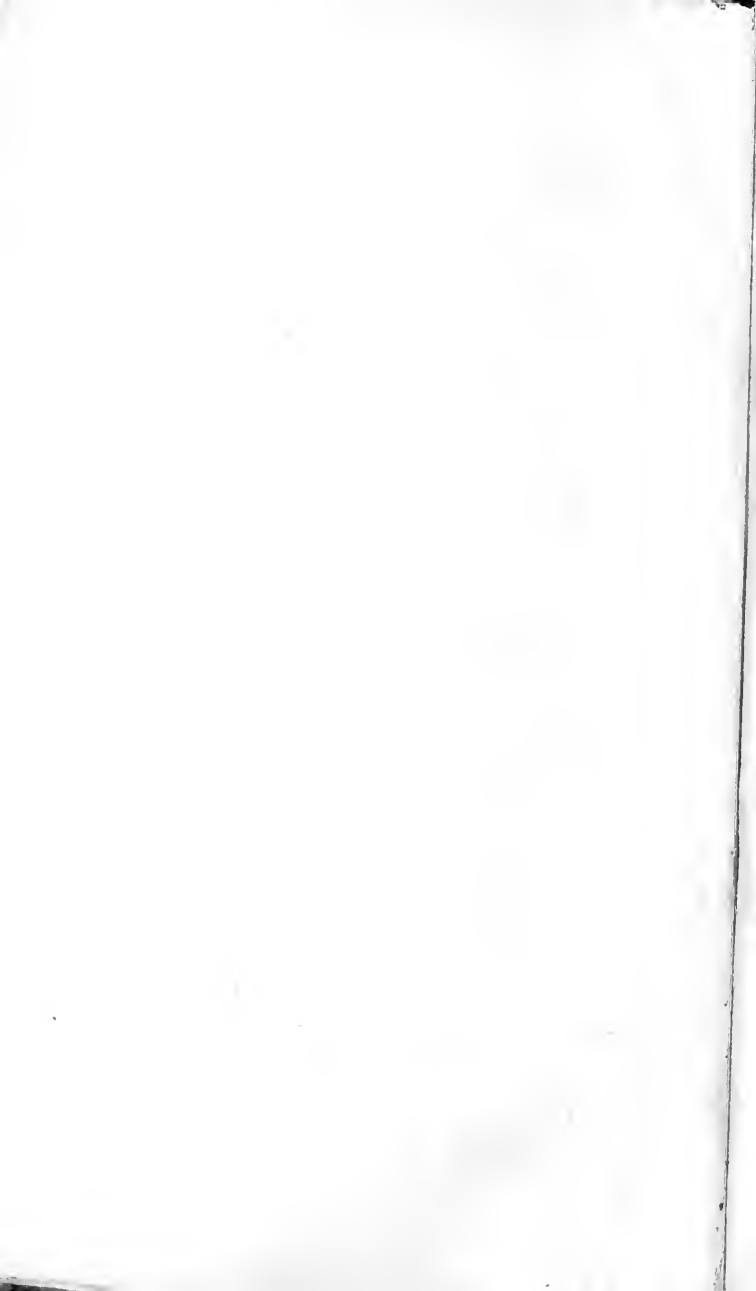


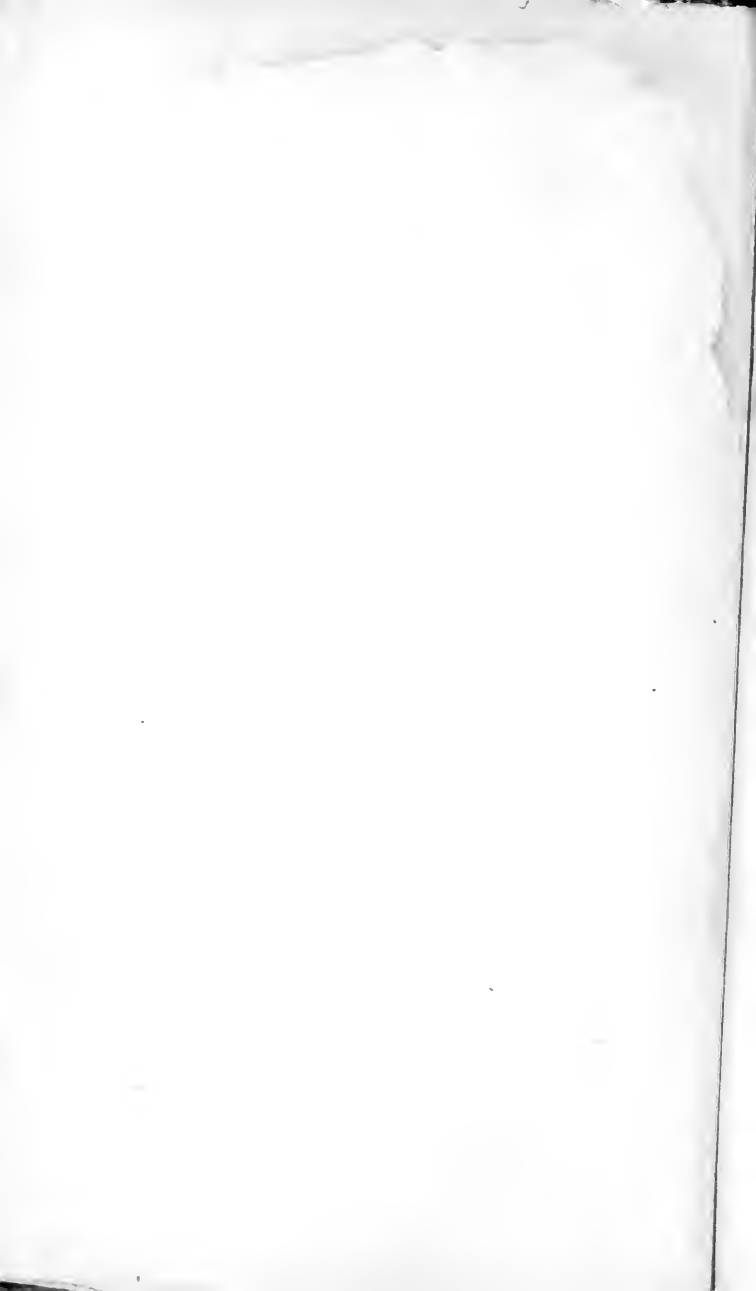
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THE
LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.





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

WITH REMARKS,
BY
WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq.
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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

VOL. III.

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LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICĒRO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK SEVENTH—CONTINUED.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 701.]

QUINTUS CICERO* TO TIRO.

YOUR ill state of health occasions us great uneasiness, for though we have the satisfaction to hear that it is not attended with any dangerous symptoms, yet we are informed that your cure must be

* The brother of our author. Quintus Cicero, after having passed through the office of prætor, in the year of Rome 692, was elected governor of Asia, where he presided three years, with little credit. He distinguished himself in Gaul, as one of Cæsar's lieutenants; but at the breaking out of the civil war, he followed the fortune of Pompey. How-

the work of time. But we cannot think, without much concern, of being longer separated from one whose agreeable company we learn to value by the regret we feel at his absence. However, notwithstanding I wish most earnestly to see you, yet I conjure you not to undertake so long a voyage, till the season and your health shall render it safe. A tender constitution can ill defend itself against the severity of the weather, even when sheltered under the covert of a warm roof, much less when exposed to all the inclemencies both of sea and land.

Foes to the weak are chilling blasts severe :

as Euripides* assures us. What credit you may give

ever, after the battle of Pharsalia, he made his peace with Cæsar, and returned into Italy. He appears to have been of an haughty, imperious, petulant temper; and, in every view of his character, altogether unamiable. But what gives it a cast of peculiar darkness, is his conduct towards Cicero, whom he endeavoured to prejudice in the opinion of Cæsar, at a time when they were both the supplicants of his clemency. This, as far as can be collected from the letters to Atticus, was an instance of the basest and most aggravated ingratitude: for, whatever Cicero's failings might be in other respects, he seems to have had none with regard to Quintus, but that of loving him, with a tenderness he ill deserved. *Ad Att.* i. 15. vi. 6. xi. 8.

* A celebrated Greek dramatic poet, whose death is said to have been occasioned by excessive joy for having obtain-

to that divine poet, I know not; but for myself, I look upon his verses as so many indubitable maxims. In short, if you have any value for me, endeavour the re-establishment of your health, that you may, as soon as possible, return to us perfectly recovered. Farewell; and continue to love me.—My son salutes you.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 704.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

WAS there ever a more absurd mortal than your friend Pompey, to act in so trifling a manner, after having raised such terrible commotions? Let me ask, on the other hand, whether you ever heard, or read, of a general, more undaunted in action, or more generous in victory, than our illustrious Cæsar? Look upon his troops, my friend, and tell me whether one would not imagine, by the gaiety of their countenances, that instead of having fought their way through the severest climates, in the most inclement season, they had been regaling themselves in all the delicacies of ease and plenty! And now, will

ed the poetic prize at the Olympic games. He flourished about 400 years before the Christian æra.

you not think that I am immoderately elated? The truth of it is, if you knew the disquietude of my heart, you would laugh at me for thus glorying in advantages in which I have no share; but I cannot explain this to you till we meet, which I hope will be very speedily: for it was Cæsar's intention to order me to Rome, as soon as he should have driven Pompey out of Italy; and this I imagine he has already effected, unless the latter should choose to suffer a blockade in Brundisium.

My principal reason for wishing to be at Rome, is, in order to pour forth the fulness of my heart before you; for full, believe me, it is. And yet the joy of seeing you, may, perhaps, make me, as usual, forget all my complaints, and banish from my thoughts whatever I intended to say. In the mean while, I am obliged (as a punishment, I suppose, for my sins) to march back towards the Alps. I am indebted for this agreeable expedition to a foolish insurrection of the Intemelii.* Bellicenus, whose mother was a slave in the family of Demetrius, and who commands the garrison there, was bribed, by the opposite faction, to seize and strangle a certain nobleman of that place, called Domitius, a person

* The inhabitants of Intemelium; a maritime city in Liguria, now called Vintimiglia, in the territories of Genoa.

connected with Cæsar by the rites of hospitality.* The citizens, in resentment of this outrage, have taken up arms, and I have the mortification to be

* Hospitality was considered, from the earliest ages, as in the number of the primary social duties. The sacred historian has recorded a remarkable instance of this kind, in the story of Lot, who would rather have sacrificed his own daughters to the flagitious demands of his infamous fellow-citizens, than give up the supposed travellers whom he had invited to rest *under the shadow of his roof*. Agreeably to this eastern practice, Homer frequently inculcates the maxim, that strangers are to be received as guests from heaven:

προς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἄπαυτες
ξεῖνοι.

And Horace mentions the hospitable connection, among those of nearest and most tender regard:

Quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes.

It will appear, by several passages in the following letters, that this generous virtue subsisted among the Romans, when every other was almost utterly extinct. The custom, indeed, of receiving strangers was so generally established, that travellers were scarce ever reduced to the necessity of taking up their lodgings at an inn. Those who were thus entertained, or who exercised the same rites of humanity towards others, were called *hospites*; and they mutually exchanged certain tokens, which were termed *tessera hospitatis*. These were preserved in families, and carefully transmitted from father to son, as memorials and pledges of the same good offices between their descendants. *Gen. xix. Homer. Odys. xiv. 207. Hor. Art. Poet. 313.*

commanded to march thither, through a deep snow, with four cohorts, in order to quell them. Surely the Domitii are a curse wherever they exist. I wish, at least, that our heaven-descended* chief had acted like this other, † of more humble lineage, and had treated Domitius, at Corfinium, ‡ in the same manner that his namesake has been treated at Intemelium. I salute your son. Farewell.

* Cæsar affected to be thought a descendant from Æneas, who, it is well known, was supposed to have received his birth from Venus. Accordingly, in allusion to this pretended divinity of his lineage, he always wore a ring, on which was engraven the figure of that goddess, and with which he used to seal his most important dispatches. The propagating a belief of this kind, must necessarily have proved of singular service to Cæsar's purposes; as it impressed a peculiar veneration of his person upon the minds of the populace. Antony very successfully made use of it to instigate them against the conspirators, when he reminded them, in the funeral oration which he spoke over Cæsar's body, that he derived his origin on one side from the ancient kings of Italy, and on the other from the immortal gods. *Suet. in vit. Jul. 6. Dio. xlv. p. 235. 259.*

† Bellienus, commander of the garrison at Intemelium; and who, as appears from this letter, was the son of a female slave.

‡ Domitius Enobarbus, a little before the date of this letter, was besieged, in Corfinium, by Cæsar, to whom he was at length obliged to surrender the town. Cæsar treated him with great generosity, and not only gave him his liber-

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TIRO.

I SHALL think myself indebted to you for all that I most value, whenever you give me the satisfaction of seeing you perfectly recovered. In the mean time, I am in the utmost impatience for the return of Menander, whom I lately dispatched with a letter to you. I conjure you, if you have any affection for me, to take care of your health, and let me see you as soon as it shall be thoroughly re-established. Farewell.

April the 10th.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THE SAME.

MENANDER returned a day later than I expected, which caused me to pass a miserable night, in the

ty, but restored to him a sum of money, which he had lodged in the public treasury of the city. Some account of the occasion of this inveterate enmity which Cælius expresses towards Domitius, may be seen in the 15th letter of the preceding Book. *Cæs. de Bel. Civil. i. 23.*

most disquieting apprehensions. But though your letter did not remove my uncertainty as to your health, it, in some measure, however, dispelled the gloom which had overcast my mind, as it was an evidence, at least, that you were still in being.

I have bidden adieu to all my literary amusements of every kind; nor shall I be capable of resuming them again till I see you here. Meanwhile, I desire you would give orders that your physician's demands may be satisfied; for which purpose I have likewise written to Curius: the former, I am told, attributes your distemper to that anxiety which I hear you indulge: but, if you have any regard for me, awaken in your breast that manly spirit of philosophy, for which I so tenderly love and value you. It is impossible you should recover your health, if you do not preserve your spirits; and I entreat you to keep them up, for my sake as well as your own. I desire you, likewise, to retain Acastus, that you may be the more conveniently attended. In a word, my Tiro, preserve yourself for me.

Remember, the time for the performance of my promise* is approaching; but, if you return to Italy before the day I fixed for that purpose, I will exe-

* The commentators suppose, with great probability, that this alludes to a promise which Cicero had made to Tiro, of giving him his freedom.

cute it immediately. Again and again I bid you farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THE SAME.

ÆGYPTA returned hither on the 12th of April. But, though he assured me that you had lost your fever, and were much mended, it gave me great uneasiness to find that you were not yet able to write; and the more so, as Hermia, whom I expected the same day, is not yet arrived. The concern I feel on account of your health is beyond all belief: free me from this disquietude, I conjure you, and, in return, I will ease you of all yours. I would write a longer letter, if I thought you were in a disposition to read one. I will, therefore, only add my request, that you would employ that excellent understanding, for which I so greatly esteem you, in studying what methods may best preserve you both to yourself and me. I repeat it again and again, take care of your health. Farewell.

Since I wrote the above, Hermia is arrived. He delivered your letter to me, which is written, I perceive, with a very unsteady hand: however, I cannot wonder at it, after so severe an illness. I dis-

patch Ægypta with this; and, as he is a good-natured fellow, and seems to have an affection for you, I desire you would keep him to attend you. He is accompanied with a cook, whom I have likewise sent for your use. Farewell.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 704.]

QUINTUS CICERO TO THE SAME.*

I HAVE strongly reproached you in my own mind, for suffering a second packet to come away without inclosing a letter to me. All your own rhetoric will be insufficient to avert the punishment you have incurred by this unkind neglect; and you must have recourse to some elaborate production of your patron's eloquence, to appease my wrath; though I doubt whether even his oratory will be able to persuade me that you have not been guilty of a very unpardonable omission. I remember it was a custom of my mother, to put a seal upon her empty casks, in order, if any of her liquors should

* The time when this letter was written is altogether uncertain, and it is placed under the present year, not because there is any good reason for it, but because there is none against it.

be purloined, that the servants might not pretend the vessel had been exhausted before : In the same manner you should write to me, though you have nothing to say, that your empty letters may be a proof, at least, that you would not defraud me of what I value. I value all, indeed, that come from you, as the very sincere and agreeable dictates of your heart. Farewell, and continue to love me.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.*

I AM informed, by a letter from my friend Trebatius, that you lately enquired after me, and expressed, at the same time, much concern that your indisposition had prevented you from seeing me when I was in the suburbs of Rome ; to which he adds, that you are desirous, if I should approach the city, of having a conference with me, in order

* Servius Sulpicius Rufus was descended from one of the noblest and most considerable families in Rome ; several of his ancestors having borne the highest offices and honours of the republic. He was elected to the consular dignity in the year of Rome 702 ; to which his eminent skill in the law principally contributed. *Suet. in vit. Tiberii. Dio. xli. p. 148.* See Let. 1. of Book ix.

to deliberate in what manner it becomes us to act in this critical season. I sincerely wish it had been in our power to have conferred together, ere our affairs were utterly ruined, as I am persuaded we might have contributed somewhat to the support of our declining constitution; for, as you had long foreseen these public calamities, so I had the pleasure to hear, whilst I was in Cilicia, that both during your consulate, and afterwards, you always stood forth an advocate for the peace of our country. * But, though I totally concurred with you in these sentiments, yet, upon my return to Rome, it was too late to enforce them. I was, indeed, wholly unsupported in my opinion, and not only found myself among a set of men who were madly inflamed with a thirst of war, but was considered, likewise, as one who, by a long absence, was utterly unacquainted with the true state of the commonwealth. But though it seems in vain to hope that our united

* Sulpicius was well aware, that the recalling Cæsar from his government in Gaul before the expiration of the time for which it was granted him, together with the refusing him the privilege, which he had obtained by an express law, of suing for the consulate in his absence, would inevitably draw on a civil war. And, accordingly, he exerted himself with great zeal in opposing his colleague, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, in the several attempts which he made for that purpose. *Dio. ubi sup.*

counsels can now avail the republic, yet, if they can in any degree advantage ourselves, there is no man with whom I should more willingly confer; not, indeed, with any view of securing the least part of our former dignities, but to consider in what manner we may most worthily deplore their loss; for I well know that your mind is amply stored with those examples of the great, and those maxims of the wise, which ought to guide and animate our conduct in this important conjuncture.

I should have told you before now, that your presence in the senate, or, to speak more properly, in the *convention of senators*,* would be altogether ineffectual, if I had not been apprehensive of giving offence to that person who endeavoured, by instancing your example, to persuade me to join them. I very plainly assured him, however, when he applied to me for this purpose, that if I went to the senate, I should declare the same opinion concerning peace, and his expedition into Spain, which you had already delivered as yours.†

* The meeting of the senate, to which Cicero alludes, was held in Rome, after Pompey had deserted Italy. Cicero calls it "a convention of senators," as not admitting the legality of its assembling; both the consuls, together with the principal magistrates of the republic, having withdrawn themselves, together with Pompey, into Greece.

† Cicero had an interview with Cæsar, in the return of

The flames of war, you see, have spread themselves throughout the whole Roman dominions, and all the world have taken up arms under our respective chiefs. Rome, in the mean time, destitute of all rule or magistracy, of all justice or controul, is wretchedly abandoned to the dreadful inroads of rapine and devastation. In this general anarchy and confusion, I know not what to expect, I scarce know even what to wish. But, notwithstanding I had determined to retire to a farther distance from Rome, (as indeed I cannot even hear it named without reluctance) yet I pay so great a regard to your judgment, that, if you think any advantage may arise from our interview, I am willing to return. In the mean time, I have requested Trebatius to receive

the latter from Brundisium, after Pompey had abandoned that city, and fled into Greece. Cæsar laboured to prevail with our author to return to Rome, and take his seat in the senate. But Cicero acted upon this occasion with a spirit, which we cannot but regret should have ever deserted him. He declared he would not attend the senate, but upon the terms of being at full liberty to deliver his sentiments; which, he confessed, were utterly against carrying the war into Spain, and altogether in favour of peace. Cæsar as plainly assured him, that this was what he could not suffer; and, recommending it to him to think better of the matter, the conference ended: “very little,” says Cicero, “to the satisfaction of Cæsar, and very much to my own.” *Ad Att.* ix. 18.

your commands, if you should be desirous of communicating any to me by his mouth. I should be glad, indeed, that you would employ either him, or any other of your friends whom you can trust upon this occasion, as I would not lay you under the necessity of going out of Rome, or be myself obliged to advance much nearer to it. Perhaps I attribute too much to my own judgment, though I am sure I do not to yours, when I add, that I am persuaded the world will approve whatever measure we shall agree upon. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 704.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS, TO CICERO.

THE melancholy cast of your letter affects me with the deepest concern; and though you do not declare your intentions in direct and explicit terms, yet you leave me no room to doubt of what kind they are.* I thus instantly, therefore, take up my pen, in order to conjure you, my dear friend, by the tenderness you bear to your children, and by all that is most valuable in your esteem, not to

* That Cicero had formed a resolution of following Pompey into Greece.

resolve upon any measures so totally inconsistent with your true welfare. Heaven and earth will be my witness, that I have offered you no advice, nor sent you any prophetic admonitions which I had not well and maturely considered. It was not, indeed, till after I had an interview with Cæsar, and had fully discovered his sentiments, that I informed you in what manner he would most assuredly employ his victory. If you imagine he will be as easy in pardoning his enemies, as he was reasonable in offering them terms of accommodation, believe me, you will find that you have made a very erroneous calculation. His heart and his expressions breathe the severest resentment; and he left Rome, highly incensed both against the senate and tribunes.*

* Cæsar, upon his return to Rome, after the siege of Brundisium, proposed to the senate that an embassy should be sent to Pompey, with proposals of peace. This the house agreed to; but, when the question was moved concerning the persons to be appointed for this purpose, none of the members would undertake that commission. Cæsar endeavoured likewise to procure a law for granting him the money in the public treasury, in order to carry on the war against Pompey. But Metellus, the tribune, interposing his negative, Cæsar obtained his purpose by a shorter method; for, breaking open the temple of Saturn, in which this money was preserved, he first plundered his country of her patrimony, (says Florus) and then of her liberty. Having thus possessed himself of an immense wealth, he immediate-

In plain truth, he is by no means in a disposition to shew the least favour to his adversaries. If you have any tenderness, therefore, to yourself, to your son, or to your family in general, if either my friendship, or the alliance of that worthy man who has married * your daughter, can give us a claim to some influence over you, let me conjure you not to disconcert the measures we have taken to preserve our fortunes, nor lay us under the miserable alternative of either abandoning a cause upon which our own safety depends, or of impiously wishing well to one which must necessarily be inconsistent with yours. Consider, you have already disgusted Pompey, by this your delay in joining him; and, would it not be utterly impolitic, after having so cautiously avoided giving offence to Cæsar, when his affairs were yet doubtful, to declare against him, now that they are attended with such uncommon success? Would it not be the highest indiscretion to join with those who are fleeing before his troops, after having refused to act in concert with them, when they seemed inclined to resist? In fine, my friend, let me entreat you, whilst you are endea-

ly set out upon his expedition against Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey in Spain. *Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. 33. Dio. xli. Flor. iv. 2.*

* Dolabella.

vouring to escape the imputation of being deficient in patriotism, to be careful lest you incur the censure of being deficient in prudence. But, after all, if I cannot wholly dissuade you from your resolution, suffer me at least to prevail with you to suspend the execution of it till the event of our expedition into Spain; which I shall venture, however, to assure you, will most certainly fall into our hands upon the very first appearance of Cæsar's troops. And what hopes the opposite party can possibly entertain after the loss of that province, I am perfectly unable to discover. As far, likewise, is it beyond my penetration, what motive can induce you to join with those whose affairs are thus evidently desperate. This design, which you so obscurely intimated in your letter, had reached the knowledge of Cæsar; and the first thing he said, after the usual salutations had passed between us, was to inform me of what he had heard concerning you. I professed myself entirely ignorant that you had any such thoughts; but, if you had, I said, it was my request that he would write to you in such terms as might most probably prevail with you to renounce them. I have received his commands to attend him into Spain; otherwise, I would instantly have come to you, wherever you had been, in order to have pressed these reasons upon you in person, and, indeed, to have retained you in Italy

by absolute force. Consider well your scheme, my dear Cicero, ere you carry it into execution, lest you obstinately, and against all remonstrances, involve both yourself and your family in utter and irrecoverable ruin. But if you are affected by the reproaches of those who style themselves patriots, or cannot submit to be a witness of the insolence of some in the opposite party, let me advise you to retreat into a neutral city, till our contests shall be decided. This will be acting with a prudence which I cannot but own to be a laudable one, and which, Cæsar, I am sure, will by no means disapprove. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 704.]

CICERO TO MARCUS CÆLIUS.

I SHOULD have been extremely affected by your letter, if reason had not banished from my heart all its disquietudes, and despair of seeing better days had not long since hardened it against every new impression of grief: Yet, strong as I must acknowledge my despondency to be, I am not sensible, however, that I said any thing in my last which could justly raise the suspicion you have conceived. What more did my letter contain than

general expressions of dissatisfaction at the sad prospect of our affairs? a prospect which cannot, surely, suggest to your own mind less gloomy apprehensions than it presents to mine: For I am too well persuaded of the force of your penetration, to imagine that my judgment can discover consequences which lie concealed from yours. But I am surprised that you, who ought to know me perfectly well, should believe me capable of acting with so little policy as to abandon a rising fortune, for one in its decline, at least, if not utterly fallen; or so variable, as not only to destroy at once all the interest I have established with Cæsar, but to deviate even from myself, by engaging at last in a civil war, which it has hitherto been my determined maxim to avoid. Where, then, did you discover those unhappy resolutions you impute to me? Perhaps you collected them from what I said of secluding myself in some sequestered solitude. And, indeed, you are sensible how ill I can submit, I do not say to endure, but even to be a witness of the insolencies of the successful party; a sentiment, my friend, which once, I am sure, was yours no less than mine. But in vain would I retire, whilst I preserve the title* with which I am at present distinguished, and continue to be attended with this

* That of *Imperator*. See Vol. I. p. 1. note.

embarrassing parade of lictors. * Were I eased of this troublesome honour, there is no part of Italy so obscure, in which I should not be well contented to hide myself. Yet these my laurels, unwelcome as they are to myself, are the object both of the envy and the raillery of my malevolent enemies. † Nevertheless, under all these temptations of withdrawing from so disgusting a scene, I never once entertained a thought of leaving Italy without the previous approbation of yourself and some others. But you know the situation of my several villas; and, as it is among these I am obliged to divide my time, that I may not incommode ‡ my friends, the prefe-

* The lictors were a sort of beadles, who carried the ensigns of magistracy before the consuls, proconsuls, and other supreme officers of the state. These lictors continued to attend the proconsul after his return from his government, if he aspired (as Cicero did) to the honour of a triumph.

† Cicero undoubtedly gave, upon this occasion, but too much colour to the censure of his enemies; for it could not but have a very strange appearance, that he should preserve the thoughts of a triumph, at a time when his country was bleeding with a civil war. But, as he was extremely ambitious of this honour, he was equally unwilling to renounce it; still flattering himself, perhaps, that some accommodation between Cæsar and Pompey, would afford him an opportunity of enjoying what he so strongly desired.

‡ That is, by continuing in the suburbs of Rome; where, as he had no house of his own. he must necessarily be a

rence I give to those which stand on the sea-coast, has raised a suspicion, that I am meditating a flight into Greece. If peace, indeed, were to be found in that country, I should not, perhaps, be unwilling to undertake the voyage ; but, to enter upon it in order to engage in a war, would be altogether inconsistent, surely, with my principles and character ; especially, as it would be taking up arms, not only against a man who, I hope, is perfectly well satisfied with my conduct, but in favour of one whom it is now impossible I should ever render so. In a word, as I made no secret to you, when you met me at my Cuman villa, of the conversation which had passed between Ampius and myself, you could not be at a loss to guess my sentiments upon this head : and, indeed, you plainly saw how utterly averse I was to the scheme of Pompey's deserting Rome. Did I not then affirm, that there was nothing I would not suffer, rather than be induced to follow the civil war beyond the limits of Italy ? *

guest to some of his friends ; for he could not enter the city without relinquishing his claim to a triumph.

* Cicero perpetually condemns the conduct of Pompey, in first retiring from Rome, and afterwards removing the seat of war out of Italy. But, with regard to the former, it appears, even from our author himself, that it was attended with a very good effect, and which, Pompey, it is probable, had in view when he resolved upon that measure.

And has any event since happened, that could give me just reason of changing my sentiments? On the contrary, has not every circumstance concurred to fix me in them? *

For it raised a more general indignation against Cæsar, to see Pompey thus fleeing before him, and rendering the people more averse from favouring his cause. *Fugiens Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet. Quid quaris? alia causa facta est: nihil jam concedendum putant Cæsari.* *Ad Att.* vii. 11. And as to Pompey's leaving Italy, he seems, as far as can be judged at this distance of time, to have acted upon a very rational plan. Pompey's forces were much inferior to Cæsar's; and, even the few troops which he had, were such as he could by no means depend upon. As he was master of a very considerable fleet, there was great probability of his being able to prevent Cæsar from following him into Greece; at the same time that Afranius and Petreius were in the rear of Cæsar, with an army composed of approved and veteran forces. Italy was supplied with corn from the eastern provinces, especially from Egypt, which Pompey was in hopes of cutting off by means of his fleet. These provinces, together with the neighbouring kings, were likewise greatly in his interest; and he had reason to expect very large subsidies from them, both of men and money. Perhaps, therefore, when these several circumstances shall be duly weighed, it will not appear that Pompey determined injudiciously, when he resolved to cross the Adriatic. *Ad Att.* vii. 13. ix. 9. x. 8. *Dio.* xli. p. 158.

* Notwithstanding Cicero's strong assertions, that he had no thoughts of joining Pompey, he had actually determined to do so a few days before he received the preceding letter

Be assured, (and I am well persuaded it is what you already believe,) that the single aim of my actions in these our public calamities, has been to convince the world, that my great and earnest desire was to preserve the peace of our country; and, when this could no longer be hoped, that there was nothing I wished more, than to avoid taking any part in the civil war: And I shall never, I trust, have reason to repent of firmly persevering in these sentiments. It was the frequent boast, I remember, of my friend Hortensius, that he had never taken up arms in any of our civil dissensions. But I may glory in the same honest neutrality with a much better grace; for that of Hortensius was suspected to have arisen from the timidity of his temper, whereas mine, I think, cannot be imputed to any motive of that unworthy kind. Nor am I in the least terri-

from Cœlius, as appears by an epistle to Atticus, wherein he expressly tells him, that he was only waiting for a fair wind. But, before he wrote the present letter, he had received some news not altogether favourable to Pompey's party; in consequence of which, he renounced his former design, and was now determined (though he does not think proper to own it in this letter) to retire to Malta, as a neutral island. This resolution, however, he soon afterwards rejected, and resumed his first intentions of following Pompey into Greece; and this scheme he at length executed. *Ad Att. x. 8. 9.* See p. 35. of this Volume.

fied by those considerations, with which you so faithfully and affectionately endeavour to alarm my fears. The truth of it is, there is no calamity so severe, to which we are not all of us, it should seem, in this universal anarchy and confusion, equally and unavoidably exposed. But if I could have averted this dreadful storm from the republic, at the expence of my own private and domestic enjoyments, even of those, my friend, which you so emphatically recommend to my care, I should most willingly have made the sacrifice. As to my son, (who I rejoice to find has a share in your concern) I shall leave him a sufficient patrimony in that honour with which my name will be remembered, so long as the republic shall subsist; and if it be destroyed, I shall have the consolation at least to reflect, that he will suffer nothing more than must be the common lot of every Roman. With regard to that dear and excellent young man, my son-in-law, whose welfare you entreat me to consider, can you once doubt, knowing, as you perfectly do, the tenderness I bear, not only for him, but for Tullia, that I am infinitely anxious upon his account! I am the more so indeed, as it was my single consolation, amidst these general distractions, that they might possibly prove a means of protecting him from those inconveniences in which his too generous spirit had

unhappily involved him.* How much he suffered from them, during the time he continued in Rome, as well as how little that circumstance was to my credit, are points which I choose to leave to your enquiry.

Affairs in Spain, I doubt not, will terminate in the manner you mention. But I neither wait the event of them, in order to determine my conduct, † nor am I acting, in any other respect, with the least artifice. If the republic should be preserved,

* It should seem, by this passage, that Dolabella, who had contracted very considerable debts, was at this time under some difficulties from his creditors, from whom Cicero flattered himself that Cæsar's power would have protected him. Some commentators, however, instead of *liberalitate*, adopted in this translation, read *libertate*; and suppose that Cicero alludes to the prosecution in which Dolabella had been engaged against Appius, of which a detail has been given in the preceding notes. But whichever be the true word, the sentiment is observable. For surely it was utterly unworthy of Cicero to find the least consolation amidst the calamities of his country, in the hope that they might prove a screen to Dolabella, either from the justice of his creditors, or the malice of his enemies.

† The contrary of this was the truth: for Cicero was, at this time, determined to wait the event of Cæsar's expedition against the lieutenants of Pompey in Spain. And for this purpose he had thoughts of retiring to Malta: *Melitum, opinor, capessamus* (says he to Atticus) *dum quid in Hispania.* Ad Att. x. 9.

I shall certainly hold my rank in it; but, if it should be subverted, you yourself, I dare say, will join me in my intended solitude. But this latter supposition is, perhaps, the vain and groundless surmise of a disturbed imagination; and affairs, after all, may take a happier turn than I am apt to presage. I remember the despondency which prevailed in my earlier days amongst our patriots of more advanced years: * possibly my present apprehensions may be of the same cast, and no other than the effect of a common weakness incident to old age. Heaven grant they may prove so! And yet you have heard, I suppose, that a robe of magistracy is in the looms for Oppius, and that Curtius has hopes of being invested with the double-dyed purple; † but the principal workman, it seems,

* This alludes to the contentions between Sylla and Marius; which, notwithstanding the probability of their terminating in the total subversion of the constitution, the republic however survived.

† Oppius and Curtius were persons who probably had distinguished themselves in no other manner than as being the servile instruments of Cæsar's ambition. The former, however, appears to have been in high credit during Cæsar's usurpation; but the latter is often mentioned in the letters to Atticus with great contempt. Servius, in his comment on the 7th Book of the *Æneid*, informs us, that the colour of the augural robe was a mixture of purple and scarlet:

somewhat delays him.* I throw in this little pleasantry, to let you see that I can smile in the midst of my indignation.

Let me advise you to enter into the affair which I formerly mentioned concerning Dolabella, with the same warmth as if it were your own. I have only to add, that you may depend upon it, I shall take no hasty or inconsiderate measures. But to whatever part of the world I may direct my course, I entreat you to protect both me and mine, agreea-

it is probable, therefore, from the expression which Cicero employs, that Curtius had a promise of being advanced into the sacred college. It might well discourage Cicero's hopes of better days, when he saw men of this character singled out to fill the most important dignities of the republic. And, indeed, it was an earnest of what Cæsar afterwards practised, when he became the sole fountain of all preferment; which he distributed in the most arbitrary manner, without any regard to rank or merit. *Nullus non honores*, says one of the historians, *ad libidinem cepit et dedit.*—*Civitate donatos, et quosdam e semi-barbaris Gallorum, recepit in curiam.* Suet. in Jul. 76.

* *Sed eum infector moratur.* This witticism, which turns upon the equivocal sense of the word *infector*, could not be preserved in the translation. It is probable that Cæsar had gained Curtius, as he had many others, by some seasonable application to his wants or his avarice; for Cicero seems to use this word in allusion to the verb from whence it is derived, as well as in its appropriated meaning; *inficio* signifying both to *corrupt* and to *dye*.

bly to your honour, and to our mutual friendship.
Farewell.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 704.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

I RECEIVED your letter at my Cuman villa, on the 29th of April. I find you shortened it upon the supposition that Philotimus would deliver it into my hands; whom, it seems, you had instructed, to give me a more full and explicit information. But he did not execute his commission with the care he ought; for, instead of bringing your letter to me himself, he sent it by another person. However, this omission was supplied by a visit from your wife and son, who are both of them extremely desirous you should come hither, and, indeed, pressed me to write to you for that purpose.

You desire to know what measures I would recommend to you, in this critical conjuncture. Believe me, I am in a situation of mind which renders me much more in need of a guide myself, than capable of conducting another: But, were it otherwise, how should I venture to offer my advice to a man of your distinguished wisdom and dignity? This, however, I will say, that if the question be,

in what manner it becomes us to act, the answer is plain and obvious; but what will be most expedient for our interest, is a point far less easy to determine. In short, if we think, as I am sure we ought, that honour and true interest must ever point the same way, there can be no dispute what path we have to pursue.

You imagine that we are both of us in the same circumstances; and most certainly we both committed the same mistake, when we honestly declared our opinions in favour of peace. All our counsels, indeed, equally tended to prevent a civil war; and, as this was the true interest of Cæsar, we thought he would consider himself as obliged to us for supporting pacific measures. How much we were deceived, is evident, you see, from the present posture of affairs. But you look, I know, much farther, and take into your view, not only what has already happened, or is now transacting, but the whole future progress and final tendency of these commotions. If, then, you should determine to remain in Rome, you must either approve the measures which are there carrying on, or be present at a scene which your heart condemns. But the former seems an unworthy part, and the latter, I think, altogether an unsafe one. My opinion is consequently for retiring; and, the single point is, whither to direct our course? But, as public affairs

were never in a more desperate situation, so never was there a question attended with greater difficulties : whichever way one turns it, some important objection occurs. If you have resolved upon any scheme which is not consistent with mine, I could wish you would spare yourself the trouble of a journey hither ; but if you are inclined to participate of my measures, I will wait your arrival. * I beg you would be as expeditious for that purpose as you conveniently can ; a request in which both Servius and Posthumia equally join. † Farewell.

* Sulpicius had an interview with Cicero at his Cuman villa, soon after the date of this letter ; but the former was so much dispirited, and so full of fears, that Cicero could not bring him to any determination. They broke up their conference, therefore, without coming to any explicit resolution ; for, though Cicero's was already formed, he did not think proper to avow his design of joining Pompey, to a man whom he found in so timid and fluctuating a state of mind. *Ad Att. x. 14.*

† The son and wife of Sulpicius. Posthumia was one of those many ladies who found Cæsar as irresistible a gallant as he was a soldier. *Suet. in Jul. 50.*

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 704.]

TO RUFUS.*

THOUGH I never once doubted that I enjoyed the highest rank in your friendship, yet every day's experience strengthens me in that persuasion. You assured me, I remember, in one of your letters, that you should be more assiduous in giving me proofs of your affection now, than when you were my quæstor, as they would more indisputably appear to be the free result of a disinterested esteem. And though nothing, I thought, could exceed your good offices to me in the province, yet you have since fully evinced the sincerity of this promise. Accordingly, it was with great pleasure I observed the friendly impatience with which you expected my arrival in Rome, when I had thoughts of going thither, as well as the joy you afterwards expressed at my having laid aside that design, when affairs had taken a different turn from what you imagined. But your last letter was particularly acceptable to me, as an instance both of your affection and your judgment. It afforded me much satisfac-

* See Vol. II. p. 288. note.

tion, indeed, to find, on the one hand, that you consider your true interest (as every great and honest mind ought always to consider it) as inseparably connected with a rectitude of conduct; and, on the other, that you promise to accompany me, whithersoever I may determine to steer. Nothing can be more agreeable to my inclination, nor, I trust, to your honour, than your executing this resolution. Mine has been fixed for some time; and it was not with any design of concealing it from you, that I did not acquaint you with it before. My only reason was, that, in public conjunctures of this kind, the communication of one's intentions to a friend, looks like admonishing, or rather, indeed, pressing him to share in the difficulties and the dangers of one's schemes. I cannot, however, but willingly embrace an offer which proceeds from so affectionate and generous a disposition; though, I must add, at the same time, (that I may not transgress the modest limits I have set to my requests of this nature,) that I by no means urge your compliance. If you shall think proper to pursue the measures you propose, I shall esteem myself greatly indebted to you; if not, I shall very readily excuse you. For though I shall look upon the former as a tribute which you could not well refuse to my friendship, yet I shall consider the latter as the same reasonable concession to your fears. It must be owned,

there is great difficulty how to act upon this occasion. It is true, what honour would direct is very apparent, but the prudential part is far from being a point so clear. However, if we would act up, as we ought, to the dictates of that philosophy we have mutually cultivated, we cannot once hesitate in thinking, that the worthiest measures must, upon the whole, be the most expedient. If you are inclined, then, to embark with me, you must come hither immediately; but, if it should not suit you to be thus expeditious, I will send you an exact account of my route. To be short, in whatever manner you may decide, I shall always consider you as my friend, but much more so, if you should determine as I wish. Farewell.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 701.]

TO TARENTIA.

I AM entirely free from the disorder in my stomach; which was the more painful, as I saw it occasioned both you and that dear girl whom I love better than my life, so much uneasiness. I discovered the cause of this complaint the night after I left you, having discharged a great quantity of phlegm. This gave me so immediate a relief, that

I cannot but believe I owe my cure to some heavenly interposition; to Apollo, no doubt, and Æsculapius. You will offer up your grateful tributes, therefore, to these restoring powers, with all the ardency of your usual devotion.

I am this moment embarked;* and have procured a ship, which, I hope, is well able to perform her

* In order to join Pompey in Greece, who had left Italy about three months before the date of this letter. A late learned and most able panegyrist of Cicero assures us, that he took this measure, as choosing to “follow the cause which he thought to be the best, and preferring the consideration of duty to that of his safety.” Cicero deserves so highly from every friend to genius and literature, that it is no wonder Dr Middleton should not always speak of him with the cool impartiality of an unbiassed historian. But it is the principal purpose of these remarks, to inquire, without prejudices of any kind, into the real merit of Cicero’s political character; and, as his conduct during this important crisis will evidently shew the strength and measure of his patriotism, I shall trace it from the breaking out of the civil war to the present period, and then leave the facts to speak for themselves.

Upon the news that Cæsar was marching into Italy, Pompey was appointed general in chief of the republican forces, and the principal magistrates, together with those who were invested with proconsular power, were distributed into different cantons of Italy, in order to raise troops for the defence of the common cause. Cicero had his particular district assigned him among the rest; but, instead of execu-

voyage. As soon as I shall have finished this letter, I propose to write to several of my friends, recommending you, and our dearest Tullia, in the strongest terms, to their protection. In the mean

ting this important commission with spirit and vigour, he remained altogether inactive at his several villas in that part of Italy. And this he signified to Cæsar, by means of their common friend Trebatius, who had written to him in Cæsar's name, in order to prevail with him to return to Rome. *Rescripsi ad Trebatium quam illud hoc tempore esset difficile: me tamen in prædiis meis esse, neque delectum ullum, neque negotium suscepisse.—Ad Att. vii. 37.* Pompey, in the mean time, was pressing Cicero to join him; but, he excused himself by representing, that whilst he was actually on the road for that purpose, he was informed that he could not proceed without the danger of being intercepted by Cæsar's troops. *Epist. 2. Cicer. ad Pom. apud epist. ad Att. viii.* Cicero, however, is so ingenuous as to acknowledge, in the same letter to Pompey, that so long as there were hopes that the negotiations for a peace would be attended with success, he thought it a justifiable piece of prudence not to be too active in forwarding the preparations that were carrying on against Cæsar, remembering, he says, how much he had formerly suffered from the resentment of the latter in the affair of his exile. This was explaining, at once, the true principle of his whole conduct, and he avows it more expressly in a letter to Atticus. *Non simul cum Pompeio mare transierimus? Omnino non poterimus; exstat ratio dierum, sed tamen (futeamur enim quod est) sefellit ea me res, quæ fortasse non debuit, sed sefellit; pacem putavi fore: quæ si esset, iratum mihi Casarem*

time, I should exhort you to keep up your spirits, if I did not know that both of you are animated with a more than manly fortitude. And, indeed, I hope there is a fair prospect of your remaining in

esse, cum idem amicus esset Pompeio, nolui. Senseram enim quam idem essent. Hoc verens in hanc tarditatem incidi.—Ad Att. x. 8. Pompey, however, had no sooner set sail for Greece, than Cicero was struck with the consciousness of his having acted an unworthy part: *Postquam Pompeius et consules ex Italia exierunt, non angor, says he, sed ardeo dolore—non sum, inquam, mihi crede, mentis compos, tantum mihi dedecoris admisisse videor.—Ad Att. ix. 6.* After several deliberations, therefore, he was determined, he tells Atticus, to follow Pompey, without waiting the event of Cæsar's arms in Spain. *Ad Att. ix. 19. x. 8.* This resolution, nevertheless, soon gave way to a second; for, having received some accounts which contradicted a former report that had been spread concerning the advantageous posture of Pompey's affairs, Cicero renounced his intention of joining him, and now purposed to stand neuter. *Ad Att. x. 9.* But a new turn in favour of Pompey seems to have brought Cicero back to his former scheme; for, in a subsequent letter to Atticus, wherein he mentions some reasons to believe that Pompey's affairs went well in Spain, and takes notice, likewise, of some disgust which the populace expressed towards Cæsar in the theatre, we find him resuming his design of openly uniting with Pompey; and, accordingly, he resolved to join those who were maintaining Pompey's cause in Sicily. *Ad Att. x. 12.* It does not appear, by any of his letters, upon what motive he after-

Italy without any inconvenience, and of my returning to the defence of the republic, in conjunction with those who are no less faithfully devoted to its interests.

After earnestly recommending to you the care of your health, let me make it my next request, that you would dispose of yourself in such of my villas as are at the greatest distance from the army. And if provisions should become scarce in Rome, I should

wards exchanged his plan for that of sailing directly to Pompey's camp in Greece; which, after various debates with himself, he at length, we see, executed. There is a passage, however, in Cæsar's Commentaries, which, perhaps, will render it probable, that the news which, about this time, was confidently spread at Rome, that Cæsar's army had been almost totally defeated in Spain, was the determining reason that sent Cicero to Pompey. The fact was, that Afranius and Petreius had gained some advantages over Cæsar; but, as they magnified them, in their letters to Rome, much beyond the truth, several persons of note, who had hitherto been fluctuating in their resolutions, thought it was now high time to declare themselves, and went off immediately to Pompey. *Hæc Afranius, Petreiusque, et eorum amici, pleniora etiam atque uberiora Romam ad suos perscribebant. Multa rumor fingebat: ut pene bellum confectum videretur. Quibus literis nunciisque Romam perlatis—multi ex Italia ad Cn. Pompeium proficiscebantur; alii ut principes talem nunciam attulisse; alii nec eventum belli expectasse, aut ex omnibus novissimi venisse viderentur.* De Bel. Civil. i. 53.

think you will find it most convenient to remove with your servants to Arpinum.*

The amiable young Cicero most tenderly salutes you. Again and again I bid you farewell.

June the 11th.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 701.]

MARCUS CÆLIUS TO CICERO.

WAS † it for this that I followed Cæsar into Spain? Why was I not rather at Formiæ, that I might have accompanied you to Pompey? But I was infatuated;

* A city in the country of the Volsci, a district of Italy, which now comprehends part of the Campagna di Roma, and of the Terra di Lavoro. Cicero was born in this town, which still subsists under the name of Arpino.

† This letter confirms the character that has been given of Cælius, in a former note, (Vol. I. p. 283.) and shews him to have been of a temper extravagantly warm and impetuous. The resentment and indignation with which it is animated, was owing to some disappointments that he had met with from Cæsar, who had not distinguished him agreeably to his expectations. Cælius, therefore, who was one of the prætors for the present year, endeavoured to take his revenge by opposing the execution of certain laws which Cæsar had procured.—His attempts for this purpose having created

and it was my aversion to Appius, * together with my friendship for Curio, that gradually drew me into this cursed cause. Nor were you entirely unnecessary to my error; for that night, when I called upon you in my way to Ariminum, † why did you forget the friend, when you were gloriously acting the patriot, and not dissuade me from the purpose of my journey, at the same time that you commissioned me to urge Cæsar to pacific measures? Not that I have an ill opinion of the cause; but, believe me, perdition itself were preferable to being a witness of the insufferable behaviour of these his insolent partisans. ‡ They have rendered themselves so generally odious, that we should long since have been driven out of Rome, were it not for the apprehensions which people have conceived

great disturbances in Rome, he was not only deposed from his office, but expelled the senate; and the present letter seems to have been written immediately upon that event. *Dio.* xlii. p. 195. *Cæs. de Bel. Civil.* iii. 20.

* Appius engaged on the side of Pompey, as Curio was a warm partisan of Cæsar. For the occasion of Cælius's resentment against Appius, see Vol. II. Book vi. Let. 14. p. 255.

† In order to join Cæsar. Cælius was one of the party with Curio and Antony, when they fled to Cæsar. *Dio.* xli. p. 153. See the first letter of this Book.

‡ The chiefs of Cæsar's party at Rome.

of the cruel intentions of your party.* There is not, at this juncture, a man in Rome, except a few rascally usurers, † who does not wish well to Pompey; and I have already brought over to your cause, not only those among the plebeian families who were in the interest of Cæsar, but the whole populace in general. But you will ask, perhaps, what can this avail us now? Wait the event, my friend: victory shall attend you in spite of yourselves. ‡ For surely a profound lethargy has lock-

* When Pompey left Rome, upon the approach of Cæsar, he declared, that he should treat all those as enemies who did not follow him; a declaration, it was imagined, which he would most rigorously have fulfilled, if fortune had put it in his power. *Cæs. Bel. Civil. i. Cic. Epist. passim.*

† As great numbers of those who embraced the party of Cæsar were deeply involved in debt, it was apprehended, that they would procure a law for a general discharge from their creditors. But Cæsar adjusted matters by a more prudent method, and in such a manner as to facilitate the payment of these loans with little prejudice to those who had advanced them. It appears that Cæsar rendered himself, by these means, extremely acceptable to those persons at Rome, who dealt in this sort of pecuniary commerce. *Cæs. de Bel. Civil. i.*

‡ This boast of Cælius ended in nothing but his own destruction: For, not succeeding in his attempts at Rome, he withdrew to Thurii, a maritime town on the gulph of Tarentum; where, endeavouring to raise an insurrection in

ed up all the senses of your party, as they do not yet seem sensible how open we lie to an attack, and how little capable we are of making any considerable opposition. It is by no means from an interested motive that I offer my assistance, but merely in resentment of the unworthy usage I have received; and resentment is a passion which usually carries me, you know, the greatest lengths.— But what are you doing on the other side the water? * Are you imprudently waiting to give the enemy battle? What Pompey's forces may be, I know not; but Cæsar's, I am sure, are accustomed to action, and inured to all the hardships of the most severe campaigns. Farewell.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 704.]

DOLABELLA † TO CICERO.

I SHALL rejoice to hear you are well: I have the satisfaction to inform you, that both Tullia and my-

favour of Pompey, he was murdered by the soldiers of Cæsar's faction. *Dio.* xlii. p. 196.

* Cicero was at this time in Pompey's camp in Greece.

† The reader has already been apprised, in the foregoing notes, that Dolabella was son-in-law to Cicero. He was a young man, of a warm, enterprising, factious disposition,

self are perfectly so. Terentia, indeed, has been somewhat indisposed, but is now, I am assured, perfectly recovered. As to the rest of your family, they are all of them in the state you wish.

It would be doing me great injustice to suspect that I have at any time advised you to join with me in the cause of Cæsar, or at least to stand neuter, more with a view to the advantage of my own party, than of your interest. But now that fortune has declared on our side, * it is impossible I should be supposed to recommend this alternative for any other reason, but because the duty I owe you will not suffer me to be silent. Whether my advice, therefore, shall meet with your approbation or not, you will at least be so just as to believe, that it proceeds, my dear Cicero, from an honest intention, and from a heart most sincerely desirous of your welfare.

You see that neither the lofty title with which Pompey is distinguished, † nor the credit of his

and one of the most active partisans of Cæsar's cause. His character, conduct, and fortune, will be more particularly marked out as occasion shall offer, in the farther progress of these observations.

* Cæsar having defeated Afranius and Petreius, the lieutenants of Pompey, in Spain, was at this time with his army before Dyrrachium, a maritime city in Macedonia, now called Durazzi.

† When he was a very young man, he was honoured by

former illustrious actions, nor the advantages he so frequently boasted, of having kings and nations in the number of his clients, have any thing availed him. On the contrary, he has suffered a disgrace which never, perhaps, attended any other Roman general. For, after having lost both the Spains,* together with a veteran army, and after having also been driven out of Italy, he is now so strongly invested on all sides, that he cannot execute what the meanest soldier has often performed; he cannot make even an honourable retreat. † You will consider, then, agreeably to your usual prudence, what hopes can possibly remain either to him or to yourself; and the result will evidently point out the measures which are most expedient for you to pursue. Let me entreat you, if Pompey has already

Sylla with the title of Pompey the Great; a title which he ever afterwards assumed.

* This country was divided by the Romans into the Nearer and the Farther Spain; that part which lay near the Pyrenees, and the river Ibro, being comprehended under the former appellation, and all beyond that river, under the latter.

† It is probable that some slight success which Cæsar had obtained before Dyrrachium, had been greatly magnified at Rome; for Pompey was so far from being in the situation which Dolabella here represents him, that Cæsar found himself obliged to abandon the siege of this city, and to retire into Thessaly. *Dio. xli. p. 177.*

extricated himself out of the danger in which he was involved, and taken refuge in his fleet, that you would now at least think it time to consult your own interest, in preference to that of any other man. You have performed every thing which gratitude and friendship can expect, or the party you approved can require. What remains, then but to sit down quietly under the republic, as it now subsists, rather than, by vainly contending for the old constitution, to be absolutely deprived of both? If Pompey, therefore, should be driven from his present post, and obliged to retreat still farther, I conjure you, my dear Cicero, to withdraw to Athens, or to any other city unconcerned in the war. If you should comply with this advice, I beg you would give me notice, that I may fly to embrace you, if by any means it should be in my power. Your own interest with Cæsar, together with the natural generosity of his temper, will render it extremely easy for you to obtain any honourable conditions you shall demand; and I am persuaded, that my solicitations will have no inconsiderable weight for this purpose.

I rely upon your honour and your humanity, to take care that this messenger may safely return to me with your answer. Farewell.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TARENTIA.*

I AM informed, by the letters of my friends, as well as by other accounts, that you have had a sudden attack of a fever. I entreat you, therefore, to employ the utmost care in re-establishing your health.

The early notice you gave me of Cæsar's letter was extremely agreeable to me; and let me desire you would send me the same expeditious intelligence, if any thing should hereafter occur that concerns me to know. Once more I conjure you to take care of your health. Farewell.

June the 2d.

* "This letter was written by Cicero, in the camp at Dyrrachium; for there is one extant to Atticus later than this, and dated from the camp. *Ad Att. xi. 18.*"
Mr Ross.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THE SAME.*

I ENTREAT you to take all proper measures for the recovery of your health. Let me request, likewise, that you would provide whatever may be necessary in the present conjuncture, and that you would send me frequent accounts how every thing goes on. Farewell.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THE SAME.

I HAVE seldom an opportunity of writing, and scarce any thing to say that I choose to trust in a letter. I find, by your last, that you cannot meet with a purchaser for any of our farms. I beg, therefore, you would consider of some other method of raising money, in order to satisfy that person

* This letter was probably written soon after the foregoing, and from the same place.

who, you are sensible, I am very desirous should be paid.*

I am by no means surprised that you should

* This letter, as well as the two former, was written while Cicero was with Pompey in Greece. The business at which he so obscurely hints, has been thought to relate to the payment of part of Tullia's portion to Dolabella. But it seems evident from the 4th epistle of the 11th Book to Atticus, that Cicero was not at this time come to any resolution concerning the second payment of his daughter's portion; for, in a postscript, he desires the sentiments of Atticus upon that subject. *De pensione allera*, says he, *oro te omni cura considerare quid faciendum sit.*—*Ad Att.* xi. 4. Now, that this letter to Atticus was written about the same time with the present to Terentia, appears from hence, that Cicero plainly refers in it to the same epistle to which this before us is an answer. *Ex proximis cognovi prædia non venisse*: [*Ad Att. ibid.*] which tallies with what he says in the letter under examination: *ex suis literis, quas proxime accepi, cognovi prædium nullum venire potuisse*; and proves that the date of each must have been nearly, if not exactly, coincident. For these reasons, it seem necessary to look out for another interpretation of the present passage; and, from the cautious circumstance of the name being suppressed, it may be suspected that Cæsar is the person meant. It is certain, at least, that Cicero owed him a sum of money; concerning which, he expresses some uneasiness to Atticus, upon the breaking out of the civil war; as he could not, indeed, continue in Cæsar's debt with any honour, after he had joined the party against him. *Ad Att.* vii. 3.

have received the thanks of our friend, as I dare say she had great reason to acknowledge your kindness.

If Pollex † is not yet set out, I desire you would exercise your authority, and force the loiterer to depart immediately. Farewell.

July the 15th.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THE SAME.

MAY the joy you express at my safe arrival in Italy, * be never interrupted ! But my mind was so much discomposed by those atrocious injuries I had received, ‡ that I have taken a step, I fear, which

* It appears, by a letter to Atticus, that this person acted as a sort of steward in Cicero's family. *Ad Att.* xiii. 47.

† After the battle of Pharsalia, Cicero would not engage himself any farther with the Pompeian party ; but, having endeavoured to make his peace with Cæsar by the mediation of Dolabella, he seems to have received no other answer than an order to return immediately into Italy. And this he accordingly did a few days before the date of the present letter. *Ad Att.* xi. 7.

‡ Cicero, who was somewhat indisposed, and much out of humour, did not attend Pompey when he marched from

may be attended with great difficulties.* Let me, then, entreat your utmost assistance; though, I must confess, at the same time, that I know not wherein it can avail me.

Dyrrachium, in order to follow Caesar. Cato was likewise left behind, with fifteen cohorts, to conduct the baggage; but, upon the news of Pompey's defeat, in the plains of Pharsalia, he pressed Cicero to take upon himself the command of those troops, as being of superior rank in the republic. Cicero, who had all along declined accepting any commission in Pompey's army, was not disposed, it may well be imagined, to be more active against Caesar, when the latter had just obtained a most signal victory. Accordingly, he absolutely refused this offer which Cato made; declaring, at the same time, his resolution of withdrawing from the common cause. This exasperated the young Pompey and his friends to such a degree, that they would have killed Cicero upon the spot, if Cato had not generously interposed, and conducted him safely out of the camp. It is probably to this outrage that he here alludes. *Ad Att. xi. 4. Plut in vit. Cic.*

* It has been observed, that Cicero scarce ever executed an important resolution, of which he did not immediately repent. This, at least, was the situation of his mind, in the present instance; and he was no sooner arrived in Italy, than he began to condemn himself for having too hastily determined upon that measure. The letters which he wrote to Atticus at this period, and which comprise almost the 11th book of those epistles, contain little else than so many proofs of this assertion. Cicero imagined, after the decisive action that had lately happened in the plains of Pharsalia, that the

I would by no means have you think of coming hither; for the journey is both long and dangerous, and I do not see in what manner you could be of any service. Farewell.

Brundisium, Nov. the 5th.

chiefs of the Pompeian party would instantly sue for peace. But Cæsar, instead of directly pursuing his victory, suffered himself to be diverted by a war altogether foreign to his purpose, and in which the charms of Cleopatra, perhaps, carried him farther than he at first intended. This gave the Pompeians an opportunity of collecting their scattered forces, and of forming a very considerable army in Africa. As this circumstance was utterly unexpected by Cicero, it occasioned him infinite disquietude, and produced those reproaches which he is perpetually throwing out upon himself in the letters above-mentioned to Atticus. For, if the republican party should, after all, have returned triumphant into Italy, he knew he should be treated as one who had merited their utmost resentment.

This, and the following letters in this Book to Terentia, were written during the interval of Cicero's arrival at Brundisium, and Cæsar's return into Italy, which contains a period of about eleven months.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THE SAME.

The ill state of health into which Tullia is fallen, is a very severe addition to the many and great disquietudes that afflict my mind.* But I need say nothing farther upon this subject, as I am sure her welfare is no less a part of your tender concern, than it is of mine.

I agree both with you, and her, in thinking it proper that I should advance nearer to Rome; †

* The anxiety which Cicero laboured under, at this juncture, was, undoubtedly, severe. Besides the uneasiness mentioned in the last note, he was, likewise, under great disquietude from the uncertainty of the disposition in which Cæsar stood towards him. And, to add yet more to the discomposure of his mind, it was at this time that he received the cruel usage from his brother, of which an account has been given in p. 1. note, of this volume. He had still greater misfortunes of a domestic kind, to increase the weight of his sorrows, which will be pointed out as they shall occasionally offer themselves in the remaining letters to Terentia.

† Cicero was still at Brundisium, from which place all the following letters in this Book to Terentia, except the last, seem to have been written.

and I should have done so before now, if I had not been prevented by several difficulties, which I am not yet able to remove. But I am in expectation of a letter from Atticus, with his sentiments upon this subject; and I beg you would forward it to me by the earliest opportunity. Farewell.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THE SAME.

IN addition to my other misfortunes, I have now to lament the illness both of Dolabella and Tullia. The whole frame of my mind is, indeed, so utterly discomposed, that I know not what to resolve, or how to act, in any of my affairs. I can only conjure you to take care of yourself and of Tullia. Farewell.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 704.]

TO THE SAME.

IF any thing occurred worth communicating to you, my letters would be more frequent and much longer. But I need not tell you the situation of

my affairs; and, as to the effect they have upon my mind, I leave it to Lepta and Trebatius to inform you. I have only to add my entreaties, that you would take care of your own and Tullia's health. Farewell.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 704.]

TO TITUS.*

THERE is none of your friends less capable than I am to offer consolation to you under your present affliction; as the share I take in your loss, † renders me greatly in need of the same good office myself. However, as my grief does not rise to the same extreme degree as yours, I should not think I discharged the duty which my connexion and friendship with you require, if I remained altogether silent at a time when you are thus overwhelmed with sorrow. I determined, therefore, to suggest a few

* It is altogether uncertain who the person is to whom this letter is addressed: perhaps the same to whom the 16th of the third Book is written. See Vol. I. p. 263, note. The precise date, likewise, is extremely doubtful; however, the opinion of Dransfeld is here followed, who, in his edition of these epistles, has placed it under the present year.

† Of his son.

reflections to you, which may alleviate, at least, if not entirely remove, the anguish of your heart.

There is no maxim of consolation more common; yet, at the same time, there is none which deserves to be more frequently in our thoughts, than that we ought to remember, "We are men;" that is, creatures who are born to be exposed to calamities of every kind; and, therefore, "that it becomes us
"to submit to the conditions by which we hold
"our existence, without being too much dejected
"by accidents which no prudence can prevent." In a word, that we should learn by "reflecting on
"the misfortunes which have attended others, that
"there is nothing singular in those which befall
"ourselves." But neither these, nor other arguments to the same purpose, which are inculcated in the writings of the philosophers, seem to have so strong a claim to success, as those which may be drawn from the present unhappy situation of public affairs, and that endless series of misfortunes which is rising upon our country. They are such, indeed, that one cannot but account those to be most fortunate, who never knew what it was to be a parent; and, as to those persons who are deprived of their children, in these times of general anarchy and misrule, they have much less reason to regret their loss, than if it had happened in a more flourishing period of the commonwealth, or

while yet the republic had any existence. If your tears flow, indeed, from this accident, merely as it affects your own personal happiness, it may be difficult, perhaps, entirely to restrain them. But, if your sorrow takes its rise from a more enlarged and benevolent principle; if it be for the sake of the dead themselves that you lament, it may be an easier task to assuage your grief. I shall not here insist upon an argument, which I have frequently heard maintained in conversations, as well as often read, likewise, in treatises that have been written upon this subject. "Death," say those philosophers, "cannot be considered as an evil; because, " if any consciousness remains after our dissolution, " it is rather an entrance into immortality, than an " extinction of life; and, if none remains, there " can be no misery where there is no sensibility."*

* The notion of a future state of *positive* punishment, seems to have been rejected by the ancient philosophers in general; both by those who maintained the eternal, and those who only held the temporary duration of the soul after death. Thus Cicero and Seneca, though of different sects, yet agree in treating the fears of this sort as merely a poetical delusion: [*Tuscul. Disput. l. 21. 30. Senec. Consolat. ad Marc. 19.*] and even Socrates himself affixes no other penalty to the most atrocious deviations from moral rectitude, than that of a simple exclusion from the mansions of the gods. This shows how impotent the purest sys-

Not to insist, I say, upon any reasonings of this nature, let me remind you of an argument which I can urge with much more confidence. He who has made his exit from a scene where such dreadful confusion prevails, and where so many approaching calamities are in prospect, cannot possibly, it should seem, be a loser by the exchange. Let me ask, not only where honour, virtue, and probity, where true philosophy and the useful arts, can now fly for refuge; but where even our liberties and our lives can be secure? For my own part, I have never once heard of the death of any youth during all this last sad year, whom I have not considered as kindly delivered by the immortal gods from the miseries of these wretched times. If, therefore, you can be persuaded to think that their condition is by no means unhappy, whose loss you so tenderly deplore, it must undoubtedly prove a very

tems of the best philosophers must have been, for the moral government of mankind, since they thus dropped one of the most powerful of all sanctions for that purpose, the terrors of an actual chastisement. The comparative number of those is infinitely small, whose conduct does not give reason to suspect that they would be willing to exchange spiritual joys in reversion, for the full gratification of an importunate appetite in present; and the interest of virtue can alone be sufficiently guarded by the divine assurance of *intense punishment*, as well as of *complete happiness hereafter*.

considerable abatement of your present affliction ; for it will then entirely arise from what you feel upon your own account, and have no relation to the persons whose death you regret. Now it would ill agree with those wise and generous maxims which have ever inspired your breast, to be too sensible of misfortunes which terminate in your own person, and affect not the happiness of those you love. You have upon all occasions, both public and private, shewn yourself animated with the firmest fortitude ; and it becomes you to act up to the character you have thus justly acquired. Time necessarily wears out the deepest impressions of sorrow ; and the weakest mother, that ever lost a child, has found some period to her grief. But we should wisely anticipate that effect which a certain revolution of days will undoubtedly produce ; and not wait for a remedy from time, which we may much sooner receive from reason.

If what I have said can any thing avail in lessening the weight of your affliction, I shall have obtained my wish : If not, I shall at least have discharged the duties of that friendship and affection, which, believe me, I ever have preserved, and ever shall preserve towards you. Farewell.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 705.]

TO TERENCE.

MY affairs are, at present, in such a situation, that I have no reason to expect a letter on your part, and have nothing to communicate to you on mine: yet I know not how it is, I can no more forbear flattering myself that I may hear from you, than I can refrain from writing to you, whenever I meet with a conveyance.

Volumnia ought to have shewn herself more zealous for your interest; and in the particular instance you mention, she might have acted with greater care and caution. This, however, is but a slight grievance amongst others, which I far more severely feel and lament. They have the effect upon me, indeed, which those persons undoubtedly wished,* who compelled me into measures utterly opposite to my own sentiments. Farewell.

December the 31st.

* The commentators are divided in their opinions concerning the persons to whom Cicero here alludes; as they are likewise as to the year when this letter was written. There are two periods, indeed, of Cicero's life, with which this epistle will equally coincide: the time when he was in ba-

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, PROCONSUL.*

LUCIUS MANLIUS SOSIS was formerly a citizen of Catina; † but having afterwards obtained the free-

ishment, and the time when he returned into Italy, after the defeat of Pompey. The opinion, however, of Victori-
us has been followed, in placing this letter under the present year; who supposes, not without probability, that the persons here meant, are the same of whom Cicero complains in the 23d letter of this Book.

* He was governor of Sicily; which is all that is known of his history. The laborious and accurate Pighius places his administration of that island under the present year; and Mr Ross assigns a very good reason for being of the same opinion. For it appears, (as that gentleman observes,) that Cicero's correspondence with Acilius was carried on when the latter was proconsul of Sicily, and during the time that Cæsar had the supreme authority. It is probable, therefore, that these letters were written in the present year, because, in all the others that fall within that period, the persons who severally presided in Sicily are known to have been Posthumius Albinus, Aulus Allienus, and Titus Fursanius. See *Mr Ross's rem. on the Epist. Famil.* vol. ii. p. 502.

† A maritime city in Sicily, now called Catania. It continued to be a town of considerable note, till the erup-

dom of Naples, he is at present one of the members of their council: he is likewise a citizen of Rome, having been admitted to that privilege with the rest of the Neapolitans, in consequence of the general grant which was made for that purpose to our allies, and the inhabitants of Latium. He has lately succeeded to an estate at Catina, by the death of his brother, and is now in actual possession. But though I do not imagine that his right is likely to be controverted, yet, as he has other affairs of consequence in Sicily, I recommend his concerns, of every kind, in that island, to your protection. But I particularly recommend himself to you as a most worthy man; as one with whom I am intimately connected; and as a person who excels in those sciences I principally admire. Whether, therefore, he shall think proper to return into Sicily or not, I desire you would consider him as my very particular friend; and that you would treat him in such a manner as to convince him, that this letter proved greatly to his advantage. Farewell.

tions of mount *Ætna* in 1669 and 1693, which almost entirely laid it in ruins.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TARENTIA.

TULLIA arrived here* on the 12th of this month.† It extremely affected me to see a woman of her singular and amiable virtues, reduced (and reduced too by my own negligence) to a situation far other than is agreeable to her rank and filial piety.‡

I have some thoughts of sending my son, accompanied by Sallustius, with a letter to Cæsar;§

* Brundisium; where Cicero was still waiting for Cæsar's arrival from Egypt.

† June.

‡ Dolabella was greatly embarrassed in his affairs; and it seems by this passage as if he had not allowed Tullia a maintenance, during his absence abroad, sufficient to support her rank and dignity. The negligence with which Cicero reproaches himself, probably relates to his not having secured a proper settlement on his daughter, when he made the second payment of her fortune to Dolabella; for in a letter written to Atticus about this time, he expressly condemns himself for having acted imprudently in that affair. *In pensione secunda*, says he, *cæci fuimus*. *Ad Att.* xi. 19.

§ In order to supplicate Cæsar's pardon, for having engaged against him on the side of Pompey.

and if I should execute this design, I will let you know when he sets out. In the mean time, be careful of your health, I conjure you. Farewell.

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 706.]

TO THE SAME.

I HAD determined, agreeably to what I mentioned in my former, to send my son to meet Cæsar on his return to Italy; but I have since altered my resolution, as I hear no news of his arrival. For the rest I refer you to Sicca, who will inform you what measures I think necessary to be taken; though I must add, that nothing new has occurred since I wrote last. Tullia is still with me.—Adieu, and take all possible care of your health.

June the 20th.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, PROCONSUL.

CAIUS FLAVIUS, an illustrious Roman knight, of an honourable family, is one with whom I live in great intimacy: he was a very particular friend

likewise of my son-in-law Piso. Both he and his brother Lucius shew me the strongest instances of their regard. I shall receive it, therefore, as an honour done to myself, if you will treat Caius with all the marks of favour and distinction that shall be consistent with your character and dignity; and be assured you cannot, in any article, more effectually oblige me, than by complying with this request. I will add, that the rank which he bears in the world, the credit in which he stands with those of his own order, together with his polite and grateful disposition, will afford you reason to be extremely well satisfied with the good offices you shall confer upon him. When I say this, believe me, I am not prompted by any interested motives, but speak the sincere dictates of truth and friendship. Farewell.

LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TERENCE.

I WROTE to Atticus (somewhat later indeed than I ought) concerning the affair you mention. When you talk to him upon that head, he will inform you of my inclinations; and I need not be more expli-

cit here, after having written so fully to him.* Let me know as soon as possible what steps are taken in that business: and acquaint me at the same time with every thing else which concerns me. I have only to add my request, that you would be careful of your health. Farewell.

July the 9th.

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 706.]

TO THE SAME.

IN answer to what you object concerning the divorce I mentioned in my last, † I can only say, that

* Mr Ross supposes that the letter to which Cicero refers, is the 19th of the 11th Book to Atticus. If this conjecture be right, (as it is highly probable,) the business hinted at concerned the making of Terentia's will, and also the raising of money towards the support of Tullia, by the sale of some plate and furniture. *Ad Att.* xi. 19. 20.

† Between Tullia and Dolabella. The occasion of this divorce is so darkly hinted at in the letters to Atticus, that it is altogether impossible to penetrate into the reasons that produced it; one, however, seems to have arisen from an intrigue that was carrying on between Dolabella and Metella. This lady was wife to Lentulus Spinther, (to whom several letters, in the first and second Books of this collection, are addressed,) and is supposed to be the same person

I am perfectly ignorant what power Dolabella may at this time possess, or what ferments there may be among the populace.* However, if you think there is any thing to be apprehended from his resentment, let the matter rest; and, perhaps, the first proposal may come from himself.† Nevertheless, I leave you to act as you shall judge proper, not doubting that you will take such measures, in this

whom Horace mentions to have had a commerce of gallantry with the son of the celebrated tragedian Æsopus. See Vol. I. p. 126. note. *Ad Att.* xi. 20.

* Dolabella was at this time tribune of the people, and employing the power and credit with which he was invested by that office, to the most seditious purposes. Among other attempts, he endeavoured to procure a law for the general cancelling of all debts, and likewise to oblige the proprietors of houses in Rome, to remit one year's rent to their respective tenants. The disturbances ran so high, that the senate was under a necessity of suffering Antony to enter Rome with a body of troops, and no less than 800 citizens lost their lives upon this occasion: but nothing proved effectual for quieting these commotions, till it was known that Cæsar, after having finished the war in Egypt, was actually upon his return into Italy. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Dio. xlii. Liv. Epit. 113.*

† The passage in the original is extremely corrupt. The translator has adopted the reading proposed by Mr Ross: *sed si metuendus iratus est: quiesce: tum ab illo fortasse nascentur.*

most unfortunate affair, as shall appear to be attended with the fewest unhappy consequences. Farewell.

July the 10th.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, PROCONSUL.

MARCUS and Caius Clodius, together with Archagathus and Philo, all of them inhabitants of the noble and elegant city of Halesa, are persons with whom I am united by every tie of friendship and hospitality. But I am afraid, if I recommend so many at once to your particular favour, you will be apt to suspect that I write merely from some motive of an interested kind; though, indeed, both myself and my friends have reason to be abundantly satisfied with the regard you always pay to my letters of this nature. Let me assure you then, that both Archagathus and Philo, as also the whole family of the Clodii, have, by a long series of affectionate offices, a right to my best assistance. I very earnestly entreat you, therefore, as an obligation that will be highly agreeable to me, that you would promote their interest, upon all occasions, as far as the honour and dignity of your character shall permit. Farewell.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 706.]

TO CASSIUS.

It was the hope that peace would be restored to our country, and the abhorrence of spilling the blood of our fellow-citizens, that equally induced both you and myself to decline an obstinate perseverance in the civil war.* But though these sentiments were common to us both, yet, as I am considered as having been the first to inspire you with

* Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, crossed the Hellespont in pursuit of Pompey. Cassius, who was at the same time sailing in those straits with a very considerable fleet, might with great ease have destroyed him; as Cæsar was in no condition to have resisted so powerful an armament. But Cassius chose to act a most unworthy and treacherous part, by deserting, with his whole fleet, to the conqueror. Some of the historians account for this conduct by assuring us, that he was struck with a kind of panic at the amazing fortune of Cæsar, which rendered him incapable of making any farther resistance. Whereas it appears, by the present letter, to have been in consequence of a very extraordinary resolution he had formed in concert with Cicero, of resting the cause of liberty, for so they called it, upon a single engagement. *Suet. in Jul.* 63. *Appian.* B. C. 483.

them, it is more my part, perhaps, to render you satisfied with having adopted them, than it is yours to perform the same friendly office towards me. But to say the truth, (and it is a circumstance upon which I frequently reflect,) we mutually convinced each other, in the free conversations we held upon this subject, that a single battle, if it should not wholly determine our cause, ought to be the limits, however, of our particular opposition. And these sentiments have never seriously been condemned by any, but by those alone who think it more eligible that our constitution should be totally destroyed, than in any degree impaired: but my opinion was far otherwise; for I had no views to gratify by its extinction, and had much to hope from its remains. As to the consequences which have since ensued, they lay far beyond the reach of human discernment; and the wonder is, not so much how they escaped our penetration, as how it was possible they should have happened. I must confess my own opinion always was, that the battle of Pharsalia would be decisive: and I imagined that the victors would act with a regard to the common preservation of all, and the vanquished to their own: but both the one and the other, I was well aware, depended on the expedition with which the conquerors should pursue their success: and had they pursued it immediately, those who have since car-

ried the war into Africa,* would have experienced (and experienced too, if I do not flatter myself, by my intercession) the same clemency with which the rest of our party have been treated, who retired into Asia and Achaia. But the critical opportunity (that season so important in all transactions, and especially in a civil war) was unhappily lost: and a whole year intervening, it raised the spirits of some of our party to hope they might recover the victory; and rendered others so desperate, as not to dread the reverse. Fortune, however, must be answerable for the whole train of evils which this delay has produced: for who would have imagined either that the Alexandrine war could have been drawn out to so great a length, or that the paltzy Pharnaces could have struck such a terror throughout Asia? †

* See p. 50. of this vol.

† Pharnaces was son of the famous Mithridates, king of Pontus. [See Vol. I. p. 2. note.] This young prince, taking advantage of Cæsar's being engaged in the Alexandrine war, made an incursion into Cappadocia and the Lesser Armenia; the dominions of Deiotarus, a tributary king to the Romans. Domitius Calvinus, whom Cæsar had appointed to command in Asia, and the neighbouring provinces, having received notice of this invasion, marched immediately to the assistance of Deiotarus. The two armies came to an engagement, in which Pharnaces had the superiority. Calvinus, at the same time, being called away by Cæsar, who

But though we both acted by the same measures, our present situations, however, are extremely different. The scheme which you thought proper to execute, has given you admission into Cæsar's councils, and opened a prospect to you of his future purposes: an advantage, most certainly, that must spare you all the uneasiness which attends a state of doubt and suspence. Whereas, for myself, as I imagined that Cæsar would, immediately after the battle of Pharsalia, have returned into Italy, I hastened hither in order to encourage and improve that pacific disposition which he had discovered, by his generosity to so many of his illustrious enemies; by which means I have ever since been separated from him by an immense distance. Here, in truth, I sit the sad witness of those complaints*

had occasion for those troops to complete the conquest of Alexandria, Pharnaces took that opportunity of entering Pontus, which he seized as his hereditary dominions, and where he committed great cruelties and devastation. This letter seems to have been written soon after the transaction above related, and probably while Cæsar himself was on the march in order to chastise the insolence of Pharnaces. It was in giving an account of this expedition, that Cæsar made use of that celebrated expression, in a letter to one of his friends, *Veni, vidi, vici.*—*Hirt. Bel. Alexand. 31. Plut. in vit. Cæsar.*

* Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia, sent Mark Antony into Italy as his master of the horse; an office, in the

that are poured forth in Rome, and throughout all Italy; complaints which both you and I, according to our respective powers, might contribute somewhat to remove, if Cæsar were present to support us.

I entreat you, then, to communicate to me, agreeably to your wonted friendship, all that you observe and think concerning the present state of affairs: in a word, that you would inform me what we are to expect, and how you would advise me to act. Be assured I shall lay great stress upon your sentiments, and had I wisely followed those you gave me in your first letter from Luceria,* I might, without difficulty, have still preserved my dignities. Farewell.

absence of the dictator, of supreme authority in the commonwealth: but Antony abused the power with which he was thus invested, and taking advantage of the disturbances mentioned in p. 66. of this volume, turned them to his private purposes, by enriching himself with the spoils of his fellow-citizens. This seems to have been the occasion of those general complaints to which Cicero here alludes. *Plut. in vit. Anton. Cic. Phil. ii. 24, 25.*

* Now called Lucera, a city of Italy, situated in the Capitanata, a part of the ancient Apulia.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, PROCONSUL.

THERE is no man of the same rank as Otacilius Naso, with whom I more intimately converse: as, indeed, the polite and virtuous cast of his mind renders my daily intercourse with him extremely pleasing to me. After having thus acquainted you with the terms upon which we live together, I need add nothing further to recommend him to your good opinion. He has some affairs in your province, which he has entrusted to the management of his freedmen Hilarus, Antigonus, and Demostratus: these, therefore, together with all the concerns of Naso, I beseech you to receive under your protection. I ask this with the same warmth as if I were personally interested; and be assured I shall think myself highly obliged, if I should find that this letter shall have had great weight with you. Farewell.

LETTER XXXVIII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TARENTIA.

I HAVE not yet heard any news either of Cæsar's arrival, or of his letter which Philotimus, I was informed, had in charge to deliver to me. But be assured you shall immediately receive the first certain intelligence I shall be able to send you. Take care of your health. Adieu.

August the 11th.

LETTER XXXIX.

[A. U. 706.]

TO THE SAME.

I HAVE at last received a letter from Cæsar, and written in no unfavourable terms.* It is now said that he will be in Italy much sooner than was expected. I have not yet resolved whether to wait

* This letter is not extant, but Cicero mentions the purport of it in one of his orations, by which it appears, that Cæsar therein assured our author, that he would preserve to him his former state and dignities. *Pro Ligar.* 3.

for him here, or to meet him on his way; but, as soon as I shall have determined that point, I will let you know.

I beg you would immediately send back this messenger; and let me conjure you, at the same time, to take all possible care of your health. Farewell.

August the 12th.

LETTER XL.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, PROCONSUL.

I HAVE been an old and hereditary guest* at the house of Lyso, of Lilybæum,† ever since the time of his grandfather, and he accordingly distinguishes me with singular marks of his respect; as, indeed,

* Cicero was proquæstor of Sicily, in the year of Rome 673; and he afterwards visited that island, in order to furnish himself with evidence against Verres, the late governor, whom he had undertaken to impeach, for his oppressive and cruel administration of that province. It was probably upon these occasions that he had been entertained at the house of Lyso, as well as of several others whom he recommends in his letters to Acilius, as persons to whom he was indebted for the rites of hospitality.

† A sea-port town in Sicily, now called Marsala.

I have found him to be worthy of that illustrious ancestry from which he descends: for this reason I very strenuously recommend both himself and his family to your good offices, and entreat you to let him see that my recommendation has proved much to his honour and advantage. Farewell.

LETTER XLI.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TERENTIA.

I AM in daily expectation of my couriers, whose return will, perhaps, render me less doubtful what course to pursue:* as soon as they shall arrive, I will give you immediate notice. Meanwhile be careful of your health. Farewell.

September the 1st.

LETTER XLII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO THE SAME.

I PURPOSE to be at my Tusculan villa about the

* Whether to wait at Brundisium the arrival of Cæsar, or to set out in order to meet him.

7th or 8th of this month.* I beg that every thing may be ready for my reception, as I shall, perhaps, bring several friends with me; and I may probably, too, continue there some time. If a vase is wanting in the bath, let it be supplied with one; and I desire you would, likewise, provide whatever else may be necessary for the health and entertainment of my guests. Farewell.

Venusia, † October the 1st.

LETTER XLIII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, PROCONSUL.

CAIUS AVIANUS PHILOXENUS is my old host: but, besides this connexion, he is likewise my particular friend; and it was in consequence of my good

* “ Cicero continued at Brundisium till Cæsar arrived
 “ in Italy, who came much sooner than was expected, and
 “ landed at Tarentum some time in September. They had
 “ an interview with each other, which ended much to the
 “ satisfaction of Cicero; who, intending to follow Cæsar
 “ towards Rome, wrote this letter to his wife, to prepare
 “ for his reception at his Tusculan villa.” *Ross. Rem. on
 Cic. Epistles.*

† Now called Venosa, a town in the kingdom of Naples, situated at the foot of the Apennine mountains.

offices that Cæsar admitted him into the corporation of Novocomuni. It was upon this occasion he assumed the family name of his friend Flaccus Avianus, whom, I believe, you know to be likewise extremely mine. I mention these circumstances as so many proofs that my recommendation of Philoxenus is not founded upon common motives. I entreat you, then, to receive him into the number of your friends; to assist him in every instance that shall not break in upon your own convenience; and, in a word, to let him see that this letter proved of singular service to him. Your compliance with this request will be obliging me in the most sensible manner. Farewell.

LETTER XLIV.

[A. U. 706.]

TO TREBONIUS.*

I READ your letter, but particularly the treatise that attended it, † with great pleasure. It was a

* He was tribune in the year of Rome 698, at which time he distinguished himself by being the principal promoter of those unconstitutional grants that were made by the people to Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus, for the enlargement of their power and dignities. After the expira-

pleasure, nevertheless, not without its alloy ; as I could not but regret that you should leave us at a time when you had thus inflamed my heart, I do not say with a stronger affection, (for that could admit of no increase,) but with a more ardent desire of enjoying your company. My single consolation arises from the hope, that we shall endeavour to alleviate the pain of this absence, by a mutual exchange of long and frequent letters. Whilst I promise this on my part, I assure myself of the same on yours ; as, indeed, you have left me no room to doubt, how highly I stand in your regard. Need I mention those public instances I formerly received of your friendship, when you shewed the world

tion of his tribunate, he went into Gaul, in quality of Cæsar's lieutenant ; and, on the breaking out of the civil war, he was honoured by Cæsar with the command at the siege of Marseilles. In the year before the date of this letter, he was elected to the office of prætor, in which he discovered great spirit and judgment in opposing the factious measures of his colleague, the turbulent Cælius ; of whose attempts, mention has been made in p. 39, note. In the present year, he was appointed proconsul of Spain ; to which province he was either just setting out, or actually upon the road, when this letter was written. *Dio.* xxxix. p. 105. *Cæsar de Bel. Civil.* i. 36. iii. 20. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 64. For a farther account of Trebonius, see p. 80, note.

† A collection of Cicero's *Bon Mots*.

that you considered my enemies as your own; when you stood forth my generous advocate, in the assemblies of the people; when you acted with that spirit which the consuls ought to have shewn, in maintaining the cause of liberty, by supporting mine; and, though only a quæstor, yet refused to submit to the superior authority of a tribune, whilst your colleague, at the same time, meanly yielded to his measures? * Need I mention (what I shall always, however, most gratefully remember) the

* Trebonius was quæstor in the year of Rome 693, when Lucius Afranius and Quintus Metellus Celer were consuls. It was at this time that Clodius (desirous of obtaining the tribunate, in order to oppress Cicero with the weight of that powerful magistracy) made his first effort to obtain a law for ratifying his adoption into a plebeian family, none but plebeians being entitled to exercise that office. The tribune, to whom Cicero here alludes, is Herennius, whom Clodius had prevailed upon to propose this law to the people, and whose indigence and principles qualified him for undertaking any work for any man that would give him his price. Both the consuls were, likewise, favourers of this law, when it was first proposed; but Metellus, when he discovered the factious designs which Clodius had in view, thought proper, afterwards, most strongly to oppose it. The colleague of Trebonius, in the quæstorship, was Quintus Cæcilius Nepos, of whose particular enmity to Cicero, an account has been given in Let. 2. of Book i. and by Cicero himself in the third letter of the same Book. *Ad Att.* i. 18, 19. *Dio.* xxxvii. p. 53. *Pigh. Annal.* 693.

more recent instances of your regard to me, in the solicitude you expressed for my safety when I engaged in the late war ; in the joy you shewed when I returned into Italy ; * in your friendly participation of all those cares and disquietudes with which I was at that time oppressed ; † and, in a word, in your kind intent of visiting me at Brundisium, ‡ if you had not been suddenly ordered into Spain ? To omit, I say, these various and inestimable proofs of your friendship, is not the treatise you have now sent me, a most conspicuous evidence of the share I enjoy in your heart ? It is so, indeed, in a double view ; and, not only as you are so partial as to be the constant, and, perhaps, single, admirer of my wit, but as you have placed it, likewise, in so advantageous a light, as to render it, whatever it may be in itself, extremely agreeable. The truth of it is, your manner of relating my pleasantries, is not less humorous than the conceits you celebrate, and half the reader's mirth is exhausted ere he arrives at my joke. In short, if I had no other obligation to you for making this collection, than your having suffered me to be so long present to your thoughts, I should be utterly insensible, if it were not to in-

* After the battle of Pharsalia.

† See p. 50. of this volume, note.

‡ When he was waiting the arrival of Cæsar.

press upon me the most affectionate sentiments. When I consider, indeed, that nothing but the warmest attachment could have engaged you in such a work, I cannot suppose any man to have a greater regard for himself, than you have thus discovered for me. I wish it may be in my power to make you as ample a return in every other instance, as I most certainly do in the affection of my heart; a return, with which I trust, however, you will be perfectly well satisfied.

But to return from your performance, to your very agreeable letter; full as it was, I may yet answer it in few words. Let me assure you, then, in the first place, that I no more imagined the letter which I sent to Calvus* would be made public, than I suspect that this will; and you are sensible that a letter designed to go no farther than the

* A very celebrated orator; who, though not much above thirty when he died, (which was a short time before this letter was written,) yet left behind him a large collection of orations: he was concerned with Cicero in most of the principal causes that came into the forum during the short time in which he flourished. The letter here mentioned, was probably part of a correspondence carried on between Cicero and Calvus, on the subject of eloquence; the whole of which was extant long after the death of our author, though none of these epistles have reached our times. *Quinct. Inst. x. 1. Auct. Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent. 18. 21.*

hand to which it is addressed, is written in a very different manner from one intended for general inspection. But you think, it seems, that I have spoken in higher terms of his abilities, than truth will justify. It was my real opinion, however, that he possessed a great genius, and, notwithstanding that he misapplied it by a wrong choice of that particular species of eloquence which he adopted, yet he certainly discovered great judgment in his execution. In a word, his compositions were marked with a vein of uncommon erudition; but they wanted a certain strength and spirit of colouring, to render them perfectly finished. It was the attainment, therefore, of this quality, that I endeavoured to recommend to his pursuit; and the seasoning of advice with applause, has a wonderful efficacy in firing the genius and animating the efforts of those one wishes to persuade.* This was the true mo-

* “It is but allowing a man to be what he would have the world think him, (says Sir Richard Steele,) to make him any thing else that one pleases.” This judicious piece of flattery, however, deserves to be highly applauded in the present instance, as it proceeded entirely from a desire of benefiting the person on whom it was employed.—But what renders it more remarkably generous is, that Calvus contested, though very unequally indeed, the palm of eloquence with Cicero. Yet the latter, we see, generously endeavoured to correct the taste of his rival, and improve

tive of the praises I bestowed upon Calvus, of whose talents I really had a very high opinion.

I have only farther to assure you, that my affectionate wishes attend you in your journey; that I shall impatiently expect your return; that I shall faithfully preserve you in my remembrance; and that I shall soothe the uneasiness of your absence, by keeping up this epistolary commerce. Let me entreat you to reflect, on your part, on the many and great good offices I have received at your hands; and which, though *you* may forget, I never can, without being guilty of a most unpardonable ingratitude. It is impossible, indeed, you should reflect on the obligations you have conferred upon me, without believing, not only that I have some merit, but that I think of you with the highest esteem and affection. Farewell.

him into a less inadequate competitor. For Cicero was too conscious of his sublime abilities, to be infected with that low jealousy so visible in wits of an inferior rank, who seem to think, they can only rise in fame, in proportion as they shall be able to sink the merit of contemporary geniuses. *Senec. Controvers. iii. 19.*

LETTER XLV.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, PROCONSUL.

I HAVE long had obligations to Demetrius Magus, for the generous reception he gave me when I was in Sicily: * indeed, there is none of his countrymen with whom I ever entered into so strong a friendship. At my particular instances, Dolabella prevailed with Cæsar to grant him the freedom of Rome, and I assisted at the ceremony of his admission: accordingly, he now takes upon himself the name of Publius Cornelius. The ill use which some men, of a mean and avaricious turn, had made of Cæsar's confidence, by exposing privileges of this kind to sale, induced him to make a general revocation of these grants. However, he assured Dolabella, in my presence, that he had no reason to be under any apprehension with respect to Magus; for his benefaction, he said, should still remain to him in its full force. I thought proper to mention this, that you might treat him with the consideration which is due to a Roman citizen; and it is with the utmost zeal that I recommend him

* See p. 75, note.

to your favour in all other respects. You cannot, indeed, confer upon me an higher obligation, than by convincing my friend that this letter procured him the honour of your peculiar regard. Farewell.

LETTER XLVI.

[A. U. 706.]

TO SEXTILIUS RUFUS,* QUÆSTOR.

I RECOMMEND all the Cyprians in general to your protection, but particularly those belonging to the district of Paphos : † and I shall hold myself obliged to you for any instance of your favour that you shall think proper to shew them. It is with the more willingness I apply to you in their behalf, as it much imports your character, (in which I greatly interest myself,) that you, who are the first quæstor that ever held the government of Cyprus, ‡ should form such ordinances as may deserve to be followed as so many precedents by your successors. It

* He was appointed governor of the island of Cyprus, as appears by the present letter. And this, together with his commanding the fleet under Cassius, in Asia, after the death of Cæsar, is the whole that is known of him.

† A city in the island of Cyprus.

‡ Before this time it was always annexed (as Manutius observes) to the province of Cilicia.

will contribute, I hope, to this end, if you shall pursue that edict which was published by your friend Lentulus,* together with those which were enacted likewise by myself, † as your adopting them will prove, I trust, much to your honour. Farewell.

LETTER XLVII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, PROCONSUL.

I STRONGLY recommend my friend and host, Hippias, to your good offices; he is a citizen of Calactina, and the son of Philoxenus. His estate (as the affair has been represented to me) has been illegally seized for the use of the public; and, if this should be the truth, your own equity, without any other recommendation, will sufficiently incline you to see that justice is done him. But, whatever the circumstances of his case may be, I request it as an honour to myself, and an honour too of the most obliging kind, that you would in this, and in every

* Lentulus Spinther, to whom several letters in the first and second Books of this collection are addressed. See Vol. I. p. 54, note.

† Cicero succeeded Appius in the government of Cilicia.

other article in which he is concerned, favour him with your assistance ; so far, I mean, as shall not be inconsistent with the honour and dignity of your character. Farewell.

LETTER XLVIII.

[A. U. 706.]

TO THE SAME.

LUCIUS BRUTTIUS, a young man of equestrian rank, is in the number of those with whom I am most particularly intimate ; there has been a great friendship, likewise, between his father and myself, ever since I was quæstor in Sicily. He distinguishes me by peculiar marks of his observance, and is adorned with every valuable accomplishment. He is at present my guest ; but, I most earnestly recommend his family, his affairs, and his agents, to your protection. You will confer upon me a most acceptable obligation, by giving him reason to find (as, indeed, I have ventured to assure him he undoubtedly will) that this letter proved much to his advantage. Farewell.

LETTER XLIX.

[A. U. 706.]

TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.*

Is it true, my friend, that you look upon yourself as having been guilty of a most ridiculous piece of folly, in attempting to imitate the thunder, as you call it, of my eloquence?—With reason, indeed, you might have thought so, had you failed in your attempt; but, since you have excelled the model you had in view, the disgrace surely is on my side, not on yours. The verse, therefore, which you apply to yourself, from one of Trabea's † comedies, may, with much more justice, be turned upon me, as my own eloquence falls far short of that perfection at which I aim. But tell me what sort of figure do my letters make? are they not written, think you, in the true familiar? They do not constantly, however, preserve one uniform manner, as this species of composition bears no resemblance to that of the oratorical kind; though, in-

* Vol. II. p. 207, note.

† The time when this poet flourished is uncertain. His dramatic writings seem to have been in great repute, as Cicero frequently quotes them in his *Tusculan Disputations*.

deed, in judicial matters, we vary our style according to the nature of the causes in which we are engaged. Those, for example, in which private interests of little moment are concerned, we treat with a suitable simplicity of diction; but, where the reputation, or the life, of our client is in question, we rise into greater pomp and dignity of phrase. But, whatever may be the subject of my letters, they still speak the language of conversation.

How came you to imagine that all your family have been plebeians, when it is certain that many of them were patricians of the lower order? * To begin with the first in this catalogue, I will instance Lucius Papisius Magillanus, who, in the year of Rome 312, was censor with Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, as he before had been his colleague in the consulate. At this time your family name was Papisius. After him there were thirteen of your ancestors who were curule magistrates, † before Lucius Papirius Cras-

* The patrician families were distinguished into the higher and the lower order. Of the former sort were those who derived their pedigree from the two hundred senators that composed the senate, as it was originally established by Romulus; of the latter, were the descendants of the members which, above a century afterwards, were added to this celebrated council, by Tarquinius Priscus. *Rosin. Antiquit. Rom.* p. 687.

† The curule magistrates were those particular officers

sus, who was the first of your family that changed the name of Papisius. This Papirius, in the year 315, being chosen dictator, appointed Lucius Papirius Castor to be his master of the horse, and four years afterwards he was elected consul, together with Caius Duilius. Next in this list appears Cursor, a man highly honoured in his generation; and after him we find Lucius Masso, the ædile, together with several others of the same appellation; and I could wish that you had the portraits of all these patricians among your family-pictures. The Carbones and the Turdi follow next. This branch of your family were all of them plebeians, and they by no means reflect any honour upon your race; for, excepting Caius Carbo, who was murdered by Damasippus, there is not one of his name who was not an enemy to his country. There was another Caius, whom I personally knew, as well as the buffoon his brother; they were both of them men of the most worthless characters. As to the son of Rubria, he was my friend; for which reason I shall pass him over in silence, and only mention his three brothers, Caius, Cneius, and Marcus. Mar-

of the state who had the privilege of being drawn in a car.—These were the consuls, the censors, the prætors, and curule ædiles.

cus, having committed numberless acts of violence and oppression in Sicily, was prosecuted for those crimes by Publius Flaccus, and found guilty: Caius being likewise impeached by Lucius Crassus, is said to have poisoned himself with cantharides. He was the author of great disturbances, during the time that he exercised the office of tribune, and is supposed to have been concerned in the murder of Scipio Africanus. As to Cneius, who was put to death by my friend Pompey,* at Lilybæum, there never existed, I believe, a more infamous character. It is generally imagined, that the father of this man, in order to avoid the consequences of a prosecution, which was commenced against him by Marcus Antonius, put an end to his life by a draught of vitriol. Thus, my friend, I would advise you to claim your kindred among the patricians; for,

* This Cneius Papirius Carbo was three times consul; the last of which was in the year of Rome 671. Having exercised his power in a most oppressive and tyrannical manner, he was deposed, to the great satisfaction of the republic, by Sylla, who was immediately declared dictator. Carbo soon afterwards appeared, with a considerable fleet, upon the coast of Sicily; and, being taken prisoner by Pompey, whom Sylla had sent in pursuit of him, he was formally arraigned before the tribunal of Pompey, and publicly executed by his orders at Lilybæum. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

you see the plebeian part of your family were but a worthless and seditious race.* Farewell.

LETTER L.

[A. U. 706.]

TO ACILIUS, PROCONSUL.

I HAVE long had a friendship with the family of the Titurnii; the last surviving branch of which is Marcus Titurnius Rufus. He has a claim, therefore, to my best good offices, and it is in your power to render them effectual. Accordingly, I recommend him to your favour, in all the most unfeigned

* It may be proper to apprise the reader, in this place, that there is one epistle from Cicero to Pætus, which is omitted in this translation. Cicero takes occasion, in this rejected letter, to explain to his friend the notion of the stoics concerning obscenity; and, in order to illustrate their absurd reasoning upon this subject, he introduces a great variety of *double entendres*, which, as they turn upon ambiguities that hold only in the Latin language, it is utterly impossible to translate. But, had they been reconcileable to our idiom, the translator would nevertheless have declined the office of being their interpreter; as he would not have deprived himself of the satisfaction to think, that there is nothing in these volumes unfit for the perusal of the fair part of his readers. *Vid. Epist. Famil. ix. 22.*

warmth of my heart ; and you will extremely oblige me by giving him strong proofs of the regard you pay to my recommendation. Farewell.

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK EIGHTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS.*

WHENEVER I reflect, as, indeed, I frequently do, on those public calamities we have thus long endured, and are still likely to endure, it always brings to my thoughts the last interview we had together: it made so strong an impression upon my mind, that I can name the very day, and I perfectly well remember it was on the 10th of May, in the con-

* See Vol. I. p. 122. note.

sulate of Lentulus and Marcellus,* that, upon my arrival at my Pompeian villa,† I found you waiting for me with the most friendly solicitude. Your generous concern arose from a tenderness both for my honour and my safety; as the former, you feared, would be endangered if I continued in Italy; and the latter, if I went to Pompey. I was myself, likewise, as you undoubtedly perceived, so greatly perplexed, as to be incapable of determining which of these measures was most advisable. However, I resolved to sacrifice all considerations of personal safety to the dictates of my honour, and accordingly I joined Pompey in Greece: but I no sooner arrived in his army, than I had occasion to repent of my resolution, not so much from the danger to which I was myself exposed, as from the many capital faults I discovered among them. In the first place, Pompey's forces were neither very considerable in point of numbers,‡ nor by any means com-

* An. Urb. 704, about two years before the date of this letter, which was probably written very early in the present year.

† “This villa of Cicero was situated near Pompeii, upon the eastern coast of the bay of Naples, and at no great distance from the villa of Marius.” *Mr Ross.*

‡ Pompey's army, at the battle of Pharsalia, was more than double in number to that of Cæsar, whose forces amounted only to about 22,000 men. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

posed of warlike troops; and, in the next place, (I speak, however, with the exception of Pompey himself, and a few others of the principal leaders,) they carried on the war with such a spirit of rapaciousness, and breathed such principles of cruelty in their conversation, that I could not think even upon our success without horror. To this I must add, that some of the most considerable officers were deeply involved in debt; and, in short, there was nothing good among them but their cause. Thus, despairing of success, I advised (what, indeed, I had always recommended) that proposals of accommodation should be offered to Cæsar; and, when I found Pompey utterly averse to all measures of that kind, I endeavoured to persuade him, at least, to avoid a general engagement. This last advice, he seemed sometimes inclined to follow; and, probably, would have followed, if a slight advantage, which he soon afterwards gained,* had

* Before the walls of Dyrrachium. Notwithstanding Cicero speaks with some sort of contempt of this advantage which Pompey gained over the troops of Cæsar, yet it appears to have been very considerable. It was thought so, at least, by Cæsar himself; who observed, to some of his friends, after the action was over, that the enemy would have obtained a complete victory, had they been commanded by a general that knew how to conquer. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

not given him a confidence in his troops. From that moment, all the skill and conduct of this great man seems to have utterly forsaken him; and he acted so little like a general, that, with a raw and inexperienced army, he imprudently gave battle * to the most brave and martial legions. The consequence was, that he suffered a most shameful defeat; and, abandoning his camp to Cæsar, he was obliged to run away, unaccompanied even with a single attendant. † This event determined me to

* In the plains of Pharsalia. The principal officers of Pompey's army were so elated by their late success before Dyrrachium, that they pursued Cæsar as to certain conquest; and, instead of concerting measures for securing their victory, were employed in warmly contesting among themselves their several proportions of the spoils. Pompey was not less confident of success than the rest; and he had the imprudence to declare, in a council of war, which was holden a few days before this important battle, that he did not doubt of entirely defeating Cæsar by the single strength of his cavalry, and without engaging his legions in the action. *Cæs. de Bel. Civ.* iii. 83. 86.

It is very observable, that the day on which this memorable battle was fought, is no where recorded, and that it was not known even in Lucan's time :

Tempora signavit leviorum Roma malorum,

Hunc voluit nescire diem.

LUC. vii. 410.

† Plutarch resembles Pompey's flight to that of Ajax before Hector, as described in the 11th Iliad :

lay down my arms ; being persuaded, that, if we could not prevail with our united forces, we should scarce have better success when they were broken

Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Αἰανθ' ἰψίζογος ἐν φόβον ἄρσε·
Στῆ δὲ ταφῶν, &c.

—Partial Jove, espousing Hector's part,
Shot heaven-bred horror through the Grecian's heart ;
Confused, unnerved in Hector's presence grown,
Amazed he stood, with horrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
And, glaring round, by tardy steps withdrew. POPE.

In fact, however, it was attended with all the circumstances of disgrace which Cicero mentions. Pompey, after various deliberations, resolved to take shelter in Egypt, where he had reason to hope for a protector in Ptolemy, whose father he had formerly assisted in recovering his dominions. [See Vol. I. p. 55, note.] But Theodotus, a sort of tutor to this young prince, not thinking it prudent either to receive Pompey, or to refuse him admittance, proposed, as the best policy, that he should be destroyed. Accordingly, the persons who were sent to conduct him from his ship, had directions to be his executioners ; which they performed, by stabbing him, as he was stepping out of the boat, in order to land.—These assassins, having severed Pompey's head, left his body on the shore, where it was burnt with the planks of an old fishing-boat, by a faithful freedman, who had been the unhappy spectator of this affecting tragedy. Pompey's ashes were afterwards conveyed to his wife Cornelia, who deposited them in a family-monument near his Alban villa.—*Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

and dispersed. I declined, therefore, to engage any farther in a war, the result of which must necessarily be attended with one or other of the following unhappy consequences; either to perish in the field of battle, to be taken prisoner by the conquerors, to be sacrificed by treachery, * to have recourse to Juba, † to live in a sort of voluntary exile,

* This seems to allude to the fate of Pompey.

† He was a very considerable prince, whose dominions extended not only over that part of Africa which is now called the coast of Barbary, but southward, beyond Mount Atlas, and, from the Straits mouth, along the Atlantic Ocean, to the Canary Islands. Upon the first breaking out of the civil war, he distinguished himself in supporting the Pompeian party, in Africa, against the army commanded by Curio, whom he entirely defeated. See Vol. I. p. 231, note. Lucan has given a very poetical description of the several tributary nations which, upon this occasion, he led to battle :

*Autololes, Numidæque vagi, semperque paratus
Inculto Gætulus equo, &c.*

With him unnumbered nations march along,
Th' Autololes with wild Numidians throng;
The rough Gætulian, with his ruder steed;
The Moor, resembling India's swarthy breed:
Poor Nasamons, and Garamantines joined,
With swift Marmaridans, that match the wind;
The Marax, bred the trembling dart to throw,
Sure as the shaft that leaves the Parthian bow;

or to fall by one's own hand. Other choice most certainly there was none, if you would not, or durst not, trust to the clemency of the victor. Banishment, it must be owned, to a mind that had nothing to reproach itself with, would have been the most eligible of all these evils; especially, under the reflection of being driven from a commonwealth, which presents nothing to our view but what we must behold with pain. Nevertheless, I chose to remain with my own; if any thing now, indeed, can with propriety be called our *own*; a misfortune which, together with every other calamity that this fatal war has produced, I long since fore-

With these Massylia's nimble horsemen ride ;
They nor the bit, nor curbing rein provide,
But with light rods the well-taught courser guide.
From lonely cots the Lybian hunters came,
Who, still unarmed, invade the savage game,
And, with spread mantles, tawny lions tame. ROWE.

After the battle of Pharsalia, Scipio, who commanded the remains of Pompey's army that had assembled in Africa, applied to Juba for assistance, who accordingly joined him with a very considerable body of men. But their united forces were not sufficient to withstand the fortune of Cæsar; who, having defeated their combined troops, Juba was too high-spirited to survive the disgrace, and, at his own request, was stabbed by one of his attendants. *Lucan.* iv. 670. *Hirt. de Bell. Afric.* 94.

told. I returned, therefore, to Italy, not as to a situation perfectly desirable, but in order, if the republic should in any degree subsist, to enjoy somewhat that had, at least, the semblance of our country; and if it were utterly destroyed, to live as if I were, to all essential purposes, in a real state of exile. But though I saw no reason that could justly induce me to be my own executioner, I saw many to be desirous of death; for it is an old and true maxim, that "life is not worth preserving, when a man is no longer what he once was." A blameless conscience, however, is undoubtedly a great consolation; especially as I can add to it the double support that arises to my mind, from a knowledge of the noblest sciences, and from the glory of my former actions; one of which can never be torn from me so long as I live; and of the other, even death itself has not the power to deprive me.

I have troubled you with this minute detail, from a full persuasion of the tender regard you bear both to myself and to our country. I was desirous, indeed, to apprise you fully of the principles by which I have steered, that you might be sensible it was my first and principal aim, that no single arm should be more potent than the whole united commonwealth; and, afterwards, when there was one, who, by Pompey's mistaken conduct, had so firmly established his power, as to render all resist-

ance vain, that it was my next endeavour to preserve the public tranquillity. I was desirous you should know, that, after the loss of those troops, and that general * wherein all our hopes were centered, I attempted to procure a total cessation of arms; and, when this advice proved ineffectual, that I determined, at least, to lay down my own. In a word, I was desirous you should know, that if our liberties still remain, I also am still a citizen of the republic; if not, that I am no less an exile, nor more conveniently situated, than if I had banished myself to Rhodes or Mitylene. †

* Pompey.

† Rhodes, the metropolis of an island in the Mediterranean, and Mitylene, the principal city of Lesbos, an island in the Aegean sea, were places to which Marcellus and some others of the Pompeian party retired after the battle of Pharsalia. These cities were esteemed, by the ancients, for the delightful temperature of their respective climates, and for many other delicacies with which they abounded; and, accordingly, Horace, in his ode to Plancus, mentions them in the number of those which were most admired and celebrated by his countrymen:

Laudabunt alii claram Rhoden, aut Mitylenen, &c.

Both Vitruvius and Cicero, likewise, speak of Mitylene, in particular, with the highest encomiums on the elegance, beauty, and magnificence of its buildings. It should seem, therefore, that the text is corrupted in this place; and that, instead of "*non incommodiore loco.*" the true reading is "non

I should have been glad to have said this to you in person ; but, as I was not likely to meet with an opportunity for that purpose so soon as I wished, I thought proper to take this earlier method of furnishing you with an answer, if you should fall in the way of those who are disposed to arraign my conduct ; for, notwithstanding that my death could in no sort have availed the republic, yet I stand condemned, it seems, by some, for not sacrificing my life in its cause ; but they are those only, I am well assured, who have the cruelty to think, that there has not been blood enough spilt already. If my advice, however, had been followed, those who have perished in this war, might have preserved their lives with honour, though they had accepted of peace upon ever so unreasonable conditions ; for they would still have had the better cause, though their enemies had the stronger swords. And now,

commodiore." Cicero, indeed, would make use of a very odd sort of justification, if we suppose him to have said, that he had not chosen a more *inconvenient* place for his residence, than those who retired to Rhodes or Mitylene ; whereas, it was much to his purpose to assert, that the exiles in those cities were full as conveniently situated as himself. For the rest, it will appear in the progress of these letters, that Cicero was far from living at Rome as in a state of exile, during Cæsar's usurpation.—*Hor. Od. i. 7. Vitru. i. Cic. de Leg. Agr. ii. 16.*

perhaps, I have quite tired your patience ; I shall think so, at least, if you do not send me a longer letter in return. I will only add, that if I can dispatch some affairs which I am desirous of finishing, I hope to be with you very shortly. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 707.]

TO CNEIUS PLANCIUS.*

I AM indebted to you for two letters, dated from Corcyra. You congratulate me, in one of them, on

* Cneius Plancius was of an equestrian family. He was early initiated into public affairs by Aulus Torquatus, whom he attended when he was proconsul in Africa. He afterwards served under Quintus Metellus, in his expedition against Crete ; and, in the year of Cicero's banishment, was quæstor in Macedonia. This gave him an opportunity of distinguishing his friendship for our author, by the many good offices he exerted towards him as he passed through that province. Cicero very gratefully remembered them, as appears by his oration in defence of Plancius, when he was accused of illicit practices in obtaining the office of ædile. He seems, in the earlier part of his life, to have indulged himself in the prevailing vices of the fashionable world ; but, upon the whole of his character, to have been a man of strict honour and integrity. Cicero particularly celebrates him for his filial piety, and that general esteem

the account you have received, that I still preserve my former influence in the commonwealth, and wish me joy, in the other, of my late marriage.* With respect to the first, if to mean well to the interest of my country, and to approve that meaning to every friend of its liberties, may be considered as maintaining my influence, the account you have heard is certainly true; but, if it consists in rendering those sentiments effectual to the public welfare, or, at least, in daring freely to support and enforce them, alas! my friend, I have not the least shadow of influence remaining. The fact is, it will be sufficient honour, if I can have so much influence over myself, as to bear with patience our present and impending calamities; a frame of mind not to be acquired without difficulty, when it is considered that the present war† is such, that if one

in which he lived with all his relations. At the time when this letter was written, he was in Coreyra, a little island in the Ionian sea, now called Corfu. It is probable he retreated thither, with some others of the Pompeian party, after the total overthrow of their army in the plains of Pharsalia. *Orat. pro. Planc.* 7, 11, 12.

* See p. 108, note.

† Between Cæsar, and the remains of the Pompeian party under the command of Scipio, who had assembled a very considerable army in Africa. Cæsar set out upon this expedition towards the end of December, in the preceding

party is successful, it will be attended with an infinite effusion of blood ; and, if the other, with a total extinction of liberty. It affords me some consolation, however, under these dangers, to reflect, that I clearly foresaw them, when I declared how greatly I dreaded our victory, as well as our defeat ; I was perfectly aware of the hazard to which our liberties would be exposed, by referring our political contentions to the decision of the sword. I knew, indeed, if that party should prevail which I joined, not from a passion for war, but merely with the hopes of facilitating an accommodation, what cruelties were to be expected from their pride, their avarice, and their revenge. On the contrary, should they be vanquished, I was sensible what numbers of the best and most illustrious of our fellow-citizens would inevitably perish. And yet, when I forewarned these men of our danger, and justly advised them to avoid it, instead of receiving my admonitions as the effect of a prudential caution, they chose to treat it as the dictates of an unreasonable timidity.

But, to turn to your other letter, I am obliged to you for your good wishes in regard to my mar-

year, about three or four months after his return from the Alexandrine war.

riage, * as I am well persuaded that they are perfectly sincere. I should have had no thoughts, in these miserable times, of entering into any new engagement of this sort, if I had not, upon my return into Italy, found my domestic affairs in no better a situation than those of the republic. When I discovered that, through the wicked practices of those whom I had infinitely obliged, and to whom my welfare ought to have been infinitely dear, that there was no security for me within my own walls, and that I was surrounded with treachery on all sides, I thought it necessary to protect myself against the perfidiousness of my old connexions, by

* Cicero had very lately divorced his wife Terentia, on occasion of some great offence she had given him in her æconomical conduct. The person to whom he was now married, was called Publia, a young lady to whom he had been guardian, and of an age extremely disproportionate to his own. His principal inducement to this match, seems to have been her fortune; which, it is said, was very considerable. However, he did not long enjoy the benefit of it; for, finding himself uneasy, likewise, under this second marriage, he soon parted with his young wife, and, consequently, with her portion. This very unequal match exposed Cicero to much censure; and Calenus warmly reproaches him with it, in that bitter invective which he delivered, as Dio, at least, pretends, in reply to one of Cicero's against Mark Antony.—*Ad Att.* xiii. 34. *Dio.* lx. p. 303.

having recourse to a more faithful alliance.—But, enough of my private concerns; and, perhaps, too much. As to those which relate to yourself, I hope you have the opinion of them which you justly ought, and are free from all particular uneasiness on your own account; for, I am well persuaded, that whatever may be the event of public affairs, you will be perfectly secure; as one of the contending parties, I perceive, is already reconciled to you, and the other you have never offended. With respect to my own disposition towards you, though I well know the narrow extent of my power, and how little my services can now avail, yet, you may be assured of my most zealous endeavours, at least, upon every occasion wherein either your character or your interest is concerned. In the mean time, let me know, as soon as possible, how it fares with you, and what measures you purpose to pursue. Farewell.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TORANIUS.*

ALTHOUGH I imagine this miserable war is either already terminated, by some decisive engagement,† or, at least, is approaching to its conclusion, yet‡

* Suetonius mentions a person of this name, who was elected into the office of *Ædile* with Octavius, the father of Augustus, and who, afterwards, notwithstanding he had been guardian to Augustus himself, was in the number of those who perished by the sanguinary proscriptions of that emperor. One of the commentators upon that historian, supposes him to be the same person to whom this letter is addressed; and, indeed, the conjecture is extremely probable. However, all that can be affirmed with any certainty concerning Toranius is, that he took part in the civil war on the side of Pompey, and that, after the battle of Pharsalia, he retired to Coreyra, as he appears to have been in that island when this letter was written. *Suet. in vit. August. 27.* See the rem. of Mr Ross, on the *Epist. Famil. Vol. I. p. 498.*

† See p. 106, note.

‡ The first period of this letter in the original runs thus: *Etsi cum hæc ad te scriberem, aut appropinquare exitus hujus calamitosissimi belli, aut jam aliquid actum et confectum videbatur: tamen quotidie commemorabam, te unum in tanto exercitu mihi fuisse assentorem, et me tibi.* The *etsi* and the *ta-*

* * * * * I frequently reflect, that there was not a man throughout all the numerous army of Pompey, who agreed with you and me in our opinion. We were the only persons, indeed, who were sensible, if there should be no hope of an accommodation, how pregnant with mischief that war must prove, in which torrents of blood would be the consequence if we were vanquished, and slavery, if we proved victorious. † I was represented, at that time, by such wise and heroic spirits as your Domitii and your Lentuli, as a man altogether under the dominion of fear; and fear, I will confess, I did, that those calamities would happen which have since ensued. But I am now totally void of all farther apprehensions; and I stand prepared to meet with indifference, whatever it be that fortune may have in reserve. While prudence, indeed, could

men in this sentence, seem to be as absolutely incoherent as if Cicero had said, that “*although Æneas settled in Italy, yet Cæsar was a consummate general.*” It should seem, therefore, that there is some error in the text. Perhaps the proper connecting words that followed *tamen*, have been dropped by the transcribers; and that *Quotidie* was the beginning of a new sentence. The translator has ventured, at least, to proceed upon this conjecture; and the place of the supposed omission is marked by asterisks.

† This is explained by what he says of Pompey in *Let.* 19. of *Book ix.*

any thing avail, I lamented to see her dictates neglected ; but, now that counsel can profit nothing, and that the republic is utterly overturned, the only rational part that remains, is to bear with calmness whatever shall be the event, especially when it is considered, that death is the final period of all human concerns. In the mean time, I have the satisfaction to be conscious, that I consulted the dignity of the republic, whilst it was possible to be preserved ; and, when it could no longer be maintained, that my next endeavour was, to save the commonwealth from being utterly destroyed. I mention this, not to indulge a vanity in talking of myself, but that you, who were entirely united with me in the same sentiments and disposition, may be led into the same train of reflections ; for it must undoubtedly afford you great consolation to remember, that, whatever turn affairs might have taken, your counsels were perfectly right. May we yet live to see the republic, in some degree at least, again restored ! and, may we have the satisfaction of one day comparing together, the anxiety we mutually suffered, when we were looked upon as men that wanted spirit, merely because we declared that those consequences would happen, which have accordingly taken place ! Meanwhile, I will venture to assure you, that you have nothing to apprehend upon your own account, exclusive of the

general subversion of the commonwealth. As for myself, be persuaded, that I shall at all times, as far as lies in my power, be ready to exert my utmost services towards you and your family. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS TERENTIUS VARRO.*

ATTICUS lately read a letter to me that he had received from you, by which I was informed where

* Marcus Terentius Varro had been lieutenant to Pompey in the piratic war; in which he distinguished himself with so much advantage, as to be honoured with a naval crown, an honour usually conferred on those who had signalized their valour in a sea engagement. He was afterwards appointed, in conjunction with Afranius and Petreius, lieutenant to Pompey in Spain; and he was serving in that quality when the civil war broke out. He was at that time at the head of two legions in the Farther Spain; but, his colleagues having been defeated by Cæsar, he found himself in no condition to resist, and, accordingly, surrendered himself and his army into the hands of the conqueror. He seems from that time to have withdrawn from public affairs, and to have consecrated the remainder of his life (which he is said to have preserved, with all his senses entire, to the age of an hundred) wholly to philoso-

you are, and in what manner employed; but it mentioned no circumstance that could lead me to guess, when we might expect to see you. I hope, however, that the time of your coming hither is approaching, and that your company will afford me consolation under our general misfortunes; though, indeed, they are so numerous and so severe, that it is a folly to expect any thing will be sufficient for that purpose; nevertheless, there are some instances, perhaps, in which we may prove of mutual assistance to each other; for, since my return to Rome, you must know, I am reconciled to those old companions of mine, my books: not that I was estranged from them out of any disgust, but that I could not look upon them without some sort of shame. It seemed, indeed, that I had ill observed their precepts, when I joined with perfidious associates in taking part in our public commotions. They are willing, however, to pardon my error, and invite me to renew my former acquaintance

phical studies. His genius and talents, indeed, were principally of the literary kind; in which he was universally acknowledged to hold the first rank among his contemporaries. He published many treatises in all the various branches of human science; one or two of the least considerable of which, and those not entire, are the whole that now remain of his numberless compositions.—*Cas. Bel. Civil.* 17, &c. *Val. Max.* viii. 7. *Cic. Academ.* i. 3.

with them ; applauding, at the same time, your superior wisdom, in never having forsaken their society. * Thus restored, therefore, as I am to their good graces, may I not hope, if I can unite your company with theirs, to support myself under the pressure of our present and impending calamities ? Wherever, then, you shall choose I should join you, be it at Tusculum, at Cumæ, † or at Rome, I shall most readily obey your summons. The place I last named would, indeed, be the least acceptable to me. But it is of no great consequence where we meet ; for, if we can but be together, I will undertake to render the place of meeting equally agreeable to both of us. Farewell.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TORIANUS.

As I wrote to you three days ago by some domestics of Plancius, I shall be so much the shorter

* Varro's books were his companions, it seems, in the camp as well as in the closet ; and he was never wholly separated from them, it appears, even amidst the most active engagements of public life.

† Varro had a villa near each of these places.

at present; and, as my former * was a letter of consolation, this shall be one of advice.

I think nothing can be more for your advantage, than to remain in your present situation till you shall be able to learn in what manner you are to act; for, not to mention that you will by this mean avoid the danger of a long winter-voyage, in a sea that affords but few harbours, there is this very material consideration, that you may soon cross over into Italy, whenever you shall receive any certain intelligence: Nor do I see any reason for your being desirous of presenting yourself to Cæsar's friends in their return. In short, I have many other objections to your scheme; for the particulars of which, I refer you to our friend Chilo. You cannot, indeed, in these unfortunate times, be more conveniently placed, than where you now are; as you may, with great facility and expedition, transport yourself from thence, to whatever other part of the world you shall find it necessary to remove. If Cæsar should return at the time he is expected, † you may be in Italy soon enough to wait upon him; but, should any thing happen, (as many things possibly may,) to prevent or retard his march, you

* Probably the third letter of this Book.

† From Africa. See p. 106, note.

are in a place where you may receive an early information of all that occurs. To repeat it, therefore, once more, I am altogether of opinion, that you should continue in your present quarters. I will only add, (what I have often exhorted you in my former letters to be well persuaded of,) that you have nothing to fear beyond the general danger to which every citizen of Rome is equally exposed. And though this, it must be owned, is sufficiently great; yet, we can both of us look back with so much satisfaction upon our past conduct, and are arrived at such a period of life, * that we ought to bear with particular fortitude whatever unmerited fate may attend us.

Your family here are all well, and extremely regret your absence; as they love and honour you with the highest tenderness and esteem.—Take care of your health; and by no means remove without duly weighing the consequences. Farewell.

* Cicero was at this time about 62 years of age.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO DOMITIUS.*

IF you have not heard from me since your arrival in Italy, it is not that I was discouraged from writing on my part, by the profound silence you have observed on yours. The single reason was, that I could find nothing to say; for, on the one

* The person to whom this letter is addressed, is supposed to have been the son of Domitius Ænobarbus, who commanded the garrison of Corfinium at the breaking out of the civil war. [See p. 6, note.] The father was killed in his flight from the battle of Pharsalia: [*Cæs. Bel. Civ.* iii. 99.] after which his son, as it should seem by this letter, returned into Italy. He is mentioned in the list of those who were concerned in assassinating Cæsar. “But he managed his affairs (as *Mr Ross* observes) with so much address, that, after the death of Brutus and Cassius, he first made his peace with Antony, and then, upon the decline of his power, took an occasion to leave him, and join himself with Augustus. And, though he did not live long enough to enjoy the benefit of that union, yet, he left a son, who recovered the ancient splendour of the family, and laid a foundation for the empire, which took place in the person of his grandson Nero.”—*Suet. in Nero, &c. Patern. ii. 72.*

hand, I was in every respect too much distressed, as well as too much at a loss how to act myself, to offer you either assistance or advice; and, on the other, I knew not what consolation to suggest to you, under these our severe and general misfortunes. However, notwithstanding public affairs are so far from being in a better situation at present, that they are growing every day more and more desperate, yet I could not satisfy myself with being silent any longer, and rather chose to send you an empty letter, than not to send you any.

If you were in the number of those who tenaciously persevere in the defence of the republic, beyond all possibility of success, I should employ every argument in my power to reconcile you to those conditions, though not the most eligible indeed, which are offered to our acceptance. But as you judiciously terminated the noble struggle you made in support of our liberties, by those limits which fortune herself marked out to our opposition, let me conjure you, by our long and mutual amity, to preserve yourself* for the sake of your friends, your mother, your wife, and your children; for the sake of those, in short, to whom you have ever been infinitely dear, and whose welfare and

* It looks by this passage, as if Domitius had been suspected at this time of an intention to destroy himself.

interest depends entirely upon yours. Let me entreat you to call to your aid, in this gloomy season, those glorious precepts of philosophy, in which you have been conversant from your earliest youth; and to support the loss of those with whom you were united by the most tender ties of affection and gratitude,* if not with a mind perfectly serene, at least with a rational and manly fortitude.

How far my present power may reach, I know not; or rather, indeed, I am sensible that it cannot extend far. This, however, I will assure you, (and it is a promise which I have likewise made to that excellent woman your affectionate mother,) that, in whatever instance I imagine my services can avail either to your honour or your welfare, I shall exert them with the same zeal which you have always shewn in regard to myself. If there is any thing, therefore, in which you shall be desirous to employ them, I beg you would let me know, and I will most punctually perform your commands. Indeed, without any such express request, you may depend upon my best offices on every occasion, wherein I shall be capable of promoting your interest. Farewell.

* The father and friends of Domitius, who had perished in the civil war.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO CNEIUS PLANCIUS.*

I HAVE received your very short letter, which informs me of what I never once questioned, but leaves me entirely ignorant in a point I was extremely desirous of knowing. I had not the least doubt, indeed, of the share I enjoy in your friendship; but wanted much to hear with what resolution you submit to our common calamities; a circumstance, of which if I had been apprized, I should have adapted my letter accordingly. However, though I mentioned in my last what I thought necessary to say upon that subject, yet it may be proper, at this juncture, just to caution you again, not to imagine that you have any thing particular to fear. It is true, we are every one of us in great danger; but the danger, however, is general and equal. † You ought not, therefore, to complain of your own fortune, or think it hard to take your part in calamities that extend to all. Let us then, my friend, preserve the same mutual disposition of

* See p. 105, note.

† See the second letter of this Book.

mind which has ever subsisted between us. I am sure I shall, on my part, and I have reason to hope that you will do so likewise on yours. Farewell.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LUCIUS PLANCUS.*

You are sensible, I dare say, that, amongst all those friends whom you claim as a sort of paternal inheritance, there is not one so closely attached to you as myself. I do not mean in consideration only of those more conspicuous connexions of a public kind in which I was engaged with your fa-

* He was brother to Plancus Bursa, the great enemy of Cicero, and of whom an account has been given in Vol. I. p. 278, note. Plancus does not seem to have figured in the commonwealth; at least, history does not take much notice of him, till after the death of Cæsar, at which time he was at the head of a considerable army in the farther Gaul, as governor of that province. But as there are several letters in this collection which passed between him and Cicero at that period, the particulars of his character will be best remarked in the observations that will arise upon his conduct in that important crisis. In the mean time, it may be sufficient to observe, that when this letter was written, he was probably an officer under Cæsar in the African war. See Let. 20. of Book xii.

ther; but in regard, likewise, to that less observable intercourse of private friendship, which I had the happiness, you well know, of enjoying with him in the highest degree. As this was the source from whence my affection for the son originally took its rise, so that affection, in its turn, improved and strengthened my union with the father, especially when I observed you distinguishing me with peculiar marks of respect and esteem, as early as you were capable of forming any judgment of mankind. To this I must add, (what is of itself, indeed, a very powerful cement,) the similitude of our tastes and studies; and of those particular studies too, which are of a nature most apt to create an intimacy between men of the same general cast of temper.* And now, are you not impatient to learn the purpose of this long introduction? Be assured, then, it is not without just and strong reason, that I have thus enumerated the several motives which concur in forming our amity; as it is in order to plead before you with more advantage the cause of my very intimate friend Ateius Capito. † I need not point out to you the variety of fortune

* The studies to which Cicero here alludes, are, probably, those of the philosophical kind.

† Pighius supposes, that this is the same Ateius Capito, who devoted Crassus to destruction when he set out upon his Parthian expedition; of which the reader has already

with which my life has been chequered; but, in all the honours and disgraces I have experienced, Capito has ever most zealously assisted me with his power, his interest, and even with his purse. Titus Antistius, who was his near relation, happened to be quæstor in Macedonia (no person having been appointed to succeed him) when Pompey marched his army into that province.* Had it been possible for Antistius to have retired, it would have been his first and most earnest endeavour to have returned to Capito, whom he loved with all the tenderness of a filial affection; and, indeed, he was so much the more desirous of joining him, as he knew the high esteem which Capito had ever entertained for Cæsar. But finding himself thus unexpectedly in the hands of Pompey, it was not in his power wholly to decline the functions of his office; however, he acted no farther than he was absolutely constrained. I cannot deny, that he was concerned in coining the silver at Apollonia.† But he was by no means a principal in that affair; and

met with an account in Vol. I. p. 156, note.—*Pigh. Annal.* iii. 389.

* When Pompey retreated before Cæsar, and abandoned Italy.

† For the payment of Pompey's army. Apollonia was a city in Thrace, a part of Greece annexed to the province of Macedonia.

two or three months were the utmost that he engaged in it. From that time he withdrew from Pompey's camp, and totally avoided all public employment. I hope you will credit this assertion, when I assure you, that I know it to be fact; for, indeed, Antistius saw how much I was dissatisfied with the war, and consulted with me upon all his measures. Accordingly, that he might have no part in it, he withdrew, as far as possible, from Pompey's camp, and concealed himself in the interior parts of Macedonia. After the battle of Pharsalia, he retired to his friend Aulus Plautius,* in Bithynia. It was here that he had an interview with Cæsar, † who received him without the least mark of displeasure, and ordered him to return to Rome. But he soon afterwards contracted an illness, which he carried with him into Coreyra, where it put an end to his life. By his will, which was made at Rome in the consulate of Paulus and Marcellus, he has left ten-twelfths of his estate to Capito. The remaining two parts, amounting to 300,000 sesterces, ‡ he has devised to those for whose interest no mortal can be concerned; and, therefore, I am not

* At that time governor of Bithynia, an Asiatic province, situated on the Euxine sea.

† Probably in his return from the Alexandrine war.

‡ About 2400l. of our money.

in the least solicitous whether Cæsar shall think proper, or not, to seize it as forfeited to the public. But I most earnestly conjure you, my dear Plancus, to consider the cause of Capito as my own, and to employ your influence with Cæsar, that my friend may be permitted to inherit this legacy, agreeably to the will of his relation. I entreat you by all the various ties of our friendship, as well as by those, likewise, which subsisted between your father and myself, to exert your most zealous and active offices for this purpose. Be assured, if you were to grant me all that lies within the compass of your extensive credit and power, you could not more effectually oblige me than by complying with my present request. I hope it may be a means of facilitating your success upon this occasion, that Capito, as Cæsar himself can witness, has ever held him in the highest esteem and affection. But Cæsar, I know, never forgets any thing; I forbear, therefore, to furnish you with particular instances of Capito's attachment to him, and only desire you to make a proper use of those which are fresh in Cæsar's memory. It may not, however, be unnecessary to point out one proof of this sort, which I myself experienced; and I will leave it to your own judgment to determine how far the mentioning of it may avail. I need not tell you by what party my interest had been supported, nor whose

cause I espoused in our public divisions. But believe me, whatever measures I pursued in this war, which were unacceptable to Cæsar, (and I have the satisfaction to find that he is sensible of it himself,) were most contrary to my own inclinations, and merely in compliance with the persuasions and authority of others. But if I conducted myself with more moderation than any of those who were joined with me in the same cause, it is principally owing to the advice and admonitions of Capito. To say truth, if the rest of my friends had been influenced by the same spirit with which he was actuated, I might have taken a part that would have proved of some advantage, perhaps, to my country; I am sure, at least, of much to myself.*

* The part which Cicero here accuses his friends, (and surely with some want of generosity,) that they would not suffer him to act, seems to have been that of standing neuter in the war between Pompey and Cæsar. And it must be owned, that this conduct would have been far less exceptionable, if, instead of faintly joining with one side, he had determined to engage with neither. This too, as the event proved, might have been most prudential in point of interest; for a neutrality was all that Cæsar desired of him. But that it could in any sort have advantaged his country, appears to be a notion altogether improbable, and advanced only to give a colour to his not having entered with more spirit into the cause of the republic. Cicero often intimates, indeed, that by preserving a neutrality, he might have been more likely to have facilitated an accom-

In one word, my dear Plancus, your gratifying my present request will confirm me in the hope that I possess a place in your affection; and, at the same time, extremely contribute to your own advantage, in adding, by a very important obligation, the most grateful and worthy Capito to the number of your friends. Farewell.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO ALLIENUS, PROCONSUL.*

DEMOCRITUS of Sicily is not only my host, † but (what I can say of few of his countrymen be-

modation between Pompey and Cæsar. But it is utterly incredible, from the temper and character of these contending chiefs, that either of them entertained the least disposition for this purpose; as it is certain, from Cicero's own confession in his letters to Atticus, that he was well persuaded Pompey would never listen to any pacific overtures. *Vid. Ad Att. vii. 8. viii. 15.*

* He was at this time proconsul, or governor of Sicily, and distinguished himself by his care and diligence in transporting the troops which Cæsar received from thence, in order to carry on the present war in Africa. There is a silver coin still extant, on which is inscribed, A. ALLIENVS. PRO. COS. and on the reverse, C. CÆSAR. IMP. COS. ITER. *Pigh. Annal. iii. 453.*

† See p. 5, note.

side) he is likewise my very intimate friend : he is a person, indeed, of the highest probity and merit, and distinguished for his most generous and polite hospitality towards those who come under his roof; in which number I have received particular marks of his affection and esteem : in one word, you will find him a man of the first and most valuable character amongst his fellow-citizens, I had almost said in all Achaia. I only mean, therefore, by this letter, to introduce him to your acquaintance; for I know your sentiments and disposition so well, that I am persuaded nothing more is necessary to make you think him worthy of being received both as your guest and friend. Let me entreat you, in the mean time, to favour him with your patronage, and to assure him that, for my sake, he may depend upon all the assistance in your power. If, after this, you should discover (as I trust you will) that his virtues render him deserving of a nearer intercourse, you cannot more sensibly oblige me than by admitting him into your family and friendship. Farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LUCIUS MESCINIUS.*

YOUR letter afforded me great pleasure, as it gave me an assurance, (though indeed I wanted none,) that you earnestly wish for my company. Believe me, I am equally desirous of yours: and, in truth, when there was a much greater abundance of patriot citizens, and agreeable companions, who were in the number of my friends, there was no man with whom I rather chose to associate, and few whose company I liked so well. But now that death, absence, or change of disposition, has so greatly contracted this social circle, I should prefer a single day with you, to a whole life with the generality of those with whom I am, at present, obliged to live. † Solitude itself, indeed, (if solitude, alas! I were at liberty to enjoy,) would be far more eligible than the conversation of those who frequent my house; one or two of them, at

* See Vol. II. p. 288, note.

† The chiefs of the Cæsarean party; with whom Cicero now found it convenient to cultivate a friendship, in order to ingratiate himself with Cæsar.

most, excepted. I seek my relief, therefore, (where I would advise you to look for yours,) in amusements of a literary kind, and in the consciousness of having always intended well to my country. I have the satisfaction to reflect, (as I dare say you will readily believe,) that I never sacrificed the public good to my own private views; that if a certain person (whom, for my sake, I am sure, you never loved,) had not looked upon me with a jealous eye,* both himself and every friend to liberty had been happy; that I always endeavoured that it should not be in the power of any man to disturb the public tranquillity; and, in a word, that when I perceived those arms, which I had ever dreaded, would prove an over-match for that pa-

* Pompey; who being jealous of the popularity which Cicero had acquired during his consulship, struck in with the designs of Cæsar, and others, who had formed a party against our author. It was by these means that Pompey laid the principal foundation of Cæsar's power, which, without the assistance of the former, could never have prevailed to the destruction both of himself and of the republic. [See Vol. I. p. 4. note.] The censure which Cicero here casts upon Pompey's conduct towards him, is undoubtedly just; but it is a proof, at the same time, how unworthily he flattered that great man in the plenitude of his power, when he professed to have received obligations from him, that gave him the most unquestionable right to his highest gratitude. See Vol. II. p. 203. note.

triot-coalition I had myself formed* in the republic, I thought it better to accept of a safe peace, upon any terms, than impotently to contend with a superior force. But I hope shortly to talk over these, and many other points, with you, in person: nothing, indeed, detains me in Rome, but to wait the event of the war in Africa, which, I imagine, must now be soon decided: and though it seems of little importance on which side the victory shall turn, yet I think it may be of some advantage to be near my friends when the news shall arrive, in order to consult with them on the measures it may be advisable for me to pursue. † Affairs are now

* Cicero probably alludes to the coalition he formed during his consulship, of the equestrian order with that of the senate; which, indeed, was one of the most shining parts of his administration. “This order, (as Dr Middleton observes,) consisted, next to the senators, of the richest and most splendid families in Rome; who, from the ease and affluence of their fortunes, were naturally well affected to the prosperity of the republic; and being also the constant farmers of all the revenues of the empire, had a great part of the inferior people dependent upon them. Cicero imagined that the united weight of these two orders would always be an overbalance to any other power in the state, and a secure barrier against any attempts of the popular and ambitious upon the common liberty.” *Life of Cic.* i. 159. 8vo edit.

† Cicero would have had great occasion for the advice

reduced to such an unhappy situation, that though there is a considerable difference, it is true, between the cause of the contending parties, I believe there will be very little as to the consequence of their success. However, though my spirits were too much dejected, perhaps, whilst our affairs remained in suspense, I find myself much more composed now that they are utterly desperate. Your last letter has contributed to confirm me in this disposition, as it is an instance of the magnanimity with which you support your unjust disgrace.* It is with particular satisfaction I observe, that you owe this heroic calmness, not only to philosophy, but to temper: for I will confess, that I imagined your mind was softened with that too delicate sensibility which we, who passed our lives in the ease and freedom of Rome, were apt in general to contract: but as we bore our prosperous days with moderation, it becomes us to bear our adverse fortune, or more properly, indeed, our irretrievable ruin, with fortitude. This advantage we may at least derive

of his friends, if the remains of Pompey's army had defeated Cæsar's in Africa. For he had reason to expect, and would probably have experienced, the severest effects of their resentment, if they had returned victorious into Italy. *Vid. Epist. Famil. ix. 6.*

* Mescinius, it is probable, was banished by Cæsar, as a partisan of Pompey, to a certain distance from Rome,

from our extreme calamities; that they will teach us to look upon death with contempt; which, even if we were happy, we ought to despise, as a state of total insensibility,* but which, under our pre-

* Cicero expresses himself to the same purpose in two or three other of these letters. Thus, in one to Torquatus, *Si non ero, sensu omnino carebo*: and in another to Toranius, *Una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit ferre moderate; præsertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum*. From whence it has been inferred, that Cicero, in his private opinion, rejected the doctrine of the soul's immortality. In answer to which it may be observed, in the first place, that these passages, without any violence of construction, may be interpreted as affirming nothing more, than that death is an utter extinction of all sensibility with respect to human concerns; as it was a doubt with some of the ancients, whether departed spirits did not still retain a knowledge of what passed in this world. In the next place, admitting these several passages to be so many clear and positive assertions, that the soul perishes with the body, yet it would by no means follow, that this was Cicero's real belief. It is usual with him to vary his sentiments in these letters, in accommodation to the principles or circumstances of his correspondents. Thus, in a letter to Dolabella, he does not scruple to say, *sum avidior quam satis est gloriæ*: but in writing to Cato, he represents himself of a disposition entirely the reverse; *ipsam quidem gloriam per se nunquam putavi expectandam*. In a letter to Torquatus, when he is endeavouring to reconcile him to his banishment from Rome, he lays it down as a maxim, that *in malis omnibus acerbius est videre quam audire*: but, in another letter to Marcellus, written

sent afflictions, should be the object of our constant wishes. Let not any fears then, I conjure you, by your affection for me, disturb the peace of your retirement; and be well persuaded, nothing can befall a man that deserves to raise his dread and horror, but (what I am sure ever was, and ever will be, far from you,) the reproaches of a guilty heart.

I purpose to pay you a visit very soon, if nothing should happen to make it necessary for me to change my resolution; and if there should, I will

in order to persuade him to *return* to Rome, he reasons upon a principle directly opposite, and tells him, *non est tuum uno sensu oculorum moveri: cum idem illud auribus percipias, quod etiam majus videri solet, &c.* Other instances of the same variation from himself might be produced; but these, together with those that have already been occasionally pointed out in the course of these notes, are sufficient, perhaps, to evince, that Cicero's real sentiments and opinions cannot be proved by any particular passages in these letters. In those to Atticus, indeed, he was generally, though not always, more sincere; and Mr Ross has cited a passage from one of them, in which Cicero very expressly mentions his expectations of a future state; *tempus est nos de illa perpetua jam, says he, non de hac exigua vita cogitare.* But Cicero's speculative notions are best determined by looking into his philosophical writings; and these abound with various and full proofs, that he was strongly persuaded of the soul's immortality. *Epist. Famil. ix. 14. xv. 4. vi. 4. iv. 9. Ad Att. x. 8.* See also *Life of Cic. iii. 341.* Svo edit.

immediately let you know. But I hope you will not, whilst you are in so weak a condition, be tempted, by your impatience of seeing me, to remove from your present situation; at least not without previously consulting me. In the mean time continue to love me, and take care both of your health and your repose. Farewell.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO ALLIENUS, PROCONSUL.

As you are no stranger, I imagine, to the esteem I entertained for Avianus Flaccus, so I have often heard him acknowledge the generous manner in which you formerly treated him; as, indeed, no man ever possessed a more grateful or better heart. His two sons, Caius and Marcus, inherit all the virtues of their father, and I most warmly recommend them to your protection, as young men for whom I have a very singular affection. Caius is now in Sicily, and Marcus is at present with me. I entreat you to shew every mark of honour to the former, and to take the affairs of both under your patronage, assuring yourself that you cannot render me, in your government, a more acceptable service. Farewell.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VARRO.

THOUGH I have nothing to write, yet I could not suffer Caninius to pay you a visit without taking the opportunity of conveying a letter by his hands. And now I know not what else to say, but that I propose to be with you very soon; an information, however, which I am persuaded you will be glad to receive. But will it be altogether decent to appear in so gay a scene,* at a time when Rome is

* Varro seems to have requested Cicero to give him a meeting at Baiæ, a place much frequented by the Romans, on account of its hot baths: as the agreeableness of its situation, on the bay of Naples, rendered it at the same time the general resort of the pleasurable world. The tender Propertius has addressed some pretty lines to his Cynthia at this place, which sufficiently intimate in what manner the Roman ladies were amused in that dangerous scene of gallantry and dissipation:

*Tu modo quam primum corruptas desere Baias,
Multis ista dabunt littora dissidium:
Littora quæ fuerant castis inimica puellis, &c.*

Fly, fly, my love, soft Baiæ's tainted coast,
Where many a pair connubial peace have lost:

in such a general flame? and shall we not furnish an occasion of censure to those, who do not know that we observe the same sober philosophical life, in all seasons, and in every place? Yet, after all, what imports it? since the world will talk of us in spite of our utmost caution. And, indeed, whilst our censurers are immersed in every kind of flagitious debauchery, it is much worth our concern, truly, what they say of our innocent relaxations. In just contempt, therefore, of these illiterate barbarians, it is my resolution to join you very speedily. I know not how it is, indeed, but it should seem that our favourite studies are attended with much greater advantages in these wretched times than formerly; whether it be that they are now our only resource, or that we were less sensible of their salutary effects, when we were in too happy a state to have occasion to experience them. But this is sending owls to Athens,* as we say, and suggesting reflections which your own mind will far better supply: all that I mean by them, however, is, to

Where many a maid shall guilty joys deplore:
Ah fly, my fair, detested Baiæ's shore!

* A proverbial expression, of the same import with that of "sending coals to Newcastle." It alludes to the Athenian coin, which was stamped (as Manutius observes) with the figure of an owl.

draw a letter from you in return, at the same time that I give you notice to expect me soon. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

OUR friend Caninius paid me a visit, some time ago, very late in the evening, and informed me that he purposed to set out for your house the next morning. I told him I would give him two or three lines to deliver to you, and desired he would call for them in the morning. Accordingly I wrote to you that night; * but as he did not return, I imagined he had forgotten his promise, and should, therefore, have sent that letter by one of my own domestics, if Caninius had not assured me of your intention to leave Tusculum the next morning. However, after a few days had intervened, and I had given over all expectations of Caninius, he made me a second visit, and acquainted me that he was instantly setting out to you. But, notwithstanding the letter I had written was then become altogether out of date, especially after the arrival of such im-

* Probably the preceding letter.

portant news,* yet, as I was unwilling that any of my profound lucubrations should be lost, I delivered it into the hands of that very learned and affectionate friend of yours; who, I suppose, has acquainted you with the conversation which passed between us at the same time.

I think it most prudent for both of us to avoid the view, at least, if we cannot so easily escape the remarks, of the world: for those who are elevated with this victory, look down upon us with an air of triumph; and those who regret it, are displeased that we did not sacrifice our lives in the cause. But you will ask, perhaps, (as it is in Rome that we are particularly exposed to these mortifications,) why I have not followed your example in retiring from the city? But tell me, my friend, superior as your judgment confessedly is, did you never find yourself mistaken? Or who is there, in times of such total darkness and confusion, that can always be sure of directing his steps aright? I have long thought, indeed, that it would be happy for me to retire where I might neither see nor hear what passes in Rome: but my groundless suspicions discouraged me from executing this scheme; as I was apprehensive that those who might accidentally meet me on my way, would put such constructions

* Concerning Caesar's defeat of Scipio in Africa.

upon my retreat, as best suited with their own purposes. Some, I imagined, would suspect, or at least pretend to suspect, that I was either driven from Rome by my fears, or withdrew in order to form some revolution abroad; and perhaps, too, would report, that I had actually provided a ship for that purpose: others, I feared, who knew me best, and might be disposed to think most favourably of my actions, would be apt to impute my recess to an abhorrence of a certain party.* It is these apprehensions that have hitherto, contrary to my inclinations indeed, detained me in Rome; but custom, however, has familiarized the unpleasing scene, and gradually hardened me into a less exquisite sensibility.

Thus I have laid before you the motives which induce me to continue here. As to what relates to your own conduct, I would advise you to remain in your present retirement, till the warmth of our public exultation shall be somewhat abated, and it shall certainly be known in what manner affairs abroad are terminated; for terminated, I am well persuaded, they are. † Much will depend on the general

* The *Cæsareans*.

† When this letter was written, there seems to have been only some general accounts arrived of *Cæsar's* success in Africa; but the particulars of the battle were not yet known.

result of this battle, and the temper in which Cæsar may return. And though I see, already, what is abundantly sufficient to determine my sentiments as to that point, yet I think it most advisable to wait the event. In the mean time, I should be glad you would postpone your journey to Baiæ, till the first transports of this clamorous joy are subsided; as it will have a better appearance to meet you at those waters, when I may seem to go thither rather to join with you in lamenting the public misfortunes, than to participate in the pleasures of the place. But this I submit to your more enlightened judgment; only let us agree to pass our lives together in those studies, which were once, indeed, nothing more than our amusement, but must now, alas! prove our principal support. Let us be ready, at the same time, whenever we shall be called upon, to contribute not only our councils, but our labours, in repairing the ruins of the republic: but if none shall require our services for this purpose, let us employ our time and our thoughts upon moral and political inquiries. If we cannot benefit the commonwealth in the forum and the senate, let us endeavour, at least, to do so by our studies and our writings; and after the example of the most learned among the ancients, contribute to the welfare of our country, by useful disquisitions concerning laws and government.

And now, having thus acquainted you with my sentiments and purposes, I shall be extremely obliged to you for letting me know your's in return. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

You must know, my friend, that I am one of those philosophers who hold the doctrine of Diodorus, concerning contingencies.* Accordingly I maintain, that if you should make us a visit here, you are under an absolute necessity of so doing; but if you should not, that it is because your coming hither is in the number of those things which cannot possibly happen.—Now tell me which of the two opinions you are most inclined to adopt; whe-

* Diodorus was a Greek philosopher, who lived in the court of Ptolomæus Soter, and flourished about 280 years before the Christian æra. He is said to have died with grief, for not being able immediately to solve a philosophical question, which that prince put to him in conversation. He maintained that nothing could be contingent; but that whatever was possible must necessarily happen. Cicero ludicrously applies this absurd doctrine to the intended visit of his friend. *Cic. de fato. 7.*

ther this of the philosopher I just now mentioned, whose sentiments, you know, were so little agreeable to our honest friend Diodotus,* or the opposite one of Chrysippus? † But we will reserve these curious speculations till we shall be more at leisure; and this, I will agree with Chrysippus, is a possibility which either may or may not happen.

I am obliged to you for your good offices in my

* Diodotus was a stoic philosopher, under whom Cicero had been educated, and whom he afterwards entertained for many years in his house. He died about thirteen years before the date of this letter, and left his friend and pupil a considerable legacy. *Cic. Academ. ii. Ad Att. ii. 20.*

† Chrysippus was successor to Zeno, the celebrated founder of the Stoic School. It appears, by a list of some of his writings, which Laertius has given, that he published a treatise on Fate; and probably it was in this book that he opposed the ridiculous notions of Diodotus. Seneca represents him as a penetrating genius, but one whose speculations were somewhat too subtle and refined. He adds, that his diction was so extremely close, that he never employed a superfluous word; a character he could scarce deserve, if what is reported of him be true, that he published no less than 311 treatises upon logic, and above 400 upon other subjects.—One cannot hear, indeed, of such an immoderate flux of pen, without being in some danger of suffering the same fate that attended this inexhaustible genius, who is said to have died in a fit of excessive laughter. *Laertius in vit. Senec. de benefic. i. 3. Stanley's Hist. of Philos. 487.*

affair with Cocceius,* which I likewise recommend to Atticus. If you will not make me a visit, I will pay you one; and, as your library is situated in your garden, I shall want nothing to complete my two favourite amusements—reading and walking. Farewell.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO APULEIUS, PROQUÆSTOR. †

LUCIUS EGNATIUS, a Roman knight, is a very particular friend of mine, whose affairs in Asia, together with his slave Anchialus, who superintends them, I recommend to you with as much zeal as if they were my own: for be assured we are united to each other, not only by a daily intercourse of the highest friendship, but by many good offices

* In the text he is called *Costius*, but, perhaps, (as one of the commentators imagines,) it should be *Cocceius*: for Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, supposed to have been written about the same time with the present, requests his assistance in procuring the payment of a sum of money, owing to him from Cocceius; which is not unlikely to be the same affair he alludes to in this passage. *Ad Att.* xii. 13.

† It is wholly uncertain both who this person was, and when he exercised the office of proquæstor.

that have been mutually exchanged between us. As he has not the least doubt of your disposition to oblige me, let me earnestly entreat you to convince him, by your services in his favour, that I warmly requested them. Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VARRO.

THE 7th seems to be a very proper time, not only in consideration of public affairs, but in regard also to the season of the year: I approve, therefore, of the day you have named, and will join you accordingly.

I should be far from thinking we had reason to reproach ourselves for the part we have lately acted, even were it true that those who pursued a different conduct had not repented of their measures. It was the suggestions of duty, not of interest, that we followed, when we entered into the war; and it was a cause utterly desperate, not the duty we owed our country, that we deserted, when we laid down our arms. Thus we acted, on the one hand, with greater honour than those who would not leave Italy, in order to follow the war abroad; and, on the other hand, with more prudence than those

who, after having suffered a total defeat,* would not be prevailed upon to return home. But there is nothing that I can bear with less patience than the affected severity of our inglorious neuters: and, indeed, whatever might be the final event of affairs, I should be much more inclined to venerate the memory of those mistaken men who obstinately perished in battle, than to be in the least concerned at the reproaches of those who only lament that we are still alive.

If I should have time, I purpose to call upon you at Tusculum before the 7th; if not, I will follow you to Cumæ, agreeably to your appointment. But I shall not fail to give you previous notice, that your bath may be prepared. Farewell.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

YOUR letters to Seius and myself, were delivered to us whilst we were at supper together, in his house. I agree with you in thinking, that this is a very proper time for your intended expedition, which, to own my artifice, I have hitherto endea-

* At the battle of Pharsalia.

voured to retard by a thousand pretences. I was desirous, indeed, of keeping you near me, in case any favourable news should have arrived;* for, as Homer sings,

The wise new wisdom from the wise acquire. †

But now that the whole affair is decided, beyond all doubt you should set forward with the utmost speed.

When I heard of the fate that has attended Lucius Cæsar, ‡ I could not forbear saying to myself, with the old man in the play, “What *tenderness* “then may not I expect!” § For this reason I am

* Concerning the success of the Pompeian party against Cæsar, in Africa; an event, if it had taken place, that would extremely have embarrassed Cicero: for which reason he was desirous of keeping Varro within his reach, that he might immediately have consulted with him in what manner to act. See p. 50. note.

† Iliad X. 224. Pope's transl.

‡ He was a distant relation of Julius Cæsar, whom, however, he had constantly opposed throughout the civil war.—Lucius, being taken prisoner at the late battle of Thapsus, where Cæsar gained a complete victory over the combined troops of Scipio and Juba, obtained the conqueror's pardon; but Cæsar afterwards changed his mind, and gave private orders to have him assassinated. *Dio.* xliii. 219.

§ This alludes to a passage in the *Andria* of Terence.

a constant guest at the tables of our present potentates: and what can I do better, you know, than prudently swim with the current of the times? But, to be serious, (for serious, in truth, we have reason to be,)

See vengeance stalk o'er Afric's trembling plain,
And one wide waste of horrid ruin reign! *

A circumstance that fills me ~~with~~ very uneasy apprehensions.

I am unable to answer your question, when Cæsar will arrive, or where he proposes to land. Some,

where Simo, the father of Pamphilus, giving an account of his son's tender behaviour at the funeral of Chrysis, could not forbear reflecting, he says, *Quid mihi hic faciet patri!* But Cicero applies it in a different sense, and means that, if Cæsar acted towards his own relations with so much cruelty, he had little reason to expect a milder treatment.

* These lines are quoted from Ennius, a poet, of whom some account has been given in the foregoing notes. The troops of Cæsar pursued their victory over those of Scipio with great cruelty; *acrior Cesarianorum impetus fuit*, says Florus, *indignantium post Pompeium crevisse bellum*. Numbers, indeed, of Scipio's army must necessarily have been massacred in cold blood, for the historians agree that Cæsar's loss amounted only to 50 men, whereas 10,000 were killed on the side of Scipio, according to the account which Hirtius gives of this action; and five times that number, if we may credit Plutarch. *Flor. iv. 2. Hirt. Bel. Afric. 86. Plut. in vit. Cæsar.*

I find, doubt whether it will be at Baiæ; and they now talk of his coming home by the way of Sardinia. It is certain, at least, that he has not yet visited this part of his *demesnes*; and though he has not a worse *farm** upon all his *estate*, he is far, however, from holding it in contempt. For my own part, I am more inclined to imagine he will take Sicily in his return; but these doubts will soon be cleared up, as Dolabella† is every moment expected: I believe, therefore, I must take my instructions from my disciple;‡ as many a pupil,

* The island of Sardinia was, in the time of the Romans, (what it still is,) extremely barren and unwholesome. Martial has a pretty allusion to this latter circumstance, in one of his epigrams:

*Nulla fata loco possis excludere: cum mors
Venerit, in medio Tibure Sardinia est.* iv. 60.

† Dolabella attended Cæsar in the African war.

‡ Cicero means, that he should learn from Dolabella where Cæsar purposed to land, and in what temper he was returning into Italy, together with such other circumstances as it was necessary he should be apprised of, in order to pay his personal congratulations to the conqueror in the most proper and acceptable manner. It seems probable, from this passage, that Dolabella had formed his eloquence under Cicero, agreeably to an excellent custom which prevailed in Rome, of introducing the youth, upon their first entrance into business, to the acquaintance and patronage of some distinguished orator of the forum, whom they constantly at-

you know, has become a greater adept than his master. However, if I knew what you had determined upon, I should chiefly regulate my measures by yours; for which purpose I expect a letter from you with great impatience. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO APULEIUS, PROQUÆSTOR.

LUCIUS ZOILUS was appointed, by the will of his patron, coheir, in conjunction with me. I mention this, not only to shew you the occasion of my friendship with him, but as an evidence, likewise, of his merit, by being thus distinguished by his patron. I recommend him, therefore, to your favour, as one of my own family; and you will oblige me in letting him see that you were greatly influenced to his advantage by this letter. Farewell.

tended in all the public exercises of his profession. *Auct. Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent. 34.*

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VARRO.

OUR friend Caninius acquainted me with your request, that I would write to you whenever there was any news which I thought it concerned you to know. You are already informed, that we are in daily expectation of Cæsar; * but I am now to tell you that, as it was his intention, it seems, to have landed at Alsium, † his friends have written to dissuade him from that design. They think that his coming on shore at that place will prove extremely troublesome to himself, as well as very much incommode many others; and have therefore recommended Ostia ‡ as a more convenient port. For my

* Cæsar returned victorious from Africa, about the 26th of July, in the present year; so that this letter was probably written either in the beginning of that month, or the latter end of June.—*Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 98.

† The situation of this place is not exactly known; some geographers suppose it to be the same town which is now called *Severa*, a sea-port about twenty-five miles distant from Rome, on the western coast of Italy.

‡ It still retains its ancient name, and is situated at the mouth of the Tiber.

own part, I can see no difference. Hirtius, * however, assures me, that himself, as well as Balbus, † and Oppius, ‡ (who, let me observe by the way, are every one of them greatly in your interest,) have written to Cæsar for this purpose. I thought proper, therefore, to send you this piece of intelligence for two reasons. In the first place, that you might know where to engage a lodging, or rather, that you might secure one in both these towns, for it is extremely uncertain at which of them Cæsar will disembark; and, in the next place, in order to indulge a little piece of vanity, by shewing you that I am so well with these favourites of Cæsar, as to be admitted into their privy council. To speak seriously, I see no reason to decline their friendship; for, surely, there is a wide difference between submitting to evils we cannot remedy, and approving measures that we ought to condemn; § though, to

* He lived in great intimacy with Cæsar, and had served under him in quality of one of his lieutenants in Gaul. It appears, by this passage, that he did not attend Cæsar into Africa; so that if the history of that war, annexed to Cæsar's Commentaries, was really written, as is generally supposed, by Hirtius, he was not an eye-witness of what he relates; a circumstance which considerably weakens the authority of his account.

† See Vol. II. p. 33, note.

‡ See p. 27 of this Volume.

§ To cultivate friendships with the leaders of a success-

confess the truth, I do not know there are any that I can justly blame, except those which involved us in the civil wars; for these, it must be owned, were altogether voluntary. I saw, indeed, (what your distance from Rome prevented you from observing, *) that our party were eager for war, while Cæsar, on the contrary, appeared less inclined than afraid to have recourse to arms. Thus far, therefore, our calamities might have been prevented; but all beyond was unavoidable, for one side or the other must necessarily prove superior. Now we both of us, I am sure, always lamented those infinite mischiefs that would ensue, whichever general of the two contending armies should happen to fall in battle; as we were well convinced, that of all the complicated evils which attend a civil war, victory is the supreme. I dreaded it, indeed, even on that side which both you and I thought proper to

ful faction, has surely something in it that much resembles the approving of measures which we ought to condemn; and though it may be policy, most certainly it is not patriotism; it ill agrees, at least, with that sort of abstracted life, which Cicero, in the first letter of this Book, declares he proposed to lead, if the republic should be destroyed. *Vid. Epist. Famil. vii. 5.*

* Varro, at the breaking out of the civil-war, was in Spain, where he resided in quality of one of Pompey's lieutenants.

join, as they threatened most cruel vengeance on those who stood neuter, and were no less offended at your sentiments than at my speeches. But had they gained this last battle, we should still more severely have experienced the effects of their power, as our late conduct had incensed them to the highest degree. Yet what measures have we taken for our own security, that we did not warmly recommend for theirs? And how have they more advantaged the republic by having recourse to Juba and his elephants,* than if they had perished by their own swords, or submitted to live under the present system of affairs, with some hopes, at least, if not with the fairest? But they may tell us, perhaps, (and, indeed, with truth,) that the government under which we have chosen to live, is altogether turbulent and unsettled. Let this objection, however, have weight with those who have treasured up no stores in their minds to support themselves under all the possible vicissitudes of human affairs; a reflection, which brings me round to what I principally had in view, when I undesignedly wandered into this long digression. I was going to have

* These elephants were drawn up in the front of the right and left wing of Scipio's army; but being driven back upon the line behind them, they put the ranks into great confusion, and, instead of proving of any advantage to Scipio, contributed to facilitate his defeat. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric.* 83.

said, that, as I always looked upon your character with great admiration, so nothing raises it higher in my esteem, than to observe, that you are almost the only person, in these tempestuous days, who has wisely retreated into harbour, and are enjoying the happy fruits of those important studies, which are attended with more public advantage, as well as private satisfaction, than all the ambitious exploits, or voluptuous indulgencies, of these licentious victors. The contemplative hours you spend at your Tusculan villa, are, in my estimation, indeed, what alone deserve to be called life; and I would willingly renounce the whole wealth and splendour of the world, to be at liberty to pass my time in the same philosophical manner. I follow your example, however, as far as the circumstances in which I am placed will permit, and have recourse, with great satisfaction of mind, to my favourite studies. Since our country, indeed, either cannot, or will not, accept our services, who shall condemn us for returning to that contemplative privacy which many philosophers have thought preferable (I will not say with reason, however, they have preferred,) even to the most public and patriot labours? And why should we not indulge ourselves in those learned inquiries, which some of the greatest men have deemed a just dispensation from all public employments, when it is a liberty, at the same time, which

the commonwealth itself is willing to allow us? But I am going beyond the commission which Caninius gave me ; and while he only desired that I would acquaint you with those articles of which you were not already apprised, I am telling you what you know far better than I can inform you. For the future, I shall confine myself more strictly to your request, and will not fail of communicating to you whatever intelligence I may learn, which I shall think it imports you to know. Farewell.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 797.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.*

YOUR letter afforded me a very agreeable instance of your friendship, in the concern it expressed lest I should be uneasy at the report which had been brought hither by Silius. † I was before, indeed, perfectly sensible how much you were disturbed at this circumstance, by your care in sending me duplicates of a former letter upon the same subject ; and I then returned such an answer as I

* See Vol. II. p. 207, note.

† Silius, it should seem, had brought an account from the army, that some witticisms of Cicero had been reported to Cæsar, which had given him offence.

thought would be sufficient to abate, at least, if not entirely remove, this your generous solicitude. But since I perceive, by your last letter, how much this affair still dwells upon your mind, let me assure you, my dear Pætus, that I have employed every artifice (for we must now, my friend, be armed with cunning as well as prudence,) to conciliate the good graces of the persons you mention; and, if I mistake not, my endeavours have not proved in vain. I receive, indeed, so many marks of respect and esteem from those who are most in Cæsar's favour, that I cannot but flatter myself they have a true regard for me. It must be confessed, at the same time, that a pretended affection is not easily discernible from a real one, unless in seasons of distress; for adversity is to friendship, what fire is to gold, the only infallible test to discover the genuine from the counterfeit; in all other circumstances, they both bear the same common signatures. I have one strong reason, however, to persuade me of their sincerity; as neither their situation, nor mine, can by any means tempt them to dissemble with me. As to that person* in whom all power is now centered, I am not sensible that I have any thing to fear from him; or nothing more, at least, than what arises from that general precarious state

* Cæsar.

in which all things must stand where the fence of laws is broken down, and from its being impossible to pronounce with assurance concerning any event which depends wholly upon the will, not to say the caprice, of another. But this I can, with confidence, affirm, that I have not, in any single instance, given him just occasion to take offence; and, in the article you point out, I have been particularly cautious. There was a time, it is true, when I thought it well became me, by whom Rome itself was free,* to speak my sentiments with freedom; but now that our liberties are no more, I deem it equally agreeable to my present situation, not to say any thing that may disgust either Cæsar or his favourites. But were I to suppress every rising raillery, that might pique those at whom it is directed, I must renounce, you know, all my reputation as a wit. And, in good earnest, it is a character upon which I do not set so high a value, as to be unwilling to resign it, if it were in my power. However, I am in no danger of suffering in Cæsar's opinion, by being represented as the author of any sarcasms to which I have no claim; for his judgment is much too penetrating, ever to be deceived by any imposition of this nature. I

* Alluding to his services in the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

remember your brother Servius, whom I look upon to have been one of the most learned critics that this age has produced, was so conversant in the writings of our poets, and had acquired such an excellent and judicious ear, that he could immediately distinguish the numbers of Plautus from those of any other author. Thus Cæsar, I am told, when he made his large collection of apophthegms,* constantly rejected any piece of wit that was brought to him as mine, if it happened to be spurious; a distinction which he is much more able to make at present, as his particular friends pass almost every day of their lives in my company. As our conversation generally turns upon a variety of subjects, I frequently strike out thoughts which they look upon as not altogether void, perhaps, of spirit or ingenuity. Now these little sallies of pleasantry, together with the general occurrences of Rome, are constantly transmitted to Cæsar, in pursuance of his own express directions; so that if any thing of this kind is mentioned by others as coming from me, he always disregards it. You see, then, that the lines you quote with so much propriety from the

* This collection was made by Cæsar when he was very young, and probably it was a performance by no means to his honour; for Augustus, into whose hands it came after his death, would not suffer it to be published. *Suet. in vit. Jul. 56.*

tragedy of Oenomaus,* contain a caution altogether unnecessary. For tell me, my friend, what jealousies can I possibly create? Or who will look with envy upon a man in my humble situation? But granting that I were in ever so enviable a state, yet let me observe, that it is the opinion of those philosophers, who alone seem to have understood the true nature of virtue, that a good man is answerable for nothing farther than his own innocence. Now, in this respect, I think myself dou-

* Written by Accius, a tragic poet, who flourished about the year of Rome 617. The subject of this piece, probably, turned upon the death of Oenomaus, king of Elis, and the marriage of his daughter Hippodamia. This prince being informed, by an oracle, that he should lose his life by his future son-in-law, contrived the following expedient to disappoint the prophecy. Being possessed of a pair of horses of such wonderful swiftness, that it was reported they were begotten by the winds, he proposed to the several suitors of his daughter, that whoever of them should beat him in a chariot-race, should be rewarded with Hippodamia, upon condition that they consented to be put to death if they lost the match. Accordingly, thirteen of these unfortunate rivals entered the list; and each of them, in their turn, paid the forfeiture of their lives. But Pelops, the son of Tantalus, king of Phrygia, being more artful than the rest, bribed the charioteer of Oenomaus to take out the lynch pin of his chariot wheel; by which means, Oenomaus was dashed to pieces in the course, and Pelops carried off the beautiful Hippodamia. *Hygin. Fab. 83.*

bly irreproachable; in the first place, by having recommended such public measures as were for the interest of the commonwealth; and, in the next, that, finding I was not sufficiently supported to render my counsels effectual, I did not deem it advisable to contend for them by arms against a superior strength. Most certainly, therefore, I cannot justly be accused of having failed in the duty of a good citizen. The only part then that now remains for me, is to be cautious not to expose myself, by any indiscreet word or action, to the resentment of those in power; a part which I hold likewise to be agreeable to the character of true wisdom. As to the rest, what liberties any man may take in imputing words to me which I never spoke, what credit Cæsar may give to such reports, and how far those who court my friendship are really sincere, these are points for which it is by no means in my power to be answerable. My tranquillity arises therefore from the conscious integrity of my counsels in the times that are past, and from the moderation of my conduct in these that are present. Accordingly, I apply the simile you quote from Accius,* not only to envy, but to fortune; that weak and inconstant power, whom every wise and resolute mind should resist with as

* The poet mentioned in the preceding note.

much firmness as a rock repels the waves. Grecian story will abundantly supply examples of the greatest men, both at Athens and Syracuse, who have, in some sort, preserved their independency, amidst the general servitude of their respective communities. May I not hope, then, to be able so to comport myself, under the same circumstances, as neither to give offence to our rulers, on the one hand, nor to injure the dignity of my character on the other?

But to turn from the serious to the jocose part of your letter. The strain of pleasantry you break into, immediately after having quoted the tragedy of Oenomaus, puts me in mind of the modern method of introducing at the end of those graver dramatic pieces, the humour of our mimes, instead of the old Atellan farces.* Why else do you talk of your paltry polypus,† and your mouldy cheese?

* These Atellan farces, which, in the earlier periods of the Roman stage, were acted at the end of the more serious dramatic performances, derived their name from Atella, a town in Italy, from whence they were first introduced at Rome. They consisted of a more liberal and genteel kind of humour than the mimes; a species of comedy, which seems to have taken its subject from low life. *Vid. Manut. in loc.*

† A sea fish, so extremely tough, that it was necessary to beat it a considerable time before it could be rendered fit for the table. *Brayer, de re cibar. xxi. 14.*

In pure good-nature, it is true, I formerly submitted to sit down with you to such homely fare ; but more refined company has improved me into a better taste. For Hirtius and Dolabella, let me tell you, are my preceptors in the science of the table, as, in return, they are my disciples in that of the bar. But I suppose you have already heard, at least if all the town-news is transmitted to you, that they frequently declaim at my house,* and that I as often sup at theirs. You must not, however, hope to escape my intended visit, by pleading poverty in bar to the admission of so luxurious a guest. Whilst you were raising a fortune, indeed, I bore with your parsimonious humour ; but now that you are in circumstances to support the loss of half your wealth, I expect that you receive me in another manner than you would one of your compounding debtors. † And though your

* Cicero had lately instituted a kind of academy for eloquence in his own house, at which several of the leading young men in Rome used to meet, in order to exercise themselves in the art of oratory. Cicero himself will acquaint the reader with his motives for instituting this society, in the 22d letter of the present Book.

† This alludes (as Manutius observes) to a law which Cæsar passed in favour of those who had contracted debts before the commencement of the civil war. By this law, as appears from the passages which that commentator has

finances may somewhat suffer by my visit, remember it is better they should be impaired by treating a friend, than by lending to a stranger. I do not insist, however, that you spread your table with so unbounded a profusion, as to furnish out a splendid treat with the remains; I am so wonderfully moderate, as to desire nothing more than what is perfectly elegant and exquisite in its kind. I remember to have heard you describe an entertainment which was given by Phameas. Let yours be the exact copy of his; only I should be glad not to wait for it quite so long. Should you still persist, after all, to invite me, as usual, to a penurious supper, dished out by the sparing hand of maternal œconomy, even this, perhaps, I may be able to support. But I would fain see that hero bold who should dare to set before me the villanous trash you mention; or even one of your boasted polypusses, with an hue as florid as vermilioned Jove.* Take

cited, commissioners were appointed to take an account of the estate and effects of these debtors, which were to be assigned to their respective creditors according to their valuation before the civil war broke out; and whatever sums had been paid for interest, was to be considered as in discharge of the principal. By this ordinance, Pætus, it seems, had been a particular sufferer. *Cæs. Bel. Civil.* iii. 1. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 42.

* Pliny, the naturalist, mentions a statue of Jupiter,

my word for it, my friend, your prudence will not suffer you to be thus adventurous. Fame, no doubt, will have proclaimed at your villa my late conversion to luxury, long before my arrival; and you will shiver at the sound of her tremendous report. Nor must you flatter yourself with the hope of abating the edge of my appetite by your cloying sweet-wines before supper; a silly custom which I have now entirely renounced, being much wiser than when I used to damp my stomach with your antepasts of olives and Leucanian sausages. But not to run on any longer in this jocose strain, my only serious wish is, that I may be able to make you a visit. You may compose your countenance, therefore, and return to your mouldy cheese in full security; for my being your guest will occasion you, as usual, no other expence than that of heating your baths. As for all the rest, you are to look upon it as mere pleasantry.

The trouble you have given yourself about Seli-cius's villa,* is extremely obliging, as your description of it was excessively droll. I believe, therefore, from the account you give me, I shall renounce all thoughts of making that purchase; for

erected in the Capitol, which, on certain festival days, it was customary to paint with vermilion. *Manut.*

* In Naples.

though the country, it seems, abounds in salt, the neighbourhood, I find, is but *insipid*. Farewell.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO VOLUMNIUS.*

You have little reason, believe me, to regret the not being present at my declamations: † and if you should really envy Hirtius, as you assure me you should if you did not love him, it must be much more for his own eloquence, than as he is an auditor of mine. In truth, my dear Volumnius, either I am utterly void of all genius, or incapable of exercising it to my satisfaction, now that I have lost those illustrious fellow-labourers at the bar, that fired me with emulation when I used to gain your judicious applause. If ever, indeed, I displayed the powers of eloquence with advantage to my reputation, let me send a sigh when I reflect, with the fallen Philoctetes in ‡ the play, that

* See Vol. II. p. 114, note.

† See p. 164, note.

‡ Philoctetes was the friend and companion of Hercules, who, when he was dying, presented him with his quiver of arrows, which had been dipped in the hydra's gall. When the Grecian princes assembled, in order to revenge

These potent shafts, the heroes wonted dread,
Now spend on meaner war their idle force,
Aimed at the winged inhabitants of air!

However, if you will give me your company here, my spirits will be more enlivened; though I need not add, that you will find me engaged in a multitude of very important occupations. But if I can once get to the end of them, (as I most earnestly wish,) I shall bid a long farewell both to the forum and the senate, and chiefly devote my time to you and some few others of our common friends. In this number are Cassius and Dolabella, who are united with us in the same favourite studies, and to whose performances I with great pleasure attend.

the cause of Menelaus, they were assured by an oracle, that Troy could never be taken without the assistance of these arrows. An embassy, therefore, was sent to Philoctetes to engage him on their side, who accordingly consented to attend their expedition. But being disabled from proceeding with these heroes in their voyage, by an accidental wound which he received in the foot from one of his own arrows, they ungenerously left him on a desolate island; and it was here that he was reduced to the mortifying necessity of employing these formidable shafts in the humble purposes of supplying himself with food. The lines here quoted, are taken from Accius, a dramatic poet, who flourished about the year of Rome 623, and who, probably, had formed a tragedy upon the subject of this adventure. *Serv. in Æn. iii. 402.*

But we want the assistance of your refined judgment, and of that uncommon erudition which has often struck me with awe when I have been delivering my sentiments before you. I have determined, then, if I should obtain the consent, or, at least, the permission of Cæsar, to retire from that stage on which I have frequently performed a part that he himself has applauded. It is my resolution, indeed, totally to conceal myself in the secret shades of philosophy, where I hope to enjoy, with you, and some others of the same contemplative disposition, the honourable fruits of a studious leisure.

I am sorry you shortened your last letter, in the apprehension that I should not have patience to read a longer; but assure yourself, for the future, that the longer yours are, the more acceptable they will always prove to me. Farewell.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

YOUR very agreeable letter found me wholly disengaged at my Tusculan villa. I retired hither during the absence of my pupils, * whom I have

* Hirtius and Dolabella.

sent to meet their victorious friend,* in order to conciliate his good graces in my favour.

As Dionysius the tyrant, after he was expelled from Syracuse, opened a school, it is said, at Corinth; † in the same manner, being driven from my dominions in the forum, I have erected a sort of academy in my own house; and I perceive, by your letter, that you approve the scheme. I have many reasons for approving it too, and principally, as it affords me what is highly expedient in the present conjuncture, a mean of establishing an interest with those ‡ in whose friendship I may find a protection. How far my intentions in this respect may be answered, I know not; I can only say, that I have hitherto had no reason to prefer the different measures which others of the same party with myself have pursued, unless, perhaps, it would have been more eligible not to have survived the ruin of our cause. It would so, I con-

* Cæsar, in his return from the African war.

† He was expelled from Sicily about 340 years before the birth of our Saviour, on account of his oppressive government; when, retiring to Corinth, he employed himself in exercising the humbler tyranny of a pedagogue. It is supposed that he engaged in this office the more effectually to conceal the schemes he was still meditating, of recovering his dominions. *Justin. xxi. 5.*

‡ Particularly Hirtius and Dolabella.

fess, had I died either in the camp,* or in the field; but the former did not happen to be my fate; and, as to the latter, I never was engaged in any action. But the inglorious manner in which Pompey, † together with Scipio, ‡ Afranius, § and your friend Lentulus, || severally lost their lives,

* The expression in the original is extremely concise.—*In lectulo? Fateor: sed non accidit.* This seems to allude to the sickness with which Cicero was attacked in the camp of Dyrrachium, and that prevented him from being present at the battle of Pharsalia, or at least furnished him with a plausible excuse for his absence. *Plut. in vit. Ciceron.*

† An account of the manner and circumstance of Pompey's death has already been given in note p. 99 of this Volume.

‡ Scipio, after the unfortunate battle of Thapsus, [see note p. 149 of this Volume,] endeavouring to make his escape into Spain, was driven back upon the coast of Africa, where he fell in with a squadron of Cæsar's fleet, commanded by Hirtius. Scipio was soon overpowered by the strength and number of the enemy's ships; and himself, together with the few vessels that attended him, were all sunk. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric. 96.*

§ Afranius had been one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, and had a command in Scipio's army in Africa. He was taken prisoner in attempting to make his escape after the defeat of that general, and murdered by the soldiers. *Hirt. de Bel. Afric. 95.*

|| This is not the same person to whom the letters in the

will scarcely, I suppose, be thought a more desirable lot. As to Cato's death,* it must be acknowledged to have been truly noble; and I can still

first and second Book of this collection are addressed, but Lucius Lentulus, who was consul with Marcellus *an urb.* 704, the year in which the civil war broke out. After the defeat at Pharsalia, he fled to the island of Cyprus; where, receiving intelligence that Pompey was gone into Egypt, he immediately set sail in order to join him. He arrived on the next day after that unfortunate general had been cruelly assassinated; and being seized the moment he landed, he underwent the same fate with that of his illustrious friend, in pursuance of an order for that purpose from Ptolemy. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Cæsar de Bel. Civil.* iii. 102. 104.

* The manner and circumstances of Cato's having destroyed himself are too well known to be particularized in this place. A late noble writer is of opinion, that Cato abandoned the cause of liberty too soon, and that he would have died with a better grace at *Munda* than at *Utica*. This censure, it must be owned, has the appearance of being just, if we consider it only in respect to the event; but if there had been a real foundation for the reproach, it can scarce be supposed that it should have escaped every one of the ancient writers who speak of this illustrious Roman's exit; and that Cicero, in particular, who most certainly did not love Cato, should have made an honourable exception of his death, out of that list which he here condemns. It is true, the republican party, after the defeat of Scipio in Africa, made a very powerful struggle against Cæsar, under the command of young Pompey, in Spain. But it is

follow his example, whenever I shall be so disposed. Let me only endeavour, as in fact I do, not to be compelled to it by the same necessity; * and

highly probable, that there was not the least rational expectation of this circumstance, when Cato thought it became him to put an end to his life. For it appears, from Plutarch, that he would have defended Utica to the last, if he could have persuaded the principal Romans in that garrison to have supported him; and it was not till after all his remonstrances for that purpose proved utterly ineffectual, and that he had secured the retreat of those who did not choose to surrender themselves to Cæsar, that this exemplary patriot fell upon his own sword. Thus died this truly great and virtuous Roman! He had long stood forth the sole uncorrupted opposer of those vices that proved the ruin of this degenerate commonwealth, and supported, as far as a single arm could support, the declining constitution. But when his services could no farther avail, he scorned to survive what had been the labour of his whole life to preserve, and bravely perished with the liberties of his country. This is the purport of that noble eulogy which Seneca, in much stronger language, has justly bestowed upon Cato: *Adversus vitia degenerantis civitatis*, says he, *stetit, solus, et cadentem rempublicam, quantum, modo una retrahi manu poterat, retinuit; donec comitem se diu sustentatæ ruinæ dedit: simulque extincta sunt quæ nefas erat dividi. Neque enim Cato post libertatem vixit, nec libertas post Catonem.* Lord Bolingbroke's Letter on Patriotism, p. 36. Plut. in vit. Caton. Senec. de constant. Sapient. 2.

* The only necessity which Cato was under of putting an end to his life, arose from that uniform opposition he had

this is my first reason for engaging in my present scheme. My next is, that I find it an advantage, not only to my health,* which began to be impaired by the intermission of exercises of this kind, but also to my oratorical talents, if any I ever possessed, which would have totally lost their vigour, if I had not had recourse to this method of keeping

given to the dangerous designs of the conqueror; and it must be allowed, that Cicero took sufficient care not to fall under the same.

* A mere English reader will be surprised to hear Cicero talk of eloquence as an *exercise*. There is nothing, indeed, more indolent and immovable than a British orator; or if he ventures into action, his gestures are generally such, as would render the finest speech that Demosthenes or Cicero ever delivered, absolutely powerless or ridiculous. “ You may see many a smart rhetorician (says the inimitable Mr Addison) turning his hat in his hands, moulding it into several different cocks, examining sometimes the lining and sometimes the button, during the whole course of his harangue. A deaf man would think he was cheapening a beaver; when, perhaps, he is talking of the fate of the British nation.” But among the orators of Greece and Rome it was far otherwise. They studied the eloquence of action as much as that of diction; and their rhetoricians have laid down rules for the graceful management of the shoulders, the arms, the hands, and the feet, which were each of them engaged by turns in the emphatical *exercise* of ancient elocution. *Spect.* vi. p. 50. *Quinctil.* xi. 4.

them in play. The last benefit I shall mention (and the principal one, I dare say, in your estimation,) is, that it has introduced me to the demolishing of a greater number of delicious peacocks,* than you have had the devouring of paltry pigeons in all your life. The truth of it is, whilst you are humbly sipping the meagre broths of the sneaking Aterius, I am luxuriously regaling myself with the savoury soups of the magnificent Hirtius. If you have any spirit, then, fly hither, and learn, from our elegant bills of fare, how to refine your own; though, to do your talents justice, this is a sort of knowledge in which you are much superior to our instructions. However, since you can get no purchasers for your mortgages, and are not likely to fill those pitchers you mention with denarii,† it will be your wisest scheme to return hither; for it

* This bird was esteemed by the Romans amongst the most refined delicacies of the table, and no entertainment was thought completely elegant where a peacock did not make one of the dishes. They bore a most incredible price; Varro assures us, that an hundred peacocks produced to the owner the annual profit of about three hundred pounds sterling. *Var. de re Rustic.* iii. 6.

† The denarius was a silver coin, equivalent to about eight-pence of our money. Cicero's raillery alludes to the loss which Pætus had suffered by the late edict of Cæsar concerning debtors, of which an account has been given in note p. 164 of this Volume.

is a better thing, let me tell you, to be sick with good eating at Rome, than for want of victuals at Naples. * In short, I plainly perceive that your finances are in no flourishing situation, and I expect to hear the same account of all your neighbours ; so that famine, my friend, most formidable famine must be your fate, if you do not provide against it in due time. And since you have been reduced to sell your horse, e'en mount your mule, (the only animal, it seems, belonging to you which you have not yet sacrificed to your table,) and convey yourself immediately to Rome. To encourage you to do so, you shall be honoured with a chair and cushion next to mine, and sit the second great pedagogue in my celebrated school. Farewell.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

YOUR satirical humour, I find, has not yet forsaken you ; and I perfectly well understand your raillery, when you gravely tell me, that Balbus contented himself with your humble fare. You

* Pætus had a house in Naples, where he appears to have been when this letter was written.

insinuate, I suppose, that since these our sovereign* rulers are thus wonderfully temperate, much more does it become a discarded consular † to practise the same abstemiousness. But do you know, my friend, that I have artfully drawn from Balbus himself, the whole history of the reception you gave him? He came directly to my house the moment he arrived in Rome; a circumstance, by the way, somewhat extraordinary. Not that I am surprised at his wanting the politeness to call first at yours; but my wonder is, that he should not go directly to his own. ‡ However, after the two or three first salutations had passed, I immediately enquired what account he had to give of my friend Pætus? “Never, he protested, was he better entertained in his whole life.” Now, if you merited this compliment by your wit, I desire you to remember, that I shall bring as elegant a taste with me as Balbus himself; but if he alluded to the honours of your table, let it never be said, that the family of

* Balbus was a sort of prime-minister and chief confident of Cæsar.

† The consulars were those who had passed through the office of consul.

‡ There is undoubtedly some raillery in this passage, either upon Pætus or Balbus; but it is impossible to discover of what nature, as it alludes to circumstances utterly unknown.

the stammerers * were more splendidly regaled by Pætus, than the sons of elocution.

Business has prevented me, from time to time, in my design of paying you a visit ; but if I can dispatch my affairs so as to be able to come into your part of the world, I shall take care that you shall have no reason to complain of my not having given you timely notice. Farewell.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

ARE you not a pleasant mortal to question me concerning the fate of those estates † you mention,

* In the original it is, *ne pluris esse Balbos, quam disertos putes*; a witticism which could not, possibly, be preserved in the translation; for it turns upon the equivocal sense of the word *Balbus*, which was not only the name of the person of whom Cicero is speaking, but signifies, likewise, a man who labours under that defect of speech called stuttering.

† Probably the estates of the Pompeians that lay about Naples, where Pætus seems to have been when this letter was written. It appears that Pætus had been alarmed with a rumour that Cæsar intended to seize these estates, and therefore had applied to Cicero to learn the truth of this report.

when Balbus had just before been paying you a visit? It is from him, indeed, that I derive my whole fund of intelligence; and you may be assured, that where he is ignorant, I have no chance of being better informed. I might, with much more propriety, desire you would tell me what is likely to be the fate of my own possessions, since you have so lately had a person* under your roof, from whom, either in or out of his cups, you might certainly have discovered that secret. But this, my dear Pætus, is an article that makes no part of my inquiry; for, in the first place, I have reason to be well satisfied, having now almost these four years † been indulged with my life, if life or indulgence it may be called, to be the sad survivor of our country's ruin; in the next place, I believe it

* Balbus.

† One of the commentators, who conceals his true name under that of Ragazonius, collects from this passage, that the present letter was written A. U. 707; whereas it seems to prove, on the contrary, that its date cannot be placed earlier than the year 709; for Cicero appears evidently to allude to the pardon he had received from Cæsar. Now this could not have been till after the battle of Pharsalia. A. U. 705, and the fourth year from that period brings us down to 709. In the beginning, therefore, of that year, this letter ought to have been placed, but the error of its present situation was not discovered till it was too late to be rectified.

is a question I may easily answer myself; for I know it will be just as it shall seem meet to the men in power; and the men in power, my friend, will ever be those whose swords are the most prevailing. I must rest contented, therefore, with whatever grace it shall be their pleasure to shew me; for he who could not tamely submit to such wretched terms, ought to have taken refuge in the arms of death. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the estates about Veii and Capena,* are actually dividing out, (and these, you know, are not far distant from Tusculum, †) yet it gives me no sort of inquietude. I enjoy my property whilst I may, and please myself with the hope that I shall never be deprived of that privilege. But should it happen otherwise, still, however, since it was my noble maxim (hero and philosopher as I was!) that life is the fairest of all possessions, I cannot, undoubtedly, but love the man ‡ by whose bounty I have obtained the continuance of that enjoyment. It is certain, at the same time, that how much soever he may be disposed, perhaps, to restore the republic, (as we ought all of us most certainly to wish,) yet

* Veii and Capena were cities in that part of Italy called Etruria, which is now comprehended under the name of Tuscany.

† Where Cicero had a villa.

‡ Cæsar.

he has entangled himself in such a variety of different connexions, that he is utterly embarrassed in what manner to act. But this is going farther into these points than is necessary, considering the person to whom I am writing. Nevertheless, I will add, that our chief himself is as absolutely ignorant what measures will finally be resolved upon, as I am, who have no share in his councils. For Cæsar is no less under the controul of circumstances, than we are under the controul of Cæsar; and it is as much impossible for him to foresee what these may require, as it is for us to penetrate into what he may intend.

You must not impute it to neglect, (a fault, you are sensible, of which I am seldom guilty in the article of writing,) that I have not said thus much to you before. The single reason for my not sooner answering your enquiry, was, that as I could only speak from conjecture, I was unwilling, without a just foundation, either to increase your fears, or to encourage your hopes. But this I can with truth assure you, that I have not heard the least hint of the danger you apprehend. A man of your philosophy, however, ought to hope for the best, to be prepared for the worst, and to bear, with equanimity, whatever may happen. Farewell.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

YOUR letter gave me a double pleasure; for it not only diverted me extremely, but was a proof, likewise, that you are so well recovered, as to be able to indulge your usual gaiety. I was well contented, at the same time, to find myself the subject of your raillery; and, in truth, the repeated provocations I had given you, were sufficient to call forth all the severity of your satire. My only regret is, that I am prevented from taking my intended journey into your part of the world, where I purposed to have made myself, I do not say your guest, but one of your family. You would have found me wonderfully changed from the man I formerly was, when you used to cram me with your cloying antepasts.* For I now more prudently

* These antepasts seem to have been a kind of collation preparatory to the principal entertainment. They generally consisted, it is probable, of such dishes as were provocatives to appetite; but prudent economists, as may be collected from the turn of Cicero's raillery, sometimes contrived them in such a manner as to damp rather than improve the stomach of their guests.

sit down to table with an appetite altogether unimpaired, and most heroically make my way through every dish that comes before me, from the egg * that leads the van, to the roast veal that brings up the rear. † The temperate and unexpensive guest whom you were wont to applaud, is now no more. I have bidden a total farewell to all the cares of the patriot, and have joined the professed enemies of my former principles; in short, I am become an absolute Epicurean. You are by no means, however, to consider me as a friend to that injudicious profusion, which is now the prevailing taste of our modern entertainments; on the contrary, it is that more elegant luxury I admire, which you formerly used to display when your finances were most flourishing, ‡ though your farms were not more nume-

* The first dish at every Roman table was constantly eggs, which maintained their post of honour even at the most magnificent entertainments :

—————*Nec dum omnis abacta*

Pauperis epulis regum : nam vitibus ovis

—————*est—hodie locus.* HOR. Sat. ii. 2.

The humble egg at lordly feasts we see ;

This still remains of old simplicity !

† It appears, by a passage which Manutius cites from Tertullian, that the Romans usually concluded their feasts with broiled or roasted meat.

‡ See note p. 164 of this Volume.

rous than at present. Be prepared, therefore, for my reception, accordingly, and remember you are to entertain a man who has not only a most enormous appetite, but who has some little knowledge, let me tell you, in the science of elegant eating. You know there is a peculiar air of self-sufficiency, that generally distinguishes those who enter late into the study of any art. You will not wonder, therefore, when I take upon me to inform you, that you must banish your cakes and your sweetmeats, as articles that are now utterly discarded from all fashionable bills of fare. I am become, indeed, such a proficient in this science, that I frequently venture to invite to my table those refined friends of yours, the delicate Verrius and Camillus. Nay, I am bolder still, and have presumed to give a supper even to Hirtius himself; though, I must own, I could not advance so far as to honour him with a peacock.* To tell you the truth, my honest cook had not skill enough to imitate any other part of his splendid entertainments, except only his smoking soups.

But to give you a general sketch of my manner of life; I spend the first part of the morning in receiving the compliments of several, both of our dejected patriots and our gay victors, the latter of

* See note p. 175 of this Volume.

whom treat me with great marks of civility and esteem. As soon as that ceremony is over, I retire to my library, where I employ myself either with my books or my pen. And here I am sometimes surrounded by an audience, who look upon me as a man of most profound erudition, for no other reason, perhaps, than because I am not altogether so ignorant as themselves. The rest of my time I wholly devote to indulgences of a less intellectual kind. I have sufficiently, indeed, paid the tribute of sorrow to my unhappy country; the miseries whereof I have longer and more bitterly lamented, than ever tender mother bewailed the loss of her only son.

Let me desire you, as you would secure your magazine of provisions from falling into my hands, to take care of your health; for I have most unmercifully resolved, that no pretence of indisposition shall preserve your larder from my depredations. Farewell.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

I ARRIVED yesterday at Cumæ,* and perhaps I may pay you a visit to-morrow; but I shall take care to give you a short notice before-hand. I am determined, indeed, not only to see you, but to sup with you too; for though I had the mortification to be informed by Marcus Ceparius, whom I met on the road, that you were laid up with the gout, yet I suppose your cook is not disabled as well as his master. You may expect, therefore, very speedily to receive a guest, who, as he is remarkable for having a wonderful puny stomach, is equally famous likewise for being an irreconcilable enemy to all sumptuous entertainments. Farewell.

* Where he had a country house.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARIUS.

I ARRIVED at Cumæ on the 24th, accompanied by our friend Libo, and purpose to be at my Pompeian villa † very shortly ; but I will give you previous notice when I shall have fixed the day. I wish you the enjoyment of your health at all times, but particularly whilst I am your neighbour. If you have an assignation, therefore, with your old companion, the gout, pray contrive to put it off to some other opportunity. In good earnest, let me desire you to take care of your health, and expect to see me in two or three days. Farewell.

* See note p. 96 of this Volume.



LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK NINTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.*

I AM continually receiving accounts from various hands, that you are in a more than common degree affected by the general calamities of our country.

* Some account has already been given of Sulpicius, in p. 11, note. Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he was a considerable time in suspense on which side to declare himself, [See note p. 31 of this Volume,] but at length he determined to join Pompey. However, soon after the battle of Pharsalia, he made his peace with Cæ-

This is by no means a matter of surprise to me, as it in some measure corresponds with what passes in my own bosom. Nevertheless, I cannot but regret, that a man of your superior understanding should not rather enjoy his own good fortune, than vainly disquiet himself with the misery of others. As for myself, there is none who has more bitterly lamented the general desolation of the commonwealth; yet there are many reflections from which I now derive great relief, particularly from a consciousness of the integrity of my former counsels. I long foresaw, as from some advantageous eminence, the storm that was gathering around us; and I foresaw it, not only by the force of my own discernment, but much clearer by the assistance of your prophetic admonitions; for though I was absent during the greater part of your consulate,* yet I was not unapprised how often you foretold this fatal war, and what measures you recommended for its prevention. In the commencement, in-

sar, and was appointed by him governor of Greece. It was during his administration of this province, that the present letter, together with the rest of those which are addressed to him in this and the following Book, were written.

* Sulpicius was consul in the year 702; and it was about the latter end of April, or the beginning of May, in the same year, that Cicero left Rome, in order to proceed to his government in Cilicia. *Ad Att.* v. 2.

deed, of your consular administration, I was myself present in the senate when you prudently endeavoured to awaken our fears, by enumerating those civil wars that had happened within our own memories.* And if the authors of these, you told the house, unsupported by a single example of the same kind to give a colour to their conduct, had exercised such dreadful cruelties, † whoever, in future times, should successfully turn his arms against the republic, would most assuredly prove a much more intolerable tyrant; for they that act by precedent, you observed, generally think they act by right, and, in cases of this nature, seldom fail of improving upon their model. You should remember, therefore, that those who refused to follow your judicious advice, owe their destruction entirely to their own imprudence. But you will ask, per-

* About two-and-twenty years before the date of this letter, the dissensions between Marius and Sylla broke out into an open civil war, which terminated in the perpetual dictatorship of the latter.

† Both Marius and Sylla perpetrated, in their turns, the most horrid outrages against the partisans of each other, but particularly Sylla, whose sanguinary proscriptions, during his usurpation, afford the most dreadful instances, perhaps, of human cruelty, that are to be met with in the whole annals of despotic power. *Vid. Sallust. Bel. Catil.* 51.

haps, " what relief can this consideration afford to " your mind, amidst the universal wreck of the re- " public ?" It must be acknowledged, indeed, that our misfortunes will scarce admit of consolation ; so total and so irrecoverable is the ruin we deplore ! However, Cæsar himself, as well as every citizen of Rome besides, looks upon you as shining forth, amidst this general extinction of the great lights of the republic, in all the lustre and dignity of wisdom and virtue. These considerations, therefore, ought greatly to alleviate the generous disquietude of your heart. 'Tis true you are absent from your friends and family ; but this you have the less reason to regret, as you are removed at the same time from many very disagreeable circumstances. I would particularly point them out to you, but that I am unwilling you should have the pain of hearing what you are so happy as not to see ; an advantage which renders your situation, I think, so much the more eligible than ours.

I have thus far laid before you, in the warmest friendship of my heart, those reasons which may justly contribute to lighten and compose your uneasiness ; the rest are to be found within yourself ; and they are consolations which, I know, by daily experience, to be of the best and most efficacious kind. I well remember, that you passionately cultivated the whole circle of sciences from your ear-

liest youth, and carefully treasured up in your mind whatever the wisest philosophers have delivered concerning the best and happiest regulation of human life. Now, these are contemplations both useful and entertaining, even in seasons of the greatest calm and prosperity; but in the present calamitous situation of public affairs, there is nothing else that can soothe and compose our minds. I would not be so arrogant, as to take upon myself to exhort a man of your sense and knowledge to have recourse to those studies to which I know you have your whole life been devoted. I will only say with respect to myself, (and I hope I shall be justified by your approbation,) that I consecrated all my time and attention to philosophy, when I perceived there was no farther employment, either in the forum or the senate, for my favourite art.* Scarce more room is there for the exercise of that excellent science, in which you, my friend, are so eminently distinguished. † I am persuaded, there-

* Oratory.

† Sulpicius distinguished himself by his superior skill in the laws of his country; to the knowledge and practice of which science he principally devoted the studies and the labours of his life. He was the first, indeed, among the Romans, who seems to have traced and explained the principles of civil law; and to have reduced that branch of knowledge, from the vague and confused manner in which

fore, that I have no occasion to admonish you to apply your thoughts to the same philosophical contemplations, which, if they were attended with no other advantage, would have this, at least, to recommend them, that they divert the mind from dwelling on its anxieties.

Your son applies himself to all the polite arts, in general, with great success ; but he particularly excels in those philosophical studies from whence I just now professed to derive the principal consolation of my life. I know not any man, except yourself, for whom I have conceived a stronger affection ; and, indeed, he very amply returns the warmth of my friendship ; but he evidently shews, at the same time, that, in distinguishing me with the marks of his respect and esteem, he imagines that he is acting in the most agreeable manner to your inclinations. Farewell.

it had been formerly treated, into a regular and rational system. The number of treatises which he is said to have composed, amount to above an hundred and fifty ; but nothing of his hand remains, except two very elegant and interesting letters, addressed to Cicero, in the eleventh Book of the present collection. See Let. 3. and 10. of Book xi. *Cicer. de Clar. Orat.* 152. *Pompon. de Orig. Juris.*

LETTER II.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PUBLIUS SERVILIUS ISAURICUS,* PROCONSUL.

I RECEIVED the account you sent me of your voyage with much pleasure, as it was a proof that you are not unmindful of our friendship, than which nothing, be assured, can afford me a more real satisfaction. Would you still oblige me more! let it be by freely communicating to me the state of your province, and the plan of government upon which you proceed: for, though the fame of your administration will undoubtedly reach me by many other ways, yet I shall be most pleased in being made acquainted with it by your own hand. As for myself, the hazards to which my letters are exposed, will not suffer me to be so frequent in giving you my sentiments of public affairs, as I shall be in apprising you of what passes amongst us. I

* Cæsar nominated him joint consul with himself, in the year 705; and Servilius exercised the consular functions at Rome, whilst his colleague was employed in carrying on the war against Pompey in Macedonia. He was, at this time, proconsul of Asia Minor, to which province he succeeded at the expiration of his consulate. *Cæs. Bel. Civil.* iii. 1.

have hopes, however, that our colleague Cæsar* intends, and, indeed, that he actually has it under his consideration, to establish a republican form of government of some kind; and it is of much importance that you should be present in his council for this purpose. But if it be more for your own glory to preside over Asia, and preserve that ill-affected part of the republic in its allegiance, I ought to regulate my inclinations by yours, and prefer what will most contribute to the advancement of your interest and your honour. Be assured I shall employ my utmost zeal to promote both, by every mean that shall appear conducive to that end; among which, it shall be my principal care to distinguish your illustrious father† with all pos-

* Cæsar was a fellow member of the college of augurs with Cicero and Servilius.

† Servilius the father, after having passed through the office of consul in the year 673, was elected governor of Cilicia, where he greatly distinguished himself in several obstinate and successful engagements with the piratic nations, that infested the Roman commerce in this part of the eastern world. He particularly turned his arms against the *Isauri*, (a people situated between Cilicia and Lycaonia,) and having penetrated as far as their capital, he not only laid it level with the ground, but demolished several strong forts which the pirates possessed in the maritime parts of that kingdom. It was upon this occasion that he obtained the title of *Isauricus*; and, at his return to Rome, he was

sible marks of my observance. This, indeed, is what I justly owe him, not only in regard to his high character, and the friendship in which we have been long united, but in return, likewise, to the many favours which you and he have conferred upon me. Farewell.

LETTER III.

[A U. 707.]

TO NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.*

THOUGH I have been looking out for an occasion of writing to you, yet I have not only been unable

honoured, likewise, with a triumph. He died not long after this letter was written, in an extreme old age, and is said to have preserved his health and senses entire to his last moments. *Liv. Epit.* 93. *Flor.* iii. 6. *Dio.* xlv. p. 277.

* Nigidius Figulus was a person of great distinction, not only in the civil, but literary world. He had passed through the offices of tribune and prætor, with much honour; and was at this time in the number of those who were suffering exile for having taken up arms on the side of Pompey. He was extremely well versed in all the liberal sciences, but his studies were principally consecrated to moral and natural knowledge; in the latter of which he seems to have made such extraordinary discoveries, as to have occasioned a suspicion that he practised the magic art. He was much

to meet with any particular subject for that purpose, but find myself utterly at a loss even to furnish out a common letter. The calamities of our country have spoiled me for those jocose epistles with which, in happier days, I used to entertain my friends, as fortune has rendered me incapable of writing, or, in truth, of thinking, upon any subject of a cheerful nature. There remains another species of letters of a grave and serious cast, peculiarly adapted to these miserable times; but as a letter of this kind ought to contain either some promise of assisting you to surmount your misfortunes, or some arguments to support you under them, from these, too, I am likewise excluded. Sunk, indeed, as I am, into the same abject fortune as yourself, what assistance can I possibly offer you? In

addicted to judicial astrology; and, it is said, that being informed of the birth of Octavius, he immediately pronounced, that he was destined to empire. Lucan has celebrated him for his learning of this kind, and represents him as prophetically declaring the future calamities of his country:

*At Figulus, cui cura Deos secretaque cali
Nosse fuit, &c.*

One of the commentators asserts, (though it does not appear upon what authority,) that Figulus died in exile, the year following the date of this letter. *Ad Q. F. l. 2. Cic. Fragm. de Univer. in Princip. Dio. xlv. p. 270. Suet. in Aug. 94. Lucan. i. 693.*

sad truth, I am obliged to have recourse myself to the aid of others, and I have much more reason to lament that I live upon these disgraceful terms, than to rejoice that I am still in being. I say not this from any extraordinary injuries which I have suffered in my own person; indeed, there is nothing which, in the present conjuncture, I could wish for myself, that Cæsar has not voluntarily offered me: nevertheless, the sorrows that oppress my heart are of so severe a nature, that I think myself guilty of a crime in still continuing to live: for I live deprived of many of my most intimate friends, whom death, or those public calamities which have driven them from their country, have separated from me; as I have likewise lost, by the same means, all those whose good will I formerly conciliated, when, by your assistance,* I successfully stood forth in defence of the republic. I have the unhappiness, at the same time, to be placed in the midst of the general wreck and plunder of their fortunes; and not only have the pain to hear, but (what is far more affecting.) am a spectator of the dissipation of the estates which belonged to those illustrious asso-

* This alludes to the affair of Catiline's conspiracy, in which, as in every other article of public concern, Cicero was principally determined in his conduct by the sentiments and advice of Nigidius. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

ciates, who assisted me in extinguishing the flames of that dangerous conspiracy. In a word, I have the mortification to find myself utterly divested of all credit, authority, and honours in that republic, where I once flourished in the full possession of those glorious distinctions. Cæsar, 'tis true, acts towards me with the utmost generosity, but his generosity cannot restore what I have lost by the general violence and confusion of the times. Thus bereaved of those advantages to which I was habituated by genius, by inclination, and by custom, I imagine that the world is no less dissatisfied with me, than I am with myself. Formed, indeed, as I was by nature, to be perpetually engaged in the noblest and most important occupations, I am now deprived of every mean, not only of acting, but of thinking to any public purpose. There was a time when my assistance could have raised the obscure, and protected even the guilty; but now I cannot so much as send a favourable promise to Nigidius; to the virtuous, the learned Nigidius; to the man who once flourished in the highest credit, and who was always my warmest friend! Thus you see that I am totally disqualified from writing letters to you of this kind.

The only subject that remains to me then is, to endeavour to draw off your mind from its inquietudes, by laying before you such arguments as may

afford you a well-grounded consolation : but if ever any man was peculiarly qualified to employ the strongest reasonings of this nature, either for his own use or for that of others, most undoubtedly it is yourself. Such, therefore, as may be drawn from the refined sources of philosophy, I will not pretend to touch, but shall leave them entirely to your own suggestions. Whatever is worthy of a man of true wisdom and fortitude ; whatever is agreeable to that character you have sustained in the world, and to those studies in which you so early excelled ; whatever, in short, is expected from a great and exalted mind, in the circumstances wherein you are placed, your own reflections will best supply. I will only take upon myself, therefore, to inform you of what I have been able to discover from my being situated in Rome, and giving a particular attention to every occurrence that passes. I will venture, then, with confidence, to assure you, that your present troubles (perhaps, too, I might add, that those of the republic itself) will not be of long continuance : for, in the first place, Cæsar seems well inclined to recal you from exile ; and, trust me, I speak this from no hasty conjecture ; on the contrary, I examine his sentiments and dispositions so much the more strictly, as I am less biassed in his favour by any particular connexions. I am persuaded, then, that the single reason for his delaying to restore

you, is, that he may with a better grace refuse the same favour to others, against whom he is more warmly incensed : I am sure, at least, that all his most intimate friends and favourites both think and speak of you highly to your advantage.

In the next place, the populace, or rather, I should say, the whole community in general, are strongly in your interest : And, let me add, that the republic herself, whose power at present, it must be confessed, is certainly inconsiderable, but who must necessarily, however, recover some degree of credit; the republic herself, believe me, will soon obtain your restoration from those who, at this time, hold her in subjection. In this respect, therefore, I may venture even to promise you some assistance. With this view I shall closely attach myself to Cæsar's favourites, who are all of them, indeed, extremely fond of me, and spend much of their time in my company ; as I shall insinuate myself into an intimacy with Cæsar, to which my own modesty has hitherto proved the single obstruction.* In short, I shall pursue every probable

* It requires, perhaps, no ordinary portion of faith, to believe it was *modesty* that kept Cicero at a distance from Cæsar. The true reason, indeed, appears from Cicero's own account, in the last paragraph of the following letter, where he touches upon this article in a more ingenuous manner, than he thought proper in the present instance. See the 17th and 22d letters of this Book.

mean of this kind (and some, too, that I dare not commit to paper,) in order to obtain your return. As to other articles of assistance, I am sensible there are many who are perfectly well inclined to offer you their services; but you may depend upon me as the first and forwardest in that number. The sincere truth is, there is no part of my estate which is not as freely at your disposal as it is at mine: but I will say the less upon this subject, as I would rather encourage you to hope, (what I am well persuaded will be the case,) that you will soon have it in your power to make use of your own. In the mean while, let me conjure you to preserve a firm and unbroken spirit, remembering not only the sublime precepts you have received from other celebrated philosophers, but those likewise which have been the produce of your own judicious reflections. If you attend to these, they will teach you to hope the best, and at the same time to meet whatever may happen with a wise composure of mind.* But

* Nigidius published many treatises on different branches of human and theological science, the subjects of which Manutius, with his usual learning and industry, has collected from the several ancient writers wherein they are cited. It is probable, from the present passage, that he had published also some treatise concerning fortitude, upon the Pythagoric principles. It is certain, at least, that Nigidius (and it is a circumstance greatly to the honour of his character) attempted to bring the philosophy of Pythagoras

these are sentiments which no man is so capable to suggest to you as yourself. I will only add, then, that you may be assured of my carefully and zealously embracing every opportunity of promoting your welfare, as I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the generous services you conferred upon me during my severe afflictions.* Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS.†

I WILL not venture to condemn, though I have not myself pursued those measures in which I find

into credit with his countrymen; which, after having flourished in Italy during some centuries, was now grown almost entirely out of repute. It is no wonder, indeed, that a system which, in many of its precepts, seems to have approached very near to the divine morality of the Christian institution, was rejected in an age in which the only fashionable principles were, to acquire wealth by every means of avarice and injustice, and to dissipate it by every method of luxury and profusion. *Cic. Fragm. de Univ. in Princip.*

* This alludes to Cicero's banishment, in the year 694, at which time Nigidius was prætor. *Pigh. Annal. ii. 361.*

† For a particular account of the character and conduct of Marcellus, see Vol. II. p. 34. note.

you still persevere,* as I have too high an opinion of *your* judgment, to think the preference is due to my own. The friendship, however, in which we have so long been intimately united, together with those singular marks of affection you have shewn towards me, from your earliest youth, induce me to recommend to you what seems conducive to your interest, at the same time that it appears by no means inconsistent with your honour.

I am sensible that you long foresaw, no less than myself, those calamities that have fallen upon our country; and I well remember the patriot conduct you displayed during your glorious administration of the consular office. But I remember, too, that you disapproved of the manner in which the civil war was conducted; and that, far from being satisfied either with the strength or nature of Pompey's forces, you were always extremely diffident of their success, in which, I need not add, I entirely agreed with you. In conformity to these our mutual sentiments, as you did not enter very far into the war

* This alludes to the different conduct of Cicero and Marcellus, after the battle of Pharsalia; the former (as has already been remarked) having immediately returned into Italy, in order to throw himself at the feet of the conqueror, the latter retiring to Mitylene, the capital of Lesbos. In this city Marcellus probably resided, when the present letter was written.

on your part, so I always endeavoured as much as possible to avoid it on mine. The point in contest between the adverse parties, was not to be decided indeed by the force of their councils, and the justice of their cause, in which we had undoubtedly the advantage, but by the single strength of their swords, wherein we were evidently inferior. Vanquished, therefore, we accordingly are; or, if virtue never can be vanquished, yet certainly, at least, we are fallen. Your conduct cannot but be greatly and universally applauded, in having renounced the spirit of contention, when you lost the hopes of success; and you shewed, by your own example, that as a wise and honest patriot will always enter into a civil war with reluctance, so he will never choose to carry it on to its last desperate extremity. Those who did not pursue the same measures formed themselves into two different parties; and while some retreated into Africa, in order to renew the war, others, and myself among the rest, submitted to the conqueror. But you thought proper to steer a middle course, imagining, perhaps, that it was mean to yield, and obstinacy to resist. In this, I must confess, you are thought by many (I might say by the world in general) to have given a proof of your virtue; while there are numbers who admire it likewise as an instance of great magnanimi-

ty.* Nevertheless, there is a time, it should seem, when this measure may cease to be any longer justifiable; especially as nothing, I am persuaded, is wanting to establish you in the full possession of your fortunes, but your own concurrence: for he in whom all power is centred, † has no other objection, I find, to granting you this favour, but that he is apprehensive you are by no means disposed to think it one. What my own sentiments are as to that point, is too evident by my conduct, to render it

* It is probable that Brutus was in the number of those who were in Cicero's thoughts upon this occasion, as may be collected from a passage in Seneca. This noble moralist relates, that Brutus, in a treatise which he wrote concerning virtue, mentioned his having paid a visit to Marcellus at Mitylene, where he found him in the utmost tranquillity, pursuing, with all his usual taste and spirit, the moral and polite arts. "And I could not forbear thinking," added Brutus, "when I took my leave of Marcellus, in order to return to Rome, that it was I myself, and not my friend, who deserved to be lamented as the exile." Seneca takes occasion from hence to introduce a soliloquy, which he puts into the mouth of this illustrious exile; and he concludes it with a sentiment that raises the highest idea both of Brutus and Marcellus. "Let conquered nations (he supposes Marcellus to have said to himself) look with wonder upon Cæsar; but live thou, BRUTO MIRATORE CONTENTUS, satisfied with having gained the admiration of Brutus!" *Senec. Consul. ad Helvid. 9.*

† Cæsar.

necessary to explain them: but this, however, I will say, that although you should prefer a state of perpetual exile, rather than be a spectator of what you cannot but disapprove, yet you should reflect, that it is impossible, in any part of the world, to be placed out of the reach of his power whom you desire to avoid: and even granting it probable that he should suffer you to live free and unmolested in a voluntary banishment, yet it deserves your consideration, whether it would not be more eligible, whatever the situation of public affairs may be, to spend your days in Rome, than at Rhodes or Mitylene. But, since that power which we dread extends itself over every part of the globe, is it not better to live securely under your own roof, than in perpetual danger under that of another? For myself, at least, if even death were my resolution, yet I would rather choose to expire in my own country, and in my own mansion, than at a stranger's house, and in a foreign land.

All who love you, (and your illustrious virtues have rendered that party extremely numerous,) join with me in these sentiments. In this we have a regard, likewise, to the preservation of your estate, which we should be sorry to see dissipated: for though neither that person who governs the republic, nor, indeed, the republic itself, would suffer any injuries of this kind to remain always un-

redressed, yet I would not, in the mean time, have your estate exposed to the depredations of certain lawless invaders, whom I should not scruple to name, if I were not persuaded that you perfectly well know to whom I allude.

Your very excellent relation, Caius Marcellus,* discovers a singular zeal in his frequent and earnest applications to Cæsar on your behalf: and though I am not in a situation to second these his solicitations, I claim, however, the next rank, in my anxiety for your welfare. The truth is, I have stood too much in need of an advocate myself, to take the liberty of acting that part for another; as all the merit I can plead, is to have yielded, after having been conquered.† Nevertheless, as far as my advice and endeavours can be of any avail in your affairs, they are not wanting to Caius. The rest of your family do not think proper to consult me, though they may always be assured of finding me ready to exert my best services wherever your interest is concerned. Farewell.

* An account has been given of him in Vol. II. p. 37. note.

† See note on preceding letter, p. 202.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TREBIANUS.*

I SHOULD have written to you sooner, if it had been either in my power to have promised you any effectual assistance, or necessary to have offered you any consolation; one or the other being the part of every friend, in so unhappy a conjuncture as the present: but I forbore the latter, as I was informed, by many hands, of the resolute and philosophical spirit with which you support the unjust persecution you are suffering from the violence of the times, and of the strong consolation you receive from the consciousness of that integrity by which all your counsels and actions towards the public were directed. If this account be true, (and let me earnestly exhort you to verify it,) you reap the

* The person to whom this letter is inscribed is mentioned by no other ancient writer; so that nothing more is known of him than what may be collected from this and two more epistles addressed to him in the present Book. It appears he was at this time in exile, as having taken part against Cæsar in the civil war; and that he was soon afterwards restored to his country by the good offices of Dolabella.

happy fruits of those noble contemplations, in which, I well know, you have ever been conversant. I will venture at the same time to assure you, (how unnecessary soever that assurance may be to a man so perfectly well acquainted with the present age, and so thoroughly versed in the annals of all the past,) that the cruel injuries under which you are oppressed cannot possibly continue long. And this conjecture you may safely take from one, who, if he is less a politician in theory, perhaps, than he wishes, is certainly much more so by experience than he desires. Cæsar, indeed, seems to be every day more and more inclined to adopt those equitable measures, which our public circumstances require. The cause, likewise, for which you suffer, is of such a nature, that it must necessarily revive and flourish with the republic; which, most undoubtedly, cannot always remain in its present state of subjection. To which I will add, that Cæsar is continually giving proofs of greater moderation and generosity than we once imagined he would have shewn. But as instances of this kind are generally produced by particular conjunctures, and frequently, too, depend upon very minute circumstances, I shall watch every favourable moment, and endeavour to improve it to your best advantage; for you may be assured I shall neglect no opportunity of assisting and alleviating your misfortunes. I hope,

likewise, that the time is approaching, when I shall be enabled to promise you some more effectual service; of which, however, I had much rather give you proofs than professions. In the mean while be persuaded, that, as far as I have been capable of observing, there is no man who either is, or has been, under the same misfortune with yourself, that can boast of so many zealous and faithful friends; in which number I claim the principal rank.

Let me conclude with entreating you to preserve a firm and unbroken fortitude; for this is a possession which depends entirely upon yourself: as to what is in the disposal of Fortune, it must be governed by particular circumstances; and I shall exert all my prudence to turn them in the most advantageous manner for your interest. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO GALLUS.*

I AM much surprised at your reproaches; as I am sure they are altogether without foundation:

* Manutius conjectures, that this Gallus is the same with Publius Sestius, to whom the fifth letter of the first Book is addressed; whose family name, he supposes (from a passage

but were they ever so just, they would come with a very ill grace from you, who ought to have remembered those marks of distinction you received from me during my consulate. It seems, however, (for so you are pleased to inform me,) that Cæsar will certainly restore you. I know you are never sparing of your boasts; but I know too, that they have the ill luck never to be credited. It is in the same spirit you remind me, that you offered yourself as a candidate for the tribunitial office, merely in order to serve me.* Now to shew you how much I am in your interest, I wish you were a tribune still; as in that case you could not be at a loss for an *intercessor*.† You go on to reproach

which he cites out of the oration for Milo) to have been *Gallus*. That learned commentator supports this opinion with some very plausible reasons; but as the point in question is of little consequence, the reader will readily excuse me that I save him the trouble of considering them. *Gallus* seems to have been in the number of the Pompeian exiles; and to have drawn upon himself this letter, in answer to one, wherein he had reproached Cicero with ingratitude, in refusing to assist him with his good offices.

* Probably during Cicero's exile.

† Cicero's witticism, in this passage, turns upon the double sense of the word *intercessor*; which, besides its general meaning, has relation likewise to a particular privilege annexed to the tribunitial office. For every tribune had the liberty of interposing his negative upon the proceedings

me, with not daring to speak my sentiments. In proof, however, of the contrary, I need only refer you to the reply I made, when you had the front to solicit my assistance.

Thus (to let you see how absolutely impotent you are, where you most affect to appear formidable,) I thought proper to answer you in your own style. If you had made your remonstrances in the spirit of good manners, I should with pleasure, as I could with ease, have vindicated myself from your charge; and, in truth, it is not your conduct, but your language, that I have reason to resent. I am astonished, indeed, that you, of all men living, should accuse me of want of freedom, who are sensible it is by my means that there is any freedom left in the republic:* I say, *you of all men living*; because, if the informations you gave me concerning Catiline's conspiracy were false, where are the services of which you remind me? If they were true, you yourself are the best judge how great those obligations are which I have conferred upon every Roman in general. Farewell.

of the senate, which act was called *intercessio*, and the person who executed it was said to be the *intercessor* of the particular law, or other matter in deliberation.

* Alluding to his having suppressed Catiline's conspiracy.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAUERICUS, PROQUÆSTOR.

WHILST I was proconsul of Cilicia, (to which, you know, three Asiatic departments* were annexed,) there was no man with whom I entered into a stricter intimacy than with Andro, the son of Artemon, of Laodicea. I was his guest during my residence in that city; as his temper and manner of life extremely well accorded with mine. But

* The classic writers speak of Asia in three different senses, which, if not carefully distinguished, are apt to create great confusion: sometimes they comprehend, under the denomination of *Asia*, that vast tract of land which made up the third part, in their general division, of the whole globe; sometimes they mean only so much of that continent which was terminated by the bay of Issus, and the Pontus; and sometimes they confine it to a still more limited portion, and understand by *Asia* that kingdom which Atalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, bequeathed to the Romans, containing Mysia, Phrygia, Ionia, Lycaonia, &c. In the two former of these senses, Cilicia was a province of *Asia*; in the latter it was not. It is with respect, therefore, to this last division, that Cicero calls the three districts annexed to his government of Cilicia, *Asiatic*, in one of which the city of Laodicea was included. *Sigon. de Jur. Provinc.* i. 10.

my esteem for him rose still higher after I left the province, having, upon many subsequent occasions, experienced the gratitude with which he preserved me in his remembrance. Accordingly, it was with great pleasure I lately saw him in Rome; as you will easily believe, who know, by the many good offices you have yourself conferred upon his countrymen, how few of them are disposed to be thus sensible of obligations. I mention these circumstances to shew you, in the first place, that it is not without reason I interest myself in his concerns; and in the next, that his merit well entitles him to a generous reception under your roof. I shall be greatly indebted to you, therefore, for giving him a proof of the regard you bear me, by receiving him into your protection, and assisting him in all his affairs; so far, I mean, as may be consistent with your convenience and your honour. And this I most earnestly request, as an instance of your friendship that will be exceedingly agreeable to me. Farewell.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TREBIANUS.

I AM no less sensible of the share you allow me in your friendship, than I am conscious of that affection which I have ever entertained for you in return. Agreeably to these sentiments, I always lamented that it was your choice, or rather, I should say, your fate, to persevere in our civil wars; and I now feel the same concern at the unjust delay you meet with in being restored to your estate and honours, as you have always shewn in my misfortunes. I have frequently and fully opened my heart upon this subject, not only to Posthumulus, to Sestius, and to our common friend Atticus, but lately also to your freedman Theuda; to each of whom I have given repeated assurances, that it is my earnest desire to serve both you and your children, to the utmost of my ability. I beg, therefore, when you write to the latter, that you would assure them they may most readily command me, upon every occasion, wherein my purse, my pains, or my sincere advice, (for these, at least, are still in my power,) can be of any advantage to their affairs. If I enjoyed that influence and authority in

the commonwealth, to which the public services I have performed most justly entitle me, you, who deserve every honour that can be conferred, as well as are confessedly the first of that illustrious order to which you belong,* should retain the same distinguished rank in the republic you once possessed. But since we both of us fell at the same time, and in the same cause,† I can only promise you what yet remains in my power; the small assistance I mentioned above, together with that little degree of credit which I still, perhaps, have in some sort preserved from the general wreck of my former dignities. I have reason, indeed, from many instances, to believe, that Cæsar is not averse to me; and almost all his principal favourites, who happen to be persons to whom I have formerly rendered very considerable services, distinguish me with peculiar marks of their esteem and consideration. If, therefore, I should find a favourable opportunity of applying to Cæsar in your behalf, (which I am more and more inclined to hope, from what I can discover by the conversation of these my friends,) I shall not fail very strenuously to solicit him, in person, for your restoration, as it is upon the obtaining of this point that the recovery of your estate

* The equestrian.

† That of Pompey.

must depend. It is unnecessary to enter into particulars upon this article; let me only assure you, in one word, that I am wholly and most affectionately devoted to your service. But, as it much imports me, that all your family should be apprised of this truth, I hope your letters will acquaint them, that Trebianus may command whatever is in the power of Cicero to perform. I particularly mention this, as I am desirous they should be persuaded that there is nothing so difficult which I should not with pleasure undertake, in order to render you any service. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO QUINTUS GALLIUS.*

THOUGH I hope to receive many instances hereafter of the regard you bear me, (of which, indeed, you have long since rendered me sufficiently sensible,) yet there is one which at present occurs, wherein you may give me a very convincing proof of your friendship. Lucius Oppius, the son of

* Who this person was is entirely unknown. He seems to have been setting out for the government of one of the eastern provinces, when this letter was written.

Marcus, is a merchant in Philomelium,* with whom I am extremely intimate. But, besides warmly recommending him as a man I love, I must likewise claim your kindness to him, as he is an agent for Egnatius Rufus, a Roman knight, with whom I am most affectionately connected, not only by a daily intercourse, but by many great and good offices. I beseech you, then, to take the person of Oppius, together with the affairs of Egnatius, into your protection; a request which I make with as much zeal as if my own interest were concerned: again and again, therefore, I entreat your compliance. I beg, likewise, that you would give two or three lines to be presented to you, as a memorandum, when you shall arrive in your province: but I desire you would express them in such terms, as may strongly remind you how very earnestly I applied in behalf of these my friends. Farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS.

I DARE not pretend* to advise, or to animate, a man of your distinguished judgment and magnani-

* A city of Phrygia, upon the borders of Galatia.

mity; much less shall I attempt to send you any consolation. If it be true, indeed, that you bear the sad events which have lately happened, in the manner I am informed, I have more reason to congratulate your fortitude, than to soothe your affliction. But were the fact entirely otherwise, and you had sunk under the pressure of our public misfortunes, yet I am so far from being qualified to alleviate your sorrows, that I am altogether incapable of assuaging my own. The single testimony, therefore, that I can give you of my friendship, is to convince your family, by my readiness in complying with all their requests, that there are no services so great which they have not reason to expect from me on your account.

But, notwithstanding I just now disclaimed all right of sending you my admonitions, yet I cannot forbear saying, (and you may consider it either as my advice, my opinion, or what my friendship would not suffer me to suppress,) that I wish you would prevail with yourself to adopt the same measures which I have pursued, and return to Italy. I wish, indeed, you would be persuaded to think, that if the republic should in any degree subsist, you ought to live in it, as one who, though justly, and in the general estimation of the world, is deserving of the highest rank, yet wisely submitted to the irresistible necessity of the times; and if the

republic should be totally destroyed, that you would look upon Rome as the most proper scene of exile; for, tell me, my friend, if liberty be the object of our pursuit, what part of the world is exempted from the present dominion? or if some place of retirement be what we seek, where can we find a more eligible retreat, than in our native country? And, believe me, he who holds the supreme power, is not only a friend to genius and literature, but disposed, as far as the circumstances and situation of his affairs will permit, to pay a particular regard to those who are distinguished by their birth* and dignities. But this is going farther than I intended. To return, therefore, to the single purpose of my letter, let me assure you that I am wholly yours, and ready to co-operate with your relations in every instance wherein they shall approve themselves such; † but if they should not, you may depend, at least, upon my acting, upon all occasions, agreeably to our friendship. Farewell.

* The family of Marcellus was one of the noblest in Rome. See Vol. II. p. 34, note.

† It appears from this and other passages in these letters, that some part of Marcellus's family discovered less warmth in promoting his welfare, than seems to have been due to the merit of so illustrious a relation.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

I RECEIVED a letter from you some time since by your courier Phileros, as also another three days ago by the hands of Zethus, both which I will now answer. It was with much satisfaction I found, by the former, that you were extremely sensible of the concern I expressed for your health. Believe me, however, a letter could but faintly represent the uneasiness I suffered upon that account ; for though I cannot but acknowledge that there are many from whom I receive great marks of esteem and affection, yet there is not one in that number whom I prefer to yourself. It is a very great, perhaps I might say a principal, inducement for my holding you in this rank, that you have long distinguished me with an unvaried friendship ; yet this is a circumstance which you share in common with many others ; but your amiable disposition, and those agreeable qualities of every kind which you possess, are claims to my heart in which you are without a rival. To these I must add, I will not call it the Attic, but (what is far more spirited) the true old Roman wit, which so elegantly enlivens your

conversation. I will not scruple, indeed, to acknowledge, (whatever you may think of me from the confession,) that I am wonderfully delighted with humour, especially with that sort which is of our own domestic growth. I esteem this latter kind so much the more, as it is now become extremely uncommon; for, by the admission some years since of the Latians * into Rome, and lately even of the Gauls † themselves, our native humour has been tainted with the infusion of foreign cant, and is almost entirely extinct. ‡ For this reason,

* The inhabitants of Latium; a part of Italy which is now called the *Campagna di Roma*. They obtained the honour and advantage of being made free of Rome, towards the close of the Italic war, A. U. 664. See Vol. I. p. 82, note. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 226.

† Cæsar, in the wantonness of his power, had lately admitted several of the Gauls into the privileges of Roman citizens, and had even introduced some of them to a seat in the senate. *Suet. in vit. Jul.* 76.

‡ It is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to determine, with any precision, what it was that distinguished the spirit of this true old Roman wit and humour which Cicero here represents as almost entirely extinct. But, in general, as far as can be collected from other parts of our author's writings, it seems to have consisted in what they call *Urbanity*; a term, however, which they themselves did not well know how to explain; for when Brutus, in the dialogue concerning the most celebrated orators, inquires, *Qui est iste tandem arbanitatis color?* Cicero replies, *Nes-*

whenever I converse with you, I imagine myself transported back into former times, and to be talking with the Granii, the Lucilii, or, in truth, even with the Crassi and the Lælii of old.* There is

cio : tantum esse quandam scio. Nevertheless, it appears, by what he immediately subjoins, to have resulted from a certain refinement of expression and elegancy of pronunciation, which was to be found only amongst the most polite and cultivated natives of Rome. Perhaps, therefore, it was this inexplicable grace of language and utterance that was infected by the admission of these strangers into Rome; who, probably, had introduced among the little pretenders to wit and humour, a foreign tone of voice, together with an exotic turn of phraseology. A prevailing fashion of this kind, would necessarily extinguish that spirit which seasoned the old Roman pleasantry with a *nescio quo sapore vernaculo*, (as Cicero somewhere calls it,) a certain exquisite taste and flavour peculiar to its native soil. *Vide Cic. de Clar. Orator. 170. et seq.*

* The several persons here mentioned, were celebrated wits, who flourished about the time that Cicero was born, that is, in the consulate of C. Atilius Serranus and Q. Servilius Cæpio, U. C. 647. The reader has already had some account of Lælius in Vol. I. p. 5, note. Crassus was the most distinguished orator of his times; and signalized his eloquence when he was only twenty-one years of age, at the trial of C. Carbo, who was concerned in the disturbances which were raised by the Gracchi. Lucilius was a Roman knight, and great uncle to Pompey. He considerably improved upon that kind of satirical poetry, which received its utmost perfection, in the following ceau-

not a single person, indeed, except yourself, in whom I can discover the least vein of that original spirit which so agreeably distinguished the pleasantry of our forefathers. But since to these uncommon charms of wit, you add the attractions, likewise, of so singular a friendship towards myself, can you wonder that I was greatly alarmed at your late very dangerous indisposition ?

As to your other letter, in which you acquit yourself of all intention to dissuade me from my Neapolitan purchase,* and the assurance you give me that you only meant to advise my continuance in Rome, I understood you in no other sense. But I suppose, (and your letter now before me confirms the supposition,) that you did not agree with me in thinking I might be justified, I will not say in wholly renouncing, but in seldom taking a part in public affairs. With this view I imagine it was, that you reminded me of those times in which Catulus acted so distinguished a part. † But tell me,

tury, from the hands of Horace. Some fragments of his writings still remain. *Granius* was a person of low rank ; being only a *præco*, or sort of crier, in the courts of justice. Cicero, however, has immortalized his memory by the frequent encomiums he passes upon the singular elegance and pleasantry of his wit and humour. *Cic. de Clar. Orat.* 158, 159, &c. *Dac. Præf. sur les Sat. d'Horacc.* v. 10.

* See p. 166 of this Volume.

† Q. L. Catulus was consul in the year 675, and died

my friend, what resemblance is there between those days and the present? I was, at that period, far from being inclined to absent myself from the care of the republic, as I then sat at the helm of the commonwealth, and shared in the direction of its most important motions;* but now I can scarce claim the privilege to officiate even in the lowest functions of the state. Were I to reside, therefore, altogether at Naples, would there be a single decree of the senate the less by my absence? On the contrary, though I live in Rome, and ap-

about the year 693; during which period, he had many opportunities of exerting his patriotism, by rising up against the gradual encroachments of Pompey and Cæsar upon the public liberty. Thus he opposed, with a spirit worthy the best times of ancient Rome, that unlimited and unconstitutional commission, which was granted to Pompey under a pretence of the piratic war, and rendered himself so gloriously obnoxious to Cæsar, that the latter endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to blast his well-established credit, by an impeachment for embezzling the public treasure. In short, the welfare of his country was the great and constant object of his unwearied labours; in which he persevered with a zeal and resolution which no fears or hopes could shake; and which Cato, of all his contemporaries, seems alone to have equalled. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 279. *Dio* xxxvi. p. 18. 49. 50. *Orat pro Sext.* 47.

* The consulate of Cicero fell within the period mentioned in the preceding note, that is, in the year 690.

pear publicly in the forum, they are settled by our friend * in his own house, entirely without my participation. If I happen, however, to occur to his memory, he sometimes does me the honour to prefix my name. † Accordingly, I am often informed, from Syria and Armenia, that a decree of the senate is published in those provinces, and published, too, as made on my motion, of which I never heard the least mention before. You will suspect, perhaps, that I am not serious; but, be assured, I speak the literal truth. I have, at this instant, letters in my possession from the remotest potentates of the globe, returning me thanks for having procured them an acknowledgment of their regal title from the senate; ‡ when I was so far from know-

* Cæsar.

† It was usual, in drawing up the decrees of the senate, to prefix the names of those senators who were principally concerned in promoting them.

‡ It was the ambition of foreign princes to obtain an acknowledgment of their regal title from the senate, and to be declared friends and allies of the republic; an honour, which, in the more regular times of the Roman government, was but rarely granted, and only in consideration of some signal services; but, in that general corruption which preceded the ruin of the commonwealth, this honour became venal, as it supplied a very plentiful stream of wealth to those leading men in the state, who were not ashamed to prostitute the most sacred privileges to their insatiable

ing they were honoured with that appellation, that I was utterly ignorant there were any such persons existing. Nevertheless, as long as this *superintendent of our manners** shall continue in Rome, I will comply with your advice; but the moment he leaves us, † I shall certainly set out to join you over a plate of mushrooms. ‡ If I can procure a house at Naples, it is my purpose, you must know, to live so abstemiously, that what our late sumptuary law §

avarice. Cæsar, in particular, drew immense riches from this single source; a strong instance of which has already been produced in Vol. I. p. 55, note. *Cæs. Bel. Gal. i. 43. Suet. in vit. Jul. 54.*

* This title had lately been decreed to Cæsar, by which he was invested with all the power of the censorial office, without the name. It does not appear for what reason he chose this appellation rather than that of censor. Some have supposed, that it was from an affectation of modesty; but they who assign this reason, seem to forget, that Cæsar did not blush to be associated with the gods in the public worship of his degenerate Romans. *Suet. in vit. Jul. 76. Appian. Bel. Civil. iii. p. 494.*

† Cæsar was at this time preparing to set out upon his expedition against the two sons of Pompey, who had assembled a very considerable army in Spain.

‡ This dish was in great esteem among the Romans.

§ This law was enacted by Cæsar soon after his return from the African war. It regulated the expences of the Romans, not only with regard to their tables, but also their dress, equipage, furniture, and buildings. But Cæsar seems

allows for one day's expence, shall suffice me for ten. But, if I cannot meet with one to my satisfaction, I intend to be your guest, and I am sure it is not in my power to oblige you more.

Though I mentioned in my last, that I almost despaired of Sylla's house, yet I have not absolutely given up all thoughts of that purchase. Agreeably, therefore, to your offer, I beg you would take some workmen with you, in order to survey it; for, if the walls and roof are in a good repair, I shall perfectly well approve of all the rest. Farewell.

LETTER XII.

[A U. 707.]

TO TREBONIUS.

THOUGH I had always a great affection for Dolabella, yet I never received any favour from him till now. Indeed, he never before had an opportunity of repaying those good offices he owed me, for having more than once stood forth in his defence. But his late zeal in protecting your estate, together with his present assistance in promoting

to have found it a much easier task to corrupt, than to reform; for though he was very desirous of enforcing this salutary law, yet it appears to have been extremely ill observed. *Suet. in Jul. 43. Ad Att. xiii. 7.*

your restoration, have so abundantly satisfied every claim I have to his services, that there is no man to whom I think myself more strongly obliged. I take so sincere a part with you in the joy of this event, that, instead of your thanks, I expect your congratulations. The former, indeed, I by no means desire; but the latter you may, with great propriety, send me.

Since your distinguished merit has thus removed all obstructions to your return, it will be agreeable to your good sense, and greatness of mind, to forget all that you have lost, and reflect only on the advantages you have recovered. You will remember, then, that you are restored to your family and to your friends; and that, whatever you have suffered in your estate, is considerably over-balanced by the glory you have acquired; which, I am persuaded, would be still more acceptable to you, if the republic had in any degree subsisted.

I have received a letter from my friend Vestorius, wherein he informs me of the grateful mention you make of my services. I am extremely obliged to you for your professions of this kind in general, but particularly for those you expressed to our friend Syro;* as I am greatly desirous to ap-

* A celebrated Epicurean philosopher, who is said to have been Virgil's preceptor.

prove my conduct upon all occasions to every sensible and judicious man. I hope to see you very soon. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.*

I AM persuaded that your quæstor, Marcus Varro, † who is setting out to attend you, needs no

* Marcus Brutus was nephew to Cato, whose virtues he had the just ambition to copy. He seems, however, in some points, to have fallen short of the model he proposed to imitate; as he by no means acted up to that inflexible uniformity of conduct, which renders the character of Cato so gloriously singular. Thus, though Brutus, at the battle of Pharsalia, engaged on the side of Pompey, yet, immediately after the unsuccessful event of that action, he not only made his peace with Cæsar, but was willing to contribute to the ruin of that cause in which he had so lately engaged; for, when Cæsar was doubtful what route Pompey had taken in his flight, it was by the advice and information of Brutus that he followed him into Egypt. Cæsar, just before he set out for Africa, appointed Brutus governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which he administered with great moderation and integrity. It was during his residence in this province, that the present and following letters addressed to him in this Book, appear to have been written. *Plut. in vit. Brut.*

† Some of the commentators have supposed, that this is

recommendation to your favour; for I doubt not, that, in conformity to the maxims of our forefathers, you look upon his office as giving him a sufficient title to your regard. And I need not tell you, that it was the policy of ancient times to consider the relation between a proconsul and his quæstor, as next to that of a father and son. However, as Varro imagines that a letter from me will have great weight, and has pressed me to write to you in the strongest terms, I willingly perform an of-

the celebrated Marcus Terentius Varro, to whom several letters in the preceding Book are addressed. But Cellarius has justly observed, that the age and dignity of that illustrious Roman, render it highly improbable he should at this time have been quæstor to Brutus, who was a much younger man than himself. Perhaps the person recommended in this letter, is the same whom Horace mentions as an unsuccessful adventurer in satiric poetry :

*Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino,
Atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem.*

Sat. x. lib. i. 46.

For the commentators upon these lines inform us, that the poet here spoken of was Terentius Varro, a native of the city of *Atax*, in the Narbonensian Gaul, from which he was called *Atacinus*, and who was born in the year of Rome 673; he must, consequently, in the present year, have been thirty-four, which perfectly well coincides with the age one may justly suppose the person to have been, in whose favour this letter is written.

fice, which, he believes, will prove so much to his advantage. That you may be sensible I ought not to refuse this request, I must inform you, that he cultivated my friendship from his first appearance in the forum; as, in his more mature years, two circumstances concurred, which extremely increased the affection I had conceived for him; the one, that he distinguished himself, as you well know, with great genius and application in that persuasive art, in which I still take particular pleasure; the other, that he early became a member of the society for farming the public revenues. I wish, indeed, that he had never embarked in their concerns, as he has been a considerable sufferer by his engagements of this sort. However, his union with a company for whose interests I have so great a regard, was one means of more strongly cementing our friendship. After having acted with the highest integrity and applause, both as an advocate and a judge, he turned his ambition (long, indeed, before this revolution in the commonwealth had taken place,) upon obtaining some employment in the magistracy; and he esteemed the honours of this kind, which his country should confer upon him, as the noblest reward of all his former services. During my late residence at Brundisium,*

* Cicero, upon his return to Italy, after the battle of Pharsalia, resided at Brundisium till Cæsar's arrival.

he obligingly charged himself with carrying a letter and a message from me to Cæsar; and he gave me a very strong proof of his affection, in the zeal and fidelity with which he undertook and executed this generous commission.

I purposed, after having thus assigned the reasons which induce me to give Varro my friendship, to have particularly pointed out the virtues of his heart; but I think I must have sufficiently rendered you sensible of these, by declaring upon what motives he has so strongly engaged my affection. Nevertheless, I will here, in a more distinct and explicit manner, assure you, that you will receive much satisfaction and advantage from the company and assistance of my friend. You will find him, indeed, to be a man of singular modesty and good sense, as well as of indefatigable application to business, at the same time that he is an entire stranger to immoderate desires of every kind. I know not whether I ought to promise thus far in his behalf, as his character, after all, must be referred to your own experience. But in forming new connexions of every sort, it is of much importance in what manner the first approaches are made, and by whose hands the avenues of friendship (if I may so express myself) are laid open. It is this office that I have here undertaken; and though the employment in which Varro stands related to you may

well render my services unnecessary, yet they certainly cannot render them prejudicial. If, then, I possess that share in your esteem which Varro imagines, and which I myself am persuaded I enjoy, let me soon have the satisfaction of hearing, that my friend has received all the advantages from this letter that are agreeable to his own hopes, and to my firm expectations. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LIGARIUS.*

THOUGH, agreeably to the friendship which subsists between us, I ought to have offered you either assistance or consolation under your misfortunes, yet I have hitherto forborne writing, in the belief that it was not in the power of mere words to re-

* Quintus Ligarius was lieutenant to C. Considius, proconsul of Africa, in the year 703; in which post he gained the general esteem of the whole province. Accordingly, at their unanimous request, Considius, upon his departure from Rome, resigned the administration into the hands of Ligarius. During his residence in that station, the civil war broke out; and he was at this time suffering exile, for having acted upon that occasion on the side of Pompey.—*Orat. pro. Ligar. i.* See Let. 26 of this Book.

move or alleviate your afflictions; but, as I have now reason to entertain the strongest hopes of shortly seeing you restored to your country, I cannot any longer omit to acquaint you with my sentiments and inclination concerning your affairs. In the first place, then, I am well convinced, that you will by no means find Cæsar inexorable. The situation of public circumstances, a regard to his character in the world, length of time, together with what appears to me to be his natural temper, these all concur to soften his resentment every day more and more. This, I imagine, will appear to be his disposition towards all, in general, who have offended him; but that it is particularly so with respect to yourself, I will assure you upon the authority of his most intimate friends. I have never ceased to solicit them in your behalf ever since we received the first news from Africa; * and your brothers have, with equal assiduity, joined me in these applications. Their virtues, indeed, together with that affectionate and unwearied zeal with which they enter into your cause, are so extremely engaging, that I am persuaded even Cæsar himself cannot refuse any thing to their requests. †

* Concerning Cæsar's victory over Scipio.

† The two brothers of Ligarius seem to have stood neutrals in the civil war. But one of them had something more

But if we do not advance with all the expedition we wish, it must be imputed to those numberless and important occupations which render Cæsar difficult of access; as it is to him alone that every suit is now preferred. To this I must add, that, as he was particularly incensed by the late war fomented against him in Africa, he was inclined to keep those so much longer in suspense, concerning their fate, to whom he imagines it was owing that he had so many additional difficulties to encounter. But his resentment, even upon this article also, appears evidently to be cooling; and I desire you would both believe and remember the assurance I here give you, that you will soon be removed from your present uneasy situation.

Having thus acquainted you with my sentiments of your affairs, I had rather leave it to my actions than professions, to declare how much I wish to assist you in them. Let me assure you, however, if I possessed that influence in the commonwealth, which you are pleased to think I have merited by my services, you should have no reason to regret your present circumstances.—But, alas! the same cause for which you are suffering in your person,

than a mere negative merit to plead, as he had distinguished himself, during his quæstorship, by promoting the honours and interest of Cæsar. *Orat. pro. Ligari. 12.*

has impaired me in my credit. But whatever remains to me of my former authority, whatever shadow still attends me of that dignity I once enjoyed, in a word, as far as my advice, my assistance, or my interest can avail, they shall, upon all occasions, be faithfully employed in seconding the pious zeal of your excellent brothers. In the mean time, preserve that manly composure of mind which you have always possessed. You ought to do so, indeed, in the first place, for the reasons I have already assigned; and, in the next, because your public conduct has ever been such as to afford you a just ground to entertain the most favourable hopes. But were your prospect entirely the reverse, yet a consciousness of the integrity of all your counsels and actions, with regard to the commonwealth, should enable you to support the worst that can happen with a firm and unshaken fortitude. Farewell.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.

I HAVE always had the satisfaction to observe, that you were particularly inquisitive into every circumstance relating to me. I doubt not, there-

fore, of your being apprised, not only that Arpinum is the place of my nativity, but that, upon all occasions, I zealously patronise the interests of this city. The whole of their revenues for religious purposes, as also for the repairs of their temples and other public buildings, arises entirely from their estates in Gaul. Accordingly, we have dispatched Quintus Fufidius, Marcus Faucius, and Quintus Mamercus, each of them persons of equestrian rank, in order to collect the rents, and to inspect our affairs in that province. I therefore recommend them to your particular protection, entreating you, by our mutual friendship, to assist them in the speedy and successful discharge of their commission, and to distinguish their persons, agreeably to your usual politeness, with every possible mark of honour. You will, by these means, add three very worthy men to the number of your friends, as well as oblige a community extremely sensible of the good offices they receive. Let me add, too, you will perform a service highly acceptable also to myself; who, as I have at all times stood forth the patron of the Arpinates, am in a more especial manner engaged to take their interests under my protection during the present year. For, in order to the better government of this corporation, I have procured my son and nephew, together with my friend Marcus Cæsius, to be cho-

sen ædiles, the only magistrates which our city admits. It will be much, therefore, to the credit of their administration, as well as a particular honour to myself, if the affairs of this community, during their office, should, by the assistance of your generous services, be placed in a more advantageous posture. For which purpose, I must again most earnestly conjure you to comply with my present request. Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

I HAVE, in a separate letter, recommended to you, with all possible warmth, the commissaries appointed by the city of Arpinum. But I shall here single out one of them in particular, and desire your peculiar regards to Q. Fufidius, a person with whom I am united by every friendly tie. I do not mean, however, by thus distinguishing him from the rest, to lessen the weight of my general recommendation, but only to add this as a sort of supplement to what I have there requested. Fufidius, who is son-in-law to my particular friend Marcus Cæsius, acted under me in Cilicia, in quality of military tribune; and he acquitted himself

so much to my satisfaction, that I had reason to think I received a favour, instead of bestowing one, when I nominated him to that employment. To this I must add, what I know will considerably raise him in your esteem, that he has a taste and genius for our favourite studies. Let me entreat you, then, to receive my friend with the most distinguishing marks of your politeness, and to assist him in the more effectual discharge of an office which he accepted merely in compliance with my persuasions, and contrary to his own convenience. But as it is the ambition of every man of a generous mind to be approved in all his actions, Fufidius is desirous of executing this commission in such a manner, as to merit not only my applause in particular, who engaged him to undertake it, but that, likewise, of our whole community in general. Now this he will undoubtedly receive, if my recommendation should procure him your friendly offices. Farewell.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

THE excuse you allege for so frequently sending me duplicates of your letters, I very readily ad-

mit; so far, I mean, as it relates to your caution of guarding against the negligence or treachery of those who undertake to deliver them. But when you add, that a poverty of genius likewise (to use your own expression) obliges you to this continual repetition, it is an apology I can neither approve nor allow. On the contrary, I who am enriched, as you ironically tell me, (for in that sense I understand your compliment,) with all the treasures of eloquence, and who, in good earnest, do not think myself wholly destitute of them, even I am far from pretending to equal the delicacy and elegance of your compositions.

I always approved of your having accepted the government of Achaia, but much more so, after I had read your last letter. The several reasons you mention, are every one of them perfectly just, and altogether worthy of that prudence and dignity which distinguishes your character; but I can by no means agree with you in thinking, that this affair has proved so different from what you expected, as to give you just occasion to condemn the step you have taken. The truth of it is, the dreadful confusion and desolation which this detestable civil war has universally spread, inclines every man to imagine, that both himself, and the scene in which he happens to be placed, are, of all others, the most completely miserable. Hence it is that

you repent of the choice you have made, and look upon us as much happier who remain at Rome; whereas we, on the contrary, though we do not suppose your situation is wholly without its inconveniences, yet think it greatly preferable to our own. In one respect I am sure it is so; as you have at least the happiness of daring to write your complaints, which is more than we can do with any safety. This, however, is not to be imputed to the conqueror, who conducts himself, it must be acknowledged, with the utmost moderation; but is entirely owing to that general spirit of insolence, which victory, in all civil wars, never fails to inspire. The single point in which our situation can pretend to have had the advantage of yours is, that it gave us the satisfaction not only of knowing somewhat earlier than you could, that your colleague Marcellus* has obtained his pardon, but of being witnesses in what manner that whole affair was conducted; for, be assured, it is the only honourable transaction, of a public nature, that has passed amongst us since the breaking out of this calamitous civil war. Cæsar, after having complained of the *acrimony* (as he called it) with which Marcellus had opposed him, and mentioned, with the

* Sulpicius and Marcellus were colleagues in the office of consul. An. Urb. 702.

highest applause, the equity and prudence of your conduct in the same conjuncture, * on a sudden, and much beyond our expectations, declared, that notwithstanding he had so much reason to complain of Marcellus, he could not refuse to pardon him at the general request of the senate. For I should have told you, that as soon as Lucius Piso had mentioned in the senate the affair of Marcellus, and his relation Caius Marcellus had thrown himself at Cæsar's feet, the whole house unanimously rose up, and, approaching towards Cæsar, joined in one common intercession. In short, there was something so truly glorious in the transaction of that day, that I could not but look upon it as a sort of symptom that the republic was again reviving. All the senators who had been asked † their opinion before me, severally returned their acknowledgments to Cæsar, except Volcatius, ‡ who

* That is, during the consulate of Sulpicius and Marcellus. See an account of his conduct at this critical period in note p. 12 of this Volume.

† When a question was moved in the senate, the method of debating upon it was, that the consul, after having delivered his own opinion, proceeded to ask the opinions of all the other senators severally by name, and in their proper order, beginning always with the consulars, and going on to the prætorians, &c. *Mid. on the R. S.* p. 150.

‡ Probably the person here mentioned is Lucius Volcatius Tullus, who was consul in the year 687. The noble

declared that he would not have made them, even if he had been in the place of Marcellus himself. But when it came to my turn, I instantly changed a resolution which I had long formed. I had determined, not from indolence, believe me, but as being sensible of the want of that authority which once attended my eloquence, to preserve a perpetual silence in public. But the greatness of mind which Cæsar discovered upon this occasion, together with that noble zeal which broke forth at the same time in the senate, entirely overcame the strength of my resolution, and I addressed my acknowledgments to Cæsar in a long harangue.*

spirit which he shewed upon this occasion, in scorning to thank Cæsar for what the usurper ought to have had no power to bestow, was worthy of the best ages of the republic; and though Cicero speaks of it without the least approbation, it was the only circumstance in this business that merited his applause. For must it not have affected a true patriot with the utmost concern and indignation, to see the Roman senate, that august council of the whole world, (as Cicero himself has somewhere called it,) humbly supplicating, at the feet of Cæsar, for the restoration of one of the most illustrious citizens of the commonwealth?

* This speech is still extant, and perhaps it is one of the noblest monuments that remains of the grace and energy of ancient eloquence. It abounds with the most spirited and best turned compliments, that wit ever paid to power; for which the severest patriotism could scarce condemn Cicero,

This, I fear, may prove the occasion, in other instances, of drawing me out from that literary retirement, which affords the single consolation I receive under our general misfortunes. Nevertheless, since I have, by this mean, avoided giving Cæsar offence, who, perhaps, would have interpreted my silence into a proof that I considered the republic as no longer subsisting, I shall, now and then, resume this practice ; I shall resume it, however, extremely seldom, and only just enough to comply with his inclinations, without interrupting my philosophical studies. For though I was early devoted to all the liberal arts and sciences, and particularly to philosophy, yet I find my passion for her growing still stronger upon me every day I live ; perhaps it is, because age has rendered me more mature for the lessons of wisdom, and that the misery of the times has deprived me of every other relief. I perceive, by your letters, that you are called off by numberless occupations, from studies of this kind ; I hope, however, that the long nights will now afford you some leisure to resume them.

Your son (and let me call him also mine) distinguishes me with great marks of his considera-

as they all artfully tend to induce Cæsar to restore the republic.

tion; as in return I admire him not only for his probity and virtue, but for his learning and genius. He frequently confers with me in relation to your resigning, or continuing in your government; and I still remain in the same opinion, that we should neither of us take any measures but such as shall be perfectly agreeable to Cæsar. Affairs are so situated at Rome, that you could find no other satisfaction in being here, than what would arise from enjoying the company of your friends and family. For though Cæsar's conduct is unexceptionable, yet, with respect to all the rest, both of persons and circumstances, I am sure you would much rather (if one or other must necessarily be your choice) receive an account of them from others, than be a spectator of them yourself. When I say this, it is in preference of *your* interest to my own; as, upon all other considerations, I am extremely desirous of seeing you amongst us. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.

LUCIUS CASTRONIUS PÆTUS is by far the most considerable person in the city of Lucca; but not more distinguished, however, by his birth and rank,

than by the solidity of his understanding, and the friendliness of his disposition. In one word, he is in every respect a most worthy man. I might add, too, (if it were of any importance to his character,) that he is not only conspicuous for his eminent virtues, but for his affluent fortunes. I converse with him upon terms of the most unreserved intimacy; and, indeed, there is no man of senatorian rank whom he treats with greater marks of esteem. I therefore recommend him to you, not only as *my* friend, but as worthy of being *yours*. And I am very sure, that, whatever service you shall render him, will afford a satisfaction to yourself, as well as confer an obligation upon me. Farewell.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS.

I SENT you a long letter, * a very few days ago, by Quintius Mucius, wherein I fully explained my sentiments with respect to the disposition and conduct which I thought would become you in the

* This letter is not extant, but it probably contained an account of what had passed in the senate, concerning the restoration of Marcellus. See p. 244 of this Volume.

present conjuncture. Nevertheless, as your freedman Theophilus (of whose faithful affection towards you I have been a witness,) is setting out for Greece, I was unwilling he should wait upon you without bringing a letter from me.

To repeat what I urged in my last, let me again most earnestly exhort you, whatever the form of our government be, to return to Rome as soon as possible. It is true, you will have the mortification, perhaps, to see many things that will give you pain; but not more, however, than you every day learn from common report. Now it would be unworthy a man of your character, to be affected only with what passes before his view, when he can hear the very same facts related, (and probably magnified too,) with less concern.—But you will tell me, perhaps, that, should you return to Rome, you must submit either to act or to speak in contradiction to the sentiments of your heart. In answer to which, I must observe, in the first place, that it has ever been deemed the part of true wisdom, to yield to the circumstances of the times, or, to express the same thing in other words, to comply with unavoidable necessity; and, in the next place, that, as matters now stand, the constraint you fear is in no sort among the number of our present grievances. It is possible, indeed, that you may not be at liberty openly to declare your

opinions, but totally silent you may, undoubtedly, be. For the sole cognizance of all affairs is centered in a single person,* and he determines, as seems good to himself, without consulting any of his party. And this would have been pretty much the case, had that other chief, † whose cause we chose to follow, been now in possession of the commonwealth. For at a time when we were all embarked with him in the same common danger, he admitted none into his council, but those that were ill qualified to be his advisers. And can it be supposed, that he would have placed himself more upon a level with us after victory, than when his success was altogether doubtful? Is it to be imagined, that he who rejected those most prudent measures you recommended in your consulate, and refused, likewise, to follow the concurrent sentiments of you, and your relation, ‡ who succeeded you in that office, and administered it by your counsels—is it to be imagined that such a man, were he now at the head of the commonwealth, would consult either your opinion or mine? All civil wars abound with numberless calamities; a truth which, though our ancestors were so happy as never once to

* Cæsar.

† Pompey.

‡ Caius Marcellus.

have experienced, the present generation too frequently has.* But amidst its many miserable consequences, none is more justly to be dreaded than victory itself. For, though it should turn on the more meritorious side, yet it will be apt to inspire even these with a spirit of insolence and cruelty; and if they should not be so by inclination, they, at least, will by necessity. For, in many instances, the victor must find himself constrained to comply with the will of those who assisted him in his conquest. Tell me, my friend, did we not both foresee what cruelties would have been exercised, if our party had proved successful? And would you, in that case, have lived an exile from your country, that you might not have been a spectator of so sad a scene? I know you will reply in the negative; and will assure me, that you should then have remained in the undisturbed possession of your estate and honours. Yet certainly it would have become a man of your patriotic spirit to have been far less concerned for his own interest, than for that of the republic.

But to what purpose, let me farther ask, should you persevere in banishing yourself from Rome?

* The first civil war, in the strict acceptation of that term, which Rome had ever seen, was between Marius and Sylla, about forty-two years before the date of this letter.

Hitherto, indeed, the world has approved your conduct, in having entered into the civil war with reluctance, and in having wisely declined pushing it to its last desperate extremity. The world admires, too, your good fortune, (as it may justly be called, considering the distracted state of the times,) in having been able to maintain your dignity and reputation in an honourable retreat. But the time is now arrived, when you ought to think no place more desirable than your native country. If she appears less beautiful than formerly, this circumstance should not diminish your affection, but rather raise your compassion; and, as there are so many illustrious citizens, whose loss she deploras, you should spare her the additional sorrow of being deprived likewise of you. If you discovered a true greatness of spirit in scorning to be the suppliant of Cæsar's power, may you not betray too much pride in contemning the offers of his clemency? And if you acted wisely in withdrawing from your country, may it not be thought insensibility, should you shew no desire of returning? In a word, though you should take no satisfaction in public affairs, yet surely it is imprudent to abandon your own. But, above all, let me entreat you to consider whether your present situation is as secure, as it may perhaps be agreeable. Violences are every where committed with great licentiousness;

but more particularly in foreign countries, where villainy is less restrained by awe and shame from its cruel purposes. I mention this from my concern for your welfare ; which is so great, indeed, that if it be not equal, it is certainly, at least, inferior only to that of your relation Marcellus.* Believe me, then, it becomes you to act agreeably to the circumstances of the times, and with a rational regard to the preservation of your life and fortunes. Farewell.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 707.]

MARCUS MARCELLUS † TO CICERO.

I HAVE, upon every occasion, shewn you, but particularly in the present, that I pay the highest regard to your sentiments and advice. Accordingly, notwithstanding my very affectionate relation, Caius Marcellus, had not only entreated, but earnestly conjured me to act in the manner you recommend, yet his persuasions could by no means prevail, till I found them supported by yours.

* Caius Marcellus.

† This letter seems to be an answer to that which is mentioned in the first note on the preceding epistle.

I am indebted to your letter for a particular account of the manner in which this affair has been transacted; and I am extremely obliged to you for your congratulations thereupon, as I know they proceed from an excellent heart. But among the very few friends and relations who have sincerely endeavoured to promote my recal, nothing in this whole transaction affords me so true a joy, as to have experienced your singular zeal and good-will towards me. Every thing else, indeed, the calamities of the times have taught me to resign with great tranquillity and indifference; but to be deprived of the friendship of men of your worth and character, would render life, under every circumstance, altogether insupportable. It is upon the enjoyment, therefore, of this privilege, that I chiefly congratulate myself; and I shall endeavour to convince you, that you have conferred your good offices upon one who is most sincerely and warmly your friend. Farewell.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO MARCUS BRUTUS.

LUCIUS TITIVS STRABO is one of the most illustrious and most distinguished of our Roman knights.

I live with him in the strictest familiarity ; as, indeed, we are united by every kind of friendly connexion. He claims a debt which is owing to him in your province, from Publius Cornelius ; but Volcatius, who presides in our court of justice * at Rome, having refused to take cognizance of the cause, has directed it to be tried in Gaul. I request your assistance, therefore, in bringing this affair to a speedy determination ; and I request it so much the more earnestly than if it were my own, as a man may, with a better grace, be anxious for the pecuniary concerns that relate to his friend than to himself. Let me entreat you, then, to take the whole conduct of this business under your immediate direction. And I hope you will endeavour, as far as justice shall permit, that Strabo's freedman, who is employed to manage this suit, may recover the money in question with as little

* The person who so presided was, according to the constitution of the Roman government, the *Prætor Urbanus*, or city prætor ; but Cæsar would not suffer the people to proceed this year to the usual election of their magistrates, excepting only with respect to the tribunes and ædiles. Instead of prætors, therefore, he arbitrarily appointed a certain number of persons to administer the civil jurisdiction of the city, which is the reason (as one of the commentators conjectures,) that Cicero does not call Volcatius by the proper title of his office. *Suet. in Jul.* 76.

trouble and expence as possible. In this you will greatly oblige me ; and you will find, likewise, that Strabo is extremely deserving of your friendship. Again and again, therefore, I conjure you to take his interest under your protection, with the same care you are wont to exert in every instance that you know will be agreeable to me. Farewell.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO L. PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

I WRITE this letter in great haste upon my tablets, in the midst of an entertainment* at the house of Volumnius. We lay down about the ninth hour; † and I am placed with your friends Atticus

* The time of meals seems a very extraordinary season for the purpose of writing letters. However, it was customary with the Romans to employ themselves in this manner between the several courses; and they usually carried tablets about them for that use. Plutarch informs us, that Cæsar generally signed his dispatches at table. *Plut. in vit. Cæs.*

† The Romans reclined themselves upon couches at their meals. The ninth hour answers to our three o'clock in the afternoon, and was the usual time when they made their last and principal meal.

on my right hand, and Verrius on my left. You will wonder to find, that I can pass my time thus jovially in the midst of servitude. Yet tell me, my friend, you who are the disciple of a philosopher, what else should I do? and to what purpose should I torment myself with endless disquietudes? "Spend your days," you will probably reply, "in literary occupations." But can you imagine I have any other? or that, without them, my very being would not be utterly insupportable? However, though employments of this kind cannot satiate, there is a certain time, nevertheless, when it is proper to lay them aside. Now, at such intervals, though a party at supper is not altogether a point of so much importance to me, as it was to you when you made it the single subject of your arch query to the philosopher,* yet I know not in what manner I can more agreeably dispose of myself till the hour of sleep. But I was going to name the rest of our company, and to tell you that Cytheris† is recl-

* The story to which Cicero here alludes, is more explicitly mentioned in a subsequent part of this letter.

† A celebrated courtesan, who, a few years before the date of this letter, had been a very favourite mistress of Mark Antony. If the authority of Servius may be relied upon, she is the *Lycoris* whose infidelity to the poet Gallus is the subject of the last of Virgil's pastorals. *Plut. in vit. Ant. Serv. Virg. Eclog. 10.*

ned* at the left hand of Eutrapelus. You will be astonished, I suppose, to find your grave and philosophical friend in such society; and will be apt to cry out with the poet, †

And is *this* he, the man so late renowned,
Whom virtue honoured, and whom glory crowned?
This the famed chief, of every tongue the praise;
Of Greece the wonder, and of crowds the gaze?

The truth of the matter is, I had not the least suspicion that this fair lady was to be of our party: however, I have the example of the Socratic Aristippus ‡ to keep me in countenance; who, when he was reproached with having a commerce of gallantry with the Corinthian courtesan,—’*Tis true*, replied

* The reclining posture, at table, was esteemed indecent for women, and only practised by those of a loose character; as the Roman ladies of modesty always sat at their meals.

† Manutius supposes, that the verses here quoted are from a tragedy of the poet Ennius, entitled *Telamon*; which is frequently mentioned by the ancient grammarians.

‡ He was a disciple of Socrates; but either mistaking, or perverting, the lessons of his excellent master, he maintained, that “sensual pleasure was the supreme and ultimate good.” His practice was agreeable to his doctrine, and he spent his life (a great part of which he passed at the court of Dionysius, the Sicilian tyrant,) in every kind of luxurious indulgence. *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 16. 17. *Athen. Deipn.* 12.

the philosopher, (without being in the least disconcerted,) *I possess Lais; but Lais possesses not me.* The expression is much stronger in the original,* and I leave you, if you think proper, to render it in its full import. In the mean time, let me assure you, that I never had any passion of this sort, even when I was a young fellow, and much less now that I am an old one. But my great delight is in these festive meetings, where I throw out just what comes uppermost, and laugh away the sighs and sorrows of my heart. Nor were you yourself in a more serious mood, my friend, when even a venerable philosopher could not escape your raillery; to whom, when he was enquiring if the company had any questions to propose to him, † you replied, with

† *Εχω Λαιδα, εκ εχομαι*, was the answer of Aristippus; where the verb *εχω*, as Manutius observes, conveys a more obscene sense than the word *habeo*, into which Cicero translates it.

* The conceitedness of the ancient Sophists was so extravagant, that they pretended to be possessed of all knowledge, human and divine; insomuch that one of them publicly boasted, at the Olympic games, that he was not only master of the whole circle of liberal arts and sciences, but of the meanest mechanic crafts. Accordingly, it was customary with them to call upon their audience to propose any question whatever, in which they were desirous to be informed; which was no sooner delivered out, than these philological mountebanks harangued upon it in that fluent

great gravity, that "it had been a question with you the whole morning, where you should find a party to sup?" The formal pedant expected, perhaps, that you were going to ask him, whether there was one heaven only, or heavens innumerable; whereas it was at that time, it seems, much more your concern to be resolved in the humourous problem you proposed.

Thus you see in what manner I pass my time. I devote part of every day to reading or writing; after which, that I may not entirely seclude myself from the society of my friends, I generally sup in their partics. But upon these occasions I am so far from transgressing our sumptuary law, (if any law, alas! can now be said to subsist,) that I do not even indulge myself to the full extent it allows. You need not be alarmed, therefore, at my intended visit; you will receive a guest who jokes much more abundantly than he eats. Farewell.

jargon with which school-men, in all ages, have been so liberally endowed.—The first who assumed these impious, shall they be termed, or ridiculous pretensions to omniscience, was one Gorgias, a Grecian: and this man, who, in more enlightened days, would have been looked upon with the utmost contempt by all true philosophers, was held in such high esteem by his countrymen, that they erected a statue to his memory, of solid gold. *Cic. de Orat. iii. 32. de Finib. ii.*

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AMPIUS.*

BELIEVE me, my dear Ampius, it is with the utmost reason that I congratulate you on the success of your affairs. I am by no means, indeed, so imprudent, as to flatter you with false hopes; for an unexpected disappointment would probably so depress your spirits, that nothing would ever be capable of raising them again.

I have solicited your cause with more freedom than was altogether suitable, perhaps, to a man in my circumstances; as the invariable friendship which I have ever borne towards you, and which you have always most faithfully cultivated, taught me to surmount the difficulties that fortune, by impairing my credit, had thrown in my way. Accordingly, the

* Titus Ampius had gradually risen through the several employments of the state, till he arrived at the prætorship: from which post he was elected, in the year 696, to the government of Cilicia. As he had distinguished himself, during his tribunate, by promoting the interest and honours of Pompey, so he appears to have been a warm partisan of his cause in the civil wars; in consequence of which, he was at this time in exile. *Pigh. Annal.* iii. 376.

promise of your pardon is obtained, and all preliminaries are adjusted and confirmed that relate to your restoration. I speak this upon my own certain knowledge, having been a witness to the whole transaction. It happens, indeed, very luckily, that I am connected with all Cæsar's favourites, inso-much that, next to Cæsar, there is no one who stands so high in their friendship as myself. Pansa, Hirtius, and Oppius; Balbus, Matius, and Postumius, have each of them distinguished me with particular marks of their esteem: if I had endeavoured to establish this interest, merely with a view of serving you in the present conjuncture, I should by no means think I had reason to be ashamed: but I did not cultivate their good graces upon any motive of this temporizing kind; on the contrary, every one of these, whom I incessantly solicited in your behalf, are my old friends. In this number we are principally obliged to Pansa, who, as he has the greatest credit and influence with Cæsar, so he shewed himself extremely zealous for your interest, and very desirous likewise of obliging me. I must mention Tullius Cimber* also, as one with whose

* This person, though greatly in favour with Cæsar, was afterwards one of the principal conspirators against him.— It was he that gave the signal to the rest of his associates, when they assassinated Cæsar in the senate; and Cimber

good offices, upon this occasion, I have great reason to be satisfied: he employed them more successfully upon your account, than he possibly could in favour of any other man; for it is not interested solicitations so much as those which proceed entirely from friendship and gratitude, that prevail with Cæsar. Your warrant, however, is not yet actually signed; for there are certain malevolent spirits (who affect to talk as if they were not secretly pleased that this civil war broke out, and who represent you as the principal fomentor of it,) that would be exceedingly offended if they knew you had obtained your pardon: it was thought advisable, therefore, to manage this affair with great caution and secrecy; nor by any means, at present, to suffer our success to be publicly known: it soon, however, will, and I doubt not that every thing will be ripe for that purpose before this letter shall reach your hands; for Pansa, whose word may be depended upon, has promised me, in the strongest terms, that he will in a very few days procure your warrant. In the mean time, I thought proper to send you this previous account of the prosperous state of your affairs: for I find, by talking with your wife Epulia, and by the tender tears of your

held him by the gown while Cassius gave him the first stab.
Suet. in Jul. 82.

daughter Ampia, that you are more dispirited than your letters intimate; and they are apprehensive that your uneasiness will be increased by their absence. In order, therefore, to compose this anxiety of your mind, I thought it incumbent on me thus to anticipate a piece of good news, which most assuredly will be verified. You are sensible that, in my former letters, I have rather employed such arguments of consolation, as were proper to affect a man of your philosophical magnanimity, than encouraged you to entertain any other certain hopes than those of being restored with the republic, when these flames should subside. And here let me remind you of your letters to me, in which you have always discovered the most heroic determination to meet, with firmness and fortitude, whatever it might be your fate to suffer. I was by no means surprised to find, that you were animated with these manly sentiments, when I reflected that you had been conversant in the affairs of the world from your earliest youth; that you had exercised some of the most important employments of the commonwealth, at a time when our lives and liberties were in the utmost danger;* and that you entered into

* Ampius was tribune in the consulate of Cicero, when the conspiracy of Catiline was discovered; and was prætor in the year 695, when Clodius, who at the same time was

the present war, not merely with the pleasing prospect of victory, but with a mind prepared to bear the reverse with a wise and philosophical resignation. In fine, as you are employed in recording the deeds of illustrious heroes,* it particularly concerns you to copy out, in your own conduct, that magnanimity which you are celebrating in others. But this is talking in a style more suitable to your late circumstances than to your present: let me only, then, exhort you, to come prepared to endure those calamities which you must suffer here, in common with every citizen of Rome; calamities, for which, if I had discovered any remedy, I should most certainly impart it to you. The only refuge from them is in those philosophical studies, in which we have both of us ever been conversant; and these, though in more prosperous days they were only our amusement, must now prove likewise our strongest support. But, to end as I began, let me desire you to be well persuaded, that all things are completely settled concerning your full pardon and restoration. Farewell.

tribune, raised so much disturbance by his seditious laws; particularly by that which occasioned Cicero's banishment. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 363.

* This work seems to have been of the biographical kind, and to have included the life of Julius Cæsar; as Suetonius quotes a passage from it, concerning the conduct of that emperor. *Vid. Suet. in Jul.* 77.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, PROCONSUL.

As the friendship that subsists between us, and the singular affection you bear me, are circumstances universally known, I find myself under a frequent necessity of applying to you in behalf of those who solicit my recommendations. But though I am a general well-wisher to all whom I thus introduce to your favour, yet I do not pretend to be equally interested in the success of every one of them. I am particularly so, however, in that of Titus Egnatius, as he was the generous companion of my exile, and shared with me in all the pains, the difficulties, and the dangers, which I underwent, both by sea and land, during that most unfortunate period of my life: nor would he, without my consent, have left me at this juncture. I recommend him to you, therefore, as one of my family, for whom I have the greatest regard; and you will much oblige me by convincing him, that this letter shall have proved greatly to his advantage. Farewell.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO CURIUS.*

THERE was a time when I thought you made a very injudicious choice, by preferring a foreign country to your own. I imagined that Rome (while yet, alas! it was Rome,) must be far more suitable, I will not only say than Patræ, but even than the noblest city in the Peloponnesus, to a man of your amiable and elegant turn of mind. But now, on the contrary, I look upon your having retired into Greece, when our affairs were well nigh desperate, as a strong proof of your great penetration; and I consider your absence, not only as a very judicious, but a very happy resolution. Yet why do I call it

* He was one of the city quæstors in the year 691, and about five years afterwards, was elected into the post of tribune. It does not appear, that he advanced any farther in the offices of the state. On the contrary, it seems probable, that he turned his pursuits into an humbler channel, and engaged in some branch of commerce. It was for this purpose, perhaps, that about the time when the dissensions between Pompey and Cæsar broke out, he retired into Greece, and settled at Patræ. See Let. 2. of the following Book. *Fig. Annal.* ii. 334.

happy? when it is impossible that happiness should be the portion of any man, in these wretched times, who possesses the least degree of sensibility. However, that desirable privilege which you, who were at liberty to leave Italy, enjoy by travelling, I have procured by another method; and I can in some sort say, no less than yourself, that I live

Where nor the name nor deeds accursed I hear
Of Pelops' impious race. *

For, as soon as my levee is over, (which is somewhat more frequented than formerly, a patriot being now looked upon as a sight, of all others, the most uncommon, †) I shut myself up in my library.

* The sons of Pelops were Atreus and Thyestes, whose impious and cruel acts are recorded in fabulous history. The dramatic poet, Attius, wrote a tragedy entitled Atreus, from which play, it is probable, this line was quoted, and which Cicero seems to apply to the violences committed by some of the leading men in the successful party. That Cicero, however, by no means lived the recluse he here represents himself, has already appeared by several letters in the present and preceding Book, by which it is evident, that he mixed, with great freedom and gaiety, among the chiefs of the victorious faction.

† A true patriot was a sight in all ages too uncommon, it must be owned, not to have been worth remarking; but, whether those who visited Cicero, in order to view so singular a curiosity, were disappointed or not, is a question

And it is there, my friend, that I am employed in compositions which you will find, perhaps, to be animated with all that spirit you once said so ill agreed with my dejection and despair, when you reproached me, at your house, for not acting up to the fortitude that appeared in my writings. I must confess I could not at that time forbear lamenting the wretched fate of the republic; to which I was the more tenderly attached, as I had not only been distinguished with its honours, but had greatly assisted it by my services. And even now, that time (which wears out the sorrows of the weakest minds,) together with reason, (which ought to have the strongest influence for that purpose,) have jointly contributed to compose my breast; yet I still lament to see the commonwealth thus fallen, without a hope of ever rising more! There is nothing, however, that can at present be justly imputed to him, in whom all power is now vested, unless, perhaps, it be that he has more than he ought. And as to what is past, our fate and our follies have had so large a share in all that has happened, that we cannot complain with a good grace. As little reason is there to hope that affairs will mend. I cannot, therefore, but conclude my letter as I began

which every reader, by this time, perhaps, may be able very clearly to determine.

it, with admiring your judgment if it were choice, or your fortune if it were chance, that led you from this unpleasing scene. Farewell.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO LIGARIUS.

BE assured that I am exerting my utmost efforts, of every kind, in order to procure your restoration. In truth, the singular and pious affection of your brothers, for whom I bear the same warm friendship that I entertain for yourself, will not suffer me to neglect any opportunity of employing my best offices in your behalf. But I had rather you should learn from their letters than from mine, what I have already performed, and what I am still endeavouring to perform, in your affairs. I will only, therefore, acquaint you myself, with the strong and well-grounded hopes I have conceived, that your restoration will soon be effected. Let me previously observe, that my fears, in all doubtful cases of importance, are ever apt to be much superior to my hopes; a fault, if it be a fault, which I am very ready to acknowledge. Nevertheless, the last time I waited upon Caesar, I came away with a full persuasion, that there was not the least reason to doubt

of his granting you a pardon. I attended him for this purpose, at the request of your brothers, on the 26th of November last, in the morning, not without encountering all the usual difficulties and indignities, before I could gain admittance. Your brothers, and the rest of your relations, having thrown themselves at his feet, I supported their petition with such arguments as I thought suitable to the occasion.* And I could plainly perceive, not

* Cicero had, shortly afterwards, a more public occasion of testifying his zeal for his friend. For Tubero, though he had himself engaged in the same party with Ligarius, having from private pique opposed the recal of Ligarius, Cicero defended him before Cæsar in the forum, in a noble oration, which is still extant. It was upon this occasion, that the pomp and energy of the Roman orator's rhetoric is said to have had such a wonderful effect, that it not only made Cæsar tremble, but what is yet more extraordinary, it made him change his determined purpose, and acquit the man he had resolved to condemn. This story has often been alleged in proof of the power of ancient eloquence; and the translator confesses, that he has himself, in the letters published under the name of Sir Thomas Fitzosborn, produced it for that purpose. But, upon a stricter enquiry, the supposed fact seems to be extremely questionable: for, in the first place, there is not the least trace of it in any part of Cicero's writings. Now this his total silence seems to furnish a very strong presumptive argument, to destroy the credit of the story; for it is altogether improbable, that a man of Cicero's character should have omit-

only by the gracious answer which Cæsar returned, but by the whole air of his countenance, to-

ted any opportunity of displaying a circumstance so exceedingly to the honour of his oratorical powers. In the next place, it is very observable, that Valerius Maximus, who has a chapter expressly to shew the force of eloquence, and who mentions a particular instance of this kind with regard to Cæsar himself, yet takes not the least notice of the fact in question. But if it had been true, is it credible either that it should never have reached his knowledge, or that, knowing it, he should have passed it over in silence? especially as it afforded him a much stronger instance for his purpose, than any he has thought proper to enumerate. It is remarkable, likewise, that Quintillian, though he frequently cites the very passage in this celebrated oration, which is supposed to have raised the strongest emotions in Cæsar's breast, yet gives not the least intimation of the effect which it is pretended to have wrought. Plutarch is the only ancient writer who relates this story, and he introduces it with a λέγεται δέ; an expression which seems to imply, that he did not copy it from any earlier historian, but received it only from common tradition. Now it might be sufficient to give rise to such a report, if Cæsar had been seized, during the course of this trial, with one of his usual epileptic fits, which were attended with that change of colour and trembling of the nerves, that Plutarch ascribes to the force of Cicero's rhetoric. And that this is all that there was of truth in the case, is rendered probable by the testimony of Suetonius, who informs us, that Cæsar was twice seized with these fits, when he was engaged in judicial affairs. *Val. Max.* viii. 9. *Quint. Instit. Orat.* viii. 4. 6. ix. 2. *Plut. in vit. Cicer.* *Suet. in Jul.* 45.

gether with several other little circumstances, much easier to remark than describe, that he was extremely well inclined in your favour.* Preserve then, my friend, a firm and vigorous frame of mind; and, if you bore the dark and tempestuous season of your affairs with fortitude, let their present more serene and favourable aspect fill your heart with cheerfulness. As for myself, I shall continue to act with as much assiduity in your cause, as if there were still many obstacles to surmount. To this end, I shall very zealously persevere in my applications, not only to Cæsar, but to all those who are most in his favour; every one of whom I have experienced to be much my friend. Farewell.

* Cicero's presages, in the present instance, appear to have been well grounded; for Ligarius, shortly afterwards, obtained Cæsar's permission to return to Rome. Ligarius, nevertheless, entered into the conspiracy against him; and history has recorded the very spirited answer which Ligarius made to Brutus, when that illustrious Roman paid him a visit, in order to invite him into a participation of his scheme. Brutus, finding him sick in bed, began to lament, that he should be confined at so critical a conjuncture; upon which, Ligarius, raising himself on his arm, and taking Brutus by the hand, "O my friend," said he, "if you are meditating any enterprise worthy of yourself, I am well." *Plut. in vit. Brut.*

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, PROCONSUL.

I TOOK occasion, when we were walking in your gardens, to recommend to you, with all possible earnestness, the Asiatic affairs of my friend Cerellia : * and, agreeably to your usual disposition, and to those many great and good offices I have perpetually received at your hands, you very generously assured me of your utmost assistance. This circumstance, I persuade myself, you have not forgotten ; I am sure, at least, it is not customary with you to be unmindful of my requests. However, the agents of this lady inform her, in their letters, that the numerous occupations in which so exten-

* This lady was not only a particular friend of Cicero, but a great reader and admirer of his moral writings. But neither her philosophy nor her age, though she was ten years older than Cicero, could secure her character from censure ; and slander has said, that her intercourse with our author did not always turn upon matters of speculation. But, if the reader has the curiosity to see this charge entirely overthrown, he will find a very satisfactory confutation of it in Monsieur Mongault's fourth remark on the 51st Letter of the 12th Book to Atticus.

sive a province engages you, render it necessary that you should be reminded, from time to time, of your promise. I entreat you, therefore, to recollect, that you gave me full assurances of employing your good offices in favour of Cerellia, so far as should be consistent with your honour; and I think your powers for this purpose are very extensive: for, if I mistake not, the decree of the senate, which passed in relation to the heirs of Vannonius, is expressed in such terms as to admit of an interpretation extremely advantageous to Cerellia's interest. But this must be submitted entirely to your own judgment, which, I doubt not, will construe this decree in the sense in which it was intended by the senate, as I know the respect you always bear for the resolutions of that assembly. I will only add, therefore, that I desire you would believe, that every instance in which you shall favour Cerellia, will be a singular obligation conferred upon myself. Farewell.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS CÆCINA.*

I WAS informed, by your zealous friend Largus, that the time limited for your continuance in Sicily, expires on the first of January next. Having, therefore, upon all occasions, observed, that Cæsar ratifies whatever Balbus and Oppius act in his absence, † I very strenuously solicited them, that you might be permitted to remain in that island as long as you should think proper. In all my applica-

* Aulus Cæcina was a person of great and amiable virtues in private life; and he was distinguished, likewise, in public, for his genius, his eloquence, and his erudition. He seems to have particularly excelled in the science of divination; upon which subject he wrote a treatise, which is often cited by Seneca. In the civil wars, he not only drew his sword, but his pen, against Cæsar; having published an invective upon that general, which appears to have extremely offended him. Cæcina was accordingly banished; and the present and following letters to him, were written during his exile in Sicily. *Cic. Orat. pro. Cæcin.* 35, 36. *Senec. Natural. Quæst. ii. passim.*

† Cæsar was, at this time, in Spain, pursuing the war against the sons of Pompey, whilst Oppius and Balbus were acting as his vicegerents at Rome.

tions of this kind, they have either instantly complied with my desire, if it happened not to be particularly disagreeable to them, or have assigned their reasons for refusing; but, in the present instance, they did not give me an immediate answer. However, they called upon me again the very same day, in order to acquaint me, that, in consequence of my request, you were at liberty to continue in Sicily during your own inclination; and they would be answerable, they said, that Cæsar would not be displeas'd. Thus you see how far your licence extends; and I need not tell you what use it would be most advisable for you to make of it.

After I had written thus far, your letter was given into my hands, wherein you desire my opinion, whether you should remain in Sicily, or go into Asia, in order to settle your affairs in that province. I do not well know how to reconcile this question to the account which I mentioned above to have received from Largus. For he talk'd to me as if you were not at liberty to reside any longer in Sicily; whereas, your query seems to imply the contrary. Be this as it may, my sentiments are, that you should, by all means, continue in that island. The nearness of its situation renders it extremely convenient for the more expeditiously receiving and returning letters and expresses du-

ring the negotiation of your pardon ; as you will be so much the earlier, likewise, amongst us, if you should, as I hope, obtain leave to return to Rome, or, at least, into Italy. For these reasons, therefore, I am altogether against your removing from your present quarters.

I shall not fail to recommend you, in the strongest terms, to Furfanius Posthumus and his lieutenants, when they arrive here ; but, at present, they are all at Mutina. They are every one of them my friends ; and not only persons of singular merit, but great admirers of men of your character. You may, without any particular application to me, depend upon my best assistance in every other article, wherein I imagine my services can avail you. And should there be any of which I may be ignorant, if you will point them out to me, you will find that you could not have employed any other of your friends, who would have acted in your affairs with so warm a zeal.

Though I shall speak so effectually to Furfanius, that there will be no necessity for your delivering a letter to him on my part, yet, as some of your family were desirous you should have one, I could not refuse their request, and I have added, at the bottom of this, a copy of my letter. Farewell.

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO TITUS FURFANIUS,* PROCONSUL.

It is impossible to be more intimately united with any man, than I have ever been with Aulus Cæcina. I lived in great familiarity with his illustrious father; and the early presages I observed in the son, of the most exalted probity and eloquence, won my affections to him from his youth. We were attached to each other, not only by the mutual exchange of many friendly offices, but by the same common tastes and studies; insomuch, that there is no man for whom I ever entertained a more tender regard. After this, I need only add, that I am under the strongest obligations, as you see, to protect both his person and his fortunes, to the utmost of my power. As I know, by many instances, the sentiments you entertain both of the calamities of the republic, and of those who suffer for its sake, I am sure your own inclinations will lead you to assist Cæcina. I will only entreat you,

* He was appointed by Cæsar proconsul of Sicily for the following year, in which post he is said to have conducted himself with great clemency and moderation. *Quartier.*

therefore, to suffer my recommendation to increase that favourable disposition in proportion to the esteem which I am sensible you bear me. And be well persuaded, that you cannot give me a more sensible proof of your friendship. Farewell.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 707.]

AULUS CÆCINA TO CICERO.

I HOPE you will not only pardon the fears, but pity the misfortunes, which prevented your receiving my performance so soon as I intended; but my son was apprehensive, I hear, that the publication of this piece might prove to my prejudice. And, indeed, as the effect of compositions of this kind depends more upon the temper in which they are read, than on that in which they are written, his fears were by no means irrational, especially as I am still a sufferer for the liberties of my pen. In this respect, my fate, surely, is somewhat singular. For the errors of an author are generally either reformed by a blot, or punished by the loss of his fame; whereas banishment, on the contrary, has been thought the more proper method of correcting mine. And yet the whole of my crime amounts only to this, that I poured forth my invective

tives against the man with whom I was openly at war. Now, there was not a single person, I suppose, in the same party with myself, who was not, in effect, guilty of the same offence; as there was not one who did not send up his vows for success to our cause, or that offered a sacrifice, though upon an occasion ever so foreign to public affairs, without imploring the gods that Cæsar might soon be defeated. If he imagines otherwise, he is extremely happy in his ignorance; but if he knows this to be fact, why am I marked out as the particular object of his wrath, for having written something which he did not approve, whilst he forgives every one of those who were perpetually invoking heaven for his perdition!

But I was going to acquaint you with the reason of those fears which I mentioned in the beginning of my letter. In the first place, then, I have taken notice of you in the piece in question; though, at the same time, I have touched upon your conduct with great caution and reserve. Not that I have, by any means, changed my sentiments concerning it; but, as being afraid to say all that they dictated to me. Now, it is well known, that in compositions of the panegyric kind, an author should not only deliver his applauses with a full and unlimited freedom, but heighten them, likewise, with a suitable strength and warmth of expression. In

satire, indeed, though great liberties are generally thought allowable, yet, a writer must always be upon his guard, lest he degenerates into petulance and scurrility. An author is still more restrained in speaking advantageously of himself; as, without much care and circumspection, he will appear arrogant and conceited. Of all subjects, therefore, of a *personal* nature, it is panegyric alone, wherein a writer may expatiate uncontrolled; as he cannot be sparing in the encomiums he bestows upon another, without incurring the imputation of envy or inability. But, in the present instance, you will think yourself, perhaps, obliged to me. For as I was not at liberty to represent your actions in the manner they deserve, the next favour to being totally silent concerning them, was to mention them as little as possible. But difficult as it was to contain myself upon so copious a subject, I however forbore; and, as there were various parts of your conduct I did not venture even to touch upon; so, in the revisal of my work, I not only found it necessary to strike out several circumstances I had inserted, but to place many of those which I suffered to remain in a less advantageous point of view. But should an architect, in raising a flight of steps, omit some, cut away part of those he had fixed, and leave many of the rest loose and ill joined together, might he not more properly be said to erect a ruin,

than an easy and regular ascent? In the same manner, where an author is constrained by a thousand unhappy circumstances, to break the just coherence of his piece, and destroy its proper gradation, how can he hope to produce any thing that shall merit the applause of a refined and judicious ear? But I was still more embarrassed, where my subject led me to speak of Cæsar; and I will own, that I trembled whenever I had occasion to mention his name. My fears, however, did not arise from any apprehension, that what I wrote might draw upon me his farther chastisement; but lest it should not be agreeable to his particular sentiments, with which, indeed, I am by no means well acquainted. But with what spirit can a man compose, when he is obliged to ask himself, at every sentence, "Will Cæsar approve of this? May not this expression appear of suspicious import? Or will he not think it still worse if I change it thus?" But, besides these difficulties, I was perplexed, likewise, in regard to the applauses and censures which I dealt out to others; as I was afraid I might apply them where they would not, perhaps, be very agreeable to Cæsar, though they might not actually give him offence. I reflected, that if his vengeance pursued me for what I wrote, whilst I had my sword in my hand, what might be the consequence, should I displease him now that

I am a disarmed exile? These fears encreased upon me, when I considered the cautious manner in which you thought it necessary to deliver your sentiments in your treatise entitled the *Orator*; where you modestly apologise for venturing to publish your notions upon the subject, by ascribing it to the request of Brutus. But if you, whose eloquence has rendered you the general patron of every Roman, deemed it expedient to be thus artfully guarded, how much more requisite is it for your old client, who is now reduced to implore that protection from every citizen in general, which he once received from yourself in particular? An author, who writes under the constraint of so many doubts and fears, though fears, perhaps, that are altogether groundless; who is forced to adjust almost every sentence, not to his own judgment, but to the impression it may, probably, make upon others; will find it extremely difficult to execute any composition with success. And though this is a difficulty which you have never, it is possible, experienced, as your exalted genius is equal to every undertaking, yet I am sure I experienced it very sensibly myself. Nevertheless, I ordered my son to read my performance to you, but not to leave it in your hands, unless you would promise to correct it, that is, unless you would new model it in all its parts.

As to my Asiatic expedition, notwithstanding my affairs require my presence in that province, yet, in obedience to your advice, I have laid aside my intended voyage. And now, as you are sensible that my fate must necessarily, one way or other, be soon determined, I need not, I am persuaded, particularly exhort you to assist me with your good offices. Let me only entreat you, my dear Cicero, not to defer them in expectation of my son's arrival. For his youth, his tenderness, and his fears, render him ill able to think of every measure which may be proper to be taken for my advantage. The whole management, therefore, of my cause, must rest entirely upon you, as it is upon you, in truth, that all my hopes depend. Your judicious observation has enabled you to penetrate into the recesses of Cæsar's heart; and you are acquainted with all the most probable methods of prevailing with him, so that each successful step that shall be made in this affair, from its commencement to its conclusion, must proceed altogether from you. I am sensible, likewise, that you have great interest with Cæsar, and still greater with all his favourites. I doubt not, then, of your effecting my restoration, if you will exert yourself for that purpose, not only in such instances wherein I shall particularly request your assistance, (though that, indeed, would be a very considerable obliga-

tion,) but by taking the whole conduct of this matter into your own hands. Perhaps my judgment is blinded by my misfortunes, or I expect more from your friendship than in modesty I ought, when I venture thus to impose upon you so heavy a burthen. But whichever may be the case, your general conduct towards your friends will furnish me with an excuse; for the zeal which you exert, upon all occasions, where their interest is concerned, has taught them, not only to expect, but even to claim your services.

With regard to the book which my son will deliver to you, I entreat you either not to suffer it to be published, or to correct it in such a manner, that it may not appear to my disadvantage. Farewell.

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, PROCONSUL.

I NEED not inform you, that Curtius Mithres is the favourite freedman of my very intimate friend Postumus; but let me assure you, that he distinguishes me with the same marks of respect which he pays to his patron himself. Whenever I was at Ephesus, I made use of his house as my own;

and many incidents concurred, which afforded me full proofs both of his fidelity and his affection. For this reason, as often as either my friends or myself have any affairs to transact in Asia, I always apply to Mithres; and I command not only his services, but his purse and his house, with the same freedom that I should dispose of my own. I particularise these circumstances the more minutely, that you may see it is not upon common motives, or to gratify the purposes of any ambitious views, that I now apply to you; but, on the contrary, that it is in favour of one with whom I am united by the strongest connexions. I entreat you, then, to do me the honour of assisting him with your good offices, not only in the law-suit wherein he is engaged with a certain citizen of Colophon,* but in every other instance also, as far as shall be consistent with your own character and convenience. But though I make this exception, yet I am sure he has too much modesty to ask any thing improper of you. Indeed, it is his utmost wish, that his own merit, in conjunction with my recommendation, may procure him your esteem. I very earnestly, therefore, conjure you, not only to favour him with your protection, but to receive him into

* A city of Ionia, in Asia Minor, and one of those which claimed the honour of being the birth-place of Homer.

the number of your friends. In return, you may depend upon my most zealous services upon all occasions wherein I shall imagine either your interest or your inclination may require them. Farewell.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS CÆCINA.

As often as I see your son, (and I see him almost every day,) I never fail to assure him of my zealous assistance, without any exception of time, of labour, or of business; and I promise him likewise my credit and interest, with this single limitation, that he may rely upon them as far as the small share I possess of either can possibly extend.

I have read your performance,* and still continue to read it with much attention, as I shall preserve it with the greatest fidelity. Your affairs, indeed, of every kind, are my principal concern; and I have the pleasure to see them every day appear with a more and more favourable aspect. You have many friends, who contribute their good offi-

* See the 30th Letter of this Book, p. 287.

ces for this purpose ; of whose zeal your son, I am assured, has already acquainted you, as well as of his own hopes that their endeavours will prove effectual. In regard to what may be collected from appearances, I do not pretend to discern more than, I am persuaded, you see yourself ; but as you may reflect upon them, perhaps, with greater discomposure of mind, I think it proper to give you my sentiments concerning them. Believe me then, it is impossible, from the nature and circumstances of public affairs, that either you, or your companions in adversity, should long remain under your present misfortunes ; yes, my friend, it is impossible that so severe an injury should continue to oppress the honest advocates of so good a cause. But my hopes are particularly strong with respect to yourself ; not merely in consideration of your rank and virtues, (for these you possess in common with many others,) but particularly from your singular learning and genius. The man in whose power we all of us are, holds these shining qualities in much esteem ; and I am well persuaded, you would not have remained, even a single moment, in your present situation, if he had not imagined himself wounded * by those talents he admires. His resentment, however, seems daily cooling ; and it has

* See Let. 28 of this Book, p. 277, note.

been intimated to me by some of his most particular friends, that you will undoubtedly find advantage in the high opinion he has conceived of your abilities. Let me conjure you then, in the first place, to preserve a firm and unshaken fortitude of mind, as what you owe to your birth, to your education, to your learning, and to that character you have universally obtained; and, in the next place, that, for the reasons I have already assigned, you would entertain the strongest and most favourable hopes. Be well persuaded, likewise, that I shall always most readily contribute my warmest services both to you and to your family. You have, indeed, a full right to expect them, from that affection which has so long subsisted between us, from the conduct I ever observe towards all my friends, and from the numberless good offices I have received at your hands. Farewell.

LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS, PROCONSUL.

As the share you allow me in your friendship is by no means a secret to the world, it occasions great numbers to apply to me for recommendations. My letters to you, therefore, of this kind

are sometimes, I confess, no other than the tributes of common compliment. They are much more frequently, however, the dictates of a real affection; as is the case, be assured, in the present instance, when I recommend to you Ampius Menander, the freedman of my friend Ampius Balbus. He is a very worthy, modest man, and highly in the esteem both of his patron and myself. You will much oblige me, then, by assisting him with your good offices, in every instance that shall not be inconvenient to you; and, believe me, it is with great earnestness that I make this request. Farewell.

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS CÆCINA.

I AM afraid you will think that I am a more negligent correspondent than I ought, considering the union between us as partisans of the same cause, as being joined in the same studies, and as having mutually conferred upon each other many obliging good offices. The sincere truth, however, is, that I should much sooner and much oftener have written to you, if I had not been in daily expectation of seeing your affairs in a better train; and I

rather chose, instead of confirming you in the spirit with which you bear your misfortunes, to have sent you my congratulations on their being ended. I still hope to have that pleasure very shortly. In the mean time, I think it incumbent upon me to endeavour, if not with all the authority of a philosopher, at least, with all the influence of a friend, to confirm and strengthen you in that manly spirit with which I hear, and believe, you are animated. For this purpose, I shall not address you as one whose misfortunes are without hope, but as a person of whose restoration I have conceived the same well-grounded confidence which you formerly, I remember, entertained of mine. For when I was driven from my country by a set of men, who were convinced they could never effect their destructive purposes so long as I continued in the commonwealth, I was informed by many of my friends who visited me from Asia, where you then resided, that you strongly assured them of my speedy and honourable recal. Now, if the principles of the Etruscan science,* in which you were instructed by your

* The Romans derived their doctrine and rites of divination, and probably, indeed, many other of their religions and civil institutions, from the *Etruscans*, a very ancient, learned, and powerful nation, who were once masters of almost all Italy, and who inhabited that part which is now called *Tuscany*. *Cæcina*, who was a native of this pro-

illustrious and excellent father, did not deceive you with respect to me, neither will my presages be less infallible with regard to you. They are derived, indeed, not only from the maxims and records of the most distinguished sages, whose writings, you well know, I have studied with great application, but from a long experience in public affairs, and from having passed through various scenes both of prosperity and adversity. I have the stronger reason to confide in this method of divination, as it has never once deceived me during all these dark and distracted times; insomuch, that were I to mention my predictions, I am afraid you would suspect that I framed them after the events I pretend to have foretold.* However,

vince, and well skilled in that pretended prophetic art for which his countrymen were particularly famous, foretold, it seems, that Cicero's banishment would soon end (as in fact it did) in a glorious restoration. *Val. Max.* i. 1. *Liv.* v. 53. *Pigh. Annal.* i. p. 430. See p. 277 of this Volume, note.

* Cicero's wonderful reach of judgment in penetrating far into the consequences of events, is by no means exaggerated in the present passage; on the contrary, it is confirmed by the testimony of an historian who knew him well, and who assures us, that Cicero pointed out, with a prophetic discernment, several circumstances that were fulfilled not only in his own life-time, but after his death. *Coru. Nepos. in vit. Attic.* 17.

there are many who can bear me witness, that I forewarned Pompey against entering into any association with Cæsar; * and that I afterwards as strongly endeavoured to dissuade him from breaking that union. I clearly saw, indeed, that their conjunction would considerably impair the strength of the senate; and that their separation would as inevitably kindle the flames of a civil war. I lived at that time in great familiarity with Cæsar, as well as entertained the highest regard to Pompey; and, accordingly, the faithful advice I gave to the latter, was equally to the benefit of both. I forbear to instance several other articles, in which my prophetic admonitions have been verified; for, as I have received great obligations from Cæsar, I am unwilling he should know, that had Pompey followed my counsels, though Cæsar would still have been the first and most distinguished person in the republic, he would not have been in possession of that extensive power he now enjoys. I will confess, however, that I always gave it as my opinion, that Pompey should go to his government in Spain; with which if he had happily complied, we should never have been involved in this fatal

* The motives which induced Pompey to enter into this union with Cæsar, have been already explained in Vol. I. p. 120, note.

civil war.* I contended, likewise, not so much that Cæsar should be received as a candidate for the consulship during his absence, † as that the law which the people enacted for that purpose, and

* Pompey, instead of going to his government of Spain, continued in Italy, with the command of two legions which were quartered near Rome. This gave umbrage to Cæsar, who suspected, as the truth was, that these troops were designed to act against him. In order, therefore, to remove his apprehensions of this kind, it was proposed by Cicero, and some others of the more moderate party, that Pompey should retire to his government. But this motion was overruled by the consul Lentulus, who prevailed with the senate to pass a decree, whereby Cæsar, who had already crossed the Rubicon, was commanded to withdraw his forces out of Italy by a certain day therein named, and in case of disobedience, that he should be considered as a public enemy. *Hist. de Bel. Gal.* viii. 55. *Cæs. Bel. Civil.* i. 2.

† Pompey, when he was consul the third time, in the year 701, procured a law empowering Cæsar to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship, without appearing personally at Rome for that purpose. This was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Roman constitution, and proved, in the event, the occasion of its being utterly destroyed; as it furnished Cæsar with the only specious pretence for turning his arms against the republic. Cicero affirms, in one of his Philippics, that he endeavoured to dissuade Pompey from suffering this law to pass: *Duo—tempora inciderunt*, says he, *quibus aliquid contra Cæsarem Pompeio suaserim—Unum, ne, &c. alterum, ne pateretur ferri ut absentis ejus ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persua-*

enacted too at the earnest solicitation of Pompey in his consulate, should be religiously observed.* It was the rejecting of this advice, that gave occasion to the civil war; which I still laboured to extinguish by every method of remonstrance in my power, and by warmly representing, that in contests of this kind, though ever so justly founded, even the most disadvantageous terms of accommodation were preferable to having recourse to arms. But my sentiments were over-ruled; not so much

sissem, in has miseras nunquam incidissemus. Philip. ii. 10. But if what Cicero here asserts be true, he acted a most extraordinary part indeed; for, at the same time that he laboured to *dissuade* Pompey from suffering this law to pass, he *persuaded* Cælius, who was one of the tribunes of the people, to promote it, or, at least, not to oppose it, agreeably to a promise which he had given to Cæsar for that purpose. This appears by a passage in one of his letters to Atticus, where, speaking of Cæsar's claim to sue for the consulate, without personally attending at Rome, he tells Atticus, *Ut illi hoc liceret, adjuvi: rogatus ab ipso Ravennæ de Cælio tribuno plebis.* Ad Att. vii. 1.

* Whether this law should, or should not, be superseded, was a question upon which Cicero found the republic divided at his return from Cilicia, just before the civil war broke out. And although he certainly acted an unjustifiable part in promoting this law, yet, after it had once passed, it seems to have been right policy in him to advise that it should be observed, as it was the only probable means of preserving the public tranquillity.

by Pompey himself, (upon whom they seemed to make some impression,) as by those who, depending upon his victory, thought it would afford them a very favourable opportunity of extricating themselves from the difficulties of their private affairs, and of gratifying their immoderate ambition. The war, therefore, commenced without my participation; and I still continued in Italy as long as I possibly could, even after Pompey was driven out of it.* My honour, however, at length prevailed over my fears; and I could not support the thoughts of deserting Pompey in *his* distress, who had not abandoned me in *mine*. Partly, therefore, upon a principle of duty, partly in tenderness to my reputation with the patriots, and partly as being ashamed to forsake my friend, I went, as is fabled of Amphiaraus, † to that ruin which I clearly foresaw. And, indeed, there was not a single misfortune attended us during that whole campaign, which I did not point out before it arrived. You see, therefore, that I have the same right of being credited.

* See p. 35 of this Volume, note.

† Amphiaraus was a Grecian prophet, as the poets feign, who, foreknowing that he should be killed, if he went to the Theban war, concealed himself, in order to avoid that expedition. But his wife being bribed to disclose the place of his concealment, he was forced to the war, and his death confirmed the truth of his prediction. *Manlius*.

which augurs and astrologers are wont to urge; and may claim your belief of my present predictions, in consequence of the veracity of my former. But I do not found these my prophecies in your favour on those intimations of futurity, which are taught by our augural science. I derive them from observations of a different sort; which, though not more certain in themselves, are less obscure, however, and consequently less liable to be misinterpreted. The signs, then, from whence I draw my presages, are of two kinds; the one taken from Cæsar himself, the other from the nature and circumstances of public affairs. With respect to the former, they result, in the first place, from that general clemency of Cæsar's disposition, which you have celebrated in that ingenious performance entitled your *Complaints*;* and, in the next place, from that extraordinary regard he discovers for men of your distinguished genius and abilities. To this I must add, that he will certainly yield to those numberless solicitations in your favour, which proceed, not from any interested motives, but from a real and just esteem; among which the unanimous application of Etruria † will, undoubtedly,

* This seems to be the performance, concerning which Cæcina writes to Cicero in the 30th Letter of this Book.

† Cæcina was a native of Etruria, and a person of great consideration in that part of Italy.

have great weight with him. If you ask, whence it has happened that these considerations have hitherto proved ineffectual? I answer, that Cæsar thinks if he should immediately grant a pardon to you, against whom he may seem to have a more reasonable ground of complaint, he could not refuse it to others, whom he is less inclined to forgive. But you will say, perhaps, "If Cæsar is thus incensed, what have I to hope?" Undoubtedly, my friend, you have much; as he is sensible he must derive the brightest splendour of his fame, from the hand which once somewhat sullied its lustre. In fine, Cæsar is endowed with a most acute and penetrating judgment; and, as he perfectly well knows, not only the high rank you bear in a very considerable district of Italy,* but that there is no man in the commonwealth, of your age, who is superior to you in reputation, abilities, or popularity; he cannot but be convinced, that it will be impossible for him to render your exile of any long duration. He is too politic, therefore, to lose the merit of voluntarily conferring upon you at present, what will otherwise most unquestionably be extorted from him hereafter.

Having thus marked out the favourable prognostics which I collect from circumstances respecting

* Etruria.

Cæsar, I will now acquaint you with those which I gather from the temper and complexion of the times. There is no man, then, so averse to that cause which Pompey espoused with more spirit, indeed, than preparation, as to venture to arraign the principles or the patriotism of those who joined in his party. And I cannot but observe to you, that I have often occasion to admire the justice and judgment of Cæsar, who never speaks of Pompey but in terms of the highest honour. Should it be said, that whatever regard he may shew to his memory, he treated his person, upon many occasions, with great asperity; let it be remembered, that these instances cannot reasonably be imputed to Cæsar, but were the natural consequences of war. But how favourably has he received many of us, and myself in particular, who were engaged in the same party? Has he not appointed Cassius to be his lieutenant? has he not given the government of Gaul to Brutus? and that of Greece to Sulpicius? In a word, highly incensed as he was against Marcellus, has he not, in the most honourable manner, restored him to his friends and to his country? What I would infer, therefore, from the whole, is this, that whatever system of government may prevail, good policy will never permit, in the first place, that a difference should be made among those who were equally involved in the same

cause ; and, in the next, that a set of honest and worthy citizens, who are free from all imputation on their moral characters, should be banished from their country, at the same time that such numbers of those who have been exiled for the most infamous crimes, are suffered to return.

These are the presages of your friend, and they are presages, of which if I had the least doubt, I would by no means have laid them before you. On the contrary, I should, in that case, rather have employed such consolatory arguments, as would, unquestionably, have proved effectual for the support of a great and generous mind. I should have told you, that if you were induced to take up arms in defence of the republic (as you then imagined) merely from a confidence of success, small, indeed, would be your merit ; and that if, under a full conviction of the very precarious event of war, you thought it possible that we might be defeated, it would be strange that you should have so much depended upon victory, as to be utterly unprepared for the reverse. I should have reasoned with you on the consolation you ought to receive, from reflecting on the integrity of your conduct ; and reminded you of the satisfaction which the liberal arts will afford in the adverse seasons of life. I should have produced examples, not only from history, but in the persons of our leaders and asso-

ciates in this unhappy war, of those who have suffered the most severe calamities; and should have also cited several illustrious instances of the same sort from foreign story. For, to reflect on the misfortunes to which mankind in general are exposed, greatly contributes to alleviate the weight of those, which we ourselves endure. In short, I should have described the confusion of that turbulent scene, in which we are here engaged; as, undoubtedly, the being driven from a commonwealth in ruins, is much less to be regretted, than from one in a flourishing and a happy situation. But these are arguments which I have by no means any occasion to urge; as I hope, or rather, indeed, as I clearly foresee, that we shall soon welcome your return amongst us. In the mean while, agreeably to the assurances I have often given you, I shall continue to exert my most active offices in the service of yourself, and your excellent son, who, I must observe with pleasure, is the very express resemblance of his father, both in person and genius. I shall now, indeed, be enabled to employ my zeal more effectually than heretofore, as I make great and daily advances in Cæsar's friendship; not to mention my interest also with his favourites, who distinguish me with the first rank in their affection. Be assured I shall devote the whole of my influence both with Cæsar and with his friends, en-

tirely to your service. In the mean time, let the pleasing hopes you have so much reason to entertain, together with your own philosophical fortitude, support you with cheerfulness under your present situation. Farewell.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO P. SERVILIUS ISAURICUS,* PROPÆTOR.

I PERFECTLY well know the general compassion of your heart for the unfortunate, and the inviolable fidelity you observe towards those who have any particular claim to your protection. As Cæcina, therefore, is a family-client of yours, I should not recommend him to your favour, if the regard I pay to the memory of his father, with whom I lived in the strictest intimacy, and the unhappy fate which attends himself, with whom I am united by every tie of friendship and gratitude, did not affect me in the manner it ought. I am sensible that your own natural disposition, without any so-

* It appears by this letter, which is a recommendation of Cæcina to the governor of Asia, that he had resumed the design of going into that province, which, in the 20th epistle of this Book, he tells Cicero he had laid aside in pursuance of his advice.

licitations, would incline you to assist a man of Cæcina's merit, in distress; but I earnestly entreat you, that this letter may render you still more zealous to confer upon him every good office in your power. I am persuaded, if you had been in Rome, you would effectually have employed it also in procuring his pardon; which, in confidence of your colleague's * clemency, we will strongly hope to obtain. † In the mean time, Cæcina has retreated into your province, not only as thinking it will afford him the securest refuge, but in pursuit, likewise, of that justice which he expects from the equity of your administration. I most warmly request you, therefore, to assist him in recovering those debts which remain due to him upon his former negotiations; ‡ and in every other article to favour him with your patronage and protection, than which you cannot confer upon me, be assured, a more acceptable obligation. Farewell.

* Servilius was colleague with Cæsar in his second consulate, A. U. 705.

† Accordingly Cæcina, some time afterwards, received his pardon from Cæsar, which Suetonius mentions as an instance, amongst others, of that conqueror's singular clemency. *Suet. in vit. Jul. 75.*

‡ Cæcina had, probably, been concerned in farming some branch of the Asiatic revenue.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO PUBLIUS SULPICIUS. *

NOTWITHSTANDING it is very seldom, in the present situation of public affairs, that I attend the senate, yet, after having received your letter, I thought it would not be acting agreeably to our long friendship, and to those many good offices that have passed between us, if I did not contribute all in my power to the advancement of your honours. It was with much pleasure, therefore, I went to the house, and voted for your public thanks-

* It is altogether uncertain who this Sulpicius was; perhaps the same who commanded a squadron of Cæsar's fleet off the island of Sicily, which engaged with and defeated the fleet under the command of Cassius, about the time that Cæsar gained the battle of Pharsalia. But whoever he was, he appears, from the present letter, to have been governor of Illyricum, and to have lately had the honour of a public thanksgiving decreed for some successes which his arms had obtained in that province. Some of the commentators are of opinion, that the superscription of this letter is a false reading, and that instead of *Sulpicius*, it should be *Vatinius*; but those who are inclined to see this notion very solidly confuted, are referred to the observations of Manutius upon this epistle. *Cæs. de Bel. Civ.* iii. 101. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 449.

giving, which has been decreed accordingly. You will always find me equally zealous in whatever concerns your interest or your glory; and I should be glad you would, in your letters to your family, assure them of this my disposition towards you, that they may not scruple to claim my best services, if, in any future instance, you should have occasion for them.

I very strongly recommend to you my old friend Bolanus, as a man of great spirit and probity, and adorned, likewise, with every amiable accomplishment. As you will extremely oblige me by letting him see that my recommendation proved of singular advantage to him, so you may depend upon finding him of a most grateful disposition, and one from whose friendship you will receive much satisfaction.

I have another favour likewise to ask, which, in confidence of our friendship, and of that disposition which you have ever shewn to serve me, I very earnestly request. My library-keeper, Dionysius, having stolen several books from that valuable collection which I entrusted to his care, has withdrawn himself into your province, as I am informed by my friend Bolanus, as well as by several others, who saw him at Narona.* But as they credited

* In Liburnia, now called Croatia, which formed part of the province of Illyricum.

the account he gave them of my having granted him his freedom, they had no suspicion of the true reason that carried him thither. I shall think myself inexpressibly indebted to you, therefore, if you will deliver him into my hands; for although the loss I have sustained is not very great, yet his dishonesty gives me much vexation. Bolanus will inform you in what part of your province he is now concealed, and what measures will be proper in order to secure him. In the mean time let me repeat it again, that I shall look upon myself as highly indebted to you, if I should recover this fellow by your assistance. Farewell.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO QUINTUS GALLIUS. *

I FIND by your letter, as well as by one which I have received from Oppius, that you did not forget my recommendation; † which, indeed, is nothing more than what I expected from your great affection towards me, and from the connexion that subsists between us. Nevertheless, I will again repeat

* See p. 219 of this Volume, note.

† See Let. 9. of this Book.

my solicitations in favour of Oppius, who still continues in your province, and of Egnatius, who remains at Rome, and entreat you to take their joint affairs under your protection. My friendship with Egnatius is so great, that, were my own personal interest concerned in the present case, I could not be more anxious. I most earnestly request you, therefore, to shew him, by your good offices, that I am not mistaken in the share which I persuade myself I enjoy in your affection; and be assured you cannot oblige me in a more acceptable manner. Farewell.

END OF VOLUME THIRD.

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