own games, and by that means laid me under a necessity of making use of them<sup>17</sup>. I must, therefore, remind you of what I have often mentioned already, and entreat you to send me some of these animals from your part of the world ; and I again likewise recommend to your care the bond of Silius.

I have had occasion to dispatch my freed-man, Philo, together with Diogenes, a Greek, into your province. I hope you will afford your patronage both to them and their commission ;

<sup>17</sup> In the games he was preparing to exhibit as *Ædile*.



mission ; as you will find, by the letter they are to deliver to you on my part, that it is an affair<sup>18</sup> in which I am deeply interested. Farewel.

## LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS<sup>1</sup>, Proprætor.

YOU are apprised, I imagine, of the friendship that subsisted between Titus Pinnius and myself. He has sufficiently declared it, indeed, by his will, wherein he not only appointed me one of the guardians to his son, but left me the contingent reversion also of his estate. My ward (who is a youth of uncommon modesty, as well as great application to his studies) has

<sup>18</sup> This affair seems to be explained by an epistle to Atticus, wherein Cicero mentions the receipt of a very pressing letter from Cœlius, by the hands of his freedman. The purport of it appears to have been, to solicit Cicero to levy a contribution upon his province, towards the expence of those public games, which Cœlius, as Ædile was obliged to exhibit. This oppressive tax had been frequently raised by the governors of provinces, in favour of their friends at Rome, and was, indeed, almost established into a custom.—But Cicero, notwithstanding he seems to have had a sincere affection for Cœlius, would by no means be prevailed upon to break through the equitable maxims of his administration, and with great integrity refused his request. *Ad Att.* vi. 1. *Ad Q. F.* l. 1. No. 9.

<sup>1</sup> He was at this time proprætor, or governor, of Bithynia and Pontus in Asia, where he discharged the provincial functions with great applause. *Ad Att.* vi. 8.

has a very considerable demand upon the city of Nicæa, amounting to eight millions of sesterces<sup>a</sup>: and the corporation, I am told, are inclined to pay off part of this sum the first debt they shall discharge. Now, as not only the rest of the trustees, who know the regard you bear me, but the young man himself, is persuaded that you will not refuse any thing to my request, I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for employing your good offices, (as far, I mean, as may be consistent with your dignity and character) that they pay off as large a proportion of this demand as possible. Farewel.

## LETTER IX.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile elect.

I CONGRATULATE you on the honourable post you have lately obtained<sup>b</sup>, and on the prospect which, by this mean, is open to you, of advancing still higher in the dignities of the republic. I am somewhat late, I confess, in my compliments: however, you must not impute it to any intentional neglect, but merely to my ignorance of what passes at Rome. For, partly from the great distance of  
my

<sup>a</sup> About 70,000*l.* sterling.<sup>b</sup> The Ædileship.

my situation, and partly from those banditti which infest the roads, it is a considerable time before I can receive any intelligence from Italy. And now I know not where to find words sufficiently strong to give you joy upon this occasion, or to express my thanks for your having thus “furnished me (as you termed it “in one of your former letters) with a subject “of perpetual ridicule.” When I first received the news of your victory, I could not forbear mimicking a certain *worthy friend* of ours, and imitating the droll figures those gallant youths exhibited, of whose interest he had so confidently boasted<sup>b</sup>. But it is not easy to give you in description a complete idea of this my humorous sally. I must tell you, however, that I next figured you to myself, and accosted you, as if present, in the words of the comic poet.

*Far less, my good friend, I rejoice at your deed,  
As exceeding whatever before did exceed,  
Than as mounting aloft o'er my hopes the most high;  
And for this, “By my troth 'tis amazing,” I cry.*

Upon

<sup>b</sup> A mere modern reader, who judges of past ages by the modes that prevail in his own, must undoubtedly conceive a very low opinion of Cicero from the account which he here gives of his behaviour. But mimicry was not esteemed by the Romans, as it is with us, a talent becoming only a comedian or a buffoon. On the contrary, this species of humour was thought worthy of the gravest character



Upon which I broke out into a most immoderate fit of laughter: and when some of my friends reproved my mirth, as deviating almost into downright folly, I excused myself by the old verse,

*Excessive joy is not exceeding wise.*

In short, whilst I ridiculed this noble friend of ours, I became almost as ridiculous as himself. But you shall hear farther upon this subject another opportunity: for, in truth, I have many things to say both *of* you and *to* you, whenever I shall find more leisure for that purpose. In the mean time be assured, my dear Cœlius, that I sincerely love you. I consider you, indeed, as one whom fortune has raised up to advance my glory, and avenge my wrongs: and I doubt not, you will give both those who hate and those who envy me, sufficient reason to repent of their folly and their injustice. Farewel.

#### LETTER

racters even upon the gravest occasions: and it was practised by their orators, as well as recommended by their rhetoricians, as a quality, under certain restrictions, of singular grace and efficacy in the whole business of public eloquence. *Vid. Cic. de Orat. ii. 59, 60.*

## LETTER X.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

YOUR good offices in the affair of Atilius, afford me an additional motive for giving you my affection. Late, indeed, as I applied to you in his behalf, I have, however, by your generous intervention, preserved a most worthy Roman knight from ruin. The truth is, I always looked upon my friendship with Lamia, as giving me a claim to yours. In the first place, then, I return you thanks for easing my mind of all its disquietude with respect to Atilius; and, in the next, after thus acknowledging your last favour, I have the assurance to request another: and it is a favour which I shall repay with the utmost returns of my esteem and gratitude. Let me entreat you, then, if I have any share in your heart, to allow my brother an equal enjoyment of the same privilege: which will be adding a very considerable obligation to that important one I so lately received at your hands. Farewel.

LETTER

## LETTER XI.

[A. U. 702.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

BY all that I can collect from your last letter, this will find you in the suburbs<sup>3</sup> of Rome. But though the impotent calumnies of these paultry provincials will probably be subsided ere this reaches your hands, yet, I think it necessary to return some answer to the long epistle I received from you upon that subject; and I shall do so in as few words as possible.

As to the accusation contained in the two first paragraphs of your letter, it is conceived in such vague and general terms, that it is impossible to give it a direct reply. The whole that I can gather from it is, that I am accused of having discovered, by my countenance and my silence, that I was by no means your friend: a discovery which I made, it seems,

<sup>3</sup> Appius, at his return from Cilicia, demanded a triumph, as the reward of his military exploits in that province: and accordingly took up his residence *without* the city. For those who claimed this honour were not admitted within the walls of Rome till their petition was either granted or rejected, or they chose to drop it themselves. The latter was the case with respect to Appius, as will hereafter appear.



seems, upon some occasion in the courts of judicature, and likewise at certain public entertainments. I am very sure, there is not the least ground for this imputation; but as you do not point out the particular instances, I know not in what manner to vindicate myself from the charge. This, however, I most undoubtedly know, that I have mentioned you, upon all occasions, both public and private, with the highest applause, and with the warmest professions of friendship. As to the affair of the deputies<sup>4</sup>, I will appeal to your own breast, whether I could possibly have acted with more probity and discretion than to lessen the expences of these empoverished cities, without any diminution, at the same time, of those honours which they proposed to pay you: especially as it was in compliance

<sup>4</sup> "It was a custom for the governors of provinces, upon their retirement from their government, to procure ambassadors to be sent to Rome from the several cities under their jurisdiction, to praise the integrity and equity of their administration. The origin of this custom was undoubtedly good, and, in some few instances, we find that it was undertaken voluntarily: but it was generally extorted by force, and a great burden to the miserable inhabitants, who, perhaps, had been already fleeced by the rapine and plunder of that very person whose lenity and moderation they were compelled to extol. Appian had taken care, before he left Cilicia, to secure this compliment to be paid to himself, though as undeserving of it as any of his predecessors. But Cicero, who set out upon a more frugal plan than other governors, prevented it, out of compassion to the poverty and indigence of the province." Mr. Ross.

compliance with their own immediate request? And, indeed, I was wholly unapprised of the *particular* purposes of that deputation, which was going to Rome with the customary complimentary address to the senate upon your account. When I was at Apamea<sup>5</sup>, some of the principal inhabitants of several different cities, complained to me of the excessive appointments that were decreed to their deputies; assuring me, that their respective communities were by no means in a condition to support the assessments levied upon them for that purpose. This suggested to my thoughts various reflections: and I imagined, that a man of your refined sentiments could not be extremely fond of honours of this unsubstantial nature. Accordingly, it was at Synnada, I think, that I took occasion to say from the tribunal, (and I expatiated very largely upon the subject) “that the approved  
“merit of Appius was sufficient, without the  
“testimony of the Midensians (for it was in their  
“city<sup>6</sup> that the proposal first arose) to recommend him to the esteem of the senate and the  
“Roman

<sup>5</sup> A city in that part of Phrygia which was annexed to Cicero's province: as was Synnada, likewise, mentioned a few lines below.

<sup>6</sup> A town in the neighbourhood of Synnada. In the original it is *Myndensium*: but Quartier has given good reasons for the reading here followed.

“Roman people; that I had often, indeed, seen  
“instances of this kind of deputations, but did  
“not remember they were ever admitted to an  
“audience; that, however, I applauded the  
“gratitude they had thus shewn for your merit  
“towards them, but thought the particular  
“instance in question was wholly unnecessary;  
“that if any of them were willing to undertake  
“this commission at their own expence, I should  
“highly commend their zeal; and I would  
“even consent it should be performed at the  
“public charge, provided they did not exceed  
“a reasonable sum: but, beyond that, I would  
“in no sort give my permission.”

I am persuaded there is nothing in what I thus said, that can possibly give you offence: and, indeed, your principal complaint is levelled, I perceive, against my edict<sup>7</sup>. For there were some, it seems, who thought it manifestly drawn up with a view of preventing these legations. I cannot forbear saying, that, to give attention to these groundless insinuations, is no less injurious to me than to be author of them. The truth of it is, I settled this edict before I left Rome: and the single addition that I made to it afterwards, was at the instance of the farmers  
of

<sup>7</sup> The nature of these proconsular edicts has already been explained in rem. 7. p. 338. of this vol.



of the revenues: who, when they met me at Samos<sup>2</sup>, desired I would transcribe a paragraph out of your edict and insert it into mine. It was that article which restrains the public expences, and contains several new and very salutary regulations, which I greatly approved. But as to that particular section which gave rise, I find, to the suspicion that I framed it with a design of striking at you, it is copied entirely from the old precedents. I was not, indeed, so absurd, as to think (what I perceive you imagine) that some private affair was concerned in this deputation; well knowing that it was sent from a public body in relation to your public character, and addressed to that great council of the whole world, the senate of Rome. Nor did I, (as you object,) when I prohibited any person from going out of the province without my permission, exclude all those from the possibility of obtaining that leave, who could not follow me to the camp and beyond Mount Taurus: an imputation, I must needs say, the most ridiculous of any in your whole letter. For where, let me ask, was the necessity that any person should follow me for this purpose to the

<sup>2</sup> An island near the coast of Ionia, lying opposite to the city of Ephesus. Cicero touched at this island in his voyage to the province.

the camp, or beyond Mount Taurus; when I regulated my journey from Laodicea to Iconium in such a manner, that all the magistrates and deputies of the several cities in that district might have an opportunity of meeting me? They could not, therefore, be under the difficulty you charge me with having thrown in their way, unless they had taken up the design of going to Rome after my having passed Mount Taurus: which most undoubtedly was not the case. For, during my stay at Apamea, Synnada, Philomelum<sup>9</sup>, and Iconium, all affairs of that nature were entirely settled.

I must farther assure you, that I decreed nothing concerning the abating or abolishing the appointments of the deputies, but at the express request of the principal inhabitants of several cities: and their view was, to prevent any unnecessary exactions that were occasioned by the farming of the subsidies imposed for this purpose, and raising them in that cruel method of capitation, with which you are so well acquainted. Compassion, indeed, as well as justice, inclined me to ease the calamities of these unhappy cities, oppressed as they chiefly were  
by

<sup>9</sup> A city in Phrygia Major, situated on the frontiers towards Galatia. The situation of the other cities mentioned in this place has already been occasionally noted as they occurred in the preceding letters.

by their own magistrates<sup>1</sup>: and when I was engaged in a design of that nature, I could not possibly overlook an expence which appeared so extremely superfluous as that of the appointments of these deputies. It was but a piece of justice therefore due to me, not to have listened to any idle tales that might be related to you upon this subject. But if it should prove, after all, that you attribute to the reports of others, what, in truth, receive their rise merely from your own suspicions, you certainly make use of a sort of figure which the language of friendship will by no means authorise. Had it ever, indeed, been my design to derogate from your reputation in the province, I should scarce have acted in the manner I did, I should not have referred it to your son-in-law at Rome, to your freedman at Brundisium, and to the commander of your artillery when I saw him at Corcyra, to name the place which they

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the letters to Atticus, to whom it was that the grievances of these unhappy cities were principally owing. Their own magistrates, it is true, had some share in them: but their chief oppressor was Appius himself. The desolation he had brought upon this plundered province was so dreadful, that one would rather imagine, says Cicero, some savage monster had been let loose upon them, than that they had been trusted to the care of any human creature. And in another letter he tells Atticus, that he had sufficient employment in applying remedies to those wounds which had been given to this province by his predecessor. *Ad Att. v. 16, 17.*



they thought would be most agreeable to you for our meeting. In short, I wish you would remember the maxim which those great authors have laid down, who have written so excellently upon friendship; that “to *accuse* and “to *defend* are terms which ought for ever to “be banished from intercourses of this amicable kind.”

But do you imagine that I have had no opportunities of listening, in my turn, to accusations of the same nature against yourself? Was it never told me, do you think, that after you had appointed me to meet you at Laodicea, you retired beyond Mount Taurus? That, at the very time I was employed in my juridical office at Apamea, Synnada, and Philomelum, you took the liberty to exercise the same authority at Tarsus? But I forbear to enter farther into these particulars, that I may not follow your example in the very instance of which I am complaining. This, however, I will say, (and I say it with great sincerity) that if you are really persuaded of the truth of these reports, you do me much injustice; and you are not entirely without reproach, if you only suffered them to be related to you. The truth is, it will appear that I have acted towards you in one uniform tenor of friendship.

And let those who impute artifice to me, say, whether it is probable, that, after having paid the utmost attention to your interest, during your absence from Rome, and at a time when I had not the least expectation of its ever being in your power to return me the same favour, I should give you just reason to abandon me now that I have so many occasions for your good offices. I must, however, acknowledge, that there is one article wherein I may not, perhaps, have regulated myself altogether agreeably to your inclinations. I am sensible you would be displeased with any liberties that should be taken with the characters of those who acted in office under you : and I will own that I have heard very unfavourable representations of some of them. But I must add, that no persons were ever mentioned upon this occasion, or any greater irregularities laid to their charge, than those which your friend Clodius himself named to me when I saw him at Corcyra : who lamented, I remember, that you had been some sufferer in your reputation by the mal-practices of those officers<sup>2</sup>. Reports of this

<sup>2</sup> A particular instance of the cruelty of one of these officers under Appius, is mentioned in the letters to Atticus. Scaptius, who commanded a troop of horse in Cyprus, surrounded their senate with his forces in order to compel them, it is probable, to comply with some unjust demands, and kept

this kind (and many such indeed there are) I never in the least encouraged: but I will frankly acknowledge, likewise, that I never greatly endeavoured to repress them; well persuaded as I am, that they can, in no sort, affect your character.

Whoever attempts to persuade you, that there is no such thing as a perfect reconciliation between friends whose affections have once been alienated, discovers the perfidy of his own heart, instead of proving the dissimulation of mine: at the same time that it is evident that he has not a worse opinion of my sincerity,

kept them thus besieged till five of the members perished with hunger. When the government of this province came into the hands of Cicero, the Cyprians, as their island lay within his jurisdiction, petitioned that these troops might be withdrawn: and he very humanely complied with their request. He relieved them, likewise, as well as other cities under his government, from the immoderate interest which they paid for the money which their necessities had obliged them to borrow in Rome; reducing it from 4 per cent. paid monthly, to 1 per cent. This equitable reduction very considerably affected Brutus, who was concerned in these loans; and he seems to have complained of it to Atticus. But notwithstanding the latter strongly pressed Cicero to favour Brutus in this affair, and Brutus himself likewise had written to Cicero for the same purpose: yet he resolutely withstood their united solicitations. "If Brutus," says he, "resents my conduct upon this occasion, I shall be sorry: but much more so, to find him a different man from what I always thought him." And if Cicero, I will add, had spoken and acted upon every other occasion with the same spirit and integrity, as he certainly did in the present, he would have merited all the encomiums which the warmest of his admirers could have bestowed. *Ad Att. vi. 1. 2.*



sincerity, than he must necessarily entertain of yours. But if any man has taken offence at the measures I pursue in my government, as not exactly coinciding with yours, I am perfectly unconcerned at the loss of his friendship. To say truth, we have both acted in the manner we ought, though we have not both followed the same plan. The instances you gave of your diffusive liberality, in this province, were suitable to a man of your quality. Tho' indeed, even you yourself were obliged, the last year, in compliance with the calamities of the season, a little to restrain the munificence of your natural disposition. But if mine, on the contrary, flows in a somewhat more limited channel, let not those to whom the benefit of that stream has not reached, wonder that I rather choose *they* should suffer from the necessary restrictions of my bounty, than that *I* should from the just reproaches of my conscience. I have ever, indeed, been extremely reserved in dispensing largesses at another's cost: as I cannot but be sensibly affected with distresses that extend themselves throughout a whole community.

I am much obliged to you for the account you gave me of affairs at Rome; and particularly for the assurance of your faithfully executing

cuting all my requests. What I principally recommend to your care is, that neither the business nor the period of my administration may be enlarged. To this end, I beg you would entreat our common friend and<sup>3</sup> colleague Hortensius, that if ever he was disposed to comply with my inclinations, he would not persist in my continuing two years in this government, than which he cannot do me a more unfriendly office.

As to the information you desire concerning my own motions; I marched from Tarsus in my way to Amanus on the 7th of October, and, I write this the day following, from my camp in the plains of Mopsuhesta<sup>4</sup>. If any action should happen, I shall not fail of giving you notice: and you may depend upon my enclosing a letter to you whenever I send one to my family. With respect to the Parthians whom you inquire after; I am persuaded that none ever appeared. They were only a troop of Arabians, armed after the Parthian manner. But these, it is said, are all returned home, and I am assured there is now no appearance of an enemy in Syria.

I entreat you to write to me as often as possible

<sup>3</sup> In the Augural College.

<sup>4</sup> A city in Cilicia, situated upon the banks of the river Pyramus.

sible, not only as to what regards your own and my private affairs, but as to those likewise of the republic. I am more than ordinarily, indeed, solicitous concerning the latter, as I find, by your letter, that Pompey is going into Spain<sup>s</sup>. Farewel.

## LETTER XII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

I DID not imagine I should ever have found myself at a loss for expressions: yet at a loss, believe me, I am, to recommend Marcus Lænius to you in the terms he deserves. I must content myself, therefore, with explaining the business of this letter in a few words: but in such, however, as may render you sufficiently sensible of my inclinations. It is incredible how great an esteem both my dearest brother and myself entertain for Lænius: an esteem, which is founded, not only on the many good offices he has conferred upon us, but on the exalted integrity of his heart, and the singular modesty

<sup>s</sup> The government of Spain had been renewed to Pompey for five years at the end of his consulate in the preceding year: which province, however, he administered by his lieutenants, whilst he himself still continued in Rome. *Diø*, xli. p. 148.



modesty with which all his virtues are accompanied. It was with the utmost regret, therefore, that I consented to part with him : as I receive much advantage from his counsels, as well as great entertainment from his company. But if I should expatiate any farther in his praise, will you not think that, far from wanting words as I just now complained, I have employed more than are necessary ? To be short then ; I recommend Lænius to your protection, with all that warmth which you must be sensible I ought, after what I have here said. Let me earnestly entreat you to expedite the business which has called him into your province, and to favour him, likewise, with your advice in the conduct of it. You will find him, be assured, a man of a most generous and well-natured disposition : for which reason, I beg you will send him back to us with the satisfaction of having finished his affairs by your means, as soon as possible. Your compliance with this request, will extremely oblige both my brother and myself. Farewel.

LETTER

## LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile elect.

I wish you would enquire the reason that your letters miscarry; for I cannot be induced to think that you have not once written to me since your election<sup>a</sup>. I am persuaded, on the contrary, that you would not have omitted to communicate a piece of news I so much wished with regard to yourself, and so little expected in relation to Hirrus. The truth, however, is, that I have not heard from you since that glorious and joyful event; which gives me some uneasiness, lest my letters should have had no better success in finding their way to your hand. But be assured I have never written to my family without accompanying my packet with a letter for you; as, indeed, there is no man whom I more sincerely and tenderly value.—But to turn to the principal purpose of this epistle. Your wish has succeeded, and I have just had employment enough of the military kind to entitle me to a triumph. You were under some apprehensions, I perceive, about the Parthians, as being diffident of my forces.

<sup>a</sup> Into the office of Ædile.

forces. I must acquaint you, then, that, having received advice that the Parthians had committed hostilities, I took the advantage of some defiles, and of the neighbouring mountains, to lead my army, supported by a tolerable number of auxiliaries, to Amanus. The reputation of my name was of some benefit to me likewise in my march: for you cannot imagine of what importance it is, in places of this kind, to have the populace ask, *Is this the consul that saved Rome? Is this he that was so honoured by the senate?* together with other questions of the same import, which I need not add. When I approached to Amanus, a mountain which separates Cilicia from Syria, I had the satisfaction to hear that Cassius<sup>e</sup> had obliged the enemy to abandon the siege of Antiochea, and that Bibulus had taken upon himself the command of the province.--- However, I employed my army in harassing the Amanienses, our eternal enemies; and having put many of them to the sword, as well as taken a great number of prisoners, and entirely dispersed the rest, I surprised and burnt some of their fortresses. Having thus obtained a  
complete

<sup>e</sup> He was lieutenant to Crassus, in Syria, after whose death the command of the province devolved upon him, till Bibulus, who was appointed successor to Crassus, arrived.— A more particular account will be given of him in the farther progress of these remarks.



complete victory, I was saluted with the title of *Imperator*, by the whole army, at Issus<sup>7</sup>; the very place (as your favourite historian, Clitarchus<sup>8</sup>, has often, I have heard you say, informed you) where Alexander defeated Darius. From thence I marched into the most infested parts of Cilicia, where I am now before Pindenessum, a city of great strength, and which I have already been battering above these three weeks. The garrison makes a most obstinate and vigorous defence; so that nothing seems wanting to complete the glory I shall here obtain, but that the name of this place were less obscure. If I should make myself master of it, (as I trust I shall) I will send an immediate express to the senate. In the mean time I have given you this general account of my operations, to let you see there is some foundation to hope that your good wishes will take effect. But to return to the Parthians. This summer's campaign has proved, you find, tolerably successful: I am in great pain, however, for the next. Let me entreat you, therefore, my dear friend, to endeavour

<sup>7</sup> A city which stood on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria.

<sup>8</sup> A Greek historian, who attended Alexander in his Persian expedition.

deavour that a successor be appointed to my government: but if that should prove a matter of too much difficulty, (as you intimate in one of your letters, and as I am myself inclined to suspect) be careful at least to guard against what may easily be prevented; I mean the prolongation of my residence.

I expect from your letters, (as I mentioned in one of my former) not merely an account of what is at present going forward in the republic, but a clear prospect also of what is likely to happen. For which purpose I entreat you to inform me fully of every thing that concerns the public. Farewel.

#### LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 702.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS to CICERO.

WE have received an express from Caius Cassius, and another from Deiotarus, which greatly alarm us. The former writes that the Parthian army has passed the Euphrates; and the latter, that they are actually marching towards your province, by the way of Commagene. As I well know how ill provided you  
are

<sup>9</sup> This letter appears to have been written before any of Cicero's dispatches, concerning the Parthians, had reached Rome; and consequently before Cælius had received the preceding epistle.

are with troops ; the principal concern I feel from this invasion, with respect to you, is lest you should be a loser by it in point of reputation. Had you been better prepared, indeed, to receive the enemy, I should have been in great pain for your life : but as the very small number of your forces will incline you, I imagine, rather to think of a retreat than an engagement, I am only anxious concerning your honour. For how far the world may consider the necessity of the case, and approve of your thus declining a battle, is a point, I confess, which gives me much uneasy reflection. In short, I shall be in continual anxiety till I hear of your arrival in Italy. In the mean time, this news of the Parthians has occasioned a variety of speculations. Some are of opinion that Pompey ought to be sent to oppose them ; and others, that it is by no means convenient he should leave Rome. A third party is for assigning this expedition to Cæsar and his army, whilst a fourth names the consuls<sup>1</sup> as the most proper persons to be employed. But all agree, however, in being silent as to any decree of the senate for placing this command in private hands<sup>2</sup>. The consuls, in the apprehension that they

<sup>1</sup> Marcus Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius.

<sup>2</sup> That is, in the hands of those who were not invested with some public command.



they shall either be nominated to a commission which they do not relish, or suffer the disgrace of its being given from them, forbear to convene the senate, and by this mean incur the censure of neglecting the public interest. But whether indolence or pusillanimity be the real motive of their declining the conduct of this war, it is concealed under the specious appearance, however, of modesty.

As we have received no courier from you, it was suspected, till the dispatch from Deiotarus arrived, that the whole was an invention of Cassius, who, it was thought, in order to cover his own rapine, had suffered a parcel of Arabs to make an incursion into the province, and then represented them to the senate as a formidable body of Parthians. Whatever, therefore, may be the true state of the affair, let me persuade you to be extremely circumspect in giving a faithful and accurate account of it to the senate, that you may neither be reproached with magnifying matters in order to gratify the private purposes of Cassius, nor with concealing any thing which may be of importance for the public to know.

It is now the 18th of November : and as we are advanced thus far towards the end of the year, I do not see that any thing can be done  
in

in this affair before the first of January<sup>3</sup>. For you know how slow and inactive Marcellus is upon all occasions, and are no stranger to the dilatory disposition of Sulpicius. You will easily judge, therefore, what is to be expected from two men of this unperforming cast; and that they who usually act with so much coldness, as to make one doubt their inclinations, even in points they really desire to effect, will not be very warm in forwarding a business from which they are certainly averse.

If the Parthian war should become a serious matter, the new magistrates will be engaged, for the first two or three months of their office, in adjusting the proper measures to be taken in this conjuncture. On the other hand, if it should appear to be an invasion of no consequence, or such, at least, that, with the supply of a few additional troops, may easily be repelled by you and the other proconsuls already in those provinces, or by your successors, Curio, I foresee, will begin to play his double game: that is, he will in the first place attempt to weaken the authority of Cæsar<sup>4</sup>: and in the next endeavour to throw some little advantages

<sup>3</sup> When the consuls elect entered upon the administration of their office.

<sup>4</sup> Curio had not as yet pulled off the mask, and declared himself openly in favour of Cæsar.

tages on the side of Pompey. As for Paulus<sup>5</sup>, he declares most vehemently against suffering Cæsar to continue in Gaul; and our friend Furnius is the only tribune whom I suspect of obstructing his measures for that purpose. You may depend upon these articles as certain: but beyond these I cannot with any assurance pronounce. Time, indeed, may produce much; as many schemes, I know, are concerted: but they all turn upon the points I have already specified. I forgot to mention that Curio designs to make an attempt to procure a division of the lands in Campania<sup>6</sup>. It is pretended that Cæsar does not concern himself in this matter; certain, however, it is, that Pompey is very desirous of having the distribution settled before Cæsar's return, that he may be precluded from applying them to his own purposes.

As to what concerns your leaving the province, I dare not promise that you shall be relieved

<sup>5</sup> One of the consuls elect. See rem. 61 p. 324. of this vol.

<sup>6</sup> Cæsar, when he was consul, an. urb. 694, had procured a law for the distribution of these lands, and part of them had actually been distributed accordingly. The remaining part was what Curio had in his view, which were to be purchased of the private possessors with the public money, and parcelled out amongst the poor citizens in the same manner as those had been which were already divided. See rem. 13. p. 165, of this vol. *Vid etiam Manut. in ep. Fam. i. 9.*



lieved by a successor; but you may rely upon my endeavouring all I can that your administration shall not be prolonged. Whether you will think proper to remain in your government, if affairs should be so circumstanced as to render it indecent for me to oppose any decree of the senate for that purpose, depends upon yourself to determine, as it does upon me to remember, how warmly you made it your request when we parted, that I would prevent any such resolution from being taken. Farewel.

## LETTER XV.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

IT was with the warmest and most grateful acknowledgment of your favours, that my friend Nero assured me, you have distinguished him with every honour in your power. You may depend upon the most efficacious instances of his friendship in return, as there is not a man in the world, of a more grateful and generous disposition. You have conferred, at the same time, a very singular obligation upon myself, for I know not any man amongst all our nobility, who stands higher in my esteem and affection. Your good offices to him, therefore,  
in

in the following instances, wherein he desired I would particularly request them, will be highly agreeable to me. In the first place, I beg you to defer the affair of Pausanias, an inhabitant of Alibanda, till Nero arrives in your province; and as this is a point in which I perceive he is exceedingly solicitous, it is with a proportionable degree of zeal that I entreat your compliance. The next favour I am to ask is, your particular protection for the citizens of Nysa. Nero is greatly attached to the interest of this corporation, and I hope you will shew them that nothing can be more to their advantage than his patronage. I have frequently had occasion of recommending Strabo Servilius to you, but I renew my applications with so much the more ardour, as Nero takes a share in his concerns. We jointly then entreat you to settle his affair, and not leave an innocent man to be a prey, perhaps, to one who may succeed to your government with a turn of mind far different from that generosity which distinguishes yours. This will be acting in a manner highly agreeable to myself, and suitable at the same time to your usual humanity. In a word, the purport of my present application amounts to this; that you would, upon all occasions, continue to distinguish Nero with your most peculiar regard.

The

The truth is, your province has, in this respect, greatly the advantage over mine, as it affords you full scope of doing honour to so noble, so ingenious, and so virtuous a youth. Your perseverance in the same generous offices with which you have thus far assisted my friend, will give him an opportunity of confirming and strengthening those illustrious clientships which have been delivered down to him from his ancestors. And let me add, that it will be placing your favours with great judgment in respect to Nero, as well as bestowing them in the most obliging manner, likewise, with regard to myself. Farewel.

## LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 702.]

To CURIO, Tribune of the People.

THE congratulations of a friend are not usually considered as too late, if they are paid as early as possible: my great distance, therefore, from Rome, together with the slow progress with which news travels into this corner of the world, will excuse me for not sooner sending you mine. But I now sincerely give them you, and most ardently wish that you may obtain immortal honour by your administration



tration of the tribunate. To this end, I must exhort you not to suffer yourself to be turned aside from your natural bias, in compliance with the sentiments and advice of others; on the contrary, let me entreat you to be directed in your ministry by the faithful light of your own superior wisdom. No man, indeed, is capable of giving you more prudent counsels than will arise from the suggestions of your own good-sense; and, believe me, you can never be misguided so long as you pursue the honest dictates of your uninfluenced judgment. I say not this inconsiderately, but as perfectly well knowing the genius and principles of him to whom I am addressing myself. Yes, my friend, I can never be apprehensive that you will act either weakly, or irresolutely, whilst you support the measures your heart approves. It was neither chance nor ignorance that led you to solicit this magistracy in so important a crisis. It was a deliberate and well considered resolution that engaged you in this design, and you were perfectly sensible of the great and general confusion in which the commonwealth is involved, together with the utter uncertainty in what manner these our unhappy divisions will finally be terminated. You frequently reflect, I doubt not, on the vain, the treacherous, and the pliant  
dispositions

dispositions of the present generation. To repeat, then, what I just now mentioned, let me conjure you stedfastly to persevere in your old principles; to consult the dictates of your own breast; and faithfully to comply with its wise and worthy admonitions. Hardly, perhaps, is any man more qualified than yourself to direct the conduct of others: none, I am sure, to steer your own. Good Gods! Why am I thus prevented from being a witness of your glorious actions, and an associate in your patriot designs? The latter, I am persuaded, you are far from wanting; however, the strength and warmth of my affection might possibly render the conjunction of my counsels with yours not altogether unprofitable.

You will hear from me again very soon: as I purpose in a few days to send an express to the senate with a particular account of the success of my arms during the last summer's campaign. In the mean time, you will perceive, by the letter which I delivered to your freed-man Thraso, with what zealous pains I have solicited your election to the pontifical dignity; an election, indeed, that will be attended with much difficulty. I conjure you, in return, my dear Curio, not to suffer this my very troublesome provincial administration to be lengthened

ened out beyond the usual period, and I entreat it by all the strong and tender ties of our mutual friendship. When I first made this request to you in person, and several times afterwards repeated it by letter, I had not the least imagination of your being tribune. I then, indeed, only entreated your good offices as an illustrious senator, and as one who stood high in the favour and esteem of every Roman. But I now apply to Curio, not only as my noble friend, but as a powerful tribune. I do not desire, however, (what, indeed, would be more difficult to obtain) that any thing unusual should be decreed in my favour; but, on the contrary, that you would support that decree, and maintain those laws by which I was appointed to this government. In a word, my single and most earnest request is, that the terms upon which I set out for this province may not be changed. Farewel.

LETTER



## LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 702.]

To THERMUS, Proprætor.

I FOUND you perfectly well inclined to employ every good office in your power for my lieutenant Marcus Anneius, when I mentioned his affair to you at Ephesus. However, as my affection will not suffer me to omit any circumstance which may tend to his advantage, I write to you in the belief that this letter will considerably add to the favourable disposition in which you already stand towards him. He has long enjoyed a share in my friendship; as, indeed, I have sufficiently shewn the good opinion I entertain of him, by having appointed him my lieutenant in preference to so many others, who solicited for that office. The war in which I was soon afterwards engaged, gave me occasion of experiencing his military abilities; and the prudence, the courage, and the fidelity with which he executed his commission, together with the extraordinary marks he gave me of his affection, have raised him to the highest possible degree of my esteem. I informed you at Ephesus, that there were some points in controversy between him and the city  
of

of Sardis<sup>7</sup>; the particulars of which you will best learn when the cause shall come before you. And here, I must confess, I have been long debating with myself what I should farther say to you. The world universally acknowledges and admires your impartial administration of justice, and my friend's claim is so well founded as to require no other protection than that of your usual equity. However, as I am sensible of the great authority which naturally attends the Prætorian office, especially where it is exercised with so much honour, lenity, and wisdom, as are well known to distinguish your administration; I entreat you to exert that influence in such a manner, upon this occasion, as may convince Anneius that you are his friend. He is already, indeed, persuaded that you are so, and has often mentioned you to me in that character. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear conjuring you, by those reciprocal good offices which have equally passed between us, to let him see that this letter has rendered you still more inclined to serve him. Be assured, the whole extent of your provincial power cannot supply you with an opportunity of more effectually obliging me. It is unnecessary I should add, that you cannot better dispose of your favours, than by conferring them

<sup>7</sup> In Lydia.

them on Anneius: and I am persuaded you have too high an opinion of his merit and gratitude to entertain the least doubt upon that article. Farewel.

## LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 702.]

TO VOLUMNIUS<sup>s</sup>.

THE familiar manner in which your letter to me was addressed, though extremely agreeable indeed to the intimacy that subsists between us, made me at first doubt whether it did not come from my very good friend, your namesake, the senator. But I soon found, by that lively and elegant humour with which it was distinguished, that it could be the produce of no other hand than yours. I was exceedingly pleased with it in every respect, but that I perceived you had not sufficiently discharged  
your

<sup>s</sup> The person to whom this letter is addressed was a Roman knight, extremely admired for his wit and pleasantry. It was this quality, it is probable, that recommended him to Antony, with whom he appears to have been in some credit; as he was likewise employed by him in the civil wars. Atticus also was in the number of Volumnius's friends: and after the battle of Modena, when Antony's faction was supposed to be irrecoverably ruined, he generously protected him from the violences of the successful party. *Ad Att.* xv. 8. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici.*



your trust, and defended the credit of my possessions as a wit. For you tell me, that since I left Rome, every paltry joke, even those of the dull Sextius himself, is placed to my account. And did you suffer your friend to be thus dishonoured, without heroically standing forth in vindication of his genius? I was in hopes that my wit was stamped with such distinguishing marks as to prevent the possibility of its being mistaken. But it seems there is such a general depravation of taste in Rome, that no man's conceits are so execrably vile, as not to meet with admirers. As you value my reputation then, assert boldly that every low thing which is repeated of this sort, is none of mine. And unless it be some smart pun, or elegant hyperbole, some striking paragram<sup>9</sup>, or some arch and unexpected turn<sup>a</sup>; in a word, unless it answers the character of true humour

<sup>9</sup> The hyperbole is a figure of speech by which any thing is extravagantly magnified or diminished beyond the truth: as a paragram is a species of the pun, which consists in changing the initial letters of a name. It would be needless to produce any example in explanation of the former; and an instance of the latter kind will occur to every English reader in the well-known reply which Cromwell made to the judges, when they reminded him of *Magna Charta*.

<sup>a</sup> Of this kind is what the Duke of Buckingham once said to a noble Earl: *My Lord, you will certainly be damned. How, my Lord?* returned the Earl, with some warmth. *Nay,* replied the Duke, *there's no help for it: for it is positively said, Cursed is he of whom all men speak well.* Tatler, vol. i. No. 17.

humour<sup>1</sup>, as described in my dialogue on oratory, I desire you would do me the favour most vehemently to swear, that mine you are confident

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, in the treatise to which he here refers, introduces one of his speakers as pointing out the principal sources of oratorical humour: among which he makes very honourable mention of the pun. There is scarce an author, indeed, of any note among the ancients, that has not, in some part or other of his writings, tried his genius at a conceit: and it is remarkable, that there is one in particular which runs through almost the whole set of Roman Classics. The first that appears to have started it is, that venerable censor, Cato the elder: who, in a grave speech recorded by Livy, taking notice of those fine statues that had been lately transported into Italy, after the conquest of Greece, expresses his concern *ne illæ magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas*. Horace was so well pleased with this witticism, that he has transplanted it into one of his epistles:

*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes  
Intulit agresti Latio.*

And even the majestic Virgil could not secure himself from the infection of this contagious ambiguity:

*Num Capti potuere Capi?*

a quibble, which was afterwards taken up by Quintus Curtius: though it seems to be somewhat damaged in passing through his hands: *plures captivi* (says that historian, speaking of one of Alexander's victories) *quam qui caperent, erant*. When it is considered how early this species of false wit appeared in the world; with what difficulty it has been subdued; that some of the best writers have not been able entirely to abstain from it; and that it was the favourite of so unquestionable a genius as Cicero; one cannot forbear thinking with the inimitable Mr. Addison, "that the seeds of punning are in the minds of all men." It is the business, therefore, of criticism, to root out a weed, which the best as well as the worst soil, it seems, is so strongly disposed to produce: as it cannot spread without checking the nobler growth of true wit and just imagination. *Cic. de orat. ii. 38. Liv. xxxiv. 4. Hor. ep. ii. 1. 157. Virg. Æn. vii. 295. Quint. Cur. v. 13. Addison Spect. i. No. 61.*

confident it is not. With regard to those little pretenders to eloquence, of whom you complain, as having usurped my place in the Forum, I am much less concerned. Fare it as it may with plaintiffs and defendants of every kind, I am nothing disturbed; no not though the worthless Silius himself should be deemed eloquent enough to persuade the world that he is not an arrant slave. But in the article of wit, my friend—there, indeed, I am much too jealous not to assert my prerogative. It is an article, however, in which I stand in fear of no other competitor but yourself: for your pretensions, doubtless, are formidable. Yet when I say this, you will modestly suspect, perhaps, that I am bantering: and who but must own that Voluminus is a man of penetration? To speak seriously: a most agreeable and lively vein of wit runs throughout your whole letter. I will confess, however, that what you mention concerning our friend<sup>2</sup>, though you represented it in a very droll light, did not once make me smile. It is much my desire, I must own, that he should conduct himself through his tribunitial office with dignity; not only for his own sake, as you know he is a man I value, but for the sake likewise of my country: which,

however,

<sup>2</sup> This seems to allude to Curius.



however ill it has treated me, I shall never cease to love.

And now, my dear Volumnius, I hope you will continue the agreeable correspondence you have begun, and give me frequent accounts of affairs both private and public: for, be assured, your letters are extremely pleasing to me. I entreat you, likewise, to endeavour to gain Dolabella entirely to my interests, by confirming him in that amicable disposition towards me, which, I know, he is inclined to entertain. Not that I suspect he wants any applications of this sort: but, as I am very desirous to make him my friend, it is a point, I think, that cannot be too much laboured. Farewel.

D d 3

LETTER

## LETTER XLX.

[A. U. 702.]

TO CRASSIPES<sup>3</sup>.

I TOOK occasion, before I left Rome, of recommending the Bithynia<sup>4</sup> company to you in the strongest terms I was able: and I had the pleasure to find you perfectly well disposed, not only from my instances, but your own inclinations, to do them all the good offices in your power. However, as those who are concerned in the affairs of this society, think it may be to their advantage that I should thus repeat my assurances of the regard I bear them, I make no difficulty of yielding to their solicitations. Be well persuaded then, that I have ever been desirous of rendering to this whole order, in general, my best services: to which, indeed, the important obligations they have conferred upon me, give them an undoubted right. But my attachments are more particularly strong to that branch of them concerned  
in

<sup>3</sup> He was Quæstor in Bithynia: and, probably, at the same time when P. Silius was governor of that province: See rem. 1. p. 366 of this vol.

<sup>4</sup> The revenues of the republic arising from the foreign provinces were farmed by the Roman knights, who were divided into several companies distinguished by the name of the particular province whose taxes they rented. See rem. 53. p. 204. of this vol.

in the finances of Bithynia : as this company, from the rank and character of its members, forms one of the most considerable bodies in the whole republic. It is composed, indeed, out of all the other companies, and happens to consist of several of my most intimate friends. In this number their governor Publius Rupilius holds the principal rank : the most important part of whose function is concerned in my present address. I make it then my earnest request (and it is a request you may very easily comply with) that you assist and protect their agent Pupius in discharging his services to the satisfaction of the company : and, in general, that you would promote their interest by all those means which, I well know, are in the power of a Quæstor. Your compliance in this instance will greatly oblige me : and I will add too, what I can affirm from my own experience, that you cannot confer your good offices upon a society that will more gratefully remember them. Farewel.

D d 4

LETTER



## LETTER XX.

[A. U. 702.]

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

PUBLIUS Terentius Hispo, who is deputy-receiver-general of the customs arising from pasture and cattle in your province, is a person for whom I have a very particular friendship: as, indeed, many important good offices have mutually passed between us. The settling his accounts with the several cities under his department which yet remain unadjusted, is a point wherein his character, you are sensible, is greatly concerned. This I attempted in his behalf with regard to the inhabitants of Ephesus: but my attempts, I must confess, proved unsuccessful. It is the general opinion of the world, however, and what I am firmly assured of myself, that the justice and clemency of your administration has gained you such an ascendant over the people of Greece, that you may easily obtain of them any thing you shall request. I entreat you then to employ your interest with them in favour of Hispo: and I ask it as a point in which my honour is peculiarly concerned. The truth is, not only the whole company in this branch of the revenues has placed itself under my protection,

tection, but I have particular intimacies with many of its members. Your compliance, therefore, with my request, will strengthen my interest with this society in general, and will also give me the satisfaction and credit of having obtained your good offices for my friend. To this I will add, that you may depend on receiving great complacency, both from the grateful returns of Hispo in particular, and from the interest you will establish with this illustrious company in general. You will likewise oblige me in a most sensible manner: for, be assured, the whole extent of your government cannot supply you with an opportunity of rendering me a more acceptable service. Farewel.

LETTER

LETTERS

OF

MAIACUS TULLIUS CICERO

TO

SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS

BOOK IV

LETTER I

TO

TO MAIACUS CICERO

I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am glad to hear that you are well. I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am glad to hear that you are well.

I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am glad to hear that you are well. I have just received your letter of the 10th inst. and am glad to hear that you are well.



LETTERS  
OF  
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO  
TO  
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

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BOOK V.

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LETTER I.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CATO<sup>1</sup>.

THE great authority you bear in the republic, together with the high esteem I have ever entertained for your uncommon virtues, make  
me

<sup>1</sup> This illustrious Roman was great-grandson to Marcus Cato the Censor : to whom he was no less allied in virtue than in blood. He had all his merit, indeed, without any of his failings : and with the same determined inflexibility in  
his

me look upon it as a point of much consequence to me, that you should be apprised of the

in his public conduct, he was far more amiable in the common intercourses of private life. Perhaps a character equally perfect, is no where to be found in the whole annals of profane history; and it may well be questioned whether *human* philosophy ever produced, either before, or since, so truly great and good a man. It is a just observation of Seneca; *magnam rem puta, unum hominem agere*: and it is this uncommon consistency of action that marks the character of Cato with its most distinguishing beauty. All the parts of his conduct accord with each other, and are the regular result of one steady and invariable principle:

—*Patriæ—impendere vitam :*  
*Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.*

This was the glorious object of his ambition from his first appearance in the world to the last moment of his life: and he undauntedly pursued it through all the various insults and opposition that Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey could contrive to traverse and perplex his way. He resolutely, indeed, opposed the progress of their power, in every step of its unconstitutional advancement; and, with a most consummate prudence, perpetually forewarned his countrymen of those calamities which they afterwards experienced. Cicero, nevertheless, has said (and it has been often repeated after him) that there was more of probity than of prudence in Cato's politics; and particularly instances his treatment of the Roman knights in a very nice case, wherein they petitioned the senate for redress. See rem. 9. p. 114. of this vol. Perhaps Cato's firmness in this article cannot be justified: but certainly it would not be reasonable to pronounce, from a particular article, that he did not, in the general tenor of his public actions, discover great abilities. Cicero speaks of them, it is true, upon other occasions also, with some diminution: but it is no wonder he should represent that conduct as injudicious, which was almost in every respect the very reverse of his own. One cannot easily, indeed, believe that Cato's talents were unequal to his virtues, when one considers the perpetual jealousy with which he was looked upon by the first triumvirate; the violent measures they employed to prevent his being elected prætor;

the success of my arms; of the 'disinterested protection I have given to our allies; and of the integrity of my administration in general. And I doubt not, when you shall be informed of these several articles, I shall find the less difficulty in persuading you to comply with the request I am going to make.

I arrived in this province on the last of July; and, as the season of the year rendered it necessary for me to hasten to the army, I continued only two days at Laodicea, four at Apamea, three at Synnadæ, and as many at Philomelum. I found great numbers of people assembled in these several towns, in expectation of my arrival: and, during my stay in each, I relieved many cities from the oppressive taxes they laboured under, reduced the exorbitant interest they paid for the money they had been obliged to borrow, and discharged them from the unjust demands of their usurious creditors. Before I arrived

tor; and that they would never suffer him to attain the consular office. Integrity under the direction of much inferior abilities, could not, surely, have been thus formidable; especially in an age the most venal and unprincipled that ever darkened the annals of human corruption. But whatever may be determined as to the measure of his intellectual qualities, he unquestionably possessed the patriot virtues in their highest perfection: and (as a noble author justly observes) "if he could not save, he prolonged the "life of liberty." *Plut. in vit. Caton. Senec. ep. 120. Lucan. ii. 382. Ad Att. i. 18, 11, 5. Let. on the spirit of patriotism, p. 35.*



arrived in my government, a mutiny had arisen in the army, and the soldiers had dispersed themselves into different parts of the provinces: five cohorts, in particular, were retired to Philomelum, without a single officer to command them. I therefore ordered my lieutenant Anneius to conduct these scattered regiments to the main body in Lycaonia, and to assemble the whole army at Iconium; where I directed him to encamp. These orders he very diligently executed: and I joined the troops on the 26th of August. In the interval I employed myself, agreeably to the injunctions of the senate, in raising a strong body of Evocati<sup>a</sup>, together with a proper number of cavalry, as also in assembling those auxiliary forces which the free as well as regal states in alliance with the republic had voluntarily offered me. As soon as the junction of all the troops was completed, I reviewed the whole army; and, on the 30th of August, we began to move towards Cilicia. In the mean time, envoys from the king of Commagene arrived with a very confused indeed, but, however, as it appeared afterwards, a very true account, that the Parthians had invaded Syria. This news greatly alarmed me, not only for the danger to which that province, but my  
own,

<sup>a</sup> See remark 1. on letter 3. book iv.

own, was exposed : and which threatened, likewise, all Asia in general. I thought it adviseable, therefore, to lead my troops through that part of Cappadocia which borders on Cilicia. If, indeed, I had marched directly into Cilicia, I could easily have protected that district of my province from any invasion on the side of Syria : as it cannot be entered from thence without traversing Mount Amanus, over which there are only two narrow defiles, that might be defended by a very small force. In short, nothing can be more impregnable than Cilicia is from that quarter, by the fortifications with which nature has secured it. But my chief concern was for Cappadocia, which lies entirely open towards Syria : and besides, there are several little kingdoms in its neighbourhood, which, though in friendship with the Romans, yet dare not openly act against the Parthians. These considerations, therefore, determined me to lie with my army on the borders of Cappadocia : and accordingly I encamped at Cybistra, a town situated not far from Mount Taurus. By these means, I was in a condition of protecting Cilicia, at the same time that, by possessing myself of Cappadocia, I prevented the contiguous states from entering into any measures to our prejudice.

Whilst

Whilst affairs were in this commotion, and there was reason to apprehend a general war, King Deiotarus sent an embassy to my camp, with an offer of joining me with all his forces. I was extremely sensible of this instance of his zeal and friendship : and immediately returned him a letter of acknowledgments, with my pressing exhortation, at the same time, that he would hasten his march. I cannot but observe, upon this occasion, that Deiotarus justly merits those peculiar marks of favour and esteem, with which both you and I in particular, as well as the senate in general, have ever distinguished him. He discovers, indeed, a remarkable fidelity and affection to the republic, together with an uncommon presence and greatness of mind both in action and in council.

I found it necessary, for the better concerting my plan of operations, to continue five days at Cybistra. During my stay there, I had the satisfaction to be of singular service to Ariobarzanes: a prince particularly assigned to my protection by the senate, in consequence of your motion for that purpose. I delivered him from a very dangerous conspiracy, which was just upon the point of being carried into execution. I did more indeed : and not only preserved his person, but strengthened his authority. For this purpose



purpose I procured Metras and Athenæus, (the latter of whom you strongly recommended to my care) not only to be recalled from that exile into which the intrigues of the cruel Athenais had driven them, but to be restored to their former favour and credit with the king. And as it would have produced a very terrible civil war, if the high priest<sup>2</sup>, who was among the disaffected party, had taken up arms, as was generally supposed to be his intention; I found means of obliging him to depart the kingdom. This young man abounded both in money and troops, and possessed every other advantage that could render him of importance to those who were inclined to attempt a revolution.—In a word, I recovered the authority of Ariobarzanes, without occasioning the least bloodshed, or disturbance, and firmly established him in his royal dignity.

In the mean time, I was informed, by various expresses, that a considerable army of Parthians and Arabians were advanced to the city of Antiochia<sup>3</sup>; and that a large body of their cavalry, which had penetrated into Cilicia, were entirely

<sup>2</sup> It appears, by a passage which Manutius cites from Hirtius, that the high priest of the temple of Bellona, at Commana, a city in Cappadocia, was next in rank and power to the king himself. *Hirt. de Bel. Alexand.*

<sup>3</sup> In Syria.

tirely cut to pieces by a detachment of mine, supported by the prætorian<sup>4</sup> cohort in garrison, at Epiphanea<sup>5</sup>. Perceiving, therefore, that the Parthians had turned off from Cappadocia, and were approached within a small distance of the frontiers of Cilicia, I conducted the army with all possible expedition to Amanus. Upon my arrival, I found the enemy was retired from Antiochia, and that Bibulus had taken possession of the city. I sent an express, therefore, to Deiotarus, who was upon full march with all his forces to join me, acquainting him that I did not at present see occasion of drawing him out of his dominions; but that if any new occurrence should arise, I would immediately give him notice.

My principal view in advancing to Amanus was, that I might be ready to assist either Cilicia or Syria, as circumstances should require. I had likewise another design, which I had before meditated, and now prepared to execute, as being of great importance to both provinces: I mean to quell the insurrection of these highlanders, and extirpate an enemy that was perpetually

<sup>4</sup> The prætorian cohort composed a sort of body-guard to the proconsul, or general; and consisted of a select number chosen out of the Evocati. The nature of the latter has been already explained in remark 1. p. 340. of this vol.

<sup>5</sup> A city in Cilicia.

petually infesting us. To this end I made a feint of retiring towards another part of Cilicia; and, having actually returned a day's march, I encamped at Epiphanea. But, on the 12th of October, in the evening, I struck my tents, and, by a long march during the whole night, I arrived early the next morning at Amanus. I immediately formed in order of battle, heading part of the troops myself, in conjunction with my brother, and distributing the command of the rest amongst my other lieutenants. The enemy being thus surrounded by surprise, were taken and destroyed in great numbers. Meanwhile, my lieutenant Pontinius, attacked Sepyra, Commoris, and Erana; the latter of which is the principal town on these mountains, and, indeed, considerable enough to be called a city. They each made a very obstinate resistance; and, notwithstanding the attack began before day-break, they did not surrender till night, nor without having suffered a prodigious slaughter. In this action we took six fortresses, and burnt many more.

Having thus successfully completed this expedition, we encamped at the foot of Mount Amanus, near Alexander's<sup>6</sup> altars, where I continued

<sup>6</sup> A place near Issus, where Alexander having defeated Darius, consecrated three altars to Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva, as memorials of his victory. *Quint. Curt.* iii.



continued four days. During the whole time I remained here, I was employed in extirpating the rest of these mountaineers, and destroying that part of their lands which lies within my province. From hence I sat down before Pin-dinessum; a city in the territories of that part of Cilicia, which has never submitted to the Romans. This was a place of great strength, and inhabited by a stubborn people, who had preserved themselves unconquered, even by the neighbouring kings. It was a harbour, likewise, for fugitives of every kind, and they were greatly, also, in the interest of the Parthians, whose approach they impatiently expected. Upon these considerations, I thought it for the honour of my arms to restrain their insolence; especially, as I should by this means the more easily subdue the spirit of those other cantons which were equally averse to the Roman government. In consequence of this resolution, I invested the town; and, having raised six large fortresses, I began to play my battering engines against their walls. They held out, however, fifty-seven days; but, at length, finding the flames had seized several parts of the town, and that other quarters were laid in ruins, they surrendered at discretion, after having occasioned me an infinite fatigue. I had the satis-

faction to complete this enterprise without occasioning our allies the least inconvenience or expence. After having thus reduced Pindinessum, and received hostages from the Tiburani, a neighbouring people equally bold and insolent, I sent my army into winter-quarters. This care I assigned to my brother, and ordered him to canton the troops amongst those towns we had lately taken, or that were most disposed to revolt.

And now, if a motion should be made in the senate concerning the honours due to the success of my arms, I shall esteem it the highest glory to be supported in my pretensions by your suffrage. I am sensible it is usual for the gravest characters to request, as well as to be requested, for favours of this nature, in the strongest terms; but I persuade myself it will be more proper for me to remind, than to solicit you, in the present instance. You have frequently, indeed, not only distinguished me with your vote, but with your highest applause, both in the senate and in the assemblies of the people<sup>7</sup>. And believe me, I have ever thought  
there

<sup>7</sup> Cicero, soon after the expiration of his consulate, had very particular obligations to Cato, of the kind he mentions. For the latter being tribune at that time, procured him a confirmation from an assembly of the people, of the glorious title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. *Plut. in vit. Cic.*

there was so much weight and authority in all you uttered, that a single word of yours in my favour was the highest honour I could possibly receive. I remember, upon a certain occasion, when you refused to vote for a public thanksgiving<sup>8</sup> which was proposed in favour of a very worthy and illustrious citizen; you told the senate that you should willingly have given your suffrage in support of the honour in question, had it been designed as a reward for any civil services which that consul had performed in Rome. Agreeably to this maxim, you formerly concurred in voting that a public thanksgiving should be decreed to me; not, indeed, for having advanced the glory of our country by my military achievements (for that would have been a circumstance nothing uncommon) but for having, in a most singular and unexampled manner, preserved the liberties of the whole commonwealth<sup>9</sup> without drawing a sword. I forbear to mention the generous share you have taken in all the envy, the difficulties, and the dangers to which my life has been exposed; and a far greater you were willing to have taken, if

I could

<sup>8</sup> This honour was usually decreed to a general after some signal advantage obtained by his arms. It consisted in appointing a solemn festival in order to return thanks to the gods for the public success; at which time the senate went in solemn procession to the principal temples in Rome, and assisted at the sacrifices instituted for such occasions.

<sup>9</sup> By the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.



I could have been prevailed upon to have consented. I forbear to mention, likewise, that you considered my enemy<sup>10</sup> as your own; and that, in order to give me a convincing proof of your great regard, you scrupled not to shew your approbation even of his death, by defending Milo in the senate. In return, (and I speak of it, not as a favour for which you are indebted to me, but as a tribute which I owed to truth) I have been no silent admirer of your virtues; for who, indeed, can suppress his applause of them? In all my speeches, both in the forum and the senate, as well as in the several pieces I have published, either in our own language, or in Greek, I have ever represented your character as superior, not only to the noblest amongst our contemporaries, but to the most celebrated in history.

After all, you will wonder, perhaps, what should induce me to set so high a value upon these little transient honours of the senate. I will acknowledge, then, the whole truth, and lay open my heart before you with a freedom becoming that philosophy we cultivate, and that friendship we profess; a friendship delivered down to us from our parents, and improved by many reciprocal good offices. Let

<sup>10</sup> Clodius.

Let me previously observe, that if ever any man was a stranger to vain-glory, and a desire of vulgar admiration, it is myself; and this frame of mind, which I possess by temper, has been still strengthened (if I am not deceived) by reason and philosophy. As an evidence of this, I appeal to my consulate; in which, as in every other part of my life, tho' I pursued that conduct, I confess, from whence true honours might be derived, yet I never thought they were of themselves an object worthy of my ambition. On the contrary, I refused the government of a very noble province<sup>11</sup>; and, notwithstanding it was highly probable I might have obtained a triumph, yet I forbore to prosecute my pretensions of that kind. I forbore, too, the offering myself as a candidate for the office of augur, tho' you are sensible, I dare say, that I might have succeeded without much difficulty. But I will acknowledge, that the injurious treatment I afterwards suffered, tho' you always speak of it, indeed, as a circumstance which reflects the highest honour upon my character, and as a misfortune only to the republic, has rendered me desirous of receiving the most distinguished marks of my country's approbation.

For

<sup>11</sup> Macedonia; to which he had a right by lot to have succeeded at the expiration of his consulate. See rem. 1. p. 9. of this vol.

For this reason, I solicited the office of augur, which I had before declined : and, as little as I once thought the military honours deserved my pursuit, I am now ambitious of that distinction which the senate usually confers on its successful generals. I will own I have some view, by this mean, of healing the wounds of my former unmerited disgrace ; and, therefore, tho' I just now declared that I would not press you upon this article, I recal my words, and most earnestly conjure your suffrage and assistance. I make this request, however, upon the supposition that what I have performed in this campaign shall not appear contemptible in your eye, but, on the contrary, far superior to the actions of many of those generals who have obtained the most glorious rewards from the senate.

I have observed (and you are sensible I always listen with great attention whenever you deliver your opinions) that, as often as any question of this nature has come before the senate, you were less inquisitive into the military than civil conduct of the proconsul. It was the political ordinances he had established, and the moral qualities he had displayed, that seemed to have the principal weight in determining your vote. If you should examine my pretensions in this view, you will see  
that,



that, with a weak and inconsiderable army, I found a strong resource against the danger of a very formidable invasion in the lenity and justice of my government. By these aids I effected what I never could by the most powerful legions: I recovered the friendship of our alienated allies; firmly strengthened their allegiance to the republic; and conciliated their affections at a time when they were waiting the opportunity of some favourable conjuncture to desert us.

But perhaps I have expatiated farther upon this subject than is necessary; especially to you, before whom all our allies in general are accustomed to lay their complaints<sup>12</sup>. To them, therefore, I refer you for an account of the benefits they have received by my administration. They will all of them, as with one voice, I am persuaded, give you the most advantageous testimony in my favour; but particularly those illustrious clients of yours, the Cyprians<sup>13</sup> and  
Cappa-

<sup>12</sup> Cato settled a correspondence throughout the whole Roman provinces, and received constant intelligence of the conduct of the several governors in their respective commands, so attentive was this vigilant patriot to whatever concerned the interest of the commonwealth! *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

<sup>13</sup> Cyprus had a particular claim to the patronage of Cato, as he had been employed in executing a commission by which that island was annexed to the dominions of the republic. This commission was artfully contrived by Clodius

Cappadocians, to whom I may likewise add  
your

dus in his tribunate, in order to remove Cato out of his way : but the precise nature of it is no where distinctly explained. It should seem, by what may be collected from Plutarch, that it was only an embassy in which Cato was appointed to claim, on behalf of the republic, the dominions of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, and to offer him, at the same time, the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus, in the island of Paphos, which in those days might have been no disadvantageous exchange. Cato, however, has been severely censured by some modern historians, for having accepted this office ; and Dr. Middleton, in particular, thinks he cannot be justified. But none of the ancient historians speak of it as in the least unworthy of Cato's virtue : and, indeed, one of the most moral writers in all antiquity mentions it upon an occasion which evidently shews that it was by no means thought inconsistent with that character of rigid justice which this illustrious Roman had so deservedly obtained. Seneca, in his letter of consolation, addressed to Marcia, on the loss of her son, taking notice of the advantages of an early death, instances, among other examples, those calamities which a more extended period had brought upon Cato. *Marcum Catonem*, says he, *si a Cypro et hereditatis regie dispensatione redeuntem mare devorasset,—nonne illo bene actum foret?—Nunc annorum adjectio paucissimorum, virum libertati non suæ tantum sed publicæ natum, cogit Cæsarem fugere, Pompeium sequi.* It is evident, then, that this action was so far from being deemed unjustifiable in the opinion of the ancients, (by which alone it can be fairly examined) that the noblest of their moralists has chosen it to complete the glory and grace the exit of his favourite hero. It must unquestionably, therefore, have been founded upon some circumstances that reconciled it to that law of nations which then prevailed in the world. Accordingly, it appears, by some passages in Cicero's orations, that the republic had an ancient claim to these dominions. For Alexander, king of Egypt, to whose territories Cyprus belonged, appointed the Roman commonwealth his general heir ; and though the senate did not judge proper, at that juncture, to assert their full right under his will, they thought it, however, a sufficient title to possess themselves of Alexander's effects. From that time down to the date of Cato's commission, frequent attempts

your great and royal friend<sup>14</sup>, prince Deiotarus. If thus to act is a merit of the most superior kind; if in all ages the number has been far less considerable of those who knew how to subdue

attempts had been made in the senate to enforce their right under the will: and a decree had actually passed for that purpose. But as this decree was protested against by some tribune, it had never been carried into execution. Thus far it should seem that Cato's commission was not founded upon a mere arbitrary exertion of power, but on a right which had long before received the sanction of the senate, and which had already in part been vindicated to the public.— In the next place, the inhabitants of Cyprus were extremely oppressed under the government of Ptolemy, and desirous of transferring their subjection to the Romans. Peterculus represents this prince as one who well deserved the punishment he suffered: *omnibus morum vitiis*, says he, *eam contumeliam meritum*. And Dion Cassius expressly declares that the Cyprians received Cato, "*οὐκ ἀνομιῶν* hoping that, from slaves as they were before, they should be raised into the number of the friends and allies of Rome." But to consider this question in another view: what probable reason of personal interest can be assigned for Cato's undertaking this office? It could not be from a spirit of avarice: for it is unanimously confessed that he discharged it with the most unspotted integrity. It could not be from a motive of ambition; for he refused all the honours, upon this occasion, which his country would have paid him. It could not be from a servile compliance with the power of Clodius; for he died rather than submit even to that of Cæsar. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to assert, that Cato acted in this instance, as in all others, upon a principle of disinterested patriotism, and consistently with the strictest maxims of Pagan morality. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Orat. in Rul. i. 1. 11. 16. Vel. Paterc. ii. 45. Dio. p. 101. Senec. Consol. ad Marc. 20.*

<sup>14</sup> Cato took a voyage into Asia, in order to inform himself of the strength and disposition of these eastern provinces; and it was upon this occasion that he entered into a personal friendship with Deiotarus, who paid him the honours of his court with singular marks of esteem and consideration.— *Plut. in vit. Caton.*



subdue their desires, than to vanquish their enemies; he that has given an instance of both, cannot, certainly, but be deemed, in Cato's estimation at least, to have strengthened his claim to the honours of his country, and to have improved the splendour of his military achievements, by the more unusual lustre of his civil conduct.

Let me, in the last place, and as in diffidence of my own solicitations, call in Philosophy for my advocate; than which nothing has ever afforded me a more sensible satisfaction. The truth is, she is one of the noblest blessings that the gods have bestowed on man. At her shrine we have both of us, from our earliest years, paid our joint and equal adorations: and while she has been thought by some the companion only of indolent and secluded speculators, we (and we alone I had almost said) have introduced her into the world of business, and familiarised her with the most active and important scenes. She, therefore, it is that now solicits you in my behalf; and when Philosophy is the suppliant, Cato, surely, can never refuse. To say all in one word, be well assured, if I should prevail with you to concur in procuring a decree I so much wish to obtain, I shall consider myself as wholly indebted for that honour to your authority and friendship. Farewel.

LETTER

## LETTER II.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CATO to CICERO.

THE affection I bear both to you and to the republic induces me, very sincerely, to rejoice in finding that you exercise the same integrity and vigilance in the conduct of our arms abroad, as distinguished your administration of our most important affairs at home. I have, therefore, paid your actions that honour which was most consistent with my judgment; and in speaking to this question before the senate, as well as afterwards, when I assisted in drawing up the decree that has passed in your favour, I applauded the probity and prudence with which you have protected your province, preserved the crown and person of Ariobarzanes, and conciliated the affections of our allies in general.

If you rather choose, however, that we should ascribe to the gods those advantages which the republic has gained entirely by your own consummate wisdom and probity, I am glad the senate has passed a decree for that purpose. But if you are willing that Fortune should have the credit of your actions, as sup-  
posing

posing a public thanksgiving necessarily opens your way to a triumph, I must observe that the latter is not always a consequence of the former. Yet, granting it were, is it not far more to the honour of a general, to have it declared, by a vote of the senate, that he preserved his province by the mildness and equity of his administration, than that he owed it either to the strength of his troops, or to the peculiar interposition of providence? Such, at least, were my sentiments when this question came before the house; and if I have employed more words than usual in explaining them, it was from a desire of convincing you, that, though I proposed to the senate what I thought would be most for the advantage of your reputation, I rejoice that they have determined what is most agreeable to your wishes. I have only to request the continuance of your friendship, and to entreat you steadily to persevere in those paths of integrity which you have hitherto pursued both in respect to our allies and the republic.'——  
Farewel.

## LETTER

\* This letter (to speak in the virtuoso language) is an *unique*, and extremely valuable, as being the only composition that has been transmitted to us from the hands of Cato. It confirms what Plutarch expressly asserts, that Cato's manners were by no means of a rough and unpolished cast,



## LETTER III.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS<sup>2</sup>, Consul.

Nothing could be more agreeable to my wishes, than that the question concerning the honours due to my military services, should come before the senate at a time when you are consul, as it will afford you an opportunity of gratifying that uncommon zeal for my interests which I have upon all occasions experienced from every branch of your family. Let me entreat you, therefore, when the letter I have addressed to the senate shall be laid before that assembly, to exert your influence in procuring a decree in my favour of the most distinguished kind. I persuade myself you will find no difficulty in complying with this request; as the senate, I trust, will by no means be averse to my pretensions. If there were any of your family whose friendship I enjoyed in a higher degree than yours, I should have applied to you by their intervention. But  
tho'

cast, as no refusal could have been drawn up in more decent and civil terms. A judicious eye, however, cannot but discern through this veil of politeness, the nice touches of a delicate and concealed raillery, which Cicero, nevertheless, thought proper to dissemble, as will appear by his answer to this letter in the following book. See vol. ii. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> See rem. 4. p. 322.

tho' no man ever entered more warmly into my interests, than your father; though the esteem which your relation Marcus Marcellus has long entertained for me, is conspicuous to the whole world; and, in a word, though all your family in general have ever honoured me with the most signal marks of their regard; yet there is not one of them who hath afforded me stronger instances of affection than yourself. I conjure you then, to distinguish me with the highest honours: and let me experience, in the affair of my thanksgiving, as well as in every other wherein the glory of my reputation is concerned, that I want no solicitor to recommend me to your good offices. Farewel.

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F f

LETTER

## LETTER IV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO LUCIUS PAULUS<sup>3</sup>, Consul.

AMONG many reasons for wishing myself with you at Rome, the principal was, that I might, both at your election, and in the course of your consular ministry, have given you proofs of that zeal to which you have so undoubted a right. I am sensible, at the same time, that the unanimity with which you were chosen, (and of which, indeed, I never entertained the least doubt) would have rendered my assistance in that article altogether unnecessary: and I sincerely wish you may have as little occasion for it in the subsequent discharge of your office. However, I should have had the satisfaction, at least, of seconding your views in both. It is a great concern to me, I confess, when I reflect that, notwithstanding I experienced many important instances of your affection during my consulship, I am yet utterly incapable of making any return in *yours*. And what renders this reflection still more mortifying, is, that you were but a young man when you thus generously displayed the effects of *your* friendship:

<sup>3</sup> See rem. 6. p. 324. of this vol.



ship: whereas, I am at a time of life when much greater advantages might well be expected from *mine*. I know not, in truth, by what fatality it is, that you have continually had opportunities of advancing *my* dignities, and that I have never been able to contribute any thing but ineffectual good wishes to *yours*. Thus, as not only in the instance I just now mentioned, but in the article of my restoration, I was indebted to you for the highest honours; so a fresh occasion now presents itself to you of distinguishing me, as my military achievements have happened to fall within the period of your consulate. The dignity of that office with which you are invested, and the importance of those honours I am suing for, might well require that I should address you in all the warmth of solicitation, but I dare not venture thus to press you, lest it should look as if I forgot, or at least imagined that you had forgotten, your usual disposition to serve me. I will make my request, therefore, in few words: and it will be treating you in a manner more agreeable, I dare say, to your own inclinations, as well as to those favours which all the world is sensible I have received at your hands. If any others, indeed, than you and your colleague were in possession of the consular office, you are the

first man whose mediation I should have employed in order to render the consuls favourable to my pretensions. But as this high authority is vested in you, with whom I have the strongest and most conspicuous connexions, I cannot scruple to conjure your assistance in speedily procuring a decree of the most illustrious kind in my favour : an honour which you will find, by the letter I have addressed to the senate, that my arms are not unworthy of receiving. I recommend then my reputation, and, indeed, my concerns of every sort, to your generous patronage. But, above all, I beseech you (and it is a request I mentioned in my former letter) that you would not suffer the time of my continuance here to be prolonged. It is much my desire, in truth, to see you in your consular office : and I doubt not of obtaining from your administration every advantage, both here and in Italy, that I most wish to enjoy. Farewel.

LETTER

## LETTER V.

[A. U. 703.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS to CICERO.

YOU have been informed, I doubt not, that Dolabella has exhibited articles of impeachment against Appius<sup>4</sup>: and this prosecution seems to be more agreeable to the world in general than I imagined. Appius, however, has acted with great prudence upon the occasion: for as soon as his adversary had lodged his information, he withdrew his petition for a triumph, and immediately entered the city<sup>5</sup>. By these means he silenced the reports to his disadvantage: as he appeared more willing to take his trial than his prosecutor expected. Appius relies greatly in this conjuncture upon your assistance: and I am persuaded you are not disinclined to serve him. You have it now in your power<sup>6</sup> to do so, as far as you shall think

<sup>4</sup> He was prosecuted by Dolabella in two distinct impeachments. The first was, for being guilty of treason in his government of Cilicia; and the other, for bribery and corruption in his election to the consulate. *Ep. Fam.* iii. 11.

<sup>5</sup> See rem. 3. p. 371. of this vol.

<sup>6</sup> As one of Dolabella's impeachments against Appius was for his mal-practices in Cilicia, it was extremely in the



think proper: though I must add, you would be more at liberty to limit your good offices towards him, if you and he had never been upon ill terms together. But as the case now stands, were you to measure out your services by the right he has to demand them, it might be suspected that you were not sincere in your reconciliation: whereas, you can hazard no censure by obliging him; as you will shew that you are not to be discouraged from acting a generous part, even where friendship<sup>a</sup> might incline you to the contrary. This reminds me of acquainting you, that Dolabella's wife obtained a divorce just upon the commencement of this prosecution. I remember the commission<sup>b</sup> you left with me when you set out for the province; as I dare say you have not forgotten what I afterwards wrote to you concerning that affair. I have not time to enlarge upon

power of Cicero to serve Appius in those examinations which were necessary to be taken in his province.

<sup>a</sup> To Dolabella.

<sup>b</sup> It seems probable, from this passage, that there was some prospect of a divorce between Dolabella and his wife before Cicero left Rome; and that the latter had commissioned Cælius, in case this event should happen, to take some measures for procuring a match between Dolabella and his daughter Tullia. There will be occasion to make great use of this circumstance in a remark upon a letter in the following book: and, therefore, it is here pointed out for the reader's particular observation. See rem. 6. p. 6. vol. ii.

upon it at present: only let me advise you, how much soever you may relish the scheme, to wait the event of this trial before you discover your sentiments. If, indeed, your inclinations should be known, it will raise a very invidious clamour against you: and should you give Dolabella the least intimation of them, they will certainly become more public than will be convenient either for your interest or your honour. He would undoubtedly be unable to conceal a circumstance so advantageous to his present views, and which would give so much credit to the prosecution in which he is engaged: and I am persuaded he would scarce refrain from making it the subject of his conversation, notwithstanding he were sure the discovery would prove to his prejudice. Pompey, I am told, interests himself extremely in behalf of Appius: insomuch, that it is generally imagined he has a design of sending one of his sons in order to solicit you in his favour. Mean while, we are in the humour here of acquitting all criminals: nothing, in truth, so base or so villanous can be perpetrated, that is not sure of escaping punishment. You will perceive how wonderfully active our consuls are in their office, when I tell you that they have not yet been able to procure a single decree of the senate, except

one for appointing the Latian<sup>9</sup> festivals. Even our friend Curio has not hitherto acted with any spirit in his tribunate: as, indeed, it is impossible to describe the general indolence that has seized us. If it were not for my contests with the vintners and the surveyors of the public aquæducts, all Rome would appear in a profound lethargy. In short, I know not to what degree the Parthians may have animated *you*; but as for us, in this part of the world, we are fast asleep. But how much soever we may want to be awakened, I hope it will not be by the Parthians. It is reported, nevertheless, though I know not on what foundation, that they have gained some slight advantage over the troops of Bibulus, near Mount Amanus.

Since I wrote the above, I must recal what I said concerning Curio: the cold fit is at length expelled, by the *warmth* of those censures to which the levity of his conduct has exposed him. For, not being able to carry his point with respect to the intercalation<sup>10</sup>, he has deserted the interest of the senate, and harangued the people in favour of Cæsar<sup>11</sup>. He threatens,  
likewise,

<sup>9</sup> This festival was instituted by Tarquin, in memory of his conquest of Etruria.

<sup>10</sup> See rem. 8. p. 266. of this vol.

<sup>11</sup> It has already been observed, in the course of these remarks, that Curio secretly favoured the interest of Cæsar,  
at



likewise to propose a Viarian law, somewhat of the same tendency with the Agrarian one which was formerly attempted by Rullus<sup>12</sup>: as also another, empowering the Ædiles to distribute corn among the people.

If you should determine (as I think you ought) to employ your good offices in behalf of Appius, I beg you would take that opportunity

at the same time that he affected to act in concert with the friends of the senate. But circumstances being now mature for throwing aside the mask, he seized the first opportunity of quarrelling with his party. With this view he applied to the pontifical college for an intercalation, in order to lengthen out the period of his tribunitial ministry. This he knew would not be granted, as having before raised, it is probable, some suspicion of his real designs. The refusal, however, furnished him with the pretence he wanted, and gave a colour (such as it was) to the desertion he had long meditated. *Dio*, p. 149.

<sup>12</sup> Rullus was tribune of the people in the consulate of Cicero, by whose address and eloquence the law which Rullus attempted to introduce was rejected. "These laws (as Dr. Middleton observes) "used to be greedily received by the "populace, and were proposed, therefore, by factious magistrates, as oft as they had any point to carry with the "multitude, against the public good: but this law (of Rullus) was, of all others, the most extravagant, and, by a "shew of granting more to the people than had ever been "given before, seemed likely to be accepted. The purpose "of it was to create a decemvirate, or ten commissioners, "with absolute power for five years over all the revenues of "the republic, to distribute them at pleasure to the citizens; "to sell and buy what lands they thought fit; to determine "the rights of the principal possessors; to require an account "from all the generals abroad, except Pompey, of the spoils "taken in their wars; to settle colonies wheresoever they "judged proper, and particularly at Capua; and, in short, "to command all the money and forces in the empire." *Life of Tully*, i. 161. 8vo. edit.

tunity of recommending me to his favour. Let me prevail with you, likewise, not to declare yourself with respect to Dolabella: as your leaving that point at large will be of singular importance, not only to the affair I hint at, but also in regard to the opinion the world will entertain of your justice and honour.

Will it not be a high reflection upon you if I should not be furnished with some Grecian panthers? Farewel.

### LETTER VI.

[A. U. 703.]

From the same.

I KNOW not how soon you may wish to resign your government; but, for my own part, my impatience for your return is in proportion to the good fortune that has hitherto attended your arms. Whilst you continue in the province, therefore, I shall be under perpetual apprehensions, lest some unlucky reverse should damp the joy I take in your late successful expedition.

I have time to write but a very few words, as I convey this by the hands of the courier to the farmers of the revenue, who is just setting out; and, indeed, I sent you a long letter

yesterday by your freed-man. Nothing has since occurred worth communicating : unless you should have curiosity enough to think (as I imagine you will) that the following articles deserve notice. In the first place then, Cornificius is upon the point of being married to the youngest daughter of Sylla : and in the next, Paula Valeria, on the very day her husband was expected from his government, procured a divorce, without alledging the least cause. She is to be married to Decimus Brutus. Several very extraordinary incidents of the same kind have happened during your absence. But would you have suspected that Servius Ocella was so well with the ladies, as to have been twice discovered in close gallantry within the space of three short days ? If you ask me where the scene of this amorous adventure was laid ? In sad truth, my friend, where I least wished : but for the rest, I leave you to inquire of others<sup>1</sup>. And a pleasant piece of intelligence it will be for our noble general to learn, in whose fair quarters the luckless Ocella was seized ! Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>1</sup> One would almost suspect, from the reserved manner in which Cælius relates this adventure, that he had a *staring reason on his brow* (as the poet humorously calls it) for not being more explicit.



## LETTER VII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I WILL answer your letter more fully than I can at present, the very first moment I shall have more leisure. In the mean while I snatch the opportunity of sending this by the hands of some domestics of Brutus, who just now called upon me at Laodicea, and are returning with all expedition to Rome. They are in so much haste, that I have only time to write this, and another to Brutus.

The deputies from Apamea delivered your long letter to me, wherein you very unjustly accuse me of having obstructed, by my mandates, the public monument<sup>2</sup> which that city proposed to raise. You desire I would suffer them

<sup>2</sup> It was usual with these Asiatic provinces, to consecrate temples to their Roman governors, and associate them with the gods in the same common ceremonies of religious worship. Probably, therefore, the building which the city of Apamea proposed to erect, was some compliment to Appius of this sacred kind. The very ingenious Monsieur Mongault has shewn, in a learned dissertation which he read before the Royal Academy of *Belles Lettres* at Paris, that the divine honours which were paid to the Roman Emperors, were only a continuance of the same infamous prostitution which had been practised during the times of the republic. *Plut. in vit. Flamin. Memoires de litterat.* vol. i. p. 369.

them to proceed immediately upon the execution of that design, lest they should be prevented by the winter; and very severely reproach me for having suspended the assessments for that purpose till I should be able to inquire into the justice of raising them. This, you tell me, was in some sort an absolute prohibition: since the winter would necessarily be set-in, before I could return out of Cilicia in order to examine into that affair. Having thus stated the several articles of your charge, I will now shew you that they are altogether unreasonable. In the first place then, as I had received complaints on the part of those who thought themselves aggrieved by excessive taxes, where was the injustice, if I forbade these subsidies to be levied till I could examine into the merits of the case? But this, it seems, I could not be able to effect, till the winter. Yet why not? let me ask: since it was the part of those who made these complaints to wait upon me, rather than mine to attend them. But you will object, perhaps, to the reasonableness of laying these people under the difficulty of taking so long a journey. Yet this journey you yourself must necessarily have designed they should take, when you gave them your letter to deliver to me. And deliver it they accordingly did:

did: but they timed it so absurdly, that tho' it was to desire they might be permitted to begin their work during the summer, they did not bring it to me till that season was expired. I must acquaint you, however, that far the greater part of these very citizens are averse to the levying this tax in question: nevertheless I shall take such measures, for that purpose, as I imagine will prove most agreeable to your inclinations. And thus much for this Apamean business.

I am informed, by Pausanias, a freedman of Lentulus, and one of my accensors<sup>3</sup>, that you complained to him of my having treated you with great haughtiness and incivility by not coming to meet you in your approach to Iconium. The fact, however, is this: I received a message from you late at night, acquainting me that you proposed to give me an interview in that city before the next morning: but your servant could not inform me which of the two roads you intended to take. In order, therefore, that I might be ready to attend you, I dispatched your friend Varro, together with Lepta, the captain of my artillery, directing them to take different roads, and whichever should

<sup>3</sup> The accensors were officers who attended on the proconsular magistrates in their courts of justice.



should meet you first, to return with immediate notice. Accordingly Lepta came back with great expedition: and assuring me that you had actually passed the camp, I instantly went to Iconium. What followed I need not mention. And now is it probable, that I, who am rather apt to be more assiduous in offices of this kind, than my station and character require, should neglect to pay the accustomed honours to Appius Claudius; to one dignified with the august title of *Imperator*; and what is still stronger, to my friend? But not to dwell any longer upon this article, I cannot forbear taking notice of an expression you made use of to the same person. “A compliment of this kind, you told him, had mutually passed between you and Lentulus<sup>4</sup>; and did Cicero take upon himself to act towards a person of your quality with less ceremony?” But can it be true, that so weak an expression should drop from a man of your improved understanding, and knowledge of the world: I will add too, (what the stoics justly rank in the number of social virtues) of your refined good breeding? Can you possibly believe me so mean, as to be influenced more by the distinctions of birth, than of merit? I have ever, indeed,

<sup>4</sup> Lentulus was predecessor to Appius in the government of Cilicia: as Appius was to Cicero.

deed, held the founders of illustrious families as truly great: but never could I esteem the splendid names they transmitted to their posterity, as objects of my admiration. These were my sentiments even before I had myself attained what the world considers as the highest honours. But now, after having filled the most distinguished posts in the commonwealth with a character that leaves nothing more for my ambition to wish; though I am far from thinking myself superior to those of your rank, I hoped, however, that I might be deemed their equal. I am persuaded, at least, that I have been always regarded as such, not only by Lentulus, to whom I yield the preference to myself in every respect, but by Pompey likewise, whom I look upon as the greatest man the world has ever produced. But if you differ from them in this opinion, I would recommend the writings of Athenodorus<sup>5</sup> to your attentive perusal: as they will teach you to form a more just distinction between high birth and true nobility<sup>6</sup>.

But not to deviate farther from the purpose of my letter: I beg you would do me the justice to believe, not only that I am your friend,

but

<sup>5</sup> He was preceptor to Augustus Cæsar. *Manut.*

<sup>6</sup> See rem. 1. p. 101. of this vol.

but that I am most affectionately so ; the truth of which I shall endeavour to evince, by every means in my power. Nevertheless, if you are disposed to make the world suspect that you have less reason to take my interest under your protection during my absence, than I had to act for yours in the same circumstance, I willingly spare you the trouble :

*There want not chiefs in such a cause to fight,  
And Jove himself shall guard a monarch's right<sup>7</sup>.*

But, notwithstanding you should give me reason to think that you are of a temper too apt to take offence, you will not, however, extinguish my desire of exerting my best services in your behalf ; you will only render me less solicitous in what manner you may receive them.

Thus I have opened my heart to you with a freedom that results from the conscious sincerity of my friendship towards you ; and which, as it was founded on dispassionate judgment, I shall preserve just as long as may be agreeable to your own inclinations. Farewel.

#### LETTER

<sup>7</sup> Hom. Pope's transl. These lines are taken from the speech of Agamemnon to Achilles, in the first Iliad, where the latter threatens to withdraw his forces from the common cause. Cicero seems to apply them in particular allusion to his interest with Pompey ; who, at this time, was the great idol of his devotion, and the political Jove, at whose shrine he most devoutly bowed.



## LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS<sup>8</sup>, Proquæstor.

MY own inclinations have anticipated your recommendation: I have long since received Marcus Fabius into the number of my friends. He has extremely endeared himself to me, indeed, by his great politeness and elegance of manners; but particularly by the singular affection I have observed he bears towards you.

Accordingly,

<sup>8</sup> He attended Crassus into Syria, as his quæstor; who, being killed in an engagement against the Parthians, as has been related in rem. 7. p. 128. of this vol. the administration devolved upon Cassius. He seems, when this letter was written, to have been setting out, if not actually upon the road, from that province. Soon after his return to Rome, the civil war broke out, in which he commanded a very considerable fleet on the side of Pompey; but, upon the defeat of that general in the plains of Pharsalia, he surrendered both himself and his ships to the conqueror. See rem.<sup>a</sup> p. 171. vol. ii. It is unnecessary to mention the part which Cassius afterwards acted towards his benefactor, as every body knows that he was the principal contriver and manager of the conspiracy against Cæsar. Plutarch asserts, that he engaged in this design from his passionate love of liberty, but the contemporaries of Cassius thought otherwise, and it was generally believed, in Rome, that he was actuated, upon that occasion, more by pique than patriotism. It is probable, indeed, that the former was his strongest, if not his single motive; for his oppressive and tyrannical conduct, during his administration of the province of Syria, renders it not very reasonable to suppose that he was a real friend to the natural rights of mankind. *Plut. in vit. Brut. Cic. Epist. Fam. viii. 10.* see let. 14. book iv. p. 390. of this vol.

Accordingly, though your letter in his behalf was not without effect, yet my own knowledge of the regard he entertains for you, had somewhat more; you may be assured, therefore, I shall very faithfully confer upon him the good offices you request.

Many reasons concurred to make me wish you could have given me an interview. In the first place, I was desirous, after so tedious a separation, to see a friend whom I have long esteemed. In the next place, I should have been glad to have expressed those congratulations in person, which I have already paid you in a letter. I wanted, likewise, an opportunity of conferring with you upon our mutual affairs, as well as of confirming a friendship founded on many reciprocal good offices, though interrupted, indeed, by a long absence. But, since I could not obtain the pleasure of a nearer conference, let me take the advantage, at least, of this more distant communication; and which, in most respects, will answer the same purpose. There is one or two, however, I must except, as it can neither afford me a satisfaction equal to that of seeing you, nor a mean of rendering you so sensible of the joy I feel in your late success. But though I have already expressed my congratulations in a former letter, I will here

again assure you that I very sincerely rejoice, not only in the illustrious actions you have performed<sup>9</sup>, but at your very opportune departure, amidst the general esteem and applauses of the whole province.

And now, what I had farther to say, if we had met, related to our mutual affairs: a point, however, which may full as well be discussed in this manner. With regard to your own, when I consider your interest in general, I cannot but advise

<sup>9</sup> Cassius, after the death of Crassus, and the total defeat of his army, conducted back the remains of the Roman troops into Syria, and shut himself up in Antiochia. But, upon the approach of the Parthians towards that city, he sallied out; and, by his bravery and conduct having repulsed the enemy, he continued harrassing their retreat till he drove them entirely out of Syria. It is upon this success that Cicero's congratulations are founded; but they are congratulations in which he was by no means sincere. For, in some letters to Atticus, written about this time, he speaks of Cassius as having magnified his actions to the senate much beyond the truth; and even claims a share with him in the glory of repulsing the Parthians. It was the news, he says, of his being upon the march in order to assist Cassius, that animated his courage, and spread such terror among the enemy, as induced them to retreat. But this (as the very ingenious French translator of the letters to Atticus, observes) was ascribing to himself an honour to which he had certainly no right. For Cicero was at a great distance from Antiochia when the Parthians retreated from that city; which the bravery of Cassius, together with their own inexperience in the nature of regular sieges, were the only causes of their abandoning. An observation, therefore, of Cicero's own, may serve, perhaps, as a proper conclusion to this remark: *Deforme est de se-ipso prædicare, falso præsertim; et cum irrisione audientium imitari militem gloriosum.* Dio. p. 134. Ad Att. v. 20, 21. Mong. Transl. vol. iii. p. 148. rem. 9. De Offic. i. 38.



advise you to hasten to Rome. When I left the city, there was not the least appearance of any designs to your prejudice; and, I am persuaded your returning thither, while the success of your arms is fresh upon the minds of the people, will ensure you a reception greatly to your honour. The reason for hastening your journey will hold still stronger, if you are convinced that you shall be able to defeat those prosecutions which you are apprehensive, it seems, may be brought against some of your officers: as nothing will place your character in a more advantageous light, than a victory of this kind. But, if you imagine the charge can be made good against them, it merits your consideration, whether your arrival in Rome will not happen in a conjuncture very unfavourable for such a circumstance. Upon the whole, you yourself are most capable of determining this question, as you are the best judge of your own strength. If you think you shall triumph over your adversaries, it is a circumstance, undoubtedly, that will raise your general credit; but if you are clear that the reverse will prove the case, you will certainly be less mortified by the distant reflections of the world, than if you were placed within the hearing of their malicious censures.

As to my own affairs, I must repeat the request of my last, and entreat you to exert your utmost endeavours that my continuance here may not be extended beyond the period limited by the senate and the people. I urge this request, as one upon which all my hopes depend : and entreat you to act in it with a proportionable zeal. You will find Paulus<sup>11</sup> extremely well disposed to co-operate with you upon this occasion ; as also both Curio and Furnius<sup>12</sup>.

I have only to add the last article I mentioned, as an inducement for desiring an interview ; I mean, in order to renew and confirm the pledges of our mutual friendship. I persuade myself it will not be necessary to employ many words for that purpose. You discovered, indeed, an early disposition to be thus united with me ; as, on my part, I always considered it as my particular honour. I found it too my great support, in the season of my misfortunes. Let me add, in farther claim to its continuance, that I have contracted, since your absence, a great intimacy with your relation Brutus<sup>13</sup>. I promise myself much satisfaction

<sup>11</sup> One of the present consuls.

<sup>12</sup> Tribunes of the people.

<sup>13</sup> Brutus was at this time married to Junia, the sister of Cassius.

faction from the society of two such ingenious friends, as well as very high advantages from your united services: suffer me not, I conjure you, to conceive this hope in vain. In the mean time, I beg to hear from you immediately, as I desire, likewise, you would write to me, very frequently, when you return to Rome. Farewel.

## LETTER IX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile.

THE very worthy and learned Marcus Fabius<sup>1</sup> is a person with whom I am most intimately connected. He strongly, indeed, engages my affection, not only by his superior genius and erudition, but by that uncommon modesty which adorns them. I entreat you, therefore, to undertake his cause with the same warmth as if it were my own. I know you fine orators are so much employed, that a man must have committed murder at least, ere he can

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the person mentioned in the foregoing letter; in whose behalf Cassius had written to Cicero. The following epistle is, likewise, in favour of the same friend, and upon the same occasion.



can hope that his affairs are of significance enough to claim your assistance. In the present instance, however, I will take no excuse: and if I have any share in your regard, you will give up all other business, when Fabius requires your services.

The severity of the winter has prevented my receiving any dispatches from Rome, a considerable time. I am extremely impatient, therefore, to hear what is going forward amongst you, and particularly what my friend Coelius is doing. Farewel.

## LETTER X.

[A. U. 703.]

TO CURTIUS PEDUCÆANUS, Prætor<sup>2</sup>.

I HAVE long enjoyed an intimacy with Marcus Fabius, for whom I sincerely profess the most tender regard. I do not, however, desire to influence your judgment in the suit which he has depending before you, as I am sure you will not depart from those rules of equity which your honour obliges you to observe, and which  
you

<sup>2</sup> The prætors were next in rank and power to the consuls, and their office somewhat resembled that of our chief justices. See rem. 14. p. 363. of this vol.

you prescribed to yourself when you first entered upon your office<sup>3</sup>. My only request is, (and it is a request I most earnestly make) that you would allow him to wait upon you, and would favour his claim so far as justice is on his side. In a word, let me entreat you to shew him that my friendship can avail him even at this distance. Farewel.

## LETTER XI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I HAVE at last received a letter from you, written in a spirit worthy of yourself, as it is conceived in terms full of a generous and candid friendship. It should seem, indeed, that the very view of Rome had an immediate effect upon your temper, and restored you to the agreeable possession of your usual good humour and politeness. I am sure, at least, that the two complaining letters you wrote to me on your journey, ere you had left Asia, were such as I could not read without reluctance. I will own too, that, conscious of the  
inviolable

<sup>3</sup> The several prætors, before they entered upon their office, drew up and published a sort of formulary, which they intended to observe in their respective administrations of justice. *Rosin, Antiq. Rom.* vii. 700.

inviolable attachment which I have ever preserved to your interests, I could not forbear answering them with some warmth. The letter, indeed, which you delivered to my freedman, Philotimus, left me no room to doubt that there were some persons in this province who were no well-wishers to our union. But I have the satisfaction to find, that, as soon as you came to Rome, or rather as soon as you were met by your friends and family, you were convinced of that warm and constant testimony I gave of my friendship and esteem for you upon all occasions during your absence. You will easily imagine, then, with how much pleasure I read your assurances, that if any incident should arise wherein my reputation may be concerned, you will endeavour to make me an equal return. And tho' you doubt whether you shall be able effectually to do so, most certainly there is no reason to question it: for there is nothing, my friend, which a sincere and zealous affection is not capable of performing.

Notwithstanding I was well persuaded, in my own judgment, and had received frequent assurances, likewise, by the letters of my friends, that you would undoubtedly be honoured with a triumph; yet it afforded me a



singular pleasure to be confirmed<sup>4</sup> in this persuasion by your own hand. Believe me, however, I by no means rejoice in it from a selfish Epicurean principle, and as it may probably facilitate my own pretensions of the same kind, but as taking a sincere and disinterested share in every increase of your dignities. I entreat you, then, as you have more frequent opportunities of writing into this province than any other of my friends, that you would give me immediate notice as soon as you shall have obtained the decree, which you have so much reason to expect, and which I so unfeignedly wish you. If the tedious resolutions of the *long bench*, as our friend Pompey calls the senate, should delay your hopes a few days, (and more than a few days they, surely, cannot delay them) be confident, however, that they will at length distinguish you with those honours which are so justly your due. Again, therefore, I conjure you, as you give me *your* affection, or would preserve *mine*, to let me participate in the joy of this good news as early as possible.

To this request I will join another, and remind you of executing your promise of sending  
me

<sup>4</sup> When Cicero wrote this epistle he had not received the letter from Cœlius, wherein he gives him an account of Appius having dropped his petition for a triumph. See the 5th letter of this book.

me the completion of your treatise on augury<sup>5</sup>. I ask this, not only as being desirous of informing myself in the rites and principles of the sacred college, but as I receive with uncommon satisfaction every mark of your favour. As to the request you made me on your part, of returning you a compliment in the same kind, it is a point I must well consider. For it would ill become an author whom you have so often applauded for the pains<sup>6</sup> he bestows

<sup>5</sup> See rem. 1. p. 279. of this vol.

<sup>6</sup> "'Tis strange to see how differently the vanity of mankind runs in different times and seasons. 'Tis at present the boast of almost every enterprizer in the Muses' art, that, by his genius alone, and a natural rapidity of style and thought, he is able to carry all before him; that he plays with his business, does things in passing, at a venture, and in the quickest period of time. In the days of attic elegance, as works were then truly of another form and turn, so workmen were of another humour, and had their vanity of a quite contrary kind. They became rather affected in endeavouring to discover the pains they had taken to be correct. They were glad to insinuate how laboriously, and with what expence of time, they had brought the smallest work of theirs (as perhaps a single ode, or satire, an oration, or panegyric) to its perfection. When they had so polished their piece, and rendered it so natural and easy, that it seemed only a lucky flight, a hit of thought, or flowing vein of humour, they were then chiefly concerned, lest it should in reality pass for such, and their artifice remain undiscovered. They were willing it should be known how serious their play was, and how elaborate their freedom and facility, that they might say, as the agreeable and polite poet, glancing on himself,

*"Ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur."*——

Shafts. charact. 1. 233.

stows upon his compositions, to suffer any crude and indigested performance to come forth from his hands ; especially upon an occasion that would justly expose him to the censure, not only of being guilty of negligence, but of a most ungrateful disrespect. However, I may find some opportunity, perhaps, of satisfying both you and myself upon this article. In the mean time, I hope you will endeavour, in conformity to your promise, that a public thanksgiving, of the most distinguished kind, be decreed, as soon as possible, on account of my late victories ; and I am persuaded you will act with that zeal which is agreeable to your sincerity, and to the friendship which has long subsisted between us. I was somewhat later in my public dispatches for this purpose, than I wished ; and, as they were delayed likewise by the difficulty of navigation at that season, they did not, I suppose, arrive before the senate was prorogued. It was the influence which your advice always has upon my judgment, that induced me to defer them ; and I am satisfied it was perfectly right not to acquaint the senate of my being saluted with the title of *Imperator*, till I had gained still farther advantages by my arms, and entirely completed the campaign, I confidently rely, therefore, upon the assistance you have



have promised me, and recommend to your protection whatever else concerns either my affairs or my family. Farewel.

## LETTER XII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS.

WOULD you imagine that I should ever be at a loss for words ! I do not mean of that chosen and elegant kind which are the privilege of you celebrated orators, but those of ordinary and common use. Yet, believe me, I am utterly incapable of expressing the solicitude I feel concerning the resolutions that may be taken in the senate, in regard to the provinces. I am extremely impatient, indeed, to return to my friends at Rome, among which number you are principally in my thoughts. I will confess, likewise, that I am quite satiated of my government. For, in the first place, I have more reason to apprehend that some reverse of Fortune may deprive me of the glory I have here acquired, than to expect I shall be able to raise it higher. And, in the next place, I cannot but look upon the whole business of this scene as much inferior to my strength, which is both able and accustomed to support  
a far

a far more important weight. I will acknowledge, too, that I am uneasy in the expectation of a very terrible war<sup>7</sup> which is likely to be kindled in this part of the world, and which I may probably escape, if I should obtain my dismissal at the stated time.

I do not forget the panthers you desired, and have given my orders to the persons usually employed in hunting them: but these animals are exceedingly scarce with us. They take it so unkind, you must know, that they should be the only creatures in my province for whom any snares are laid, that they have withdrawn themselves from my government, and are marched into Caria. However, the huntsmen, and particularly honest Patischus, are making very diligent enquiry after their haunts; and all the game they can meet with shall certainly be yours: but what the number will prove is altogether uncertain. Be well assured the honour of your Ædileship is much my care, and this day particularly reminds me of it, as it is the festival of the Megalesian games<sup>8</sup>.

I hope

<sup>7</sup> With the Parthians.

<sup>8</sup> The Megalesian games were under the conduct of the curule Ædiles, as well as those called the *Roman*. The learned Manutius, therefore, conjectures that the anniversary of the former reminded Cicero of the panthers which Cælius requested, in order to grace those shews he was to exhibit

I hope you will send me a minute detail of our public affairs, as I have an entire dependence on the accounts which are transmitted to me by your hand. Farewel.

### LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 703.]

To THERMUS, Proprætor.

YOUR very generous treatment of Marcus Marcilius, the son of my friend and interpreter<sup>9</sup>, is a most obliging instance, among many others, of the regard you pay to my recommendations. He came to me at Laodicea, and expressed the highest gratitude for the good offices you had conferred upon him, at my request. As you see, therefore, that your favours are not bestowed upon those who are insensible of their value, I hope you will be the more inclined

exhibit at the latter, which were celebrated with greater pomp and magnificence. The nature of the *Roman* games has already been explained in rem. 7. p. 354. of this vol. The Megalesian games were instituted in honour of the mother of the gods, and were so called from *Megalesia*, (scil. *οναος της μεγαλης θεας*) a temple in Phrygia, from whence the statue and worship of that goddess was brought to Rome. This festival commenced on the 4th of April, and continued six days.

<sup>9</sup> The governors of provinces were prohibited from using any other language than the Latin, in the functions of their ministry, for which reason they were always attended with interpreters. *Val. Max.* ii. 2.



clined to continue them. I entreat you then to interpose, as far as your honour will permit, in preventing a prosecution, wherein the mother-in-law of this young man is likely to be involved. And though I strongly recommended Marcilius to you, in my former letter, yet it is with still greater warmth that I do so in this : as I have since received very singular, and, indeed, almost incredible proofs of his father's probity and fidelity during the many months he has been engaged in my service. Farewel.

## LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 703.]

To the same.

THE report of a very considerable war being kindled in Syria, is confirmed to me by daily expresses. I take the liberty, therefore, in confidence of our mutual friendship, to press you so much the more strongly to dismiss my lieutenant Anneius as soon as possible. His military abilities, indeed, will render his advice and assistance of singular advantage in this conjuncture, both to myself and to the republic. Nothing could have induced him to leave me at this critical season, or, in truth, have prevailed with me to consent to his absence, but

an affair of the last importance to his interest. However, as I purpose to go into Cilicia<sup>a</sup> about the beginning of May, it is absolutely necessary he should return before that time.

I will take this opportunity of most earnestly renewing the request I made to you in person, and which I afterwards repeated in a letter, that you would employ your good offices in settling his contest with the city of Sardis, agreeably to the justice of his cause, and the dignity of his character. I had the pleasure, when I talked with you upon this subject at Ephesus, to find you perfectly well disposed to assist him upon his own account. Let me add, however, that your adjusting this affair to his satisfaction, will be performing the most acceptable service likewise to myself. I conjure you, therefore, to dispatch it with all possible expedition. Farewel.

#### LETTER

<sup>a</sup> Besides the province of Cilicia, properly so called, there were three other adjoining districts annexed to Cicero's government, in one of which he appears to have been at the time of writing this letter.

## LETTER XV.

[A. U. 703.]

TO MARCUS CÆLIUS, Curule-Ædile.

YOUR very agreeable letters visit me but seldom: perhaps, by some accident or other, they lose their way. How full was the last<sup>1</sup> which came to my hands, of the most prudent and obliging advice! I had determined, indeed, to act in the manner you recommend: but it gives an additional strength to one's resolutions, to find them conformable to the sentiments of so faithful and so judicious a friend. I have often assured you of my extreme affection for Appius: and I had reason to believe, after our mutual reconciliation, that he entertained the same favourable disposition towards me. For he distinguished me in his consulate with great marks of honour and amity: and appeared willing, upon all occasions, to gratify my requests even in favour of others. I must appeal to you (since the droll Phania<sup>2</sup> is, I think, no more) that I was not wanting on my part in a suitable return: and, indeed, he stood so much the higher in my esteem, as I was sensible

<sup>1</sup> The 5th letter of this book.

A favourite freed-man of Appius.



sible of the affection he had conceived for you. Add to this, that I am, as you well know, wholly devoted to Pompey, and tenderly attached also to Brutus<sup>3</sup>. Can I then want a reason of uniting myself with Appius, thus supported as he is by the most powerful friends and alliances, and flourishing in every other advantage that can be derived from affluent possessions in conjunction with great abilities<sup>4</sup>! But, besides these considerations, I must mention, likewise, the connexion that subsists between us as members of the same sacred college, and the honour he has publicly paid me in his learned treatise concerning its institutions.

<sup>3</sup> That Cicero was wholly devoted to Pompey, cannot be doubted: but that he was sincere in this declaration with respect to Brutus, may well be questioned. It appears, indeed, that they were neither of them perfectly satisfied with each other at this time: and Cicero complains to Atticus of having received some very haughty and disrespectful letters from Brutus, even when the latter was soliciting his good offices in favour of Appius. *Nullas unquam* (says he) *ad me litteras misit Brutus, ne proxime quidem de Appio, in quibus non esset arrogans, ἀνορωντων aliquid.*—*Plane parum cogitat, quid scribat, aut ad quem.* Ad Att. vi. 3. vid. etiam. vi. 1. v. 21. See rem. 2, p. 379 of this vol.

<sup>4</sup> These were the true, and perhaps the only reasons which induced Cicero to endeavour to be upon good terms with Appius. For that he had a real affection for him, as he pretends in this epistle, is by no means probable. On the contrary, in a letter to Atticus, he speaks of his disposition towards Appius, in terms of much lower import; and discovers, at the same time, the principal motive that engaged him in his interest. *Pro Appio nos hic omnia faciemus; honeste tamen, sed plane libenter. Nec enim ipsum odimus; et Pompeius mirifice a me contendit.* Ad Att. vi. 2.

tions. I mark out these several circumstances the more particularly, as your letter seemed to intimate a doubt in what manner I was inclined towards him. This leads me to suspect, that some idle tale or other has been reported to the disadvantage of my sentiments respecting Appius: but be assured, whatever you have heard of that nature, is utterly false. I must confess, at the same time, that his maxims and mine in the administration of this province, have been somewhat different: and it may from thence, perhaps, have been suggested, that I acted counter to his measures, more from a spirit of opposition, than from any real disagreement of principles. But, believe me, I have never said or done the least thing throughout the whole course of my government, with a view of prejudicing his reputation. And now that my friend Dolabella has so rashly attacked him, I am exerting all my good offices to dissipate the rising storm with which he is threatened.

You mentioned something of a lethargic inactivity that had seized the republic. I rejoiced, no doubt, to hear that you were in a state of such profound tranquillity, as well as that our spirited friend<sup>s</sup> was so much infected with this general indolence, as not to be in a humour of disturbing

<sup>s</sup> Curio.

disturbing it. But the last paragraph of your letter, which was written, I observed, with your own hand, changed the scene, and somewhat, indeed, discomposed me. Is Curio really then become a convert to Cæsar? But extraordinary as this event may appear to others, believe me it is agreeable to what I always suspected. Good gods! how do I long to laugh with you at the ridiculous farce which is acting in your part of the world?

I have finished my juridical circuit: and not only settled the finances of the several cities upon a more advantageous basis, but secured to the farmers of the revenues the arrears due on their former agreements, without the least complaint from any of the parties concerned. In short, I have given entire satisfaction to all orders and degrees of men in this province. I propose, therefore, to set out for Cilicia<sup>b</sup> on the 7th of May: from whence, after having just looked upon the troops in their summer cantonment, and settled some affairs relating to the army, I intend, agreeably to the decree of the senate for that purpose, to set forward to Rome. I am extremely impatient, indeed, to return to my friends: but particularly to you, whom I much wish to see in the administration of your Ædileship. Farewel.

LETTER

<sup>b</sup> See rem. <sup>a</sup> p. 466 of this vol.



## LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 703.]

TO QUINTUS THERMUS, Proprætor.

IT is with great pleasure I perceive that my services to Rhodo and others of your friends, as well as those likewise which I have performed to yourself, prove acceptable to a man of your grateful disposition. Be assured you will find me still more and more desirous of advancing your credit and reputation: though I must add, that the lenity and justice of your government seem already to have raised them as high as possible.

The more I reflect upon your affairs (and they are the daily subject of my thoughts) the more I am confirmed in that advice I communicated to you by Aristo. I am well persuaded, indeed, that you will draw upon yourself very powerful enemies, if you should put any slight upon a young nobleman of your quæstor's rank and interest. And a slight it will undoubtedly be, if you should not at your departure commit the administration of the province to his hands: as there is no other person to whom you can trust it, of superior quality. But, abstracted from all considerations of this kind, he has an un-

questionable right, as your quæstor, to be preferred to any of your lieutenants, whose blameless and worthy conduct, however, I must at the same time in justice acknowledge. I am perfectly sensible that you have nothing to fear from the resentment of any man. I could wish, nevertheless, that you would not incur the displeasure, and especially with just reason, of three such distinguished persons as your quæstor and his brothers: for they are all of them men of some eloquence, as well as great spirit: to which I must add, that I am persuaded they will successively be tribunes of the people<sup>6</sup> during the three next following years. Now who can tell what turn public affairs may take? For my own part, I think there is much appearance of great commotions arising in the commonwealth. I should be sorry, therefore, that you should render yourself obnoxious to so formidable a power as the tribunitia: especially since you may easily avoid it, without offending any person, by justly preferring your quæstor to your lieutenants. And should his conduct, as your vicegerent in the province, prove worthy of his glorious ancestors,

as

<sup>6</sup> Pighius, with great probability conjectures, from the circumstances here mentioned, compared with other passages in Cicero's writings, that Caius Antonius, second brother to Mark Antony, was quæstor to Thermus. *Pighii annal. anno, 703.*

as I hope and believe, it will reflect, in some degree, an honour upon yourself. But, on the contrary, should he deviate from their illustrious examples, the whole discredit will fall singly upon his own character, without involving yours in any part of the reproach.

I am this moment setting out for Cilicia<sup>c</sup>: so that I have only time to write these loose hints just as they occur. I thought it incumbent upon me, however, to send you my general sentiments of a point wherein your interest is so nearly concerned. May the gods give success to whatever you shall determine! But if my advice has any weight, you will avoid raising to yourself unnecessary enemies, and prudently consult your future repose. Farewel.

## LETTER

\* See rem. <sup>a</sup>, p, 466. of this vol.



## LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO C. TITIVS RUFVS, Prætor.

LUCIVS CUSTIDIUS is not only of the same tribe<sup>7</sup> and corporation<sup>8</sup> with myself, but is likewise my particular friend. As he has a cause which he purposes to bring before you, I recommend his interest to your protection, but no farther, however, than is consistent with your honour and my own good manners. All I request, therefore, is, that you would allow him freely to wait upon you as often as he shall have occasion; that you would comply with his desires, as far as they shall appear equitable; and, in a word, that you would convince him that my friendship can effectually avail, even at this distance. Farewel.

## LETTER

<sup>7</sup> Romulus divided his citizens into three tribes, each of which were subdivided into ten *curiæ*, or wards. These tribes were, in after-times, gradually increased, till they amounted to the number of thirty-five.

<sup>8</sup> The corporate or municipal towns were those which were allowed to govern themselves by their own laws and constitutions, and at the same time were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens. Cicero was a native of one of these corporations, called Arpinum: situated in a district of Italy, which now makes part of the kingdom of Naples.

## LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 703.]

TO SILIUS.

WILL you not think that I am employed in a very unnecessary office, when I take upon me to recommend a man to your friendship, who already, I know, enjoys that privilege? Let it be a proof, however, that I am with passion, as well as esteem, devoted to his interest. I most earnestly entreat you then to convince Egnatius, by the good effects which this letter shall produce in his favour, both of your affection for me, and of mine for him. And be assured your compliance with this request will be the most agreeable of all the many and great instances I have received of your disposition to oblige me.

The pleasing hopes I entertained of public affairs are now totally vanished. However, whilst we wish things were better, let us support ourselves with the trite consolation, that we must submit to what cannot be remedied. But this is a subject I will reserve to our meeting. In the mean time, continue to give me your friendship, and be well persuaded of mine. Farewel.

LETTER

## LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 703.]

TO PUBLIUS CÆSIUS.

I most earnestly recommend to your favour my very intimate friend Publius Messienus, a Roman knight, who is distinguished by every valuable endowment. I entreat you, by the double ties of that amity which I enjoy with you and your father, to protect him both in his fame and his fortunes. Be assured you will by this means conciliate the affection of a man highly deserving of your friendship, as well as confer a most acceptable obligation upon myself. Farewel.

## LETTER XX.

[A. U. 703.]

To the Magistrates of FREGELLÆ<sup>9</sup>.

IF my connexions with Quintus Hippius were not of the strongest and most amicable kind, I should not depart from the rule I have laid down to myself, of not troubling you with my applications. This maxim, you will bear me witness,

<sup>9</sup> It is supposed to be the same town which is now called *Caperaro* in the *Campagna di Roma*.



witness, I have hitherto strictly observed, though I was ever persuaded, at the same time, that there is nothing you would refuse to my request. However, I now most earnestly entreat your generosity in behalf of my friend's son, and that you would do me the honour to shew so much regard to my inclinations as to enfranchise the estate he has purchased of your corporation. I shall esteem your compliance with this request as a very singular favour. Farewel.

AN

AN

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