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THE  
MISCELLANEOUS  
WORKS

OF the late REVEREND and LEARNED

CONYNGHAMS MIDDLETON, D.D.

Principal Lecturer in the University of Cambridge.

Containing all his

WRITINGS,

Except the LIFE of *CICERO*:

Many of which were never before PUBLISHED.

VOL. IV.

LONDON,

Printed for RICHARD MANBY on *Ludgate-hill*,  
and H. S. COX in *Fater-noster Row*.

M.DCC.LII.

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Of the Fourth VOLUME.

- I. **G**ermana quædam Antiquitatis eruditæ Monumenta quibus Romanorum veterum Ritus varii tam Sacri quam Profani, tum Græcorum atque Ægyptiorum nonnulli illustrantur, Roma *of* ma ex parte collecta, ac Dissertationibus jam singulis His Appendicis item Loco adjuncta est Munice Cantabrigiæ, *ni* *æcori* scriptio.
- II. De Medicorum a quibus Veteres Romanos degentium Conditione Dissertatio; contra Viros Celeberrimos Jac. Sponium & Rich. Meadum, M. D. D. Servilem atque ignobilem eam fuisse ostenditur.
- III. Dissertationis de Medicorum Romæ Degentium conditione ignobili & servili, contra Anonymos quosdam Notarum brevium, Responsionis, atque animadversionis Auctores, Defensio.
- IV. The Epistles of M. T. Cicero to M. Brutus, and of Brutus to Cicero: with the Latin Text on the opposite page, and English Notes to each Epistle, together with a prefatory Dissertation, in which the authority of the said Epistles is vindicated, and all the Objections of the Rev. Mr. Tunstall particularly considered and confuted.



Germana quædam ANTIQUITATIS eruditæ  
**MONUMENTA**  
QUIBUS

Romanorum veterum Ritus varii

Tam Sacri quam Profani,

Tunæ æcorum atque Ægyptiorum nonnulli

ILLUSTRANTUR,

Romæ olim maxima ex parte collecta,

AC DISSERTATIONIBUS jam singulis instructa,

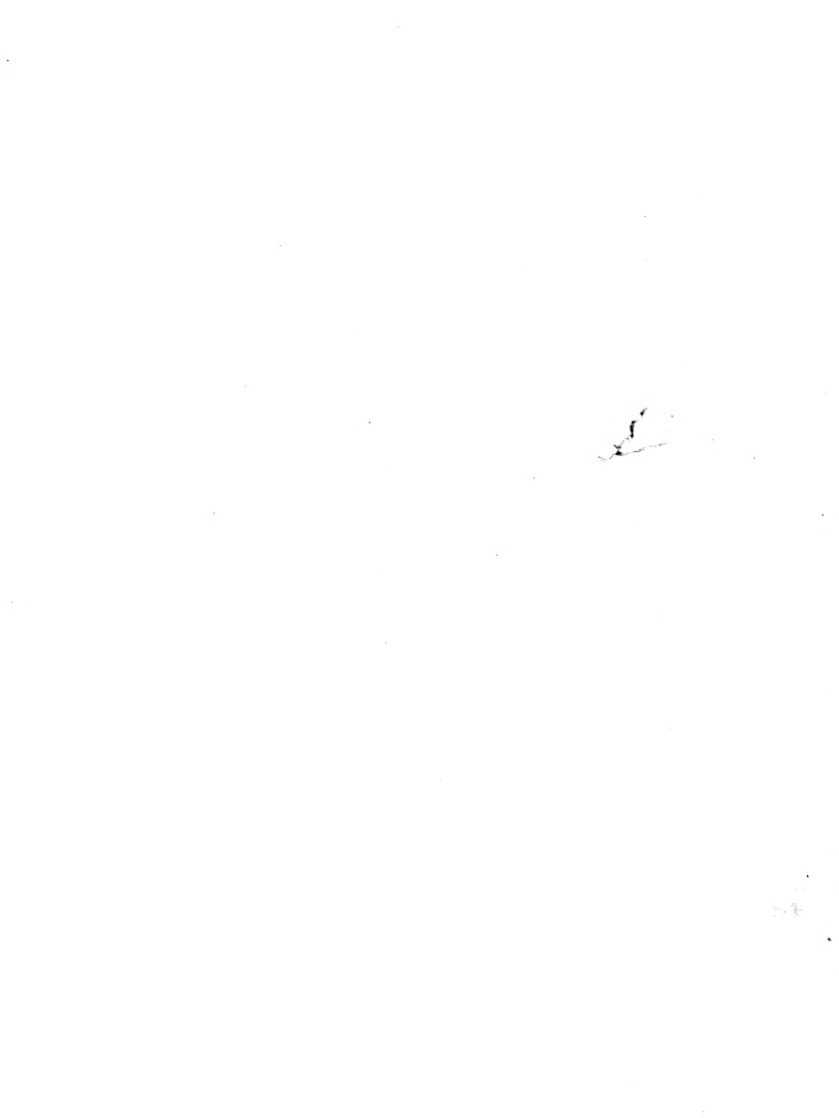
A *CONYERS MIDDLETON*, S. T. P.

Academiæ Cantabrigiæ Protobibliothecario.

His Appendicis item Loco adjuncta est MUMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS Descriptio.

*Quis autem est, quem non moveat clarissimis Monumentis testata, consignataque Antiquitas?*

Cic. de Divin. l. 1. 49.



ALMAE MATRI  
ACADEMIAE CANTABRIGIENSI  
ARTIVM OPTIMARVM ALTRICI  
VIRTVTVM OMNIVM FAVTRICI

C V I

QVOSCVNQVE IN LITTERARVM STVDIIS  
VEL PROGRESSVS FECERIT VEL PRAEMIA  
ACCEPERIT SE PENITVS DEBERE PROFITETVR

CONYERS MIDDLETON

HOC OPVSCVLVM OTII ALIQVANDO SVI  
OBLECTAMENTVM NEC IVENTVTI  
FORTASSE ACADEMICAЕ IAM INVITILE

FVTURVM

IN PERPETVVM OBSERVANTIAE SVAE

AC GRATI ANIMI TESTIMONIUM

LIBENS MERITO

D. D. D.



# P R Æ F A T I O.

CUM valetudinis olim confirmandæ causa, cœlum mutare, et litterarum studiis aliquandiu depositis, peregre proficisci decrevissem, tum ad Italiam illico iter tendere, ac Romæ urbium amœnissimæ otari, mihi ante omnia placuit. Ut ad illam autem accessi, loci admōnitu incitatus, splendorisque ejus prisca memoriam recolens, non tam ad novæ urbis ornamenta, magnifica caquidem et superba, quam ad antiquæ vestigia et mōnumenta perquirenda, memet contuli: quæ quidem omnia, etiãmi ab aliis descripta magnam sæpe voluptatem legenti antea dedissent, at oculis tamen subjēcta, majorem mihi longe, res ipsas jam contemplanti, præbere sensi.

In hac igitur antiquitatis contemplatione pæne defixus, paucula statim quædam, ex urbis ruderibus effossâ, artium veterum specimina, rituumque veterum instrumenta coemere cœpi: atque ab his initiis, fircinulam paullatim quandam, qua in Angliam tandem instructus redirem, colligere statui: in qua tamen colligenda, non illud mihi propositum erat, ut ea solummodo, quæ materia aut opere præstarent, sed quæ eruditionem, ut aiunt, aliquam continerent, ritumve aliquem illustrarent, ad Bibliothecæ quasi meæ ornatum, compararem.

Etenim hoc peregrinantibus fere commune esse scimus, quæcunque in exteris terris rariora, aut regionis alicujus

alicujus propria sint, ea potissimum conquirere, domumque deportare; ut eorum deinde conspectu, locorum quos peragraverint memoriam revocare, atque itineris præteriti voluptatem quodammodo redintegrare possint. At vero ex omnibus Orbis terræ regionibus, ager certe Romanus res istiusmodi pretiosissimas, et litteratorum præcipue ingeniis accommodatissimas edit. Quippe aliæ terræ marmora, aurum, gemmasve fortasse, sed rudes tantum pariunt; hæc autem marmora in varias formas exquisite ficta, aurum eximio opere cœlatum, gemmas summo artificio sculptas, ex sese fundit: quorum ipse singulorum exempla sane haud pauca, dum in iis locis commorabar, ex ea effossa vidi.

Ex his autem agri Romani divitiis, neminem profecto de peregrinatoribus nostris, thesaurum inde deportasse credo, et rerum delectu et pretio magis æstimabilem, ac quem amicus meus nobilis, Horatius Walpole in Angliam nuper advexit; Juvenis, non tam generis nobilitate, ac paterni nominis gloria, quam ingenio, doctrina, et virtute propria illustris. Ille vero haud citius fere in patriam reversus est, quam de studiis meis, ut consueverat, familiariter per litteras quærens, mihi ultro de copia sua, quicquid ad argumenti mei rationem, aut libelli ornamentum pertineret, pro arbitrio meo utendum obtulit. Quam quidem ejus liberalitatem libenter admodum amplexus esse, ni operis hujus, jam prope absoluti, fastidio quodam correptus, atque ad alia festinans, intra terminos ei ab initio destinatos, illud continere statuissem: attamen præclaram istam Musei Walpoliani suppellectilem, ab interprete aliquo peritiorè propediem explicandam, edendamque esse confido.



Sed ut ad propositum revertar. Mæx isti, quam modo dixi, emendi cupiditati, facultatum mearum tenuitas modum imposuit, nec ultra hanc rerum congeriem, quam in his Tabellis expositam videmus, eam provehi passa est: quæ, cum multos jam annos in armariis meis custodita, otium sæpe meum oblectasset, sermonisque cum familiaribus meis haud injucundi argumentum præbuisset, in lucem demum idcirco emissa est, ut quos mihi unquam vel delectationis, vel utilitatis fructus attulisset, eisdem item ceteris, qui hæc studia persequuntur, impertire possent. In ea enim nonnulla reperimus, quæ ob raritatem atque operis etiam excellentiam, vel inter præstantissima ex hoc genere Antiquitatis monumenta numerari queant: de reliquis autem, si quæpiam contra, vulgaria nimis, atque hac tanta differendi pompa vix digna videantur, at ritum ea tamen, ut dixi, moremve aliquem, non ab aliis fortasse memoratum, aut clare satis explicatum, plerumque illustrent. Atque illud etiam animadvertendum est, hujusmodi videlicet opera, non peritis modo et intelligentibus, sed studiosis communiter omnibus et discendi cupidis proponi; atque ad omnium ideo ingenium accommodari solere; ita ut quæ peritioribus fortasse tædium fastidiumque creent, eadem tamen aliis, in hoc genere minus exercitatis, eruditionis ac scientiæ accessionem aliquam afferant. Istud vero utcumque fuerit, hoc saltem dicere licet, hunc omnem, qualiscunque est, rerum antiquarum apparatus, non quo scribendi occasionem arriperem, aut eruditionem meam ostentarem, ex aliorum Museis desumptum, sed meo opere ac sumptu conquistum esse; neque usum ejus meliorem me quidem excogitare potuisse, quam ut accu-

accurate descriptum, ac dissertationibus hifce instructum, in publicum proponerem.

Ad hanc vero rerum mearum editionem, Mumiam item Cantabrigienfem, appendicis loco adjungere libuit, quoniam et mihi ea præcipue in custodiam tradita est, et nihil Academiæ ipsi me gratius facere posse cognovi, quam ut, quodcunque in thesauris suis lateat, quod litterarum studia accendere, litteratosve erudire aut delectare possit, illud pariter in commune omnium beneficium pervulgarem.

Sin autem reperti aliqui erunt, qui hoc omne litterarum genus, tanquam leve prorsus, atque homine gravi ac sene præsertim indignum aspernentur; ego tamen multorum et gravissimorum virorum exemplis memet defendere potero, qui vitam fere in his ipsis studiis consumpserunt. At istiusmodi reprehenses meminerint, velim, quantum in juventute nostra instituenda, litterisque humanioribus imbuenda, hæc una rerum antiquarum cognitio locum obtineat, quantamque vim habeat: hoc enim si secum reputare volent, tum profecto, quicquid ad cognitionem eam illustrandam auxilii aliquid afferat, illud fructus non contemnendos editurum esse, intelligent. Neque provectioris ætatis hominibus aut injucundum, opinor, aut inutile foret, fontes eos antiquos interdum repetere, unde primos doctrinæ liberalioris haustus duxerint, quibusque omnem eam, quamcunque teneant, cogitandi, dicendi, scribendive elegantiam, acceptam plerumque referre oportet.

Sed ut dicam plane quod sentio: juniores certe, ad hujusmodi studia persequenda, aptiores esse fatendum est: eoque memet libentius ad hoc opus absolvendum accinxi, ut eo demum absoluto, his aliquando litteris valedicerem, atque hæc earum fomenta, ex animo pariter ac manibus emitterem. Etenim ætas mea jam ingravescens ad graviora quædam et personæ accommodatiora me progredi monet; et quanto minus vitæ mihi reliquum fit, tanto magis ea meditari, atque ea scribere, quæ vitæ futuræ spem confirmare, possessionemque nobis præstare queant. Ea nimirum, quæ moribus publicis emendandis, et virtuti pietatique propagandæ conducant; quæque religionem potissimum Christianam, benevolentiam, pacis, ac gaudii conciliatricem, ab omni prava mixtura, papistica fraude, anili superstitione, fanatico furore, qualis olim e cælis descenderit, puram sinceramque confervent.

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TAB. I.







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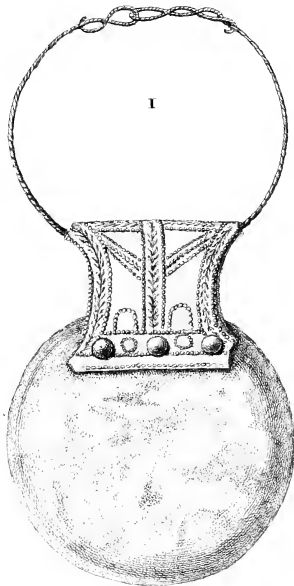


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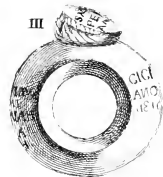




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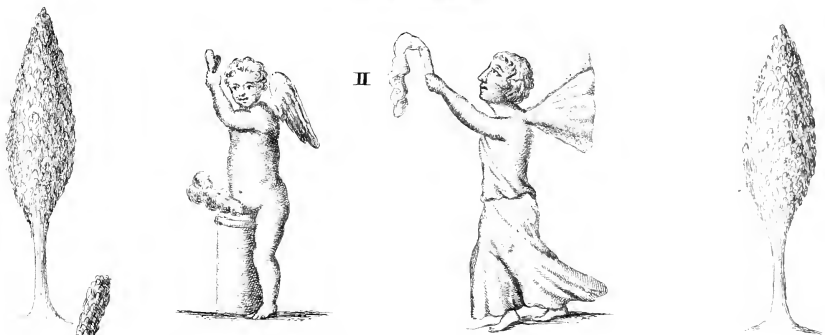
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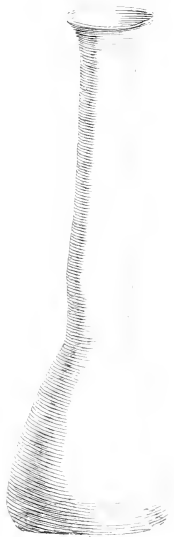
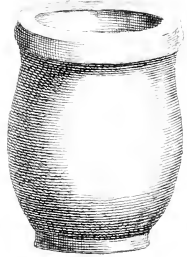
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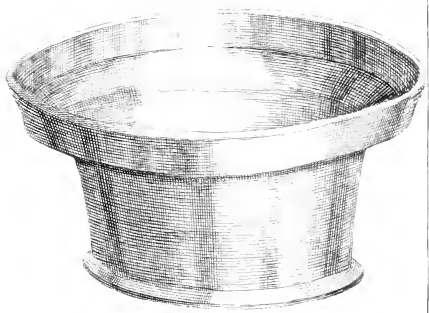
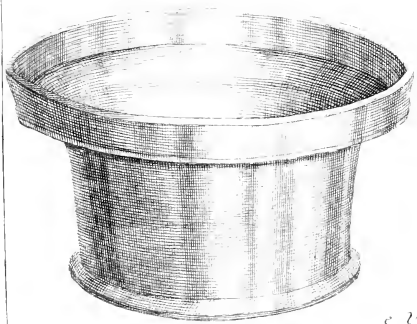


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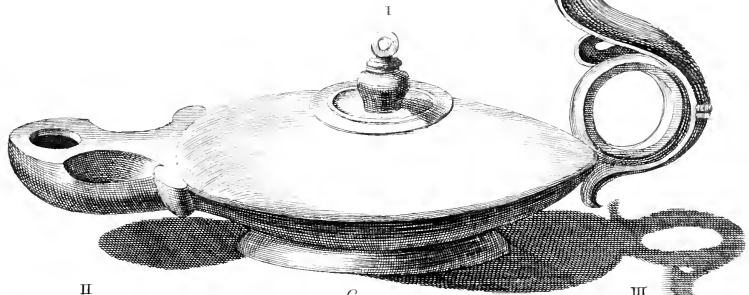




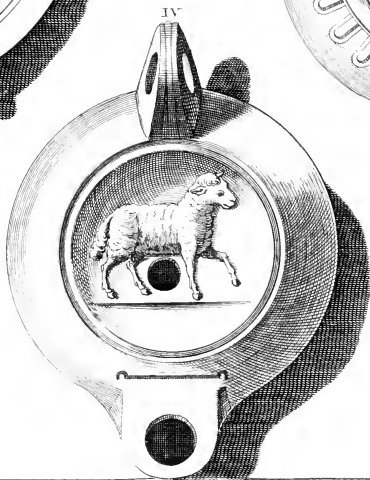
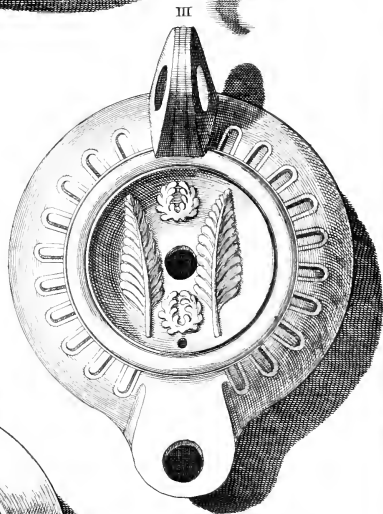
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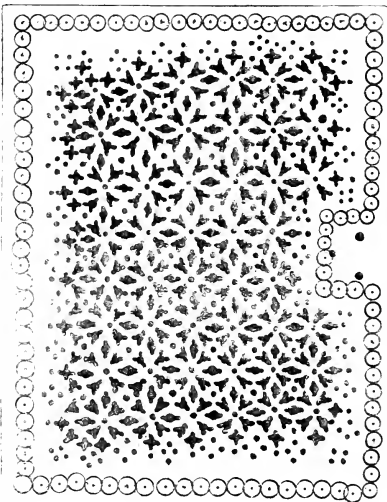




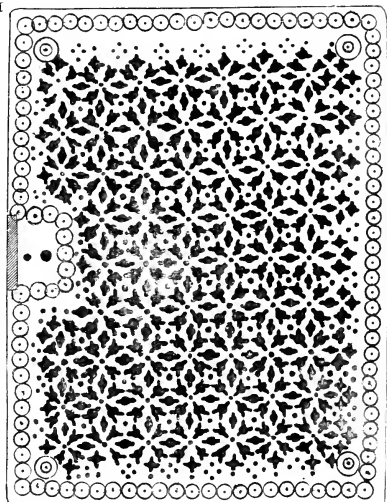
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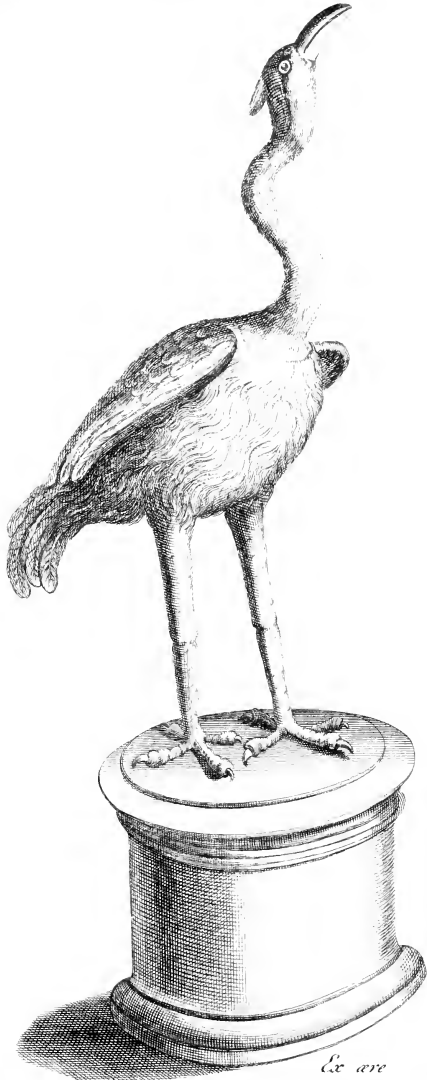
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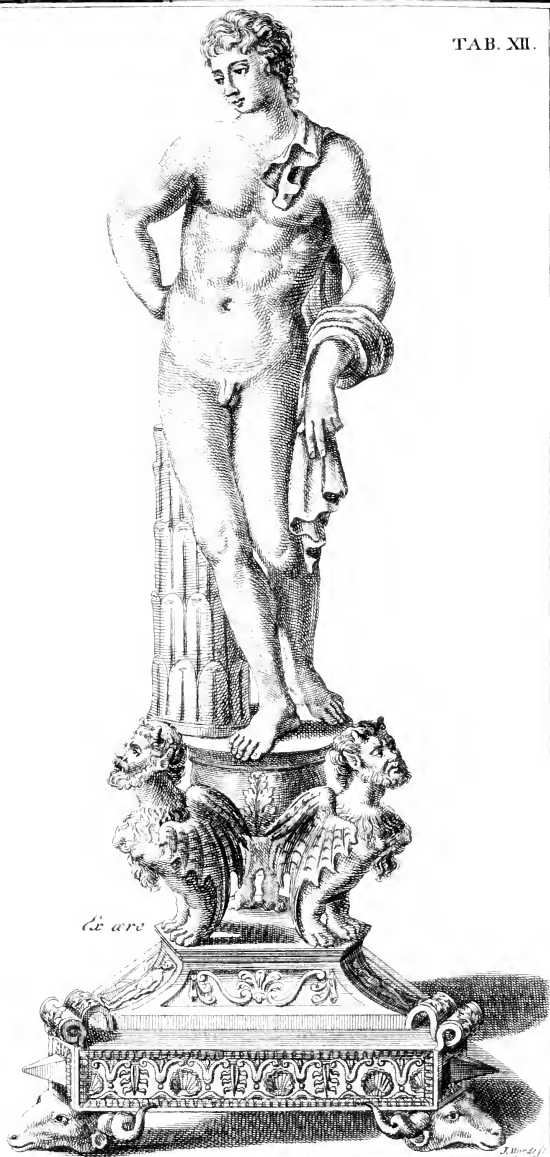






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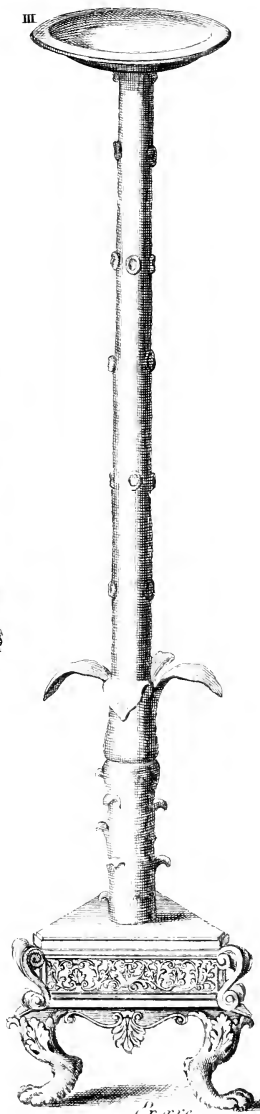


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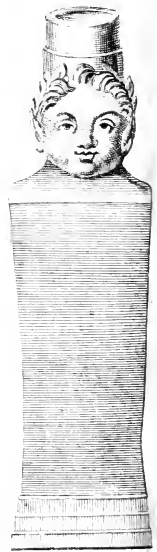


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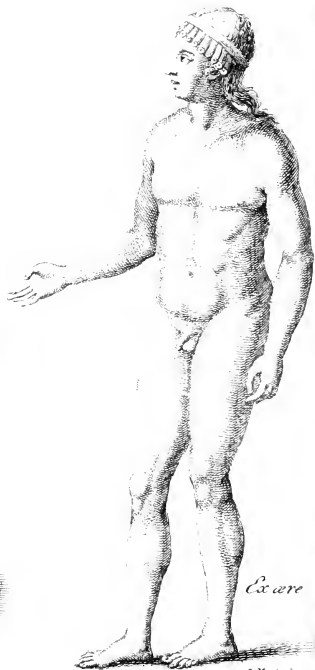
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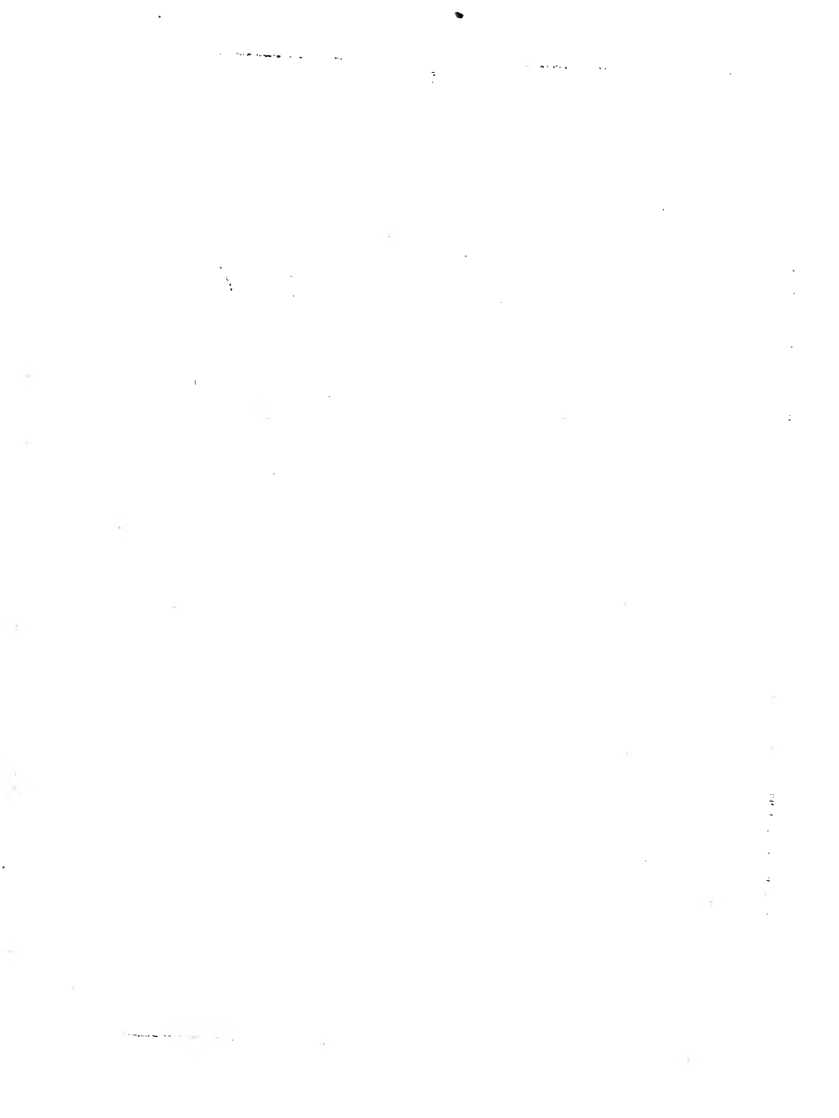
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*ex Marmore*



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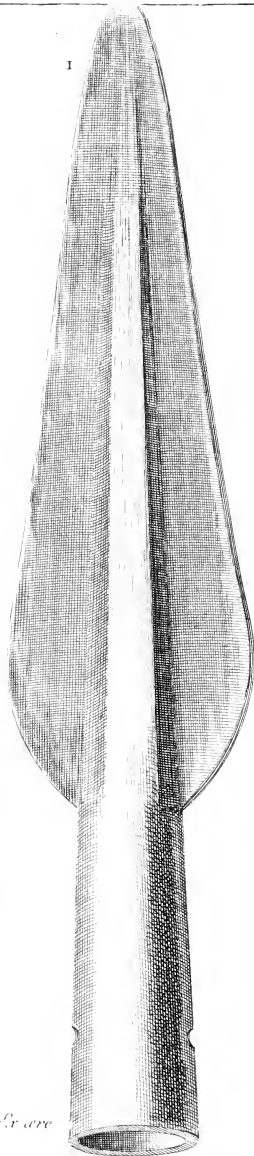




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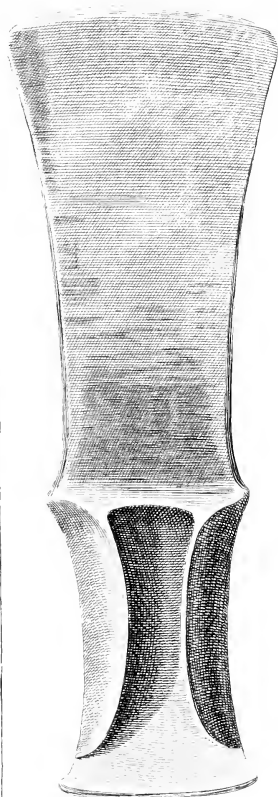


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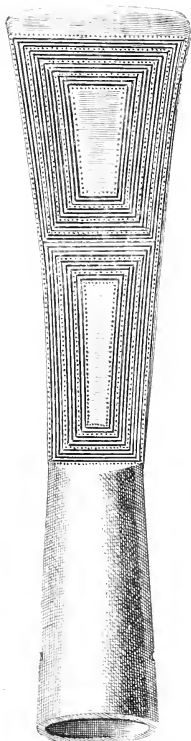
*Et are*

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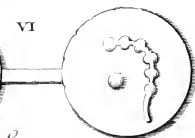
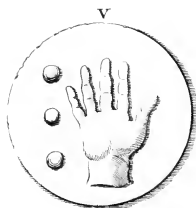
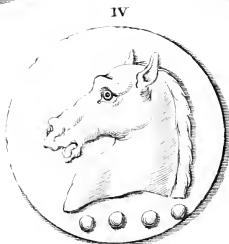
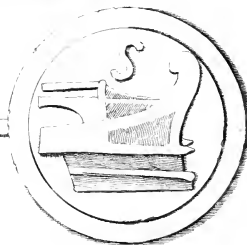
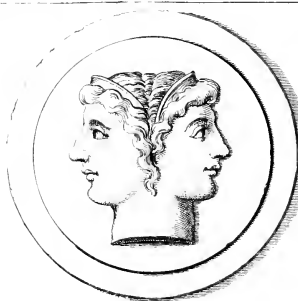
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TAB. XIX.



I



II



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IV



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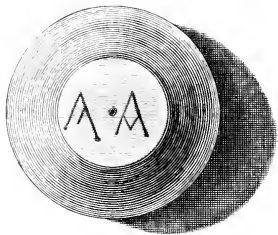


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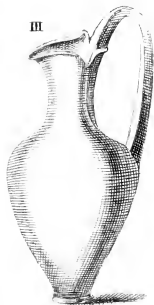
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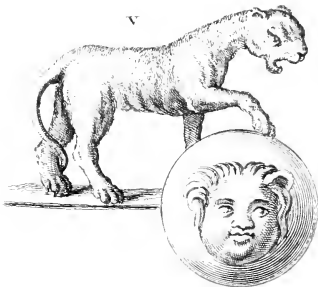
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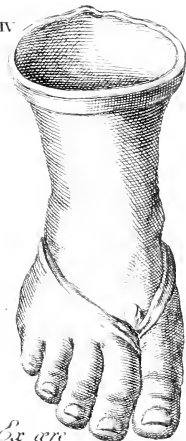
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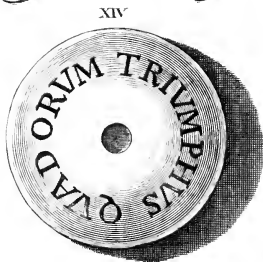


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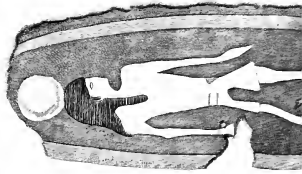
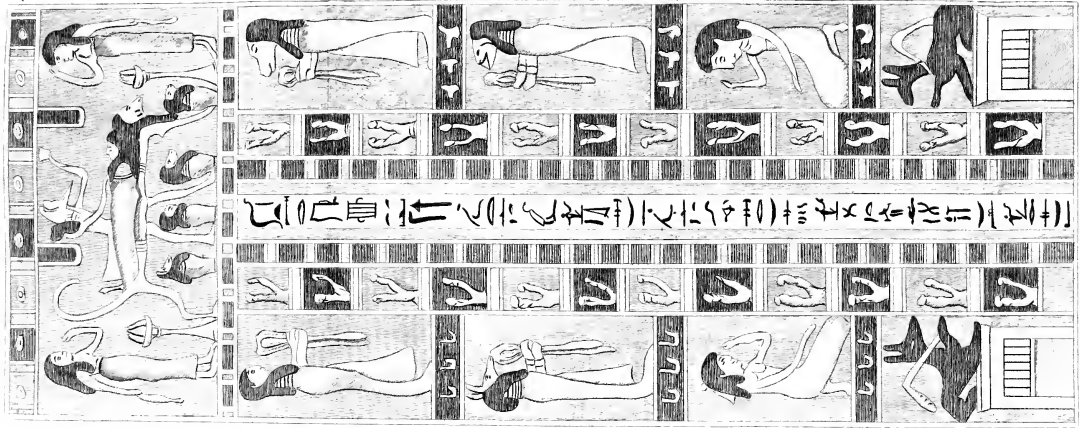












# I N D E X.

RERUM quæ in his TABULIS descriptæ atque in DISSERTATIONIBUS deinde explicatæ sunt.

## In Tabula I.

**P**ictura antiqua, ex sepulchri veteris pariete, Romæ excisa. Ubi de historiola in ea expressa, et de figurarum vestitu ac descriptione, conjecturæ quædam proferuntur. Tum de picturis istiusmodi, in parietum tectorio repertis, earumque origine ac præstantia, nonnulla generatim differuntur.

## Tab. II.

Figura muliebris, porcellum dextra, atque infantulum sinistra gestans. Ubi infantulos ad Deorum altaria initiandi, ac nominandi ritus omnes, cum apud Græcos tum Romanos, fuscè fati explicantur.

## Tab. III.

I. Bulla aurea. Ubi de Bullæ usu atque origine apud veteres Romanos disquiritur: eamque neque cordiformem, neque, ut doctorum plerique existimant, a triumphantibus omnino gestatam, neque nobilibus propriam, sed ingenuis promiscue omnibus pro arbitrio permittam esse, ostenditur. II. Mulieris atque Infantuli, cui Bulla ex collo dependet, Imagunculæ

## I N D E X.

culæ duæ antiquæ, in vitro pictæ. Ubi de vitri origine ac conditura, ejusque pingendi artificio; tum de picturæ nostræ explicatione, et de Trabea præcipue veterum, quam puerulus, et de monili, quod mulier gestat, disputatur. III. Anulus Amuleticus, ex lapide Chalcedonio confectus, cui litteræ quædam barbaræ inscriptæ sunt. Ubi de Amuletis, Gemmisque potissimum Basilidianis; ac de anulis veterum phycis et medicatis, quibus noxia quælibet, et Dæmones præsertim malos, se propulsare posse credebant, differitur. IV. Rei turpiculæ, figuræ duæ æneæ, non quidem in hanc Tabulam, sed in dissertationis marginem conjectæ. Ubi istiusmodi figuras, contra fascinationes, oculique maligni ictus, infantulorum olim collis suspendi solere, demonstratur.

### Tab. IV.

Olla ossuaria, e vitro confecta, et picturis ornata. Ubi de Ollis istiusmodi vitreis, ad mortuorum ossa excipienda paratis, ac de nostra præsertim, quæ ossium combustorum frustulis referta erat, agitur.

### Tab. V.

Figuræ in fundo, lateribusque Ollæ depictæ; quæ ritus funebres præcipue indicare videntur. Ubi de mortuis comburendis, ossibusque eorum legendis, et condendis, ceterisque ad sepulchra pertinentibus, disputatur.

### Tab. VI.

Quatuor vascula, lacrymatoria, ut vulgo vocantur. Ubi vascula ejusdemmodi omnia, non quidem ad lacrymas, ut plerique existimant, excipiendas, sed ad unguenta solummodo in tumulos inferenda, a veteribus adhibita fuisse, contenditur.

# I N D E X.

## Tab. VII.

Quatuor item vascula vitrea, in eundem usum parata; quibus unguenta scilicet, ad mortuorum cineres inspergendos, in sepulchris asservari soferent.

## Tab. VIII.

Lucernæ quatuor sepulchrales. Item, anuli duo aurei; atque inauris etiam muliebris. Ubi lucernarum sepulchralium usus, et figurarum in his nostris expressarum significatio investigantur. Deinde de anulis aureis, atque inauribus, ceterisque defunctorum ornamentis, una cum eorum offibus in sepulchro a propinquis condi solitis, quædam dicuntur.

## Tab. IX.

I. Libelli veteris five Pugillaris, Operculum Eburneum, in sepulchro antiquo repertum. Ubi pugillarium forma usque, ad notas scilicet breves excipiendas, demonstrantur. II. Tibicinis Utricularii Imaguncula ænea. Ubi de Tibiæ istius apud veteres usu, ac de Ludionum, Morionum, ac Mimorum genere omni, ad convivia ludosque adhiberi solito, disputatur. III. Pocillatoris, seu servi ad mensam ministrantis Imaguncula. Ubi Romanorum luxus, in fervorum grege comparando illustratur, et Pocillatorum præsertim, seu fervorum Tricliniariorum vestitus nitidus et delicatulus ex imagine nostra indicatus est. Tum de antiqua e cornibus potandi consuetudine nonnulla memorantur.

## Tab. X.

Ibis Ægyptia. Ubi Avis istius natura, cultus, divinique, apud Ægyptios veteres, honores explicantur. Atque hanc nostram

## I N D E X.

noſtram Ibdidis effigiem, baſi olim deauratæ impoſitam, ac numinis loco conſecratam, cultamque fuiſſe, oſtenditur.

### Tab. XI.

Æſculapii Imago, una cum Teleſphoro adjuncto. Ubi de Dei hujus religione, et quemadmodum Romam primum adveſta fuit; item de Ægris in templo ejus cubantibus, et morborum fuorum remedia, fomniorum monitu ediſcentibus, diſferitur. Tum Teleſphori etiam nomen, et qualis ille Deus fuerit, explicatur.

### Tab. XII.

Antinoi Imago ænea, baſi perpulchræ inſiſtens. Ubi de Antino in Deorum numerum relato, honoribusque ei ab Hadriano Imperatore conſtitutis; item de baſi Imaginis hujus ſingulari, figurisque ibi expreſſis, pauca quædam obſervantur.

### Tab. XIII.

I. Bacchi Imaguncula ænea. II. Serapidis, Dei Ægyptii. Ubi de cultu ejus, nonniſi ſero Romam traduſto, diſſeritur. Deinde, de minutis hiſce Deorum veterum Icunculis, atque infinito fere earum numero hodie extante, quæſtio inſtituitur et explicatur. III. Arula Larum ſeu Deorum Cubicularium perpulchra ex ære. Ubi ejuſmodi Arulas, in privatarum ædium Sacellis ſeu Larariis, ad thuris aut vini paululum excipiendum paratas, atque ante Deorum imagines poni ſolitas, declaratur.

### Tab. XIV.

I. Imago Bacchæ, ſeu fœminæ in Bacchi ſacris initiatæ. Ubi ſacra iſta nocturna, a mulieribus celebrata, deſcribuntur:

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tur: et cur Bacchantium coronæ ex hedera potissimum confectæ essent, declaratur. Item de oculis Imagunculæ hujus argenteis mentio facta est; atque oculos istos conficiendi atque inferendi artem, ad Opifices quosdam proprios, a sculptoribus diversos pertinuisse, declaratur. II. Gladiatoris Imaguncula ænea. Ubi de Gladiatorio pugnandi more pauca quædam dicuntur: atque hanc Imagunculam, a Gladiatore aliquo celebri, ob victoriam partam vel libertatem acceptam, ex voto Deo alicui dicatam fuisse, conjectatur. III. Duæ aliæ hominum Imagunculæ incognitæ. Quarum una tamen Germanici fortasse; altera Etrusci Herois aut Dei effigies esse videtur.

### Tab. XV.

Patera ænea, uti vulgo vocatur. Ubi vascula hujusmodi, haud recte Pateras dici; neque ad vinum omnino fundendum, ut ex eorum forma apparet, accommodata esse, sed ad aridum potius quiddam vel Diis Laribus in sacrificio, vel cœnantibus fortasse in convivio, offerendum, adhibita fuisse, conjectatur, tum figuras in hoc vasculo insculptas, ad Ledæ fabelam referendas esse.

### Tab. XVI.

Aliud vasculum ejusdem formæ ac generis. Ubi de figuris etiam in eo, perinde ac in ceteris plerumque insculptis, conjecturæ quædam proponuntur.

### Tab. XVII.

Hastæ antiquæ spiculum, atque instrumenta duo fabrilia, ex ære confectæ. Ubi de Hastis et Gladiis veterum, post ferrum etiam inventum, ex ære factis, differitur; atque in  
instru-

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instrumentis istiusmodi fabricandis, æs, promiscuum diu cum ferro ipso usum obtinuisse, antiquorum testimoniis confirmatur.

### XVIII.

As Romanorum libralis, ejusque partes. Ubi de æris signandi auctore; atque unde mos deductus; quibusque notis æs primum Romæ signatum esset, quæritur. Deinde, hujusmodi nummos, omnium, qui Romæ unquam signati fuissent, antiquissimos esse, atque ante bellum Punicum, non feriendo percussos, aut typo aliquo impressos, sed ex ære fuso conflatos, ostenditur. Tum singulorum momenta seu pondera notantur; ac signa in eis expressa illustrantur.

### Tab. XIX.

As ad sextam ejus partem; deinde ad duodecimam, auctoritate publica imminutus; partesque utriusque ita imminuti. Ubi imminutiones istæ, ex nummorum nostrorum serie hic exposita, illustrantur. Atque alias quoque æris imminutiones, a nemine licet antiquorum memoratas, factas tamen esse, arguitur. Tum notæ et signa in his nummis impressa explicantur. Ac singulorum momenta propria indicantur.

### Tab. XX.

Pondus antiquum librale, ex ære factum. Item quatuor Unciæ æneæ, earumque partes nonnullæ. Ubi de Romanorum veterum ponderibus, auctoritate publica constitutis, ac de signis in eis insculptis, pauca quædam dicuntur: ac singulorum momenta demonstrantur. II. Aquilæ Imaguncula ænea, basi imposita. Ubi de Aquilis legionum et cohortium, quæ magna religione coli solebant, differitur; atque Aquilam item nostram ad cultum quendam divinum, vel domi  
vel



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vel militiae, consecratam olim esse, declaratur. III. Guttus antiquus ex aere. Ubi vasculi istius usus, ad olea scilicet atque unguenta pretiosa, cum in balneis, tum in sacris, guttatim fundenda, demonstratur. IV. Pes aeneus votivus. Ubi de pedum imaginibus, ex voto Deorum alicui in templo ejus dicatis, a navigantibus praefertim, seu pedibus etiam ex morbo aliquo laborantibus, differitur. Quam quidem superstitionem, hodie etiam Romae, perinde ac in urbe antiqua, vigere, confirmatur. V. Tigridis Imago aenea, de cujus tamen usu nihil certi statui potest.

### Tab. XXI.

Gemmarum series; in quibus imagines variae, antiquo opere caelatae aut exsculptae sunt. I. Imago Byzantis Herois, urbis Byzantii conditoris. II. Hermaphroditi ad arborem alligati; cujus ad caput Faunus, ad pedes Satyrus affidet. III. Regis cujusdam Parthorum. IV. Prusiae, Regis Bithyniae. V. Sexti Chæronensis, Plutarchi nepotis. VI. Omphales, Herculis insignibus instructae. VII. Matidiae Augustae. VIII. Faustinae senioris. IX. Mercurii, symbolis suis omnibus instructi. X. Imagines variae, symbolico quodam significato, inter sese commixtae: videlicet, Socratis, Pavonis, Elephantis et Sceptri. XI. Galli Gallinacei; et Cornu-copiae, quod e globulo quasi exurgere videtur. XII. Mulieris, sive Deae cujusdam Ægyptiæ. XIII. Avis Ægyptiæ sive Ibis. XIV. Lapis denique Chalcedonius, rotundus et globi dimidiati instar, ex altera parte planus, ex altera convexus; cui literis quadratis inscribitur. TRIUMPHUS QUADORUM — Quae quidem omnia, quatenus explicatione aliqua egere videantur, ordine illustrata sunt.

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## Tab. XXII.

Mumia Ægyptia, a viro nobili Georgio Townshend, Academia Cantabrigiensi donata. Ubi de loculis præsertim, thecivæ ligneis, in quibus cadavera Ægyptiorum more condita, reposita erant, differitur: atque ex eorum forma et pingendi modo, et sculpturæ et picturæ primordia ad Græcos traducta esse, conjicitur. Deinde ex putrido Mumia nostræ statu, Ægyptiorum veterum vanitas arguitur, qui hoc condiendi ritu, se corporibus etiam suis immortalitatem quasi daturos esse credebant. Tum hanc cadaverum condituram, non tanto aromatum apparatu, tantoque sumptu, quanto fieri solere traditur, revera effectam fuisse, ex Mumia nostræ reliquiis, ceterarumque omnium, quæ a peregrinantibus descriptæ sunt, demonstratur.

## Tab. XXIII.

Integumenti Mumia exterioris particula, pictis Deorum imaginibus ornata. Ubi picturarum earum descriptio quædam datur: quarum quidem nonnullæ, hanc cadavera condiendi artem, Ægyptiis olim divinitus datam esse, significant; item lapidis ejus Æthiopici, quem cultelli loco, in cadavere secando, adhibebant, formam exhibent; atque Deorum etiam eorum effigies, qui Avertenci præcipue, seu malorum propulsores habebantur; quibusque cadaveris potissimum tutelam commendare solerent.

## DISSERTATIONES VARIÆ

QUIBUS

## MONUMENTA

In Tabulas Superiores distributa Ordine singula explicantur.

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## TABULA I.

**P**ICTURAM hanc antiquam, ex Sepulchri cujusdam parietibus, una cum ipso parietum tectorio, excisam, Roma mecum in Angliam advexi. Picturæ enim veteris reliquias, et majores eas quidem quam expectâram, cum in Principum palatiis, tum in privatorum ædibus, ibi adhuc extantes vidi: quæ in Sepulchrorum scilicet Balnearumve cameris subterraneis olim depictæ, atque ædificiorum deinde superiorum ruinis oppressæ, et ab omni adeo humore, aerisque accessu conservatæ, usque ad hanc ætatem illæsæ, atque integre sæpe reperiuntur: neque citius tamen reperiri, quam ab hominibus curiosis abripi, et quantum tectorii natura patitur, ad ædes proprias ornandas deportari solent.

Etenim tectoria ista antiqua, picturæ præsertim excipiendæ destinata, summa semper diligentia, atque artificio elaborata esse, constat; et tempore ipso ac senecta usque eo induruisse,

ut vel marmoris firmitatem acquirerent. <sup>a</sup> Horum igitur particulas, imaginibus pictis ornatas, homines in his rebus intelligentes, e parietibus facile excindere, atque ipsorum quidem veterum exemplo, in alia loca amovere didicerunt. Quippe Græciam olim a Romanis, perinde ac Romam hodie ab exteris, spoliari solere, *opusque hoc tectorium lateritiis parietibus excisum, et ligneis formis inclusum, propter excellentiam picturæ, a Varrone et Muræna, ad Comitium in Ædilitate sua exornandum, Lacedæmone Romam deportatum esse*, legimus. <sup>b</sup> At vero picturam nostram, ex eo genere primam atque unicam sane esse arbitror, quæ in Angliam unquam advecta esset; donec MEADIVS noster, Artis Medicæ decus, qui vitæ revera nobilis, vel principibus in re publica viris, exemplum præbet, pro eo, quo omnibus fere præfat, artium veterum amore, alias postea quasdam, et splendidiore, opinor, Roma quoque deportandas curavit.

Picturæ hujus figuras quod attinet; ex altera ejus parte, Deum quandam fluviatilem, eo plane habitu jacentem cernimus, quo fluviorum Deos, vel in marmoribus fictos, vel ab auctoribus antiquis descriptos accepimus; *comatum nempe barbaturæ; crines arundine, seu herba aliqua fluvio propria redimitum; humi recumbentem; atque in urnam, unde annis largiter profluit, cubito innixum* <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Totum in eo est, quod mihi erit curæ, tectorium ut concinnum sit. Cic. Epist. ad Frat. l. 3. 1. § 1. vid. Plin. Hist. N. l. 36. c. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. ib. l. 35. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Fluvios omnes navigabiles, qui in mare decurrunt, senili plerumque forma fangi solitos docet Vir clariss. J. Vaillant

in Græcis Imperator. Numismat.—Philostratus fluvios nunquam erigi solere scribit. (Icon. l. 2. c. 14.) Et de Phasidis fluvii imagine loquens, *videt, inquit, fluvium ipsum arundine in alta, tetrico vultu jacentem, coma densa, et erecta, barba subhorrida, oculis cæcis*. Philostr. Jun. Icon. 8.

*Lævus arundineæ recubansque sub aggere ripæ  
Cernitur, emissæque indulgens Inachus urnæ*<sup>d</sup>.

Ex altera parte, viri duo discincti, sub arbore in eadem sella sibi invicem assident; juxta quos mulier astat, et gestu, vultuque hilari, coronam quandam floream capiti suo imponit. Hujus ad sinistram puer tunicatus, et ad genua succinctus, e poculo bibere, et virorum alteri propinare videtur; qui poculum item manu tenet, quasi mox bibiturus. Hæ quatuor figuræ seorsim paullulum a ceteris positæ, inter sese colloquentes et compotantes describuntur; quas versus, alia quoque mulier accedit, floribus coronata, et canistrum simul floribus plenum in capite gestans, gressusque baculo quodam agresti quasi sub onere firmans<sup>e</sup>. Summa denique tabellæ pars fruticis cujusdam floriferi ramulis decoratur, quorum e medio caput juvenile, ex opere ipso tectorio effectum, atque alarum specie quadam instructum, extra reliquam picturæ superficiem proeminet.

Quinetiam figurarum harum vestitus quiddam notatu dignum præbere videtur, ejusque omnino generis esse, quo Matronas olim Romanas ornatas legimus, quibus

*Ad talos stola demissa, ac circumdata Palla*<sup>f</sup>.

quippe stola nihil aliud erat, ac tunica clausa et talaris, zona plerumque cincta, et manicis instructa, quæ vel ad cubitum,

<sup>d</sup> Stat. Thebaid. 6. 274. ib. 2. 218.

verti. vid. *Pieces of Ancient Painting*, by G. Turnbull, N<sup>o</sup> 36.

<sup>e</sup> Hanc eandem baculi formam in aliis antiquorum picturis, et mulieris pariter in manu canistrum florum gestantis, animad-

<sup>f</sup> Hor. Sat. 1. 1. 2. 99.

vel, quod in hac pictura videmus, ad manus usque pertingebant. Palla quoque nihil aliud erat ac Pallium, quod tunicae superinduere, et vel apertum gestare, vel in sinus varios colligere ac complicare solebant, quodque et Pallæ et Pallii nomine promiscue appellabant<sup>a</sup>.

Mulierum altera, Pallio viridi seu oleagino, altera violaceo, utraque vero tunica rubra induta est: Quippe ad vestium muliebrium ornatum, omnigenos colores pro libitu adhiberi solitos constat; de quibus Ovidius;

*Hic undas imitatus, habet quoque nomen ab undis:*  
*Crediderim Nymphas hac ego veste tegi.*  
*Ille crocum simulat, croceo velatur amictu,*  
*Roscida luciferos cum Dea jungit equos.*  
*Hic Paphias myrtos, hic purpureas Amethystos*  
*Albentesve rosas, Threiciamve gruem, &c.<sup>b</sup>*

Virorum figuræ, partim feminudæ, partim tunicatæ apparent: Eo nimirum habitu, quo extra urbem in villis suis otiosi consueverunt. Horum alteri Toga five Lacerna cærulea, alteri rubra, tunicae vero utrisque crocæ dantur. Etenim ruri semper fere lacernam induebant; vestem sciūcet apertam, atque humero tantum aut pectore fibula nexam: quæ cum Toga contractior, leviorque, et cucullo plerumque contra plu-

<sup>a</sup> Palla, beneфициæ mulieris vestimentum, et tunica Pallium. Non. de Sermone. propriet. c. 14.

*Palliat, si terræ nimium demissa jacent,*

*Collige et immunda sedulus efficit humo.*

Ov. Art. am. i. 153.

*Et tegit auratos Folla superba pedes.*

Id. Amor. 3. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Ovid. de art. Amand. l. 3. 177.

*Sicut non a terra parit flores, cum vere tepenti*

*Vitis agit gemmas, figæque cedit hinc, Lana tet aut plures saccos libit—Ibid.*

viam munita effēt, <sup>i</sup> in Togæ penitus vicem, tam intra quam extra urbem, Cæsarum demum temporibus, cessisse traditur. Colores ei quidem varios, sed omnium maxime rubrum, a Scriptoribus tributum invenimus,

*Phafis purpureis ruber lacernis,* <sup>k</sup>

*Crispinus Tyrias numero revocante lacernas.* <sup>l</sup>

Sed de Figurarum descriptione hæcenus; ad earum jam interpretationem progrediamur: in qua quidem me plane hæere, neque certi aliquid aut explicati habere, fateor. Quum picturarum tamen harum interpretibus, item ac pictoribus ipsis, quidlibet audendi licentiam dari animadverterim, mihi quoque cæterorum exemplo, conandum esse statui, an e re dubia atque obscura, verisimile demum aliquid conjectura elicere queam.

Quamobrem Dei fluviatilis imagine, Tyberim, sive Deum Tyberinum denotari conjicio <sup>m</sup>; quem eodem fere modo in marmoribus, ac numismatibus antiquis per sæpe exsculptum cernimus, ut historiam videlicet, actionemve a sculptore ex-

<sup>i</sup> — Turpis, odoratum caput obscurante lacerna. *Hor. S. 2. 7. 55.*

Si possem totas cuperem misisse lacernas,  
Nunc tantum capiti munera mitto  
tuo. *Mart. Ep. 14. 132.*

Ex quo Martialis loco lacernarum cucullos a lacernis ipsis separari interdum soere, Octavius Ferrarius ostendit. De re Vestiar. *Par. 2. l. 1. c. 20.*

<sup>k</sup> *Mart. Epig. 5. 8.*

<sup>l</sup> *Juv. Sat. 1. 27.* Hinc posterioribus seculis Lacerna, a rubro colore, Byrrihus appellari cepit. *Byrrihus*, inquit *Isidorus*,

a Græco vocabulum trahit. *Illi enim eum Burrum, id est, πυρρὸν vocant*, l. 19. c. 24. Vid. *Octav. Ferr. ib. c. 26.*

<sup>m</sup> Hunc in sacris Tyberinum, in communi sermone Tyberim, in poemate Tybrim vocari Servius declarat, quem Virgilius ita describit.

*Hinc Deus ipse loci stuvio Tyberinus amano  
Populeas inter senior se attollere frondes  
Visus: Eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu  
Carbasus, et crines umbrrosa tegebat arundo.*  
*Æn. 8. 31.*

pressam, prope fluvium istum accidisse significaretur. <sup>a</sup> Atque hinc intelligere licet, picturæ nostræ scenam ad Tyberis ripas positam esse; hominesque istos, qui coronati ac potantes pinguntur, diem aliquem festum celebrare; quem Romani olim juxta Tyberim, cum conjugibus et liberis hilariter agere solebant. Hujusmodi vero festum, Annæ Perennæ, idibus Martiis dicatum reperio: In quo populum ad Tyberis ripas, genio indulgisse, ac potu præsertim largiori, vitam sibi perennem auspiciatum esse, memoriæ proditum est. *Mense Martio*, inquit Macrobius, et publice et privatim ad *Annam Perennem sacrificatum itur, ut annare et perennare commode liceat*: <sup>o</sup> hoc est, ut et annum præsentem et venturos omnes perenni ac perpetua felicitate transigerent. De hoc etiam Festo Ovidius,

*Idibus est Annæ festum geniale Perennæ  
Haud procul a ripis, advena Tybri, tuis.  
Plebs venit, ac virides passim disjecta per herbas  
Potat, et accumbit cum pare quisque sua.*

*Sole tamen vinoque calent, annosque precantur,  
Quot sumant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt. &c. <sup>p</sup>*

Jam vero Festi hujus celebratio, cum figurarum nostrarum descriptione fati apte congruit; in qua senes, mulieres, puerosque ad Tyberis ripas, floribus coronatos, potantes, diemque genialiter fumentes cernimus <sup>q</sup>. Ubi arbores item rem extra urbem,

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. 3. par. 1. l. 5. c. 7. Tab. 35. it. Supplem. Vol. 1. l. 5. c. 2. Tab. 26.

<sup>o</sup> Saturn 1. c. 12.

<sup>p</sup> Faistor. 3. 523.

<sup>q</sup> Omnes, qui dies festos agunt, poculique operam dant, eodem fere habitu a

Poetis describuntur—

*potare et spargere flores*

*Incipiam — — Hor. Ep. l. 1. 5.  
Sed varii flores, et frons redimita corymbis,*

*Fusa sed ad teneros, lutea palla pedes.*

Tibul. 1. 7.

*Bacchus*



urbem, ac verno potissimum tempore agi, declarant. Caputque istud juvenile, quod e superna picturæ parte eminet, Genium fortasse loci indicat, hilaritatis hujus fautorem, ejusque quasi conspectu sese oblectantem. Sed nodus adhuc quidam restat; quippe virorum alteri tempora, vitta seu diademate cincta apparent, quod quidem Deorum solummodo, Imperatorum, Regumve olim insigne fuisse cognovimus. At vero in festis hujusmodi genialibus, quæ potu præsertim atque omni hilaritatis genere fumebantur, quidni cum fertis florumque coronis, fascias etiam hæcæ aut diademata pro libitu, ac per ludum jocumque sumi solere credamus? Istud vero utcunque fuerit, hoc saltem certissimum est, in picturis hujusmodi, sculpturisque sepulchralibus, Festos Deorum dies, Bacchantium ritus, ludosque eos describi solitos, quibus defuncti, cum viverent, delectati potissimum fuissent.

Hæc autem rei explicandæ ratio, quia nonnullis fortasse minus satisfactura sit, aliam quoque ei adjungere libuit, ut lectori demum optionem aliquam judiciumque relinquam.

Quum picturas igitur hæcæ sepulchrales, præter argumenta ista modo memorata, Sepulchrorum etiam ritus, mortuorumque apud inferos statum, ac vitæ degendæ conditionem sæpissime exhibere vidissem, subiit statim dubitatio, annon pictura nostra defunctorum potius in campis Elysiis vitam beatam atque hilarem, hac figurarum descriptione, adumbrare possit.

*Bacchus amat flores; Baccho placuisse coronam,*

*Ex Ariadneæ scire nosse potes.*

Ov. Fast. 5. 339.

Neque coronas istas domi tantum atque inter potandum gestari solitas, sed corona-

tos etiam ebrios prodiisse atque in plateis versatos esse legimus.

*Quid, tu, ego vides?*

PS. *Cum corona ebrium Pseudolum tuum.*

Plaut. Pseud. Ac. 5. 2.

Nam in beatorum istorum deliciis, enumerantur præcipue a Veteribus, *fontes aquis limpidis scatentes; prata floribus nitentia; Philosophorum Scholæ; Poetarum chori; Muscorum cantus; computationes denique, dapesque sese ultro offerentes* \*. Musæus autem, ac si ebrietatem optimum virtutis præmium existimasset, *beatos illos ad mensam accumbentes, et coronatos convivio celebrantes assiduisque computationibus sese oblectantes* facere solitus dicitur †. Neque aliter fere Virgilius locos istos lætos, et amœna vireta, beatorumque ibi studia depingit.

*Conspicit ecce alios dextra lævaque per herbam  
Vescentes, lætumque choro pœana canentes,  
Inter odoratum lauri nemus; unde superne  
Plurimus Eridani per sylvam volvitur amnis.*

.....  
*Nulli certa domus, lucis habitamus opacis,  
Riparumque toros, et prata recentia rivis  
Incolimus: ———*

qui vitæ vero castitate, armis, artibus, beneficiisve patriam auxissent, his omnibus vittæ seu diadematis honorem tributum dicit,

*Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta* †.

Atque hic pariter omnia cum picturæ nostræ interpretatione convenire, eandemque fere vitæ degendæ rationem, a Pictore atque a Poeta descriptam videmus; hominum scilicet floribus vittisque coronatorum, et computationibus sese colloquiiisque

\* Vid. Plato. in Axioch. Vol. 3. p. 371.

† Ibid. de Rep. l. 2. p. 363.

† Æneid. 6. 656. it. 673.

† Ibid. 665.

jucundis ad fluviorum ripas oblectantium. De duabus autem hisce conjecturis utra tandem verifimilior fuerit, non meum est dijudicare: Hoc tantum polliceri licet, siquis rectius aliquid inveniit, me illud, quicquid erit, libenter amplecturum.

Sed antequam hanc nostram dissertatiunculam concludamus, non nihil etiam de picturæ ipsius pulchritudine, ac pingendi artificio dicendum restat: In quo quidem genere hoc univèrse statuendum arbitror; picturas nimirum, in parietum tectoriis repertas, a præclaris licet artificibus confectas, non ea tamen diligentia, aut arte elaboratas fuisse, ac reliqua eorundem opera in tabulis singulis depicta. Etenim tectorii natura, tantis cum ruinarum tum incendiorum casibus obnoxia, haud ullam famæ diuturnitatem, qua artes omnes maxime aluntur, pictori præstare poterat: *Nulla igitur, ut Plinius ait, in tectoriis, Apellis pictura erat; nec parietes iis temporibus pingere libebat; nec ulla artificum gloria, nisi eorum, qui tabulas pinxere* \*. Quum vero tabulæ contra ex incendiis rapi, de loco in locum deportari, artificumque adeo famam per urbes gentesque propagare possent, in his omnem artis suæ vim atque industriam ponendam esse censuerunt; neque aliud fere in parietibus pingendis curasse videntur, quam ut pictura coloribus satis pulchre nitesceret, utque figuræ primariæ ad naturæ similitudinem exprimerentur; atque eo gestu habituque, qui personæ et actioni, quam exprimendam sumpserunt, accommodatus esset; de singulis interea figurarum membris, partibusque picturæ obscurioribus parum solliciti, nonnisi veloci manu ac penicillo levi istiusmodi omnia absolere solebant.

In hoc igitur genere, picturam nostram inter elegantiores

\* Hist. N. l. 35. c. 9.

numerandam esse arbitror: in qua figuræ fatis apte dispositæ, pulchræ coloratæ, nec sine iusta partium proportione delineatæ apparent. Haud ei tamen certam aliquam ætatem præfinire aſſim, ſed hoc tantum affirmare, eam ante Conſtantini ævum depictam eſſe: quo quidem regnante, artes omnes elegantiores jacuiſſe liquet: uti cum ex aliis eorum temporum monumentis, tum ex celebri præſertim Principis iſtius Arcu, perſpicuum eſt; quem ob ſculptorum bonorum inopiam, ex Arcus Trajani ſpoliis fabricatum, figurisſque inde deſumptis ornatum eſſe cognovimus: quum figuræ contra iſtæ, quæ ad Conſtantini geſta illuſtranda, ea ætate ſculptæ, atque in eodem arcu poſitæ erant, ita inconcinne ac deformes ſint, ut omnem artis ejus gloriam tunc temporis periſſe oſtendant.

At vero longe fecus, ac antiqui iſti Pictores cogitaverint, rem tandem eveniſſe videmus. Etenim quum præſtantiffima quæque eorum opera, in tabulis ſingulis depicta, vetuſtate jamdiu abſumpta, ac penitus deleta ſint, hæ tamen debiliores parietum picturæ, vel ipſis ædium ruinis munitæ, atque ab omni damno conſervatæ, uſque ad noſtra tempora permanferunt.

Ex his autem picturæ veteris reliquiis, nonnulli de artis ipſius dignitate temere nimis judicantes, eam ad ſculpturæ antiquæ perfectionem nequaquam perveniſſe contendunt. Sed ex arctiſſima artium harum conjunctione, ambas paſſibus ſemper æquis ad perfectionem ſuam progreſſas eſſe conſtat; hoc tantum diſcrimine, quod ex diverſa utriuſque natura ac materia accidere neceſſe erat, ut picturæ nimirum vel optima quæque exemplaria, propter rei ipſius fragilitatem cito peritura, Sculpturæ vero contra, propter materiæ duritiem, in omne fere ævum duratura eſſent.

## T A B U L A II.

**H**ÆC Imaguncula Muliebris, porcellum dextra, et infantulum finiftra gefans, facrum aliquod folenne, ob liberos natos a veteribus fieri folitum, adumbrare videtur. Varios enim hujus generis ritus, a fcriptoribus antiquis traditos accepimus, quos e Græcia fere omnes Romam manaffe confat.

Infans fimul ac natus, in terram, tanquam communem omnium parentem, ab obfetrice nudus abjiciebatur. Natura, inquit Plinius, *hominem nudum, in nuda humo, natali die abjicit, ad vagitus flatim et ploratum*<sup>y</sup>.

*Tactaque nafcenti corpus haberet humus*<sup>z</sup>.

Hoc terræ contactu, vox nafcentibus dari credebatur; *Maiamque Mercurii matrem, eandem ac terram effe, Fatuamque a fando appellari Macrobius fcribit, quod infantes partu editi non prius vocem edunt, quam attigerint terram*<sup>a</sup>.

Puerum autem in terram abjectum, fi parentes alere decreviffent, quod non fine confultatione quadam et deliberatione feciffe videntur, ab humo pater tollere folibat.

*Quicquid peperiffent, decreverunt tollere*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> Hift. Nat. Præf. ad lib. 7. Atque folum iftud, quod Auguftus nafcens primum attigiffet, confecratum poftea fuiife difcimus. Sueton. in Aug. c. 5.

<sup>z</sup> Ovid. Trift. l. 4. 3.

<sup>a</sup> Saturn. 1. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Ter. And. 1. 3. 14.

*Consulti sunt, inquit Seneca, de nobis parentes nostri, qui cum conditionem vitæ noscerent, in hanc nos sustulerunt* <sup>c</sup>. Hinc deam quandam Levanam, liberos levandi auctricem atque præsidem, Romæ olim extitisse legimus <sup>d</sup>.

Infantum dein lustrandi, sacrisque initiandi solennitas, quinto post partum die, celebrata fuit.

*Quin Diis sacrificare hodie pro puero volo,  
Quinto die quod facere oportet* <sup>e</sup>.

Hic ritus ἀμφιδόμια a Græcis dicitur, quia puer scilicet circa focum, quem Deorum domesticorum sedem propriam esse putabant <sup>f</sup>, ab obstetrice, celeri cursu circumferebatur <sup>g</sup>. Ex qua pueri circumferendi consuetudine, verbum ipsum *circumferre*, eandem apud veteres significationem obtinuisse invenimus, ac purgare feu lustrare;

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda* <sup>h</sup>.  
*Quæso quin tu istanc jubes  
pro Cerrita circumferri* — <sup>i</sup>

Atque hinc quoque verbum, *lustrare*, in eodem plane sensu, ac circumire, usurpatum est.

<sup>c</sup> De consolat. ad Marc. c. 18.

<sup>d</sup> August. de Civ. D. iv. xi.

<sup>e</sup> Plaut. Truc. 2. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Platon. de legib. l. 12. Oper. T. 2. p. 955. Edit. Hen. Steph. Quem quidem locum Cicero iter interpretatur; *Terra igitur, ut Focus, domicilium sacrum omnium Deorum est*. De Legib. l. 2. 18.

<sup>g</sup> Ritus hujus ratio a Socrate apud Platonem indicatur: ut Parentes scilicet, quinto post partum die periculum facerent, con-

siliumque de novo caperent, an puer corpore satis valido sanoque esset; dignusque omnino qui tolleretur. in Theat. Oper. T. 1. p. 120. De hoc etiam ritu Suidas, in voce Ἀμφιδόμια, quintum, inquit, ab infantibus natis diem celebrant; quo die manus purgant obstetrices, et propinqui dona mittunt, polypedas plerumque et sarpas; deinde decimo die Infantis nomen imponunt.

<sup>h</sup> Virg. Æn. 6. 229.

<sup>i</sup> Plaut. Amphit. 2. 2. 144.

—Ter totum fervidus ira  
Lustrat Aventini montem<sup>k</sup>.

Lustrandi ritu confecto, nomina deinde infantibus, solenni modo cum sacrificiis epulisque, apud Græcos, die decimo imponebantur.

Εἰς δεκάτην γὰρ ποτὲ παιδαρίε κληθεῖς ὑπέπινον ἐν ἄστει<sup>l</sup>.

Nam ad decimum pueri diem olim vocatus cenavi in urbe ubi Scholiastes decimum diem ob liberos natos conviviiis fumi folium dicit, atque eodem die nomina eis imponi. Quod ab Euripide etiam confirmatur.

— — — τίς σε, μάτερ, ἐν δεκάτῃ τόκον  
ὠνόμασε — — —<sup>m</sup>

Quis tibi, mater, decimo post partum die,  
nomen imposuit — — —

Hæc autem sacra per obstetricem plerumque facta esse videntur; quippe Electræ matrem Clytemnestram roganti, ut pro filio sibi nato, suo nomine die decimo sacrificaret, mater respondit

Ἄλλης τοῦ ἔργου ἢ σ' ἔλυσεν ἐκ τόκων<sup>n</sup>. — —

Alterius hoc munus est, quæ te partu levavit.

At vero Romæ rem paullo aliter transactam esse, infantium-

<sup>k</sup> Virg. Æn. 8. 230. vid. item Non. Marcell. c. 4. in lustrare.

<sup>m</sup> Eurip. Fragm. in Ægeus.

<sup>n</sup> Id. Electr. 1128.

<sup>l</sup> Aristoph. Avib. 494.

que lustrationem et nominum impositionem eodem die celebratas invenimus. *Nundina*, inquit Macrobius, *Romanorum Dea, a nono nascentium die nuncupatur, qui Lustricus dicitur, est autem dies lustricus, quo infantes lustrantur et nomen accipiunt: is maribus nonus est, octavus feminis* °. Atque hinc Caligula, ut Suetonius ait, Neroni infantulo, nomen Claudii patruī sui, die lustrico per jocum imposuit <sup>p</sup>. Hoc lustrandi ritu ad Deorum altaria peractō, amicisq̄ue et cognatis ad convivium adhibitis, nomina deinde domi imposita esse videntur; in quibus numerus vocalium, par aut impar, ad morbos quosdam pellendos valuisse credebatur <sup>q</sup>.

Ex hac vero nominalium, uti vocabatur, solennitate <sup>r</sup>, Sanctus Chrysoſtomus ridiculas quasdam cæremonias in Ecclesiam Christi traductas esse queritur. “ Cum puerum, inquit, nominandi dies advenerit, a sanctorum aliquo nomen mutuari, quod a veteribus fieri solebat, haud dignantes, lumina accendunt, singulisque nomina imponunt, ejusque, quod cæteris diutius perduraverit, nomen puero imponendum arripiunt, tanquam vitæ longævæ augurium <sup>s</sup>.”

Romani denique liberorum suorum nomina ad Præfectos ærarii deferebant, publicis actis inferenda, addito die et Confusile, quo ætas eorum postea, ingenuitasque dignosci poterant.

° Saturn. 1. 16. it. Pomp. Fests. in Lustricus.

<sup>p</sup> In Neron. c. 5. De hac Diei lustrici pueris puellisq̄ue assignati differentia, quæsiōnem instituit Plutarchus, causamq̄ue reddere conatur. Quæst. Rom. 99.

<sup>q</sup> Plin. Hist. N. l. 28. c. 4.

<sup>r</sup> Tertull. de Idol. c. 16.

<sup>s</sup> Hom. 12. in Epist. 1. ad Cor. Oper. T. x. p. 107. Edit. Benedict. — alios

item ritus quosdam, ad infantium curam spectantes, atque a gentilibus deductos, Chrysoſtomus commemorat; de quibus ita demum cum Christianis suis expoſtulat: *Quod apud Græcos quidem talia fiunt, nihil sane mirum est; quod autem apud eos, qui crucem adorant, ac mysteriorum ineffabilem participes sunt, et tam sublimem philosophiam persequuntur, tantum dedecus invaluerit, multis certe lacrymis defendendum est.* Ibid.



*Tollis enim, et libris aëtorum spargere gaudes  
Argumenta viri<sup>1</sup>.——*

Sed ad Icunculam nostram redeamus ; quam Perſius quodammodo deſcribere videtur, dum in ſuperſtitioſos hoſce luſtrandi ritus, atque inepta mulierum vota, pro liberis die luſtrico ſufcepta, invehitur.

*Ecce Avia aut metuens Divùm Matertera cunis  
Exemit puerum, frontemque atque uda labella  
Infami digito, et luſtralibus ante ſalivis  
Expiat, urentes oculos inbibere perita.  
Tunc manibus quatit ; &c.<sup>2</sup>*

Pueruli hujus figura, caputque a capillis nudum, ac corpus ligamento quodam, tanquam vinculo, conſtrictum<sup>3</sup>, uti paucorum admodum dierum ætatem denotant, ita hunc luſtrandi ritum proſuſus indicare videntur. Quippe porcum in luſtrationibus fere omnibus, atque in Cereris præſertim facris, adhibitum eſſe liquet<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> — Juv. Sat. 9. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Sat. 2. 31. Saliva olim, ad fascinationes, contagia, morboſque pellendos, mirificam quandam vim habuiſſe putabatur. [Vid. Plin. l. 28. 4.] Sed in his infantium luſtrationibus, non meram eam quidam habuiſſe videntur, ſed luto ſeu pulvere commixtam. *Lutum*, inquit Chryſoſtomus, *in balneo accipientes nutrices et ancilla, digito tingentes, in pueri fronte*

*imprimunt. Quid ſibi vult lutum ; quid canem ? Malum avertit oculos, inquit, livorem, et invidiam. Vid. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Ab hoc lucis rudimento hominem vincula excipiunt, et omnium membrorum nexus, &c. *Plin. Proam. in lib. 7.*

<sup>4</sup> Ab Suillo genere pecoris immolandi initium ſumptum videtur : cujus veſtigia, quod initiis Cereris porci immolantur. *Varr. de re ruſt. l. 2. c. 4.*

Ἐς χοιρίδιόν μοι νῦν δάνεισον τρεῖς δραχμάς,  
 Δεῖ γὰρ μνηθῆναί με, πρὶν τεθνησκέαι<sup>2</sup>.  
*Da mihi mutuo tres drachmas, ut porcellum emam,*  
*Nam initiari me oportet, antequam mori.*

Ex quo conjicere licet, ad quem potissimum Deorum hic infantulus a muliere initiandus defertur: quippe ex omni caelestium classe, Parentes Deum sibi aliquem pro arbitrio feligere confueverunt, cui sese liberosque suos praecipue commendare, atque in tutelam quasi tradere possent. Hinc Caligula infantem sibi natam, *Liviam Drusillam, per omnium Deorum templa circumtulisse, et Minervæ gremio imposuisse, eique alendam et instituendam commendasse*, traditur<sup>3</sup>. At vero porcum quem mulier dextra tenet, infantulum nostrum Cereri sane dicatum esse ostendit: porcum enim Cereri tanquam proprium, a veteribus tributum cognovimus.

*Prima Ceres avidæ gavisæ est sanguine porcæ,*  
*Ultra suas merita cæde nocentis opes<sup>b</sup>.*  
*Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant<sup>c</sup>.*

In numismatibus idcirco antiquis, suam interdum vel porcum ad Cereris imaginem, tanquam symbolum, adjunctum videmus<sup>d</sup>: et in vase quodam apud Montfauconium. Cereris effigies exculpta apparet, atque ex adverso mulieris, dextra porcum ferentis, quasi Cereri immolandum<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. in Pace. v. 373.

<sup>2</sup> Sueton. in C. Cal. c. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Ov. Fast. 1. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Hor. Epod. 2. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Fulv. Urfin. in Famil. Vibia.

<sup>6</sup> Antiqu. Vol. 2. par. 1. p. 113. Fig.

1. In veteri quadam Inscriptione, T. Bassilius *Porcam Deæ Cereri quotannis mac-tandam*, epulumque dandum ex testamento legasse dicitur. Vid. Bonifac. de Epitaph. compend. p. 95.

Neque illud item prætermittendum, quod hæc Imaguncula in agro Neapolitano reperta fuerit; ea nimirum Italiæ parte, quæ a Græcis olim possessa, et magna Græcia vocata est; atque unde hæc ipsa Cereris religio Romam traducta esse dicitur: in qua quidem urbe simulachrum ejus, omnium primum ex ære factum, ac summa deinceps veneratione cultum accepimus<sup>f</sup>. Hinc in marmoribus antiquis Cererem Orcilianam, ac Organianam, memoratam legimus; a familiis quibusdam Romanis, cultui ejus addictis, ita nominatam<sup>g</sup>. Quinetiam inter Sculpturæ veteris reliquias, effigiem quandam Cereris animadverti, cujus in sinu infantuli duo recumbentes finguntur; ad singularem istam infantium curam denotandam, propter quam *κρητοτρόφος* et *παιδοτρόφος*, hoc est, puerorum alitrix, ab antiquis appellatur<sup>h</sup>.

Quod interpretationem autem nostram maxime confirmat, hæc Cereris sacra per mulieres semper curata erant.

*Festa piæ Cereris celebrabant annua matres<sup>i</sup>.*

*Aditus in id Sacrarium, inquit Cicero, non est viris, sacra per mulieres et virgines confici<sup>k</sup>. Et ne vetusti ritus perita deesset Antisthes, Græcam Sacerdotem, quæ sacrum illud monstraret et faceret, e Græciæ magnæ urbibus, Neapoli aut Velia, Romanos plerumque*

<sup>f</sup> Plin. Hist. N. l. 34. 4. Vid. it. Thefaur. Brandeb. V. 1. p. 6. Vid. it. Cic. Orat. pro Corn. Balbo. 24. Herodot. in Vit. Homer. p. 569. Edit.

<sup>g</sup> Spon. Miscell. Erudit. Antiqu. p. Lond.

<sup>h</sup> Ov. Metam. l. x. 431.

<sup>i</sup> Montfauc. Vol. 1. l. 2. c. x. Beger. <sup>k</sup> In Verr. 4. 45.

accersere folitos declarat<sup>1</sup>. De quibus Deæ hujus sacerdotibus Græcis, nonnulla adhuc monumenta extant.

C A S P O N I A. P. F.  
M A X I M A  
S A C E R D O S C E R E R I S  
P O P U L I R O M A N I  
S I C V L A<sup>m</sup>.

Icunculæ nostræ materiem quod attinet; ex ære solido conflata est; at pigmento quodam albescente ab initio, ut videtur, delibuta; quo albam illam puramve, cum sacrificantium omnium, tum Cereris præfertim sacra curantium, vestem indicaret.

*Alba decent Cererem, vestes Cerealibus albas  
Sumite<sup>n</sup>.*

Quod vero nutrices potissimum, hoc pueros lustrandi munus obeuntes, albatæ fuerint, ex Perfii loco discimus.

*At ego nutrici non mando vota: negato  
Jupiter hoc illi, quamvis te albata rogarit<sup>o</sup>.*

Atque hoc adeo simulachrum, mulierum ad Deorum altaria accedentium imaginem istam revera exhibet, quam verbis describit Plautus.

<sup>1</sup> Sacra Cereris summa majores nostri religione confici, cæremoniaque voluerunt: quæ cum essent assumpta de Græcia, et per Græcos semper curata sunt Sacerdotes—Has sacerdotes video fere aut Ne-

apolitanas, aut Velientes fuisse —

*Cic. pr. Corn. Balb. 24.*

<sup>m</sup> Gruter. V. 2. p. 308. 4.

<sup>n</sup> Ovid. Fast. 4. 619.

<sup>o</sup> Sat. 2. 38.

——— *Æquis vos erat*  
*Candidatas venire, hostiataque ad hoc*  
*Fanum* <sup>p</sup>.

Brachium præterea dextrum, pedesque mulieris nudi, peculiarem quandam sacrificandi ritum indicant; quo quidem habitu in sculpturis sæpe antiquis sacrificantium figuræ cernuntur. Nudis pedibus sacrificare, apud veteres fere omnes usurpatum, atque a Judæis sane acceptum esse putatur. Quippe Dæmones, ut Justinus Martyr ait, *propter imitationem ejus quod Moysi accidisset, cultores suos, loca sacra ingredienti, calceos deponere docuerunt*<sup>q</sup>. Hinc apud Romanos Vestæ, quæ eadem ac Terra habita est<sup>r</sup>, non nisi nudo pede sacra facere licebat.

*Huc pede matronam vidi descendere nudo*<sup>s</sup>.

Jam vero si quærat tandem aliquis, ob quam causam, hanc Incunculam olim fictam esse putem; dicerem sane, ex voto pro Infantulo nato Cereri suscepto, eam consecratam esse, atque in Templo deinde Deæ pro more suspensam. Etenim Tempora fere omnia, cum apud Græcos tum Romanos, istiusmodi donis referta fuissent, perspicuum est: quæ maxima ex parte nihil aliud erant, ac sigilla, seu minutæ quædam Deorum, hominumve figuræ, e marmore plerumque aut metallo conflatæ;

<sup>p</sup> Rud. 1. 5.

<sup>q</sup> Apol. 1. p. 91. Edit. Thirlb.

<sup>r</sup> Rotundam ædem Vestæ Numa——— consecrasset videtur; quod eandem esse Terram crediderit, eamque pilæ forma

esse: ut sui simili templo Dea coleretur.—  
*Festus in Rotunda.*

<sup>s</sup> Ovid. Fast. 6. 397. Virgines ex Sacerdotio Vestæ nudo pede fugientia sacra commitantur. Flor. 1. 1. c. 13. § 12.

quibus

quibus tabella etiam basisve adjuncta erat, quæ et Deæ et votentis nomen indicare, causamque voti exponere solebat; quam quidem basim, in tanta temporis longinquitate, ab imagine nostra sejunctam, et perditam esse, haud mirandum est.

I. O. M. ——— ———<sup>t</sup>  
 ——— T E R E N T I A . N I C E .  
 ——— C V M . T E R E N T I O . D A M A R I  
 ——— O N E . F I L I O ——— ———  
 ——— S I G N V M . E T . B A S I M .  
 V O T O . S V S C E P T O . D E . S V O . P O S V I T .  
 L V S T R O . E I V S D E M . D A M A R I O  
 N I S .

In tabella quadam figulina, antiqui operis, a viro doctissimo, Bonannio, in lucem edita, imaginem cernimus obstetricis, infantulum gremio foventis, matremque dextra sustinentis; quæ Puerperæ cujusdam votum esse putatur, Junoni Lucinæ susceptum<sup>o</sup>. Quinetiam gemma antiqua a celeberrimo Montfauconio exhibetur, in qua Apollinis effigies insculpta est, una cum muliebri figura, quæ puerulum nudum, in patina quadam, Deo quasi in manus tradere videtur: quam quidem gemmam votum item fuisse, pro puero nato suscep-

<sup>t</sup> Gruter. Vol. 1. 9. 5.

G E N I O . D O M N O R . C E R E R I .  
 T . P O B L I C I V S . C R E S C E N S . L A R I B V S .  
 P V B L I C I S . D E D I T . I M A G I N E S . A R G E N T . D V A S .

Marmi D Orfat. Lett. 1. p. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Musæum Kircher. Class. 2. p. Donariis. c. 14.  
 67. Tab. 23. 1. ——— It. Thomasin. de

tum, harum rerum periti omnes declarant<sup>3</sup>. Ex his igitur veterum monumentis, aliisque permultis, quæ in eandem sententiam adduci possent, illud sane, quod modo dixi, verisimile admodum esse videtur; hanc scilicet imagunculam, infantis lustrandi ritum adumbrantem, Cereri olim ex voto donatam fuisse.

<sup>3</sup> Antiq. Vol. 2. par. 1. l. 3. c. 14. Tab. 27. 4.

## T A B U L A III.

**B**ULLA hæc aurea, cujus formam et magnitudinem accurate fatis descriptas damus, quum urbis antiquæ ruinis usque ad hanc ætatem sepulta jacuisset, integra tamen post tot seculorum decursum reperta, atque in lucem revocata est. Etenim Fossiores quidam, in monumentis veteribus explorandis, marmoribusque eruendis occupati, dum Mausolei cujusdam rudera, juxta viam Prænestinam, ad quartum ab urbe lapidem, percrutantur, in conclave subterraneum, picturis ornatum, et pulchre pavimentatum irruperunt<sup>1</sup>. In hoc urnam e marmore nobilem conspicientes, ejusque operculum plumbo defixum, nimisque ponderosum, quam ut amoveri facile posset, confringentes, vasculum intus ex alabastro orientali invenerunt, in quo ossium combustorum reliquiæ, una cum hac Bulla, conditæ erant: sed vasculum item ipsum, præ nimia auri reperiendi cupiditate, confregerunt. Atqui hæc statim omnia, Franciscus Ficcoronius, solertissimus ille quidem harum rerum investigator, marmoris, vasculi, et picturarum fragmenta, itemque Bullam ipsam, ab operariis istis coemit<sup>2</sup>; quam ex ejus deinde manibus, at pretio tamen haud parum amplificato, redemi, atque in Angliam mecum advexi.

Hanc eandem Bullam, ut Roma rediens Parisios veneram, celeberrimo, Montfauconio ostendi: qui me ante euntem

<sup>1</sup> Monumenta istiusmodi Sepulchralia, duarum videlicet contignationum, quæ duas cameras, alteram alteri impositam, habebant, græco nomine, *Distæga* appellabantur: de quibus in antiquis Inscriptionibus mentionem factam observavi.

Gruter. p. 827. 6. it. Spon. Miscell. p. 261. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Libellum de hac ipsa Bulla aurea, a Franc. Ficcoronio Italice conscriptum. p. 6. 4to in Roma. 1732.



benigne admodum exceperat, et quicquid Cænobii istius Bibliotheca instructissima, vel rerum vel codicum antiquorum, fingulare eximiumque habuit, id summa mihi comitate monstraverat. Vir autem ille eruditus, Bullæ licet hujus figuram ectypam, a Ficcoronio Roma missam viderat, at Bullam tamen ejusmodi germanam, se nunquam antea vidisse declaravit.

Hoc nobile pectoris aurum, ut a Statio vocatur<sup>a</sup>, puerorum ingenuorum gestamen fuisse, collo suspensum, atque in pectus demissum, notissimum est; *ornamentum pueritiæ, indicium atque insigne fortunæ*<sup>b</sup>. Sed de ejus origine nihil fere certi memoriæ proditum est. Plutarchus eam Romulo attribuit; qui ut Sabinas a suis raptas consolaretur, *Bullam et Prætextam earum liberis concessisse dicitur*<sup>c</sup>. Plinius autem, “a Tarquinio Prisco, omnium primo, filium, cum in prætextæ annis occidisset hostem, Bulla aurea donatum, scribit, moremque inde deductum, ut eorum qui equo meruissent filii, insigné id haberent<sup>d</sup>.” Macrobius dein, utraque has sententias, item ac alias quasdam recenset, sed vetustatis peritissimos ad Romulum rem referre declarat<sup>e</sup>. Mihi vero haudquaquam credibile videtur, ornamenta tam pretiosa, quæ luxu divitiarumque speciem præ se ferunt, in ista Romuli fæce, urbisque paupertate, excogitata primum fuisse. At quæcunque rei ipsius origo fuerit, tamen usum ejus antiquissimum, atque ab Etruria deductum esse liquet.

<sup>a</sup> Silvar. l. 5. 3. v. 120.

<sup>b</sup> Cic. in Verr. 1. 58.

<sup>c</sup> In Romul. p. 30. B.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. N. l. 33. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Saturn 1. 6.

— *Etruscum puero si contigit aurum*<sup>f</sup>.

Pueri autem Romani, cum virilem jam togam sumpturi essent, Bullam una cum prætexta deponere, Laribusque suspendere solebant.

*Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit,  
Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit*<sup>g</sup>.

Atque hinc Lares Bullati a Petronio memorantur<sup>h</sup>. Sed et aliis eam quoque Diis interdum donatam fuisse, ex Inscriptione antiqua apparet.

IVNONI PLACIDAE  
 . . . . .  
 CLAUDIA SABBATS  
 BVLLAM D. D.<sup>i</sup>  
 . . . . .

De tempore Bullam deponendi, togamque fumendi, diversas sane atque inter se discrepantes eruditorum sententias re-

<sup>f</sup> Juv. Sat. 5. 165. At non pueris modo Bullam auream concessam esse, sed puellis etiam, et die ipso natali, dari solitam, ex Plauti loco quodam significari videtur.

*Et Bulla aurea est, pater quam dedit  
mibi natali die.*

Rud. 4. 4. 127.

<sup>g</sup> Perf. Sat. 5. 30.

*Mox ubi Bulla rudi dimissa est aurea collo,  
Matris et ante Deos libra sumpta toga.*

<sup>h</sup> Propert. 4. 1. 131.

Quippe in omni vitæ mutatione, veteribus solenne erat, ætatis anteaeræ insignia, seu artis quam exercuerant instrumenta, Deorum alicui consecrare; Ephebis Bullam; Virginibus nupturis, zonam; militibus et gladiatoribus, arma; Servis, catenas; pastoribus, fistulam. Vid. Hor. Ep. 1. 1. it. Sat. 1. 5. Virg. Ecl. 7. Anthol. Græc. 1. xi.

<sup>i</sup> c. 38.

<sup>i</sup> Grut. p. 25. 2.

perio. Nonnulli anno decimo quarto id fieri solitum declarant; quod ex Suetonii potissimum testimonio, exemplisque ex Caesarum temporibus petitis, confirmant. At vero Imperatores eos cunctas fere veterum consuetudines immutasse, togamque pro arbitrio atque honoris causa, filiis et propinquis ante legitimum tempus dedisse cognovimus. Neroni togam anno decimo quarto donatam legimus: at *maturatam* eam dicit Tacitus, *quo Reipublicæ capessendæ habilis videretur*<sup>k</sup>. Priscis Reipublicæ temporibus, togam haud ante annum decimum septimum pueris concessam existimo; at labante paullatim priscorum disciplina, parentes, quo liberis gratificarentur, gaudium istud libertatisque initium maturasse, togamque anno decimo sexto eis indulgisse, constat: quippe eo ætatis suæ anno Ciceronem, et ipsum togam virilem sumpsisse, et filio postea eundem annum agenti eam donasse, a Cardinali Norisio demonstratur<sup>l</sup>.

Bullam vero, ut Laribus dicari, si ad pubertatis annos puer pervenisset, ita in sepulchro condi soleri, si prætextatus mortem obiisset, ex Bullæ nostræ historiola colligi posse videtur. Sponius etiam marmor quoddam sepulchrale exhibet, in quo pueri bullati imago insculpta cernitur, cum hac inscriptione<sup>m</sup>.

D. M.  
 Q. ATERIVS. AD  
 IVTOR. FECIT  
 Q. ATERIO. AGE  
 THEMERO. FILIO  
 SVO. VIXIT. AN.  
 III. M. II.

<sup>k</sup> Ann. 12. 41.

<sup>m</sup> Miscell. Erud. Antiq. p. 299.

<sup>l</sup> Cenotaph. Pif. Diss. 2. c. 4.

Ubi *Quadrimumuli* hujus *Bulla*, cujus figura in pueruli pectore extrinsecus expressa est, intra *Ollam* etiam, ut conjicere licet, una cum ossibus ejus recondita fuit.

De nominis autem perinde ac rei origine, auctores veteres haudquaquam inter se convenire video. Festus illud a græca voce, *βουλή*, derivatum dicit, ut eam ætatem aliorum consilio regendam, significaretur<sup>a</sup>. Alii ab aquæ bullis, aere inflatis et nomen et formam deducunt; ad levitatem scilicet humanam, imbecillitatemque indicandam<sup>b</sup>; secundum vetus illud proverbium, *Homo Bulla*<sup>c</sup>. At vero *Macrobius*, *ingenuis pueris attributum esse scribit, ut cordis figuram in Bulla ante pectus annexerent, quam inspicientes, ita demum se homines cogitarent, si corde præstarent*<sup>d</sup>. Ex quo quidem *Macrobii* loco, eruditorum plerique, quoties in scriptis veterum explicandis in *Bullæ* mentionem inciderint, cordiformem eam esse declarant<sup>e</sup>. *Sponius* autem, *Causæusque*, qui veram *Bullæ* aureæ formam ex monumentis statuisque antiquis accuratius investigarant. *Macrobii* errorem coarguunt, *Bullamque* auream, neque cordiformem neque ulla cordis figura insculptam, sed rotundam plane, atque huic nostræ simillimam paremque omnino fuisse ostendunt<sup>f</sup>.

*Macrobius* igitur, qui *Honorii* temporibus floruit, in quibus *Bullæ* aureæ mos in defuetudinem forsitan abiisset, hanc *Bullarum* *Cordiformium* notionem ex *Christianorum* usu ar-

<sup>a</sup> In voce *Bulla*.

<sup>b</sup> *Plutarchi* in *Romul.* 30.

<sup>c</sup> *Varr.* de *Re Rust.* l. 1. c. 1.

<sup>d</sup> *Saturn.* l. 1. c. 6.

<sup>e</sup> *Thom.* *Dempster.* *Etrur. Regal.* p.

303. *Aringh.* *Rom. Subterr.* Vol. 2. l. 6.

690. it. *Pier. Valerian.* *Hieroglyph.* p.

242.

<sup>f</sup> *Spon.* *Miscell. Erud. Antiq.* p. 299.

*Causæus.* *Mus. Rom.* p. 103.

ripuisse videtur; quibus cordis figura, ut Aringhus docet, tanquam amoris innocentiae atque integritatis symbolum, magno in honore fuit, eorumque sepulchris saepissime insculpta, atque in Bullae etiam ipsius locum substituta<sup>1</sup>. At vero Cafalius marmoream pueri imaginem e Museo suo edidit, Bulla ornatam, in qua cordis figura insculpta apparet: quod tamen ad Christianorum praeconum consuetudinem istam omnino referendum esse, Ficcoronius ostendit<sup>2</sup>.

Quinetiam omnes fere, qui de Bulla aurea scripserunt, eam nobilium solummodo liberis, tanquam propriam attribuerunt; attamen Equestri loco natis, usque ab initio concessam, liquet<sup>3</sup>: et postremis deinceps Reipublicae temporibus, ab ingenuis sane quibuslibet, seu omnium ordinum civibus, quorum facultates ad istiusmodi sumptum pertingerent, pro libitu usurpatam esse, ex Ciceronis loco quodam perspicuum est.

Etenim Cicero, Verrem accusans, puerum quandam praetextatum, P. Junium, quem patrimonio Verres spoliavit, in conspectu Judicum sed sine Bulla produxit; quod cum Hortensius, qui Verrem defendebat, eum populariter, atque invidiae commovendae causa fecisse questus esset, Cicero ita respondet; "Quid erat, Hortensi, tandem in illo puero populare? quid invidiosum? Gracchi credo, aut Saturnini, aut alicujus hominis ejusmodi produxeram filium, ut nomine ipso et memoria patris animos imperitiae multitudinis conci-

<sup>1</sup> Aringh. *ibid.* 694.

<sup>2</sup> Unde mos deductus, ut eorum, qui

<sup>3</sup> De Veter. Christianor. ritib. p. 265. equo meruissent, filii insigne id haberent.  
Edit. Rom. 1644. it. Ficcoron. Della Plin. *Hist. Nat.* l. 33. 1.  
Bolla d'oro. p. 14.

" tarem.

“ tarem. P. Junii erat, hominis de plebe Romana, filius—  
 “ Hic istius nefario latrocinio bonis patriis fortunisque omni-  
 “ bus spoliatus venit in judicium——Itaque tibi, Hortensi,  
 “ non illius ætas sed causa; non vestitus sed fortuna popu-  
 “ laris videbatur: neque te tam commovebat, quod ille cum  
 “ toga prætexta, quam quod sine Bulla venerat. Vestitus  
 “ enim neminem commovebat is, quem illi mos et jus inge-  
 “ nuitatis dabat. Quod ornamentum pater dederat, indicium  
 “ atque insigne fortunæ; hoc a prædone isto ereptum esse,  
 “ graviter et acerbe homines ferebant<sup>y</sup>.” Ex quo loco patet,  
 Bullam non nobilitatis, sed ingenuitatis tantum, divitiarumve  
 potius insigne fuisse: quam quidem Cicero, a filio hominis  
 de plebe gestatam, et fortunis deinde imminutis, ab eodem  
 depositam esse, declarat. Atque hoc idem ex Inscriptione ista  
 sepulchrali supra allata, de puerulo quadrimo Bulla ornato,  
 confirmari videtur: puerum nempe cum non nisi libertino  
 genere natum esse, ex Græco Agathemeri cognomine, adju-  
 torisque titulo, quo pater insignitur, colligere licet: adjutores  
 enim illi Cæsarum fere liberti erant, qui inter Domus Augustæ  
 officia, vicariam aliquam operam præstabant<sup>z</sup>.

Hæ Bullæ aureæ, ex omnibus, quæ jam restant, ger-  
 manæ antiquitatis monumentis, rarissimæ sunt. Quippe quæ  
 a fossoribus egenis atque esurientibus haud citius reperiri, quam

<sup>y</sup> In Verr. l. 1. 58.

<sup>z</sup> D. M.

D. M.

D. M.

P. AEL. AVG.

FASTVS. AVG. LIB.

T. AELIVS. CRISPINVS.

LIB. AGATHE.

ADIVTOR. AB. EPIS

AVG. LIB. ADIVTOR

MERI. ADIVT.

TVLIS. &c.

A. RATIONIBVS. &c.

AB. EPIST. LAT.

Has inscriptiones una cum multis aliis *Inscript. Antiqu.* p. 345.  
 ejusdem generis videre licet apud Fabret.

in usus proprios converti, atque aurifici statim pro auri tantilli pondere, vendi solent. Etenim præter hanc unam, alteramque, quæ Romæ adhuc asservari dicitur, haud aliam uspiam extare credo. Alterius vero illius effigiem in lucem edidit Causæus<sup>a</sup>; huic nostræ simillimam, sive eandem potius, nisi quod illa CATULI nomen inscriptum præferat, nostra nullo nomine litterisve signata sit. Ex hac autem rerum inter se alias simillarum differentia, conjectare possumus, istam nominis inscriptionem, de qua nullam profus apud veteres mentionem animadverti, non antea fieri solitam, quam puer toga jam virili sumpta Bullam deposuisset, Laribusque dicasset; nostramque propterea nomine carere, quod puer, qui eam gestasset, antequam eam ætatem attigisset, morte præreptus esset.

Bulla nostra ex duabus auri purissimi laminis rotundis confecta est, quæ a tertia item lamina sublonga, at in sese reflexa seu duplicata, et sculptili opere ornata, claviculorum trium aureorum ope, superne connectuntur. Hæ vero laminæ rotundæ ex omni alia parte a se invicem jam divisæ sunt, quas tamen margine quodam conjunctas olim fuisse constat, ut remedia, opinor, aliqua intus caperent, quæ ad valetudinem pueri tuendam valuisse credebantur; quibusque inclusis, lamina superior, globuli ad instar, convexa apparuit, qualem illam videlicet in statu antiquorum Bullatis, Romæ adhuc extantibus, videmus<sup>b</sup>.

Bullæ nostræ, ut primum reperta fuit, historiolum, italica lingua conscriptum, ad eruditum Baudelotium, Academiæ

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Mus. Roman. Mich. Causæi. p. *ato orbe fulgenti* similem dicit. *Quest. Rom.* p. 388. B. Edit. Par.

103. Fig. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Plutarchus item Bullam, *lunæ dimidi-*

Parisiensis focium, miserat Ficcoronius; cujus quidem epistolam, una cum Dissertatiuncula quadam de Bullæ aureæ usu atque origine in lucem postea edidit Baudelotius; in qua Bullam ipsam non a puero, sed Imperatore aliquo in triumpho gestatam esse declarat, propterea quod et magnitudine et pondere, ut ei videtur, majore esset, quam ut a puero commode gestari posset<sup>e</sup>. Hanc autem opinionem vir iste doctus a Causæo sumpsisse videtur; qui Bullam eam alteram, Catuli nomine inscriptam, in lucem antea emiserat, atque a Q. Lutatio Catulo, C. Marii in triumpho Cimbrico Collega, usurpatam esse censuerat<sup>d</sup>. Montfauconius item, eundem Causæum secutus, et Bullæ ejusdem figuram in Thesaurum suum transferens, de Bullis eam *triumphalibus* fuisse existimat, ob causam scilicet istam, a Baudelotio allatam, quod ponderosa nimis esset, quam quæ puerili ætati conveniret<sup>e</sup>. At vero hanc hominum, doctissimorum licet, opinionem, mihi nullo modo probari fateor: primum, quod Bullas ejusmodi puerili ætati parum congruas esse; deinde, quod a *Triumphantibus* omnino gestari solitas, affirmant: quorum neutrum quidem, quantum ipse investigare potuerim, ulla omnino vel monumentorum vel scriptorum veterum fide niti reperio.

Primum quod attinet, bullam hanc nostram, perinde ac alteram istam a Causæo editam, cum germanis puerorum bullis et forma et magnitudine penitus congruere, perspicuum est; prima ex Statuis istis bullatis, quarum permultæ adhuc Romæ extant<sup>f</sup>; deinde ex eis, quas Sponius, Begerus, aliique

<sup>e</sup> Vid. Hist. Acad. Paris. Inscript. Vol. 3. p. 230.

<sup>d</sup> Mus. Roman. p. 103.

<sup>c</sup> Antiq. Tom. 3. par. 1. l. 2. c. x.

<sup>f</sup> Statuæ puerorum Bullatæ dicuntur, quibus Bulla marmorea de collo ita dependet, ut a pueris ipsis ex auro revera gestata esset. Istiusmodi statuam Æmilio Lepido



aliique in libris suis descriptas exhibuerunt<sup>2</sup>; tum ex pictura item vitrea, infra a me describenda; in qua bullam de pueruli collo, eadem plane magnitudinis proportione ac nostram, dependentem videmus. Neque ullo modo incommodum, aut a puerili ætate alienum censerì potest, ejusmodi ornamentum haud uncia pondus exsuperans, a pueris usque ad annum ætatis decimum sextum gestari solere.

Præterea, quod viri isti docti affirmant, bullam videlicet auream a Triumphantibus gestari solitam; etsi ab omnibus profecto, qui de ea scripserunt, idem quoque declarari video, mihi tamen in hanc rem quam diligentissime inquirenti, non modo dubium, sed falsum plane esse apparet; documentumque sane insigne præbet, quam facile monumentorum horum interpretes, in rebus præsertim obscurioribus, opinionem ab auctore aliquo probato susceptam amplecti, atque alius alium absque hæsitatione ulla sequi solent. Etenim omnes, hanc suam de bullis triumphalibus notionem, ex unico tantum atque incerto illo quidem Macrobiï testimonio confirmant, quod his verbis traditur; “ Tarquinius Priscus Rex tertius ab Hostilio, quintus a Romulo, de Sabinis egit triumphum, quo bello filium suum annos quatuordecim natum, quod hostem manu percusserat, et pro concione laudavit, et bulla aurea prætextaque donavit; insigniens puerum ultra annos fortem præmiis virilitatis et honoris. Nam sicut prætexta magistratum, ita bulla gestamen erat Triumphantium, quam in

Lepido puero, in Capitolio S. C. positam legimus; quod in prætextæ annis in aciem progressus, hostem interemit, civemque fervavit. [Val. Max. l. 3. c. 1.] Cujus quidem generis statuas sane multas, in

Nobilium palatiis, Villisque Romæ adhuc extantes vidi.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Spon. Miscell. Erud. Antiqu. p. 299. it. Beger. Theaur. Brand.

“ triumpho præ fe gerebant, inclusis in eam remediis, quæ  
 “ crederent adversus invidiam valentissima. Hinc deductus  
 “ mos, ut bulla et prætexta in usum puerorum nobilium  
 “ usurparentur<sup>h</sup>.” Ex quibus verbis, hoc imprimis notan-  
 dum; quod Macrobius de bullæ origine hoc loco disputans,  
 sententiam eam, non ut suam aut certam, sed unam solum-  
 modo ex multis proponat; quæ tamen ab eo postea rejecta est.  
 Deinde, quod morem eum bullæ in triumpho gestandæ, ante  
 Tarquinii tantum ætatem obtinuisse dicat: neque apud alium  
 quemlibet scriptorem antiquum, de bullis hisce triumphalibus,  
 mentionem omnino ullam animadverti.

Plutarchus contra scribit, “ Romulum, cum Veientes prælio  
 “ fudisset, eorum Ducem provectæ ætatis in triumpho capti-  
 “ vum duxisse, sed puerili vestitu propterea indutum, quod  
 “ præter ætatem imperite et pueriliter rem geflisse putaretur:  
 “ idque ad suam usque ætatem mansisse, ut triumphantem,  
 “ cum ob victoriam partam sacrificarent, senem quendam  
 “ prætexta et bulla puerili, ludibrii causa ornatum, per Fo-  
 “ rum in Capitolium ducerent<sup>i</sup>.” Ex quo apparet, neque  
 Romuli neque Plutarchi deinceps temporibus, bullam a Tri-  
 umphantibus omnino gestatam esse, sed seni cuidam ridiculo,  
 per jocum solummodo, in triumpho tributam: unde in pro-  
 verbii consuetudinem venisse videtur, ut si quis ætate provec-  
 tior inepte aliquid fecisset, is bulla dignus appellaretur, secun-  
 dum istud Juvenalis, in Crispinum illudentis,

— *Dic Senior, Bulla dignissime<sup>k</sup>.*

<sup>h</sup> Saturn. l. 1. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Sat. 13. v. 33.

<sup>i</sup> In Vit. Romul. p. 33.

Ornamenta porro Triumphalia, Massiniffæ olim regi a populo Romano missa, a Livio sigillatim omnia enumerantur; aurea videlicet *corona, aurea patera, sella curulis, Scipio eburneus, Toga picta, et Tunica palmata*: quæ cum Scipio ille Africanus, populi jussu, regi traderet; addidit, inquit Livius, verbis honorem; *neque magnificentius quidquam Triumpho apud Romanos, neque Triumphantibus amplioem eo ornatu esse*<sup>1</sup>: in quo tamen ornatu bullam auream locum nullum habuisse videmus.

Quod argumentum vero nostrum quam maxime confirmat, pærorum bullatorum statuae, ut dixi, permultæ adhuc extant, at nulla tamen Triumphantis bullati effigies usquam visa est: cumque in marmoribus, arcubus triumphalibus, nummis, columnisque antiquis, Triumphantium interdum figuræ in ipso triumphandi actu curruque exsculptæ reperiuntur, bulla tamen aurea nusquam apparet; quæ cum supra togam de collo dependere solet, nec omitti nec abscondi poterat, si ad Triumphantium omnino ornatum pertinuisset<sup>m</sup>. At vero bullas istas pueriles, maximo semper apud Romanos in honore fuisse, accepimus. Bello enim Punico, cum summa pecuniæ inopia premerentur, ærariumque prorsus exhaustum esset, Senatus decrevit, “ ut quicquid auri argenti ærifice signati domi habuerint, id omne in publicum conferrent, ita tamen ut

<sup>1</sup> Liv. l. 30. 15.

<sup>m</sup> Pierius autem Valerianus, de Bullæ aureæ usu disputans, Triumphatoris sane, curru triumphali inventi, effigiem exhibuit, cui Bulla e collo dependet. Illa vero, ex nullo monumento vetere desumpta, sed ad argumentum solummodo pro more suo il-

lustrandum inventa, atque ex auctoris ipsius ingenio penitus ficta est: cujus quidem speciem ornatumque omnem, a germano Triumphantium veterum habitu omnino abhorreere, constat.

Vid. Pier. Valer. Hieroglyph. de Bull. p. 301.

“ anulos sibi quisque et filio bullam relinquat .” Sertorius denique, cum in Hispania bellum contra Romanos gereret, quo Hispanorum animos sibi devinciret atque in fide sua retineret, prætextam bullamque auream liberis eorum, Romano more gestandam, dedisse traditur °.

Bullæ vero aureæ loco, Libertinorum, civiumque pauperiorum filios, signum quoddam ejusdem formæ, sed ex corio factum, gestare consuevisse legimus ; de quo Juvenalis,

— *Etruscum puero si contigit aurum,  
Vel nodus tantum, et signum de paupere loro* °.

Sed pauperiores etiam isti, ut modo dictum est, quum ex rerum suarum angustiis emergere cœpissent, bullam sibi auream pro libitu sumpsisse videntur. Cujus quidem figura semper rotunda fuit ; ita ut ea omnia, quæ alia quavis forma, bullarum vero nomine, Montfauconius cæterique exhibuerunt, ad amuletorum classẽ Bonannius omnino referenda putat<sup>3</sup>: quæ pro parentum arbitrio, et forma et materia inter se discrepantia, puerorum collis suspendi solebant.

Ab his autem bullis, ornamenta balteorum cingulorumque militarium deaurata, seu acupicta, quæ rotunditate et colore similitudinem quandam præ se ferebant, a scriptoribus antiquis bullæ vocantur.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. l. 26. 36. it. Flor. l. 2. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Plutarch. in Vit. Sertor. p. 575.

<sup>p</sup> Juven. Sat. 5. 165. it. Macrob. Saturn. 1. 6.

<sup>q</sup> “ In iis enim Ethnici characteres  
magicos seu alias res inferebant, quas

“ putabant validiores ad avertendas fasci-

“ nationes et morbos : eas inter amuleta

“ repono, nequis putet illas ex eo genere

“ Bullarum esse, quæ e collo puerorum

“ nobilium olim dependebant.” *Mus.*

*Kieherian.* p. 37.

—— *Phaleras Rhamnetis et aurea Bullis*  
*Cingula* † ——  
*Humerum nodis cui balteus asper*  
*Subligat* †.

Ubi quas Virgilius, Bullas, Juvenalis et Valerius Flaccus nodos appellant; quippe eodem sensu vox utraque usurpata erat, pro rotundis scilicet et convexis operis cujuslibet particulis, quæ supra reliquas e superficie eminebant.

Hinc item clavorum capita rotunda et deaurata, quæ in templorum valvis, divitumve foribus infigi solebant, bulla, vocari cognovimus.

*Juffin' in splendorem dari Bullas has foribus nostris* †?

bullasque præterea, ex auro solido conflatas, Cicero e templo Minervæ a Verre furto ablatas, commemorat<sup>u</sup>.

Atque hinc quoque sigilla ista rotunda et speciosa, quæ ex auro vel alia quavis materia, Diplomatum Epistolisque Imperatorum ac summorum Pontificum adnectebantur, a mediæ ævi scriptoribus bullæ appellantur<sup>x</sup>. At vero nomen tandem a sigillis, ad Chartas ipsas traductum est; atque Imperatorum, Pontificumque decreta et diplomata, bullas etiam hodie nominari cognovimus.

† Virg. *Æn.* 9. 359.

—— *Notis fulserant cingula Bullis*

*Pallantis pueri* —— *ibid.* 12. 942.

† Valer. Flacc. *Argonaut.* 579.

† Plaut. *Afinar.* 2. 4. 203.

‡ Bullas aureas omnes ex his valvis,

quæ erant multæ et graves, non dubitavit auferre, quarum iste non opere delectabatur, sed pondere. *Cic. in Ver.* 4. 56.

<sup>x</sup> Du Fresne *Glossar.* *οὐκία ἐσφραγίσου*  
 ἑσφραγίσου.

## T A B U L A III.

## S E C T. II.

**P**ICTURA hæc vitrea, in qua mulieris ac pueruli imagines coloribus aureis venuste fatis expressas cernimus, in Tiburis antiqui ruinis, una cum aliis quibusdam vasculis, e vitro pariter conflatis, reperta fuit: quæ quidem ex pulchritudine ejus, eorum certe temporum fuisse apparet, quibus ars ipsa pingendi haud multum a prisorum adhuc perfectione descivisset. Ficcoronius, qui figuram ejus ætynam Romæ in lucem edidit, eam ad Alexandri Severi ætatem referendam arbitratur<sup>y</sup>. At comarum ornatus, reticulumque aureum, quo mulieris caput tegitur, antiquitatem quandam superiorem redolere videntur: quippe reticulum vel Republica florente, perinde ac Cæsarum postea temporibus, inter muliebria capitis ornamenta recensitum legimus.

*Reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet<sup>z</sup>.*

Sed mulieris item collum catenula, seu monili aureo ornatum est; ejusdem plane generis, ac quod in ollis veterum sepulchralibus, una cum ossibus mortuorum interdum conditum repe-

<sup>y</sup> In libro Italice conscripto, Della Bolla d'Oro de' Nobil. Roman. &c. 4to in Roma. 1732. p. 12.

<sup>z</sup> Juven. Sat. 2. 95. Varr. de ling. lat. l. 4. Nonius Marcellus reticulum tegmen capitis muliebri vocat. [De prop. Serm. c. 14.] Servius locum istum Virgilio,

*Crines nodantur in aurum,* de retiolo aureo intelligit, in quod Didonis comæ colligebantur. [Æn. 4. 138.] Isidorus autem reticulum, non a rete, sed quod crines retineret, ita vocari, haud recte arbitratur. Orig. l. 19. 31.

ritur.

ritur<sup>a</sup>. Quod vero ad rem nostram magis pertinet, de pueruli collo bulla aurea, ingenuitatis insigne, dependens cernitur; quæ cum forma, tum magnitudinis proportione, cum bulla ista germana, quam supra exhibui, penitus congruit.

Quintiam pueruli hujus toga singulare quiddam exhibere videtur; nam fasciam quandam latam, baltei ad instar, trans pectora ductam, atque alteram inde ejusdem formæ, deorsum pendentem cernimus. Atqui hanc eandem togæ speciem in aliis item paucis, et virorum et sceminarum statuis observavi; de qua tamen nihil omnino quod liquet, a scriptoribus traditum reperio. Hoc mihi tamen verisimile apparet, fascias hæc, togæ ejus quam *trabeam* vocabant, formam et gestandæ morem indicare. Trabea enim nihil aliud erat, ac togæ species quædam, purpureis fasciis, virgife, velut trabibus distincta; quam ita in gestando componere ac complicare solebant, ut ex fasciis istis una semper in pectore nitesceret, altera deorsum inde fluere videretur<sup>b</sup>. Trabeam autem ipsam non nisi regum initio gestamen fuisse constat<sup>c</sup>; deinde consulum<sup>d</sup>; tum equitum quoque in solenni eorum transvectione, a Q. Fabio idibus quintilibus instituta<sup>e</sup>. At vero hunc, quem in pictura nostra videmus, trabæ gestandæ morem, non nisi imperatorum postea temporibus obtinuisse puto; neque a principibus tantum aut consulibus, sed a principum item filiis ac propinquis, tunc

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Ficcoron. *ibid.* it. Beger. *Thefaur. Brandeb.* Tom. 3. p. 426.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Ferrar. *de re vestiari.* l. 2. c. 5. it. *Dempst. Etrur. Regal.* Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini.

Et fasces meruit, Regum ultimus ille bonorum. *Juv. S. 8.* 259.

*Trabeis usus accipio reges.* Plin. *Hist. N.* l. 8. c. 48. it. l. 9. c. 39.

<sup>d</sup> Ipse Quirinali trabea, cinctuque Gabino.

Insignis referat stridentia limina consul. *Virg. Æn.* 7. 612.

<sup>e</sup> Liv. l. 9. ad fin. Val. Max. 2. 2.

quidem gestari cœpisse: de quorum fortasse numero hunc puerulum matremque ejus fuisse credamus. At posterioribus deinceps seculis, togæ hujus honorem nobilibus, divitibusque promiscue omnibus pro libitu permisum esse, ex sculpturis, statuisque antiquis hac ipsa trabea ornatis, perspicuum est <sup>f</sup>.

Permulta vitreorum antiquorum fragmenta, auro coloribusque variis depicta, ab harum rerum studiosis collecta, atque in publicum edita cognovimus <sup>g</sup>: de quibus librum sane singularem, atque eximia eruditione refertum, vir illustis, Philippus Buonarotti, Senator Florentinus, Italica lingua conscripsit <sup>h</sup>. Ad quem, ab humanissimo doctissimoque sene, Salvino, ipse olim Florentiæ deductus, ædes ejus vidi, cum Romanorum, tum Tuscorum veterum statuis, vasculis, sculpturisque egregie ornatas; neque minus tamen ob posteriorum item seculorum inventa celebrandas; nobilia præsertim summi istius pictoris atque antecessoris sui, Michaelis Angeli Buonarotti opera, a quo conclave quoddam, exquisito artificio pictum, in iisdem ædibus ostenditur.

Auctor autem iste eruditus fragmentorum istiusmodi vitreorum octoginta circiter accurate descripta, in librum suum contulit; singulisque dissertatiunculam adjecit. Horum vero pars maxima a prisorum temporum Christianis provenisse apparet, ut ex Christi Apostolorumque ejus figuris, opere plerumque rudi ac deformi pictis significatur; quas tamen om-

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Boissard. Tom. 3. p. 92. Montfauc. Vol. 3. l. 1. Tab. 6. fig. 2. item arcus Constantini figuras.

<sup>g</sup> Aringh. Rom. Subterr. Tom. 2. p. 265. 403, 689, &c. it. Fabrett. In-

script. p. 537, 593.

<sup>h</sup> Osservazioni sopr. alcun. Framment. di vasi antichi di vetro, ornati di figure. Fol. in Firenze. 1716.



nes, ex literis, notisque ibi adscriptis, Constantini ætate antiquiores esse, vir doctus contendit<sup>i</sup>.

Sed præter ista Christianorum vitra, pauca etiam quædam præstantiora, ac majori artificio elaborata, in eodem libro reperiuntur, ex Gentilium reliquiis et supellectile derivata; Deorumque veterum imagines ac symbola plerumque exhibentia: quorum quidem unum alterumve, cum forma ipsa et magnitudine, tum picturæ ipsius elegantia, comarumque muliebrium ornatu, huic nostro quam simillimum apparet, atque ex eo vitri pingendi artificio, quod auctor iste omnium præstantissimum esse declarat<sup>k</sup>. Cum hæc vero vitrorum fragmenta, semper fere rotunda, interdum concava, ac sæpe effracta reperiuntur; ea non nisi vasculi cujusdam majoris partes, et poculorum præsertim fundos fuisse, casu quodam abruptos, a viris doctis affirmari video; quod etsi de nonnullis fortassè concedendum sit, de universis tamen nequaquam statuendum arbitror<sup>l</sup>.

De hac autem quæstione, et de vasculorum simul vitreorum apud Romanos usu, antequam plura differamus, de vitri ipsius origine pauca quædam dicere libet, quæ in tanta rei obscuritate, ex scriptorum veterum monumentis eruere poterim. “ Pars Syriæ est, inquit Plinius, quæ Phœnice vocatur, “ finitima Judææ, juxta montis Carmeli radices, cujus in litore arena quædam invenitur, quæ vitro gignendo aptissima, “ atque unica fere per multa secula habebatur. Ad hunc

<sup>i</sup> In Prefaz. xi, xii.

<sup>k</sup> Id. Tab. 25, Fig. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Cum certum sit, figuras hæc nonnisi in fundis poculorum pictas reperiri; ut ex

eorum concavitate pluries animadverti.

[Fabrett. Inscript. p. 539.] Posse dire,

che sono fondi di Bicchieri. *Bosner.*

*Pref.* 3.

“ locum fama est, navem olim mercatorum nitri appulsam  
 “ esse; et cum sparsi per littus epulas pararent, nec esset cor-  
 “ tinis attollendis lapidum occasio, glebas eos nitri, lapidum  
 “ loco, e navi subdidisse; quibus accensis permixta arena lit-  
 “ toris, translucentes nobilis liquoris fluxisse rivos, atque  
 “ hanc fuisse originem vitri<sup>m</sup>.” Hinc Sidon, urbs ejus regio-  
 nis primaria, atque ob artium multarum præstantiam, ab  
 Homero ipso celebrata<sup>n</sup>, vitri quoque officinis nobilis, specu-  
 lorumque inventrix esse dicitur<sup>o</sup>.

Apud Persas, ante Alexandri Magni tempora, calices vi-  
 treos in usu deliciisque fuisse liquet: quippe legati quidam  
 Athenienses ab Aristophane Comico inducti sunt, tanquam a  
 Persis nuper reversi, qui Regis istius luxum et magnificentiam  
 laudibus extollentes, *se vinum ibi dulce e poculis vitreis atque au-  
 reis bibisse*, narrant<sup>p</sup>. In Ptolemæi quoque Philadelphi pom-  
 pa Alexandrina, duo calices vitrei, five calicum potius vitreo-  
 rum abaci, e gaza regia ad populum producti memorantur<sup>q</sup>.  
 In Lesbo pariter, vitriariorum officinas eadem ætate extitisse,  
 poculumque quoddam vitreum, cui Lesbium nomen erat,  
 apud Græcos in conviviis usurpatum esse, ex epigrammate  
 veteri discimus<sup>r</sup>. At posterioribus deinde seculis, hoc vitri  
 fingendi artificium in Ægypto maxime floruit: ubi Strabo,  
*se a vitriariis Alexandrinis audisse scribit, terram quandam vitra-  
 riam reperiri, sine qua nulla pretiosa, aut variorum colorum opera  
 effici possent*<sup>s</sup>. Ex quo genere calices sane isti fuere, quos

<sup>m</sup> Hist. N. l. 36. c. 26.

<sup>n</sup> Hial. Z. 289. ψ. 743. Odyss. O. 115.

<sup>o</sup> Sidon artifex vitri. Plin. l. 5. 19.  
 it. l. 36. 25.

<sup>p</sup> Acarn. Act. 1. Scen. 2. v. 74.

<sup>q</sup> Καὶ κυλικεῖα δύο, καὶ δάλινα διάχρυσια  
 δύο. Athenæ. l. 5. c. 7.

<sup>r</sup> Λέσβιον ἐξ ὑέλης, &c. Athen. l. xi.  
 c. xi.

<sup>s</sup> Lib. 16. p. 758.

Hadrianns Imperator, ad Servianum scribens, a sacerdote sibi Ægyptio donatos ait. “ Calices tibi, inquit, allasfontes †, [vericolores] tres mihi, quos mihi sacerdos templi obtulit; tibi et forori meæ specialiter dedicatos; quos tu velim festis diebus conviviis adhibeas: caveas tamen ne his Africanus noster indulgenter utatur.” Neque ex alio genere vitrea quoque ista fuisse videntur, quorum *diversitate atque operositate*, Tacitus Imperator delectatus esse memoratur ‡.

Ab Ægypto igitur, a Romanis demum subacta atque in provinciam redacta, immanis iste vitreorum luxus, una cum ceteris Alexandriae deliciis, Romam præcipue invectus apparet. Nam ante id tempus rara admodum de vitri usu aut pretio, apud scriptores Latinos mentio reperitur §. Sed a primis usque Cæsarium temporibus, pocula vitrea seu crystallina, ut sæpe eadem vocantur, et principibus et divitibus item quibuslibet summo in pretio fuisse certissimum est. “ Cum Augustus, ut a Seneca memoriæ proditum est, apud Vedium Pollionem cœnaret, unus ex servis fregerat ejus crystallinum. Rapi eum iussit Vedius, nec vulgari quidem periturum morte; nam murænis objici jubebatur, quas ingens piscina continebat——evasit e manibus puer, et confugit ad Cæsaris pedes; nihil aliud petiturus, quam ut aliter periret, nec esca fieret. Motus est novitate crudelitatis Cæsar, et illum qui-

† Vox Græca *Αλλάσσοις*, allasfontes, idem significat ac colorem mutantes, vel ut hic explicatur, vericolores, quod quidem verbum interpretationis gratia in margine adscriptum, in textum inde irripisse videtur.

‡ Flav. Vopisc. in Saturnino. c. 8.

§ Vid. eund. in Tacito. c. xi.

¶ Cicero autem, inter merces ex Ægypto Romam advectas, chartas, lintea, vitrum, recenset: [Pr. Rab. Posth. c. 14.] de vitro autem, ante id tempus, ne verbum quidem a Romano aliquo dictum memini.

“ dem mitti, crystallina autem omnia coram se frangi iussit,  
 “ complerique piscinam<sup>2</sup>.”

Tiberii deinde principatu, illud vitri temperamentum Romæ excogitatum fertur, ut flexibile esset: de quo celebris sane historia a scriptoribus tradita est. “ Faber fuit, inquit Petronius, qui vitrea vasa fecit tenacitatis tantæ, ut non magis quam aurea vel argentea frangerentur: quum ergo phialam hujusmodi de vitro purissimo, et solo, ut putabat, dignam Cæsare fabricasset, cum munere suo Cæsarem adiens, admissus est. Laudata est species muneris, commendata manus artificis, acceptata devotio donantis. Faber, ut admirationem intuentium verteret in stuporem, et sibi plenius gratiam conciliaret Imperatoris, petitam de manu Cæsaris phialam recepit, eamque validius projecit in pavementum, tanto impetu, ut nec solidissima et constantissima æris materia maneret inlæsa. Cæsar autem ad hæc non magis stupuit, quam expavit. At ille de terra sustulit phialam; quæ quidem non fracta erat, sed conlisa; ac si æris substantia vitri speciem induisset. Deinde martellum de sinu proferens, vitrum correxit aptissime, et tanquam conlissum vas æneum, crebris ictibus reparavit. Quo facto se cælum Jovis tenere arbitratu est; eo quod familiaritatem Cæsaris, et admirationem omnium se promeruisse credebat. Sed secus accidit. Quæsiit enim Cæsar, an alius sciret hanc condituram vitrorum; quod cum negaret, eum decollari præcepit Imperator, dicens, quia si hoc artificium innotesceret, aurum et argentum vilescerent quasi lutum<sup>3</sup>.” Eandem historiolum Dio, sed confuse ac absurde narrat, de phiala scilicet, non *conlisa* sed

<sup>2</sup> Sen. de ira. l. 3. c. 40. Vid. it. Dio.

\* Petron. Sat. p. 189. Edit. Var.

<sup>3</sup> 54. p. 537. it. Plin. Hist. N. l. 9. c. 23.

*fracta*, atque a Fabro statim de integro refecta<sup>b</sup>: ad eandem quoque Plinius alludit, at *famam ejus crebriorem, quam certiorum fuisse dicit*<sup>c</sup>.

Claudio porro imperante, vulgo dici solitum legimus, *eum qui vascula vitrea vel fracta donaret, civem Romanum fieri posse*<sup>d</sup>. Ac Neronis ætate, ut Plinius scribit, ea vitri fingendi ars reperta fuit, quæ modicos duos calices, quos Pterotos vocabant, *H-S sex millibus venderet*<sup>e</sup>. Hac eadem ætate, Seneca eam plane vitri condituram describit, quam in officinis nostris hodie usurpatam videmus. Quippe contra Posidonium Stoicum artes quibus vita utitur, non a Philosophia repertas esse contendens, “cuperem, inquit, Posidonio vitrarium aliquem ostendere, qui spiritu vitrum in habitus plurimos format, qui vix diligenti manu effingerentur. Hæc inventa sunt, postquam sapientem invenire desivimus<sup>f</sup>.” Ex quo, istud vitri artificium Romæ tunc recens esse, neque Posidonio, qui Pompeii temporibus floruit, cognitum, indicari videtur. At vero paucis deinceps annis, Plinius calicum vitreorum usum *arroganti auriq; metalla pepulisse*, ait<sup>g</sup>.

Jam poculorum istorum fundos auro coloribusque variis depingi solitos esse, ex fragmentis eorum, quæ adhuc restant, apparet; ita tamen, ut imaginum ibi pictarum, littera-

<sup>b</sup> Dio. l. 57. p. 617. E.

<sup>c</sup> Plin. l. 36. 26.

<sup>d</sup> Dio. l. 60. p. 676. D.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. l. 36. 2. Per calices istos Pterotos, nihil aliud intelligi videtur, ac calices ansa utrinque alarum quasi modo instructos. Qui sex millibus nummum fertertiorum, seu 50 circiter libris nostræ monete vendi dicuntur; ob recentem forsitan

ea ætate anfas fingendi, et cum calice conjungendi inventionem——

<sup>f</sup> Senec. Epist. 90.

<sup>g</sup> Lib. 36. 26. Alexandri Severi temporibus, inter Domus Augustæ Officia, Præpositum a Crystallinis, in marmoribus antiquis commemoratum invenimus.

Gruter. p. 474. 4.

rumque

rumque inscriptarum formæ, intus usque conversæ, a bibentibus solummodo in situ proprio conspicerentur<sup>b</sup>. Vitri autem pingendi artificium hoc fere modo effectum esse creditur. In lamella nimirum vitrea figuras primum, quas vellent, instrumento quodam fabrili exarare, atque insculpere solebant; tum in sculpturæ hujus fulcos materiem quandam vitream five encausticam, quam smaltum vulgo vocant, coloribus variis, at aureo præsertim imbutam, infundebant; ita tamen, ut luminis simul et umbræ rationem aliquam fervarent; totam denique vitri lamellam, hoc modo depictam, encausto rursus alio crassiori a tergo penitus operiebant: atque hoc quidem optimum vitri pingendi artificium, quod Romæ unquam vigisset, existimatur<sup>i</sup>. Neque alio sane modo hæc nostra Tabella confecta apparet; cujus imagines aureo penitus colore, at reliqua vitri pars, seu picturæ, ut dicitur, fundus purpureo seu violaceo, depictus est.

At non eadem arte aut diligentia reliqua ista, quæ diximus, Christianorum vitra effecta erant: sed in tenui quodam auri folio, lamellæ vitreæ superimposito, figurarum lineæ extremæ tantum ac præcipuæ, opere simplici ac rudi exarata esse videntur. Clemens Alexandrinus pocula hujusmodi *vitrea, calata aut depicta, a Christianorum mensis* exulare jubet; quippe quæ propter fragilitatem et timere simul ac bibere docent<sup>k</sup>. Ex permultis tamen vitrorum eorum fragmentis, quæ in curiosorum adhuc Museis conservantur, vel Priscos istos Christianos a luxu isto haud immunes fuisse, liquet.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Buonarott. Prefaz. p. iii, iv.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. ibid.

<sup>k</sup> Pædag. l. 2. c. 3. De hoc Chrysalinorum frangendorum timore ita quoque Martialis;

*Frangere dum metuis, frangis Crystallina: peccant*

*Securæ nimium, sollicitæque manus.*  
l. 14. iii.

Hæc vero vitrorum Christianorum fragmenta, in antiquis Romæ Cœmeteriis, quæ Catacumbæ vocantur, cuncta fere reperiuntur; in calce plerumque murali infixæ, et juxta loculorum eorum ora seu aperturas, in quibus mortuorum cadavera sepulta jacent. Quæ quidem haud aliam ob causam ibi posita esse existimantur, quam ut in cryptis istis subterraneis et tenebrosissimis, quæ in infinitos viarum meatus, vicorumque quasi diverticula distribuuntur, mortuorum quisque suorum sepulchra, signo aliquo proprio dignosceret, et pia ibi defunctis seu anniversaria quædam officia præstaret<sup>1</sup>.

Ex his autem vitri fragmentis, etiamsi nonnulla, ut modo dixi, poculorum quondam fundos fuisse concedamus, non ita tamen de omnibus statuendum est. Vitrum enim nostrum, nec superficie concavum, nec ulla orbis sui parte effractum, sed circulo aureo, tanquam opus quoddam integrum ac perfectum, ab opifice ipso circumductum esse apparet: neque ob aliam certe causam in hunc modum pictum erat, quam ut Fœminæ cujusdam nobilis et filioli imagines ad vivum, ut dicitur, exhiberet, posterisque mandaret. Quippe alia quoque ejusdem omnino generis ac formæ vitra, imaginibus pictis ornata, ex Romæ antiquæ ruinis conservata, atque in libris interdum descripta animadverti: quorum quidem unum, eximie pictum, atque Herculis symbolis instructum, Caninius protulit, idque Commodi Imperatoris effigiem præ se ferre suspicatur<sup>m</sup>. Duas præterea alias, hac eadem magnitudine, imagines, in vitro affabre pictas, unam Tibicinis, alteram pueruli, Ficcoronius se tenere scribit, atque ejusmodi esse ait,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Buonarott. Præf. 8.

<sup>m</sup> Iconograf. Tab. 82. p. 112.

ac quæ ab hominibus curiosis in armariis plerumque condi solent<sup>a</sup>.

Hæc encaustica pingendi ars apud Græcos fane vetusta erat. Pamphilus enim, Apellis præceptor, et pinxisse encaustica fertur, et docuisse Pausiam Sicyonium, primum in hoc genere nobilem; qui parvas tabellas puerosque præsertim pingere solebat<sup>b</sup>. Romæ etiam insignes quosdam imaginum pictores Reipublicæ temporibus floruisse accepimus. Etenim Lala quædam, ut Plinius ait, *Virgo Cyzicena, et penicillo pinxit, et cestro in ebore, imagines mulierum maxime*——arte vero tanta, ut multum manupretio antecederet celeberrimos eadem ætate imaginum pictores, Sopylon et Dionysium, quorum tabulæ pinacothecas implebant<sup>c</sup>. Epicuri denique vultum, *in parvis quibusdam tabellis depictum*, discipuli ejus secum circumferre soliti dicuntur<sup>d</sup>. Hujusmodi autem imagines in tabellis vitreis sæpe confectas fuisse, propterea conjicere licet, quod *nulla alia materia*, uti ex eodem Plinio discimus, *sequacior, aut picturæ accommodatior* ea ætate habita fuit<sup>e</sup>.

### SECT. III.

**P**RÆTER bullam istam auream, de qua modo disserui, alia item quædam, diversæ profus formæ ac generis, a pueris olim Romanis, amuletorum nomine, gestata esse dixi. Apud veteres enim istos opinionem quandam ridiculam et superstitiosam obtinuisse cognovimus, de invidiæ oculique ma-

<sup>a</sup> In libro Della Bolla d'oro, &c. p. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Plin. l. 35. c. x.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. c. 2. ubi M. item Varronem septingentorum illustrium imagines cuidam suo volumini inferuisse scribit.

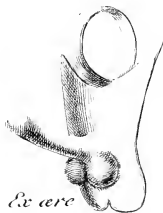
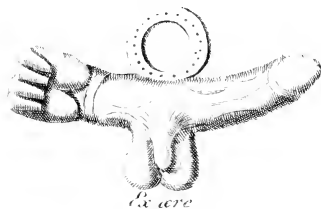
<sup>e</sup> Id. l. 36. c. 26.



ligni ictu quodam venenato, qui tenera præsertim infantulorum corpora affligere, variisque morbis cruciare solebat. Contra hanc igitur pestem multa ab eis remedia excogitata sunt, quæ a liberis suis gestata, atque e collo potissimum suspensa, incolumes eos ab omni fascinatione præstare credebantur. Sed ex hac omni amuletorum classe, nihil certe valentius habebatur, quam pudendi virilis effigies, ex auro interdum, ære, ebore, aut corio etiam facta<sup>1</sup>. De qua quidem re disputare, seu loqui omnino puderet, ni non eos modo omnes, qui Romanorum sibi ritus explicandos sumpserunt, sed et sanctos etiam Ecclesiæ primævæ patres, quo obscænam hanc Gentilium superstitutionem ludibrio darent ac detestabilem redderent, de ea libere differuisse, vidissem.

Quamobrem duas rei ejus turpiculæ figuras hic delineatas damus: quarum altera Romæ mihi in manus incidit; altera Rutupii<sup>2</sup>, in agro Cantiano reperta, ab amico meo erudito,

<sup>1</sup> Pueris, inquit Varro, *res turpicula* in bonæ scævæ causa. *De Ling. Lat. l. 6.* collo quadam suspenditur, nequid obit,



<sup>2</sup> Rutupie olim Urbs, Castrum, Portusque Romanorum. De quibus Vid. Batteley Antiquitat. Rutupin.

et in rebus antiquis exquirendis admodum curioso, Gul. Warren LL. D. Aulæ Trin. apud Cantabrigienſes ſocio, mihi donata eſt. Quod utraque vero a pueris olim geſtata fuiſſet, ex anulis ſuperne annexis perſpicuum eſt; quorum alter diurno plane uſu haud parum attritus apparet.

Permultas ſane ejuſdemmodi figuras in eruditorum paſſim muſeis conſervatas, atque in libris quoque deſcriptas vidi<sup>a</sup>; atque unam quoque alteramve, a viris graviffimis, Montfauconio et Bonannio in lucem editam<sup>z</sup>. Rem vero ipſam nominibus variis ab antiquis celebratam invenimus, et Phallum, Mutinum, Tutinum, vel ab effectu, quem edere putabatur, Fafcinum plerumque a faſcino repellendo, appellatam<sup>y</sup>. Quippe figuræ hujus turpitudine repulſus, ut Plutarchus ait, *malignorum intuitus, ab homine ipſo avertebatur*<sup>z</sup>: ſive, ut alii dicunt, Deus ipſe Priapus, tanquam faſcinantium omnium, ſeu invidentium vindex, ultorque præſens, colebatur<sup>a</sup>.

At vero Faſcino, ſeu pudendo virili, velut generis humani auctori, cultum quandam divinum a plerisque gentibus tributum eſſe conſtat<sup>b</sup>. In Ægypto, ut apud Herodotum eſt,

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Memorie del Muſeo di Lod. Moſcardo. in Pad. 1656. it. Mich. de la Chauffe ſive Cauſæ Muſ. Romæ. Fol. Romæ. 1707. it. Beger. Theſaur. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 427.

<sup>z</sup> Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 3. par. 1. l. 2. it. Muſeum Kirch. p. 37.

<sup>y</sup> — — Minuſve Faſcinum.  
*Hor. Epod. 8. 18.*

Pomarii tutela diligens, rubro  
Priape, furibus nunnare Mutino.

*Priapeia. 7.*

<sup>a</sup> Sympoſi. l. 5. p. 681, 682.

<sup>a</sup> Diod. Sic. p. 78. D. it. p. 214. Edit. Hanov.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 78. Neque alium ſane fuiſſe antiquiſſimum illum Moabitatum Deum, Baal Peor ſeu Beelphegor ac Romanorum Priapum, ab eruditorum plerisque exiſtimatur. *Iſtiusmodi Idololatria, inquit Hieronymus, erat in Iſrael, colentibus maxime feminis Beelphegor, idelum tentiginis, quem nos Priapum poſſumus appellare.* Hieron. in Hoſeam, c. vi. it. in c. ix. Oper. T. 3. p. 1261. verſ. ſin. Vid. it. Calm. Dictionar. in voce Baal peor.

“ in Bacchi sacris, mulieres statuas quasdam cubitales per pa-  
 “ gos circumferebant, quæ nervis seu fidiculis intus dispositis  
 “ tractæ, membra sua movere, spontaneo quasi motu, vide-  
 “ bantur : Fascino præsertim, quod reliquam fere statuam  
 “ magnitudine exæquabat, hinc inde nutante c.” Hæc ea-  
 dem Phalli pompa, uti vocabatur, ab Ægyptiis ad Græcos tra-  
 ducta est, qui Eusebio teste, pudendum virile in *Bacchi sacris*  
*mysteriisque*, Phalli nomine circumferre ac venerari solebant<sup>4</sup>.  
 Qui vero Cypriæ Veneri initiabantur, eos *certas quasdam stipes*  
*Deæ intulisse* legimus, et retulisse Phallos, a sacerdotibus sibi  
 donatos, tanquam propitii numinis signa<sup>5</sup>.

Hic idem Fascini cultus e Græcia deinde Romam transit,  
 ubi Phalli ingentis erectique speciei, e columna marmorea seu  
 ligna exsculpta atque extans, qualis in sculpturis interdum an-  
 tiquis cernitur, sub Priapi, Mutini, vel Fascini nomine, divi-  
 nos plane honores obtinuit. “ Mutini Tutini facellum, in-  
 “ quit Festus, fuit in Veliis adversus murum Mustellinum in  
 “ angiportu, de quo aris sublatis balnearia sunt facta domus Cn.  
 “ Domitii Calvini; cum mansisset ab urbe condita ad princi-  
 “ patum Augusti Cæsaris inviolatum, et sancte cultum fuisset,  
 “ ut manifestum est ex Pontificum libris. Nunc Ædiculam  
 “ habet ad sextum et vicesimum, dextra via, juxta diverticulum

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. l. 2. p. 109. Ed. Lond.

*Terribilis membri, medio qui semper in horto  
 Inguinibus puero, prædoni falce minatur.*

<sup>4</sup> Præpar. Evang. l. 1. Sect. 1. it.  
 Plutar. de divitiar. cupiditat. p. 527. D.  
 Hinc Phallophorum, qui Phallos scilicet  
 istos in sacris Dionysiacis portabant;  
 itemque Ithyphallorum nomina apud an-  
 tiquos scriptores occurrunt. [Diod. Sic.  
 l. 3. p. 214.]

Columel. de Hortor. cult.

Suidas autem Musicorum genus quoddam  
 nominibus illis denotari dicit, qui in Dio-  
 nyssi sacris carmina quædam Phallica, cum  
 gestulationibus mimicis cantare solebant.  
 Vid. it. Athenæum. l. 24. c. 4. it. Cæli  
 Rhodig. l. 7. c. 16.

— *Sed truncum forte dolatum*

*Arboris antiquæ, numen venerare Ithyphalli,*

<sup>5</sup> Arnob. con. Gent. l. 5.

“viæ; ubi et colitur, et mulieres sacrificant in ea togis præ-  
 “textis velatæ<sup>f</sup>.” Quid autem in sacrificiis istis a mulieribus  
 factum erat, a sanctis, ut dixi, Patribus, in nefandos hocce  
 ritus invehentibus, discere licet. *Mutini immanibus pudendis,*  
 inquit Arnobius, *borrentique Fascino, vestras inequitare matro-*  
*nas, et auspicabile ducitis et optatis<sup>g</sup>.* Lactantius item, *in sinu*  
*ejus pudendo nubentes præsidere,* ait, *ut illarum pudicitiam prior*  
*Deus delibaret<sup>h</sup>.* Augustinus quoque scribit, *novas nuptas super*  
*ejus immanissimum et turpissimum fascinum sedere iussas esse, more*  
*bonestissimo ac religiosissimo matronarum<sup>i</sup>.* Theophilus denique  
 Alexandriæ Episcopus, in cultum hunc insanum non verbis  
 solummodo illudere contentus, Phallos ipsos, ex Templorum  
 veterum adytis extractos, per *medium forum portari,* ac *gentium*  
*myseria ludibrio palam omnibus exponi* iussit: sed ingentem inde  
 tumultum a Gentilibus excitatum, nec sine magna Christiano-  
 rum strage postea sedatum legimus<sup>k</sup>.

Phalli autem duplicis species ista, quam in figurarum nos-  
 trarum altera cernimus, manusque singularem in modum com-  
 plicata, ut rei obscœnitatem ac turpitudinem illustriorem red-  
 dunt, ita amuleti quoque ipsius vim sine dubio augere puta-  
 bantur. Caligula manum suam in eundem modum forma-  
 tam, Cassio Chæreæ, ut Suetonius scribit, *ludibrii causa, oscu-*  
*landam offerre consuevit:* ob quam quidem contumeliam a Cassio  
 postea occisus est<sup>l</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. in voce Mutinus.

<sup>g</sup> Arnob. con. Gent. l. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Divin. Institut. l. 1.

<sup>i</sup> De Civit. Dei, l. 7. c. 24. it. l. 6.

c. 9.

<sup>k</sup> Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 15.  
 Ingens Phallorum scitilium numerus, et

molis quidem horrendæ, in agro Etruriæ  
 Clusino, A. D. 1726, a fossoribus quibus-  
 dam erutus est. Unde Templum ibi  
 Priapi olim stetit viri eruditi conjiciunt.  
*Vid. Gor. Mus. Etrusc. 144.*

<sup>l</sup> In vit. Calig. c. 56.

Quinetiam Fascinum, non infantium modo et muliercularum Deum, sed Imperatorum quoque custodem haberi, ac *sub curru etiam triumphantium*, ad invidiam pellendam, suspendi solere, ex Plinio discimus<sup>m</sup>. Consentaneum nempe antiquis illis visum est, ut idem ille Deus, cui generis humani propagandi munus tributum erat, ad noxia item quælibet ab eo arcenda paratissimus esset. Quod quidem illustrari quodammodo videtur a Symbolica quadam apud Cauſæum Priapi effigie, cui Galli Gallinacei caput crista ornatum, rostri vero loco, Fascinum ingens datur: cujusque in basi litteris Græcis inscriptum legitur ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΩΣΜΟΥ. *Servator orbis*. Quæ omnia vir doctus ita interpretatur: “ Gallum scilicet, aveni  
“ soli sacram esse; solemque generatricis facultatis præsidem;  
“ pudendumque ideo virile Gallinaceo capiti adjunctum denotare, quod a conjunctis solis Priapique viribus, animalium  
“ genus omne procreatum et conservatum sit, secundum physicum quoddam Aristotelis axioma, *Homo hominem generat et Sol*.”

In marmore antiquo apud Boissardum, insigne quoddam Priapi sacrificium, egregio opere exsculptum, atque a mulieribus celebratum cernimus: quarum aliæ asinum macstant, paterisque sanguinem ejus excipiunt. Sacerdos vero pudendum

<sup>m</sup> Hist. N. I. 28. 4.

<sup>n</sup> Cauf. Musæ. Romam. p. 125. Aliam item, nec absimilem sane Priapi ex ære effigiem Begerus protulit, quæ Galli cristam capiti impostam, fascinumque tante longitudinis præfert, quantæ mulieres, uti supra dictum est, inequitare facile poterant. Tertiamque simul e marmore

adjungit, cujus in basi litteris pariter Græcis inscribitur.

ΤΩ ΘΕΩ  
ΓΕΝΕΕΩΣ  
ΠΟΙΜΕΝΙ

Vid. Thef. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 261, 266. It. Montfauc. Vol. 1. par. 2. l. 1. p. 28.

Dei

Dei floribus ornare, atque unguento aliquo seu aqua e vasculo quodam perfundere videtur. Aliæ florum pomorumque calathos, aliæ vascula sacrificalia capitibus ferre: aliæ tibias inflare; ac cymbala quædam manibus sublatiis quatere; omnes vero, Bacchantium ritu, trepidare, oculosque et manus ad Dei simulachrum certatim tendere videntur\*.

Sed ut argumentum tandem hoc turpiculum dimittamus: ex nefando isto Mutini cultu, quem usque ab urbe condita Romæ obtinuisse legimus, verisimile videtur, Romulum ipsum, qui urbis suæ opes atque incrementa, ab hominum multitudine, civiumque numero pendere sciret, non sine consilio quodam civili ac politico sacrum tam obscœnum vel instituisse, vel aliunde exceptum adoptasse; ut cives scilicet sui, ex orgiis istis Priapeis, furore quasi fanatico correpti, et religionis pariter ac libidinis stimulis accensi, ad sobolem procreandam fortius validiusque incitarentur.

## S E C T. IV.

**A**D duas istas Fascini figuras, anulum quendam singularem, quem ad amuletorum omnino classẽ referendum cenfeo, adjungere libuit; in parte cujus superna, quæ e medio prominet, itemque in utroque orbiculi latere, hæ voces literis Græcis inscriptæ sunt.

CABA $\omega$   
PEICTE  
ADO

NAIAA $\omega$   
AI  
MEIXAH  
PBIBA  
AH

CICINTEVΠ  
ANΦAPANΓH  
NEICOVX

\* Boissard. Vol. 1. par. 2. it. Montfauc. ibid.

Ex vocibus hisce conjunctis etiam si nullus plane sensus elici queat, inscriptionis tamen formula, anulum nostrum ex amuletorum eorum numero esse ostendit, quæ in ipsius Ecclesiæ Christi primordiis, a Basilide, Heretico Ægyptio, ejusque sectatoribus fingi ac venditari solita accepimus. Qui quidem Heretici, ut apud Iræneum est, *utebantur magia, et incantationionibus, et univërfa periergia; et CCCLXV eminentiorum cælorum nomina et principia, et angelos et virtutes exponere conabantur*². Hæc autem angelorum ac potestatum nomina, una cum vocibus quibusdam barbaris atque incognitis, in gemmis aut lamellis æneis insculpere, et tanquam amuleta gestare solebant: quorum permulta in eruditorum adhuc armariis conservata sunt; quæ Abraxas vulgo vocantur; eodem videlicet nomine, quo Heretici isti summum Deum invocasse feruntur³.

Sed inter alia vocabula, in gemmis his Abraxeis insculpta, Dei nomina Hebræa, e scripturis sacris desumpta, semper fere reperiuntur, qualia nimirum in hoc item anulo ea clare fati-

² Adverf. Heret. l. 1. c. 23.

³ Vid. Gemm. Antich. Da Rossi Vol. 2. Fig. 22, 23. Cabinet. de S. Genev. p. 124. it. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 2. par. 2. l. 3. it. Gorkei Daſyloth. Gemm. 324. &c. in Gemmis autem hisce Basilidianis, quæ hodie restant, Dei nomen Græcis litteris, non ABRAXAS sed ABRA-SAX, plerumque scriptum reperitur—

Hereticorum horum doctrina his verbis a Tertuliano summatim traditur. “Basilides summum Deum, *Abraxam*, vocat, a quo mentem creatam, quam Græci, NOVN, appellant; inde verbum; ex illo providentiam; ex providentia, virutem et sapientiam; ex ip-

“sis, principatus, et potestates, et angelos factos; deinde infinitas angelorum editiones et probolas; ab istis angelis, trecentos sexaginta quinque cælos institutos, et mundum in honore Abraxæ; cujus nomen hunc in se habeat numerum computatum.” [De Præscript. Heret. p. 250. Edit. Rigalt.] Numeri vero hujus supputandi rationem Augustinus indicat. In nomine Abraxas, inquit, sunt septem litteræ, α, β, γ, δ, ε, ζ, σ, id est, secundum Græcam supputationem, unum et duo, et centum et unum et sexaginta, et unum, et his centum. Quæ sunt in summa, ter centum sexaginta quinque. [De Hæresib. in Basilidiani.]

expressa cernimus, in vocibus CABAΩ, ADONAI, AIAΩAI, Ex angelis autem, Michaelis præcipue nomen, qui eximium quendam cultum apud eos obtinuisse fertur, in amuletis hæc observare licet<sup>r</sup>, cujus quidem vestigia hic quoque perspicua sunt, in MEIXAH. Ubi sculptor, pro ultima littera A, litteram P, vel oscitanter, vel consulto forsitán posuisse videtur<sup>f</sup>.

Hæc, inquam, vocabula, apud Hereticos istos usitatissima, anulum nostrum ex eorum disciplina prodiisse ostendunt: neque illud nos movere debet, quod reliqua prorsus barbara nec omnino intelligibilia sint; quippe hoc quoque cum eorundem consuetudine penitus convenire accepimus. Etenim Sanctus Hieronymus, nomina ab eis usurpata enumerans, *portenta ea magis, quam nomina vocat; quæ ad imperitorum et muliercularum animos concitandos, eos invenisse dicit, simplices quoque terrentes sono, ut quod non intelligunt, plus mirentur<sup>r</sup>*. Has eisdem voces Porphyrius, *barbaricas et nihil significantes<sup>u</sup>*; Apuleius, litteras ignorabiles appellat<sup>x</sup>. Quas ob eam omnino causam finxisse dicuntur, ut superstitionem suam melius et magica deliria tegerent, ac majorem inde venerationem sibi conciliarent: in ore nimirum habere soliti, *hæc arcana esse, neque a multis sciri*

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Montfauc. Vol. 2. par. 2. l. 3. it. Gorl. Daſtyl. 343, 353. it. Jo. Chiffet. Abrax. Tab. 4, 6, 21.

<sup>f</sup> Hi enim Heretici, quo præstigias suas tenebris melius involverent, voces non modo barbaras, atque incognitas, in amuletis suis miscere, sed cognitatas etiam ac usitatas corrumpere solebant. Quod in hac ipsa voce MEIXAH, item ac in aliis nonnullis eos revera fecisse, vir eruditissimus J. Chiffetius ostendit. [Abrax. Prot. p. 43.] Atque eodem modo vox,

P. ICTΩ, nonnisi ad CHRISTI nomen referendum videtur, omiſſa tamen prima littera X, nam diphthongum EI pro vocali, I, in antiquis marmoribus, numismatibus, ac codicibus MSS. sæpiſſime uſurpatum eſt; uti hic in voce MEIXAHL, et alibi in ipſo item CHRISTI nomine animadverti.

<sup>t</sup> Oper. Vol. 4. par. 2. p. 581. Edit. Benedict.

<sup>u</sup> Apud Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Metamorph. l. 2.



*posse; sed ab uno tantum e mille, et duobus e myriadibus*<sup>y</sup>; atque hominibus licet ignota, *Deo tamen cognita esse; et mylicam quandam rationem continere*<sup>z</sup>.

Hæc Basilidis figmenta ex Ægypto Romam migrasse constat. Nam in gemmis hæc Basilidianis, Romanorum interdum Deorum figuras ex una parte, et vocabula ista abrahea ex altera; atque in nonnullis, Deorum simul Latinorum Ægyptiorumque symbola commixta cernimus<sup>a</sup>: ad quod Prudentius sane alludere videtur,

*Ihs enim et Serapis et grandi simia cauda,  
Et Crocodilus, id est, quod Juno, Laverna, Priapus.  
Hos tu Nile Deos colis, et tu Tybris adoras*<sup>b</sup>.

De Basilide autem ita Sanctus Hieronymus, “*Quadringenti, inquit, fere anni sunt, quod Christi prædicatio fulget in mundo, ex quo innumerabiles Hereses tunicam illius confecerunt. Univerfus pæne error de Chaldæo et Syro et Græco sermone processerat. Basilides magister luxuriæ et turpissimorum amplexuum, post tot annos ita in Jovinianum, quasi in Euphorbum transformatus est, ut latina quoque lingua haberet heresim suam*”<sup>c</sup>.

Hac autem Basilidis ætate, magicas hæc vanitates non Romæ tantum, sed apud omnes fere gentes summo in honore

<sup>y</sup> Iren. Adv. Hæres. l. 1. c. 23. it. Epiph. Hæres. 24. §. 5. it. Theodor. Hæret. Fab. l. 1. c. 4.

<sup>z</sup> Vid. Jamblich. de Myster. §. 7. c. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. J. Chifflet. Abrax. Prot. Tab. 21. &c.

<sup>b</sup> Contr. Symmach. l. 1. I. v. 868. *grandi*

*Simia cauda*, Hæreticorum errorum Deum. *Abraxam*, denotare putatur, quem suâ ea forma in gemmis suis describere solebat. Vid. Chifflet. Tab. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Adv. Jovinian. l. 2. Oper. Vol. 4. par. 2. p. 227.

fuisse legimus. De quo præclarum sane Plinii testimonium huc adducere libet. “ Hæc, inquit, fraudulentissima artium  
 “ plurimum in toto terrarum orbe, plurimisque seculis valuit.  
 “ Auctoritatem ei maximam fuisse nemo miretur, quandoquidem  
 “ sola artium tres alias imperiosissimas humanæ mentis in  
 “ unam se redegit : natam primum e medicina nemo dubitat ;  
 “ ac specie salutari irrepsisse, velut altiolem sanctioremque  
 “ medicinam : ita blandissimis, desideratissimisque promissis  
 “ addidisse vires religionis, ad quas maxime etiamnum caligat  
 “ humanum genus : atque ut hoc quoque suggesterit, miscu-  
 “ illæ artes mathematicas ; nullo non avido futura de sese sci-  
 “ endi, atque ea e cælo verissime peti credente. Ita possessis  
 “ hominum sensibus triplici vinculo, in tantum fastigii adole-  
 “ vit, ut hodieque etiam in magna parte gentium prævaleat,  
 “ et in oriente Regum Regibus imperet<sup>d</sup>.

At vero de anulis hisce magicis, qui morbos, Dæmones, et noxia quælibet avertere credebantur, crebram ab antiquis mentionem factum invenimus. Apud Aristophanem, Sycophanti cuidam iudicium minitanti, Justus respondit, *Ego te non flocci facio, nam gesta hunc anulum, ab Eudamo drachma emptum.* Ubi Scholiastes, Eudamum istum, *Pharmacopolam, vel aurificem esse ait, qui anulos phisicos vendebat, contra Dæmones, serpentes, invdiam, atque alia ejusmodi noxia<sup>e</sup>.* De iisdem anulis, Antiphanis item, Comici veteris, versus quosdam in hunc sensum ab Atheneo citatos legimus ; *mali jam nihil habeo, et ne babeam precor :*

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Nat. l. 30. c. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Οὐδὲν προτιμῶ σε, Φερῶ γὰρ πριά-  
 μενον

Τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦδε παρ' Εὐδάμου  
 δραχμῆς. in Plut. 884.

at *ſi quid ventrem mihi aut umbilicum cruciet, anulum teneo, drachma emptum a Phertato* <sup>1</sup>.

Joſephus, multos a Dæmonibus correptos, ab Eleſafaro quodam Judæo, coram Veſpaſiano Imperatore, fanatos ſe vidiffiſſe ſcribit; admoto nimirum Dæmoniâci naribus *anulo quodam medicato*, et Solomonis nomine, carminibusque nonnullis ab Eleſafaro recitatis, *Dæmones illico per nares hominum extractos eſſe*, declarat <sup>2</sup>. In has autem hominum vaſrorum præſtigias, fictasque anulorum vires, Lucianus more ſuo illudens, *velim modo*, ait, *Mercurius mihi det anulos, qui hujusmodi vim habeant, primum, ut ſemper valeam et corpore ſano ſum, neque vulncribus, neque malo ulli obnoxius, &c* <sup>h</sup>. Atque alio loco, de *Dæmoniâcis*, a Syro quodam e *Paleſtina* palam fanatis, loquens, ſe talia milles conſpexiſſe dicit, neque viſu eo terreri, poſtquam *Arabs anulum ſibi dediſſet, ex ferro de cruce factum, carmenque docuiſſet, ex multis nominibus conſtans* <sup>i</sup>.

Anulus autem noſter, non ille quidem de ferreis, aut vulgariſibus iſtis drachma emptis, ſed ex gemma integra, ſeu lapide Chalcedonio, cæruleo et pellucido, effectus eſt. Qui mole licet prægrandis, at præ circuli tamen exiguitate, nonniſi a puerulo aut muliercula geſtari poſſet. Etenim Romanos, ea magnitudine anulos, qui vel pondere ipſo moleſti eſſent, geſtare ſolitos cognovimus: jam nonnulli, inquit Plinius, *por-*

<sup>1</sup> Ου γὰρ κακὸν ἔχω, μὴδ' ἔχοιμ'. ἔάν  
δ' ἄρα

Στρέφη με περὶ τὴν γαστέρα, ἢ τὸν  
ἔμφαλον,

Παρὰ Φερτάτη δακτύλιος ἔστι μοι  
δραχμῆς. 1. 3. c. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Antiquitat. l. 8. c. 2.

<sup>h</sup> In Navig. ſeu Vouis. p. 511. Edit.  
Var. T. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Id. in Philopſeud. p. 358.

*dera eorum ostentant*<sup>k</sup>. Atque hinc anulos æstivos hibernosque eos habuisse, pro temporum scilicet diversitate, diversæ molis ac ponderis, a Juvenale indicari videtur.

*Ventilet ægilivum digitis sudantibus aurum,  
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ*<sup>l</sup>.

Singulis hisce gemmis virtutes quasdam physicas et proprias ab antiquis tributas legimus; quæ ad morbos pellendos, corporisque aut animi vires augendas valere putabantur. Jaspis viridis, e collo suspenfa, *stomacbum firmare, ac calculos urinamque propellere* traditur<sup>m</sup>. Adamas autem *venena irrita reddere, metusque vans depellere*<sup>n</sup>. Chalcedonium vero, Marbodæus, Poeta vetus, ita describit.

*Chalcedon, lapis est bebeti pallore resurgens,  
Inter Hyacinthum medioximus atque Beryllum,  
Qui, si pertusus, digito colloque feratur,  
Is, qui portat eum, perhibetur vincere causas*<sup>o</sup>.

Has denique gemmas, vel in anulis aureis insertas, vel ipfas interdum perinde ac Chalcedonium nostrum, perforatas, atque in anulorum formam converfas, et Græci et Romani,

<sup>k</sup> Hist. N. l. 33. 1. Huc etiam spectat Martialis istud, de Dactyliothecca Epig. l. 14. 123.

*Sæpe gravis digitis elabitur anulus unctis;  
Tuta medi fiet sed tua gemma fide.*

<sup>l</sup> Juven. Sat. l. 28. Sunt tamen qui anulos hosce æstivos, non ex ponderis sed materiæ differentia explicandos esse putant. Quippe qui ex istiusmodi gemmis effecti essent, de quibus Plinius loquitur, Heliotropiis nempe, Asteriis, Mitharibus aut Iridibus; quæ æstate potissimum nitescere,

viresque suas ostentare, et cum soli opponerentur, magna colorem varietate admirationem sui excitare solerent. Vid. J. Kirchman. de anulis c. 17. it. Plin. Hist. N. l. 37. ix, x.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Anselm. de Boot. Gemmar. Hist. l. 2. c. 102.

<sup>n</sup> Plin. ib. c. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Marbod. de Gemmis Poema ad Gorlæi Dactyliothe. a Jac. Gronov. adjunctum. Lugd. B. 1695.

more quodam ab Ægypto deducto, in sinistræ manus digito, qui minimo proximus est, gestare solebant. Quippe ab Ægyptiis, uti Gellius scribit, “compertum erat, nervum quandam “tenuissimum ab eo uno digito ad cor hominis pervenire; “ac propterea non incitum visum esse, eum potissimum digi- “tum tali honore decorandum, qui continens et quasi con- “nexus esset cum cordis principatu.”

Atqui hæc rei explicandæ ratio, certissimis medicorum experimentis, vana prorsus ac inutilis esse convincitur. Aliam vero, ac magis eam quidem verisimilem, ab Ateio Capitone traditam, Macrobius commemorat. “Veteres, inquit, non “ornatus sed signandi causa anulum secum circumferebant— “imprimebatur autem sculptura materiæ anuli, sive ex ferro “sive ex auro foret: et gestabatur ut quisque vellet, quacun- “que manu, quolibet digito. Postea usus luxuriantis ætatis “signaturas pretiosis gemmis cœpit insculpere: et certatim “hæc omnes imitatio lacescivit, ut de augmento pretii, quo “sculpendos lapides parassent, gloriarentur. Hinc factum est, “ut usus anulorum exemptus dextræ, quæ multum negotio- “rum gerit, in lævam relegaretur, quæ otiosior est; ne cre- “bro motu et officio manus dextræ, pretiosi lapides frange- “rentur. Electus autem in ipsa læva manu, digitus minimo “proximus, quasi aptior ceteris, cui commendaretur anuli “pretiositas. Nam——et minus officii gerit, et ideo ser- “vando anulo magis accommodatus est.”

<sup>p</sup> 1. x. c. x.

<sup>q</sup> Macrobius, Sat. 1. 7. c. 13.

## T A B U L A IV.

**H**ÆC Olla Vitrea, forma sane eleganti, in urna marmorea inclusa, ossiumque combustorum reliquiis plena, reperta est. Quippe vascula hujusmodi omnia, quibus defunctorum cineres aut ossa condita erant, in inscriptionibus antiquis Ollæ vocantur; addito tamen interdum epitheto, Ossuariae, vel Cinerariae<sup>r</sup>. Harum pars maxima fictilis, permultæ vero e marmoribus pretiosis, sculptili opere ornatis, et nonnullæ ex alabastro etiam orientali formatae erant: de vitreis autem, nulla, opinor, a scriptoribus antiquis mentio facta est: quas tamen, non tam ob pretium, quam fragilitatem, rarissimas fuisse credendum est; apud populum præsertim, quem, in sepulchrorum apparatu, posteritatis memoriam, et nominis quæ perpetuitatem, omnium gentium maxime spectasse cognovimus.

At præter Ollam nostram, alias duas, tresve ad summum, e vitro pariter conflatas, a rerum antiquarum peritis descriptas, atque in lucem editas animadverti<sup>r</sup>: quarum una, pari fere forma ac magnitudine, atque in urna etiam fictili inclusa, in monumento Libertorum Liviæ Augustæ, Romæ haud dudum reperta fuit; cujus quidem figuram, vir eruditus, Franc. Gorius, in monumenti istius descriptione, delineatam edidit<sup>r</sup>:

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Gruter. Inscript. De Ollis. it. Monument. Libertor. Liviæ Augustæ a Gorio Edit. Florent. 1727. Fol.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Beger. Theaur. Brandeb. Tom. 3. p. 47<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> Vitreum Vasculum, Diaton, five cum

duabus ansis, operculo munitum exhibemus: quod sane perelegans est, altitudine unius palmi Romani, quod in fictili olla inclusum erat. Vid. Gorium ibid. Tab.

17. p. 49.

fed nullam profus, perinde ac noſtram, pictis hominum imaginibus coloribusque aureis ornatam, vel ipſe unquam vidi, vel ab alio quovis viſam eſſe, audivi.

## T A B U L A V.

**I**N fundo Ollæ noſtræ, mortui imago aureis coloribus picta eſt, qui, quatenus ex vultu ejus, oſſiumque reliquiis intra ollam repertis atque adhuc conſervatis, conſpicere liceat, haud annum ætatis viceſimum attingiſſet. Imago vero ipſa fronde pampinea, foliis racemiſque florente, tanquam circulo, circumducta eſt: quo quidem ornatu Urnas veterum ſepulchrales ſæpe decoratas videmus; atque eo fere modo, quo in Sarcophagis interdum marmoreis, mortuorum imagines ſcùptili opere fictas, atque orbiculari tabella incluſas reperimus".

## Sect. II.

**I**N ambitu Ollæ, figuræ iſtiusmodi pinguntur, quæ ad ſepulchrorum ritus, mortuorumque ſtatum pertinere credebantur. Duæ imprimis Cupreſſi, arbor Diti ſacra; atque ad mortuorum domos, ut Plinius ait, *funebri ſigno poſita*<sup>x</sup>. De quo ritu Feſtus, quia *hæc arbor*, inquit, *excifa non renaſcitur, in tutela Ditis patris eſſe putabatur*<sup>y</sup>. Servius eam ad mortuorum januas idcirco poſitam dicit, *ne quis imprudens funeſtam domum rem divinam facturus introiret*<sup>z</sup>. Atque hinc in Urnis, Lucerniſque ſepulchralibus, Cupreſſi ſæpe figuram, ex utro-

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Monument. Libert. Liv. Aug. Tab. 8, 9, 10, 13, &c.

<sup>z</sup> Hiſt. N. l. 16. 33.

<sup>y</sup> In voce Cupreſſus.

<sup>z</sup> Ad Æncid. 4. v. 506.

que vasculi latere, eodem modo atque ad mortuorum fores poni consuevit, positam videmus<sup>a</sup>: Neque tamen ad omnium, sed ad divitum præcipue domos collocari solere, ex Claudiani loco quodam significari videtur.

*Et non plebeios luctus testata Cupressus<sup>b</sup>.*

Hæ vero Cupressi cum ad mortuorum fores dies aliquot<sup>c</sup> mansissent, in pompa demum funebri portatæ, atque una cum mortui cadavere in rogam coniectæ erant; propter gravem ut Varro scribit, *Ustrinæ odorem, ne eo offendatur populi circumstantis corona<sup>d</sup>*. Hinc illud Horatii,

*Linquenda tellus et domus et placens*

*Uxor: neque harum, quas colis arborum*

*Te præter invisas Cupressos*

*Ulla brevem Dominum sequetur<sup>e</sup>.*

### S E C T. III.

**I**Nter Cupressos istas, ex una vasculi parte, duas figuras alatas, alteram Cupidinis, alteram opinor Psyche, depictas cernimus. Quas quidem easdem, diverso licet gestu ac positura, in Sarcophagis, Ollisque antiquorum<sup>f</sup> marmoreis persæpe insculptas observavi<sup>f</sup>. Psyche, persona prorsus symbolica est,

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Boissard. Tom. 6. p. 62. it. Lucern. Antich. Da Pet Sant. Bartoli Fig. xi. 13. it. in hac nostra collectione Tab. 8. Fig. 3.

<sup>b</sup> I. 3. v. 442.

<sup>c</sup> Mortuus, ut Servius ait, *domi erat septem diebus, octavo incendebatur, nono sepeliebatur.* Ad Æneid. 6. v. 152.

<sup>d</sup> Varro, a Servio citatus ad Æneid. 6. v. 216.

<sup>e</sup> Od. I. 2. 14. Hinc Cupressus nunquam fere sine epitheto quodam funesto a Poëtis memoratur; atque *atra, feralis, funerea, invisâ, deplorata*, appellatur.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Spon. Miscell. p. 7, 8. Admirand. Rom. Antiqu. 66, 67. it. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 25.



et Papilionis semper alis instructa; qua quidem, perinde ac Papilione ipso, veteres animam humanam a corpore sejunctam, denotare solitos accepimus. Nihil enim ad naturam ejus immortalem exprimentam aptius esse ducebant, quam animal istud aerium ac volatile, quod per varias formas ad vitam usque novam moriendo transire animadvertissent<sup>e</sup>. Psyche igitur figuram, in Olla nostra expressam, non nisi defuncti animam e corpore evolantem, ac cum Cupidine sive amore, quasi summo suo bono, sese conjungere nitentem, denotare puto<sup>h</sup>.

Cupido vero ad aram quandam astare, et thure odoribusque Deos Manes placare videtur. Quippe aras ad mortuorum sepulchra exstrui solitas esse, ex innumeris fere Auctorum Inscriptionumque veterum testimoniis colligere licet<sup>i</sup>.

*Divinique ossa Parentis*

*Condidimus terra, mæstasque sacravimus aras<sup>k</sup>.*

*Ante sepulchrales infelix astitit aras<sup>l</sup>.*

<sup>e</sup> Vox græca ψυχή, Psyche, et animam humanam et Papilionem simul significabat. [Vid. Aristot. Hist. Anim. l. 5. c. 19. et Hesych. in voce] quæ quidem ambigua vocis hujus significatio, causa fortasse fuit, quamobrem animalculum istud pro animæ deinceps symbolo sumpsum esset.

<sup>h</sup> Hæc rei interpretatio a Platone confirmari videtur; qui animis puris et perfectis alas tribuit, quibus ad celestia semper vehuntur; quæ alæ vero istæ defluerint, tum ad terrena præcipientes ferri ait. [Oper. T. 3. p. 246 in Phædro.] Dein alio loco scribit, animum quem corporis et sensuum ministerio ad aliquid contemplandum utitur, tum trahi a corpore ad ea, quæ nunquam in eodem statu permanent; atque ipsum errare et tumultuari et

tanquam ebrium vertigine corripi: quum vero a corpore sejunctus, per seipsum contemplatur, tum ad puram istud immortale, quod semper existit et in eodem statu permanet, contendit, et tanquam cognatus cum illo semper versatur. [in Phædon. T. 1. p. 79. Atque hæc animi tumultuantis atque ebrii imago, in Inscriptione quadam sepulchrali expressa esse videtur, in qua M. Porcius Heredibus mandatur—ut *meus Ebrius Papilio Vultet*, &c. Vid. Osservaz. Sopr. Alcun. Framment. di Vetro. a Phil. Buonarrot. p. 197.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Card. Nerr. Cenotaph. Pisan. Dissert. 3. p. 608. Gruter. Inscript. p. 527. 4. 528. 1. 549. 1. &c.

<sup>k</sup> Virg. Æneid. 5. 47.

<sup>l</sup> Ovid. Met. 8. 480.

In his autem aris, *thus atque odores Diis Manibus* plerumque incendere solebant : ad quem quidem morem Plinius aliudens, *Arabia*, inquit, *felix appellatur, falsa et ingrata cognominis, quæ hoc acceptum superis ferat, cum plus ex e feris debeat<sup>m</sup>.*

## S E C T. IV.

**E**X adversa Ollæ parte, inter easdem Cupressos, tres hominum figuræ pictæ sunt, quæ pompæ funebris speciem quandam exhibere videntur. Mimus chorum ducit, qui Cupressum item manibus sublatis ad rogam ferre, ac ridiculo quodam gestu saltare videtur. Etenim Mimorum Ludionumque genus omne ad nobilium divitumque funera adhibitum esse legimus. In funere Vespasiani, *Archimimum quendam, personam Imperatoris egisse, atque ut mos erat, facta et dicta vivi, gestu ac voce imitatam esse*, a Suetonio traditur<sup>n</sup>.

Mimum sequitur mulier, lancem seu ferculum, thure forsitan aromatibusque plenum, ferens. Magnam enim odorum omnium copiam, ab amicis et propinquis collatam, in lancibus ferri, atque in rogam conjici solere notissimum est.

———— *Congesta cremantur*  
*Thurca dona, dapes<sup>o</sup>.*

quem quidem luxum Propertius a funere suo prohibet,

<sup>n</sup> Hist. N. I. 12. 18.

<sup>o</sup> In Vespas. c. 19.

<sup>o</sup> Virg. Æn. 6. 224.

*Defit odoriferis ordo mihi lancibus*⁹.

“ In funere J. Cæfaris, præferentibus munera, inquit Suetonius, præscriptum erat, ut omisso ordine, quibus quisque vellet itineribus urbis, in campum portaret ⁹.

Sed cœnam quoque feralem, in pompa funebri portari solitam constat.

— *Exigua feralis cœna patella*⁹.

Hanc cœnam, silicernium vocabant, et funere peracto, ad sepulchrum celebrare solebant<sup>f</sup>. Horum igitur rituum, unum alterumve, vel cœnam scilicet vel odores lance ferendi, ab hac muliebri figura indicatum puto.

Alia figura restat, facie, ut videmus, averfa, quasi ignem pyræ subditura; quod capite semper averfo, tanquam ab invitis fieri dicitur.

⁹ L. 2. 14. de hoc ritu item Statius,

*Quis carmine digno*

*Exequias et dona male feralia pompæ*

*Perlegat? omne illic stipatum examine*

*longo*

*Ver Arabum, Cilicumque fuit, floresque*

*Sabæi*

*Indorumque arsurâ seget, præceptaque*

*Templis.*

*Thura.*

⁹ In J. Cæf. c. 84.

⁹ Juven. Sat. 5. 85. de hoc etiam ritu Persius,

*Sed cœnam funeris Hæres*

*Negliget iratus, quod rem curtorveris; urnæ*

*Offa inodora dabit, — S. 6. 35.*

Vasculum item, quo cœna ferebatur,

Plinius, *ferculum funeris*, vocat. Hist. N.

κ. x.

<sup>f</sup> Funus exequiati laute, ad sepulchrum, antiquo more, Silicernium confecimus, id est *πικρὸν*, in quo pransi discendentes dicimus, alius alii Vale—[Var. Fragm. e Meleagro, a Nonio citat.] Sequebantur epule, inquit Cicero, quas inibant propinqui coronati. De Legib. 2. 25.

— *subiectam more parentum*  
*Aversis tenuere facem*<sup>1</sup>.

Sed quid homo ipse in manibus teneat, quidve omnino agat, ob colores ibi paullulum detritos, haud satis perspicuum est. Ex gestu sane, tibicinem eum potius esse conjicerem; nam et tibiam et tubam ad funera adhibitas esse liquet: tibia vero puerorum, tuba majorum natu et nobiliorum praesertim exequiis propria fuisse videtur.

*Tibia cui teneros suctum producere manes*  
*Lege Phrygum maesta*<sup>2</sup> —  
*Nec mea tunc longa spatietur imagine pompa,*  
*Nec Tuba sit fati vana querela mei*<sup>3</sup>.

At vero Ollam nostram ossium combustorum reliquiis plenam esse dixi: quippe, rogo extincto, Ossa mortui a matre praesertim aut propinquis, lugubri veste indutis, legi atque in Olla condi solebant.

*Absineas mors atra precor: non hic mihi mater,*  
*Quae legat in maestos ossa perusta sinus*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Virg. Aen. 6. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. Theb. 6. 120. it. Ov. Fast. 6. 657.

<sup>3</sup> Propert. 2. 13. Qui tubis tibiisve ad funera caneant, *τυμβῶλαι* graece, tificines latine dicebantur. Quippe qui apud sitos, hoc est, vita fundos caneant: quos propriam quandam tubae speciem, ceteris longiorem ac latiore habuisse, ex Gellio discimus. [Noct. Att. lib. 20. c. 2. Vid. Hieron. Mag. Miscell. l. 1. 1. it. Kirchman de Funerib. l. 2. 5.] Haec nobilium funera quia a Praecone indici

publice solebant, indictiva vocabantur. [Vid. Cic. de Legib. 2. 24.] indictiois autem istius formulam, apud Gutherium de Jure Manium videre licet. l. 1. c. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Tibull. Eleg. l. 1. 3. v. 55, de eodem ritu Virgilius,

*Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quiescit,*  
*Reliquias vino, et bibulam laevare favillam,*  
*Ossaque leza cado texit Chlorineus abeno.*

Aen. 6. 226.

Ritus ipse Ossilegium dicebatur, a Graecis item *Οσσελογίξ*. Diod. Sic. l. 4. p. 243. Ed. Han.

Hinc Seneca ad Helviam, *modo in eundem sinum, inquit, ex quo tres nepotes emiseras, ossa trium nepotum recepisti*.\*

Figuras denique hæc pingendi modum quod attinet, non arte illæ quidem encaustica, neque ea sane diligentia absolutæ sunt, quæ mulieris ac pueruli imagines, supra descriptæ; sed in ipsa tantum vitri superficie, coloribus aureis penicillo leviter ductis, formatæ apparent.

## T A B U L A VI.

Vascula jam quatuor lacrymatoria, ut vulgo dicuntur, hic descripta videmus: duo videlicet vitrea, et duo item fictilia; quæ hæc plerumque forma in Romanorum veterum sepulchris, juxta Ollas ossuarias posita reperiuntur. Etenim in pompis funebribus mulieres quædam, quæ Præficæ vocabantur, quæque lacrymas pro libitu fundendi artem quandam usu didicerant, ad mortuos descondendos pretio conductæ erant. *Præficæ, inquit Festus, ad lamentandum mortuum conductæ, dant ceteris modum plangendi, quasi in hoc ipsum præfectæ*².

Præficarum igitur harum, item ac propinquorum lacrymis colligendis, atque in sepulchro condendis, hæc vascula parata esse creduntur. Quæ quidem opinio, primum ex Præficarum munere confirmari putatur; deinde ex vasculorum horum

\* De Consolat. ad Helv. c. 2.

² Quod Præficæ vero nomen in desuetudinem abiisset, a Varrone indicari videtur. Hæc mulier, inquit ille, vocitata olim Præfica, usque ad secundum Punicum bellum. [Fragment, de Vit. Pop. Rom. l.

3.] attamen mos ipse mansit, ut ab Horatio discimus,

*Ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt,*

*Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo,*

*sic ——— Art. Poet. 434.*

forma,

forma, ore videlicet patulo, lacrymis excipiendis apto; colloque oblongo, quo manu commodius teneantur; tum ex urnarum sepulchralium operculis, quorum pars media in cyathi sæpe formam excavata, foraminibusque distincta est, ut lacrymæ istæ in suppositos mortuorum cineres defluere facile possent; denique ex verborum formula, in tumulorum sæpe inscriptionibus usurpata, *lacrymas ponere, cum lacrymis ponere, et tumulum lacrymis plenum dare*<sup>b</sup>. Atque has potissimum ob causas, omnes rerum antiquarum interpretes, hujusmodi vascula, uno profus ore lacrymatoria, seu ad lacrymas, appellant.

Hæc vero hominum doctissimorum sententia, speciosa licet et probabilis, mihi tamen nullo modo vera esse videtur. Equidem mulieres in funeribus veterum ad plorandum adhibitas lubens agnosco: at vero de lacrymis in phialas fundendis, atque in tumulum condendis, ne verbum quidem a veteribus traditum; neque de vasculis ipsis, aut lacrymas colligendi consuetudine, mentionem omnino ullam factam, reperio: neque in pompæ funebrium descriptionibus, ubi plorantium imagines exsculptæ interdum cernuntur, ullum istiusmodi vasculum in mulierum usquam manibus visum memini<sup>c</sup>.

Præterea, in Christianorum præcorum sepulchris, hæc eadem vascula, et vitrea et fictilia, reperta esse constat: quorum figuras haud paucas Aringhus in lucem edidit; eaque non lacrymis condendis, apud primævos istos, quibus mori lucrum

<sup>b</sup> Fabrett. Inscript. p. 63. Beger. Thefaur. Brand. Tom. 3. p. 464. Caufeus. Mus. Rom. p. 108. Monument. Libertor. Livie Aug. p. 48. &c.

<sup>c</sup> Vasculum ejusdem fere generis ac formæ, atque unicum quidem, quod in

Romæ veteris monumentis exsculptum unquam vidi, in sacrificio quodam Priapi supra memorato, cernitur: e quo sacerdos liquorem quendam odoratum forsitam, in Priapi fascinum floribus ornatum, fundere videtur. Boiffard. V. 1. par. 2.

credebatur, sed aquæ lustralis asperſioni parata eſſe, declarat <sup>d</sup>. Quippe in priſcorum Chriſtianorum funeribus, neque Præficarum munus, neque vanam eam luctus oſtentationem adhibitam eſſe, veriſimile eſt, ſed dolorem ſolummodo talem, qualem natura exigit; quem ratio ſimul et religio coercent, quemque vitæ futuræ ſpes in gaudium quodammodo convertit. Sanctus Cyprianus, “ fratres mortuos deſiderari debere ait, non plan-“ gi——neque ocaſionem dandam eſſe Gentilibus, ut nos “ merito ac jure reprehendant, quod quos vivere apud Deum “ dicimus, ut extinctos, ut perditos lugeamus <sup>e</sup>.” Sanctus “ item Hieronymus, de Paullæ Romanæ morte loquens, “ non “ ululatus, inquit, non planctus, ut inter ſeculi homines fieri “ ſolet, ſed pſalmorum linguis diverſis examina concrepabant <sup>f</sup>.” In balnearum quoque antiquorum ruderibus, ejuſdem formæ ac moduli vaſcula, reperta nonnunquam cognovimus <sup>g</sup>: quæ non niſi odoribus, unguentisque conſervandis inſerviſſe, haud cuiſiam dubium eſſe poteſt. In quem quidem uſum et hæc noſtra, et ejuſdem generis reliqua omnia, quæ vel in Gentilium, vel Chriſtianorum ſepulchris reperiantur, parata fuiſſe exiſtimo; perinde ac iſta quoque, de quibus, proximo loco, jam pauca quædam dicturus ſum.

<sup>d</sup> Aringh. Rom. Subterr. Vol. 1. p. 502. Bonannius item, Jeſuita eruditiffimus, “ Notandum eſt, inquit, ſimilia vaſa “ ſæpius etiam inveniri in ſepulchris “ Chriſtianorum, quæ tamen lacrymas “ continuiſſe, non eſt credendum. Muſ. “ Kircher. p. 115.

*Jam mixta quieſce querela,  
Lacrymas ſuſpendite matres,*

*Nullus ſua pigra plangat,  
Mors hæc reparatio vitæ eſt.*

Prudent. Hymn. x. circa exequias. v. 125.

<sup>e</sup> Cypr. de Mortalitat.

<sup>f</sup> Epiſt. 86. Oper. T. 4. par. 2. p. 687. Edit. Bened.

<sup>g</sup> Bonann. Muſ. Kircher. Tab. 51. 7, 8. p. 134.

## T A B U L A VII.

**H**Æc quatuor vascula, e vitro candidissimo confecta, atque in sepulchro antiquo reperta, unguentis, ut modo dixi, odoribusque in tumulum inferendis inservivisse, ex eorum forma et magnitudine perspicuum est. Mortuorum enim propinquos, certis quibusdam diebus, sepulchra eorum adire, cineresque floribus, thure, ac odoribus respergere, et vascula, quibus ista intulissent, cum odorum residuo aliquo in tumulo relinquere solitos, constat: de qua quidem consuetudine, frequens admodum cum in libris tum monumentis veterum mentio occurrit.

*Mista bibunt molles lacrymis unguenta faville<sup>b</sup>  
 Afferet buc unguenta mihi, fertisque sepulchrum  
 Ornabit custos, ad mea busta sedens<sup>i</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> Ovid. Fast. 3. 561.

<sup>i</sup> Propert. l. 3. 15. De odoribus item

hicse, in marmoribus sepulchralibus mentio frequens occurrit.

D. M.	I.	2.
GEMINIAE. P. FIL.		C. LAELIO. C. F. IV.
MAXIMAE		— — —
STATVTA		— — —
ODORAMENTA.		— — —
EX. N-S. ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞ ∞		FVSCA. MATER.
PRIMA. MATER.		AD. LVCTVM. ET CEMITVM. RELICTA.
MISERRIMA.		CVM. LACHRIMIS. ET OPOBALSAM.
FILIAE. CARISSIMAE.		MO. VDVM.
ANN. XVIII.		HOC. SEPULCHRO. CONDIDIT
Gruter. p. 1122. 12.		Muse. Kircher. p. 115.

Montfauconius, Inscriptionis secundæ auctoritate inductus, liquidi genus quoddam e lacrymis et opobalsamo commixtum, in phialas istas lacrymatorias, ad mortuos respergendos condi solere, declarat. [An-

tiq. Vol. 5. l. 3. c. 7.] Sed nihil profecto aliud Inscriptio ipsa indicare videtur, ac matrem largo fletu atque unguentis cada-ver filii humectasse.

Ficco-



Ficcoronius urnam quandam grandem paucis abhinc annis Romæ repertam commemorat, supra quam viginti quatuor vascula fictilia, Ollulæ patellæ, pocilla, pulchre elaborata, posita erant; quæ unguentis odoribusque variis in tumulum inferendis comparata fuisset, censet<sup>k</sup>. Vasculi quoque vitrei in alio sepulchro reperti meminit, in quo liquoris etiam residuum aliquod invenisset<sup>l</sup>. Gorius etiam Florentinus, sagax ille quidem fidusque rerum antiquarum interpres, *liquores interdum in vasculis his sepulchralibus compertos esse*, scribit, quos odoratos olim fuisse arbitratur<sup>m</sup>.

Sed permulta fane ejusdem generis vascula, e vitro pariter conflata, atque ex Christianorum veterum sepulchris eruta, in lucem edidit Aringhus; quæ, quia rubro fortasse, seu sanguineo colore tincta reperiuntur. Martyrum ibi olim sepulchrorum indicia jam a Papistis certissima esse creduntur<sup>n</sup>. At vero hujusmodi quoque omnia, unguentis odoribusque condendis destinata esse, haud dubium est: quem quidem morem a Gentilibus ad Christianos, vel priscis istis seculis, tractum esse cognovimus. Tertullianus enim, plus odoramentorum a Christianis profundi solere queritur, quam ab Ethnicis ipsis. “*Thura, inquit, plane non emimus. Si Arabiæ querantur, sciant, pluris et carioris merces suas Christianis sepeliendis profligari, quam Diis fumigandis.*” De hoc item ritu Prudentius,

*Nos testa forebimus ossa  
Violis et fronde frequenti,  
Titulumque et frigida saxa*

<sup>k</sup> Della Bolla d'Oro. p. 58, 59.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 66.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Monument. Libertor. Liv. Aug.

p. 49. it. Gruter Inscrip. p. 927. 5.

<sup>n</sup> Aringh. Rom. Subterr. Vol. 1. p.

496.

<sup>o</sup> Apologet. c. 42.

*Liquido spargemus odore.**Asperfaque myrrha Sabæo**Corpus medicamine servat<sup>p</sup>.*

## T A B U L A VIII.

**D**E Lucernis jam sepulchralibus, quarum tres fictiles, et unam quoque æneam, e sepulchris veterum erutas, hic delineatas damus, nonnihil dicendum est. Nam etsi hoc argumentum a viris eruditissimis exhaustum plane videatur, qui innumeras fere Lucernarum harum figuras e museis suis descriptas ediderunt, de nostris tamen, quatenus proprium saltem aliquid, aut notatu dignum præbeant, pauca etiam quædam differenda esse, duxi.

Lucernas equidem, et in omnibus veterum sepulchris positas esse, et in omnibus pariter, quæ vel hodie etiam fodiendo aut casu aliquo Romæ detegantur, repertas esse, notissimum est. Etenim Romani, ut supra dictum est, certis quibusdam diebus, mortuis iuxta facere, inferiasque Diis Manibus, et sacra quædam gentilitia in tumulum inferre consueverunt. Hinc Aræ in sepulchris conditæ, urnæque ipsæ sepulchrales, ararum sæpe forma exstructæ, atque ararum nomine vocatæ<sup>q</sup>: atque hinc in sepulchrorum titulis, *itus, aditus, ambitus* ad sacra ista facienda dari memorantur<sup>r</sup>.

In sepulchrorum autem eorum cameris, subterraneis plerumque et tenebrosissimis, ad ritus eos peragendos, lucernis opus fuisse, necesse est: atque hinc in marmoribus sepulchralibus,

<sup>p</sup> Cathemerin. Hymn. x. v. 177. it. v. Monument. Libertor. Liv. Aug. p. 42.  
55.

<sup>q</sup> Fabrett. p. 265, 293, &c. it. Gruter.

<sup>r</sup> Fabrett. Inscript. p. 107, 108, 719. it. 855. 3.

de Lucernis et Lychnuchis pensilibus in sepulchris positis, mentionem interdum factam invenimus<sup>f</sup>: et libertatem etiam fervis, ea conditione donatam, ut *in monumento, alternis mensibus, lucernam accenderent*<sup>g</sup>.

De Lucernis nostris, Prima, nullis licet figuris aut sculptura ornata, forma tamen eleganti et perbella, atque ex ære conflata est.

## S E C T. II.

**S**ecunda, Cupidinis Hirco infidentis effigiem exhibet; cui haud aliam unquam similem me vididisse memini. In picturis equidem sepulchralibus, Cupidines, Geniosve alatos, cum Hircis sese exercentes ludentesque animadverti; puerorumque lusus varios, in sepulchris veterum, et coloribus pictos, et e marmore fictos vidi<sup>h</sup>. Tamen quid istiusmodi figmenta sibi velint, quidve nobis indicent, mihi sane nequaquam liquet: quorum pleraque fortasse nonnisi loci ornandi causa, pro artificis arbitrio excogitata erant. Cum vero Hircum, apud omnes fere gentes, tanquam lasciviæ ac libinis symbolum, habitum esse constet, haud scio, an hac Cupidinis Hirco infidentis imagine admoneamur, eos videlicet omnes, qui amoris lascivi ac libidinosi impulsu agantur, ad mortem immaturam præcipites ferri.

<sup>f</sup> Monument. Libert. p. 50, 51. it. Gruter. 1143.

<sup>g</sup> Guther. de Jur. Manium. l. 2. c. xi. Gorius Florentinus, qui de monumento *Libertorum et servorum* Livie Augustæ, Romæ haud dudum reperto, librum per-

pulchrum edidit, ad singula monumenti titius *Columbaria*, *Lucernas singulas* olim appensas fuisse, dicit. Vid. Monument. ibid.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Sepolch. Nason. Append. Tab. 3. it. Ollas, sarcophagosque a Boiffardo et Montfauconio delineatos —

## S E C T. III.

**T**ertia, Cupressis hinc et inde exsculptis, decorata est; quas in aliis item Lucernis, perinde ac Ollis sarcophagiſque eodem sæpe modo expressas esse dixi, quo ritus scilicet iste, supra memoratus, arborem eam ad mortuorum fores ponendi indicetur <sup>2</sup>.

## S E C T. IV.

**Q**uarta vero, ex Agni effigie, qua insignitur, ad Christianorum veterum usum aliquem pertinuisse, apparet. Etenim priscis istis Ecclesiæ temporibus, Christi imago sub agni specie ac symbolo pingi solebat: nec ante Constantini magni ævum, ulla ejus ad crucem affixi effigies, ut Aringhus, auctor sane pius et eruditus, declarat, Gentilium unquam oculis oblata fuit; ne probrum inde aliquod in religionem Christianam derivatum foret, “ Quapropter eorum temporum imbecillitati, uti ait, caute et pro animi viribus prospicientes, “ crucem duntaxat, suppressâ Christi imagine, fingebant — et “ agnum interdum sub ipsa cruce consistentem affabre pingebant. De quo etiam Paulinus,

*Sub cruce sanguinea niveo stat Christus in Agno,  
Agnus, ut innocua injusto datur hostia letho<sup>3</sup>.*

In cujus rei testimonium picturam item vetustissimam, e Cœmeterio antiquo, Aringhus profert, in quo *Agnus crucem ba-*

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Lucern. Antich. Da. P. Bartoli.      <sup>3</sup> Aringh. Rom. Subterr. Vol. 2. p. Par. 1. Tab. xi, 13. it Boissard et Mont-fauc. 557.

*culo affixam*, vexilli ad instar, gerens depingitur<sup>2</sup>. Duosque præterea alios, e Cœmeterio Callisti, agnos affabre pictos exhibet, quorum uterque baculum pastorale, cum vasculo quodam appenso, gestat<sup>3</sup>: quibus Christi persona, tanquam Pastor bonus, *agnusque ab origine mundi occisus*, symbolice significari intelligitur. Agni vero typus, in Lucerna nostra, perinde ac in aliis quibusdam expressus, ex istis Apostoli verbis desumptus plane videtur; *Lucerna ejus est Agnus*<sup>4</sup>.

Quod hæc vero Lucernæ a Christianis æque ac Gentilibus ad sepulchrorum ritus celebrandos adhibitæ essent, ab omnibus traditum accepimus. Aringhus, innumerabiles fere, vel in uno Sancti Callisti Cœmeterio, Romæ repertas esse, testatur; quarum figuras etiam permultas harum rerum studiosis contemplandas exhibet<sup>5</sup>: atque oleum earum, e martyrum sepulchris desumptum, miracula quædam edidisse, morbosque sanasse, scriptorum veterum testimonio confirmat<sup>6</sup>. Lucernas denique istas in eundem finem a Christianis, ac a Gentilibus antea usurpatas esse, perspicuum est; scilicet, ut in Cœmeteriis suis tenebricosis, pia quædam officia, seu sacra anniversaria defunctis præstarent; vigiliæque præsertim, pro temporum istorum consuetudine, ad Martyrum tumulos agerent. Ubi nonnulli etiam, ut Sanctus Ambrosius queritur, “ pocula secum deferre, atque  
“ in vesperam usque bibere solebant, neque aliter se exaudiri  
“ posse credebant——O stultitiam hominum, inquit, qui  
“ ebrietatem sacrificium putant: quique æstimant illis ebrietatem placere, qui jejunio passionem sustinere dedicerunt<sup>7</sup>.”

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 559.

<sup>3</sup> Id. V. 1. 557.

<sup>4</sup> Apocal. c. xxi. v. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. 1. p. 510.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> De Elia et Jejun. c. 17.

## S E C T. V.

**I**N sepulchris item veterum, Ollisque offuariis, res ejusmodi omnes, quæ defunctis, cum viverent, in deliciis fuissent, quasque ornatus præsertim gratia gestassent, una cum cineribus eorum condi solitas cognovimus; puerulorum scilicet *crepundia*, *Bullas*, *anulos aureos*; *mulierum inaures*, *monilia*, &c. quæ propinquorum pietas, parentumque maxime erga liberos caritas, in mortuorum honorem Diis Manibus dicare solebant. Quam quidem consuetudinem, etsi a nullo, quod sciam, scriptore antiquo memoratam, Romæ tamen univèrsam fere obtinuisse constat; uti rebus ipsis, quæ ex sepulchrorum veterum ruinis quotidie effodiuntur, aperte demonstratur.

Ficcoronius, in ruinis istis perferutandis omnium sane verfatissimus, se anulos permultos aureos, et gemmis quidem insignitos, una cum ossibus et puerorum, et virorum etiam ac fœminarum, in Ollis reconditos invenisse scribit<sup>f</sup>. De quo genere duos istos in hac Tabula descriptos, a puerulis olim gestatos, atque in sepulchris eorum repertos ab eo accepti; quorum alter Deæ Cybeles imaginem, ex auro ipso exsculptam; alter vero Cupidinis, Delphini dorso infidentis, figuram, in Jaspide rubra, in anuli orbiculum inserta, insculptam exhibet.

Hanc eandem Cupidinis figuram, Delphinum fræno ac flagello regentis, in gemmis monumentisque antiquis sæpissime insculptum videmus<sup>g</sup>. Quam quidem plerique, Amoris in utrumque elementum, in maria scilicet perinde ac terras imperium, denotare censent; secundum vetus istud de consimili quadam mimagine Epigramma.

<sup>f</sup> In libro Della Bolla D'Oro, &c. p. 54.  
57, 58, 60, 64.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Gemm. Antich. Da Domenico De Rossî. Vol. 3 Tab. 16, 17, 18.

Οὐδὲ μάτην παλάμαις κατέχει Δελφίνα καὶ ἄνθος,  
 Τῇ μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν, τῇδε θάλασσαν ἔχει<sup>h</sup>.  
*Nec frustra manibus florem ac Delphina coerces,*  
*Illa etenim terras, hac tenet oceanum.*

Nonnulli autem nihil aliud figuris hifce significari existimant, ac singularem piscis hujus erga hominum genus benevolentiam; puerorumque præcipue amores, quibus Delphini flagrare credebantur; quorumque exempla quædam insignia ac mirifica a veteribus memoris prodita sunt<sup>i</sup>.

Ex anuli nostri forma, lapidisque infingendi ratione, colligere licet, quam in gemmis in anulos inferendis, imperiti ac rudes, vel florentissimis Reipublicæ temporibus, artifices isti Romani, præ nostrorum hominum follertia fuerint. Etenim anuli orbiculum ab ima parte gradatim amplificare solebant; quoad pars ejus summa, qua gemma includenda erat, quæ Pala dicebatur, magnitudinem gemmæ, quantacunque fuerit, intra orbiculi cavitatem excipere poterat: unde anulos sæpenumero, ob gemmarum magnitudinem et pondus, deformes molestosque fuisse, necesse est<sup>k</sup>. Horum ego nonnullos usque ad hæc tempora conservatos vidi, atque unum quidem cui S. Pompeii caput, una cum sculptoris nomine, in Sarda eximie insculptum

<sup>h</sup> Antholog. I. 4. c. 12. — Hæc rei interpretatio ab Euripidis loco quodam, a Clemente Alexandrino citato, confirmatur.

<sup>i</sup> Ἔως γὰρ ἀνδρας ἢ μόνους ἐπέχεται  
 Οὐδ' αὖ γυναικας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἄνω  
 Ψυχὰς ταρσάσσει, καὶ πὶ πόντον ἔρχεται.  
*Amor enim non viros tantum neque feminas etiam aggreditur; sed et superiorum quoque animos commovet, atque ad infera maris descendit.* — Strom. lib. 6. p. 745. Edit. Oxon.

<sup>i</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. I. 9. c. 8. A. Gellius l.

7, 8. Plutarch. de industr. Animal.

<sup>k</sup> Ficcoronius, se anulos interdum aures in sepulchris antiquis invenisse dicit, quorum alii sex, alii decem Zecchinos, (hoc est, monetæ Anglicæ tres circiter aut quinque guineas) auri pondere exæquarunt. [L. L. p. 64, 67.] Hinc Isidorus, multi, inquit, Romanorum pro gravitate anulum in digito gestare abstinuerunt. [Orig. l. 19. c. 32.] Jam alii, inquit Plinius, pondera eorum ostentant. l. 33. 1.

erat: cujus etiam figura eſtypa, inter præſtantioreſ ſculpturæ veteriſ reliquias, a Dominico Roſſi Romano in lucem edita eſt<sup>1</sup>.

Anuloſ hocce *morientibus olim religione quadam detrabi ſolitoſ* a veteriſ traditum eſt<sup>m</sup>: Quod haud ob aliam fortæſſe cauſam factum erat, quam ut cadaver, anuliſ detractiſ, lavari commo- diuſ, ungiſque poſſet, vel ne a Pollinctoriſ furtim abriperen- tur: nam ex iſ, quæ ſupra dixi, apparet eorſdem mortuiſ poſtea reſtitutoſ, atque in ſepulchriſ plerumque conditoſ fuiſſe; niſi quod in roguſ interdum, ut a Propertio indicatur, con- jecti, combuſtiſque eſſent.

*Et ſolitoſ digito Berillon adederat igniſ.*

## S E C T. VI.

**I**Naureſ etiam, uti dixi, una cum cineribuſ, in ſepulchriſ Olliſſque oſſuariiſ, condi ſolere certiffimum eſt: quarum quidem unam, e ſepulchro veteri erutam, mihiſque Romæ do- natam, in hac etiam Tabula delineatam cernimus. De inau- ribuſ, frequenſ ſane apud ſcriptoreſ antiquoſ mentio occurrit; quos de mulierum ſuarum luxu, ſumptuſque in auribuſ ornan- diſ immani, querenſe ſæpe invenimus. “ Quare uxor tua, “ inquit Seneca, locupletis domuſ cenſum auribuſ gerit<sup>o</sup>? “ neque in alia parte, ait Pliniuſ, fœminiſ majuſ impendium, “ margaritiſ dependentibuſ<sup>p</sup>: ac ruruſ; quo magiſ admirari “ ſubit, unionem in mariſ rubri profundo, ſmaragdum in “ ima tellure quæri. Ad hoc excogitata ſunt aurium vulnera:

<sup>1</sup> Gemm. Antich. Vol. 1. Tab. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Plin. Hiſt. Nat. 33. 1. Vid. Kirchman. de anuliſ. c. 22. qui de hoc argumento li- bellum ſumma eruditione reſertum edidit.

<sup>o</sup> Propert. l. 4. El. 7.

<sup>p</sup> De Vit. beat. c. 17.

<sup>p</sup> Hiſt. Nat. l. xi, c. 37.



“ nimirum quoniam parum erat, collo crinibusque gestari,  
 “ nisi infoderentur etiam corpori<sup>a</sup>.”

In hac nostri inauri, lapillum quendam rubrum & pellucidum, sive Rubinus fuerit, sive vitrum solummodo rubro colore tinctum, in auro insertum videmus; atque in vitro ipso, Gallum Gallinaceum opere encaustico affabre depictum; margaritamque inde, qua inaurium maxime decus ac pretium constituebatur, ex aurea catenula pendentem: quæ quidem verum illud esse ostendit, quod de hoc Margaritarum genere Plinius scribit; *senecta nimirum eas flavescere, rugisque torpescere; nec nisi juventa vigorem illum, qui quæritur obtinere*<sup>b</sup>.

Margaritis autem, sive unionibus, ut vocabantur, inaures fere omnes ornatiores, instructas esse liquet; quas, ob rei finilitudinem, *baccas* etiam a poetis appellatas legimus.

*Nec sit marita, quæ rotundioribus  
 onusta baccis ambulet<sup>c</sup>.*

*Aure leves baccæ, redimicula pectore pendent<sup>d</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. l. 12. Procem. quæ hoc loco a Plinio, *aurium vulnere*, a Juvenale, *molles in aure fenestras*, vocantur. Sat. 1. 104.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. l. 9. 35.

<sup>c</sup> Hor. Epod. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Ovid. Met. 1. x. 264. Quia baccæ autem istæ guttarum etiam formam præ se ferebant, inaures ipsas a præcis scriptoribus, græca voce, *Stalagmia*, dictas invenimus; eodem scilicet sensu, ac a nostris hodie Drops; *distillantibus enim hiberno gelu firias, stalagmias*, vocabant. Plin. l. 34. 12. uti a Cæcilio apud Festum, [in voce]

*Jam ex aure ejus Stalagmium domi habeo.*

Atq; a Plauto idem; Menæc. Act. 3. Sc. 3.

*Amabo, mi Menæchme, inaures da mihi  
 Faciendas, pondo duum nummum Stalagmia.*

Hæc duorum nummum, parvuli sane pretii, Stalagmia, ænea certe fuerunt cujus quidem generis inaurem, in Museo Sanctæ Geneviæ Parisiensis, descriptam videmus; anulum scilicet æneum, ex quo in aurem inserto, tres baccæ, sive guttæ vitreæ dependent. p. 33. c. 15. at baccas etiam ipsas interdum æneas fuisse, ex Ovidio discimus

————— *parilique ex ære nitent*  
*Auribus in geminis circum cava tempora baccæ.*  
 Met. x. 115.

De hoc autem argumento, consule Gasp. Bartholinum de Inaurib. qui omnia sane, quæ ad illud illustrandum pertinent, in opusculum suum eruditum accurate congestit.

Alia tamen erat, et pretiosior illa quidem, unionum species, quos Elenchos vocabant: “fastigiata, uti Plinius ait, longitudo dine et alabastrorum figura, in pleniorum orbem desinentes; quorum binos aut ternos auribus suspendere, ceu sono quoque et collifu ipso margaritarum gauderent, foeminarum gloriam esse dicit.”

*Nil non permittit mulier sibi; turpe putat nil,  
Cum virides gemmas collo circumdedit, et cum  
Auribus extentis magnos commisit elenchos<sup>f</sup>.*

De his etiam Seneca, “video uniones, inquit, non singulos singulis auribus comparatos; jam enim exercitatae aures oneri ferendo sunt: junguntur inter se, et insuper alii binis superponuntur. Non satis muliebris infania viros subjecerat, nisi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus singulis pependissent.”

Hos igitur uniones sive elenchos, qui nostris jam temporibus plane jacent, a Romanis tamen summo in pretio habitos, et gemmis fere omnibus antelatos esse apparet. *Principium*, inquit Plinius, *culmenque omnium rerum pretii margaritae tenent. Indicus maxime has mittit oceanus—dos earum omnis in candore, magnitudine, orbe, laevore, pondere<sup>h</sup>*: quae vero in his rebus omnibus praestabant, immensi pretii aestimabantur. Hinc celebris ista historiola de margarita ex aure Metellae detracta, ab Horatio et Plinio celebrata.

<sup>g</sup> Hist. Nat. l. 9. 35.

<sup>i</sup> Juven. Sat. l. 456. Hos elenchos, uti a Plinio describuntur, *fastigiata longitudine et in pleniorum orbem desinentes*, non nisi Pyri formam habuisse constat. De quo quidem genere, Ficcoronius, se Inaures duas aureas in urna quadam invenisse scribit; e quibus *duo Smeraldi in Pyrorum speciem conformati dependebant*. In libro della Bolla d'Oro &c. p. 60. *Due Orec-*

*chini d'Oro, legatovi due Smeraldi fatti a pera.—*

<sup>h</sup> De Benef. 7. 9. Ex hoc inaurium luxu, inter Domus Augustae ministeria, *AVRICVLAE ORNATRICES* in Inscriptionibus antiquis recenseri videmus. Quibus inaurium scilicet custodiam curamque omnem commissam esse verisimile est. Vid. Grut. p. 579. 2. 5.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. Nat. 9. 35.

*Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ,  
Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet, aceto  
Diluit insignem baccam<sup>i</sup>.*

Vitellius etiam, in Germaniam a Galba missus, et rei familiaris inopia laborans, *unionem ab aure matris detractum ad itineris impensas pignorauisse* traditur<sup>k</sup>. Atque Alexander Severus, “ quum Regis exteri Legatus quidam uxori suæ uniones duos, “ magni ponderis et inusitatæ mensuræ, obtulisset, vendi eos “ iussit. Qui quum pretium non invenirent, ne exemplum “ malum a regina nasceretur, si eo uteretur, quod emi non “ possent, inauribus Veneris eos dicavit<sup>l</sup>.

Haud tamen credendum est, veteres istos in luctu ita dementes fuisse, ut in aures illas insigniores, in defunctorum tumulos abjicerent, sed vulgares potius quasdam et quotidianas; quales illæ sane omnes esse apparent, quas ex variis eruditorum museis a Montfauconio collectas, ac delineatas videmus<sup>m</sup>: quarum nulla profecto, aut opere, aut materia aut pretio, huic nostræ anteferenda videtur.

## T A B U L A IX.

**P**rima Tabulæ hujus figura operculum libelli veteris eburneum exhibet: hujusmodi vero libelli, Pugillares appellabantur; quos quidem Romani, sive litteris sive negotiis dediti essent, secum circumferre solebant, ut quicquid sibi, vel meditantibus vel agentibus, notatu dignum occurreret, illud statim prescribere atque notare possent: nam ad notas breves excipiendas, pugillares potissimum adhibitos esse, constat.

<sup>i</sup> Sat. l. 2. 3. 239. Decies solidum, Baccæ hujus pretium, octo millia librarum Anglicarum et paulo plus valuisse putatur.

<sup>k</sup> Sueton. in Vit. c. 7.

<sup>l</sup> Lamprid. c. 15.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Antiqu. Vol. 3. l. 2. c. 3.

*Puer notarum præpetum*

*Sollers minister, advola.*

*Bipatens Pugillar expedi,*

*Cui multa fandi copia,*

*Punctis peracta singulis<sup>n</sup>. &c.*

*Venor aliquando, inquit Plinius, sed non sine pugillaribus<sup>n</sup>; nam inter venandum, dum focii ejus apros persequerentur, ipse, ut ad Tacitum scribit, ad retia sedebat; non venabulum aut lanceam, sed stylum et pugillares in proximo tenens, meditantisque aliquid ac enotans, ut si manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportaret<sup>p</sup>.*

Pugillarium horum folia ex rebus variis effecta fuerunt: maxima pars, e laminis ligneis, cera illitis, in quibus stylo scribebatur, nonnulla tamen ex ebore, membranis, aut plumbo. De Citreis item, membranceis atque eburneis, epigrammata quædam Martialis extant. Plumbei vero in Sarcophago antiquo reperti effigiem, huic nostræ haud abfimilem, a doctissimo Bonannio descriptam cernimus; cui septem laminæ, seu folia plumbea, litteris referta erant: sed quia nullus omnino sensus ex litteris istis elici poterat, librum ipsum ad Taliſimanorum classẽ referendum, atque ad Manes fortasse placandos, Dæmonesve fugandos in Sarcophago isto reconditum esse, vir ille eruditus censet<sup>q</sup>.

Noster autem pugillaris an ob eandem causam in sepulchro conditus fuerit, haud facile dixerim; sed in Familiæ Passienæ sepulchro, juxta viam Appiam, anno 1710, Romæ repertus fuit. Folia ei quidem membrana erant, sed ita lacera penitus ac vetustate absumpta, ut nihil inde aliud colligi posset, ac quod litteræ in eis olim perscriptæ, latinæ essent. Pugillaris ejusdemmodi figuram, in monumento mulieris sepulchrali inscul-

<sup>n</sup> Aufon. Epigr. 146.

<sup>q</sup> Epist. l. 9. 36.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. l. 1. 6.

<sup>q</sup> Museum Kircher. p. 180. Tab. 60.

ptam, apud Fabretum videre licet; ex qua scilicet vir doctus, mulierem istam *notarum describendarum studio ac sollertia* præstitisse, indicatum esse putat<sup>r</sup>. In inscriptione quoque antiqua apud Gruterum, T. quidam Tarfenius, inter alia multa, Municipibus Rheginis testamento donata, *Pugillares membranaceos, operculis eboreis* legasse dicitur<sup>r</sup>.

## S E C T. II.

**S**ecunda figura, ex ære conflata, Tibicinis speciem quandam singularem, atque ex omnibus, quas vidi, Tibicinum Imagunculis, unicam plane, præ se fert. Qui hujusmodi Tibiis canebant, vel græco nomine Ascaulai, vel Utricularii, a scriptoribus Romanis vocantur<sup>r</sup>. Has autem Tibias, etsi raro admodum a veteribus memoratas, quippe quæ plebeculæ potissimum in pretio fuerint, antiquissimas tamen esse, Cæsariumque saltem temporibus, ad ludos et convivia adhiberi solitas accepimus. Quippe Nero, ut Suetonius scribit, cum Musico-rum genus omne, in sua quemque arte ac instrumento, cantando superare studeret, *sub exitu vitæ palam voverat, se, ludis publicis, proditurum etiam Utricularium*<sup>u</sup>

Tibicinis nostri os, persona scenica tectum, vestitusque mimicus, haud artis suæ proprius, sed ad risum jocumque plane

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Fabrett. Inscript. p. 206.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Gruter. p. 174. 7.

<sup>u</sup> Martial. l. x. 3. Uticali, sive Tibiæ Utricularis figuras et Pignorius et Mont-fauconius ediderunt: sed Tibicinis Utricularii Imagunculam, neque in rerum antiquarum collectionibus recensitam, neque in libris unquam descriptam animadverti. Vid. Pign. de Servis. p. 82. Montf. Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 8. c. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Suet. Ner. c. 54. Inscriptionem antiquam L. IVLII SECUNDO VERI-

CULARIO dicatam apud Gutherium legimus: de Jur. Manium. l. 2. c. 12.] Atque apud Gruterum, de UTRICULARIORUM etiam Corporibus seu Collegiis, in Colonis constitutis, Inscriptiones quedam extant, quæ tamen non ad Tibicinum nostrorum gregem, sed ad Nautarum seu Piscatorum genus quoddam referendæ sunt, quorum lintres seu naviculæ, Utricoli etiam vocabantur. [Vid. Grut. p. 547, 649. 443.]

accommodatus, hominem ex illo *γελῶσποιῶν* Ludionum, Morionumve grege fuisse ostendit, qui ad hilaritatem in conviviis excitandam a divitibus adhiberi solebant. Luxus hujus originem Livius ab Asia devicta deducit; *tunc Psaltria*, inquit, *Sambuciftria*que et *convivialia Ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis*<sup>u</sup>. De quibus epularum oblectamentis, exstat Epistola quædam Plinii ad Genitorem suum, quæ ab argumento nostro haud aliena videtur.

“ Accepi tuas litteras, quibus quereris, tædio tibi fuisse  
 “ quamvis lautissimam cœnam, quia Scurræ, Cinædi, Morio-  
 “ nes mensis inerrabant. Vis tu remittere aliquid ex rugis?<sup>z</sup>  
 “ Equidem nihil tale habeo, habentes tamen fero. Cur ergo  
 “ non habeo? quia nequaquam me ut inexpectatum festivum-  
 “ ve delectat, si quid molle a Cinædo, petulans a Scurra,  
 “ stultum a Morione profertur. Non rationem sed stomachum  
 “ tibi narro. Atque adeo quam multos putas esse, quos æque  
 “ ea, quibus ego et tu capimur et ducimur, partim ut inepta,  
 “ partim ut molestissima offendant? quam multi, cum lector,  
 “ aut lyristes, aut Comædus inductus est, calceos poscunt,  
 “ aut non minori cum tædio recubant, quam tu ista, (sic  
 “ enim appellas) prodigia perpessus es? Demus igitur alienis  
 “ oblectationibus veniam, ut nostris impetremus. Vale<sup>x</sup>.”

Alexander Severus, ut a Lampridio scriptum legimus, *Nanos et Nanas, et Moriones et Vocales exoletos, et omnia acroamati et Pantomimos, quæ Eliogabali ad mensam ministeria fuissent, populo donavit*<sup>y</sup>. Martialis autem Morionem quendam describens, *acuto capite, auribusque longis*, ad hanc Tibicinis nostri figuram fere alludere videtur.

<sup>u</sup> Lib. 39. c. 6.

<sup>z</sup> Epist. 1. 9. 17.

<sup>y</sup> In Alex. Sev. c. 34.

*Hunc vero acuto capite, et auribus longis,  
Quæ sic moventur, ut solent Afellorum,  
Quis Morionis filium neget Gyrt hæ?<sup>2</sup>*

In hac autem *γελῶσιποιῶν* classe, de Mimaulis etiam mentionem factam animadverti: quo nomine mimorum genus quoddam denotari videtur, qui vel ad tibiam gestus agere, vel tibia simul canere et gesticulari solebant: atque de hoc genere figuras quasdam Scenicæ, fistula canentes, et gestu simul ridiculo saltantes, in marmoribus interdum antiquis, exsculptas invenimus<sup>2</sup>.

Hoc denique Ludionum genus omne, quo partes suas, in conviviis, ludisque publicis, commodius ageret, fælesque et dicitæria in vulgus liberius spargeret, personæ cooperimento tectum prodiiisse constat. Permultas sane personarum harum figuras, e veterum monumentis desumptas, a viris eruditis in lucem editas videmus; quarum pleræque eadem plane forma, ac Utricularii nostri persona, esse apparent: qualesque a Varro et Luciano, *Personæ istæ antiquæ* describuntur; *distortis scilicet oribus deformes, ac immane quiddam hiantes, quasi spectatores devoraturæ*<sup>b</sup>: atque hinc infantibus eas puerulisque terrori semper fuisse legimus.

*Cum f. sine pallentis hiatum  
In gremio matris formidat rusticus infans<sup>c</sup>.*

## S E C T. III.

**T**ertia ista, ex ære itidem Imaguncula, servi ad mensam ministrantis, seu Pocillatoris antiqui effigiem exhibet;

<sup>2</sup> Epig. l. 6. 39.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Dempster. Etrur. Antiq. T. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Varr. de lign. lat. l. 6. n. Lucian. Dial. de Saltatione.

<sup>c</sup> Joven. Sat. 3. 175.

eo profusus habitu, quo Servuli divitum Triclinarii, cum a scriptoribus descripti, tum in marmoribus ficti reperiuntur. Pueri scilicet formosi et delicatuli, pulchre calamistrati, tunicisque nitidis, ad genus usque fuccincti,

ut omnes

*Præcincti recte pueri, comptique ministrant*<sup>d</sup>.

Immanem nempe Romanorum veterum luxum, in fervorum istiusmodi numero ac delectu, scriptores fere omnes commemorant, ac nonnulli graviter reprehendunt. Apuleius cœnam Fotidis describens, “Diribitores, inquit, plusculi, splendide  
“amiçti, fercula copiosa, puellæ scitulæ ministrantes; pueri  
“calamistrati, pulchre indusiati, gemmas formatas in pocula  
“vini vetusti frequenter offerentes<sup>e</sup>. Convivia mehercule  
“horum, inquit Seneca, non posuerim inter vacantia tem-  
“pora, cum videam quam solliciti argentum ordinent; quam  
“diligenter exoletorum suorum tunicas fuccingant;——  
“Quanta celeritate, signo dato, glabri ad ministeria discursant<sup>f</sup>.” Alio etiam loco, “Quæris, inquit, quam paribus  
“ministeriis et levibus afferatur cibus?——ambitiosa non est  
“fames——et si pertinere ad te judicas, quam crinitus puer,  
“et quam perlucidum tibi poculum porrigat, non sitis<sup>g</sup>.”

Philo vero Judæus, dum in mollem istum ac delicatum fervorum, in Tricliniis ministrantium, gregem invehitur, hunc ipsum Pocillatoris nostri ornatum depingere pæne videtur. “Adfunt, inquit, Servi ministrantes, pulcherrimi illi quidem  
“et formosissimi; quasi non tam ministrandi, quam convivas  
“aspectu suo delectandi gratia, adhibiti. Ex his minores

<sup>d</sup> Hor. Sat. l. 2. 8. v. 70.

*Astabat Domini mensis pulcherrimus ille*

*àlarmorea fundens nigra Falerna manu.*

Martial. l. 1. 8. 56.

<sup>e</sup> Metamorph. l. 2. p. 52.

<sup>f</sup> Sen. de Brev. Vit. c. 12.

<sup>g</sup> Id. Epist. 119.



“ natu pueri vinum fundunt, majores aquam afferunt, loti,  
 “ glabrique, vultu fucato, capillisque in cincinnulos eleganter  
 “ plexis. Comam enim alunt, vel omnino intonsi, vel a  
 “ fronte tantum præsectis in orbem crinibus. Tenuissimas,  
 “ candidasque præcincti tunicas, anteriore parte ad genua  
 “ demissas, posteriore aliquantulum infra poplites, utramque  
 “ partem tæniis duplicatis, secundum commissuras tunicæ,  
 “ adstringentes: sinus ex lateribus in altum tollentes seu venti-  
 “ lantes, ac tunicæ latera dilatantes ad munera attenti convivas  
 “ observant. Adfunt etiam alii adolescentes, vix prima lanu-  
 “ gine efflorescentes, amatorum nuper fuorum deliciæ, atque  
 “ ad ministeria graviora diligenter admodum exercitati: Domi-  
 “ norum opulentia, uti illi quidem, qui eis utuntur, existi-  
 “ mant, ut vero sese res habet, stultitiæ ostentatio<sup>b</sup>.

Ex hoc Servorum grege, Pueros Alexandrinos, Romanis omnium maxime in deliciis fuisse constat. Quippe qui natura dicaces, jocisque et salibus dediti erant, artibusque etiam istis, quibus convivæ inter cœnandum delectari solent, cantandi præsertim et saltandi plerumque instructi. “ Tandem ergo  
 “ discubuimus, inquit Petronius, pueris Alexandrinis aquam  
 “ in manus nivatam infundentibus, aliisque insequentibus ad  
 “ pedes; ac paronychia cum ingenti subtilitate tollentibus.  
 “ Ac ne in hoc quidem tam molesto tacebant officio, sed obiter  
 “ cantabant<sup>i</sup>, &c.”

Horum puerorum Mercator quidam celebris, Augusti ætate, Thoranus floruit, Imperatori ipsi familiaris<sup>k</sup>: de quo Plinius

<sup>b</sup> Phil. de Vit. Contemplat. Gper. Vol. 2. p. 479. Edit. Londini.

<sup>i</sup> Petron. Arbit. p. 96. it. p. 121. De Mancipiis, hæc item Statius, [Silv. l. 5. 5.—v. 66.]

*Non ego mercatus Pharia de puppe loquaces*

*Delicias, doctumque sui convivæ Nili Infantem, linguaque simul, salibusque protervum.*

<sup>k</sup> Adultas ætate virgines denudarent et perspicerent, tanquam Thoranio Mangone vendente. Sueton. Aug. c. 69.

hanc historiolum narrat; "Thoranius, inquit, M. Antonio  
 "jam Triumviro, eximios forma pueros, alterum in Asia  
 "genitum, alterum trans Alpes, ut geminos vendidit; tanta  
 "unitas erat. Postquam deinde, sermone puerorum detecta  
 "fraude, a furente increpitus Antonio est; inter alia magni-  
 "tudinem pretii conquerenti (nam ducentis mercatus erat  
 "sestertis) respondit verus ingenii Mango, ob id ipsum se  
 "tandi vendidisse; quoniam non esset mira similitudo in ullis  
 "eodem utero editis; diversarum quidem gentium natales  
 "tam concordia figura reperiri, super omnem esse taxatio-  
 "nem!" Alius eiusdem Thoranii locus in Augustum ipsum  
 "illudentis, a Macrobio traditur. "Augustus nimirum delectatus  
 "inter cenam Symphoniacis Thoranii, frumento eos  
 "donaverat; cum in alia acroamata<sup>m</sup> nummis fuisset libe-  
 "ralis: eosdem igitur postea querenti inter cenam Cæsari,  
 "Thoranius sic excusavit; *ad molam sunt*."

Pocillator noster altera manu lancem, altera poculum in  
 effigiem cornu formatum tenet, cujus ima tamen pars in ani-  
 malis cuiusdam speciem desinit. Etenim pocula, ab antiquis-  
 simis temporibus, ex animalium cornibus affecta esse legimus:  
 cujus quidem generis nonnulla etiam hodie in curiosorum arma-  
 riis reperiuntur: neque alia omnino, Pocillares hosc, quorum  
 Imagunculas mihi videre contigit, manibus unquam tenuisse ani-  
 madverti. Hinc Bacchus ipse ab antiquis corniger fingebatur;  
 non, ut Festus ait, quod homines nimio vino truces fiant; sed,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. N. I. 7. c. 12.

<sup>m</sup> Acroama, vox græca est, latinitate  
 donata, quæ lepidi aut festivi aliquid,  
 quod in conviviis recitari aut cantari sole-  
 bat; significat; nec non homines interdum  
 ipsos qui recitabant, cantabantve:  
 hinc Nepos in vitâ Attici, *Nemo*, inquit,

*in conviviis ejus aliud acroama audivit, quam  
 anagnosten.*

<sup>n</sup> Macrobi. Sat. 2. c. 4.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Montf. Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 3.  
 c. 2. it. Mus. Etrusc. p. 190, 196. it. Cau-  
 sæi Mus. Roman. p. 67. Fig. 39. it.  
 Pignor. de Servis. p. 68.

ut Athenæus, quod e cornibus bibere solerent<sup>r</sup>. Quem quidem bibendi morem, apud Græcos obtinuisse ex Xenophonte discimus, qui se sociosque suos ab expeditione Persica reverbos apud *Paphlagones, Thracæque* vinum e cornibus largiter bibisse, commemorat<sup>s</sup>. Philippus item Macedo, cum benigne aliquos excipere vellet, e cornu illis propinasse fertur. Sed poculorum horum labra, argento aurove plerumque cooperta, ac cornua item ipsa ex argento interdum solido conflata esse dicuntur: quorum fabricam usumque Athenæus, qui M. Aurelii temporibus floruit, usque ad suam ætatem mansisse, scribit<sup>t</sup>.

Quod cornua vero a Romanis pariter ac Græcis ad bibendum adhibita fuerint, in conviviis præsertim eis, quibus hilarius epulari, largiusque bibere propositum esset, ex his ipsis Pocillatorum Icunculis, quæ magno sane numero adhuc extant, perspicuum est. Sanctus Ambrosius, de seculi sui ebriositate querens, militumque præcipue comptationes temulentas describens, “Cornu, inquit, in medio, vini plenum: non preliaris sed epularis instrumentum buccinæ, quod discumbentes in certamen accendat—primum minoribus poculis præluditur—ubi res calere cœpit, poscunt majoribus poculis—mensura proponitur, certatur sub iudice, sub lege decernitur<sup>r</sup>.” Atque alio deinde loco, “Hos, homines, an utres verius æstimaverim?—per cornua etiam fluentia in fauces hominum vina decurrunt, et si quis respiraverit, commissum flagitium, soluta acies, loco motus habetur<sup>t</sup>.”

<sup>r</sup> Accedant capiti cornua, *Bacchus eris*. —[Ov. Ep. Sapph. ad Phaon.] vid. Fest. in voce Cornua, it. Athen. Deipnos. l. xi. p. 476. Hinc κεράσαι, vinum scilicet in cornu miscere, et κρατήρ, quasi κεράλήρ, originem duxisse putantur.

<sup>s</sup> Xenoph. in Expedit. Cyri. l. 6, p. 441. & l. 7. p. 550. Edit. Oxon.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Athenæum. ibid. Hieron. Mercurialis, animalium cornua a veteribus propterea bibendum usurpata esse existimat, quod contra venenum vim quandam habuisse crederentur—De Venen. l. 1. 17. it. Var. lect. 1. 24.

<sup>r</sup> Ambros. de Elia et Jejun. c. 13.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. c. 17.

Poculum igitur ejusmodi, quod Pocillator noster dextra in altum sublata tenet, ad veterem istum bibendi morem alludere, poculorumque eorum genus indicare, quod ad Symposia potissimum exhilaranda, convivasque inebriandos, tanquam cumuli loco adhiberi solebat: quumque lex ea data erat, quam Cicero commemorat, ut aut biberent aut discederent<sup>u</sup>.

## T A B U L A X.

**A**VIS imaginem perpulchram, atque opere antiquo ex ære fictam, Tabula hæc delineatam exhibet: quæ in basi itidem itidem ænea, sive ara potius, quasi ad cultum quendam divinum consecrata, insidet: quam quidem aram, ex nonnullis auri particulis in superficie ejus adhuc restantibus, deauratam olim fuisse, constat. Imago vero ipsa, Ibis, opinor, Ægyptiæ germanam figuram indicat: quam tamen a diversis auctoribus, diversa interdum forma descriptam animadverti.

Cicero eam, *avem excelsum esse ait, cruribus rigidis, corneo proceroque rostro*<sup>w</sup>; Strabo, *forma et mole corporis, Ciconiæ persimilem*<sup>x</sup>. Atque ex horum testimoniis, generatim enuntiatis, scriptores nonnulli, atque illi quidem eruditissimi, Ciconiæ eam vel Gruî prorsus similem depingunt; rostro scilicet oblongo, neque incurvato; et capite glabro, neque cirro ullo aut crista ornato<sup>y</sup>. At vero Herodotus, qui avem ipsam in Ægypto sepiissime viderat,

<sup>u</sup> In Verr. l. 1. Verres, ut Cicero ait, qui populi Romani legibus nunquam parasset, tamen legibus eis, quæ in poculis ponebantur, diligenter parebat. Has bibendi leges Plinius enumerat, atque inter alias, *optima fide non respirasse in bauriendo; neque expuisse; nihilque ad elidendum in poculentum sponam ex vino reliquisse*. Hist. N.

l. 14. c. 22.

<sup>w</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 210. Edit. Lamb.

<sup>x</sup> L. 17. p. 1179. B. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

<sup>y</sup> Pignorius, Meusf. Ifiac. p. 76. Fig. 29, Kircher, Obelisc. Pamph. l. 2. p. 130.

*crura ei sane gruina, at rostrum maxima ex parte aduncum* tribuit<sup>a</sup>. Plinius etiam *rostri ejus aduncitatem*, præcipue commemorat<sup>a</sup>: atque in obelisko deinde Pamphilio, a Caracalla olim ex Ægypto Romam traducto, hanc avem capite aliquoties cirrato, insculptam cernimus<sup>b</sup>. Quæ sane omnia figuram nostram, uti dixi, ad Ibim plane referendam esse ostendunt.

Duas autem Ibium species in Ægypto fuisse, traditur<sup>c</sup>: unam, partim albam, partimque nigram; alteram penitus nigram: atque hanc cum serpentibus præcipue bellum gessisse ac magno propterea in honore fuisse accepimus. “Fama est, inquit Herodotus, serpentes quosdam alatos, vere incunte, ex Arabia in Ægyptum versus volare, Ibes vero ad ingressum eis occurrentes, aditu prohibere, omnesque interimere<sup>d</sup>. Ipsi inquit Cicero qui irridentur Ægyptii nullam belluam, nisi ob aliquam utilitatem, quam ab ea caperent, consecraverunt. Ibes maximam vim serpentum conficiunt; avertunt pestem ab Ægypto, cum volucres angues, ex vastitate Libyæ vento Africo invecitas, interficiunt, atque consumunt<sup>e</sup>.” Hoc idem a Plinio quoque confirmatur; qui contra *serpentum horum adventum, Ægyptios Ibes suas*, tanquam numina quædam, *invocare solitos* declarat<sup>f</sup>.

At vero non ob Serpentes modo consumptos, sed ob alia etiam, et majora illa quidem beneficia, Ibim divinis honoribus cultam legimus. Quippe Mercurius, corpore ejus vestitus, *Ægyptum peragrassè, artiumque variarum inventionem docuisse* dicitur<sup>g</sup>. Hinc litterarum quarundam formæ ab alitis hujus mem-

<sup>a</sup> Σκίδια δὲ Φορβίη γεράνη, πρόσωπον δὲ ἰς ταμάλισα ἐπίγρυπον. lib. 2. p. 118. Edit. Lond.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. N. l. 8. c. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Obelisc. Pamphil. a Kirchero delineat. p. 489.

<sup>d</sup> Herod. ibid. Aristot. Hist. Animal. l.

9. c. 27. Plin. l. x. c. 30. *Ibis circa Pelusium nigra est, ceteris locis omnibus candida* —quod ab Aristotele Plinius transtulit.

<sup>e</sup> Herod. ib. p. 117.

<sup>f</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. 1. p. 210.

<sup>g</sup> L. x. c. 28.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Kircher. Obel. Pam. p. 234.

bris ac gestibus deductæ esse, hominesque clysteris præsertim usum ab ea primum didicisse, feruntur. Nam cum Ægyptii, ut Plutarchus ait, “ Ibim, aquam marinam in alvum per rostrum injicere, et sese purgare viderint, idem illi quoque “ facere didicerunt: Sacerdotes etiam, cum sese lustrarent, ea “ semper aqua utebantur, e qua Ibes bibere solebant, quia “ nullam unquam insalubrem noxiamve illæ adire visæ sunt<sup>h</sup>.”

Ob hæc, inquam, beneficia Ibis, una cum ceteris Ægypti animalibus, consecrata fuit. Nam cum “ Ægyptus, ut Herodotus tradit, bestiis non multum abundaret, omnes in ea “ reptæ, legibus sacræ constituebantur. His igitur bestiis, “ qui in urbibus præcipue degebant, vota facere, atque alimta præbere solebant; et siquam earum aliquis volens “ necaverat, morte mulctabatur; sin nolens, ea pœna, quam “ Sacerdotes juberent: quisquis vero Ibim aut accipitrem, “ sive volens, sive nolens interfecisset, eum morte puniri necesse “ erat<sup>i</sup>.”

Hanc Ægyptiorum superstitionem, tanquam mirabile quoddam infantiæ ac vecordiae indicium, Cicero sæpenumero commemorat. “ Ægyptiorum morem quis ignorat? inquit, quorum imbutæ mentes pravitatis erroribus, quamvis carnificinam prius subirent, quam Ibim aut Aspidem, aut Felem, “ aut Canem, aut Crocodilum violent. Quorum etiam si “ imprudentes quidpiam fecerint, pœnam nullam recusent<sup>k</sup>.” “ Atque alio loco: “ at vero ne fando quidem auditum est, “ Crocodilum, aut Ibim, aut Felem violatam ab Ægyptio<sup>l</sup>.”

<sup>h</sup> De Solert. Animal. p. 974. C. Hoc idem etiam Cicero indicat, ubi alvo se Ibes Ægyptias curasse, dicit. [Nat. Deor. l. 2. p. 233.] Plinius autem apertius, simile quiddam, inquit, et volucris in eadem Ægypto monstravit, quæ vocatur Ibis; rostri adunciante per eam partem se perlucens, quæ reddit

ciborum onera maxime salubre est. [l. 8. c. 27.] Vid. Alian. de Nat. Animal. l. 2. c. 35. & l. 7. 45.

<sup>i</sup> Herod. l. 2. p. 115.

<sup>k</sup> Tusc. Quæst. l. 5. p. 189.

<sup>l</sup> Nat. D. l. 1. p. 207.

Ibes igitur, cum tanta religione in Ægypto cultæ, ac publice altæ essent, cumque humano quasi convictu atque urbibus fruere-  
rentur, cicures demum, manufactasque fieri necesse erat: neque  
mirum ideo illud videri debet, quod a Strabone memoriæ pro-  
ditum est; eas nempe in “ Alexandriæ, Urbis refertissimæ,  
“ vicis triviisque tam frequentes reperiri, ut molestiam pariter  
“ ac utilitatem civibus darent: utilitatem, quia et serpentes, et  
“ macellorum etiam fordes omnes devorabant; molestiam vero,  
“ quia omnivoræ atque immundæ, neque a mundis alienisque  
“ contaminandis facile prohibendæ erant.”

Alia sane permulta de Ibe tradita reperio, at nimis illa qui-  
dem fabulosa, quam ut fidem ullam mereri videantur. Illud  
tamen haud prætereundum, quod ab Æliano scriptum legimus;  
hanc avem Ægypti propriam esse, neque *extra ejus fines unquam  
evolasse; et si ab aliquo inde exportata esset, sibi ipsi mortem semper  
fame conscivisse*.”

Jam vero si quærat quispiam, quam demum ob causam,  
usumve hæc nostra figura ficta olim fuerit; ab Ægyptio sane  
aliquo Romæ degente, vel a Romano fortasse, Ægyptiorum  
superstitioni ritibusque addicto, eam olim comparatam esse  
conjecerem, ut in Larario suo, inter Deos cubiculares colendam  
poneret. Nam ad cultum quendam religiosum et domesticum  
eam consecratam esse, basis ejus, uti dixi, deaurata indicare  
videtur: atque hanc adeo Ibis nostræ effigiem, perinde ac alia  
ista Ægypti portenta, in quæ Juvenalis invehitur, auream olim  
fretisse verisimile est.

*Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens*

*Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilen adorat*

<sup>m</sup> Strab. l. 17. p. 1179.

<sup>n</sup> Hist. Animal. l. 2. c. 38. Hinc in  
Numismatibus antiquis, Hadriani præfer-  
tim Imperatoris, Ibis sæpe, tanquam

Ægypti ipsius symbolum insculptum vide-  
mus. Vid. Vaill. et Havercomp. in Hadr.  
Numif.

*Pars hæc: illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibim.  
Effigies sacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci<sup>o</sup>.*

## T A B U L A XI.

**Æ**sculapii et Telesphori imagines, e marmore factas, ac quales in numismatibus, monumentisque antiquis sæpe exhibentur, sibi invicem hic adjunctas, cernimus. Æsculapius, medicinæ Deus, tanquam humani generis servator, salutisque dator, a veteribus invocatus erat<sup>p</sup>. Vultu ille quidem senili, Jovique simillimus depingitur, neque ab eo fere, nisi symbolorum diversitate, dignoscendus. Minucius eum bene barbatus vocat, Apollinis licet semper adolescentis filium<sup>q</sup>. Atque hinc vafer iste Syracusarum Tyrannus, ut a Cicerone scriptum legimus, *barbam ejus auream, de templis demi jussit*. neque enim convenire, barbatus esse filium, cum in omnibus fanis, Pater imberbis esset<sup>r</sup>.

Hoc fere amictu semper indutus fingitur; pallio nimirum talari, at in sinus ita collecto, atque in humerum lævum injecto, ut pectus, brachiumque item dextrum nudum appareat, Atque hunc amictum viri docti eundem esse credunt, ac quem Poetæ veteres *Pæonium* appellant, medicisque quasi proprium attribuunt.

— — — Ille retorto

*Pæonium in morem senior succinctus amictu,  
Multa manu medica, Phæbique potentibus herbis*

<sup>o</sup> Sat. 15. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Æsculapius iste, quem prædicatis, Deus præfans, Sanctus Deus, salutis dator, Valetudinum pessimarum Propulsator. &c. Arnob. con. Gent. l. 7. juxt. fin.

In Numismat. Antonini Pii, **ΚΩΤΗΠΙ**

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΩ. Sevatori Æsculapio. it. in nummis Coorum, &c. Vid. Spanheim. 217. it. Gruter. Inscript. p. 68, 69, &c.

<sup>q</sup> Oétav. p. 180. Edit. Varr.

<sup>r</sup> De Nat. Deor. l. 3.

*Nequic-*



*Nequicquam trepidat*<sup>1</sup>. —

— — — *ritu se cingit uterque*

*Pæonio*<sup>2</sup>. —

Brachium autem Dei pectusque nudum, fidem eam atque integritatem, dextramque ad opem usque ferendam paratam denotant, quibus medicorum maxime laus continetur.

— *Hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis*

*Excitat*<sup>3</sup>. — — —

Quinetiam in numismatibus, marmoribusque antiquis, Dei hujus signa, in baculum a serpente circumplicatum innixa fere omnia videmus. *Diceret*, inquit Apulcius, *Dei medici baculo, quod ramulis semiamputatis nodosum gerit, serpentem generosum lubricis amplexibus inherere*<sup>4</sup>. Atque hoc idem baculum, casu licet aliquo jam abruptum, ad nostram tamen imaginem adjunctum olim esse liquet; cujus altera extremitas in foramen, quod in basi marmorea adhuc vacuum restat, inserta fuisset; altera vero inter brachium imaginis latiusque dextrum, ad axillam usque pertinuisset. Nonnulli serpentem, qui pelle vetusta deposita novam quotannis induit, tanquam sanitatis et juventutis symbolum, Æsculapio tributum existimant; quo Dei hujus ope, homines morbis levari ac juventuti quodammodo restitui, significaretur<sup>5</sup>. Plinius autem serpentem, Æsculapio idcirco dicatum esse scribit, *quia multa ei remedia inesse credebantur*<sup>6</sup>. Quod a Statio item indicari videtur,

<sup>1</sup> Virg. Æn. 12. 400.

<sup>2</sup> Stat. Sylv. 1. 4. 107.

*Intortos de more accinctus amictus.*

Sil. Ital. l. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 3. 147.

*Corporis auxilium medico comitte fidei.*

in Dist. Caton. adscript.

Cicero item de Asclapone medico, mihi inquit, tum ipsa scientia, tum fidelitate

— *fatisfecit* Ep. Fam. 13. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Metam. l. 1. juxt. init.

<sup>5</sup> *Anguibus exuitur tenui cum pelle vetustas.* Ov. Art. Am. 3. 78. "Οτι καθάπερ καινός ἀποδέδειται τὸ γῆρας ἄσπας ἢ Ἰατρικὴ τῶν νοσῶν ἐλευθεροῖ. Theodoret. Serm. 8. de Martyr. Vol. 4. p. 596.

<sup>6</sup> Hist. N. l. 29. 4.

————— ————— *Maximus ægris*  
*Auxiliator adest, et festinantia sistens*  
*Fata; salutifero mitis Deus incubat angui<sup>a</sup>.*

At vero Æsculapium ipsum sub serpentis olim specie cultum esse, et sub ea formam Romam, circa annum Urbis cccclxii, cum pestilentia gravi urbs laboraret, Epidauro primum advectum accepimus; neque citius ad urbem accessisse, quam de navi sponte dilapsum, in insulam Tyberinam transnavisse, ac pestilentiam, cujus causa quæsitus fuerat, restinxisse<sup>a</sup>.

*Scinditur in geminas partes circumfluus amnis.*

*Insula nomen habet*—————

*Huc se de Latia pinu Phœbeius anguis*

*Contulit*<sup>b</sup>————— —————

Hinc Ædes illi statim magna religione in Insula consecrata est: atque Insula deinceps ipsa in navis formam redacta: qualem eam interdum in urbis antiquæ tabulis delineatam cernimus<sup>c</sup>. Attamen Dei ipsius simulacra, cum e marmore ficta, tum coloribus picta, non serpentis postea specie, sed eo plane habitu, quem supra diximus, in Templis passim dicari cœperunt<sup>d</sup>.

In his Æsculapii fanis, ægroti cubare, ac somniorum ab eo immissorum monitu, morborum suorum remedia perdiscere solebant<sup>e</sup>: quod monumenta sane permulta, ob morbos ejus ope levatos, ei publice dicata, atque hodie etiam extantia, tes-

<sup>a</sup> Stat. Sylv. 3. iv. 23.

<sup>b</sup> Val. Max. 1. 8. Hinc serpentis adventus in Numismate Antonini Pii pulchre describitur cernitur apud Montfauconium. Supplem. Vol. 1. l. 3. c. 1. Tab. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Ovid. Metam. l. 15. 739.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Jac. Laur. Antiq. Urb. Splend. p. 31. Marlian. Urb. Topogr. l. 5. p. 107.

<sup>e</sup> Plin. Hist. l. 34. 8. 35. xi.

<sup>f</sup> An Æsculapius potest præscribere per somnium curationem valetudinis, Neptunus gubernantibus non potest? Cic. de Div. 2.

Οὕτως ἐν Ἀσκληπιῷ μὲν τὰ νοσήματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀίετος παύσιναι

Jamblich. de Myster. § 2. c. 3.

tantur,

tantur<sup>f</sup>. Hinc Templâ ejus donis referta legimus, quæ *remediorum salutarium mercedem*, ut Livius ait, *ægrî sacraverant Deo*<sup>g</sup>. Atque ex his *fomniis, visisque nocturnis*, diuturno usu atque observatione comprobatis, *artem ipsam Medicam* constitutam esse, Jamblichus declarat<sup>h</sup>. Quippe ægrorum, Dei hujus ope sanatorum, nomina et morbi et curationis ratio, in Tabulis marmoreis a sacerdotibus descripta atque in Templis ejus suspensa erant: quarum quidem tabularum fragmentum quoddam memorabile, in Insula ipsa Tyberina repertum, Gruterus edidit; in quo cæcis duobus, curatione quadam a Deo præscripta, *visum redditum esse, populo inspectante ac gratulante*, significatur<sup>i</sup>. Hæc autem remedia, in Templo Dei, conspectui omnium proposita, Hippocrates ipse, ut Plinius ait, *exscripsisse traditur, et Templo jam cremato, instituisse medicinam eam, quæ Clinice vocatur*<sup>k</sup>.

In hanc igitur Æsculapii Insulam, Romani mancipia sua ægra, morbisque affecta exponere, atque omni alia ope destituta, Dei tutelæ committere consueverunt; donec Claudius Imperator, quo tam immanem dominorum erga servos crudelitatem cohiberet, edicto sanxit, “ ut omnes qui exponerentur, liberi essent, nec redirent in ditionem domini, si convaluissent: et si quis necare quem mallet, quam exponere, is cædis crimine teneretur!”

Attamen Æsculapium, non ægros profecto quoslibet, sed dignos tantum probosque sanasse, scelestis vero, neque fomniâ, neque opem omnino ullam dedisse, legimus<sup>m</sup>: quod quidem

<sup>f</sup> Gruter Inscript. p. 68. &c.

<sup>g</sup> Lib. 45. 28. Consul Apollini. Æsculapio—dona vovere, et dare signa inaurata jussus. Id. lib. 40. 37.

<sup>h</sup> Jamblich. Ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Gruter. p. 71. Ex hac Tabula, ut Montfauconius ait, vel Dæmonum in morbis infligendis ac pellendis potestatem, vel

Sacerdotum Gentilium fraudes ac prætigias colligere licet. Vid. Antiqu. Vol. 2. par. 1. l. 4. c. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Hist. N. l. 29. c. 1.

<sup>l</sup> Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.

<sup>m</sup> Exempla hujus rei varia a Philostrato commemorantur. lib. 1. c. 9. x.

illi, cum a Christianis, tum a Gentilibus interdum ipsis exprobatum est: etenim Arnobius, Christianorum more, cultum ejus irridens, *cum medendi*, inquit, *artibus præsit, cur plurima morborum ac valetudinum genera ad sanitatem perducere nequeunt*?<sup>2</sup> Ac Leno etiam quidam apud Plautum, qui in fano ejus ægrotus cubaverat, ita demum querens egreditur.

*Migrare certum est, jam nunc e fano foras,  
Quando Æsculapi ita sentio sententiam,  
Ut qui me nihili faciat, nec salvom velit:  
Valetudo decrescit, accrescit labor*°.

Telephorus denique, qui Æsculapio, ut supra dixi, comes per sepe adjungitur, convalescentium Deus habitus est; cujus munus proprium erat, ut nomen ejus indicat, morbis jam liberatos et convalescentes, ad perfectam sanitatem perducere. Hunc autem a Nicæensibus potissimum et Pergamenis, una cum Æsculapio, tanquam Deum Tutelarem, cultum, accepimus; ab aliis vero quibusdam civitatibus, Evemeriona et Aeciæ dictum. Forma ille semper puerili, ac pallio penitus coopertus fingitur; cui cucullus etiam plerumque annexus est, quo caput ejus omne, facie tantum excepta tegitur<sup>3</sup>: atque sub hac eum specie, in monumentis nummisque antiquis sæpissime exhibitum, et Æsculapio adjunctum videmus<sup>4</sup>. Forma autem ejus puerilis, palliumque penitus clausum, infirmum istum

<sup>2</sup> Con. Gent. l. 4. circa med.

<sup>3</sup> Curcul. Act. 2. Scen. 1.

<sup>4</sup> In nostra tamen Telephori imagine, quod in aliis ejus figuris haud unquam animadverti, cucullus iste de capite proorsus in humeros rejectus est.

<sup>5</sup> In Numismate quodam Antonini Pii, Nicææ percussio, græcè inscriptum legimus, Deo Telephoro Nicæensium. [Morell.

Spec. p. 52.] in Numismate item L. Veri, eum rursus a Nicæensibus una cum Æsculapio exhibitum cernimus. Atque in Numismatibus item Commodi ac Caracallæ, a Pergamenis. Vid. Osservaz. sepr. alcun. Medaglion Antich. Da Buonarott. Tab. 4. 5. Tab. 6. 2. Tab. 7. 9. item de variis Telephori nominibus, vid. Pausan. lib. 2. c. 7.

debilemque convalescentium statum denotare; ac multa adhuc cautione opus eis esse, ad perfectam fanitatem recuperandam, significare videtur.

## T A B U L A XII.

**F**iguram hanc æneam, quæ Apollinis, Bacchive speciem, at nullis Deorum illorum symbolis instructam, præ se ferre videtur, Antinoi effigiem esse existimo. Antinum enim, Hadriani delicias, eximia forma adolescentem, e Bithynia oriundum, in Divorum numerum a Principe isto relatum cognovimus—“Antinum suum, inquit Spartianus, dum per Nilum navigat, perdidit; quem muliebriter flevit: de quo varia fama est: aliis, eum devotum pro Hadriano, afferentibus; aliis, quod et forma ejus ostendat, et nimia voluptas Hadriani: et Græci quidem, volente Hadriano, eum confecerunt, oracula per eum dari afferentes; quæ Hadrianus ipse composuisse jactatur.” Hadrianus certe Templum ei statim, statuasque dicari jussit; urbemque juxta eum locum, in quo mortuus est. Antinoi nomine instauravit<sup>r</sup>. Hinc in Inscriptione quadam antiqua adhuc extante, Deorum Ægyptiorum Sunrhronus appellatur<sup>r</sup>: qui eosdem scilicet honores, cultumque apud gentem istam, ac ceteri eorum Dii, obtinuerat.

At non in Ægypto tantum, sed per totum fere terrarum orbem divinos Antinoi honores tributos esse legimus. Quippe cum Hadrianus Imperii Romani provincias peragraret, Civitates istæ omnes, in quibus commoratus est, inter sese quasi certasse feruntur, quænam Antinoi maxime cultum memoriam-

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Ælium. Spartian. in Hadr. c. 14.

<sup>s</sup> Dio. p. 793.

—ANTINOΩI  
CYNΘPONΩI TΩN

EN ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩΙ ΘΕΩΝ  
Μ. ΟΥΛΠΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΥ  
ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗ

Gruter. p. 86. 1.

que

que celebrarent; Deorum sibi quæque propriorum honores atque insignia ac formam etiam ei tribuentes; quibus eum quidem, in Civitatum istarum nummis, adhuc extantibus, instructum sæpe videmus<sup>u</sup>.

Mantineæ autem, ut Pausanias tradit, præter Templum ei dicatum, initia etiam quædam anniversaria, ludosque quinquennales in honorem ejus instituit; domumque præterea in Gymnasio, et fictis, et pictis item ejus imaginibus egregie instruxit; quæ Bacchi potissimum insignibus ornatae erant<sup>v</sup>.

Tarsus item, Ciliciæ Metropolis, in nummis suis, in honorem Antinoi percussis, Apollinis ei symbola, cum ipso Novi Pythii titulo, attribuit<sup>x</sup>. Atque sub Apollinis maxime forma illum a plerisque civitatibus, cultum esse liquet. Cui quidem Deo, simulacra Antinoi omnia, quæ mihi videre contigit, quorumque plurima adhuc restant, et habitu corporis, et facie ipsa quam simillima apparent.

At vero insanum hunc Antinoi cultum, ab ortu licet tam infami profectum, non Hadriano solum vivente, sed, quod mirandum magis est, post mortem ejus diu floruisse, atque a Sanctis Ecclesiæ patribus, gentilibus sæpe exprobatum esse legimus. *Noctes Antinoi sacræ*, inquit Clemens, *etiam hodie ab hominibus celebrantur: quas is, qui cum puero vigilaverat, turpes esse cognovit. Quid mihi eum inter Deos refers, qui stupris honorem istum meruit?* Hieronymus etiam Hegesippum ita querentem inducit; "Tumulos mortuis, templaque fecerunt, sicut hodie usque

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Vaillant. Selectior. Numism. Max. Mod. p. 19. it. Buonarotti Osservaz. sopra alcun. Medaglion. Tab. 2. p. 25.

<sup>v</sup> Pausan. l. 8. c. 9. p. 617.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Buonarotti. ibid. p. 36. Nam ex omnibus antiquorum Deis, nonnisi hos duos eximia quadam oris venustate, per-

petuaque juventute insignitos legimus. *Solis aeterna est Phæbo, Bacchoque juventa, Nam decet intonsus crinis utrumque Deum.*

Tibul. l. 1. 4.

—— *Tibi enim inconsumpta Juventus, Tu puer aeternus* ———

Ov. Met. l. 4. 17. de Baccho.

“ videmus: e quibus est et Antinous, servus Hadriani Cæsaris,  
 “ cui et gymnicus agon exercetur Antinoius, Civitatemque ex  
 “ ejus nomine condidit, et statuit Prophetas in templo<sup>y</sup>. Pru-  
 “ dentius denique in cultum ejus ita invehitur.”

*Quid loquar Antinum cælesti sede locatum?  
 Illum delicias nunc Divi Principis; illum  
 Purpureo in gremio spoliatum sorte virili,  
 Hadrianique Dei Ganymedem; non cyathos Diis  
 Porgere, sed medio recubantem cum Jove fulcro<sup>z</sup>?*

Figuræ hujus basis opere item antiquo, atque egregio exsculpta est; at vero a Montfauconio dudum, e Museo Cardinalis Gualtieri descripta, ac Deæ Vestæ imagini adjuncta cernitur<sup>3</sup>. Quam quidem post mortem Cardinalis, a Vestæ Icuncula ista, casu nescio quo, sejunctam atque in Angliam advectam, ipse pretio emendam, atque ad Antinoi nostri effigiem accommodandam curavi. At neque Vestæ, uti Montfauconius exstimabat, neque ulli omnino simulacro, eam basis olim vicem subiisse constat, sed lucernæ potius seu Candelabri imam partem fuisse; ut ex foramine quodam amplo ac rotundo colligere licet, quod in parte ejus superiore jam vacuum restat, nec nisi ad vasculi cujusdam stipitem truncumve excipiendum, paratum esse apparet<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>y</sup> Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 43. Edit. Oxon. et Hieron. de Viris Illustrib. in Hegeſippo. item Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 8.

<sup>z</sup> Con. Sym. l. 1. 271.

<sup>3</sup> Supplem. Vol. 1. l. 2. c. 5. Tab. 6. p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Fort. Licetus, basim quandam triangularem, insigni sculptura ornata, neque huic nostræ simillimam exhibet, e qua, columella quadam, cui lucernæ duæ hinc

inde appensæ sunt in altum exurgit: *in apice vero cujusque anguli, ut Licetus ipse basim describens ait, Sphinges insident miræ tres; capite barbati Sileni, collo prorsus humano, alis, ventre, caudaque draconis.* Atque ad ejusmodi fortasse Candelabrum lucernamve, basim itidem nostram adjunctam olim fuisse, conjicere licet. Vid. Licet. de Lucern. l. 6. c. 14. p. 667. it. Montfauc. Vol. 5. l. 2. c. 9. Tab. 44.

Tripodis autem forma, quam basis nostra gerit, eam ad templorum usum aliquem pertinuisse ostendit; in quibus menfas, arulasque etiam tripodes consecrari cognovimus. Sed et sculptura etiam quiddam notatu dignum præbet. Monstrorum nempe species quædam singularis, neque alias fere visa, ex singulis ejus angulis exsculpta prominet; quæ, cetera quidem, sphingibus plane simillima sunt, nisi quod facies illis fœminea semper seu puellaris, nostris autem, virilis tributa est. At nescio equidem, an Sphinges etiam mares a Veteribus interdum fingi solerent: quod nonnulli sane, ex Philemonis loco quodam, ab Athenæo citato, indicari crediderunt; ubi homo quidam de Coquo suo, ænigmatice semper loquente, querens, se non Coquum sed Sphingem marem in domum suam introduxisse dicit<sup>c</sup>.

Istud tamen utcunque fuerit, ego profecto, ex monstrorum nostrorum alis, mammis, pedibusque leoninis, quæ Sphingibus certe propria sunt, artificem nonnisi Sphingum imagines exhibere voluisse arbitror: quas quidem Veteres istos ante Tempora collocare, atque in Vasculis quoque sacris sæpe insculpere solitos cognovimus; quo res nimirum divinas mysticas esse, atque *ænigmatum involucris a profanis tegendas, significarent*<sup>d</sup>,

## T A B U L A XIII.

**B** Acchi Imagunculam æneam hic delineatam habemus; de cujus symbolis, muneribusque, cum a scriptoribus antiquis tantopere decantata, atque omnibus cognita sint, plura hoc loco differere, lectori certe fastidiosum esset.

Altera vero ista Icuncula, Hermarum forma, ex ære facta, explanatione forsitan aliqua egere videatur; quippe cui nullam omnino similem, vel in libris descriptam, vel in Museis

<sup>c</sup> Athen. l. 14. c. 22. p. 659.

<sup>d</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p. 664, 671. &c.



affervatam vidi. Calathus iste seu modius, quem capiti impositum gerit, Serapidis fere proprius habetur; neque alii cuivis Deo, nisi rarissime attributus: facies autem imberbis juvenilis, Phæbum potius, Bacchumve, quam Serapim præ se ferre videtur, qui barbatus plerumque, Jovique aut Æsculapio similimus fingi solet\*. Cum vero Serapim Deorum fere omnium vicem Ægyptiis suis supplevisse, atque Apollinis potissimum, Solisve munera præstituisse constet<sup>f</sup>, haud alienum cenferi potest, ut vultu ille quoque juvenili nonnunquam fingeretur; qualem illum quidem in lucernis veterum, gemmisque anularibus exhibitum animadverti<sup>g</sup>.

At præter calathum, quo Serapis semper instructus est, radiis eum quoque, aureisve, quas vocant, Solis comis, ornatum aliquando videmus<sup>h</sup>. Atqui figura item nostra diadema seu coronam gestat, punctis quibusdam, sed jam attritis distinctam, quæ radiorum fortasse speciem olim exhibere potuissent: hoc autem utcumque fuerit, at calathus certe non nisi *fecunditatis atque abundantiae symbolum* esse intelligitur, quam Serapidis præcipue numen per terrarum orbem diffundere credebatur.

*Principes Dei*, inquit Varro, *sunt Cælum et Terra; iidem qui in Ægypto, Serapis et Isis*<sup>i</sup>. Serapidis autem cultus Romam nonnisi sero, et postremis Reipublicæ temporibus traductus esse

\* Vid. Dei hujus imagines a Montfauconio collectas. Antiqu. Vol. 2. Par. 2. l. 1. c. x. Tab. 40—N. B. Inter Deos istos, qui Hermarum interdum forma fingi solebant, Sponius, Hermanubim, exhibuit. Hunc igitur nostrum quidam Hermerapim appellemus?

<sup>f</sup> Alexandria—Serapim atque Isin cultu pene attonitæ venerationis observat; omnem tamen illam venerationem Soli se sub illius nomine testatur impendere, vel dum capiti ejus calathum insigunt &c. Macrob. Sat. 1. 20—Serapim multi Æsculapium;

—quidam Osirim; plerique Jovem;— plurimi Ditem Patrem. Tacit. Hist. l. 4. 84. it. Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Fort. Licet. De Antiquor. Lucern. l. 6. c. 13. p. 1178. Vid. it. Montfauc. ib. & Gortæi Dactyloth. Tab. 30.

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Montfauc. ibid. et Chifflet. de Gemmis Abraxeis. Tab. 26.

<sup>i</sup> De Ling. lat. l. 4. Si Dii sunt illi quos colimus, cur non in eodem genere Serapim, Isimque numeremus?—Cic. Nat. D. 3. 19.

apparet. Quumque Fana ejus nonnulla *privatim intra urbem exstructa esse*, indicatum esset, Senatus ea demoliri, nec nisi extra pomerium ædificari, jussit<sup>k</sup>: hinc meretrix quædam apud Catullum homines quosdam leſticarios sibi commodandos petit, qui ad Serapim eam deferrent<sup>l</sup>: nam ad ædes extra pomerium positas, iter mulieri sane longinquum fuerit, necesse est. Hæc autem sacra, quum intra urbem rursus grassari, atque aperte celebrari cœpissent, Agrippa urbis Præfectus repressit, et *ne quis in Suburbano etiam, intra quingentos passus, ea perageret, edicto vetuit*<sup>m</sup>. Tiberius denique *ritus hosce Ægyptiacos*, una cum Judaicis etiam, *penitus compeſcuisse*<sup>n</sup> dicitur.

Hactenus quidem Ægyptiorum Deos, Romanis nonnisi invidiosos, suspectosque esse videmus; sed haud magno deinceps temporis intervallo, intra urbem ipsam receptos, Templisque consecratos reperimus. De quorum numero Serapis Vespasiani potissimum auctoritate, Romanis commendatus esse videtur; qui Dei nimirum hujus ope ac monitu, *visum cæco cuidam Alexandriæ, pro concione palam restituisse fertur*<sup>o</sup>. Atque hinc in filiorum ejus, Titi et Domitiani, nummis, Dei hujus effigiem, perinde ac in anulis antiquorum nonnullis, insculptum videmus<sup>p</sup>: ad quem quidem morem Plinius, qui eadem ætate floruit, alludens, *Statuas Ægyptiorum numinum a viris quoque in digitis portari*, queritur<sup>q</sup>.

Templum ejus in Circo deinde Flaminio positum, atque ab Imperatoribus ornatum<sup>r</sup>, Serapimque ipsum, Dei magni Invic-

<sup>k</sup> Dio. l. 40. p. 142. E.

<sup>l</sup> Catul. Epigr. x.

<sup>m</sup> Dio. l. 54. p. 525. B.

<sup>n</sup> Sueton. in Vit. c. 36.

<sup>o</sup> Suet. in Vespas. c. 7. Cæci hujus, claudique etiam a Vespasiano sanati historiam Tacitus quidem fufius narrat; additque demum; *Utrumque, qui interfuerat,*

*nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium.* Hist. l. 4. c. 81.

<sup>p</sup> Mus. Romam. p. 105. it. Gorlæi. Daſtyl.

<sup>q</sup> l. 33. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Iſum et Serapim decenter ornavit. &c. Lamprid. de Alexand. Scv. c. 26.

tique nomine invocatum legimus; ut Inscriptiones permultæ, ob beneficia accepta, morbosque sanatos, ei dicatæ testantur<sup>f</sup> Hunc enim, perinde ac Æsculapium, tanquam Deum Medicum, Salutisque datorem, a Veteribus cultum esse liquet. “ Quid convenit, inquit Cicero, ægros a conjectore somniorum potius quam a Medico petere Medicinam? An Æsculapius, an Serapis potest præscribere per somnium curationem valetudinis, Neptunus gubernantibus non potest<sup>g</sup>?” Varro etiam, Ciceronis æqualis, (quorum ætate, Serapim nondum in honore Romæ constitutum diximus) in cultum ejus illudens, hoc distichon composuit.

*Hospes quid miras nummo curare Serapim?*

*Quid? quasi non curet tantidem Aristoteles.*

Jam vero, quum hæ Deorum Imagunculæ, ex ære aut marmore factæ, et numero fere infinitæ, e Romanorum veterum supellectile ad hæc usque tempora conservatæ sint; si quærat tandem aliquis, cuinam usui infervierint; et cur simulachra tam exilia tanto olim in numero ac pretio fuerint? Ratio sane facilis atque expedita est. In singulis nempe ædibus, nobilium præsertim ac divitum, Lararium fuit, seu Sacrarium quoddam domesticum, minutulis hisce statuis refertum; quibus sacra quædam privata aut gentilitia facere, thus adolere, cultumque prorsus divinum tribuere solebant. “ Apud Heiium Mamertinum, ut Cicero scribit, sacrarium erat magna cum dignitate a majoribus traditum, perantiquum: in quo signa pulcherrima quatuor, summo artificio, summa nobilitate—unum Cupidinis e marmore, Praxitelis; alterum, Hercules egregie fac-

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Gruter. Inscript. Vol. 1. p. 84.  
<sup>g</sup>: 85. 3, 4, 8.—

<sup>1</sup> De Divinat. l. 2. 59.

<sup>u</sup> In Eumenid. apud Non. Marcell. de Propriet. Serm. c. 7. 105. in voce miras, pro miraris. —

“ tum ex ære, Myronis opus: item ante hosce Deos erant  
 “ arulæ, quæ sacrarii religionem significare possent. Erant  
 “ ænea præterea signa duo, non maxima, sed eximia venustate,  
 “ virginali habitu atque vestitu,—Canephoræ ipsæ vocabantur  
 “ —quarum artificem Polycletum esse dicebant—hæc omnia  
 “ signa ab Heio de Sacrario Verres abstulit<sup>w</sup>.”

Quinetiam in cubiculis quoque, Deos hosce domesticos, Laresque interdum collocabant; et Cubiculares ideo appellabant. Atque hinc inter domûs Augustæ officia, servos, qui curæ Larum Cubiculi præfuere, commemoratos invenimus<sup>x</sup>: e qua quidem Deorum classe, “ Nero, ut Suetonius ait, Icunculam quandam puellarem, pro summo numine, trinis in die  
 “ sacrificiis, coluit; volebatque credi, se monitione ejus futura  
 “ prænoscere<sup>y</sup>. Galba quoque simulachrum Fortunæ æneum,  
 “ cubitali majus, in parte ædium suarum consecrassè, ac mensuis supplicationibus, et pervigilio anniversario coluisse traditur<sup>z</sup>.” Atqui hæc eadem Fortuna, nonnisi ex auro postea ab Imperatoribus, in cubiculis suis consecrata erat; quam Antoninus, jam moriturus, ad M. Aurelium, successorem suum, transferri iussit<sup>a</sup>. Neque hoc tamen a principibus solummodo, sed a Philosophis quoque factitatum legimus. Etenim Asclepiades quidam Cynicus, Juliani Imperatoris amicus, *argenteum quoddam Deæ Cælestis signum, quocumque ibat, secum efferre, accensisque cereis in cubiculo venerari solitus fertur*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>w</sup> In Verr. 3. 2.

<sup>x</sup> Suet. in Domitian. 17. Ad harum autem imaginum cultum et custodiam, Collegium etiam seu sodalium, Cæsarum temporibus institutum fuisse, Fabrettus docet, quod *Collegium magnum Larum et Imaginum*, in Inscriptionibus antiquis appellatur. [de Colum. Traj. p. 205.] in quantum una, *Signum Libertatis restitutum*, sub

Galba Imperatore, *Imaginum Domus Augustæ Cultoribus*, positura dicitur. Boislar. Tom. 5. p. 12.

<sup>y</sup> In Ner. c. 56.

<sup>z</sup> Suet. in Galb. c. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Capitol. in Antonin. P. c. 12. & M. Aurel. c. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Amm. Marcellin. l. 22. 13.

Inter Deos hosce domesticos, defunctorum etiam quorundam imagines, qui virtutis, ingenii, aut rerum gestarum gloria floruisent, in cubiculis collocari, colique solitas cognovimus. Suetonius, se Augusti *Imagunculam æream Hadriano Imperatori dono dedisse scribit, quam Princeps iste inter cubiculares postea coluit*<sup>c</sup>. Vitellius autem, quo Claudium adulando demereretur, *libertorum ejus, Narcissi et Pallantis, imagines inter Lares consecravit*<sup>d</sup>, Sanctus Augustinus, *Marcellinam quandam, Carpocratis Heretici discipulam, imagines Jesu, et Pauli, et Homeri, et Pythagoræ, adorando incensumque ponendo, coluisse dicit*<sup>e</sup>: neque aliter fere Alexander Severus, in Larario suo, et *Apollonium, et Christum, et Abraham et Orpheum et hujuscemodi Deos habuisse traditur*<sup>f</sup>.

At non domi solummodo, atque in Larariis, Imperatores olim simulacra ista colere, sed in itineribus etiam bellicisque expeditionibus secum efferre solebant. Etenim Herculis Icuncula quædam mensura haud pedali, Lyssippi opus, a Martiale et Statio celebratur, quod Alexandro magno, et Hannibali et Syllæ deinceps in bellis suis omnibus comes fuisset. At Syllam, Apollinis potius Imagunculam auream, Delphis ablatam, in sinu circumtulisse legimus; eamque in præliis suis, mili-

<sup>c</sup> In Aug. c. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Suet. in Vitell. c. 2.

<sup>e</sup> De Hæresib. § 7.

<sup>f</sup> Lamprid. in Alex. Serv. c. 29. Item Plinius Junior, de Titinio Capitone; *mirum est, inquit, qua religione, quo studio imagines Brutorum, Cassiorum, Catonum domi, ubi potest, habeat.* [Epiſt. l. 1. 17.] ita quoque Alexander Severus, *Virgiliimaginem cum Ciceronis simulachro, in secundo Larario habuit, ubi et Achillis et magnorum virorum.* &c. Lamprid. ib. c. 31.

<sup>g</sup>—Non est fama recens, nec nostri gloria  
cæli

*Nobile Lyssippi munus, opusque vides.*

*Hoc habuit numen Pellæi mensa Ty-*  
*ranni,*

*Qui cito perdomito victor in orbe*  
*jacet.*

*Hunc puer ad Lybicas juraverat Han-*  
*nibal aras:*

*Jussit hic Syllam ponere regna*  
*trucem.*

*Offensus varix tumidis terroribus aule*  
*Privatus gaudet nunc habitare lares.*

Mart. Ep. l. 9. 44.

vid. item Stat. Sylv. 4. 6.

tumque

tumque in conspectu, *amplecti et orare solitum, ut promissa maturaret*<sup>h</sup>.

Ex hoc igitur simulacrorum usu cultuque, quem jam exposui, haud mirum videri potest, quod tantus eorum numerus, ex urbis antiquæ ruinis erutus, atque ad hæc usque tempora conservatus sit; quum omnes fere et Principum et privatorum domos, tum ornatus, tum religionis potissimum causa, eis refertas esse confctet.

## S E C T. III.

**I**N Larariis autem istis, ædiumve privatarum facellis, arulæ semper quædam, ut supra dictum est, ante Imagunculas ipsas positæ fuere, in quibus thus odoresque Diis Laribus incendere, dapefve interdum, pro more, apponere solebant. Itaque figuram Tabulæ hujus tertiam, antiquo opere ex ære conflata, ex arularum earum numero fuisse cenfeo. Basis enim ejus tripes, ad usum aliquem sacrum eam pertinuisse, indicat; vertexque rotundus ac concavus, ad nihil fere aliud, ac thuris pauxillum excipiendum, accommodatus esse apparet. Quod veteres autem, thure aut farre, aut vino, Laribus supplicare, coronasque interdum, festis diebus, offerre solerent, certissimum est.

*O parvi, nostrique Lares, quos thure minuto,  
Aut farre, aut tenui soleo exornare corona<sup>i</sup>.*

<sup>h</sup> Plutarch. in Vit. p. 471. B. it. Valer. Max. l. 1. c. 2. — J. Cæsar etiam, uti Dio tradit, *Venerem armatam, in anulo insculptam, gestabat, qua quidem, Tesseræ loco, in maximis præliis uti solebat.* l. 43. p. 235. A.

<sup>i</sup> Joven. Sat. 9. 137. Plautus etiam

Larem ita loquentem introducit.

*Hæc filia una est: ea mihi quotidie*

*Aut thure, aut vino, aut aliqui semper supplicat;*

*Dat mihi coronas* → Prolog. in Aulular.

In Museo Etrusco, a Franc. Gorio in lucem edito, figuram quandam tripodem, huic nostræ haud abfimilem, descriptam cernimus, quam Vir ille eruditus, atque in rebus hîcse versatissimus, Geniorum arulam esse declarat<sup>k</sup>: Genios autem istos, haud alios fere, ac Lares Penatesque ab antiquis habitos cognovimus<sup>l</sup>.

Arulæ nostræ forma plane perbella est; basisque sculptili opere affabre ornata: cujus quidem ad exemplar, mensarum sæpe, sellarum, lectulorumque pedes, vel hodie etiam fabricatos videmus. Quippe ex hujusmodi veterum monumentis, ac supellectilis antiquæ reliquiis, nostrorum temporum opifices, qui in artibus suis famam ullam nomenque consecuti sunt, operum suorum modulos plerumque sumpsisse cognovimus; laudemque eos maximam semper adeptos esse, qui præcos illos quam diligentissime essent imitati.

## T A B U L A XIV.

**P**rima Tabulæ hujus figura, Bacchæ cujusdam, seu fœminæ in Bacchi sacris initiatæ, imaginem præ se fert. Etenim Bacchus, cum ad Indos armis domandos proficisceretur, multas secum mulieres in exercitu duxisse traditur; quæ lymphatico quodam furore actæ, tripudiis carminibusque gesta ejus celebrabant, ac cultum ei divinum tribuebant. Quamobrem in perpetuam expeditionis istius memoriam, mulieres postea ad Bacchi semper sacra adhibitæ erant; quæ, quia in Orgiis istis, insanientium sese more agitare, ac gesticulari sole-

<sup>k</sup> Tab. 166. ejusdem etiam formæ Arulas in Romanorum Imperatorum nummis sæpe insculptas cernere licet.

<sup>l</sup> Adhærent ergo singulis, et sub nomine

Geniorum aut Penatium domos occupant. His sacraria constituuntur; his quotidie libatur, ut Laribus. Laët. Div. Juitit. c. 28. Vid. it. Montfauc. Vol. 1. l. 2. c. 12.

rent,

rent, græco nomine Bacchæ ac Mænades dictæ sunt; velut Deus item ipse, ab earum comitatu, Bacchus<sup>m</sup>.

*Ubi capita Mænades vi jaciunt hederigeræ,  
Ubi sacra sancta acutis ululatribus agitant<sup>a</sup>.*

Bacchæ vero nostræ caput corona hederacea redimitum cernimus: Quippe hæc Bacchantium propria erat, ac mitra interdum et diadema a veteribus appellatur! quam Bacchus omnium primus invenisse, et capiti suo imposuisse fertur<sup>o</sup>. Qui, ut Diodorus ait, ad repellendos capitis ex nimio potu dolores, *mitra caput cinxit, Regibusque inde diadematis gestandi exemplum dedit<sup>p</sup>*. Sed de Bacchi, et Bacchantium, atque ebriorum fane omnium coronis, frequens admodum apud Poetas mentio occurrit. De Baccho ita Ovidius;

*Bacche racemiferos hedera redimite capillos<sup>a</sup>.*

Tum de muliere Bacchi sacra celebrante;

*Cur hedera cinctæ est? hedera est gratissima Bacchæ<sup>b</sup>.*

Propertius deinde, de ebrîis quibuslibet.

*Sobrius ad lites: at cum est imposta corona,  
Clamabis capiti vina subesse meo<sup>c</sup>.*

<sup>a</sup> Diodor. Sic. l. 4. p. 211, 212. &c. Edit. Han. it. Suid. in voce——

<sup>b</sup> Catull. de Aty. 64. Hi Bacchantium chori, sive virorum, sive feminarum, Thiasî vocantur.

*Instituit Daphnis Thiasos inducere Baccho.*  
[Virg. Ecl. 5. 30.] hinc Bacchus apud Euripidem

Θιάσος ἰμῶς, γυναῖκες, ἂς ἐκ βαρβάρων  
Ἐκόμισα παρῖδες——

O Thiasè mi, mulieres, quas ex barbaris  
Eduxî comites—— in Bacch. v. 56.

Vid. it. Athenæum. l. 8. c. 16. p. 362.  
F. At vero Thiasos hocce, non Bacchi

modo, sed aliorum item Deorum fuisse, neque aliud omnino ac Sodalitium seu Collegium, in Dei alicujus honorem institutum, sodaliumque ipsorum conventum significasse. Vir eruditus Ant. Van Dale demonstravit. Dissert. 9. c. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Plin. Hist. N. l. 16. 4.

<sup>p</sup> Diodor. Sic. ibid.

<sup>q</sup> Fast. 6. 43.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 3. 765.

<sup>s</sup> Propert. El. l. 4. 2. it apud Plautum; *Quid, tu, ego video?* Pf. *Cum corona ebriam Pseudolum tuum.* Pseud. Act. 5. 2.



Cur autem ex hedera potissimum coronæ istæ contextæ fuerint, rationes quasdam physicas a scriptoribus antiquis traditas accepimus; atque ab Athenæo præsertim in hunc sensum. “ Bacchi cultoribus, quorum capita ex nimio potu dolerent, remedio aliquo opus erat. Itaque vinculum sive fertum in eum finem promptissimum reperiebatur, natura ipsa viam indicante. Nam cum capitis quidam dolore affectus esset, et compressu deinde ejus levatus, tum vinculum doloris istius remedium esse intellexit. Hanc igitur medicinam inter potandum postea adhibentes, corona præcipue hederacea caput revinciebant; quia hedera et magna copia et omni loco spontanea nascitur; neque aspectu sane inveniusta, foliisque virentibus ac corymbis frontem opacans, et absque ullo odore incommodo præterea refrigerans<sup>1</sup>.”

Sed aliam quoque rationem Plutarchus reddit; quippe “ mulieres, inquit, Bacchicis furoribus correptæ, ad hederam recta feruntur, quam manibus statim arripientes ac devorantes, discerpunt; ita ut non fide omnino indigni esse videantur, qui hederæ spiritum quendam inesse dicunt, qui insaniam furoremque excitat, mentesque hominum labefacit, et absque vini ope, ebrietate ac delectatione quadam eos potissimum afficit, qui ad concitationes ejusmodi fanaticas natura procliviores sint.” Hæc Plutarchi sententia, a Plinio item confirmatur, qui *hederæ succum, largius potum, mentem turbare, et caput purgare, nervisque nocere*, scribit<sup>2</sup>. Atque ob hanc fortasse causam *hederam*, inter *doctarum præmia frontium* recensitam, Poetisque præsertim pro corona datam legimus<sup>3</sup>: propter inebriandi

<sup>1</sup> Athen. l. 13. c. 5. p. 675. it. Plut. Sympos. 3. p. 647. A.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. ad Fin.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. 24 c. x.

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<sup>3</sup> Hor. Od. l. 1. 1. Cælius item Aurelianus, Medicus antiquus, artis suæ experientia, ut credere licet, edoctus, hanc eandem vim Hederæ attribuit; *eamque cum bibitur*,  
R

briandi scilicet, sive enthusiasmum quendam excitandi potestatem, quam, perinde ac laurus, habuisse reperta est.

Bacchi vero sacra, tam apud Græcos, quam Romanos, noctu plerumque celebrari solebant; ut Bacchus ipse apud Euripidem declarat.

Νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ, σεμνότητ' ἔχει σκότος.

Noctu plerumque: tenebræ reverentiam creant.

Cui Pentheus respondet,

Τῆτ' εἰς γυναῖκας δολιόν ἔστι καὶ σαθρόν.

Hoc mulieribus insidiosum est ac turpe.

Quod quidem Romæ olim verum esse compertum est: nam cum Consulibus indicatum esset, Orgia ista nocturna nonnisi stupris flagitiisque inquinari, ac *corruptelarum omnium*, ut Livius ait, *officinam esse*; non modo ex urbe, sed ex Italia etiam omni exterminata fuerunt<sup>2</sup>. Quæ tamen, labante rursus disciplina, paucis post annis revocata, atque a mulieribus palam celebrata invenimus. At vero, ex ingenti Icuncularum harum numero, quæ, bacchantium habitu, usque ad hæc tempora conservata sunt, eas ad viventium similitudinem fictas esse, germanasque matronarum quarundem, quæ Bacchi sese facris addixerant, imagines fuisse, verisimile videtur.

At illud denique haud silentio prætereundum; Bacchæ nimirum nostræ imaginem *oculos argenteos* habere: quod tamen in aliis sæpe Imagunculis inveniri; neque ex argento tantum, sed

*libitur, mentis errorem inducere*, declarat.

N. B. Hoc autem omne, quod de hederæ vi inebriante hoc loco dictum est, a familiari meo multis, mihi nominibus carissimo, Gulielmo Heberden M. D. Collegii Div. Johan. apud Cantabrigienses fortis accepi. Qui ad Artis Medicæ scien-

tiam, qua quidem egregie præstat, litteras eas omnes reconditiores, atque ea humanitatis studia adjunxit, quæ hominem ingenium ornare, suisque jucundum reddere queant.

<sup>1</sup> Euripid. Bacch. v. 486.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. l. 39. x.

e cryſtallo, gemmiſque item pretioſis, oculos effici ſolere, harum rerum periti confirmant<sup>a</sup>. Plinius, *Leonem marmoreum* in Inſula Cypro extitiſſe ait, *cui oculi ex ſmaragdis radiantibus inditi eſſent*<sup>b</sup>. Et Pauſanias Minervæ ſimulachrum commemorat, cujus oculi cærulei erant<sup>c</sup>.

Hanc oculos conficiendi artem, opifices quidam proprii, atque a ſculptoribus diverſi, exercuiſſe videntur: de quorum grege M. Rapiſium, in Inſcriptione quadam antiqua celebratum legimus,

M. RAPILIVS. SERAPIO. HIC  
AB. ARA. MARMOR.  
OCVLOS. REPOSVIT. STATVIS.  
QVOAD. VIXIT. BENE<sup>d</sup>.

Atque hinc ex Icunculis hiſce, nonnullæ oculis penitus deſtitutæ, foraminibus jam vacuis relictis, reperiuntur; quibus oculi ſcilicet vel ob vetuſtatem delapſi, vel ob pretium abrepti eſſent. At in noſtra imagine, nil niſi album oculi argenteum fuiſſe apparet, cujus in medio foramen adhuc concavum reſtat, in quod gemma olim aliqua pupillæ loco inſerta fuiſſet. Ex quo intelligere poſſumus, quantum artifices iſti veteres operum ſuorum laudem ex oculorum acie pendere exiſtimaverint, quantumque ideo in iis fingendis curam atque induſtriam poſuerint.

## S E C T. II.

**F**igura ſecunda, Gladiatoriſ effigiem æneam nobis oſtendit, ſed ex quo Gladiatorum genere aut factione, haud facile dici poteſt. Nam etiamſi multæ hujusmodi figuræ in

<sup>a</sup> Offervaz. Iſtorich. Sopr. Alcan. Me-  
daglion. Da Fil. Buonarroti. Pr. xii.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. 37. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 1. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Spon. Miſcell. Sect. 6. p. 232. it.  
Inſcript. Antiqu. Etrur. Vol. 1. p. 406.

libris descriptæ ac pervulgatæ sint, attamen nudæ plerumque, neque armis ullis, quibus factiones istæ maxime distinguebantur, instructæ apparent. Nudos eos quidem depugnare solitos, ab antiquis traditum est. *Homo*, inquit Seneca, *sacra res, jam per ludum jocumque occiditur: et quem erudiri ad inferenda accipiendaque vulnera nefas erat, is jam nudus inermisque producitur, satisque spectaculi in homine mors est*.<sup>c</sup>

Gladiatoris autem nostri caput vel galeæ specie quadam, vel pileo potius, libertatis symbolo, tectum est. Etenim galea, quam Gladiatorum plerisque communem esse scimus, non caput modo, sed faciem quoque penitus obtegisse videtur.

— — — *Nec Myrmillonis in armis,*  
*Nec Clypeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina,*  
*Nec galea faciem abscondit*<sup>d</sup> — — —

Bonannius, qui duas quoque Gladiatorum figuras, ex ære fictas edidit, omnes ejusdemmodi Icunculas, Marti seu Herculi, ob victoriam aliquam partam, libertatemve concessam, ex voto donatas esse arbitratur<sup>e</sup>. Atque in hunc igitur finem Icunculam item nostram, effectam olim esse judicemus: neque enim ratio ulla probabilior inveniri facile poterit, quamobrem tantum earum numerum vel hodie extantem reperiamus. Ad quem quidem figuras istas consecrandi morem Tertullianus quasi alludere videtur, cum meliorem *Homicidam, laudem suam consecratione pensare*, scribit<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Sen. Epist. 95. vid. item Ep. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Juven. S. 8. 200. vid. item. Fabrett. Column. Trajan. c. 8. p. 258, 259. ubi Batonis, Gladiatoris galeam videre licet,

et duos Genios pileum libertatis, victori cuidam Circensi deferentes.

<sup>e</sup> Muscum, Kircher, p. 70.

<sup>h</sup> De Resurrectione, Carn: p. 290.

## S E C T. III.

**A** Liæ duæ Icunculæ restant, mihi tamen haud ita cognitæ, ut quidquam de eis certi stature audeam. At quoniam in argumento profus conjecturali versamur, alteram, cujus capiti æneo antiqui operis, thorax e marmore recens accommodatur, Germanici fortasse effigiem; alteram autem æneam, ex oris habitu, comarumque ornatu, vel Ægyptii alicujus, vel Etrusci potius Herois simulachrum esse conjicerem.

## T A B U L A XV.

**I**nstrumenta hujusmodi ænea, qualia in hac et sequenti Tabula delineata damus, ansis longiusculis, et sculptili opere ornata, quorumque exemplaria, in rerum antiquarum collectionibus, vel hodie etiam bene multa reperiuntur, ab eruditorum plerisque Pateræ vocantur<sup>i</sup>. At vero Pateram, nihil aliud ac poculi genus quoddam fuisse, perspicuum est; cujus quidem usus tam in conviviis, quam in sacrificiis, a scriptoribus fere omnibus celebratur. “In poculis, inquit Varro, erant pateræ, eo quod pateant, latine ita dictæ. Hisce etiam nunc in publico convivio, antiquitatis retinendæ causa, cum magistri fiunt, potio circumfertur; et in sacrificando, hoc poculo magistratus dat Deo vinum<sup>k</sup>.” Macrobius item, “Pateram, uti nomen ipsum indicio est, poculum planum ac patens esse, dicit<sup>l</sup>.”

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Caufei Muse. Rom. Fabrett. Inscript. p. 538, 542. Cabinet de S. Genev. p. 10, &c.

<sup>k</sup> De ling. lat. l. 4. Cicero a Thucydide traditum scribit, Themistoclem, cum taurum immolavisset, excepisse sanguinem

patera, et eo poto mortuum concidisse. [in Brut. 43. Ed. Lamb.] Inidorus item, Pateræ inquit sunt dictæ, vel quod in ipsis potare solemus, vel quod patentes sunt, dispanfis labris. Origin. l. 20. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Saturn. l. 5. 21.

*Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit*

*Implevitque mero pateram*

*Ille impiger hausit*

*Spumantem pateram et pleno se proluit auro<sup>m</sup>.*

Ex his, aliisque veterum testimoniis apparet, pateras, Vascula quædam concava et capacia fuisse, quibus vinum vel in conviviis largiter bibere, vel in sacrificiis Diis libare, vel in cornua victimæ fundere, vel sanguinem ejus excipere solent; ad quæ quidem munera, has nostras figuras, ob superficiem planam atque æquabilem, inhabiles omnino atque inutiles esse, vel primo intuitu declarare licet. At vero germanam paterarum effigiem, in sculpturis numismatibusque antiquis, in quibus sacrificium aliquod solenne describitur, in sacrificantis usque manu cernimus; rotundam scilicet, et concavam, neque ansa ulla aut manubrio instructam<sup>n</sup>.

Itaque Begerus Causeum, ceterosque rerum antiquarum interpretes, jure reprehendit, qui figuras ejusmodi planas atque anfas, paterarum nomine appellant; quas ille quidem, Isidori auctoritate, Apophoretas vocat; quibus poma seu bellaria quælibet in conviviis, cœnantibus dari solita, contendit<sup>o</sup>. At hæc eadem instrumenta, Vir doctus Bonannius patellas vocat<sup>p</sup>; quibus epulas nimirum Diis Laribus apponere consueverunt.

*Et libate dapes; ut grati pignus honoris*

*Nutriet incinctos missa patella Lares<sup>q</sup>.*

Hinc Varro a Nonio citatus, *Quocirca, inquit, oportet bonum civem legibus parere, et Deos colere, atque in patellam dare μίσην κρέας,*

<sup>n</sup> Virg. Æn. l. 732.

*Sopponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem*

*Exipiunt pateris* ————— *ibid.*

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Column. Trajan. Tab. 67, 74,  
78. it. Du Choul. Relig. Vet. Rom. p.  
96, 135, &c.

<sup>o</sup> Thesaur. Brandeb. Vol. 3. p. 424.

<sup>p</sup> Muse. Kircher. p. 12. Tab. 5.

<sup>q</sup> Ovid. Fastor. l. 2. 633.

*Fert missos Vestæ pura patella cibus.*

*ibid.* l. 6. v. 310.  
*pauilla-*

*paululum carnis*<sup>†</sup>. De his autem patellis, quod Diis appositum esset, comedere, tanquam hominis fumme impij indicium a Cicerone commemoratur; *atqui reperiemus, inquit, afotos, primum ita non religiofos, ut edant de patella*<sup>‡</sup>.

Sed patellas item istas, perinde ac pateras, concavas fuisse, atque a nostris propterea diversas, certissimum est: quippe quæ oleribus obsoniisque interdum coquendis, atque in mensam etiam ponendis inferviisse dicuntur.

*Nec modica cœnare times olus omne patella*<sup>§</sup>.

Montfauconius igitur, in rebus antiquis omnium sane versatissimus, de instrumentorum nostrorum usu ac nomine, nihil omnino statui posse putat, donec e veterum monumentis, quiddam nondum visum eruatur, quod lucem aliquam majorem ad hanc litem dirimendam præbeat<sup>¶</sup>.

At quocunque demum nomine hæc vascula appellanda sint, hoc saltem ex eorum forma perspicuum videtur, ea videlicet non nisi ad aridum aliquid, vel in sacrificando Diis, vel in cœnando convivis, offerendum, inventa atque adhibita esse.

Quod vero ad res potissimum divinas olim pertinuisent, ex figuris in eis insculptis, conijcere licet; quæ Deorum fere fabelas, imaginesque eas exhibent, quibus vascula potissimum sacra ornari solita accepimus. “ Apud Siculos, inquit Cicero, ante  
“ Verrem Prætozem, domus erat nulla paullo locupletior, qua  
“ in domo hæc non essent, etiamsi præterea nihil esset argenti:  
“ patella grandis cum figillis ac simulachris Deorum; patera,

<sup>†</sup> Non. Marcell. c. 15. 6. Hinc Diï Lares, Patellarii diï. Plaut. Cist. 2. 1. 46.

<sup>‡</sup> De Finib. 2. 22.

<sup>§</sup> Hor. Epist. 1. 1. 5. v. 2.

*Quamvis lata gerat patella Rombum  
Rombus latior est tamen patella.*

Mart. Fpig. 13. 81.

Plinius item pulmentarium in patellis decoctum commemorat. [Hist. N. 1. 13. S. ad fin.] Atque apud Varronem legimus, multifariam in patellis coquere carpe. in Fragm. p. 71.

<sup>¶</sup> Antiqua, Vol. 2. l. 3. c. 5. §. 4.

“ qua

“qua mulieres ad res divinas uterentur; Thuribulum: hæc  
 “autem omnia antiquo opere et summo artificio facta\*.”  
 Jam ex hoc loco, *Pateræ istæ, quibus mulieres uterentur*, a reli-  
 quis omnibus, ad communem usum adhibitis, distingui videntur:  
 neque alienum sane existimari potest, genus quoddam paterarum  
 ornatus, leviusque mulierum præcipue usui dicatum fuisse; e  
 quibus vini modo pauxillulum fundere, ad libationes rite faciendas  
 sufficeret: et si talis paterarum distinctio, a nemine, quod sciam,  
 memorata, revera tamen extitisse inveniretur, conjicerem sane,  
 instrumenta hæc nostra de paterarum earum classe fuisse, quæ  
 fœminarum propriæ haberentur. Nam etiam si nulla eorum figura  
 vel in marmoribus vel numismatibus unquam visa sit, in quibus  
 sacrificium aliquod a viris celebratum exprimitur; in Priapi  
 tamen sacrificio supra memorato, atque a mulieribus confecto,  
 vasculi speciem quandam, his nostris haud absimilem, mulieris  
 cujusdam in manu cernimus, quæ de Sacerdotum numero esse  
 apparet<sup>x</sup>. Atqui hoc tanquam incertum penitus, nec nisi  
 conjectura quadam extemporalis fultum, aliis diligentius  
 investigandum relinquo.

## S E C T. II.

**I**N hac patera, mulieris Cygno insidentis effigies inculpta  
 est; quæ dextra collum avis amplectitur, sinistra speculum  
 orbiculare tenet: quod ad Ledæ certe historiolum, a Poetis fere  
 omnibus decantatum, referendum arbitror. De qua quidem  
 fabella, Helena, Ledæ filia, ad Paridem ita scribens, ab Ovidio  
 inducitur.

\* In Verr. lib. 4. 21.

fauc. Vol. 1. par. 2. lib. 1. c. 28. Tab.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Boiffard. Vol. 1. par. 2. it. Mont-

83. 9.



*Dat mihi Leda Jovem Cygno decepta parentem,  
Quæ falsam gremio credula fovit avem<sup>y</sup>.*

Ledam autem ipsam, in speculo sese contemplantem, ac formæ oris eximia, qua Jovem ipsum subegerat, quasi exultantem videmus<sup>z</sup>.

*Seu pendent nivea pulli cervice capilli,      70.  
Leda fuit nigra conspicienda coma<sup>z</sup>.*

## T A B U L A XVI.

**F**iguræ in hac patera insculptæ, et vetustate, et vasculi ipsius effractione quadam, ita mutilatæ ac pæne obliterate sunt, ut haud jam dignosci aut describi facile queant. Tres tamen hominum vel Deorum potius imagines cernimus; quarum duæ, ora sibi mutuo obversæ, atque eodem plane gestu, altero nimirum pede in terram, altero supra amphoram posito, inter sese quasi colloquentes finguntur. Hisce duabus imaginibus, tertia item media interjecta est, figura scilicet muliebris sedens, cujus ima tantum pars jam restat, reliqua penitus deleta: hanc vero Minervam esse conjicio, ex clypei specie quadam ei adjuncta, quæ os Gorgonis præ se ferre videtur. Atque in aliis etiam hujusmodi pateris, Heroum interdum Deorumque figuras, hac eadem positura, inter sese colloquentes animadverti<sup>a</sup>.

Sculpturæ denique genus præstantiamque quod attinet: illa quidem, in his nostris, perinde ac in omnibus, quæ vidi, ejusdemmodi instrumentis, nonnisi levi admodum opere, in summa

<sup>y</sup> Ovid. Epist. Helen. ad Parid. v. 55.      c. 5. it. Caufai Mus. Roman. p. 81.

<sup>z</sup> Id. Amor. l. 2. El. 4. v. 41.      Tab. 20. &c.

<sup>a</sup> Vid. Montfauc. Atiqu. Vol. 2. l. 3.

æris superficie exarata est; ubi omnis artificis cura in eo posita apparet, ut lineæ modo extremæ rerum ipsarum formam aliquam rudem, ac similitudinem præ se ferrent.

## T A B U L A XVII.

**H**Astæ antiquæ spiculum five cuspidem æneam in hac Tabula descriptam cernimus, una cum instrumentis duobus fabrilibus, ex ære pariter conflatis: quæ primo quidem aspectu antiquissima certe, nec nisi eorum temporum fuisse diceremus, quibus ferrum vel nondum cognitum, vel, quod magis mirum est, nonnisi raro usurpatum; quibusque Romanorum etiam gladii, quales illi quidem ex urbis veteris ruinis jam sæpe effossi dicuntur, ex ære quoque conflati erant.

*Nam prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus<sup>b</sup>.*

At vero Ennius, vel priscis istis Reipublicæ seculis, enses, hastas, atque arma fere omnia, ferrea fuisse testatur.

*Hastati spargunt hastas, fit ferreus imber<sup>c</sup>.*

*Tum Clypei resonant et ferri stridet acumen<sup>d</sup>.*

Lucretius quoque eam ipsam ferri indurandi artem, qua hodie utimur, tanquam communem atque omnibus cognitam, commemorat.

*Humor aquæ porro ferrum condurat ab igni<sup>e</sup>.*

Atque hac demum arte inventa, enses ferreos in æneorum locum successisse, atque instrumenta omnia, quibus ex ære antea uti essent, abjecta, et cum ferreis commutata esse declarat.

<sup>b</sup> Lucret. 5. 1286.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. p. 95. vid. it. p. 80, 50. 56, &c.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Enn. Fragment. p. 81. Edit.

<sup>e</sup> l. 6. 968.

Amstel. 1707.

*Inde minutatim processit ferreus ensis,  
Versaque in opprobrium species est falcis abenæ,  
Et ferro cæpere solum profcindere terræ<sup>f</sup>.*

Virgilius item, et enses, et hastas quoque ferreas plurimis locis memorat. —

*Bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro<sup>g</sup>.  
Haud secus instructi ferro, quam si aspera Martis  
Pugna vocet<sup>h</sup> —*

Vitruvius denique, qui Augusti ætate floruisse dicitur, *Machinam istam bellicam, quæ aries dicitur, rostrum de ferro duro, perinde ac navis etiam longas, habuisse*, scribit<sup>i</sup>. Quod ab ipsis arietum, naviumque rostris, adhuc extantibus, quorum nonnulla ipse vidi, confirmatur.

Cum ferri igitur usus temporibus istis cognitus ac familiaris fuisse appareat, illud profecto mirum videtur, quod ad armorum eorum fabricam, quorum vis virtusque omnis ex metalli duritie, mucronisque subtilitate pendent, æs tamen adhiberetur: nam ita sese rem habuisse, hæc nostra instrumenta, atque alia ejusdem generis permulta, in libris passim descripta, demonstrant: quæ quidem omnia post ferrum inventum ex ære fabricata esse, promiscuumque diu cum ferro ipso usum obtinuisse, certissimum est. Virgilius enim, quem de ferro, tanquam pugnae ac Marti proprio, loquentem modo induximus, hastas tamen, ensesque ac proras etiam navium, æratas vocat.

*Æratæque micant peltæ, micat æreus ensis<sup>k</sup>.  
Quot prius æratæ steterant ad littora proræ<sup>l</sup>.*

<sup>f</sup> l. 5. 1292.

<sup>g</sup> Æn. 12. 165.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 124.

<sup>i</sup> Lib. x. c. 21. vid. etiam Amm. Mar-

cell. 1. 23. c. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Æn. 7. 743.

<sup>l</sup> ib. 9. 122. it. 463.

Attamen hujusmodi omnia, commentatorum plerisque tanquam poetice dicta, interpretari scio, et æs, vocem metallis omnibus communem esse, nec nisi de ferro in istis locis intelligi debere, contendunt<sup>m</sup>. Sed *gladii ipsi ænei, hastarumque et sagittarum cuspides ex ære quoque conflantur*, quarum ingens plane numerus ex urbi antiquæ ruderibus ad hanc usque ætatem conservatus est, interpretationem istam profus refellunt<sup>n</sup>, promiscuumque æris ac ferri usum per multa secula durasse confirmant. Quæ quidem utraque a Cicerone, tanquam belli instrumenta, et Marti propia, commemorantur<sup>o</sup>.

Plutarchus, Aristotele auctore, tradit, *vulnera illa, quæ spiritalibus gladii æneis insiguntur, minorem efficere dolorem, faciliusque sanari posse quam quæ ferreis; propterea quod æs virtutem quandam medicinalem in se habeat, quam in vulnere ipso statim deponit*<sup>p</sup>. Si ob hanc igitur rationem, vanam licet ac futilem, veteres istos, humanitatis sensu commotos, arma ænea usurpassè arbitraremur; cur fabrorum tamen sculptorumque instrumenta ex ære etiam fecerint, mihi sane permirum, nec ullo modo explicabile videtur.

De Hastæ nostræ ætate, aut ubinam demum terrarum reperta fuerit, nihil equidem habeo, quod liquet. Sin conjecturis in-

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Notas Lud. de la Cerda in Virg. Æn. x. 482. it. Fabrett. Col. Traj. 109.

<sup>n</sup> Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 4. l. 2. c. 7.

<sup>o</sup> Jam æs atque ferrum, duelli instrumenta non fani. Leg. 2. 18.

<sup>p</sup> Plut. Sympof. 3. c. ult. De hac vulnerum medicina ab æris rubigine petenda, celebris quædam fabella, a Poetis fere omnibus decantata, apud antiquos ferebatur. Telephus enim, Myzæ rex, cum ab Achille graviter vulneratus esset, nec remedium ullum invenire posset, ab Oraculo hoc responsum accepit, ut ab eo, a quo

vulnus acceperat, sanaretur. Ab Achille igitur opem petiit, qui hastæ ejus rubiginem, qua eum feriisset, ad vulnus adhibens, illud statim sanavit.

Ego Telephon hasta Pugnarem domui, visum orantemq. refeci.

Ov. Met. 13. 171.

Mytus et Hæmonia juvenis qua cuspidè vulnus Senjerat, hac ipsa cuspidè sensit opem.

Propert. 2. 1.

Et sic, inquit Plinius, Telephum proditur sanasse Achilles, sive id ærea sive ferrea cuspidè fecit. Ita certe depingitur tam decuit gladio. Hist. N. 34. 15.

dulgere

dulgere liceat, cum præacutam eam, usuque simul rubigine attritam videmus, haud scio, an in camporum eorum aliquo, ubi de Romæ ipsius fato decertatum esset, Pharfalico nimirum, Mutinensi, aut Philippico, inventam esse dicamus; secundum celebre istud Virgilii vaticinium;

*Scilicet et tempus veniet, quo finibus illis  
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,  
Eusea inveniet scabra rubigine pila<sup>9</sup>.*

## S E C T. II.

**F**iguræ secundæ, aliam item consimilem, ac plane parem, a Comite Mascardo Veronensi, descriptam observavi; quam auctor iste nobilis, jaculi seu faggittæ, qualis e catapultæ olim emitti solet, cuspidem fuisse dicit<sup>r</sup>. Montfauconius autem, qui tres quatuorve ejusdem generis ac formæ e diversis museis protulit, eas nonnisi sculptorum instrumenta esse declarat, quibus scilicet, ad lapides in formas quaslibet fingendos, utebantur<sup>r</sup>.

## S E C T. III.

**F**igura tertia sculptoris certe instrumentum fuit; ac celebrioris fortasse cujusdam, quatenus ex instrumenti ipsius ornatu, ac sculptili opere, conjectare liceat. Mucronem ejus, rubigine paullulum deterfa, auri penitus nitorem exæquare reperii: Plinius nempe, “ æs auro quondam argentoque con-  
“ fufum esse dicit, ac tria ejus genera recenset: Candidum,

<sup>9</sup> Georg. 1. 493.

<sup>r</sup> Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. 3. l. 5. c. 1.

<sup>r</sup> Vid. Museo Di Ludov. Mascardo. p. Tab. 60.

“ argento nitore quam proxime accedens, in quo illa mixtura  
 “ prævaluit: alterum, in quo auri fulva natura: tertium, in  
 “ quo æqualis omnium temperies fuit<sup>1</sup>.” Strabo etiam lapi-  
 dem commemorat, “ qui combustus in ferrum transit: et in  
 “ camino deinde cum terra quadam excoctus pseudargyrum  
 “ stillat; cui ubi æs additum est, temperamentum fit, quod  
 “ nonnulli orichalchum vocant<sup>2</sup>.” quod orichalchum vero istud  
 auri plane pulchritudinem exæquaverit, neque alterum fere ab  
 altero dignosci potuerit, ex Cicerone intelligimus, qui de hac  
 ipsa re quæstionem instituit, *siquis aurum vendens orichalchum se  
 putet vendere, indicetne ei vir bonus, aurum illud esse? an emat  
 denario quod sit mille denarium*<sup>3</sup>. Quamobrem ex orichalcho for-  
 tasse, seu temperatura istiusmodi aliqua, instrumentum nostrum  
 conflatum esse puto.

## T A B U L A XVIII.

**J**A M vero nummorum, quos omnium primos a Romanis  
 ex ære signatos accepimus, feriem quandam hic descriptam  
 damus. Quorum quidem plerosque Romæ dudum ipse colle-  
 geram, nonnullos autem, ibi quoque repertos, a viro mihi  
 amicissimo, et cum ingenii acumine, tum literis omnibus poli-  
 tioribus ornatissimo, Daniele Wray, S. R. S. dono accepi.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. N. 34. 2.

<sup>2</sup> L. 13. p. 908. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

<sup>3</sup> Cicer. Offic. I. 3. 23. Iñdorus de Aurichalcho loquens, fit autem, inquit, ex ære et igne multo, ac medicamentis perducitur ad aureum colorem: nomenque ex lingua Latina et Græca compositum dicit. [l. 16. c. 19.] sed errare prorsus videtur, nam Orichalchum ab antiquis scriptum, atque a

Græco penitus fonte derivatum esse, constat. [vid. Festum in voce et Fabri notas, it. Plinii Hist. Nat. 34. 2.] Atqui ex his veterum testimoniis colligere licet, istud æris temperamentum, quod jam auri plane nitorem exæquat, quodque Pinchbackii, Opificis Londinensis, nomine celebratum est, non horum temporum inventum esse, sed antiquis in usu communi fuisse.

Æris signandi originem, a scriptoribus fere omnibus ad fabulas, Janumque referri invenio. Athenæus a Dracone Corcyræo memoriæ proditum scribit, “Janum e Græcia in Italiam migrasse, montemque ibi juxta Tyberim occupasse, Janiculum postea ab eo dictum: ac inter alia, in vitæ humanæ commo- dum, ab eo excogitata, coronas et rates, et navigia invenisse; omniumque primum, nummos præsertim æneos signasse; in cujus beneficii memoriam, multas deinde Græciæ, Italiæ, ac Siciliæ urbes, in nummis suis, ex altera parte Janum bicipitem, ex altera, ratem vel navem, vel coronam insculpisse.” Alii vero rem paullo aliter tradunt; “Saturnum scilicet, a Jove filio expulsum, ad Janum confugisse; qui eum benigne admo- dum excepit, atque in regni societatem admisit; et quo adventus ejus memoriam in posteros propagaret, æra, ex altera parte, capitis sui, ex altera navis effigie signavit.”

Atqui hæc profecto de Jano Rege, apud præcos eos fama constans ferebatur; eum videlicet in Etruria diu ac feliciter regnasse, atque ob multa deinde beneficia, in hominum genus collata, omnium mortalium primum, in Deorum numerum relatum esse.

<sup>z</sup> Deipnos. l. 15. c. 13. p. 692. Quod vero ab Athæneo hoc loco de nummis istis traditur, a Siciliæ ac Magnæ Græciæ nummis antiquis, adhuc extantibus, plane confirmatur; in quibus, ex altera parte, Jani bicipitis, ex altera, coronæ vel navis sæpe effigiem videmus. Vid. Sicil. de Phil. Parut. p. 142, 143.

<sup>y</sup> Macrob. Sat. 1. 7. p. 217. Lastant. Div. Instit. c. 13. Plut. Quæst. Rom. 274.

Atque hanc quidem famam ad Ovidii certe ætatem mansisse, constat; qui Janum de hac ipsa re secum colloquentem, et quærenti sibi, cur in nummis hæc, Imago biceps, navisque insculptæ fuerint, rem

ita exponentem inducit.

*Multa quidem didici. Sed cur navalis in ære.*

*Altera signata est, altera forma biceps?*

*Nescere me duplici passus in imagine, dixit.*

*Ni vetus ipsa dies extenuaret opus.*

*Causa ratis superest. Torsum rate venit in amnem,*

*Ante perorato Falci ferorbe Deus.*

*Hac ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum,*

*Carlitibus regnis ab Jove pulsus erat.*

*Inde diu genti mansit Saturnia nomen,*

*Dicta quoque est Latium terra, latevte Deo.*

*At bona posteritas puppin servavit in ære,*

*Hospitis adventum significata Dei.*

*Publica quem primum vota precesque vocant<sup>2</sup>.*

Forma autem ejus biceps nihil aliud denotare videtur, ac circumsp̄ctionem istam et sollertiam, quæ ex præteritorum memoria, futurorumque prudentia oritur; quamque Homerus, feni cuivis cauto ac provido attribuit, *ὅς ἄμα πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω λείσσει*. Qui a fronte pariter atque a tergo prospicit<sup>3</sup>.

At vero Romæ quisnam æra primus signaverit, haud fatis compertum habemus. Suidas, Tranquilli auctoritate, ad Numam rem deferit; atque æs ita signatum, de nomine ejus, nummum vocari ait, quum ante id tempus, coriorum tantum segmenta, aut testas, nummorum loco adhibuissent<sup>b</sup>. Plinius autem, quem jam omnes fere sequuntur, *Servium Tullium æs primum signasse scribit*, quo rudi antea usi essent, signatum vero *nota pecudum esse*, unde pecunia appellata<sup>c</sup>. Attamen hac pecudum nota, quam boum oviumve effigiem esse dicit<sup>d</sup>, nonnisi majorum ponderum nummos signatos fuisse censeo; eos nimirum, quos cum mercibus istis commutare possent, quibuscum boves antea, ovesve commutare solebant. Æris enim lamina duarum librarum, as dupondius vel dupondium vocabatur; trium librarum, Treffis; quatuor, Quadruffis; et sic usque ad Centussium, seu centum assium pondus, quem nummorum æneorum maximum fuisse, ex Varrone discimus<sup>e</sup>. De hac autem nummorum classè, duos omnino Quadruffes, bovis effigie signatos, vel in curiosorum Museis asservatos, vel in libris descriptos vidi<sup>f</sup>. In asse vero librali, ejusve partibus, quo-

<sup>2</sup> Mart. Epig. l. x. 28. Principem in sacrificando Janum esse voluerunt. Cic. Nat. Deor. 2. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Iliad. 3. 109. Quali etiam prudentia Plinius, Mauricum fuisse dicit, multis experimentis eruditum, et qui futura possit, ex præteritis providere. Epist. l. 1. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Suid. in voce Assarion.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Nat. 33. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. 18. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Quo majus æris vocabulum non est. De ling. lat. l. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 3. par. 1. c. 9. Tab. 27.



rum plurima adhuc exemplaria restant, nullam unquam bovis ovivse effigiem, unica tantum excepta, insculptam animadverti<sup>s</sup>.

## S E C T. I.

**P**rimus iste nummus, germana Assis libralis imago est: ejus profus generis, quod Romæ olim, vel a Numa, vel Servio Rege, omnium primum signatum esse liquet. Ex quo idem illud, quod ab aliis Italiæ ac Siciliæ civitatibus factum esse, supra memoravimus, Reges quoque Romanos fecisse, Janique memoriam in nummis suis celebrasse, videmus. Cujus forma biceps ex altera Assis nostri parte, ex altera, Mercurii caput signatum est: quem quidem Deum, tanquam lucri auctorem, commerciique præsidem, priscos istos invocasse cognovimus.

*Te quicumque suas profitetur vendere merces,  
Thure dato, tribuas ut sibi lucra, rogat<sup>n</sup>*

Istud vero, sive falx, seu quodvis aliud instrumentum fuerit, quod juxta Mercurii caput exsculptum prominet, nihil aliud esse a viris doctis putatur, ac nota quædam, qua æris signandi artifices, officinam quisque suam, nam quatuor Romæ institutæ dicuntur, pro arbitrio distinguere consueverunt.

Assem antiquorum libralem, uncias æris duodecim, et pondere et pretio exæquasse, notissimum est: cujus partes primariæ, in communi maxime usu tritæ, sæpiusque idcirco a scrip-

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Cabin. S. Genev. Paris. a Molineto edit.

<sup>n</sup> Ovid. Fast. 5. 671.

—grates habeo—

*Simul Mercurio, qui me in mercimoniis  
Juvit, lucrisque quadruplicavit rem meam.*

Plut. Stich. 3. 1.

Inscriptio item antiqua extat apud Gruterum, p. 55. 1.

MERCVRIO. NEGOTIATORI  
SACRVM.

NVMISIVS ALBINVS  
EX VOTO.

toribus memoratæ, hæ sunt; Semissis, sive pars dimidia, sex unciarum; Triens, seu pars tertia, quatuor unciarum; Quadrans, seu pars quarta, trium unciarum; Sextans, seu pars sexta duarum unciarum; Uncia denique sive Stips uncialis, pars duodecima. Quorum quidem nummorum omnium, sextante tantum excepto, exemplaria jam perpulchra quædam lectori contemplanda damus.

## S E C T. II.

**S**ecundus nummus, semissis est, ut littera, S, nota ejusdem propria, utrinque insculpta indicat. Ex altera parte, capite senili, laureato, vel Jovis Capitolini, vel Servii fortasse Regis, æris signandi auctoris; ex altera, navis effigie signatur.

## S E C T. III.

**T**ertius item, Semissis est, sed rubigine haud parum attritus, et cui littera, S, vetustate jam fere evanuit. Hic autem Pegasi effigie utrinque signatus est: cujus quidem ratio haud explicatu facilis videtur, ni cum Begero, Pegasum, tanquam Corinthi symbolum, ad Tarquinii Prisci, Corintho oriundi, originem celebrandam, a Servio ejus successore et privigno adhibitum censeamus<sup>i</sup>. Quippe Pegasum in Syracusarum item nummis; quæ Corinthi colonia fuit, persepse signatum cernimus; perinde ac in Familiarum etiam Romanarum nonnullis, in quibus litteræ, C O R, interdum inscriptæ, eos ad Corinthum respectum aliquem habere, et vel ab Achaiæ Prætoris, vel alio quovis magistratu, Corinthi cum imperio degente, percussos esse, indicant<sup>k</sup>.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Theaur. Brandeb. Vol. 3, p. 80.      saur. in Famil. Bellia et Cæcilia. Tab. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Sicil. di Phil. Paruta, deserit.      Numm. A. iv. B. c.

æon. Medagl. p. 48. &c. it, Morell. The-

## S E C T. IV.

**Q**uartus, Triens est; tertia pars Assis, quatuor uncias complectens, totidemque punctis notatus. Nam singulæ Assis partes istiusmodi punctis, unciarum numerum denotantibus, inter sese distingui solebant. Hic autem Triens, ex utraque parte, capitis equini effigie signatur; quod quidem signum, in aliis quoque Romanorum nummis nonnunquam animadverti: a priscis istis idcirco fortasse adhibitum, ut bellicam eam virtutem, animumque ferocem indicarent, quibus populus Romanus omnes gentes superaturus esset: ob quam etiam causam, urbis ipsius fundator, Romulus, equos ad bellum aluisse, ludosque equestres instituisse traditur<sup>1</sup>.

*Hac Quirinus  
Martis equis Achæronta fugit<sup>m</sup>.*

Atque hinc equum, tanquam Marti dicatum, ac bello utilem, et bellatoris etiam nomine a Poetis latinis celebratum legimus.

*Bello armantur equi, bellum hæc armenta minantur<sup>n</sup>.*

## S E C T. V.

**Q**uintus, Quadrantem, seu quartam assis partem exhibet, trium unciarum nummum, tribusque ideo punctis notatum: is autem manu aperta, fidei videlicet, in mercibus nummisque permutandis, symbolo, ex utraque parte signatus est.

<sup>1</sup> Equiria, ludi, quos Romulus Marti instituit, per equorum cursum. Fest. it. *Post bellator equus, positus insignibus, Æthon.* — ib. xi. 89.

Ovid. Fast. 2. 859.

<sup>m</sup> Hor. Od. 1. 3. 5.

<sup>n</sup> Virg. Æn. 3. 540.

Vid. it. Georgic. 3. 84. Lucret. 2. 660. Stat. Thebaid. 2. 66.

## S E C T. VI.

**S**extus, stips uncialis, sive uncia est, affis libralis pars duodecima; unico puncto notatus: atque ex altera parte, vasculi cujusdam sacrificialis, ex altera, litui auguralis effigie signatus.

## S E C T. VII.

**S**eptimus item, stips uncialis esse videtur, ex utraque parte securis, opinor, ac clavæ specie quadam insignitus.

Quod hi autem nummi, affem, ut supra dixi libralem, partesque ejus revera exhibeant, ex ponderibus eorum inter se collatis, perspicuum est. As enim antiquus duodecim uncias continebat, quæ quidem uncia ejusdem plane momenti erant, ac istæ, quas Gallico nomine, Averdupois vocamus, atque ad merces varias ponderandas hodie adhibemus. Uncia enim vetus Romana ex granis quadringentis et triginta octo constabat, hanc scilicet nostram, grani tantum unius dimidio, exsuperans<sup>o</sup>. Hæc vero æra, quum figuris, e superficie eminentibus, ac majori idcirco attritui obnoxiiis, signata sint, haud parvam sane, post tot elapsa secula, ponderis antiqui diminutionem subiisse reperiuntur; nec majorem tamen, quam quæ ex annorum bis mille vetustate et rubigine expectari facile poterat: nam quædam eorum, partem solummodo octavam, alia sextam, alia autem quartam, pro variis, quos subierant, casibus, amississe videbimus.

	Unc.	Gran.
As noster jam continet - - -	10	10
Semissis - - - - -	4	366
Semissis alter - - -	4	239

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Hooper on Ancient Meas. p. 10, 14. it. Arbuthn. Tab. 7. Note 1.

Triens. o o o o	- - -	3	283
Quadrans. o o o	- -	2	179
Stips Uncialis. o	- - o		347
Stips altera	- - - o		327

Hæc profecto Æra, monumentorum omnium, quæ a priscis Romanis ad nos pervenerunt, vetustissima esse censeo: cujus rei indicium hoc mihi certissimum videtur, quod non typo aliquo impressa aut percussa, sed ex ære fuso conflata sint; atque eis certe seculis, quibus æris ferendi ars nondum inventa erat.<sup>p</sup> At vero ante bellum Punicum primum, signata ea omnia fuisse necesse est: quippe eo bello, ut Plinius ait, “ cum impensis “ Respublica non sufficeret, pondus æris imminutum, consti- “ tutumque, ut asses Sextantario pondere ferirentur; ita quin- “ que partes factæ lucri, dissolutumque æs alienum. Nota “ æris fuit, ex altera parte Janus Geminus, ex altera rostrum “ navis; in Triente vero et Quadrante rates—postea Anni- “ bale urgente, Q. Fabio maximo Dictatore, asses unciales “ facti—ita respublica dimidium lucrata est—mox lege “ Papijana, semiunciales asses facti.” Ex quo Plinii testi-

<sup>p</sup> Omnes item Tuscorum veterum nummi ænei, quos hodie extare cognovimus, quosque cum in Dempsteri Etruria Regali. [Vol. 1. p. 350. et Append. 38.] tum in Gorii Museo Etrusco [p. 425. Tab. 196.] delineatos videmus, ex ære fuso conflati sunt: atque hoc ipsum Gorius inter Etruscorum Romanorumque nummos discrimen statuit, quod Etruscorum semper fusi, Romanorum impressi fuerint, [ibid. Vol. 2. p. 421.] at vero nullum istiusmodi discrimen, aut scriptorum aut monumentorum veterum auctoritate confirmatum reperio: Romanoque præsertim, in nummis signandis, hanc æris fundendi rationem per multa secula secutos esse, nec ante bellum fortasse Punicum, ferendi artem invenisse,

ex asse nostro librali, aliisque permultis adhuc extantibus, probabile est.

Sed alias quasdam discriminis notas inter nummos istos a Phil. Buonarroti constitutas animadverti; qui caput istud bifrons, quo signatos eos sæpe videmus, in *nummis Etruscis, juvenile et imberbe ac pileo testum*, in Romanis contra, *barbatum ac nudum* semper inveniri, dicit. [Vid. Adlend. ad Dempit. Etrur. Reg. p. 38.] At hæc quoque distinctio nequaquam vera esse videtur; nam hac ratione, assem nostrum libralem et Etruscum et Romanum simul dicamus necesse erit; Etruscum, quia capite bifronte, imberbi ac juvenili; Romanum, quia nudo nec pileato signatus est.

<sup>q</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 33. 3.

monio, tres assis Romani diminutiones, diversis temporibus publice constitutas, intelligimus; quibus as scilicet a pondere librali, primum ad sextam, deinde ad duodecimam, tum ad vicesimam quartam ejus partem redactus est. Hoc autem interea lectori memoria tenendum, assis istum, utcumque pondere imminutum, in duodecim tamen partes æquales, atque idem usque pretium obtinentes, quæ uncia vocabantur, divisum semper fuisse.

## T A B U L A XIX.

**U**T Assis modo libralis, partiumque ejus figuras, in Tabula superiore exhibui, ita Assis jam imminuti, membrorumque ejus, germana quædam monumenta, in hac Tabula describere progredior; quæ quidem omnia, ob æris ferendi artem, hoc temporis intervallo, ut videtur, inventam, non fusa amplius aut conflata, sed impressa aut percussa esse apparent.

## S E C T. I.

**P**rimus igitur nummus assis, ad sextantis sive duarum unciarum pondus, imminutum indicat; quem eodem plane modo signatum cernimus, quo Plinius assis ejus generis signatos esse memorat, ex altera parte, Jano Gemino, ex altera, rostro navis. Infra navem vox, ROMA, at litteris jam fere evanescentibus, legitur: supra vero, Deæ Victoriæ effigies, lauream coronam manu gestans, ad navem quasi coronandam, advolare videtur; ob victoriam fortasse celebrem istam Duilianam, quæ primo Punico bello, quo hic ipse nummus signatus fuit, contra Pænos parta est. Notam vero istam, seu litteram, I, quæ supra capita, navimque utrinque ex-

sculpta est, tanquam signum assis proprium, ab eruditis intelligi reperio.

## S E C T. II.

**S**ecundus, assis sextantarii pars dimidia, sive semissis est, littera, S, utrinque notatus; atque ex altera parte, capite, corona laurea redimito, ex altera, rostro navis, signatus. Infra navem vox, ROMA, at vetustate jam fere oblitterata, inscripta est.

## S E C T. III.

**T**ertius, assis ejusdem pars tertia, sive triens est, quatuor punctis notatus; cujus ex altera parte, Romæ caput galeatum, atque eleganter exculptum; ex altera, rotæ species quædam cernitur; intra singulos cujus radios singulæ litteræ inscriptæ apparent, artificis fortasse nomen, quasi operis præstantia superbi, olim indicantes; sed nimium jam attritæ, quam ut dignosci facile queant. Atqui eandem etiam rotæ figuram, in Tuscorum antiquorum nummis, unde Romani, hanc ipsam æris signandi artem accepisse dicuntur, interdum animadverti; et quum signa istiusmodi omnia symbolicum quiddam continere, a plerisque existimari video, haud scio, an hac rotæ imagine, volubilem nummorum conditionem, citumque de manu in manum transitum significari, censendum sit.

## S E C T. IV.

**Q**uartus, assis ejusdem pars quarta, sive quadrans est, tribus punctis notatus: cujus ex altera parte, Herculis

† Vid. Dempst. Etrur. Regal. Vol. 1. p. 350.

juvenis caput, pelle leonina tectum; ex altera rostrum navis exculptum est; ac supra navem vox ROMA. Herculis autem caput clavamque in nummis hęc haud raro signari cernimus: quem quidem Deum, tanquam *Furum latronumque* propulsatorem, a pecuniosis præcipue invocari, ac *domum conservatorem, magnumque Custodem* appellari<sup>f</sup>; eidemque divites idcirco bonorum suorum decumas vovere solitos, legimus<sup>g</sup>.

*Hęc vœnisse jam opus est, quantum potest,  
Uti decumam partem Herculi polluceam<sup>h</sup>.*

Jam nummorum item horum pondera, cum assis Sextantarii, partiumque ejus descriptione satis apte congruunt, nisi quod Quadrans pondus ejus legitimum aliquantulum exsuperet: atque hoc idem Montfauconius, se in hoc nummorum genere persæpe invenisse declarat<sup>v</sup>. Quippe in nummis istiusmodi feriendis, si æris percussi aliquid, quod accidere nonnunquam necesse erat, ultra modum pondusque nummi proprium forte adhæsisset, illud tamen opifices, in re tantilli pretii, negligendum omnino arbitrarentur.

	Unc.	Gran.
As noster Sextantarius jam continet	1	348
Semissis - - - - -	o	342
Triens o o o o - - -	o	264
Quadrans o o o - -	o	248

Sed assis deinde ad unciale item pondus imminutum esse, a Plinio supra traditum legimus: cujus quoque imminutionis exemplaria pariter quedam hic delineata proferuntur.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Gruter. Inscript. p. 45. x. it. p. Rom.  
134. &c.

<sup>g</sup> Διά τι τῶν Ἡρακλεῖ πολλοὶ τῶν πλεονασίων ἰδικάτενον τὰς δέσιας. Plut. Quest.

<sup>h</sup> Plaut. Stich. Ac. 1. Sc. 3. 80.

<sup>v</sup> Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 7.



## S E C T. V.

**Q**uintus enim nummus, assẽm, ni fallor, uncialem præ se fert. Quippe nota ista, I, quæ assis propria habetur, utrinque notatus, atque ex altera parte, Jani bicipitis, ex altera, navis effigie, una cum voce, ROMA, subscripta, signatus est.

## S E C T. VI.

**S**extus, assis ejusdem pars dimidia, sive Semifissis est, littera, S, utrinque notatus; atque ex altera parte, capite fenili laureato, ex altera rostro navis insignitus: supra navem vero littera, T, et vasculi quoque cujusdam species, artificis scilicet nota, vel tabernæ ejus signum, exsculpta cernitur\*.

## S E C T. VII.

**S**eptimus, assis hujus pars tertia, sive Triens est, quatuor punctis utrinque notatus, atque ex altera parte, Romæ galeatæ capite, ex altera, rostro navis signatus; cui vox, ROMA, etiam supra navem inscripta est.

## S E C T. VIII.

**O**ctavus assis ejusdem pars sexta, sive sextans est: ex altera parte, Mercurii capite, ex altera, rostro navis signatus<sup>y</sup>.  
Atque

\* Romæ enim olim, perinde ac in urbibus hodie nostris, Opifices, ac mercium quarumlibet venditores, tabernas suas, pro cujusque arbitrio, tabulis pictis seu imaginibus, quas signa vocamus, distinguere consueverunt. Hinc Galli cujusdam effigiem deformem atque immanem, in C.

VOL. IV.

Matii Scuto Cimbrico pictam, et Tabernæ cuidam in Foro Romano appositam legimus: de quo celebris Crassi Oratoris jocus memoriæ proditur. [Cic. de Orat. l. 2.] *Tabernæ erant circa Forum ac Scutum illud, signi gratia positum.* Quintil. l. 6. c. 3.

<sup>y</sup> Hunc Sextantem, nummulum eundem esse

Atque horum item nummorum momenta inter sese fatis apte conveniunt, nisi quod As modum ei præscriptum nonnihil excedere reperitur.

	Unc.	Gran.
As enim his uncialis continet	1	83
Semiflis S - - - -	o	220
Triens o o o o - - - o		165
Sextans - - - - - o		87

Tertiam istam assis imminutionem quod attinet, qua ad pondus demum semiunciale, Papiriana lege, redactus fuit, ea quidem a C. Papirio Carbone Tribuno plebis, A. U. 563, facta putatur. Hujus autem assis, haud ulla omnino partes, præter Semifsem ac Trientem percussas esse arbitror.

## S E C T. IX.

**D**E nummis autem nostris, nonus iste, qui nullis punctis notatus, Janique bicipitis, et navis effigie signatus est, As Semiuncialis esse videtur: quippe semunciae fere pondus adhuc habere reperitur; grana videlicet 194.

Sed litteris eum etiam quibusdam insculptum cernimus, Q TITI. quæ magistratus, opinor, cujus jussu percussus erat, nomen indicant. Nam eadem plane litteræ, in Familiæ Titia nummo quodam consimili, insculptæ apparent; quibus apis item effigies, de nostro ære jam detrita, adjuncta est; qua quidem Havercampius, nummorum istorum interpret doctissimus significari putat, Q istum Titium, quem tribunum plebis esse puto, quem Varro Sextulam vocat, nullam omnino partem, Sextam minorem, signatam unquam fuisse, ex hoc Varonis loco intelligimus. [De Ling. Lat. l. 4. vers. fin.] Haud mirum igitur, quod Montfauconius assis hujus *stipitem uncialem*, sive partem duodecimam in Museo suo desiderari ait: quia

Vid. Montfauc. Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 7. §. 3.

fuisse ait, eloquentiæ laude floruisse, atque ex disertorum eorum numero fuisse, quorum sermo melle dulcius fluere dicitur<sup>4</sup>.

At vero alias præterea assis antiqui imminutiones factas olim fuisse, a nemine licet scriptorum veterum memoratas, Montfauconius declarat; idque ex monumentis ipsis, Assiumque partibus adhuc extantibus, quæ cum trium earum imminutionum nulla omnino conciliari possunt, demonstrari contendit<sup>5</sup>. Atque hoc profecto verisimile admodum censendum est; istiusmodi videlicet imminutiones non ita præcipites fuisse, sed gradibus potius lentioribus processisse, quam ut prima penitus vice, duodecim uncia ad duas redigerentur: idque sane a nostris item nummis duobus confirmari videtur.

## S E C T. X.

**N**ummus enim decimus, quatuor punctis notatus, Triens sine dubio esse apparet; ex altera parte Romæ galeatæ, ex altera, Herculis, Centaurum clava ferientis, imagine signatus: eum autem assis olim semilibralis, seu sex unciarum, Trientem fuisse, necesse est, propterea quod unciam adhuc unam, et grana item 365 pondere exæquet.

## S E C T. XI.

**N**ummus denique undecimus, unico puncto notatus, atque ex altera parte Romæ galeatæ capite, ex altera, rostro navis signatus, assis certe ejusdem pars duodecima, sive Stips navalis est, quippe quæ Semuncie fere, seu granorum 215 jam pondus habet.

<sup>4</sup> Vid. Thesaur. Morell. in Fam. Titia. Numm. iv.

<sup>5</sup> Montfauc. Suppl. Vol. 5. l. 4. c. 6. §. 2.

Præter has autem *Affis* antiqui partes, quas in *Tabulis* his expressas videmus; aliæ præterea quinque, atque omnes quidem semissæ majores, a scriptoribus sæpe memorantur; *Deunx*, *Decunx*, *Dodrans*, *Bes*, *Septunx*: quæ tamen omnes, non nummi totidem signati, sed fictitii tantum erant, seu summæ potius nummorum diversæ, quæ in pecunia numeranda, ex unciis aliquot vel de *Affe* demptis vel semissi additis conficiebantur. “*Septunx*, inquit *Varro*, a septem et uncia conclusum: reliqua a diminutione; ut a duodecim, una dempta uncia, *Deunx*; dempto *Sextante*, *Decunx*: dempto *Triente*, *Dodrans*; dempto *Triente*, *Bes*, ut olim *Des*.”

Infra semissæ quoque nummus adhuc unus restat, *Quincunx* scilicet, cujus nulla in his *Tabulis* figura datur. An is autem inter nummos signatos revera censendus sit, mihi sane haud perspicuum est. *Montfauconius*, se unicum modo ejus exemplar vidisse declarat, quinque punctis notatum<sup>c</sup>. At vero, quanquam de viri sanctissimi pariter ac doctissimi fide, nullo modo derogare velim, tamen cum puncta ista ita confuse interdum atque obscure expressa animadverti, ut haud facile dignosci possent; cumque nemo eorum quispiam, qui nummos ejusmodi ediderunt, *Quincuncis* omnino figuram exhibuerit<sup>d</sup>, horum certe alterum verum esse oportet, *Quincuncem* videlicet aut nunquam signatum fuisse, aut si fuerit, in defuetudinem postea abiisse; neque de nummo idcirco signato jam intelligendum esse, sed perinde ac nostræ monetæ quinque denarios, de nummi tantum fictitii nomine, ex uncia de semissæ dempta, vel *Trienti* addita, confecti; neque aliter equidem *Horatius* de eo interpretandus videtur.

<sup>b</sup> De Ling. Lat. l. 4. verf. fin.

&c. it. *Dempst.* Etrur. Regal. V. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Supplem. Vol. 3. l. 4. c. 7. §. 3.

p. 350.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. *Cabin. de Sainte Genev.* p. 45.

*Romani pueri longis rationibus affem*  
*Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat*  
*Filius Albini, si de Quincunce remota est*  
*Uncia, quid superet. Poteras dixisse Triens. Eu!*  
*Rem poteris servare tuam. redit uncia, quid fit?*  
*Semis.——<sup>e</sup>*

Jam in ærum nostrorum plerisque ea ipsa signa impressa cernimus, quæ Plinius Assi, partibusque ejus tanquam propria attribuit; Jani videlicet bicipitis, ac navis rativæ imagines<sup>f</sup>. Præter hæc autem ærum signa legitima ac propria, alia interdum diversi profus generis animadvertere licet, quæ a magistratibus, quibus æris signandi munus commissum erat, pro arbitrio plerumque posita esse videntur<sup>g</sup>. Etenim in Familiarum Romanarum nummis, assès hosce, item ac singulas eorum partes, signis sibi propriis notatos, et una cum percussoris nomine, symbolis etiam quibusdam ad familiam ejus pertinentibus, signatos sæpissime videmus<sup>h</sup>: ex quo quidem signorum in his nummis varietatem maxima ex parte derivatam arbitror. Quod Janus autem Geminus et Navis, signa semper æris legitima ac præcipua fuerint, ex puerorum lusu quodam, ut Macrobius scribit, demonstratur: nam æs, inquit ille, *ita signatum*

<sup>e</sup> De Art. Poet. 325.

<sup>f</sup> Hinc Festus Quadrantem, ratitum dictum esse scribit.

<sup>g</sup> Post Reges Urbe pulsos, Æris signandi potestatem penes consules fuisse, haud dubium est; hi tamen, cum rebus gravioribus dilenti essent, reliquis, opinor, magistratibus manus istud committere solebant. Temporis autem progressu, magistratum quendam proprium, qui huic rei præesset, constitutum invenimus; tres videlicet cives, quos Triumviros seu Treviros

monetales appellabant. Hos Ciceronis ætate extitisse ex joco quodam ejus in nomen illud illudentis, apparet. [Vid. Epist. Fam. l. 7. 13. it. de Leg. 3. 3.] Pitiscus, ex Faistorum Consularium auctoritate, eos ante bellum Punicum creatos esse contendit. Vid. Lexic. in Voce—

<sup>h</sup> Vid. Theaurum Morell. ubi horum nummorum exempla in Familiis saltem antiquioribus satis multa exhibentur.

*fuisse,*

*fuisse, bodie intelligitur ex alex lusu; cum pueri denarios in sublime jactantes, Capita aut Naviam, lusu teste vetustatis, exclamant<sup>1</sup>.*

Præcis Reipublicæ temporibus, post Reges statim exactos, nonnisi modicam admodum æris signati copiam Romæ inventam esse, multasque propterea civium, bobus ovibusve solvi solitas, traditur<sup>k</sup>. Legibus vero tunc cautum erat, ne multa gravissima duos boves, et triginta oves excederet; utque bos Centusibus, Ovis Decussibus æstimaretur. Fannius deinde Consul, A. U. 592. legem sumptuariam tulit, ut in festis solennioribus, Centussis, in aliis quibusdam, Treussis, reliquis autem diebus, Decussis tantum, seu deni Asses in singulas cenas infumerentur<sup>l</sup>. His igitur seculis, ob æris signati inopiam, assen haud parvi pretii fuisse liquet: sed postquam argentum aurumque deinde signari, atque in urbe sensim abundare cœperint, tum æris pretium imminui, assenque demum, tanquam vilem prorsus, nec sine contemptu quidem memoratum, legimus; ita ut qui summam rei alicujus vilitatem significare vellent, se assen daturos, negarent<sup>m</sup>.

— — — — — *Cum deerit egent*

*As laquei pretium<sup>n</sup>.—*

— — — — — *Merfa rate Naufragus assen*

*Dum rogat<sup>o</sup>.—*

At vero Quadrans, seu quarta assis pars, balneatoribus semper, tanquam propria eorum merces, vel more vel lege consti-

<sup>1</sup> Macrob. Sat. 1. c. 7. Navia, ratis erat ex unico ligno calcupla. Fest. Atqui hunc eundem alex lusum, a Romanis, ut videtur, derivatum, apud pueros item nostros in usu adhuc esse videntur; qui nummos æneos in aerem jactantes, Capita aut Feminam, exclamant, sponstone interim facta, utrum eorum ad terram superius sit casurum.

<sup>k</sup> Plutar. in Vit. Poplic. p. 103.

<sup>l</sup> Vid. Dionys. Hal. it. A. Gell. l. 2. 24. it. Macrob. Sat. 2. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Cic. Orat. pr. Quinctio. 5. As enim quarta fere parte minus, quam denarius noster, pretio valuisse putatur.

<sup>n</sup> Hor. Sat. l. 2. 2. 99.

<sup>o</sup> Juv. 14. 301.

tuta erat; quam plebecula nimirum pro balneorum publicorum usu solvere solebat. Hinc Quadrante lavari; idem fere apud auctores veteres significat, ac balneo uti<sup>p</sup>. Quippe apud populum sub sole calido degentem, neque linteis omnino ullis, sed lana prorsus vestitum, cum balnea certe, et ad munditiam et ad valetudinem etiam necessaria erant, prudenter admodum provisum esse videtur, ut eorum usus omnibus promiscue, et pretio sane quam minimo permixtus esset.

## T A B U L A XX.

PRima Tabulæ hujus figura ponderis antiquorum libralis effigiem satis pulchram, ex ære conflata, exhibet; quæ litteris græcis in hunc modum signata est; Λ. Α. Quarum quidem primæ duæ, Λ, ponderis ipsius nomen, Litram, indicant; Α, vero unam Litram denotat. Hujusmodi pondera, ex ære facta et publice signata, in templis, ærariis, macellisque urbis, ad communem civium usum asservari solebant, ut ex monumentis, inscriptionibusque antiquis apparet<sup>q</sup>. Ponderis hoc nostrum, ob materiæ duritiem, superficiemque glabram et æquabilem, nonnisi parvulum quiddam de gravitate pristina amisisse reperio: nam uncias adhuc undecim et paullo plus dimidia, continet; parte nimirum ejus haud vicesima quarta absumpta: quod eruditorum eorum sententiam plane confirmat, qui libræ veteris uncias, ut supra dictum est, easdem esse contendunt, ac nostras istas, quas Averdupois hodie vocamus<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>p</sup> — *Dum tu Quadrante lavatam*  
*Rex ibis* —

Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 137.

*Cedere Silvano porcum Quadrante lavari,*  
Juv. Sat. 6. 446.

<sup>q</sup> Vid. Fabrett. Inscript. p. 524. &c.


<sup>r</sup> Vid. Hooper on Ancient Measure, p. 10. 15. Arbuthnot. Tab. 7. Note 1. vid. item, Operis hujus p. 194. Not. 3.

At vero omnes, qui de ponderibus his antiquis scripserunt, ac momenta eorum accurate definire conati sunt, magnam in eis sane varietatem et discrepantiam se invenisse dicunt, ita ut in singulis non modo Italiæ, sed urbis etiam ipsius regionibus, diversa eorum genera in usu fuisse existiment, quæ ad modulum aliquem certum legitimumque a magistratibus haud redigi potuerunt: quorum quidem pleraque, quæ hodie manent, a mensura fere usitata deficere, quædam tamen contra, eandem exsuperare reperiuntur<sup>f</sup>. Atque hæc ponderum antiquorum discrepantia, nummorum item æneorum, qui ad ponderum rationes semper accommodari solent, varietates eas supra indicatas explicare poterit.

## S E C T. II.

**P**ondera ea minora, quorum seriem quandam proximo loco descriptam videmus, nonnisi unciam veterem ejusque partes aliquas exhibent. Ex variis autem eorum momentis perspicere licet; uncias hæc, prout in locis diversis reperta, aut ad usus diversos adhibitæ essent, et magnitudine plerumque et pondere a se invicem discrepassent. Medici Romæ degentes, unciam Atticam usurpassent dicuntur, quæ Romana gravior erat, atque ex granis circiter quingentis constabat<sup>g</sup>. Quamobrem de ponderum horum minorum figuris, primam et maximam, unciam istiusmodi Atticam esse puto; haud viginti jam grana de pondere justo desiderantem.

Secunda Figura, uncia Romana est, de pondere tamen antiquo parvulum quiddam diminuta.

Tertia item, uncia est, ut notæ istæ argentæ in superficiem ejus insertæ, indicant: quarum altera, , uncia propria esse.

<sup>f</sup> Vid. Hoop. ib. p. 173.

<sup>g</sup> Vid. Hoop. ibid. p. 56.



altera vero, A, unam, ut dixi, denotare, putatur<sup>o</sup>. Hæc autem uncia, vel vetustate attrita, vel pondere potius minori, quam par erat, ab initio conflata, jam quartam uncia Romanæ partem, et amplius aliquanto desiderare reperitur.

Quarta, tribus punctis distincta, Drachma Attica est, octava uncia Atticæ pars, quæ medicis præcipue in usu fuit, et tres scrupulos, tribus istis punctis indicatos, continebat<sup>w</sup>.

Quinta, duobus punctis notata, duos uncia ejusdem scrupulos denotat.

Reliquæ duæ, quæ restant, forma plana atque orbiculari, Unciam item Romanam, et Semunciam indicant; ut ex notis, momentisque eorum apparet. Nota enim ista Γϵ, quam in aliis quoque ponderibus animadverti, Unciam, Græce scriptam, *δυσίαν*, denotat<sup>x</sup>. Quid autem notulae istæ, in figura Semunciali insculptæ, significant, haud dictu facile est. Crucis sane forma, eam Imperatorum Christianorum temporibus confectam<sup>y</sup>, momentumque ejus, semunciam esse, ostendit; quæ grana tantum quatuordecim de pondere antiquo amisit.

	Unc.	Gran.
Litra igitur nostra, seu Libra jam continet	- 11	222
Prima Uncia - - -	1	46
Secunda - - - - -	o	424
Tertia - - - - -	o	321
Drachma - - - - -	o	55
Duo Scrupuli - - -	o	42
Uncia plana - - - -	o	407
Semuncia - - - - -	o	205

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Le Cabin. de S. Genev. p. 63. Tab. 18. Fig. 1, 5.

<sup>w</sup> *Drachma Attica (fere enim Attica observatione Medici utuntur) denarii argentei habet pondus.* Plin. l. 21. 34.

Λραχμὴ τὸ ὄργανον τῆς ὑγίαιας. Hefych. in Δραχμ.

<sup>x</sup> Vid. Le Cabin. ib. Fig. 11.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. —

## S E C T. III.

**F**igura tertia, Aquilæ effigiem æneam, basi quoque æneæ insistentem, præ se fert. Hujusmodi autem Imagunculas, ex auro, argento, aut ære interdum deaurato fictas, signa militum Romanorum præcipua et nobilissima fuisse, notissimum est: quæ hastis nimirum longiusculis impostæ, singulis legionibus, tanquam propria earum insignia, singulæ tributæ erant: quem quidem alitum regem, Josephus, Legionibus Romanis, quasi *imperii symbolum, omenque victoriæ*, præfuisse scribit<sup>a</sup>.

Præter Aquilas autem istas Legionarias, cohortes item singulæ, ac manipuli signa sibi propria habuerunt, quæ ex rerum variarum formis, alia super aliam congestis, atque hastæ pariter impostis, constabant. In his, Imperatorum imagines pictæ, et in clypeis singulis inclusæ, principem fere locum obtinebant; quibus Aquila quoque deaurata, et clypeo inclusa, desuper plerumque adjuncta erat; ita ut ex triplici aut quadruplici clypeorum ordine, una cum Aquila superimposita, hæc signa in nummis, sculpturisque antiquis in altum perfæpe exstructa reperiantur<sup>a</sup>.

Hæc vero Aquilæ et magnitudine et pondere perexiguo fuerint, necesse est, propterea quod hi omnes clypeorum ordines, imaginumque, ut vocantur, suggestus<sup>b</sup>, a signifero facile, idque vel una, ut videtur, manu, portari possent: ut ex signiferorum ipsorum figuris, in columnis antiquis incis, colligere licet<sup>c</sup>. At vero Legionarias etiam Aquilas, quæ vel singulæ portabantur, hac nostra figura haud majores multo fuisse, ex Floro discimus, qui insignem eam Variani exercitus cladem, qua tres

<sup>a</sup> De Bell. Jud. l. 3. c. 6. Edit. Haverc.

<sup>b</sup> Tertull. Apol. c. 16.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Colum. Trajan. p. 7, 16, 29, 77, &c.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Colum. ib. p. 77, &c.

legiones perierant, commemorans, “ signa, inquit, et Aquilas duas adhuc barbari possident; tertiam signifer, priusquam in hostium manus veniret, avulsit, mensamque intra baltei sui latebras gerens, in cruenta palude sic latuit.” Quippe perexiguam Aquilam istam fuisse, fatendum est, qui in baltei militaris latebris occultari commode poterat.

Hæc signa militaria, sacrata semper habita esse, Aquilasque præfertim, fulminis ministras, divinis plane honoribus coli solitas, accepimus. Tacitus eas quidem, *propria legionum numina*, appellat. *Religio tota castrensis*, inquit Tertullianus, *signa veneratur, signa jurat, signa omnibus Deis præponit*<sup>a</sup>. Itaque hac religione commotus, *Parthorum Rex, Artabanus, Aquilas et signa Romana, Cæsarumque imagines adoravisse*, traditur<sup>b</sup>. Atque hinc in signis istis, facella quædam parvula et fastigiata, Aquilis, ad divinitatem earum indicandam imposita, atque in nummis interdum antiquis expressa videmus<sup>c</sup>.

Attamen non in castris modo ac militiæ, sed domi etiam Aquilas hæc in istiusmodi facellis collocatas, et cultas esse legimus: de quo quidem genere, *Aquila ista argentea fuit, cui Castilina sacrarium domi constituisse, cultumque divinum tribuisse* dicitur<sup>d</sup>. Atque hanc igitur Aquilæ nostræ Icunculam, quæ basi, in arulæ plane modum conformatæ, ad vota quasi excipienda, insidit, ex Aquilis istis sacratis fuisse conjicio, quæ vel in signis militaribus portari, vel domi etiam consecrari, ac numinum instar in Larariis coli solebant.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. 4. c. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Annal. 1. 39.

<sup>d</sup> Tertull. ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Sueton. in Calig. c. 14. 5;

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Patin in Numm. Constantini et Filior. it. Stewech. in Vegetium. c. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Cicer. in Catil. Orat. 1. 9. 2. 6.

## S E C T. IV.

**F**igura quarta, Gutti antiqui, ex ære confecti, effigiem ostendit; vasculi scilicet, ad olea, unguenta, ac liquida quævis pretiosa conservanda, atque ut nomen indicat, guttatim fundenda, inventi. Ufus autem ejus in balneis præcipue vigebat: ubi lautiores quique, cum lavati jam, strigilibusque absterfi essent, tum oleo, seu unguento aliquo nobili, ex his vasculis guttatim effuso, inungi solebant.

— *Domus interea secura patellas  
Jam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis  
Strigilibus, et pleno componit lintea Gutto*<sup>k</sup>.

Præterea ad sacros item ritus, Guttos adhibitos esse, a Plinio indicatur; qui *M. Curium jurasse*, scribit, *se ex hostium præda nihil attigisse, præter Guttum faginum, quo sacrificaret*<sup>l</sup>. Quippe in prisca illa urbis paupertate, nonnisi Guttis ligneis aut fictilibus, vel principes civitatis libamina sua ad Deorum aras ferre solitos, constat.

At vero vasculorum eorundem figuras, in monumentis aru-  
lisque sepulchralibus sæpissime insculptas, reperimus<sup>m</sup>: quod quidem Guttos item hosce ad sepulchrorum sacra pertinuisse, atque ad unguenta pretiosa et odorifera in mortuorum cineres fundenda, adhibita fuisse, ostendit.

## S E C T. V.

**H**ÆC Pedis ænei figura, de donariorum eorum numero fuisse videtur, quæ ex voto Deorum alicui suscepto, ac

<sup>k</sup> Juven. S. 3. 261.

<sup>l</sup> Lib. 16. 38.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Boissard. Par. 3. p. 46, 61, 65, 68, &c.

beneficio inde accepto, tanquam grati animi pignus, in Templo ejus suspendi solebant. Hanc enim apud omnes fere gentes opinionem invaluisse accepimus, Deos nimirum donis maxime placandos esse.

*Munera, crede mihi, placant hominesque Deosque ;  
Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datus<sup>n</sup>.*

Quamobrem omnes istæ membrorum humanorum imagines, quæ vel fictiles vel ex metallis conflatæ, e Templorum veterum ruinis sæpe effossæ atque ad hunc diem conservatæ sunt<sup>o</sup>, ex hac superstitione originem duxisse videntur ; neque aliud omnino esse, ac dona istiusmodi, quæ, ob membra ista morbo aut dolore aliquo levata, Deorum alicui ex voto dicata fuissent.

Hujusmodi vero donariis, etiamfi Æsculapii potissimum templa, ut supra dixi, referta fuerint, quæ *remediorum salutarium mercedem, ægri sacraverant Deo* ; attamen omnibus promiscue Deis hæc eadem quoque suspensa fuisse, constat : quorum quidem exempla bene multa adhuc extantia, et in libris passim descripta, videre licet. De his autem Pedum imaginibus, Fabrettus tria sane paria marmorea exhibuit, quorum primum ISIDI. FRVCTIFERÆ dicatum est ; secundum, Deæ cuidam, haud alias memoratæ, QUIE IANÆ ; tertium, nullo omnino titulo insignitum<sup>p</sup>.

Bonannius item, Jesuita sane eruditus, tres Pedum figuras, æneam, fictilem, et marmoream edidit, aliasque præterea ex

<sup>n</sup> Ov. de Art. Amand. 3. 653.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 2. l. 4. c. iv. &c. it. Muse. Kircher. Class. 2. p. 61. it. Thomassin. de Donar. &c.

<sup>p</sup> Vid. Fabrett. Inscript. 471, 472—  
Bina pariter pedum marmoreorum pa-

ria, in uno lapide insculpta, ab eodem exhibita videmus, cum hac inscriptione ;

LICINIA. PHILETE.  
PRO. SALVTE. SVA. ET. SVOR.  
D. S. P.

argilla fictas, in Collegij Romani Museo affervari ait, quas omnes vel pedibus laborantium, vel navigantium potius vota fuisse putat, Dianæ seu Veneri suscepta, quam nautæ præfertim, tanquam maris Dominam invocare consueverunt. In cujus rei testimonium, Pedem quoque votivum, eximio opere e succino fictum, adducit, cum hac inscriptione.

D. M.

VENERI. SS. FELICI.

CONSERVATRICI. MATRIQUE. DEVM.

CVPIDINI. COELESTI. C. CAESTIANVS<sup>1</sup>.

Hanc vero eandem, de donis tabulisque votivis, superstitionem, Romæ etiam hodie, perinde ac in urbe veteri, vigere, alio quodam libello demonstravi; quod quidem a Bonannio ipso, jam confirmari video; qui de his veterum donariis disputans, eorumque exempla varia proferens, hanc deinde clausulam adjungit; “ Talem Ethnicorum morem etiamnum ubique imitantur, sed veræ religionis significato, Christi fideles; qui marinis undis jactati, Deiparæ, tanquam propitiæ maris stellæ, opem implorant; ac præfertim in Adriatico, ex quo cum littus tenuerint, non raro nudis pedibus, ad sacram Ædem Lauretanam, peregrinantur sua vota soluturi; ibique in Tabellis pericula expressa relinquunt.”

## S E C T. VI.

**D**E Tigridis imagine ænea, quam ultimo loco hic exposui, nihil equidem, quod liquet, dicere habeo. Atta-

<sup>1</sup> Mus. Kircher. p. 68, 69. Bina VRANIAE dicata, idem Bonannius quoque pedum paria, in marmore quodam memorat. p. 78. dam insculpta, et INVICTE CELESTI [Ibid.

mēn quia opere antiquo nec invento perfecta esse videtur, ad reliquas Tabulæ hujus figuras eam adjungere libuit, ut locum saltem vacuum implere posset. Hanc bestię rabiðe figuram, ore hiante, uberibusque pendentibus, quæ clypeum item Gorgonis ore insignitum, conspectui quasi hominum objicit, quum ferocitatem terroremque præ se ferat, ad usum aliquem militarem spectasse conjicerem, nisi quod in bellico Romanorum apparatu, nulla istiusmodi figura, signumve, vel a scriptoribus memoratum, vel in monumentis descriptum reperitur. At vero haud scio, an ad Bacchi forsitan sacra imagunculam nostram respectum aliquem habere credamus; quem quidem Deum Tigribus præcipue domandis celebrem, nec nisi Tigribus junctis, curru vehi solitum cognovimus.

*Jam Deus e curru quem summum texerat urvis,  
Tigribus adjunctis aurea lora dabat* <sup>1</sup>.

Hanc vero rem aliis, quibus otium majus, aut conjectandi follertia felicior obtigerit, contemplandam considerandamque relinquo.

## T A B U L A XXI.

**G**emma hujus Tabulæ prima, Byzantis effigiem præ se fert, a quo urbs Byzantium condita traditur; quemque inter inclytos præci ævi Heroas a veteribus celebratum invenimus <sup>1</sup>. Ætatem ejus nonnulli ad secula plane heroica, atque Argonautarum tempora referunt; quos ad regnum etiam ejus appulisse Diodorus scribit <sup>2</sup>. Alii autem verisimilius, eum

<sup>1</sup> Ovid. De Amant. l. 1. 549.

Græc. Vol. 2. c. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Jac. Gronov. Thef. Antiqu.

Megarenfium claffis præfectum fuiſſe dicunt, coloniamque inde ad oræ maritimæ oppidum deduxiſſe, quod antea Lygos, fed, a conditoris nomine, Byzantium deinceps appellatum eſt; idque circa Olympiada triceſimam accidiſſe, Joſia ſcilicet Hieroſolymis et Tullo Hoſtilio Romæ regnante, declarant \*.

Sed de Byzantis origine atque ætate quicquid ſtatuendum fuerit, Byzantinos certe eum, tanquam urbis ſuæ conditorem ſemper agnoviſſe, effigiemque ejus in nummis ſuis ſignafſe, conſtat. Caninius, inter illuſtrium imagines, Byzantis effigiem, nomenque ſimul in nummo quodam æneo ſignatum protulit; cui ex altera parte Prora navis inſculpta erat; quod eum claſſe iſtuc advectum, ac coloniæ deductorem eſſe indicare videtur \*\*. Alterum etiam nummum, huic omnino ſimilem, et Byzantis pariter effigie ac nomine ſignatum, Fulv. Urſinus edit \*: quorum quidem uterque cum gemma noſtra mirifice conſentit, eandemque proſus imaginem exhibet; eundem oris habitum, *barbam, galeam, et criſtam quoque crinibus deſluentibus* ornatum: neque alio omnino habitu, Goltzius, Gronovius, Harduinus effigiem ejus, in nummis exhibuerunt, quam tamen diademate ſemel redimitam, Vaillantius ſe vidiffè declarat †.

Horum igitur nummorum auctoritate, Gemmam noſtram Byzantis imaginem præ ſe ferre, colligimus. Quod Byzas autem, urbis Byzantii conditor, vel ad poſtrema Romani Imperii ſecula, habitus fuerit, a Claudiano diſcimus; qui in Eutropium conſulem invehens, quod duobus illuſtriſſimis urbis iſtius conditoribus,

\* Τῆς δ' Ἀργοναύτας κατὰ νόμον τῶ πάντων γενεομένου, προσπλευσαι τῆ γῆ, βασιλεύοντος τότε τῆς χώρας Βυζαντίας. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντιῶν ἀνομάθαι. Diod. Sic. l. 4. p. 252. Edit. Hanov.

\*\* Vid. Geo. Cedren. Compend. Hiftoriar. Edit. Par. p. 112. A. it. Stephan. de Urbib. in Byzant. it. Scalig. in Eufeb. Chron. it. Plin. l. 4. xi.

† Vid. Canin. Iconograph. Tab. 35.

‡ Vid. Illuſtr. Imagin. Tab. 40.



ille quoque ab adulatoribus, tertius adjungeretur, ita indignabundus queritur ;

*quod tertius urbis*

*Conditor : hoc Byzas, Constantinusque videbunt \* ?*

Sculpturæ denique præstantiam quod attinet ; imago ipsa opere, ut mihi videtur, antiquissimo, atque a Græco olim Artifice, in Achate nitido, eximie insculpta est, ejusdemque profus magnitudinis, ac figura ejus ectypa, quam hic delineatam damus.

## S E C T. II.

**G**emma secunda, et sculpturæ artificio, et lapidis ipsius pulchritudine insignis, Hermaphroditi, opinor, supra pellem caprinam humi recubentis effigiem nobis offert, cujus brachium dextrum ad arborem alligatum est. Ex altera parte Satyrus, genibus in terram flexis, Hermaphroditi vestem avellere, corpusque denudare videtur ; et perspecto rei miraculo, vel in cachinnum erumpere, vel præ admiratione, ad cælum ora convertere : ex altera parte, Faunus, genibus item flexis, in prodigio eodem contemplando defixus hæret.

Hanc figurarum descriptionem, ad fabulam fortasse aliquam, iis temporibus notam, alludere credamus ; qua Satyrus, Faunusque, pronum in Venerem genus, mulierem, sub arbore dormientem, se offendisse credentes, eam statim ad arborem, libidine inflati, alligasse, sed corpore denum nudato, Hermaphroditum invenisse finguntur. Notissima illa quidem Salma-cis fabella est, de Hermaphroditorum origine ac nomine, quos Ovidius ita describit.

[ Claud. in Eutrop., 2. v. 83.

*Nec duo sunt et forma duplex, nec fœmina dici,  
Nec puer ut possint; neutrumque et utrumque videntur<sup>a</sup>.*

Illud tamen nequaquam fabulosum aut commentitium, ut Valerianus ait, habendum est, “ utriusque naturæ homines inveniri, qui partem inter se utramque peragant; cuiusmodi sunt populi, supra Nasamonas, confinesque illis Maclias, Calliphanis testimonio fatis cogniti——ubi severa lege cautum, ut quem malint sexum eligant, altero si abutantur, capitali supplicio puniendi<sup>b</sup>.”

Quod Hermaphroditi autem, apud omnes fere gentes, atque omni ætate revera extiterint, a scriptoribus antiquis, tam Græcis quam Latinis, memoriæ proditum est. Diodorus eos, inter *humani generis monstra* a nonnullis recenseri, scribit; raro in lucem editos, et interdum mala, interdum bona portendentes. *Quid ortus Androgyni, inquit Cicero, nonne fatale quoddam monstrum fuit?* Plinius dein, *gignuntur, inquit, et utriusque sexus, quos Hermaphroditos vocamus, olim Androgynos vocatos, et in prodigiis habitos, nunc vero in deliciis<sup>c</sup>.* Quippe statuas eorum e marmore fingere effigiesque in gemmis insculpere solebant, quarum quidem duas, antiquo opere atque eximia arte fictas, vel hodie etiam extantes, alteram Romæ in Villa Borghesina, alteram Florentiæ, in nobilissimo Etruriæ Ducis Museo vidi; utraque sane inter præstantissima sculpturæ veteris monumenta merito numerandas; Florentinam autem istam, e Parrio marmore fictam, qui in hisce rebus intelligunt Hermaphroditum illum nobilem esse credunt, quem Plinius Policlis opus esse declarat<sup>d</sup>. At non antiquorum modo testimoniis, sed exemplis aspectuque ipso, hac nostra ætate, Hermaphroditos esse

<sup>a</sup> Ovid. Metam. l. 4. 378.

nov. it. Cic. De Divin. l. 41. it. Plin. Hist.

<sup>b</sup> Pier. Valerian. Hieroglyph. l. 18. p.

Nat. l. 7. 3. vid. etiam xi. 49.

135.

<sup>c</sup> Diod. Sic. l. 3. p. 215. Edit. Ha-

<sup>d</sup> Plin. ib. 34. 8. Vid. etiam Musæum Florent. a Gorio edit. Tab. 40, 41. Hermaphroditus.

cognovimus. In oppidis enim nostris ex Africa nuper hominem vidimus, qui signa utriusque sexus propria, in se plane conjuncta habuit; ita tamen, ut neuter eorum perfectus, sed eo penitus modo confusus apparuerit, quem ab Aufonio descipulum legimus.

*Concretus sexu, sed non perfectus utroque;  
Ambiguæ veneris, neutro potiundus amori* <sup>e</sup>.

Gemma nostra ex eo Onychum Arabicarum genere esse videtur, quas Plinius *nigras* esse dicit, *candidis zonis* <sup>f</sup>. Quasque Itali hodie Nicolos et Cameos vocant. Quippe lapis ipse niger, vena quadam candida, quasi zona cinctus est, e qua imagines ipsæ exsculptæ finguntur <sup>g</sup>.

## S E C T. III.

**G**emma tertia, Parthorum Regis cujusdam imaginem exhibet; eo plane habitu atque insignibus ornatam, quibus Principes isti, cum in gemmis, tum in nummis insculpti cernuntur <sup>h</sup>. At vero aliam quoque huic nostræ confimilem et fere eandem, Baudelotium in lucem antea edidisse video: quam, perinde ac nostram, in Achate litteris Parthis inscripto, et in anuli formam confecto, insculptam, atque omnium, quas in

maphrolitorum quoque imagines in Gemmis insculptas, in alio ejusdem Musei volumine videre licet. Tab. 82. item inter Gemmas a Dominico Rossi Romano editas, Vol 3. Tab. x.

<sup>e</sup> Epigr. 100.

<sup>f</sup> Hist. Nat. 37. 6.

<sup>g</sup> In gemmis hæc, quibus strata seu venæ diversis coloribus erant, hoc antiquis usitatissimum esse cognovimus, ut stratum

lapidis nigrum, fundi sive radicis loco usurparent, et in vena deinde candida figuras plerumque totidem, quot commode excipere poterat, cælando effingerent: ita ut opus ipsum, e nigro candidum exurgens, eminentius pulchriusque ob colorum varietatem, appareret.

<sup>h</sup> Montfauc. Antiqu. V. 3. l. 2. c. 14. it. Supplem. V. 3. l. 2. c. 1.

eo genere viderat, pretiosissimam pulcherrimamque esse declarat<sup>1</sup>.

Medorum equidem Parthorumque veterum Reges, vestium Regalium splendore, ornatuque pæne fœmineo, omnium maxime, gavisos constat. Nam faciem, oculosque pigmentis illinere, comasque ascititias, in cincinnos varios contortas, *inazures, monilia et armillas* gestare solitos legimus: ita enim Xenophon, *Alyagem Medum, atque ita fere Plutarchus Sarenam, Parthorum ducem* describit; eumque ornandi morem Parthos a Medis accepisse dicit<sup>k</sup>.

Quod Parthorum autem Regum imagines in gemmis sepe insculptæ essent, atque eo prorsus habitu, quo ipsi revera ornari solerent, ex Plinio discimus: qui ad Trajanum e Bithynia scribens, “ se servulum quendam apud se tenere dicit, qui a Pacoro, Parthiæ rege aufugisset, secumque gemmam attulisset, quæ Pacori imaginem, et quibus insignibus ornatus fuisset, insculptam habebat: gemmam autem ipsam, aut vi aut furto a Servulo ablatam, Plinus se requirere ait, ut eam ad Trajanum mitteret!” Itaque gemmam nostram, non tam ob sculpturæ pulchritudinem, qua sese tamen facile commendare possent, quam ob rei ipsius raritatem, æstimabilem esse, constat: quippe quam Romæ olim uti videmus, Proconsules ipsi possidere cupissent, dignamque, quæ ad imperatorem muneri mitteretur, existimassent.

<sup>1</sup> *Siquis, inquit Baudelotius, litteras Parthicas in hac gemma inscriptas explicare possit: eas laus certe aliquid ad gentis Parthicæ historiam allaturas, necesse est.* [Utilité des Voyages. V. 1. p. 309] Sed litteras istas, tanquam deperditas plane, atque inexplicabiles ab eruditis cenferi reperio. [Vid. Montfauc. Supplem. ibid.] Neque

pauculas sane istas in gemma nostra incisas, si explicabiles essent, aliud omnino quidpiam, ac Regis ipsius nomen, indicaturas fuisse arbitror.

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Xenoph. de Cyri Institut. p. 19. Edit. Oxon. et Plutarch. in Vita Cralli. p. 537. F.

<sup>1</sup> Epist. l. x. ep. 16. Edit. Elsev.

## S E C T. IV.

**G**emma quarta, Prusiae, Bithyniae Regis caput, opere antiquo in Carniola eximie insculptum praebet. Principis hujus effigiem, inter Illustrium imagines a Fulv. Urfino collectas, in nummo quodam argenteo impressam ceruimus; quam Jo. Faber, qui imagines istas commentario illustravit, se in aliis quoque nummis, una cum Prusiae ipsius nomine, itaque in gemmis anularibus insculptam vidisse declarat<sup>m</sup>.

Tres istiusmodi nummos, Prusiae nomine inscriptos, Bege-  
rus edidit<sup>n</sup>. Qui diversis licet temporibus, atque a diversis ci-  
vitatibus percussi, omnes tamen similitudinem quandam inter  
se, ac eundem oris habitum ostendunt; nostramque ideo  
gemma non nisi Prusiae imaginem exhibere confirmant.

Res ejus gestae ab Historicis plerisque celebrantur. Sed non  
tam ob bella, victoriasque contra alias gentes, celebris, quam  
propter obsequium erga Romanos fervile atque abjectum, in-  
famis erat. Natura sane versatilis, crudelis, atque infidus esse  
traditur: qui Hannibalem, jam senem admodum, atque ad se  
profugum, ni veneno sese prius ipse occidisset, Romanis tradi-  
turus esset<sup>o</sup>. Antiocho enim devicto, et Perseo Macedone,  
cujus sororem in matrimonio duxerat, captivo Romam ducto,  
Romanorum potentiam usque eo extimuisse fertur, “ ut pilea-  
“ tus et capite raso obviam ire Legatis, libertumque se Populi  
“ Romani dicere soleret; et Romae quoque quum veniret in  
“ curiam, summittere se, et osculo limen curiae contingere;  
“ et Deos servatores suos, senatum appellare<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> Vid. Fulv. Ursin. Imagin. 119. et  
Fabri Comment. p. 69.

<sup>o</sup> Liv. l. 39. 30.

<sup>n</sup> Thesaur. Brandeb. Vol. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Liv. l. 45. 44. Appian in Mithridat.  
prope init.

Appianus eum *facie illiberali, ac statura pusilla* fuisse scribit<sup>1</sup>. At sculptores isti veteres, quorum ars, perinde ac Pictorum, ornatiora fere omnia, ac pulchriora, quam natura ipsa fert, reddere solet, in gemma etiam nostra, jure suo usi sunt, venustumque eum potius quam deformem finxerunt. Quippe faciem ei juvenilem ac barbatulam hic tributam cernimus: qua quidem barbula, sed pro diverso ætatis gradu, paullulum interdum crassiore, in nummis, opinor, omnibus insignitus apparet.

## S E C T. V.

**G**Emmam quintam, Sexti Chæronensis, Plutarchi Nepotis, effigiem exhibere conjicio. Philosophi enim potius quam Imperatoris imaginem præ se ferre videtur; et nummum etiam antiquum, consimili plane effigie signatum, Sponius in lucem edidit, cui litteris Græcis, *SEXTI* nomen inscriptum est; quod ad Sextum omnino Chæronensem, M. Aurelii Præceptorum, referendum esse contendit; idque ex nummi ipsius fabrica, barbæque etiam forma confirmari arbitratur<sup>2</sup>.

Neque mirum sane censeri potest, quod in Sexti hujus memoriam nummi post mortem ejus percussi essent; quem tanto in honore apud Imperatorem illum fuisse accepimus, ut *una jus dicere soletet*<sup>3</sup>. De hoc autem Sexto viros doctos inter sese disceptare video, an idem cum eo fuerit, qui Empiricus dictus est, cujusque opera adhuc nonnulla restant. Sed Chæronensem nostrum ab Empirico prorsus diversum, neque Pyrrhoniæ, ut Suidas censet, sed Stoicæ sectæ addictum esse constat; quod

<sup>1</sup> App. ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Miscel. Erud. Antiqu. Sect. 4. p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Suid. in Sexto. a L. Vero quo-

que M. Aurelii in Imperio socio, Sextus

nostrer unice dilectus esse dicitur. Capito-

lin. in L. Vero. c. 2.

cum a Capitolino<sup>1</sup>, tum ab Imperatore præfertim ipso significari videtur; qui ea omnia enumerans, quæ a Sexto didicisset, hoc quoque adjungit; “quod neque iracundiæ, neque ullius omnino perturbatiõnis indicium edere, sed istiusmodi affectibus penitus immunis, suorum tamen omnium amantissimus esse deberet.” Quod quidem præceptum nonnisi e Stoicorum scholis manasse perspicuum est.

## S E C T. VI.

**G**emma sexta, Omphalis effigiem, Herculis insignibus ornata, ostendit. Omphale enim, oris sui forma, Herculem ita subegisse, ac jussis suis obsequentem reddidisse fertur, ut clavam ejus pellemque leoninam ipsa sibi fumens, eum colo et calatho ac cultu muliebri instructum, in triumpho quasi ducere solet. In quam quidem fabellam Poetas sæpe veteres illudentes invenimus.

*Ipsa capit clavamque gravem, spoliisque leonis<sup>2</sup>.  
Cultibus Alciden instruit illa suis<sup>3</sup>.*

Thrafo etiam iste Terentianus, quum Thaidi sese submittere constituisset, ita se excusat;

*Qui minus huic, quam Hercules servivit Omphali<sup>4</sup>?*

Sed hæc Omphalis historia pervulgata sane atque a Poetis fere omnibus celebrata est<sup>5</sup>: itaque hoc tantum adjungere libet;

<sup>1</sup> In M. Aurel. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. M. Aurel. de rebus suis. l. 1. c. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid. Fast. 2. 325.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 315.

<sup>5</sup> Eunuch. Ac. v. 8. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ab Ovidio fuscè exposita est, in Deia-

niræ Epist. v. 100. Ejusque imago, his ipsis insignibus ornata, cum in Græcorum veterum nummis, tum in gemmis etiam sæpe insculpta reperitur. Vid. Beger. Thef. Brandeb. V. 1. 100. it. Thef. Palat. 274. it. Domenich. Rossii. Gemm. V. 2. Tab. 101. &c.

banc

hanc ejus effigiem in Carneolo pulcherrimo, atque opere antiquo, infulptam esse.

## S E C T. VII.

**G**emma septima, Matidiæ Augustæ caput exhibet, quæ Marcianæ, Trajani fororis filia fuit, atque Augustæ cognomen Senatus consulto obtinuit; Trajanumque deinde avunculum, una cum Plotina uxore, ad Parthicum bellum comitata est. Duas ea filias reliquit, Matidiam et Sabinam, Hadriano postea Imperatori nuptam; qui Socruï divinos honores tribuisse, atque *aromatica populo, anniversario parentalium die*, donasse traditur<sup>a</sup>. Nummi in honorem ejus percussi in rarissimis numerantur; omnes vero quos mihi videre contigit, eundem plane oris habitum, comarumque ornatum, ac quem in gemma nostra cernimus, præ se ferunt<sup>b</sup>; quem quidem ætatis ejus consuetudini congruentem esse, ex statuis eorum temporum muliebribus apparet<sup>c</sup>. Quarum comæ, veluti a Poetis describuntur, in altum ita exstructæ erant, ut mulieres ipsæ a fronte quam a tergo altiores conspicerentur.

*Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum  
Ædificat caput; Andromachen a fronte videbis,  
Post minor est: credas aliam<sup>d</sup>.*

Matidiæ autem imagines in nummis utcunque raræ, in gemmis tamen rariores esse videntur: nam præter hanc unam, haud aliam uspiam, vel in libris descriptam, vel in Musæis asservatam me vidisse memini. Hoc ejus caput in lapide Prasio,

<sup>a</sup> Æl. Spartian. in Adrian. c. x. et 19.

I. O. M.  
CAESIA. P. F.  
MAXIMA  
SACERDOS  
DIVÆ  
MATIDIÆ.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. Vaillant. Patin. Beger. Vol. 7. 653. &c.

<sup>c</sup> Montfauc. Antiq. Vol. 3. l. 1. c. 12.

<sup>d</sup> Juven. S. 6. 501.

— *Celsæ procal aspice frontis honores*  
*Suggestumque comæ* — Stat. Sylv. 1. 113.  
scu



feu Smaragdite, insculptum est; quem Itali vulgo Prasma, nonnulli Smaragdi matrem appellant.

## S E C T. VIII.

**G**emma octava, Faustinae senioris, Antonini Pii uxoris imaginem, in Carneola insculptam prae se fert. De qua Capitolinus, “tertio, inquit, anno imperii sui Faustinae uxorem perdidit: quae a Senatu consecrata est, delatis Circensibus atque Templo, et Flaminicis, et staturis aureis atque argenteis.” In nummis, quorum plurimi adhuc restant, Faustinae hujus imago hoc eodem capitis ornatu semper fere instructa cernitur; capillis nimirum in orbiculos varios, supra verticem capitis, eleganter admodum convolutis.

## S E C T. IX.

**G**emma nona, Mercurium, symbolis suis omnibus fere instructum, praefert; Virga scilicet, alis, marsupio, ariete, et Gallo Gallinaceo. Virgam ad usum sane varios ab eo adhibitam legimus: hac enim somnos vel inferre vel adimere, animasque vel ad Inferos deducere vel evocare solebat.

*Tum Virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco  
Pallentes; alias sub tristia tartara mittit;  
Dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat<sup>f</sup>.*

Hanc ipsam Virgulae formam, serpentum mutuis amplexibus ornatam, germanum Antiquorum caduceum fuisse legimus; quo Legati nimirum, ad pacem inter hostes conciliandam missi,

<sup>a</sup> Cap. 6.

<sup>f</sup> Virg. Aen. 4. 242.

*Tu pius letis animas reponis*

*Sedibus, virgaque levem coerces*

*Aurea turbam—Hor. Od. 1. 1. x.*

instructi semper incedebant<sup>g</sup>. *Hic complexus anguium*, inquit Plinius, *et efferatorum concordia, causa videtur esse, quare exteræ gentes caduceum in pacis argumentis, circumdata effigie anguium fecerint<sup>h</sup>*. Hæc igitur Virga, veluti proprium caduceatoris symbolum, Mercurio Deorum nuntio, attributa est: quem Ovidius caduciferum; Arnobius; *affabilem Colubrarum gestatorem*, appellat<sup>i</sup>.

*Hinc se sustulerat paribus Caducifer alis<sup>k</sup>*.

Alæ autem illi datæ esse putantur, non quia *Jovis nuntius aut caduceator*, sed quia *lingua celeri ac prompta, vocisque potens* erat<sup>l</sup>: utque nihil *sermone velocius* esse, indicaretur. *Pennas*, inquit Isidorus, *habere fingitur, quia citius verba discurrunt, alasque ei in capite et pedibus significare, volucrem ferri per aera sermonem<sup>m</sup>*. Hinc verba etiam ipsa ab Homero, *alata* appellantur<sup>n</sup>.

Marfupium deinde ei, tanquam negotiantium Deo, lucrique conficiendi auctori, tributum est; ita enim apud Plautum ipse munera sua describit.

*Nam vos quidem id scitis concessum et datum*

*Mibi esse ab aliis Diis, nuntiis præsim et lucro<sup>o</sup>*.

Atque in eundem sensum Inscriptiones quasdam antiquas, MERCVRIO NEGOTIATORI ac NVNDINATORI, dicatas invenimus<sup>p</sup>.

<sup>g</sup> "Ο Φορεῖν ἐνώθισιν οἱ περὶ τῶν τοιάτων τὰς λόγους ποιμενεῖσι, καὶ διὰ τὸτα τυγχάνουσι παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀσφαλείας. Diod. Sic. l. v. 341. Edit. Han.

<sup>h</sup> Hist. N. l. 29. 3.

<sup>i</sup> Con. Gent. l. 4.

<sup>k</sup> Ovid. Met. 2. 708.

<sup>l</sup> Scimus autem Mercurium vocis et

sermonis potentem. Macrob. Sat. 1. 12.

<sup>m</sup> Isidor. Orig. l. 8. xi.

<sup>n</sup> Ἐπεκ πτερόεικα. Odyss. 1. 122.

<sup>o</sup> Amphit. Prol.

<sup>p</sup> Gruter. p. 55. Reines. Class. 1. 8c.

Φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν καὶ μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῆς εὐπορίας κέρδη πρῶτον ἐπινοῦσαι.

— Diod. Sic. ibid.

Aries quoque in Gemmis hŕce ei ŕepe adjunctus eŕt; quo pecudis iŕtus curam quandam præcipuam eum gerere ŕignificatur; hinc Heŕiodus eum, *pecus omne in ŕtabulis, animo volenti augere*, declarat; *boum armenta, caprarum, oviumque lanigerarum greges*<sup>9</sup>. Pauŕanias item ŕtatuam ejus æneam, in via qua ad Lechæum Corintho ibatur, poŕitam eŕŕe dicit, cui *aries appoŕŕitus erat, quod greges ille omnium maxime tueri atque augere exiŕtimabatur*<sup>1</sup>.

Gallum denique Gallinaceum, veluti excubiarum et vigilantŕe ŕymbolum, ei quoque ŕacrum eŕŕe cognovimus<sup>2</sup>; ut avis ŕcilicet hujus admonitu, negotiatores præcipue omnes intelligerent, ŕe non ŕine induŕtria ac vigilantia Mercurium ŕibi propitium reddere, lucrumque acquirere poŕŕe. Lapis ipŕe Amethyŕtus eŕt; quem quidem nonnulli, ingenium induŕtriamque hominibus addere crediderunt<sup>3</sup>. Atque ob eam fortalŕe cauŕam a priŕcorum iŕtorum ŕuperŕtitione haud alienam, Mercurium noŕtrum in hac poŕiŕŕimum gemma inŕculptum eŕŕe conjicere licet.

## S E C T. X.

**G**emma decima, miram quandam figurarum quaŕi conŕuŕionem exhibet; hominis videlicet faciẽm, ŕeu perŕonam Scenicam, Pavonẽm, Sceptrum, Elephantẽm: quid autẽm Elephas probolŕide ŕublaturum teneat, haud mihi ŕane per-

<sup>9</sup> Εσθλη δ' ἐν σαθμοῖσι σὺν Ἑρμῇ λιθὸν  
αἰξεῖν

Βακαλίαν ἀγρίαν καὶ αἰπόλια πλάττει  
αἰγῶν,

Ποίμνας εἰραπόκων ὄων. Συμῶν γε  
Θέλωσα. Theog. 444.

<sup>1</sup> Ὅτι Ἑρμῆς μάλιτα δοκεῖ θεῶν ἰφο-  
ραῦν καὶ αἰξεῖν ποιμνας, &c. l. 2. c. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. Montfauc. Antiqu. Vol. 1. l. 3.  
c. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Vid. Gemmar. Hist. edit. ab Adrian.  
Toll. l. 2. c. 34.

spicuum est. Huic autem Gemmæ, alias quasdam confimiles prorsus, et in eruditorum Museis asservatas, et in libris sæpe descriptas animadverti : quæ quidem omnes symbolicum, ut aiunt, seu ænigmaticum quiddam continere, judicantur. Faciem certe illam, viri docti Socratis effigiem esse declarant : eamque cum figuris istiusmodi conjunctam, nonnulli in Amuletorum eorum numero reponunt, quæ vim quandam magicam habuisse credebantur\*. Alii vero, quod probabile magis videtur, Gemmas hujus generis omnes ad Socratis memoriam celebrandam, inventas esse, atque in ejusdem honorem, in anulis gestari solitas, existimant\*\*.

Etenim caput istud *calcum fronte turgida, naso sumo, aspectuque taurino*, Socratis proculdubio imaginem præ se fert ; quem Silenis Satyrisque persimilem accepimus\*. Quippe de hæc Socratis persona, Alcibiades, in Symposio Platonis, sermonem satis longum habere fingitur, in quo, cum permulta in vultum ejus Silenicum jocatus esset, ita demum progreditur ; “ at vero nescio, Convivæ, an aliquis unquam vestrum imagines eas perspexerit, quæ in animo ejus, seriatim tractantis et sese penitus aperientis, lateant : ego profecto eas aliquando perspexi, quæ mihi quidem ita divinæ atque aureæ, et pulchræ mirabilesque visæ sunt, ut quicquid jubeat Socrates, id illico faciendum statuerim.” Quocirca haud scio, an lapidis hujus figuræ ad eum ipsum sermonem respectum aliquem habeant ; quodque Alcibiades ibi verbis, hoc idem, Gemma nostra figuris indicare reperiatur.

Etenim vultus iste, ut dixi, Silenicus, os Socratis exhibet ; reliquæ vero figuræ, *imagines eas divinas pulchrasque*, quæ in

\* Vid. Gemm. Antich. Da Rossi. Vol. 2. Gemm. 20, 21.

\*\* Vid. Jo. Chifflet. de Gemmis Socratis imagine caelatis. p. 13.

\* Platon. Oper. Vol. 3. p. 216, 221. Edit. Par.

\* Ibid. p. 216.

animo ejus latuisse dicuntur. Pavo nempe, avium pulcherri-  
ma, virtutis ejus pulchritudinem denotat; Sceptrum ejusdem  
majestatem, dignam quæ omnibus imperet; Elephas, eam ani-  
mi firmitatem roburque, quæ cunctis mortalibus præstitit.  
Atqui hac pariter ratione, Gemma hæc Philosophica, non ad  
Socratem modo celebrandum, ex quo omnes Philosophorum  
sectas manasse constat, sed ad Stoicorum doctrinam illufran-  
dam præcipue spectare judicetur; qui sapientem scilicet, omni-  
bus virtutibus artibusque instructum, solumque formosum,  
fortem, ac Regem etiam esse, prædicabant.

*Si dives, qui sapiens est,*

*Et sutor bonus, et solus formosus, et est Rex.*

*Sapiens operis sic optimus omnis*

*Est Opifex: sic Rex solus<sup>2</sup>.*

Vultus enim Socratis, sapientem indicat: quem pavo formo-  
sum; elephas, fortem, sceptrum, Regem esse declarat.

## S E C T. XI.

**G**emma item undecima, prorsus symbolica est; in qua  
primum globulum; deinde ex eo quasi exurgens, Cor-  
nu-copiæ; tum Gallum, in fruges a cornu oblatas invadere  
paratum, videmus. Hæc eadem Galli imago in aliis etiam  
gemmais sæpe insculpta reperitur; gubernaculo interdum, aut  
cornu-copiæ insistens; aut Mercurio, ut modo ostensum est,  
tanquam symbolum adjuncta. At vero soli quoque perinde ac  
Mercurio, Gallus facer erat, *quia solis nempe ortum cantu nun-  
tial<sup>3</sup>.*

<sup>2</sup> Hor. Sat. I. 1. 3. v. 124, 132.

<sup>3</sup> ἡλιὸν ἀγγέλλειν ἀνιόντα μέλλουσι τῆ ἡλίου. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ἡλιὸς δὲ ἰερόν φασιν τὸν ἔρυνθα, καὶ 5. c. 25.

*Quinetiam Gallum, noctem explaudentibus alis,  
Auroram clara consuetum voce vocare<sup>b</sup>.*

Hunc enim Veteres naturæ solaris, omnium animalium maxime, participem esse crediderunt; *excitandis in opera mortalibus, somnoque rumpendo genitum; qui nec solis ortum, uti Plinius ait, incautis patitur obrepere<sup>c</sup>.* Hinc effigiem ejus, tanquam excubiarum symbolum, Mercurio supra adjunctam vidimus, ut Mercatores, in lucro conficiendo, vigiles atque alacres esse admonerentur: cui consentaneum sane illud est, quod ab hac etiam gemma indicari videtur; scilicet *e terra, quam globulus iste denotat, nonnisi hominum industria ac vigilantia, abundantiam, frugumque copiam procreari posse.*

## S E C T. XII.

**D**UODECIMA, Caput nobis sane incognitum, in lapide opaco, salignei coloris, insculptum, offert: figura autem ipsa, ex capitis ornatu, et sculpturæ genere, Ægyptiæ cujusdam mulieris, seu Dææ potius, effigiem esse conjicerem: Etenim simulachra Ifidis nonnulla, opere Ægyptiaco, et eodem plane ornatu, a Kirchero exhibita cernimus<sup>d</sup>.

## S E C T. XIII.

**D**ECIMA TERTIA, opere etiam antiquo atque Ægyptiaco esse apparet: at quale nobis alitis genus exhibeat, haud ita certum est. Eandem plane avis formam, in Obelisco Pamphilio, sæpius descriptam animadverti; quam Kircherus, Hie-

<sup>b</sup> Lucret. l. 4. 714.  
<sup>c</sup> Hist. N. x. 21.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Kirch. Oedip. Ægypt. Tom. 3.  
498, 500

roglyphicorum istorum interpres diligentissimus, Ibim cinctam appellat\*. Nostra autem avis ex anserum potius, anatumve genere esse videtur: sculptorque profecto, si Ibim in animo fingendam habuerit, non nisi imperite aut negligenter eam finxisse censendus est.—Avis autem ipsa, floresque itidem hinc inde enascentes, item ac in alio lapide supra vidimus, e vena, seu zona candida, cui Achates nitidus substratus est, exculpuntur. At vero in gemmis ejusmodi omnibus, sculptoris ingenium coarctari, nec quid ipse velit, sed quid venæ istius natura admittat, fingere omnino, necesse est: ita ut opus ipsum, venustum licet ac speciosum, raro tamen exquisitum, atque omni parte, absolutum reperiamus.

## S E C T. XIV.

**G**emma decima quarta, Lapis Chalcedonius est, cærulei coloris, rotundus, globulique ad instar dimidiati convexus, cui litteris majusculis ac quadratis inscribitur, TRIVMPHVS QVADORVM; quem, Romæ olim repertum, una cum reliqua mea rerum veterum suppellectile, inde deportandum curavi: in pomparum sane Triumphalium descriptionibus, phalararum interdum *frenorumque equinorum, auri bullis, gemmisque nitentium*, splendor luxusque a scriptoribus celebrantur;

*Dumque auro phaleræ, gemmis dum frena reident*†.

Atque hinc lapidem nostrum ad frenorum Triumphalium ornatum pertinuisse conjicio: nam ad triumphii usum aliquem adhibitum eum fuisse, inscriptio declarat; atque ad frenorum præcipue decus, res ipsa ostendere videtur. Quippe in foramen,

\* Obelisc. Pamphil. p. 489, 495.

† Claudian. Epig. 20. de zona equi Regii.

quod,

quod, per centrum lapidis ductum, vacuum jam apertumque restat, claviculum olim quendam, capite forsitan aurato, insertum fuisse, arbitror, qui lapidem ipsum cum frenis connecteret<sup>8</sup>.

M. Aurelium, de Marcomannis, Sarmatis, Vandalis, Quadisque etiam triumphasse legimus<sup>h</sup>: At vero in numismate quodam antiquo, maximi moduli, Numerianum, Quadrigis Triumphalibus vectum cernimus, cum hac eadem epigraphe, TRIVMPHVS QVADORVM<sup>i</sup>. In cujus triumpho memoriam, numisma istud percussum fuit: atque in ejusdem etiam ornatum, lapidem olim nostrum comparatum esse probabile est: quod litterarum item ipsarum forma, a perfecta scribendi ratione nonnihil immutata, atque istorum temporum consuetudini accommodata confirmare videtur.

## T A B U L A XXII.

**H**ÆC Mumia Ægyptiaca, de qua jam dicturus sum, ab homine nobili, Georgio Townshend, navis bellicæ in classe Regiæ præfecto, in Angliam haud dudum deportata, atque Academiæ Cantabrigiensi donata est. Qui nativa quadam in hanc Academiam benevolentia commotus, nihil habuit antiquius, quam ut hoc insigne *κειμηλιου*, ac vetustatis fere ultimæ monumentum, tanquam perpetui hospitii pignus, in ea musarum sede collocaret, quam pater ejus, vir summus, beneficiis ornaverat; quamque fratres, fratrumque filii, moribus, studiis, exemplisque jam præsentibus ornant.

<sup>8</sup> Sed ad alium quoque usum hic lapis adhiberi potuisse videtur; scilicet, ut statuae fortasse alicujus in triumpho portatae paludamentum aut lacernam sibilæ vice humero annecteret: quod quidem gemma

aliqua aut lapide pretioso fieri solitum esse, ex statuarum militarum ornatu conjectare licet.

<sup>h</sup> Jul. Capitolin. c. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Vid. Numism. Max. Mod. 246.



In hac autem Mumia describenda, mihi quidem, neque de antiquo isto cadavera condiendi ritu, neque de hodierno eorundem statu, neque de cryptis eis subterraneis et mirabilibus, in quibus olim reposita, atque hodie reperta sunt, differere propositum est: etenim ista omnia a rerum Ægyptiarum interpretibus, atque a peregrinantibus præsertim accurate descripta, et in multis libris exposita habemus; ad quos lectorem omnino referendum censeo<sup>k</sup>. Quamobrem nihil mihi aliud jam relictum videtur, quam Mumia nostræ effigiem, atque ornatum hominibus curiosis in conspectum dare, et quicquid in ea singulare, præcipuumque fuerit, illud quam breviter exponere atque illustrare.

Hæc igitur Tabula, Mumia thecam seu loculum, figuris quibusdam symbolicis atque Hieroglyphicis pictum exhibet: in quo cadaver scilicet, Ægyptiorum more, bitumine, balsamis, atque aromatibus conditum, repositum erat. Loculus vero ipse nihil fere, a ceteris ejusdem generis diversum, nobis offert. Ex duabus ligni Sycaminei partibus constat; utrisque in eum modum artificiosè excavatis, ut inter sese deinde conjunctæ, cadaveris ipsius formam ac magnitudinem justam capere, et ab omni æris accessu ac damno conservare possent. Atque hoc loculorum genus, ob conficiendi pingendique artificium, omnium sane pretiosissimum, nec nisi nobilioribus ditioribusve dicatum traditur.

Hujusmodi vero loculi, non ad corporis modo figuram excipiendam intus accommodati, sed extra quoque ad defuncti ipsius effigiem ac similitudinem ita conformati erant, ut facies ex ligno efficta, et coloribus item picta, germanam ejus imaginem præ se ferret. Quos quidem loculos, ita ornatos atque instructos, Ægyptii non modo in sepulchris magnifice exstructis,

<sup>k</sup> Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. it. Itinera Petri de Valle, Thevenot, Le p. 387. Syntagm. XIII. De Mumiis. — Brun, Shaw, Pocock, Perry —

fed domi etiam in conclavibus ad eum ufum confecratis, ordine quemque suo erectos, ad parietem collocare confueverunt<sup>1</sup>. In quo munere fungendo, duplicem illi fane finem fpectaffe videntur; primum, ut debitos mortuis honores cultumque præftarent; deinde ut ambitioni et familiæ fplendori confulerent; ac vetuftas hæc majorum fuorum imagines, feriemque longam ac nobilem pofteris traderent<sup>m</sup>.

In his defunctorum imaginibus, feu Mumiarum loculis quiddam oblongum atque acuminatum, barbæ quafi loco, a mento plerumque pendere videmus: quod tamen a nullo, quantum memini, Mumiarum harum interprete, vel explicatum, vel omnino memoratum animadverti. Quicquid autem fuerit, non ad barbam certe exprimentam adhibitum effe, liquet; quia figuris promifcue omnibus, cum fœminarum et virorum, tum Deorum etiam, hoc idem affixum reperitur: quod quidem non nifi fymboli vice appofitum effe, fenfumque aliquem reconditum habuiffe, perfpicuum eft. Bonannius, auctor fane eruditus, qui Ægyptiorum Idolorum figuras quafdam, hoc eodem fymbolo inftroctas, expofuit, illud Perfeæ folium effe dicit<sup>n</sup>; arboris, Ægypto propriæ, ac Ifidi præcipue confecratæ; atque ad omnes ideo foennitates pompafque facras adhibitæ: cujusque effigiem in obelifcis, menfa Ifiaca, reliquifque Ægyptiorum monumentis fæpiffime incifam, obferuare licet<sup>o</sup>. *De ftriribus Ægyptiis*, inquit Plutarchus, *Perfeam omnium*

<sup>1</sup> Ὅτι προσηκόντες ποιεῖν τὰς ἐξύλινοι τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποινισάμενοι δὲ ἐσεργυνῆσι τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ καλακλήσιας ἔτω, θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκῆμασι θηκάζω, ἰσάντες ὄρθου πρὸς τοῖς χροῦ. ἔτω μὲν τὰς τὰ πολυελεῖα πνευάζουσι νεκράς. Herod. l. 2. c. 66. Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos et eos fervant domi. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 45.

<sup>m</sup> Διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐν οἰκῆ-

μασι πολυελεῖσι Φυλάττειν τὰ σώματα τῶν προγόνων καὶ ὄψιν ὀρῶσι πρὸς γενεᾶς πολλὰς τῆς ἐαυτῶν γενέσεως προειλελιθκότας. &c. Diod. Sic. l. 1. p. 82.

<sup>n</sup> Museum. Kircher. p. 34.

<sup>o</sup> Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 129, 130. it. Obel. Pamphil. p. 360, &c.

*maxime Iſidi ſacram eſſe aiunt, propterea quod fructus ejus cordis, et folium linguæ ſpeciem præ ſe ferat*<sup>p</sup>. Si hæc igitur rei interpreta- tio admittenda eſt, haud alio conſilio Ægyptii, folii hujus figu- ram Mumiiſ hiſce affixiſſe, videntur, quam ut Iſidem facilius conciliarent, atque ad cadaverum horum tutelam allicerent.

Ex hac loculorum ornandorum inventione, et ſculpturæ et picturæ origo deducta, atque in alias gentes derivata eſſe vide- tur: apud Græcos enim, quos artium ſuarum primordia ab Ægypto duxiſſe conſtat, ſtatue iſtæ Hermææ, omnium procul- dubio antiquiſſimæ, quarum nonnullæ etiam hodie extant, ad loculorum horum formam modulumque plane effictæ eſſe appa- rent: Quippe nihil aliud erant, ac Deorum hominumve capita, trunco ligneo aut lapideo oblongo, atque a ſummo ad inum leniter decreſcenti, impoſita. At vero Græcorum inge- nium acre intra haſ ſculpturæ anguſtias haud diu coarctari potuit; ſed naturam ducem ſequens, reliqua quævis corporis membra, e marmore pariter fingere, atque ad vitæ ipſius ſimi- litudinem, omneſque ejus actiones et geſtus ſummo artificio accommodare cœpit. Ægyptii contra, rei licet hujus invento- res, at priſcam tamen eam artis ſimplicitatem, vix unquam penitus deſeruiſſe videntur: nam etiamſi corporis humani for- mam, membris ſuis omnibus inſtructam, perinde ac Græci, e ligno aut lapide accurate ſatis exprimere didiciſſent, at geſtum ei liberum aliquem aut naturalem haudquaquam tribuere potu- erunt; ſed Mumiarum ſuarum exemplaria in animis uſque tenentes, ſtatuis ſuis brachia, lateribus fere adhærentia, pedes- que proſus conjunctos, et quaſi faſciis colligatos, aſſingere ſolebant.

Mumiæ hujus figura eadem proſus eſt, ac reliquarum om- nium, quas in libris paſſim deſcriptas videmus. Siquidem

<sup>p</sup> De Iſid. et Oſid. p. 378. c.

asphalto, balsamis, aromatibusve condita, et multiplici linteorum, fasciarumque ordine, alio super alium, a capite usque ad pedes involuta erat; atque hæc deinde involucra, alio rursus velamine, sive tunica linea, puchre depicta, et Deorum, bestiarum, symbolorumque formis variis ornata, penitus obtegebantur. Dentes ejus omnes in maxilla superiore firmiter adhuc inherentes reperiuntur: quod vero singulare et prodigii fere loco habendum, anteriores seu incisores, non acuti illi quidem atque ad incidendum apti, sed perinde ac maxillares, lati plane atque obtusi sunt. At vero ex hoc omni apparatu, ac condiendi diligentia, nihil fere intra loculum jam integrum restat, præter calvariam et ossa, atque integumentis superioris particulas quasdam, imaginibus pictis insignitas, quas in proxima Tabula descriptas damus. Reliquæ quævis corporis partes, una cum balsamis, fasciis, involucris, vetustate jam absumptæ, atque in pulverem ac putredinem redactæ sunt. Egregium sane vanitatis Ægyptiæ monumentum! quæ cum Deo ipso pugnare, artificè inventa naturæ legibus opponere; ac corpus humanum e pulvere excitatum, atque in pulverem reverfurum, ab interitu conservare præ se ferebat.

Amicus meus, supra laudatus, Guilielmus Heberden, M. D. hanc cadaverum Ægyptiorum condituram, haud tanto quidem artificio, neque tanto aromatum apparatu, quanto curata esse traditur, revera effectam fuisse putat. Etenim si vel aromata, prisca istis temporibus cognita, vel cadavera ipsa, Mumiasve, ut dicuntur, considerabimus, simpliciorem quandam operis peragendi rationem, nec nisi pauca admodum medicamenta adhibita esse intelligemus.

Maxima unguentorum veterum pars nihil aliud erant, ac olea, in quibus herbæ seu flores odoriferi infusi essent: quæ, ad cadavera Ægyptiorum more condienda, haud multum valere potuerunt

potuerunt. Aromata vero, pretiosa saltem ista, atque ad hunc usum accommodata, in India solummodo ultima nascuntur, nec in Ægyptum facile deportari possent: quorum pleraque etiam veteribus istis incognita esse apparent, propterea quod nec a Medicis nec Physicis antiquis memorata sint. Diodorus tamen Cinnamomum in hoc condiendi munere usurpatum esse scribit<sup>9</sup>: at Cinnamomum, Cleopatrarum ætate, inter pretiosissima gazarum regiarum κειμήλια recensitum, atque una cum auro, smaragdus, et margaritis, a Regina ista jam moritura, in monumento suo repositum legimus<sup>r</sup>: quod usum certe ejus rarissimum, nec Pollinctoribus istis familiarem fuisse, ostendit.

Myrrha tamen, quæ in Æthiopia, atque Opobalsamum, quod in Arabia nascitur<sup>t</sup>, in hoc fortasse ritu usurpari possent. Sed Opobalsamum, ob raritatem pretiumque ejus, haud magna copia, aut vulgo adhibitum esse, probabile est. At vero ex Mumiis omnibus, quæ jam extant, quæque a peregrinantibus descriptæ sunt, perspicuum fere videtur, nullum omnino medicamenti genus, præter Asphaltum, seu bitumen merum, quod in multis lacubus fluitans reperitur, vel resinam quandam e cedro stillantem, in hac conditura locum habuisse.

Joannes Nardius, medicus in primis celebris, quum multas hujusmodi Mumias, e fasciis suis evolutas, examinasset, ac summa diligentia discussisset, se nihil profusus, præter Gummi seu Asphalti glebulas quasdam concretas invenisse dicit<sup>s</sup>. Neque aliud item quidquam Pocockius noster, peregrinator curiosus atque eruditus, in Mumiis istis, quas perscrutatus est, se animadvertisse declarat<sup>u</sup>. Mumiam denique nostram, pretiosissima

<sup>9</sup> L. 1. p. 82. Edit. Hanov.

<sup>t</sup> Vid. Kircher. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Plutarch. in Vit. M. Anton. p. 950. p. 397.

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Pocock Travels l. 5. c. 5.

<sup>s</sup> Vid. Prosp. Alpin. de Balsamo,

licet condiendi ratione curatam, nullum tamen aromatum, odorumve genus, præter bitumen merum redolere aut exhibere invenimus.

Quod vero de Cadaveribus hæc Diodorus scribit, nimirum tanto ea artificio semper condita fuisse, ut *pristinam hominis cuiusque effigiem speciemque singula retinerent, et vel palpebra: um ac superciliorum pili integri manerent*<sup>u</sup>; nequaquam verum esse potest, sed de loculo potius cadaveris quam de cadavere ipso intelligendum; quippe cadaver multiplici fasciarum integumento, a capite usque ad pedes ita penitus involutum erat, ut nulla ejus pars omnino conspici posset.

Herodotus contra, hanc rem ita plane, ut gesta erat, exponere videtur. “Cerebro enim visceribusque detractis, cadaver per dies septuaginta nitro penitusmersum jacuisse dicit; carnemque ita omnem a nitro isto maceratam absumptamque esse, “ut nihil præter cutem atque ossa relinqueretur.”<sup>x</sup> Quippe nitri ejus Ægyptiaci naturam, eandem esse cognovimus ac falis ejus, quod ex herbarum perustarum cineribus effici solet, cujus ea quidem vis est, ut carnem facile quamlibet absumere queat. Atque hoc profecto ex Mumiis, quæ jam restant, omnibus, verum esse confirmatur; quæ nihil aliud esse videntur, ac germani hominum sceleti, piceo quodam liquore aut bitumine illiti, fasciisque pice item illitis involuti<sup>y</sup>.

Atque hinc perspicere licet, quam vana ac inutilis, de virtutibus Mumiæ medicis, opinio ista fuerit, qua tanquam omni aromatum genere onustæ, ac medicinarum omnium valentissimæ per gentes venditabantur. Quia quidem fama inductus

<sup>u</sup> Vid. Diodor. ibid.

<sup>x</sup> L. 2. c. 86. Ed. Lond.

<sup>y</sup> Vir eruditus atque ingeniosus, Tho.

Shaw D. D. *nihil fere carnis, partiumque muscularium* in Mumiis hæc reperiri dicit.

See Travels into Ægypt. p. 424.

Gallorum Rex, Franciscus primus, nullum unquam iter, absque Mumie frustulis quibusdam, suscepisse fertur <sup>a</sup>.

Quinetiam Herodotus, cadaverum horum cerebrum per nares extrahi solitum, scribit <sup>a</sup>. Sed haud tantam a Pollinctoribus istis diligentiam, corporisque lacerandi religionem adhibitam esse, credibile est. Nam Mumie nostrae caput abscissum fuisse apparet; cujus ea pars, quae cum collo ac vertebrae conjuncta fuisset, gypso jam penitus oblita reperitur: quumque cerebri adeo per occipitis foramen extrahendi, via longe commodior data esset, hanc eos potissimum secutos esse, verisimile videtur. Calvaria item, quae medicamentis repleti solita traditur, in hoc tamen cadavere vacua prorsus relicta est.

Pocockius, fascias Mumiarum lineas, *putridas semper atque adustas* reperiri ait, idque *calidae seu ustivae aromatum naturae* adscribit <sup>b</sup>; quae tamen nullam istiusmodi vim habere certissimum est. Haec igitur fasciarum adustio ac putredo vel vetustati tribuenda, vel inde potius provenisse putanda est, quod in bitumen fortasse liquidum ac fervens immersae fuissent. Herodotus enim, fascias haec gummi illitas esse, narrat <sup>c</sup>. Attamen nonnullae fasciarum nostrarum particulae, quae intus, ut videtur, a bituminis istius vi ac calore remotae latuissent, colorem adhuc pristinum et nativum fere retinent.

Ob has potissimum rationes, Vir ille ingeniosus, quem honoris causa modo nominavi, Pollinctores Aegyptios, vasum hominum genus, quo artem suam extollerent, de sumptu ejus atque apparatu magnificentiora longe, quam res ipsa ferebat, praedicare solitos, existimat.

<sup>a</sup> Hoffman. de Medicam. Officin.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. ibid.

<sup>b</sup> Herodot. ibid.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Pocock's Travels ibid.

## T A B U L A XXIII.

**I**N hac Tabula, integumentum Mumiae exterioris particulam, variis figuris ornatam, cernimus; quae de pectore cadaveris ad genua pertinuerat; quaeque a pulvere ac fordibus purgata, coloribus adhuc vividis et quasi recentibus nitescit. In summa picturae parte, cadaveris secandi et condiendi ratio a pictore quodammodo adumbrata est: in qua tamen Anubis, Aegyptiorum Deus, capite canino, medici partes agere, et secandi munus obire videtur. A sinistro cadaveris latere, ut Diodorus scribit, *loco prius a scriba juxta ilia designato, carnem lapide acuto Aethiopico secare*, vel lege vel more constitutum erat<sup>d</sup>: atque in hac positura Anubis, manu jam ad secandum sublata, depictus est.

Sed et mensa quoque, cui cadaver impositum est, itemque vascula ista infra mensam posita, in Deorum item formas, Canopi et Cercopitheci, efficta esse apparent: quibus figura etiam muliebris, hinc et inde adjuncta, Isis fortasse ipsam, quasi operis totius praesidem, denotat. Qua quidem figurarum designatione, hanc cadavera condiendi ac conservandi artem, divinam plane esse, nec nisi Deorum inventioni attribuendam, indicari conjicio.

Quod autem memorabile magis videtur; instrumentum istud, quod Anubis, jam corpus dissecturus, manu tenet, germanam lapidis ejus Aethiopici effigiem exhibet, quem, cultelli semper vice, ad hoc munus adhibitum esse legimus; cujus sane

<sup>d</sup> Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 82.



formam a nullo, quod sciam, auctore veteri descriptam habemus.

Hieroglyphicas figuras quod attinet, cum omnis earum intelligentia jam diu deperdita ac deplorata plane videatur, ignorantiam potius meam confiteri libet, quam aliorum conjecturas, ingeniosas licet, at vanas certe coactasque adoptare. Illud solummodo verisimile esse puto, quod a Kircherō, in rebus Ægyptiacis investigandis, omnium diligentissimo, traditum est. Figuras videlicet istiusmodi omnes, quales, ex utraque tabellæ hujus parte, in variis ordinibus five zonis collocatæ, ac sibi mutuo obversæ stant, Deorum illorum imagines esse, qui Averrunci præcipue, seu malorum propulsores habebantur<sup>e</sup>; quorumque tutelæ Ægyptii mortuos suos potissimum commendare confueverunt: quosque flagellis propterea, laqueisque instructos videmus, ut malos Dæmones, in defunctorum corpora insultare conantes, vel abigere vel colligare possent<sup>f</sup>.

## S E C T. II.

**P**Ræter integumentum linei particulam istam modo descriptam, aliud quoque ejusdem fragmentum restat, ad pedes fere Mumie pertingens, at unica tantum imagine insignitum, quam in hac etiam Tabula expressam videmus. Hanc

<sup>e</sup> Infra hanc Sex Averrunca Numina intra tres zonas ponuntur, quorum custodia corpus commissum est; uti laquei, quos manibus tenent, quibus adversarum potentatum vim ligare dicuntur, monstrant, &c. Oedip. Ægypt. Vol. 3. p. 413.

<sup>f</sup> In imo figurarum harum ordine, duo canes flagellis instructi pinguntur; quos in alia item Mumia, eodem fere modo de-

picatos Kircherus protulit, atque ita interpretatur. "In tertia zona, inquit, duo canes occurrunt, flagellis instructi, quibus Anubici seu Mercuriales Genii indicantur, quorum vigilantie corpus commissum indicabatur. De quibus, in Obelisco Pamphilio, consule Hieronymum." Kircher. Ibid. p. 416.

autem Osiridis imaginem esse puto ; quem, tanquam supremum mundi Opificem ac Rectorem ab Ægyptiis veneratum esse constat ; ut globus ; capiti ejus impositus, indicare videtur ; quo quidem symbolo, in Obelisco pariter Flaminio, Osiris instructus reperitur<sup>5</sup>. Hujus igitur effigiem, ob eam, quam diximus, causam, in Mumie nostræ integumento, atque augustiori sane forma, depictam esse, credibile est ; ut hunc quoque, summum Deum, perinde ac Numina ista Averrunca, ad cadaveris custodiam attraherent.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Kircher. *Qedip. Ægypt.* Vol. 3. p. 236, 237.



D E  
M E D I C O R U M  
A P U D  
V E T E R E S R O M A N O S  
D E G E N T I U M C O N D I T I O N E  
D I S S E R T A T I O;  
C O N T R A V I R O S C E L E B E R R I M O S  
*JAC. SPONIUM & RICH. MEADIUM, M. D. D.*  
S e r v i l e m a t q u e i g n o b i l e m e a m f u i s s e  
O S T E N D I T U R.





D E

## M E D I C O R U M

A P U D

V E T E R E S R O M A N O S

Degentium Conditione

D I S S E R T A T I O, &amp;c.

**V**ESPERI nuper cum Amici aliquot in Bibliothecam meam pro more coiffemus, sermones cum familiares, tum eruditos etiam fortasse in noctem usque producturi; cumque unâ, pro copia illa quam Cantabrigia nostra facilè suppeditat, ex singulis ferè Scientiis docti aliqui adessent; posteaquam, ut in congressu solemus, novi quicquid vel in re literariâ vel publicâ evenerat, in commune singuli contulissimus; Medico quodam, qui ex Collegio Regali convenerat, viro in primis probo atque erudito, nonnulla fortè de Variolis apud nos tunc grassantibus interrogato; paucisque inde de variâ curandi Methodo disputatis; ad Medicinam sensim labi sermo, inque Artis ipsius præmiis & honoribus, Collegiique præcipuè Londinensis famâ & celebritate totus versari cœpit.

Tum ego; quàm vero, inquam, diversa est apud nos rei Medicæ facies, ac Romæ olim fuit, ubi ignobilis per tot secula, atque abjecta Ars ipsa jacuit, non nisi à Servis atque extremæ fortis hominibus tractata; quamque tanquam illiberalem ac

Cive

Cive prorsus indignam, de Romanis quidem nemo attingere fit dignatus? Hic autem Medicus noster subridens, haud credidisse se, inquit, prisca illa, ac obsoleta planè quorundam commenta fidem adhuc apud ullos invenire; quæ sæpius confutata, doctorum plerique tanquam vana & futilia jam diu repudiassent; quæque Meadius ipse, Medicorum longe Princeps, oratione quadam Londini haud dudum habitâ, mera esse opprobria demonstraverat, omnemque illam servitutis infamiam à Medicis prorsus in Chirurgo amoverat.

Ego vero, Meadii licet Autoritate graviter commotus, cujus quidem Orationem necdum videram, ne tamen quæ dixeram, temerè planè, nulloque Auctore effutisse viderer, haud destitit alia sane multa in eandem sententiam disserere, & nonnulla Veterum testimonia, quæ memoriæ tunc suppetebant, plura etiam ex schedulis pollicitus, ad causam, quam susceperam, confirmandam adducere: neque dicere dubitavi, Meadium ipsum dupliciter planè labi videri; primum, quòd Medicos olim Romæ liberos esse & ingenuos; deinde, quòd Chirurgo à cæteris Medicis distingui omnino & segregari putaret; cum Utrosque communi cum nomine, tum conditione apud Veteres Romanos utrosque semper esse certissimum esset.

Producta adeo paulatim hac nostrâ disputatione, & familiariter admodum, ut inter Amicos, ultro citroque pluribus verbis agitatâ; interfatus demum Juris Civilis Professor Regius, Vir summâ modestiâ, parique eruditione; mihi se planè assentire dixit; propterea quòd apud Veteres Jurisperitos in Servorum familiis Medicos semper recenseri animadvertisset; <sup>a</sup> quibus tamen

<sup>a</sup> Servis autem & Ancillis majoribus decem annis, si sine arte sint, viginti solidis æstimandis; sin autem Artifices, ad triginta solidos æstimatione eorum procedente. Notarios quinquaginta solidos æstimari, Medicos autem & Obstetrices sexaginta. l. 3. Cod. Commun. de legat. &c.

Meadius Medicorum  
Prinaps!

Juris Civilis Professor.

Meadii Semper in Servorum  
familiis.

is honos habitus; ut in *Servis familiam ducerent*; ac in Mancipiorum venditionibus cæteris omnibus *pluris æstimarentur*. *Cirurgos* autem quod atinebat; haud credere se, a *reliquis Medicis* antiquitùs eos sejungi; at contra; quasi ii potius pro Medicis soli essent habendi; non meminisse aliam in Jure Civili Medicorum fieri mentionem<sup>b</sup>; ac eorum, qui *manu curare*, seu *secare* confueverint.

*Coniungi pro Medicis solis habentur.*

Bakerus denique noster, qui colloquiis hifce nostris, non interesse solum, sed pro illa, qua præstat omnibus, Antiquitatis cognitione, præesse etiam solebat; cum opinioni meæ, suæ etiam sententiæ pondus, tanquam cumulum quendam adiecisset; tum instare omnes; ut hanc totam quæstionem, levitèr jam ac fortuitò inchoatam, accuratiùs ipse tractandam atque ad finem perducendam susciperem; quæque memoritèr tunc disputaram, quæque ex schedulis plura promiseram, in ordinem, quam primùm per otium liceret, redigerem, atque alio aliquo conventu nostro recitanda proponerem. Horum itaque Autoritati obsecutus, ea omnia, quæ ad hanc causam pertinere, totamque complecti videntur, collegi statim, atque in hanc, quæ sequitur, perpetuæ differtationis formam conjeci.

Apud veteres Romanos Medendi artem non solum minùs excultam, sed ne cognitam quidem esse, ex Monumentorum omnium silentio suspicari fas est. Cum enim alia omnia, quæ ad vitam, cultumque civilem pertinent, accurate legibus descripta, atque egregie sint constituta; nihil tamen in omni Civitatis temperatione, de Medicina unquam, vel à Regibus, vel à Consulibus institutum, aut præceptum reperitur: Nec per plura deinceps ab Urbe condita secula, ullius unquam Medici fama,

*Medendi Ars minus exculta.*

<sup>b</sup> Si Medicus Servum imperitè secuerit, vel ex locato, vel ex lege Aquilià competere Actionem. l. 7. §. f. ad leg. Aquil.

nomine memoriae traditur; vel artis quidem ipsius ulla ferè à Scriptoribus fit mentio. Neque mirum sane raram ibi rei fieri mentionem, cujus rarum fuisse usum necesse sit; apud homines scilicet, summa temperantia educatos, summisque laboribus exercitatos; quorum valetudini, uti ait *Valerius Maximus*<sup>c</sup>, quasi *quaedam mater erat frugalitas, inimica luxuriosis epulis*. Eadem quippe causa, nimirum vitae victusque tenuitas, Urbem & Medicis & Morbis simul vacuum servabat; dum *illos* nec praemiis, nec quaestus spe ulla allicere paupertas civium valebat; atque *his* parca illa vivendi ratio omnem quasi materiam praecidens, medendi planè usui superfedebat. Nobilium interea plerique valetudinis tuendae disciplinam quandam in sua quisque familia instituisse videntur, ut *Cato Senior* apud Plutarchum<sup>d</sup>, cum magno Medicorum omnium contemptu, gloriatur, se oleribus, carnibusque ad concoquendum facilioribus, suam suorumque valetudinem conservare solere.

In hoc rerum statu Republicam sine Medicis ad sexcentissimum usque annum floruisse narrat<sup>e</sup> Plinius; qui tamen haud ita accipiendus est, quasi neminem omnino per tot secula Medicinae operam dedisse asseruisset; quum Medicos, qualescunque tandem ii fuerint, diu ante Romae extitisse, & multi Auctores sint<sup>f</sup>, & ipse quidem *Arcagathum* quendam artem ibi antea exercuisse meminit<sup>g</sup>: itaque hoc solum significasse intelligendus est; nullum illis temporibus Romanos habuisse Medicum, qui artis peritiâ, vel nominis famâ inclaruerit; artemque ipsam interea jacuisse penitus, nullo loco aut honore habitam,

<sup>c</sup> Lib. 2. c. 5.

<sup>d</sup> In vita Cat.

<sup>e</sup> Hist. Nat. l. 29. c. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Peste Romae circiter annum 301. grassante, Medicos aegris curandis non fuisse meminit Dion. Halicarn.—it. Plaut.

Rud. 5. 3.

G R. Quid tu, num Medicus quæso es?

L A. Immo edepol una litera plus sum, quam Medicus. GR. Tum tu Mendicus es.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid.

In sua quisque  
familia.



nec nisi à Servis & extremæ fortis hominibus administratam: quos fere omnes à Græcis, (qui magnam Italiæ partem, Siciliamque tunc omnem tenebant) aut bello captos, aut pretio emptos, aut fugitivos denique esse verisimile est: quum in Græcia Medicorum servulos, dominos confectando<sup>b</sup>, ægrosque simul obeundo, Medendi sæpe artem didicisse, atque exercuisse certissimum est.

Horum autem nonnulli libertatem tandem, seu Dominorum gratiâ promerenda, seu pretio dato adepti, officinas plerumque ad operam suam, artificumque instrumenta publicè vendenda conducere solebant, quas *Medicinas* Plautus vocat<sup>i</sup>; quasque perinde ac tonstrinas, conciliis, cœtibusque otiosorum frequentari solitas docet. Servos enim ex pecunia illa, quam de demenso suo parcendo, geniumque defraudando corradere sæpe solebant, libertatem haud rarè emissè constat<sup>k</sup>: qui verò artem ullam habebant, omnium certè facillime peculium sibi, lucrumque quoddam adventitium, Dominorum concessu, ad emendam libertatem conficere poterant: quod Medicis præcipuè accidisse, dum eos tamen inter infimos hominum recenset, indicare videtur Seneca<sup>l</sup>: qui divitias in bonis nequaquam esse numerandas contendit, propterea quod ejusmodi bona *in Arte medendi humillimis quibusque* contingere videmus.

Quum verò Græcia tandem, & Asia subactæ, Imperioque adjectæ essent; tum luxu inde omnia, deliciisque Romæ diffuere; Græcorumque artes in Urbem introductæ priscam illam vitæ disciplinam simplicitatemque omnem corrumpere; Principesque viri tum primùm Græculos undique servos, artibus instructos, & Medicinæ præcipuè peritos, qui et valetudini &

*A. Servos et extremæ fortis hominibus. Bello captos. Pretio emptos, aut fugitivos.*

*Plautus.  
Tonstrinas.*

*Seneca*

*Principes, græculos servos. Artesque Medicinae peritos.*

<sup>b</sup> Κατ' ἐπίταξιν τῶν δεσπότην καὶ θεορίαν καὶ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν τὴν τέχνην κλωνῶν καὶ ὑπέρταται τῶν Ἰατρῶν. Plato l. 4. 834.

<sup>i</sup> Amphit. 4. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Plaut. Rud. 4. 2. It. Senec. Ep. 80.

<sup>l</sup> Senec. 85.

luxuriæ simul ministrarent, conquirere sibi ac omni studio coemere cœperunt: neque Procerum posthac Divitumve domus ulla *Medicis Servis* vel pluribus vel singulis ad minimum caruisse videtur; quorum deinceps in manibus Medendi Ars, ac provincia ferè omnis versata est. Medicorumque aded numerus dum in Urbe magis indies crescebat, rarè tamen adhuc de Medicina ipsa, ejuſve Professoribus, tanquam de re humili & abjecta nimis, apud Auctores mentio occurrit: neque præter *unum Arcagathum* cuius unquam Medico ante J. Cæsaris ætatem, jus Civitatis datum reperio: primusque, ut opinor, circum idem tempus *Aſclepiades quidam*, Medendi arte celebris fuit; qui cum Rhetor primò fuisset<sup>m</sup> nec remedia noſſet, quum Rhetoricam tamen sibi minus quæstuosam invenisset, ut sagaci erat ingenio, ad Medicinam se convertit, ac famam inde magnam atque auctoritatem adeptus, in Ciceronis deinceps amicitiam & familiaritatem<sup>n</sup> est receptus.

Romæ interea tanto semper in dedecore ars tota jacuit, ut *solum eam Græcarum artium*, magno licet fructu proposito, *Romani gravitate suâ indignam*<sup>o</sup> judicarent; *paucissimique illi Quiritium*, qui quæstu vix tandem allekti, eam non nisi fero attigerint, tanquam *ad Græcos transfugæ* habebantur. Apud illos bellicæ virtutis laus & splendor primum semper locum obtinuisse, primamque ad gloriam commendationem præbuisse videtur; qui vero in toga potius, foroque versari, & pacatiora sequi studia maluerunt, *alii*, ut ait Cicero<sup>p</sup>, *se ad Philosophiam*; *alii ad jus Civile*, *alii ad eloquentiam applicuerunt*. Hisce se Artibus ingenuus quisque exercuit; hisce solis viam sibi ad opes, famam, honores patefecit: quem vero unquam Romanorum ad Medicinam sese applicuisse, quemve Civem ex eo studio laudem & glo-

<sup>m</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 25. 2. it. 26. 3.<sup>o</sup> Plin. lib. 29. 1.<sup>n</sup> Cic. de Orat. l. 1. 14.<sup>p</sup> De Offic. t. 32,

*Nec Proceres nec Divos  
Medicis Servis caruerunt,*

*Arcagathum.*

*Aſclepiades*

*Rhetor ad medicinam  
se convertit*

riam reportasse legimus? quod tamen *ordini, cui convenit* (servis utique & libertis) *honestum esse*, Cicero ipse agnoscit<sup>3</sup>. Neque mirum sane, veteres illos, qui liberalium Artium tractationem ad servos minimè pertinere arbitrabantur<sup>4</sup>, atque ab iis profusus studiis, quibus ipsi dare operam solebant, servos legibus arcebant<sup>5</sup>, Medendi Artem a servis omnino occupatam, atque administratam, tanquam *illiberalem ac sordidam* rejecisse.

Haud tamen negandum est, quin cum servulis hisce Medicinam exercentibus, alii quoque sese conjunxerint *Græculi discurrantes*, qui quæstus causâ e Græcia Romam effluerint, liberæ fortasse, sed humilis certe atque abjectæ conditionis; quippe gens illa omnis tanto Romæ in contemptu habita est, ut nomen ipsum *Græcus*<sup>6</sup>, tanquam contumeliosum quiddam & opprobrii plenum, jactitare plebs atque in ore habere solebat: Hos vero omnes J. Cæsar<sup>7</sup>, ut *Urbi bellis Civilibus exhaustæ frequentiam pristinam redderet, Civitate donavit*. Atque hæc prima Medicis ad honores janua patefacta; hoc primum iis dignitatis fundamentum jactum videtur; qui apud alios deinceps Principes gratiâ sæpe valentes, opibusque inde & variis immunitatibus aucti, ex servili atque ignobili statu, ad honestum tandem; atque ex tenebris illis & obscuritate in lucem paulatim & splendorem quendam evaserunt. Artem autem ipsam, magnis licet privilegiis munitam posthac atque ornatam, vix unquam tamen, ut mihi videtur, inter liberales censeri; contra vero; apud Jurisperitos a Studiis<sup>8</sup> liberalibus distingui semper & sejungi reperio.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 42.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ου χρὴ πρὸς ἄλλα δῶλον εἶναι ἐλευθέρων γνάμνας ἀνάκειν' Eurip. Antiop.

<sup>5</sup> Servum hominem causas orare leges non sinunt. Ter. Pher.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarc. in vita Ciceron. p. 863.

<sup>7</sup> Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 42.

<sup>8</sup> Sed et si Salarium alicui Decurionis decreverint; ut puta, si ob liberalem artem fuerit constitutum, vel ob Medicinam. l. 4. de Decret. sb ordin. faciend. it. exceptis, qui liberalium Studiorum Antillites, & qui medendi curâ funguntur. l. 1. Cod. de Decret. Decur.

Servis ac libertis honestum fuit.

Græculi discurreres

Cæsar civitate donavit.

lib. servum ad servum Antillites sunt, & qui medendi curâ funguntur.

Atque hæc jam, quæ de Medicis Romæ degentibus exposui, non conjecturâ modò probabilia, sed vera omnia ac certa plane esse, ex constanti Auctorum omnium fide comprobari facile potest: Quamvis enim, ut supra dixi, per prima illa ab Urbis ortu secula, altum quasi de re tota sit silentium; ex consequentium tamen seculorum Scriptoribus plurima, nec illa quidem obscura, suppetunt testimonia, quæ sententiam meam prorsus confirmant; neque cuiquam certe dubium erit, quænam in prisca illa Urbis & Civium paupertate Medicorum fuerit conditio; cum florente jam, opibusque omnibus affluente Republica, ignobilem eam, fervilemque plane fuisse apparuerit: ad rem itaque probandam accedamus.

Pervulgata quidem est illa de *L. Domitio* Historia<sup>2</sup>; quem Corfinio capto, ne in Cæsaris potestatem veniret, *Medico servo* suo imperasse legimus, ut venenum sibi daret: expertum tamen Victoris clementiam, *Medicum* statim *manumississe*, quod prudens minùs noxium temperasset. *Cleantem* quendam, *Catonis Medicum & Libertum*, Domini manum obligasse<sup>3</sup>, atque intestina moribundo reposuisse, vulnusque consuisse *Plutarchus* narrat: *Augustus* magna quadam annonæ caritate, servitiorum partem, exceptis *Medicis & Præceptoribus*, ex Urbe expulisse à *Suetonio* dicitur<sup>2</sup>: exstatque ejusdem Principis epistola, ad *Agrippinam neptem* his verbis scripta<sup>3</sup>: *Mitto præterea cum eo ex servis meis Medicum, quem scripsi Germanico, si vellet, retineret. Antonium etiam Musam* (quem liberum *Sponius*<sup>b</sup> ingenuumque fuisse existimat) Medicorum fere omnium celeberrimum, *Annulo aureo & Statuâ cerâ* publice donatum; *Augusti* tamen *Servum* ☉ *Li-*

<sup>2</sup> Sueton. Nero, c. 2. Plut. in Vit. Cæs.

<sup>3</sup> Id Calig. c. 8.

724.

<sup>1</sup> In vita Cat.

<sup>2</sup> In Aug. c. 42.

<sup>b</sup> Spon. Recherches curi d'Antiquité Dissert. 27.

*L. mitius*

*Cleantes caconis  
Medicus.*

*Medicus et Præceptoribus  
exceptis.*

*bertum* deinde fuisse ex *Dione* discimus<sup>c</sup>. Primus ille *Musa* Balnearum usum improbasse, & frigidâ omnino ægros demerfisse dicitur; eandemque hanc valetudinis tuendæ rationem ab eo sibi præscriptam meminit *Horatius* <sup>d</sup>.

Apud Jurisperitos etiam, multæ sæpe occurrunt de *Medicis*, tum *Servis*, tum *Libertis* propositæ quæstiones. *Medicus libertus* quod putaret, si *liberti sui* *Medicinas non facerent*, multo plures *imperantes sibi habiturum*, postulabat, ut sequerentur se, neque opus facerent. Id jus necne<sup>e</sup>? ubi ex voce illa, *imperantes*, abjectæ Medicorum conditionis indicium quoddam elicere possumus; quum *Medico imperare* à Veteribus dici solere videtur pro *Medicum adhibere*, seu *advocare*: Sed non opus est plura Auctorum testimonia colligere, remque satis claram auctoritatibus onerare, quæ magna sane copia suppetunt; extant & *Marmorum antiquorum* *Inscriptiones* bene multæ, ad hanc ipsam quæstionem pertinentes, quarum paucas modo, ad *Argumentum* meum plenius illustrandum, ex *Grutero* apponendas duxi.

CHRESTE. CONSERVAE  
ET. CONIVGI  
CELADVS. ANTON.  
DRVSI. MEDICVS  
CHIRURG.  
&c. 581.

EROS  
AVGVSTAE  
MEDICVS 581.  
SPOSIANVS.

EVTYCHVS. AVG. LIB. NERONIANVS. MEDICVS. LVDI.  
MATUTINI 335.

Θ. Κ.  
Τ. ΑΙΑΙΟC  
ΑCΚΑΗΠΠΙΑΔΗC  
CΕΒΑCΤΟΥ  
ΑΠΕΛΕΓΥΘΕΡΟΥ  
ΙΑΤΡΟΥ  
ΛΟΥΔ. ΜΑΤ.  
ΧΕΙΡ.  
335.

M. RVFRIVS. M. L.  
FAVSTVS. MEDICVS  
IIIIVIR AVG.  
464.

<sup>c</sup> ἢ γὰρ ἀπελεγεῖς. Dio ex Edit. *Me facit invisum, gelida quam perhor unda*  
H. Steph. p. 73. <sup>d</sup> Epit. l. 1. 15. *Per medium frigus.*

<sup>e</sup> Nam mihi *Baias*

<sup>f</sup> Lib. 26. Princip. de oper. libert.

*Musa supervacuus Antonius & tamen illis*

Talibus monumentorum veterum, atque Auctorum confirmata testimoniis, constans semper de fervili apud Romanos Medicorum conditione opinio invaluit: primus eam, ut opinor, in dubium vocare conatus est If. Casaubonus, in Animadversionibus suis in Suetonium.

Casaubonus.

Sponius  
Medicus.

Meadius

Græcos

Libertinos

Chirurgos

Sponius deinde, Antiquitatis quidem ipse scientiâ excellens, Medicus tamen, artique suæ nimium favens, opinionem hanc tanquam *vanum quoddam Robertelli commentum* irridet<sup>f</sup>, omnemque servitutis indignitatem, a Medicis in Chirurgo atque Ocularios ridicule fatis transferre conatur. Meadius denique noster, Sponium omnino sequens, magnificentius tamen, & gloriosius omnia de Arte sua prædicat. Casaubonus enim Medicos licet non omnes, at plerosque tamen e Servorum numero, neque ullos quidem Romanos, sed Græcos plane omnes fuisse fatetur: Sponius in hoc præcipue elaborat, ut a Servis ad proximum Libertinorum ordinem medendi artem evehat, atque uno quasi gradu altio rem ponat: Meadius autem nihil omnino servile, nec humile quidem Medicis ascribi patitur<sup>g</sup>; sed in libertatem omnes, ac ingenuitatem simul asserit; Chirurgo solummodo, tanquam servile pecus, atque extremæ fortis homines, libere nobis lacerandos propinans. Sed quibus tandem Argumentis hi tanti viri ad probandum utuntur, operæ pretium erit considerare.

Casaubonus quum animadvertisset Medicum quendam<sup>h</sup> quem *J. Cæsar* a prædonibus captus, secum habuisse a *Suetonio* dicitur, *amicum Cæsaris* a *Plutarcho*<sup>i</sup> appellari; aliosque itidem Artem illam profitentes Principum Virorum amicitiam nonnquam ac familiaritatem usos esse; ejusmodi homines, quibus

Amicus Cas.

<sup>f</sup> Spon. Recherches Curieuses d'Antiq. Dissert. 27. It. Miscellanea. Erudit. Antiq. Sæcl. 4. p. 141.

<sup>g</sup> Mead, Oratio Harveian. p. 8.

<sup>h</sup> Animadvers. in Sueton. p. 8.

<sup>i</sup> In vita J. Cas.

tantus honos habitus esset, *Servos* fuisse suspicari, tanquam ridiculum credituque absurdum arguit: hoc cum ille, tum post eum Sponius, argumento maximè utitur. Sed miror non animum attendisse Viros doctissimos, *amicorum cœbertes* in plures *Cohortæ Amicorum* gradus & ordines à Magnatibus segregari solere<sup>k</sup>; ut Lampridius de Alexandro Severo loquens, *tantæ cum moderationis fuisse scribit*, <sup>1</sup> *ut amicos non solum primi & secundi loci, sed etiam inferioris, ægrotantes viseret.* *Alexander Severus.* Neque mirum videri debet, non modo Libertinos sed & Servos etiam, in *inferiorum Ordinum amicis* interdum numerari; cum meminerimus, quam benignè quamque familiariter istius fortis homines, qui fide *Qui fide et Ingenio præstant: Ep. Torontius.* & ingenio præstarent, vel à Principibus Viris tractari essent soliti.

Brutus ad Ciceronem scribens<sup>m</sup>, *Glyconem*, inquit, *Medicum Panfæ diligentissimè tibi commendo; audimus eum venisse in suspicionem de morte Panfæ, custodiri que ut Parricidam; nihil minùs credendum; est modestus homo & frugi — rogo te & quidem valde rogo*, &c. quis jam Medicum illum, Bruto tantopere carum & familiarem, *amicum Bruti* vocare dubitaret, qui tamen *Panfæ Cof. Servus*, aut saltem *Libertus* erat? Ciceroni autem ipsi nihil unquam *Servo suo Tirone* dulcius aut carius fuisse, epistolæ suæ ad eum missæ fati declarant: ob cujus tandem manumissionem gratias ei per litteras Q. Cicero frater agens<sup>n</sup>, *Gratissimum*, inquit, *mibi fecisti, cum eum indignum illa fortunâ, nobis Amicum, quàm Servum esse maluisti*: tanquam nihil aliud esset Manumissio, quàm è servitute in amicitiam Domini transitus: hoc au-

<sup>k</sup> Consuetudo ista vetus Regibus, Regesque simulantibus populum amicorum describere: apud nos primi omnium C. Gracchus, & mox Livius Drusus instituerunt segregare turbam suam, &c. Senec.

de Ben. l. 6. 33. It. de Clemen. 1. 10. It. Sueton. Tiber. c. 46.

<sup>l</sup> c. 20.

<sup>m</sup> Epist. ad Cic. 6.

<sup>n</sup> Cic. Ep. fam. ad Tiron. 6.

tem Medicis præcipuè & Præceptoribus contigisse, ut in *Amicos* faciliè transirent testatur Seneca ; ° quibus scilicet Artes ipsæ, quas profitentur, Dominorum gratiæ promerendæ hominibusque beneficio obligandis omnium maximè sint opportunæ. Sed quid tandem ad amorem Domini erga servum significandum gravius esse potest, quam Inscriptio publicè dicata ? hujusmodi autem vetustam quandam exhibet *Turrius*, ° Aquileiæ repertam, quàm summus, uti videtur, Coloniae Magistratus *Servo suo Medico* posuisset.

*Phœvianus Medicus Servus*

P H A E B I A N O  
S E R.  
M E D I C O  
F A B I A N U S  
C O S.

*abjectâ conditione*

Hanc *Inscriptionem*, inquit Auctor celeberrimus, ægris oculis vidisset *Sponius*, qui à *Servorum abjectâ conditione Medicos vindicare conatus est*. In notissimâ denique illâ de *Pyrrho* Rege historiâ ; hominem illum, qui *Fabricio* Consuli, si de pretio conveniret, veneno Regem necare promisit, *Medicum* *Plutarchus* ° ; *Amicum* *Gellius* ° ; *Famulum* autem *Regis* *Claudianus* vocat ° : quæ tamen omnia tum inter se consentire, tum sententiam meam confirmare, ex supra dictis faciliè patere arbitror.

*Medicus  
Amicus  
Famulus*

*Sponium* quod attinet ; multum ille quidem sese efferre atque exultare videtur, quod Medicorum unus aut alter *Ciceronis*, *Cæsaris*ve *Amicus* esset nominatus : quod quam leve totum sit, ac futile, nihil necesse est pluribus ostendere. Ut vero diligens admodum erat Antiquitatis omnis Investigator ; in Monumen-

*De se ac futile,*

° De Ben. l. 6. 26.

° Philip. a Turre Monumen. Vet. Antij. p. 361.

° In vita Pyrrhi. p. 356.

° Noct. Att. 3. 8.

° De Bello Gild. 271.



tis tamen veterum perferutandis idem ille quidem facere videtur, quod ii omnes solent, qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententiis sese addixerint; ea videlicet, quæ opinionibus suis præjudicatis favere quoquo modo credant, rapere undique & in partes suas torquere, alia verò omnia negligere facilè aut celare. Sed ut Argumentationis ejus vim omnem completi facilius, & comprehendere queamus; inscriptionum quarundam veterum, quibus præcipuè causam suam evincere, contrariamque refellere conatur, maximam partem huc quoque transferendam curavi.

## I.

M. L A T I N I V S  
M E D I C V S  
O C V L A R I V S.

*Latinus Medicus Ocularis.*

## II.

M. A L L I V S. P A M P H I L V S  
M E D I C V S.  
&c.

*Pamphilus Medicus*

## III.

C. CALPURNIVS. ASCLEPIADES  
PRVSA. AD. OLYMPVM. MEDICVS  
PARENTIBVS. ET. SIBI. ET. FRATRIB.  
CIVITATES. VII. A. DIVO. TRAIANO  
IMPETRAVIT. &c.

*Asclepiades Medicus*

## IV.

ILLVSTRIVS. TI. CAESARIS.  
AVG. SER. CELADIANVS  
MEDICVS. OCVLARIVS.

*Titus Celadianus  
Medicus Ocularis.*

## V.

*Nicanor Medicus*

M. FONTEIVS  
NICANDER  
MEDICVS.

## VI.

*Cassius Medicus*

L. ANNIVS. CASSIVS. MITHR  
ADORVS. MEDICVS. &c.

## VII.

*Asclepiades Medicus.*

L. ARRVTIO  
SEMPRONIANO  
ASCLEPIADI  
IMP. DOMITIANI  
MEDICO. &c.

## VIII.

*Medicus clinicus**Libertis et  
Glandius*

TI. CLAVDIVS. IVLIANVS  
MEDICVS. CLINICVS. COH. III.  
PR. FECIT. VIVOS. SIBI. ET.  
TVLLIE. EPIGONE. CONIVGI.  
LIBERTIS. LIBERTABVSQ;  
CLAVDIIS. &c.

## IX.

P. CHARM.  
SOSTHE.  
MEDIC.  
IMM. VIR. AVG.

Hicce pauculis *Inscriptionibus*, inquit Sponius, <sup>1</sup> *desirui potest ridiculum Robortelli commentum; qui asseruit, Romæ tantum seruos Medicinam exercuisse. Etiam si etenim in Inscriptione, Illustrius Tib. Cæsaris seruus fuerit Medicus; obseruandum est, addi Ocularius; sicque potius Chirurgum quàm Medicum fuisse. At in aliis lapidibus Medici soli ingenui, aut liberti, &c. quorum ultimus uero, præterquam ingenuus fuit, sextumviratûs dignitate ornatus obseruatur.*

*Robortellus*

De primâ autem illâ inscriptione, *litteras, M. L;* quæ Latinii nomen sequi debuissent, *libertinam* uidelicet ejus conditionem indicantes, a Sponio detractas esse, vir doctus *Malvasia* ostendit <sup>2</sup>. Secundam quod attinet; Amicus meus *Justus Fontanus*, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Præsul, vir omni literarum genere præstantissimus, scriptisque in lucem editis meritò celeberrimus, in libro suo de Antiquitatibus Hortæ (quem inter alia plurima amicitiae & benevolentiae suæ pignora ab eo Romæ dono accepi) diuerso planè modo eam nobis exhibet; uidelicet, MAL-LIUS PAM. &c. Nulla interpunctionis notulâ ad prænomen distinguendum adhibita: atque ex eo Panphilum illum è *seruorum grege* fuisse, necdum libertate donatum contendit; propterea quod prænomine, quo cives omnes utebantur, careret: <sup>3</sup> Sponiumque deinde leuiter reprehendit, quod ultra quam par sit, Robortelli opinionem irrideat.

*Malvasia  
Fontanus*

De Asclepiade autem Medico proximè memorato, quam puerilia & inepta omnia protulit Sponius? <sup>4</sup> Qui inscriptionem ipsam in Gallicum sermonem vertens, *septem Urbium Dominium & Principatum* ab Imperatore Trajano cum obtinuisse asserit:

*Puerilia et inepta*

<sup>1</sup> Miscell. Erud. Antiq. p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. 9. p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Marmora Felsin. Sect. 5. c. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Differ. 27. p. 431.

Neque Meadius deinde hunc tantum virum, seu Principem potius, *totque Civitatum donationem*, in Artis suæ gloriam commemorare omisit. <sup>1</sup> Sed quid tandem, si Diis placet, hæc tam magna sibi velint? Reinesius enim, Auctor quidem ille gravis, Medicusque celebris, (unde ipsam etiam inscriptionem transfulerat Sponius) nihil aliud *Asclepiadem* huncce fuisse dicit, <sup>2</sup> quàm *servum è Calpurnia Familia* manumissum, qui Trajani favore *Civis privilegia & immunitatem*, non solum Romæ, sed in fex aliis Græciæ & Asiæ Civitatibus sibi, suisque impetraverat: Nec quicquam sane amplius inscriptionis ipsius verbis significari certissimum est; quippe *septem Urbium Dominatus* ab optimo & prudentissimo Principe *Mædico Græculo* donatus, non solum incredibile quiddam videtur, sed à scriptoribus omnibus silentio præteriri nullo modo poterat.

Cæteros autem Medicos in reliquis illis lapidibus nominatos, quis unquam sanus ingenuos, ut ille, atque ex familiis quarum nomina præ se ferunt, oriundos credere potest? quidni potius servos omnes fuisse existimemus, qui manumissi postea, *Dominorum sibi nomina, & prænomena* pro more assumerant?

*Verterat hunc Dominus momento turbinus, exit  
Marcus, Dama, &c. — Perf. Sat. 5. 78.*

Hoc fanè de *Claudio illo Juliano* quam maximè est probabile; non tam propter conjugem Græcam *Epigonem*, quam quod *Claudie familie*, è quà ipse manumissus esset, *libertis, libertabusque* commune Sepulchrum possuisse videtur. Sin quod minùs est verisimile, liberos eos esse concedamus; Romani tamen esse non poterant; sed ex Græculis istis, qui ab Imperatoribus Civitate

*Ex Græculis æsuriensibus.*

<sup>1</sup> Crat. Harv. p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Syntag. Inscript. Antiq. Class. 11. 4.

donati, Magnorumque in clientelam recepti, Romana deinceps nomina usurparunt; retento tamen plerumque atque adjecto veteri Græco: Quales proculdubio (si non ferve potius sint existimandi) *Cassium, Fonteium, Arruntium* fuisse ex ipsis inscriptionibus satis apparet.

*Sextum viratum* denique *Augustalem* quod attinet; quem Medicus ille Charmes in inscriptione gefisse dicitur: errat planè Vir Eruditus, quod non nisi ad *Ingenuos Nobilesque* deferri eum existimaverit; <sup>a</sup> quum & Libertinis præcipuè, seu semper potius delatum fuisse multæ aliæ inscriptiones declarant: quarum quidem una ipsam pecuniæ summam memorat, quam *Medicus Servus* pro libertate; quamque *libertus* deinde pro *Seviratu* in Rempublicam dedisset <sup>b</sup>.

P. DECIMVS. P. L. EROS.

MERVLA. MEDICVS

CLINICVS CHIRVRGVS

OCVLARIVS. VI. VIR.

HIC. PRO. LIBERTATE. DEDIT. H. S. I.,,

HIC. PRO. SEVIRATV. IN. REMP.

DEDIT. H. S. ∞ . ∞ .

*Hier. Mercurial. Var. Lect. l. 3.*

*Medicus clinicus chirurgus  
Ocularis*

<sup>a</sup> Dissert. 27. p. 435.

<sup>b</sup> Seviratus hiee Augustalis, quale tandem Munus fuerit, five Sacerdotium, five magistratus quidam in municipiis, haud inter Eruditos constat: ex Tacito [Ann. 1. 54. 1.] & Suetonio [Claud. c. 6.] discimus, post mortem Augusti Sacerdotium quoddam in honorem Julæ Genitricis a Tiberio esse institutum; in quod sorte deligebantur Primores Civitatis, unus & viginti, *Sodalium Augustalium* nomine, qui facris, ludisque in Casarum defunctorum honorem conficiendis prætererunt; quibus

postea extra ordinem adjecti Tiberias, Drusus, Claudius, Germanicus. Hujus Sodalitatis ad similitudinem, rebusque ut opinor, iisdem procurandis, *Seviratus Augustalis* in Coloniis & Municipiis creatus videtur: Ordo quidem inter Decuriones & plebem medius; ut ex Veteribus marmoribus patet. Honorem ipsam pecuniâ plerumque emptum; nonnunquam tamen à Decurionibus ob merita gratuito datum; nec tamen perpetuum fuisse, sed quinquennale & repetitum interdum ex Inscriptionibus antiquis colligitur.

Sponius

Sponius

Quid interest, Servine an  
Liberti?

Frugi &amp; diligentes.

Liberi non Ingenui.

Mena

Madius

Infamiam in Chirurgos.

Utrique autem Medici.

Sponius autem, dum Medicorum veterum conditionem liberam ac ingenuam probare studet, evertit planè, ut mihi videatur, quod tanto opere asstruere laborat, cum è *Libertinorum* tandem familiâ maximam eorum partem exiisse fateri cogatur: quid enim tantum interest, *Servine* Medendi Artem exercuerint an *Liberti*? quum hos etiam in servitute illam cum didicisse, tum exercuisse necesse sit: *Servos* autem *frugi & diligentes* (atque ut ex supra dictis conjicere licet, omnium maxime Medicos) haud *quinquennio diutius servire*, sed in libertatem deinde emitti solere, ex *Cicerone* colligere possumus: ° atque hinc *Medicorum Libertorum*, quorum nomina toties occurrunt, tantus numerus effluxit: qui quidem etsi *liberi* dici possint, (quum tamen non omnes fortassè justâ libertate fruebantur) at *Ingenui* certè nunquam existimabantur: contra verò; *Libertinos* atque *Ingenuos*, tanquam contrariæ fortis homines, sibi invicem oppositos semper ab Auctoris invenimus, *Hominibus*, inquit Seneca, ° *prodesse Natura jubet, Servi, Liberive sint; Ingenui an Libertini*. Narratque Suetonius, ° *Augustum neminem unquam Libertinorum cænæ adhibuisse*, excepto Mena, (S. Pompeii Liberto) *sed asserto prius in Ingenuitatem*.

Sed ad Meadium tandem nostrum veniamus, qui in hac quæstione tractandâ, † in id unum totus incumbit, ut inultam *Medicis* servitutis infamiam in *Chirurgos* penitus removeat; *Illos* Romæ semper splendidos, honoribusque auctos; *Hos* tantummodò ignobiles, abjectos, serviles esse contendens: Utrique autem cum *Medici* à Veteribus appellabantur, inde errorem hunc omnem nasci innuit, quod quos eodem nomine appellatos Viri docti observassent, eâdem etiam vitæ conditione usos crederent.

° Orat. Philip. 8. 11.

° De Vita Beat. c. 24.

° Aug. c. 74.

† Orat. Harv. p. 8.

Sed parum ei feliciter in re probandâ successit: ex omnibus enim, quos enumerat Medicis, duos tantum profert, de quorum conditione certi aliquid ac indubitati memoriæ proditur; *Arcagathum* scilicet, & *Antonium Musam*: quorum ille quidem liber & Civitate donatus, sed *Chirurgus* certè, seu ut *Plinius*, eum vocat, <sup>6</sup> *Medicus Vulnerarius*; Hic autem, *Medicus* planè summus, summisque honoribus ornatus, *Augusti* tamen ut supra dixi, *Servus* & *Libertus* fuit: de reliquis illis, quorum *Romana* quidem nomina adducit, *Cassii*, *Calpetanis*, *Arruntii*, &c. quid constituendum sit, ex supra memoratis facilè judicabimus: quos si Cives ipse, ingenuosque omnes fuisse, cum Sponio credere potest; haud tamen aliis persuadere credat; *Nobiles* unquam *Românos* Artem illam exercuisse, quam vel *infimus* quisque *gravitate suâ indignam* arbitrabatur; quamque *nullus omnino Quiritium*, nisi serò admodum, nec ut *Clericus ipse* fatetur, ante *Cæsarum* ætatem unquam attigit.

*Arcagatham Musam*

*Medicus Vulnerarius.*

*Servus et Libertus.*

Observat autem Vir Celeberrimus, in Nummo quodam *Rubriæ Familiæ*, *Anguem Deæ Salutis Symbolum* conspici, quem ad florentem tunc in ea familia Medicinæ laudem referri omnino oportere censet <sup>h</sup>: miraturque *Patinum* & *Vaillant*, Medicos quidem ambos, in Nummis Familiarum Romanarum explicandis, *rem Arti suæ tam honorificam* prætermisisse: at in aliis etiam Nummis Consularibus, quos ipse quoque exhibet <sup>i</sup>, Uno scilicet *Junie*, altero *Aciliæ Familiæ*, ipsa *Deæ Salutis* imago expressa cernitur: num *Medici* propterea familiarum istarum *Principes*; nihil sane minus credendum. Sed *Juniorum* num-

<sup>6</sup> Hist. Nat. l. 29. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Orat. p. 11.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 31. Afferit. [p. 49.] inter alias Romanorum familias, Rubriam Medicinæ laude floruisse; Pliniumque testem adducit: qui tamen nec de Rubria, nec de

aliis istis familiis ne verbum profert; sed inter Medicos tantummodo celeberrimos memorat Cassios, Carpitanos, Arruntios, Albutios, Rubrios — quos Servos potius, quam Familiarum Principes fuisse, ut modo dixi, haud dubitandum est.

mus, ob Templi *Deæ Saluti* ædificati memoriam, percussus efficitur, quod *Junius Bubulcus* ex voto, quod Consul fecerat, Dictator dedicavit A. U. 451. <sup>k</sup> Alterque iste *Acilianus*, munus aliquod, vel magistratum, ad valetudinem populi contra pestem, morbumve quendam contagiosum tuendam institutum, gestumque feliciter denotat, uti ex ipsa inscriptione Viri docti judicant. MV. ACILIVS. III. VIR. VALETV. Quidni igitur cum Patino, *Rubriorum* etiam Nummum illum (quo *Æsculapii* in Urbem advectio denotari atque exprimi videtur) ad operam aliquam singularem ea occasione Reipublicæ præstitam, seu ad sumptus Templo ejus ædificando, vel ornando postea ab ea familia præbitos, referendum arbitremur? Sed ut privatos hosce Cives omittamus; in Imperatorum sæpissime nummis eadem illa cernitur *Salutis* effigies; significans videlicet, salutem a Principe vel Imperio publicè, vel certis quibusdam Civibus præcipuè datam<sup>l</sup>; seu vota & sacrificia pro conservatione, & valetudine Imperatoris à populo, vel Civitate aliqua facta. Ex talibus autem nummis, si Imperatores ipsos medicinam exercuisse putaremus, haud magis absurdum esset, quam si Nobiles illos *Junios*, *Acilios*, *Rubrios*, Consulum adhuc ætate, Artem illam professos crederemus; quæ illis certe temporibus dedecus potius & infamiam, quam laudem, gloriamve nummis percutiendis celebrari dignam attulisset.

<sup>k</sup> T. Liv. l. 10. 1.

<sup>l</sup> Cum conjuratio quedam (cujus Princeps Cn. Cornelius, Pompeii magni ex filia nepos) contra Augustum esset detecta, Livie Augustæ consilio atque intercessione non veniam modo Conjuratores, sed honores & Magistratus ab Imperatore consecutos esse, tradit Dio: [Cæsi. Aug. l. 55. p. 85.] In ejus rei memoriam Nummum il-

lum percussum esse, verisimile est, in cujus averfa parte, Livie facies conspicitur, hac inscriptione; SAL. AVG. Vid. Agostin. Dial. 2. Tab. 45. Statuam etiam illam, quæ Romæ adhuc cernitur, Livieque Augustæ faciem, sub Deæ Salutis imagine exhibet, ob eandem causam, atque eodem tempore fingi credibile est. Vid. Raccoll. di Statue di Roma.—



Dum autem a Medicis contumeliam propulzare conatur, caveat tandem vir dignissimus, ne in alios ipse quidem contumeliosus reperiatur; Chirurgos velim, viros sane honestos, & Reipublicæ utiles; quosque a reliquis Medicis, nec nomine, nec conditione antiquitus unquam distingui, aut segregari reperio: Nisi fortasse credendum potius sit, Chirurgicam Medicinæ partem, cum antiquiorem, tum majori etiam apud veteres honore fuisse habitam. Ipse quidem *Æsculapius* non aliam ob causam in Deorum numerum relatus dicitur, quàm quod *Specillum* (Chirurgorum quoddam instrumentum) *invenerit*, *primusque vulnera obligare docuerit*<sup>m</sup>: ejusque itidem Filios, ab Homero tantopere celebratos, *Podalirium* & *Machaonem*, non ad pestem morbosæve medendos, sed ad vulnera solum curanda adhiberi cernimus: *Ex quo apparet*, inquit Celsus<sup>n</sup>, *has partes Medicinæ solas ab his esse tentatas, easque esse vetustissimas*. Atque ipsa Chirurgorum adeo propria ab Antiquis existimabatur, ut nomen inde, a telis scilicet eximendis, apud Græcos eam duxisse *Sextus Empiricus* Auctor est<sup>o</sup>: *Ἰατρικὴ εἴρηται τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἰῶν ἐξαιρέσεως*. Quam quidem nominis definitionem ab Homero plane summissè videtur.

*Ἰητρός γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων*

*Ἰός τ' ἐκτάμνειν*, &c. ————— Iliad. 2. 514.

Hier. Mercurialis, Medicus quidem ipse doctissimus, omnes proficos Medicos Chirugos fuisse agnoscit; atque ad Galeni usque tempora Medicamenta sibi ipsis parasse: Uti *Compertum habent*, inquit<sup>p</sup>, *qui in Auctoribus antiquioribus*, atque Hippocrate præcipue sunt versati.

<sup>m</sup> Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Præf. lib. de re Med.

<sup>o</sup> Adv. Mathem. l. 1. c. 2.

<sup>p</sup> Var. lect. l. 1. c. 13.

Apud veteres certe Romanos, communi Medicorum nomine cum utrosque appellari, tum utrasque simul Medicinæ partes ab eodem semper exerceri certissimum est. *Arcagathus* ille, qui omnium primus Medicinæ profitendæ causa e Græcia Romam, Anno Urbis 535, venisse dicitur<sup>3</sup>, *Cbirurgus*, ut ante dixi, fuit, tabernamque ad operam locandam publice datam habuit. *Plautus* etiam, qui eodem tempore, seu posteriùs aliquanto floruit, de *Medicis* quoties loquitur, haud alios ac *Cbirurgos* esse confirmat.

*Lumbi sedendo, oculi spectando dolent,  
Manendo Medicum, dum se ex opere recipiat;  
Odiosus tamen vix ab ægrotis venit;  
Ait se obligasse crus fractum Æsculapio,  
Apollini autem brachium, &c. ——— Menæc. 5. 3.*

C. Marium cura tumoribus quibusdam deformata Medico secanda obtulisse legimus<sup>4</sup>; & secandi acerbiter sine ullo doloris indicio pertulisse. *Cicero* de Milite Veterano ac Exercitato loquens<sup>5</sup>, ob vulnera fortiorem eum fieri dicit, nec requirere aliud, quàm *Medicum, a quo obligetur*. *Catonis Medicum illum* supra memoratum *Cbirurgi* proprio munere fungentem vidimus. Gladiatorum denique *Ludi singuli*, ut ex Inscriptionibus plurimis apparet, singulos sibi Medicos habuerunt, in utrumque certe, tum *valetudinem tuendam*, tum *vulnera medenda*, paratos æque ac instructos.

Imperatorum autem postea temporibus, cum Civium simul & Medicorum multitudo in immensum quasi excrevisset; atque in Urbe opibus omnibus abundante, vel *quælibet Medicinæ pars* vectigal, quaestumque fatis amplum profitentibus conficere valeret; tum primùm in partes varias secari quasi, & dividi Medendi Ars; tum singulæ deinceps a singulis tractari & admini-

<sup>3</sup> Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 29. 1.    <sup>4</sup> Plut. in C. Mar.    <sup>5</sup> Tusc. Quæst. l. 2. 38.

frari; tum vel minima quæque corporis pars, certusve quilibet dolor *Medicos sibi propios, & unice addictos* habere cœpit: atque hinc denique *Clinicorum, Chirurgorum, Oculariorum, Auriculariorum, &c.* nomina effluxere: quæ tamen omnia uni interdum, eidemque adhuc competere, ex Inscriptione supra allata, atque aliis multis liquet.

*Postremis temporibus, inquit Menagius, partem illam Medicinæ, quæ manu medetur, ab aliis homines sejunxerunt: quando factum hoc diffidium, dixerit alius, non ego; certe post Antoninos.* Scio autem Celsum, prout a Clerico citatur<sup>w</sup>, multis antea annis factam hanc Medicinæ partitionem indicare videri: dubitat autem vir eruditus, an Celsus de ea, tanquam facta jam, & in usum perducta; an de re solum utili, quamque instituendam exoptarat, effret locutus; cum Celsi ipsius ætate, antiquum adhuc morem obtinuisse, omnesque simul Medicinæ partes ab uno eodemque tractatas sæpe esse appareat.

Quicquid vero de hac re statuamus; hoc unum certissimum est, *Medicos & Chirurcos* pari semper conditione & dignitate apud veteres Romanos extitisse; viderintque tandem ii, qui constantem doctorum fere omnium opinionem, tanquam *ridiculum commentum, in opprobrium artis prolatum*, infectantur; quam temere ipsi, nullo Antiquitatis Monumento, nullo Auctore muniti, in alios, immerentes illos quidem & indignos, mera opprobria janciant.

Meadius autem, ne, si nihil omnino de ignobili Medicorum veterum statu fateretur, obstinatum nimis & pervicacem sese ostenderet; concedere tandem aliquid videtur, sed tanta verborum obscuritate involutum & quasi vi extortum, ut sensum inde

<sup>1</sup> Medicos fortasse quis excipiet, etiam eos, qui alicujus partis corporis, vel certi doloris sanitatem pollicentur: ut puta, si Auricularius, si Fistulæ, vel dentium, &c.

l. 1. §. 3. Dig. de var. & extraor. cognition.

<sup>w</sup> Amœnitat. Jur. Civ. c. 35. p. 227.

<sup>x</sup> Hist. de la Medicinæ. l. 1. pt. 2. c. 9.

vix ullum quidem, nedum clarum & distinctum elicere facile valeamus: ejusque ideo verba integra huc appofui, ut solertior aliquis ea mihi expedienda fufcipiat.

*Nihil igitur fervile, inquit ille<sup>x</sup>, aut tenue quidem, Artem no-  
stram adhuc dedecorat. Sed ut plane & sine fuco totam rem dicam,  
fifimul cum ingenuis multis, & doctis viris, non pauci scientiæ &  
fortune bonis inferiores, illis temporibus Romam veniebant; qui etfi  
non Medicamentis, fed manu curarent, Medici tamen appellabantur.  
Hi in divitum & Magnatum clientelam fe conferebant, & Servi age-  
bant, donec Civitatem confequerentur, inde Liberti, nomen alicujus  
Familie Romanæ sibi adfciscere solebant: neque raro, fi ingenium  
fudio literarum excoluiffent, morbis etiam internis medebantur, &  
in Medicorum Clinicorum cenfum veniebant. Tali conditione fuit  
Antonius Musa, &c.*

Hæc ille; fed ut mihi quidem videtur, cum verbis tum fen-  
tentiis fibi ipfi plane repugnans: ut enim alia omittam; ego fane  
haud intelligo, quemadmodum ii, qui e Græcia fponfe quidem  
veniffent, atque in Divitum clientelam fe contuliffent, *Servos*  
deinde Romæ agere, iidemque *Magnatum Clientes* & *Servi* fimul  
effe poffent? Hujufmodi autem omnia, (five errata, feu minus  
tantum accurata vocemus) & longe quidem majora, tali certe  
viro facile funt ignofcenda: cui tantis rebus occupato, otium  
ad hujufmodi nugas exquirendas nullo modo fuppetit; cujuf-  
que affiduis occupationibus quantum unquam moræ interpona-  
tur, tantum fane de publicis commodis detrahitur.

Clericus autem ille, quem fupra nominavi, in libro illo, quo  
Medendi Artis hiftoriam diligenter & erudite contexuit, hanc  
omnem quæftionem copiofe tractat<sup>y</sup>; & quamvis Medicus, non  
dubitat tamen, quæ in utramque partem dici folent, in medium  
preferre, aliis judicium relinquens: in hoc tantum errare vifus;

<sup>x</sup> Orat. p. 9.

<sup>y</sup> Lib. 1. p. 3. c. 2.

quod Sponii Autoritatem sequens, Medicos illos *Arruntium, Calpetanum, Rubrium, &c.* quos *Romanorum primos* Medicinam attigisse dicit, ex *amplissimis Civium familiis* ad eam illico accessisse credat: quasi artem illam, quæ Romani Civis existimationi nocere plane existimabatur, *Nobiles* statim exercuisse, omnino esset credibile: idque *Augusti, Tiberiive* ætate, cum vel multis post annis Medici, ut supra dixi, in *humillimis mortalium a Seneca* adhuc numerantur.

Sed de hac omni disceptatione hæcenus: nec quemquam jam existimare velim, me horum aliquid disputasse, ut Medendi arti, honestæ ei quidem atque imprimis utili, invidiam, aliquam conflarem, dedecusve inurerem: Nihil minus mihi in animo erat; quippe haud alius quisquam Medicorum plures, amicitia sibi & consuetudine omni conjunctos habet, aut habere magis cupit: quorum plerosque cognovi semper, tum Viros bonos, tum in omni fere doctrinæ genere excellentes. Nec ipsam sane quæstionem ad veram artis gloriam, laudemque pertinere omnino arbitror: etenim hoc sibi Medicina nullo modo præcipuum, sed cum aliis plerisque artibus commune habet; quod Romæ tardius olim recepta, neglecta & contempta fuerit: neque *Medici* magis vituperandi, quod a prisca illis *Quiritibus* nullo loco habiti essent, quam *Poetæ*; quorum familiaritatem & consuetudinem M. Cato Senatori cuidam, tanquam probrum aliquod objecisse fertur: tota hæc disputatio in Historica quadam disquisitione unice versatur; quæ etsi omnibus sane levicula; nonnullis tamen, uti spero, nec injucunda, nec homine in literis otiante indigna prorsus videbitur; qui tamen & his fortasse graviora, uti alias fecerit, ita in posterum etiam sit aliquando in lucem editurus.

<sup>z</sup> Serò a nostris Poetæ vel cogniti, vel Latinarum literarum. Cic. Tuscul. quæst. 1. recepti.—Philosophia jacuit usque ad hanc ætatem, nec ullum habuit lumen

<sup>a</sup> Ibid.—



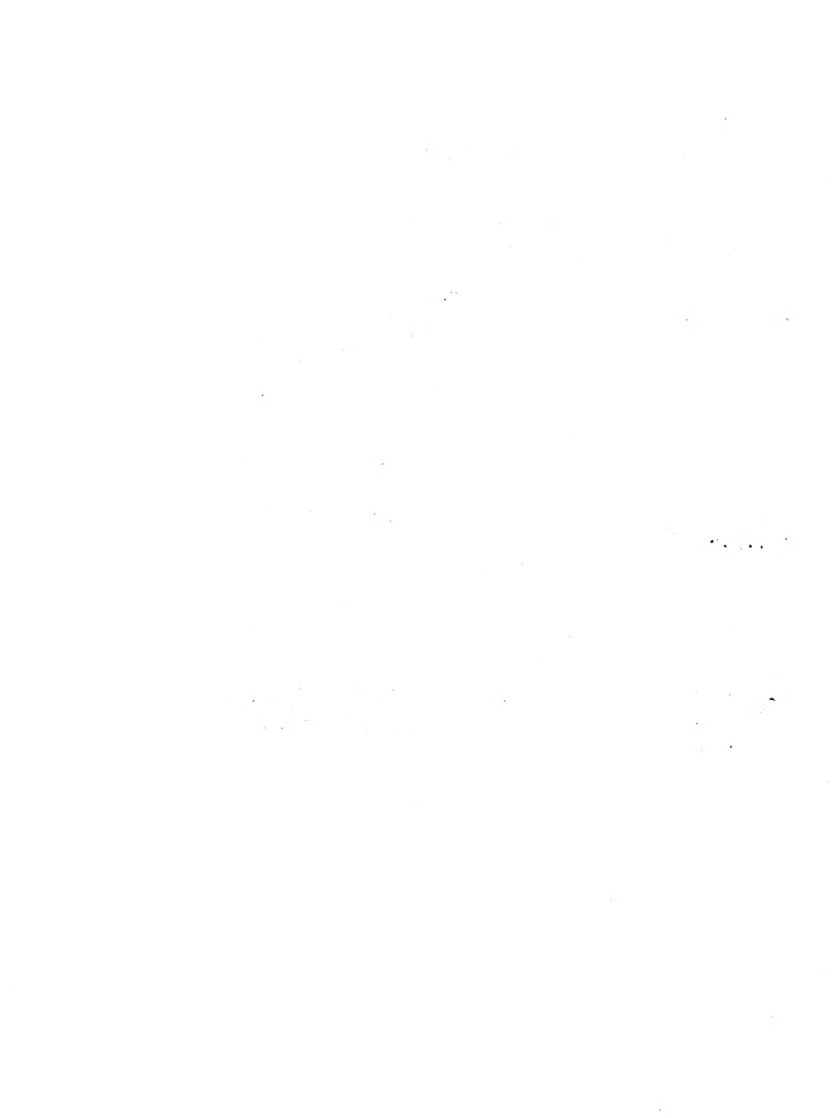


DISSERTATIONIS  
DE  
Medicorum Romæ Degentium  
CONDITIONE IGNOBILI & SERVILI,  
CONTRA  
ANONYMOS QUOSDAM  
Notarum Brevium, Responſionis, atque Animadverſionis  
AUCTORES,  
DEFENSIO.

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*Qui admonent amicè docendi ſunt, qui inimicè inſeſtan-  
tur repellendi.* Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 1.







## DISSERTATIONIS

DE

MEDICORUM ROMÆ DEGENTIUM

Conditione Ignobili &amp; Servili

## DEFENSIO, &amp;c.

CUM de *Medicorum Romæ olim degentium conditione* Dissertationem meam in publicum edere statuissem, nullius mihi vel animum vel existimationem lædere propositum erat; sed cum eruditis quibuscunque atque antiquarum præsertim rerum studiosis, gratiam me potius initurum putaram, si quæstionem in Antiquitatis cognitione versatam, atque à viris doctis, etsi levitè solummodo, at sæpius tamen, varièque agitatum, penitè ipsè perscrutandam, fusiùsque explicandam, arriperem: quippe ego, qui nisi laceffit, atque injuriæ propulsandæ causa, neminem mihi unquam laceffendum duxerim, haud tam temerarius fuisset ut *Florentissimi Medicorum Ordinis* inimicitias, hæc meâ præsertim minùs firmâ valetudine, ultro mihi subeundas putarem.

Sed ut dicam planè quod sentiam; ego nec intelligere unquam potui, neque adhuc sanè causam videre queo, cur hæc nostra disputatio *Medicis* omnino *Stomachum* moveret; cur vè of-

V O L. IV.

F f

fenfos

fenfos inde aut indignè sese tractatos judicarent. Etenim quid si *Prisci illi Romani* de Arte ista minùs quidem, quàm oportuit, honorificè censuerint; num ad horum temporum Medicos hoc ullo modo pertinere existimabitur? Si homines, inquam, illi artium bonarum rudes, literarumque expertes, Medicinam, juxta ac reliquas artes contempserint, nec Civibus quidem suis colendam judicaverint; num hoc apud Viros graves de verâ artis laude detrudere aliquid aut imminuere poterit? Numvè mirandum est, in quâ Urbe per tot secula nec luxus, nec pecunia ferè reperiebatur, quorum alterum Morbos, alterum Medicos alit, in ea Urbe, *medendi artem* jacuisse, atque ab *Ingenuis liberisque hominibus*, quibus vitam pro suo cujusque arbitrio instituendi facultas esset, omnino rejectam ac contemptam esse?

Apud *Turcas* hodie, si peregrinantibus habenda fides, hæc eadem Ars nullo ferè loco haberi, sed à *Servis, Obstetricibus, Græculis, Judæisque* administrari dicitur: quis tamen hoc *Medicinæ ipsi* infamiam ullam, dedecusvè afferre arbitratur? quisve non Nationis ejus inscitiam potius & barbariem irridet, quæ Artem tam utilem, tamque necessariam non pluris æstimet; nec præmiis honoribusque propositis homines suos ad eam excolendam excitet?

Videram autem, fateor, nonnullos, viros eos quidem graves atque eruditos, vel gloriolâ quâdam elatos, vel artis suæ caritate nimis fastidiosâ incensos, hanc omnem disputationem impatienter satis, nec nisi ægro planè animo tulissè; atque in eâ refutandâ, perinde ac opprobrio aliquo à Medicis repellendo, tam vehementè elaborassè, ut sese vix à contumeliis abstinerent; nec contrariæ sententiæ fautores haud aliter ac malevolos atque invidiosos insectari dubitarent. Horum ego intemperantiam etfi aliquantulum reprimendam esse censui, ita tamen reprimendam, ut maledicentia sanè omnis, sermonisque asperitas à nostrâ profus disceptatione abessent; atque ut Viros liberaliter educa-

tos decet, non animorum contentione, sed opinionum solummodò, dissensione ad veri investigationem accederemus: quod quidem in illa *mea Dissertatione* me tam religiosè præstitisse arbitror, ut ne verbum ibi unum aut contumeliosè aut asperè nimis dictum inveniri posse confidam.

Dissertationem autem ipsam quod attinet; ea sane non nisi casu quodam, atque illo fere, quo rem exposui, modo, tum primùm inchoata, tum perfectà postea ac in lucem emissà est: nec vereor profecto, ne quis idem mihi illud objiciat, quod *Oppugnatores quidem meos* objecisse video; tanquam causæ a me *prorsùs alienæ memet ipse immiscuissem*<sup>a</sup>. Quicquid enim literis mandetur, id omnium plane lectioni & judicio propositum semper judicavi, & si quid potissimum *in re literaria* ab hominibus curiosis in controversia agitatum, atque in medium semel projectum esset, id sane ab homine quovis otioso & literis dedito minime alienum esse putavi. Sin autem, quod magis suspicor, quodque fieri plane perspicio, id mihi potius crimini vertatur, quod clarissimi *Meadii* sententiam mihi impugnamdam susceperim<sup>b</sup>; id quidem etsi haud parvo meo periculo factum fateor, quod a tanto Viro dissentire ausus essem; attamen ni petulanter aut iracunde id fecisse arguerer, cum culpa omnino ulla conjunctum esse nego; nisi omnes simul omnium temporum eruditos eodem crimine condemnemus, qui inter se discrepare ac contra disputare, quotiescunque res postularet, nunquam dubitaverint; nec nisi ejusmodi contentionibus *verum* usquam investigari, literarumve studia vigere omnino, aut radices agere posse existimaverint<sup>c</sup>.

Istud autem meum opusculum haud citius in publicum prodiit, quam ad me statim perlatum est, responsi mihi aliquid parari, nonnullosque ingenio & doctrina præstantes, qui contra

<sup>a</sup> Resp. p. 4.    <sup>b</sup> Ib. p. 201. It. Animad. br. p. 42.    <sup>c</sup> Cic. Tusc. qu. 2. 2.

*Dissertationis de Medicorum Romæ Degentium*

me scriberent, meamque sententiam refellerent, a *Medicis quibusdam* delectos jam & designatos esse: quo quidem nuntio tantum absuit, ut molestiæ mihi aliquid crearetur, ut gaudio potius tacito ac voluptate memet inde affectum senserim. Quippe illud, cum omnibus veri tandem investigandi, tum mihi præferim, haud multum occupato, honestam quandam otii conterendi occasionem præbiturum esse putavi: nam mecum ipse ab initio plane statueram, aut sententiam meam, a quocunque impugnata fuerit, defendere ac confirmare, aut si ob rationum contra adductarum vim id mihi minus liceret, manus ultro dare, meque victum plane ac deceptum libere & publice confiteri.

Hac igitur expectatione dum plenus, erectusque stabam; prodiere tandem contra *Dissertationem meam Notæ quædam breves*, ab Anonymo quodam conscriptæ; leves illæ quidem & futiles, nec dignæ sane, quæ alio modo a me tractarentur, ac quo ab omnibus eas tractari intellexi, contemptu scilicet & neglectu. Sensi enim illico, illas non istud esse majorum lucubrationum opus, quo sententiam meam refutandam atque evertendam nonnulli jactitarent; vidi plane tam debilem impetum tanti belli famæ haud quaquam respondere; nec *Notulas istas* aliud esse reputavi, ac Velites quosdam, levissime armaturæ milites, in me ante emissos, ut me vexarent aliquantulum atque occupatum tenerent, quoad legiones, quæ armorum pondere lentius progredi cogentur, ad pugnam adessent.

Nec me profecto animus fefellit; quippe sub *Responsionis titulo* in lucem tandem venit, etsi longo satis intervallo, diu meditatum opus, vel ipso aspectu & magnitudine terribile: utpote *Dissertatiunculam istam meam* vel decies circiter paginarum numero exuperans: quasi auctor noster, quod alios nonnunquam factitasse accepimus, ipsa libri sui mole & pondere controversiam penitus omnem delere atque obruere cogitasset. Libro autem  
ipso

ipso in manus statim arrepto, atque avide satis perlecto, haud dici facile potest, quàm mira illicò expectationis meæ omnis frustratio consecuta est: nam vix tantæ molis librum me antea unquam vidissè memini, in quo tam pauca aut observatu digna aut lectu jucunda invenissem: de me vero omnia non nisi acerbe ac malevole dicta animadverti; & quasi non de re *provisus levicula*, sed de *Religionis ipsius veritate* certamen institutum esset; singula fere minutatim agitata, exaggerata, atque a meo sæpe sensu detorta vidi; ut Auctor non tam ad causam aliquam defendendam, quàm ad me accusandum *Orator* adhibitus videretur: quamvis enim nomen ille suum celavisset, sensu tamen hominem e *Rhetorum turba* conductum esse oportere; cui scilicet generi concessum novimus, omnia *tragicè ornare, augere, ementiri*<sup>4</sup>: is mihi solùm scrupulus restabat, quòd in ejus quidem sermone nihil planè, quod *Rhetorem oleret*, nihil venustatis, nihil ornatus, sed inculca potiùs omnia nec satis Latina invenirem.

Hujusmodi itaque Scriptorem haud magis quam alterum illum (cui neutiquam sanè eum anteferendum cenfeo) cogitatione ulla mea, aut animadversione dignum judicassè; ni hunc potissimùm hominem a *Clarissimo Meadio* ad hoc *Respondendi munus* delectum; librumque ipsum *ejusdem cura & sumptibus* in lucem emissum; amicisque suis *manu propria inscriptum & dono a Meadio ipso missum* intellexissem. Quibus non dubie ad me perlatis, non nihil ipse commotus, veritusque ne, præ nimia quadam mei ipsius caritate, haud satis rectè de Adversarii mei meritis statuissem, librum ejus relegi; in quo quidem etfi quæstionem ipsam quod attinet, nihil ferè, ut ante dixi, quod refutatione dignum videretur, inveni; cum tamen memet ubique perindè ac in *Notis istis brevibus*, tanquam *Calumniatorem\*, Criminatorem, Malevolum* tractatum videram; idque *tanti viri*

<sup>4</sup> Cic. de Clar. Orat.

\* Resp. p. 86, 134, &c.

judicio comprobatum, ejusque jussu ac opera in publicum evulgatum; illud demum mihi ipsi & existimationi meæ deberi arbitrabar, ut opprobria tam indigna refellerem; ostenderemque ejusmodi convitia non eos unquam attingere posse, qui nominis & famæ reverentia, tanquam pignoribus datis, adstricti, ad controversias literarias descendunt; sed *conduētitiis* solummodo *scriptoribus* istis convenire, qui existimationis nullum prorsus aut periculum subire, aut jacturam facere possunt, sed tenebris atque obscuritate tecti in quosvis sibi designatos, quasi ex insidiis impetum faciunt, & quamlibet causam defendendam, quemlibet hominem lacerandum mercede pactâ suscipiunt.

Hæc dum mecum ipse meditabar; tertius quidam in publicum prodiit sub *Animadversionis brevis*, titulo contra me conscriptus libellus; quem quidem intellexi subito, tum stilo, tum Materia consimili ex *eodem illo Notularum Auctore* profluxisse: quippe nihil fere aliud fecisse *Animadversor* videtur, ac eadem omnia recoquere, quæ antea disputarat, sed nova quadam luce donata, novo ordine disposita, atque ut ei videtur, jocos quibusdam & salibus conditiore. Ego vero, quoniam scribendo plane inexpertus homo videtur, hoc ei consilium dare velim, ut sese posthac a facetiis abtineat; hoc, mihi crede, non illi a Natura datum; quam in re omni ducem sequi oportet: & si ex arte sua victum, laudemve quærere studeat, non ingenii viribus, sed industria penitus & labore rem ei conficiendam video.

In hac vero, quam nunc aggredimur, certatione, propter *Clarissimi Meadii* nomen atque auctoritatem a me, ut modo dixi, suscepta, ne, si alteri responderem, alterum vero, nec illum magis quidem indignum, negligere, injustus cuiquam viderer; statui sane omnibus simul, una fere eademque opera respondere. Primum igitur, ut ratione & via quadam procedamus,

damus, *Notas istas breves*, quia primæ illæ quidem prodierunt, haud alio plane, ac quo occurrunt, ordine, considerare visum est; atque eodem tempore, si quæ vel ejusdem vel consimilis argumenti in *Responsionis Auctore* animadvertero, ea simul omnia in unum conferam, atque uno labore absolvam: deinde ad *Responsionis auctorem* me totum convertam, & reliqua omnia, quæ sibi propria habuerit, separatim perpendam; non immemor interea *Animadversionis* etiam *brevis*, si quid Auctor ejus vel novi, vel notatu digni attulerit; quod rariùs tamen fiet, propterea quod is, ut dixi, haud aliud fecissè videtur; ac ea, quæ antea dicta essent, verbis atque ordine paululum immutatis iterare.

Sed antequam in aciem ipsam descendamus, operæ pretium erit, de controversiæ hujus statu nonnulla breviter præfari, & questionem ipsam ita definire, ac limitibus circumscribere, ut constituatur quid & quale sit id, de quo disceptamus; quod ni fiat, vagabitur nimis hæc omnis disputatio, neque certam tandem ullam stabilemve sententiam elicere inde poterimus.

Itaque hoc potissimum a lectore animadversum velim, ea omnia, quæ de *Medicorum Conditione* a me sunt disputata, ad eam *Urbis Romæ ætatem*, quæ *Cæsarum temporibus antecessit*, referri omnino oportere; hos mihi in *Dissertatione meâ* controversiæ hujus terminos constitui: per id temporis spatium, quòd septingentos circiter annos complectitur, *Medicinam* non nisi a *Peregrinis, libertis, servisque* penitus administratam fuisse contendendo; *Artemque ipsam* tanto in contemptu a *Populo Romano* habitam reperio, ut professio ejus *Civium omnino existimatione indigna* judicaretur; atque eorum adeo ne unum quidem, qui eam unquam attigerit, ostendi posse existimo. Qui verò hanc sententiam impugnant, ea, quæ de *Medicis Servis* a Veteribus tradita reperiantur, non de *Medicis proprie dictis*, sed de *Chirurgis*, eisque solummodo, qui inferiores atque operarias Medi-

cinæ partes tractabant, intelligenda prorsus esse disputant: atque hinc alia statim de *Chirurgis* enata quæstio est; videlicet, num iisdem illis temporibus *Chirurgorum & Medicorum* conditio diversa omnino, aut ab invicem sejuncta fuerit; numve *Medicæ Artis partitio* ulla tunc temporis facta esse appareat. Ego vero, quantum cum ex Scriptoribus antiquis, tum *Medicis* præfertim nostrorum temporum eruditissimis, qui in hac ipsa causa perquirenda quàm maximè elaborarint, investigare ac colligere valuerim; hæud ullam *Artis hujus partitionem*, ullamve præfertim *Medicorum & Chirurgorum distinctionem* per id omne temporis intervallum fieri reperio; sed utrosque cum eodem nomine appellari, tum eodem loco & conditione haberi video: quod quidem etsi generatim verum esse credo, hæud ita tamen verum, quin quod omnibus universim enuntiatis accidere solet, huic itidem veritati unam alteramve forsitan exceptionem opponi posse existimem; neque aliam omnino regulam huic nostræ quæstioni constitui debere arbitror, ac quam omnibus constitutam novimus; videlicet, *res quasvis ex majori semper parte nominari oportere, etiam si pars aliqua abesse*<sup>f</sup>.

Quisquis igitur hanc meam opinionem sibi refellendam suscipiet; is primùm terminos huic omni disputationi positos animadvertat & consideret necesse est; quæstionemque sese tractare meminerit, tum loco tum tempore certo definitam & circumscriptam: nihil attinet in hac causa de Medicorum divitiis, honoribus, artisque dignitate puerorum morè & sine ulla temporum distinctione declamare; ostendat mihi, si poterit, *homines aliquot Romanos* in eo temporis spatio *Medicæ Artis studio & professione* florentes: ostendat mihi *Medicos* non nomine modo, sed conditione atque honore a *Chirurgis distin-*

<sup>f</sup> Cic. Tusc. qu. 5.



*Etos*: atque hoc si quis fecerit, tum demum redargui memet & confutari plane fatebor.

Sed ad *Annotatorem* jam *nostrum* descendamus; qui etsi literis istis M. D. libelli in fronte adscriptis, sese tanquam *Medicinæ Doctorem* nobis venditare sperat, mihi tamen haud facile persuaserim, homini tam imperito tamque inepto, *Academiis hæc nostras* honorem unquam istum detulisse: Crederem potius, si quam ex stylo ejus conjecturam facere liceat, de *Medicorum istorum* grege eum esse, qui fora circumire, ex pulpitis perorare, laudesque suas, artisque gloriam ad populum prædicare solent. Etenim quid aliud nobis indicare, quidve aliud olere videtur oratio ista vehemens ac turgida? *Quid* aliud illæ repetitæ toties ad populum exclamationes? *Jam illa reputate, quæso, quæ de Asclepiade, Medico celebri, memoriæ tradita sunt<sup>a</sup>: legatis, quæso, locum Plinii de quæstibus Medicorum<sup>b</sup>: videte, quam ingentes Medici Romani consecerint pecuniæ summas<sup>c</sup>: quæso locum ipsum inspicite<sup>k</sup>*: utcunq; vero de hac re statuamus, hoc unum certissimum est, in *notis hæc brevibus* vel ingenii vel modestiæ ne minimum quidem signum reperiri, nisi quod Auctor nomen suum tam industriè celaverit, quasi temeritatis atque ignorantiae suæ conscius.

Ego vero cum *Dissertationis meæ* initio dixissem, *apud veteres Romanos, per prima aliquot ab Urbe condita secula, medendi Artem, non modo minus excultam, sed ne cognitam quidem esse, ex monumentorum omnium silentio suspicari nos posse*. Exclamat illico *Annotator bicce<sup>l</sup>; initium ejus, lectores, advertite. De illorum conditione scribere virum doctissimum videtis, quos ne fuisse quidem suspicatur. Inde potestis intelligere quanta sit ejus in scri-*

<sup>a</sup> Not. br. p. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. p. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. p. 16.

<sup>k</sup> p. 17.

<sup>l</sup> p. 4.

*bendo diligentia & accuratio.* Annon vero, *homo acute*, id scriptoris quam maxime diligentis, atque accurati est, rem in controversia agitatam ab ipsis fontibus exquirere, ab ipsis primordiis investigare? Annon de Arte Medica, disputantis; illa quo primùm tempore cognosci, quo deinde excoli cœperit, exponere?

Sed *omnino gravius Middletoni erratum*, inquit<sup>m</sup>, *exemplo licebit agnoscere, quo tanquam fundamento ninitur uniuersum opus.* Quod disputaram scilicet, doctorum perplurium auctoritate, *Medicinam Clinicam & Chirurgicam ab eodem homine* semper exerceri, nec *Chirurgos a cæteris Medicis* antiquitus unquam distingui, quippe ex illa de *Medicorum Conditione* disputatione, aliam, ut supra dixi, tanquam e radice enatam vidimus de *Medicinæ partitione* quæstionem, quam alii certe omnes prioris ejus *appendicem*, seu *consequens* quoddam dicerent, noster autem hicce *fundamentum* ubique appellat. *Itaque labefactato*, inquit, *ipsius fundamento corruit totum opus*<sup>n</sup>. Sed fundamentorum hicce everfor, videamus jam, quemadmodum opinionem meam refutet.

Et quoniam in hanc disputationis partem, etsi loco quidem haud satis idoneo, incidimus, ne eadem sæpiùs iterando lectori molestus essem, huc etiam illa quoque, quæ de eadem re *Responsionis Auctor* disputaverit, conferre visum est; præsertim cum communia fere inter se omnia utrosque habere video. Primùm enim utrique se *unico Corn. Celsi loco* causam hanc omnem expedire, remque conficere posse censent; quo scilicet loco *Celsus de Medicinæ partitione, tanquam suo tempore Romæ usitatâ, loqui videtur*<sup>o</sup>. At in omni quæstione

<sup>m</sup> pag. 4.<sup>n</sup> p. 13.<sup>o</sup> Not. br. p. 6. it. Respon. p. 179.

dijudicandâ, quæ certi cujusdam temporis limitibus continetur, id omnino spectandum est; non tantum quid de re ipsa in controversia posita Auctores tradant, sed ad quæ potissimum tempora eorum verba referri debeant: de *Celsi* autem tempore nihil prorsus *Annotator noster* attulit; at *Tiberii ætate* cum floruisse *Responsionis Auctor* dicit<sup>†</sup>, de quo tamen inter Auctores haud satis constare credo; convenit solummodo inter omnes eum *Cæsarum temporibus* vixisse; quod cum ita sit, cumque *Celsus* præsertim hoc ipso loco a Viris eruditis adducto *Medicinæ divisionem*, utcunque apud alias gentes diù invaluisset, at *Romæ* tamen nonnisi suo tempore *recentem nec diu usitatam* indicare plane videtur<sup>‡</sup>; hoc ejus testimonium, utcunque *luculentulum* atque *opportunum* viris hisce videatur, haud quicquam tamen contra meam sententiam probare, nec causam fere ipsam attingere ab aliis certe omnibus judicabitur.

Ego vero, ut quisvis facilè conjiciet, haud *Celsi* omnia perlegisse præ me fero; mihi satis esse duco, quòd de *Medicis* ipsis doctissimos quosque sententiæ meæ auctores habeam, quodque eos omnes, qui in veterum scriptis evolendis quam diligentissimè fuerint versati, eadem hæc omnia de *Medicinæ divisione* credidisse semper & disputasse reperiam: *Clericusque* ille potissimum, qui *totius Artis historiam* contexit, quique non unum alterumve *Celsi* locum, sed omnes ejus libros ad hoc ipsum investigandum perscrutatus est, sese tamen dubitare planè fatetur, an *Medicæ Artis partitio Celsi* adhuc *ætate re vera facta* & *in usu omnino Romæ fuerit*.

Hoc autem in loco *Responsionis Auctor* mirum sane nobis tum ingenii, tum modestiæ suæ specimen præbet, qui mihi, uti alias sæpe

<sup>†</sup> Resp. p. 162. <sup>‡</sup> Ac Romæ quoque non mediocres Professores, maximeque nuper Tryphon, &c.

videbimus, *Clerici* locum istum corrumpendi atque ad sensus meos detorquendi crimen objicit; quippe *Clericum* non modo *de Medicinæ partitione istâ nihil dubitare*, sed *contrarium planè ex ejus verbis colligi posse fidenter atque apertè affirmat*†. Ego vero contra; nullam mihi fidem nec in hac, nec alia quâvis causâ habendam posco, ni ex *Clerici* tum verbis tum sententiâ illud ipsum, quod dixeram, significari penitus appareat. *Clericus* enim, postquam ex *Celsi* verbis, sensuque, *Medicinæ in tres partes divisionem* explicuisset, ita denique concludit: *Soit que la chose se pratiquât effectivement ainsi de son temps; soit qu'il ait voulu simplement marquer comme elle devoit aller*‡. Quod ita quidem vertere licet; sive tamen *Celsi ætate partitio ista reverà ita in usu fuerit; sive id tantummodo in animo Celsus habuerit, ut significaret, quemadmodum ea fieri debuisset*, atque hanc, ut memini, dubitationis suæ rationem *Clericus* adjungit, quòd eam adhuc consuetudinem, vel *post Celsum*, in usu mansisse invenerat, ut omnes simul *Medicinæ partes a singulis Medicis unà exercerentur*. Itaque si *Celsi auctoritas* in hac quæstione aut nihil, aut parum valere poterit; multo certe minus Galenus, quem posterius vixisse novimus, quemque alterum sententiæ suæ auctorem noster hicce adducit ad hanc omnino causam advocandus erit: quod quidem videre, & concedere plane *Responsionis Auctorem* sentio†. Galeni igitur testimonio contra opinionem meam prolato, nihil opus est, ut quicquam prorsus respondeam.

Pergit autem ostendere Vir acutus, quam *opinionem ipse adverter meæ*⁴, qui *Archagathum illum*, quem primum *Medicinæ*

† Resp. p. 190.

‡ Vid. Resp. p. 151.

† Resp. p. 185.

⁴ Not. br. p. 8.

exercendæ causâ Romam venissè legimus, *Chirurgum* fuisse confitear. Ego verò quidni *Archagathum* *Chirurgum* appellem, qui non eum solum, sed *Medicos etiam omnes*, quotquot *Romæ* deinceps vel aliquot post seculis artem suam exercuerint, *Chirurgos* fuisse, omnesque simul *Medicinæ* partes semper tractassè contendo, multisque exemplis probavi: quodque *Archagathus* iste vulnera curassè dicitur, id sententiam meam non evertere certè, sed confirmare potius judicabitur; nisi ex priori, ut aiunt, esset demonstratum, eos, qui *Chirurgicam Medicinæ partem* tractare solent, nullam unquam aliam omnino attigissè.

Sed idem hocce de *Archagatho* argumentum pluribus etiam persequitur *Responsionis Auctor*; dicitque sibi perspicuum videri, eum *nil nisi Chirurgiam* exercuissè, propterea quod a *Plinio vulnerarius* appelletur<sup>v</sup>: quasi nomen istud non idcirco adipsi potuissèt, quod *vulnerum præcipue curationi* sese applicuissèt, quodque eis magis quàm *morbis medendis* peritus ac expertus habebatur; utpote qui partem eam, in *Urbe* scilicet *bellicosâ*, reliquis forsitan pluris æstimari observassèt. Cum vero propter *Archagathi* hujus in vulneribus curandis sævitiam, & *artem ipsam & omnes medicos in tædium cito transisse* discimus; causam sane nullam, quamobrem id fieret, videre queo; ni illis quoque temporibus *cæteri etiam Medici* eodem planè modo artem suam exercuissèt & quod *Archagathum* fecissè contendo, *reliquas simul Medicinæ partes unâ cum Chirurgicâ* omnes administrent.

At *Asclepiadem* denique *Medicum*, *Pompeii ætate* celeberrimum *Chirurgiam* omnino non attigissè *Annotator noster* affirmat; *idque librorum<sup>x</sup> ejus inscriptionibus* declarari ait; propterea quod

<sup>v</sup> Resp. p. 182.

<sup>x</sup> Not. br. p. 10.

inter opera ejus, quorum tituli solummodo aliquot nobis jam restant, nihil omnino de *Cirurgia* ab eo scripti memoriæ proditur: atque hoc idem à *Responsionis quoque Auctore* disputatum videmus<sup>7</sup>. Præclarum fane Argumentum! quod vix alius, præter hoc eruditorum par nobile, excogitare unquam potuisset: *Asclepiades nihil de re Chirurgica aut scripti reliquit, aut quod reliquisset, periiit; ergo Chirurgiam non omnino attigit.* Sed non vident Viri ingeniosi, *Asclepiadem dum Chirurgum fuisse negant, at Pharmacopolam saltem fuisse, eodem illo Argumento concedant* necesse est; scilicet quod de *medicamentorum compositione* eum scripsissetateantur. *Asclepiades* vero ipse, cum in *Anginis curandis* novam quandam curandi rationem instituisse traditur<sup>8</sup>, a *Chirurgica artis parte* non omnino manus abstinuisse videtur.

Annotator autem *noster* tanquam rem omnino claram, certamque esse demonstrasset, hanc tandem conclusionem ex præmissis istis elicit: *Ergo fuit, inquit<sup>a</sup>, Romæ Asclepiades Medicus Clinicus, nec Chirurgiam omnino attingens; Archagathus vero Chirurgus, nec reliquam Medicinam tractans; etiam ante Imperatorum tempora.* Ego vero si hifce ineptiis quicquam ferio respondere aggrederer, memet fane, vel hominibus hifce ipsi infipientiorem censeferi deberi judicarem.

Sed ad reliqua convellenda homo progreditur; & *neque minus, inquit, id Middletoni erratum est, ubi ex Mercurialis auctoritate, omnes Medicos usque ad Galeni tempora, sua medicamenta parasse ait<sup>b</sup>.* Ubi candoris, æquitatifque ejus specimen obiter notare libet; non contentus enim meos omnes errores insectari, aliorum mihi errata imputat; & cum *Mercurialis, viri eruditissimi*

<sup>7</sup> Refp. p. 197.

<sup>8</sup> Plin. Hist. Not. l. 26. 3

<sup>a</sup> Not. br. p. 10.

<sup>b</sup> Not. br. p. 12.

verba, sententiamque exhibuiffem, non minus me erraffe dicit, quàm si ex meipfo effem locutus, meosque penitus sensus protuliffem. *Mercurialem* verò *Plinii* ipse testimonio refellere conatur, quo loco *Plinius Medicos* quidem severè reprehendit, quod a *Medicaminibus conficiendis, quod proprium esse Medicinæ solebat, sese abstinere cœpissent, & præ medicamentorum ignorantia, quorum vel nomina pars major ignorabat, ab aliis emplastra & collyria mercari coacti essent.* Hæc autem verba haud satis attendit *Vir doctus*, quàm contra suam ipsius disputationem faciant, dum probant *Medicos* vel iis temporibus *Chirurgorum* munere aliquo fungi, atque *emplastra & collyria*, utcumque ab aliis facta & parata, suis tamen manibus tractare, atque ad usus destinatos applicare solere. Cum autem *Plinius* ipse *Galenum* haud longè ætate anteceffit; hæc ejus verba *Mercurialis* itidem opinionem confirmare potius quàm evertere videntur, præsertim, si ut omnia generatim dicta intelligi debent, eam non nimis severè ac restrictè accipiamus: quod quidem a *Responsionis* etiam *Auctore* concessum planè animadverto<sup>d</sup>.

Antequam vero hanc de *Medicinæ partitione* disputationem concludamus; ego sanè, qui nec in hac, nec in aliâ quâvis quæstione aliud mihi propositum habeam, ac quod verum, aut veri saltem simillimum sit, investigare, nequeo hic dissimulare; *Responsionis* illum, atque *Animadversionis brevis* Auctorem, locum quendam *Ciceronis* adduxisse, qui ad causam suam haud parum valere videtur: quod idem sane alias etiam, nec minus qui-

<sup>c</sup> p. 13.

<sup>d</sup> Resp. p. 187:

<sup>e</sup> Resp. p. 182. It. Animad. br. p. 39. verba Ciceronis hæc sunt. Tum Crassus, Non in hac, inquit, una re, Catule, sed in aliis etiam compluribus, distributione

partium, ac separatione, magnitudines sunt artium diminutæ. An Tu existimas, cum esset Hippocrates ille Caus, fuisse tum alios Medicos, qui morbis; alios qui vulneribus: alios qui oculis mederentur? De Orat. l. 3. 33.

dem liberè faterer, si quid apud eos solidi unquam aut probabilis invenissem. Atque hunc ipsum locum ego quidem post *Dissertationem* meam editam observarem, cumque amicis communicarem; quo scilicet indicare *Cicero* videtur, *medendi artem* vel *sua ætate* in *diversas partes* distribui, *singulasque a singulis* interdum administrari solere: quod quidem etsi non satis perspicuum sit, utrum de *Medicina*, uti tunc in *Græcia*, an uti *Romæ* exercebatur, accipiendum sit; concessio, tamen ad *Medicos* potius *Romæ degentes* id pertinere; at non inde tamen sequitur morem illum *universè* ac *generatim* tunc obtinuisse, sed aliquatenus solummodo processisse; quod tum ex eis, quæ in *Dissertatione mea* dixeram, tum innumeris aliis Auctorum veterum locis probari facile poterit.

Quod autem magis ad rem nostram est; ex hoc eodem loco videre possumus, quàm longe aliter *Cicero* de vera *Medicorum* laude ac præstantiâ, ac illi, quibuscum rem habemus, judicaverit: *nostri* enim *Medicorum propugnatores* eos tantum *servilis*<sup>f</sup> atque *abjectæ fortis* fuisse asserunt, qui *omnes simul* *medicinæ partes*, *morborum* scilicet *vulnerumque* curationes una profiterentur<sup>g</sup>; *Insignes autem viros, ac arte celebratos uni tantum parti se totos addixisse*——itaque *Clinicum* solummodo *Medicini* fabulæ suæ *Heroem* constituunt; eum solum & virum magnū & *Medici nomine* dignum judicant: siquis vero *Chirurgiam* vel digito attigerit: de *Medicorum* statim classè ac professione deji-  
ciunt. At *Ciceronem* contra, quàm longe diversa & contraria plane omnia de *Medicorum* dignitate sensisse videmus? qui *hac* *medicinæ partitione* artem ipsam discerptam, ejusque *laudem* & *magnitudinem imminutam* indicat; nec se eos in *medicis magnis*

<sup>f</sup> Resp. p. 193.<sup>g</sup> Ib. p. 222.



atque *excellentibus* numerare ostendit, qui vel *morborum* vel *vulnerum medicinam separatim* atque *unicè* profiterentur, sed qui, *Hippocratis exemplo*, *nullam medicinæ partem* negligentes, aliivse figillatim exercendam relinquentes, *universam simul artem* complexi atque unà professi fuerint: cuique hæc ab eo dici cernimus, qui eodem illo libro *Aesclepiadem*, uti *Medicum eximum* atque *amicum suum* laudaverit; nonne verisimile inde videtur *Aesclepiadem ipsum* de eorum numero esse, qui non *excerptam aliquam medicinæ partem*, sed qui *universam* essent professi.

Utunque vero *Medicorum & Chirurgorum* disjuncta & propria fuisset munera confiteamur, (quod tamen non generatim verum esse certissimum est) nullo tamen modo sequitur, *diversas* propterea eorum *conditiones*, aut *vitæ sortes* fuisse; sed in eo saltem temporis spatio, intra quod hanc nostram disputationem conclusimus, ejusdem certe loci atque ordinis utrosque semper habitos esse apparet; ni in *Urbe*, ut supra dixi, *belli-cosa* verisimile magis videatur, *Chirurgos* seu *vulnerum medicos* majori potius in pretio fuisse: ex omnibus enim *Romanorum Veterum Medicis* duos potissimum Auctores nostri secernunt, quos *veros* ac *Germanos Chirurgos* fuisse affirmant, *Archagatbum*, atque *Alcontem*; eum, quod *Vulnerarius*; hunc, quod *vulnerum Medicus* dicitur<sup>b</sup>: quorum alteri tantos sane honores, quantos nulli unquam *Medico, ante Cæsaris ætatem*, habitos cognovimus; *Civitatem datam, tabernamque publice emptam*: Alter vero, sub *Claudio Imperatore*, in eorum numero a *Plinio* celebratur, qui maximos atque incredibiles fere quæstus ex arte sua confecerunt. Habeant igitur homines nostri, si velint, quod tantopere contendunt, *istos scilicet duos, vere ac proprie Chirurgos* fuisse; hoc tamen nobis concedere necesse erit,

<sup>b</sup> Plin. Hist. N. l. 29. 1.

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eos, si non majori, at pari faltem cum cæteris Medicis honore fuisse.

Sed de *Medicæ artis partitione* jam satis dictum opinor; ad ea igitur pergamus, quæ de ipsa Quæstionis summa, de *severili* scilicet *Medicorum conditione* Annotator hicce disputat. Atque hic conqueri eum graviter, meque infimulare video; quod *Medicos malitiosè deprimere studerem*<sup>i</sup>; quod, *siquid in eos congerere possim, de veritate non essem sollicitus*<sup>k</sup>. Quod, *quæ de humillimas Medicinæ partes tractantibus dicta usquam reperissem, in universos artis Professores transfulsissem*<sup>l</sup>: quòd, *ea de Medicis generatim asseruissem, quæ non de Medicis Clinicis, nec Chirurgis quidem bonis, sed de Phlebotomis solummodo, Auriculariis, Herniariis, reu-entoribus, enematumvè administratoribus* intelligi debere contendit.

Ego verò contra; etsi de *Medicis Veteribus* alios aliis longe præstitisse sciam: Utque inter *Annotatorem*, qui *Medicinæ sese Doctorem* jactitat, scriptis verò *Artem* dedecorat, *Principesque illos viros*, qui non *Arti suæ* solummodo, sed *genti etiam toti* scriptis suis gloriam afferunt, immane quiddam discrepare videmus; ita *Romæ* quoque nonnullos olim tum scientiâ, tum famâ, magnorumque familiaritate cæteris omnibus antecel- luisse necesse est: hos tamen universos, cum doctos, tum indoctos, cum summos, tum infimos, absque ullâ exceptione, *Græcos* certè aut *Peregrinos*, sed maximam longè partem *Servos* & *Libertos* fuisse, affirmare haud dubitaverim.

Etenim num omnino cuiquam credibile videri potest, magnos illos *Reipublicæ Romanæ Principes*, quos *Medicos Servos* in familiis suis semper habuisse cognovimus, non *Artis peritissimos quosque* ex Asiâ, Græciâve conquisivisse, sed *Auricularium* solum-

<sup>i</sup> Not. br. p. 23.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. 13.

<sup>l</sup> Ib. 14.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. 17.

modo, vel *reunctorum* aliquem domi apud se tenuisse? Num *Consules ac Imperatores*, quos *Medicos Servos* secum semper in provincias eduxisse legimus, *Phlebotomo* alicui vel *Unguentario* valetudinem suam commisisse putandum est? Num denique verisimile est, *Cæsarem Augustum*, cum *Germanico* in acie militanti *Medicum Servum unà cum C. Caligula* tunc infantulo mitteret, *enematum* solummodo *administratorem*, annon *Medicum* potius gravem, fide & scientiâ præstantem, de *Servis suis* misisse? De hoc sane neminem præter hunc Annotatorem dubitare posse certò scio.

Ille vero huic meæ disputationi *Asclepiadis Medici* famam & dignitatem opponit. *Reputate, quæso*, inquit, *quantus vir fuit Asclepiades* quantam apud summos viros auctoritatem sit consecutus; adeo ut non gravaretur ille *Romanæ eloquentiæ Princeps Cicero*, cum, ut amicum suum concelebrare. *Qui quidem bonos summos haberi posset; ni major etiam ipsi contigisset: etenim a Mithridate, maximo Rege sollicitatus est, ut ad illum veniret.* En verò alterum hominis specimen! qui *Ciceronis* amicitiae & familiaritati, lucrum, stipendiumque a *Rege barbaro* oblatum honore antepōnit. Sed *Asclepiadem* longè aliter sensisse videmus, qui maluit, in illa Urbis luce, laude & gratia apud *Optimates*, quàm apud *Mithridatem* opibus florere. *Asclepiadis* autem hujus honores, utcumque magnos eos fuisse concedamus, ad hanc tamen causam nequaquam pertinere contendo: de ejus enim conditione nihil fere memoriæ traditum habemus, nisi quòd *e levissima gente, & sine ullis opibus, ex Rhetore Medicus evaserit*: & quantuscumque demum fuerit, nec nominis famâ, nec honoribus, vitæque splendore cum *Antonio Musa* conferendum existimo: quem tamen *servum* fuisse cognoscimus; atque *Asclepi-*

\* Not. br. p. 8, 9.

° Plin. Hist. Not. l. 26. 3.

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dem igitur nisi hominem Romanum, nisi non servum, nec Græcum fuisse Auctor noster probaverit, nihil omnino contra meam sententiam disputare a viris doctis censebitur.

Neque illa minùs futilia, minusve ab hac omni quæstione aliena, quæ de *Artis Medicæ fructu* olim ingenti, *opibusque Professorum* homo eruditus differit. *Legatis quæso*, inquit, *locum Plinii de quæstibus medicorum*<sup>p</sup>: quasi de *divitiis*, & non de *conditione Medicorum* disputatio nostra instituta esset: nos autem, ut ait Cicero<sup>q</sup>, *neque divitiæ movent, quibus omnes Africanos & Lælios multi Venalitiæ & Mercatores superarunt*. Sed noster hicce cum *Medicos suos divites* fuisse ostenderit, omnia se probasse putat; nec scire planè videtur, quod *Romæ* sæpissime contigisse legimus, magnorum scilicet Virorum tum *Libertos*, tum *Servos*, qui apud Dominos suos gratiâ florerent, ingentes sibi opes ac potestatem adipisci solere: quorum nonnullis *vel Prætoriam interdum Ornamenta decerni legimus; tantùmque non cum laureatis fascibus remitti illo, unde cretatis pedibus advenissent*<sup>r</sup>; De quo quidem argumento, librum me alicubi vidisse memini, de *eis* scilicet *Servis* conscriptum; qui summam sibi auctoritatem, immensasque divitias ex *Servitute* confecisse a Veteribus memorantur, *Pliniusque*, in celebri illâ ad *Trajanum Oratione*, non dubitat dicere, *Imperatores ipsos, cum essent Civium domini, libertorum tamen fuisse servos*. Quid igitur, Vir ingeniosè, de his tantis Viris constituendum putas? Annon in *Servorum & Libertorum* propterea grege numerandos censés, quod gratia, opibus, auctoritate eos floruisse accepimus? Numve eadem planè omnia de *Divite tuo* cogitas, quæ *Stoici de Sapiente suo* jactitant, eum videlicet vel ex *infima sorte Nobilem*; vel in *Servitute Liberum* esse.

<sup>p</sup> Not. br. p. 15.<sup>q</sup> Orator.<sup>r</sup> Plin. Hist. Not. l. 35. 18.

Vides jam opinor, aut si tu quidem minùs, at alii certe omnes vident *Notarum tuarum* futilitatem: Ego *Medicos Romæ degentes*, præfertim *ante Cæsarum ætatem*, aut *Servos* aut *Liber-tos*, aut *Peregrinos* saltem omnes fuisse disputo. Tu verò, qui *fundamenta mea* labefactas, qui me *Calumniatorem* appellas, quid tandem contra affers? at contra *legatis quæso*, inquis, *locum Plinii de quæstibus Medicorum*. Nihil scilicet aliud ostendere conaris, ac *Medicorum* nonnullos *Artis famâ* floruisse, *magnum quæstum* fecisse, *Optimatibus caros* fuisse, idque non nisi *Cæsarum temporibus*; quæ tibi omnia, absque ullo causæ meæ detrimento, lubens concedere possum.

Sed commoveri jam atque irasci planè hominem video, quòd *Sexaginta Solidos* pretium olim fuisse *Medicis servis à jure Civili* constitutum observassèm: exclamat illicò, *an vobis hoc credibile est? an quemquam ex Romanis creditis tam amentem fore, ut tantum hominem tam parvo pretio venderet?* credere scilicet videtur *Vir doctus*, atque *Antiquitatis tantopere intelligens*, me de *nostris* omnino *solidis* esse locutum; clausulamque illam, quam in *Syn-graphis* adjungi viderat, hic quoque subintelligi debere existimat; videlicet, *bonæ & legalis monetæ Angliæ*—Ut verò hanc ei molestiam aliquatenùs minuam, nec tam acerbè posthac ferat *Artis suæ professores* tantulo olim venisse; scire eum velim quicquid de *solidis istis* dixeram, de *Romanis prorsus solidis* esse intelligendum; quorum singulos, ut nonnulli, atque optimi illi quidem Auctores, tradunt, *Sexdecim* circiter de nostris pretio æquasse reperio<sup>†</sup>.

At majores adhuc *Medicus nosfer* clamores ciet, propterea quod *Medicinæ professionem Civis Romani gravitate seu existimatione*

† Not. br. p. 16.

† Vid. *Arbutnot of Coins, &c.* p. 163.

*indignam,*

indignam, Plinio Auctore <sup>u</sup> asseruiffem. Quippe id, inquit, à solo Middletono apud Plinium legitur<sup>v</sup>. De indignitate autem Artis, apud Plinium nè verbum quidem ullum est; sed eam vocem INDIGNAM ad Plinii verba à bono Theologo adtextam videtis, quo vobis fucum faceret. Atque eadem ferè omnia de hoc Plinii loco post Annotatorem nostrum iterat egregius iste Responfionis Auctor; miraturque Middletonum curam attentiozem in Scriptis Veterum citandis atque explicandis non adbibuiffè. Non enim, inquit<sup>x</sup>, dicit Plinius (ut ille nobis persuadere studet) medendi Artem Romanos gravitate suâ indignam judicasse; nec qui eam attigerint, tanquam ad Græcos transfugas fuiffè habitos. Neque vox indignam hic legitur, neque Voces, ad Græcos transfugæ, eo sensu dicuntur quem is confingit. Quantum in utriusque consensum, quantum in me criminando concordiam videmus? Ego vero tantorum virorum conjunctos simul impetus haud unquam sustinere potero. Itane vero Viri ingeniosi? nihilne dicitis de Medicinæ indignitate apud Plinium reperiri? Quid igitur statuendum putatis, non dicam de bono Theologo, sed de bonis istis Medicis<sup>y</sup>, qui Artis suæ defensionem contra Plinium ipsum susceperunt; qui de Artis, inquam, dignitate libros aliquot contra Plinium scripserunt? annon illos eadem omnia, ac Middletonum, de Artis indignitate apud eum legisse creditis? An eos quoque voces finxisse dicetis? Numve Vos tandem soli, tales stulti, bardique (ut Annotatoris verbis utar) reperiemini, ut quod alii omnes facilè vident, nec videre nec

<sup>u</sup> Solam hanc Græcarum Artium nondum exercet Romana Gravitas in tanto fructu. Paucissimi Quiritium attingere, & ipsi statim ad Græcos transfuge: imo vero auctoritas aliter quàm Græcè eam tractantibus etiam apud imperitos expertesque lingue non est. Plin. Hist. l. 29. 1.

<sup>v</sup> Not. br. p. 18.

<sup>x</sup> Resp. p. 49.

<sup>y</sup> Jo. Filefacus. Medicinæ defensio adversus Plinium majorem 8vo. Par. 1618. it. G. Kirftenius de Medicinæ dignitate contra Plinium & Platonem 4to Stetini 1647.

intelligere poteritis? Sed exclametis licet, quantum volueritis; Ego contra contendo atque affirmo, *Plinium* hoc ipso in loco asserere, *Romanos* propterea *medendi Artem* neglexisse, nec ad eam exercendam ullo quaestu allici potuisse, quod *gravitate sua indignam* eam judicarent: paucissimosque illos qui *Plinii tandem ætate* ad eadem sese applicuissent, ad *Græcos transfugere*, id est, à *Græcis hominibus* artis præcepta petere, & vel *Græcè loqui*, scribere, præscriptaque *Medica* tradere fuisse coactos: quippe cum *Romæ* ab ipsis *Artis primordiis*, *Medicinæ omnis administratio* non nisi *Græcorum in manibus* versata esset; nulla planè Auctoritas aliter ac *Græcè eam tractantibus* etiam apud imperitos erat.

*Romanos autem homines* artium certè *Græcarum*, quàm maxime cupidos, atque avidos planè fuisse cognovimus; & quicquid *Græcia* habuerit quod *omnino expetendum esset*, id studio & industria sua ad se statim transfulisse: eoque præterea ingenio fuisse; ut omnia consequi potuissent, ut primum velle cepissent; nec consequi solummodo: sed à *Græcis ipsis accepta vel meliora etiam & perfectiora facere solere*, siquæ, ut ait *Cicero*<sup>3</sup>, *digna statuissent in quibus elaborarent*. Itaque cum ex omnibus *Græcorum Artibus*, *Medicinam* solam eos neglexisse cernimus; quam aliam eausam probabilem, vel omnino ullam excogitare aut fingere possumus, nisi quod *Civibus suis* nec *expetendam* nec *gravitate sua dignam* judicarent; quod *Plinius* profecto hoc ipso in loco verbis nullo modo dubiis aut obsecuris declarat, cum dicat, *Hanc solam Artium Græcarum Romanam gravitatem vel tanto in fructu nunquam attigisse*. Itaque vox illa *INDIGNAM* quam Vos tantopere stomachamini, etsi in *Plinii* quidem verbis non reperitur, ad sententiam tamen constituendam necessario requiritur: neque

<sup>3</sup> Cic. Tusc. q. 2. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 1. 1. It. Ib. 4. 2.

de voculis ego Auctorum, sed de sensibus omnino disputandum esse censeo: vestramque loci hujus interpretationem, nec *Plinii* mentem attingere nec sensum plane ullum continere dico. Quod dicit autem *Responsionis Auctor* voces eas, ad *Græcos Transfugæ*, non eo sensu accipi debere, quem ego confinixeram; ego sane quid sibi velit, non intelligo; nisi quòd calumniandi occasionem, cum nulla prorsus fuerit oblata, arripere studeat; quippe ego *vocibus istis* nullam omnino interpretationem sensumve meum dederam, sed nudas eas solummodo, ut in *Plinio* legantur, protuleram.

Atqui ad unicum jam libelli hujus locum devenimus, quo me cum aliquâ veritatis specie aut ratione probabili premere atque urgere *Annotator* videtur: scilicet quod *Suetonii* locum quendam ad causam meam detorsissem, & tum verba, tum sensus, aliter ac in Auctore eo reperiuntur, dedissem; quod an *incuriæ* seu *malitiæ potiùs meæ* tribuendum sit, postquam paulisper dubitaverit, *malitiæ* statim & *illi summæ* quidem assignat; *meque falsitatè aperta incautos circumvenire in animo babuisse* insinulat<sup>b</sup>. Quis autem, præter *Medicæstrum huncce*, *malitiæ exercendæ* causam, aut locum quidem ullum hac in re invenire potuisset? etenim hoc *Suetonii testimonium* si de *Dissertatione mea* penitus tolleretur, num claudicaret ideo quæstio nostra? numve detrimenti omnino quicquam caperet? quid si hoc in loco *Medicos in Peregrinis* & non in *Servitiis* numerari fatendum sit? id num *Annotatoris causæ* omnino infervit? num meam debilitat; qui *Medicos*, partim *Servos*, partim *Libertos*, omnes tamen *Peregrinos* fuisse disputo? Si ex his, inquam, verbis *Medicos de Servorum grege* fuisse minùs probetur; nonne ex aliis permultis *ejusdem Suetonii* locis *Servos eos fuisse* aperte demonstratur? itaque

<sup>b</sup> Not. br. p. 19.



fatui plane hominis fuisset, malitiam ibi adhibere, ubi detecta infamiam certam inureret, celata vero nihil prorsus ad controversiæ summam conferret. Sicut autem a *malitiæ*, ita vellem fanè ab *incuriæ* & *negligentiæ* crimine memet æquè defendere possem: sed ut fatear planè quod res est; cum duos ad eandem rem Auctores in *Commentariolis notatos* haberem; unum quidem, qui totidem planè verbis id quod posueram, significaret; alterum vero, qui eidem aliquo modo favere, atque ex parte declarare videretur; quemque idcirco notaram, nec verba tamen ejus descripseram; præ nimità tandem festinatione & negligentia Auctores ipsos adire omittens, nec pluribus in re unâ testibus opus esse putans, eum quem minùs oportuit, *Suetonium* scilicet *Orosii loco* ad causam meam adhibui: quod *Responsionis* quidem *Auctor*, mihi licet aliàs haud fatis æquus, hoc tamen in loco fieri necesse esse agnoscit<sup>c</sup>. Id vero in re tam apertâ, tamque parum ad controversiæ summam pertinente, an *incuriæ* seu *malitiæ* potiùs tribuendum sit, haud opus est pluribus ostendere: illud tantummodo dicam; quod etsi plures etiam hujusmodi errores in *Scriptorum verbis exponendis Auctores nostri* aliàs sæpe, idque fatis fidenter mihi objiciant, illos tamen, quoties exemplis rem illustrare aggredientur, incitiæ toties suæ aut malitiæ Argumenta præbituros.

Annotator autem *noster*, tanquam causam jam omnem expediisset, controversiamque penitus absolvisset; *Minimi*, inquit, *momenti sunt reliqua, quæ a Middletono prolata sunt, &c.*<sup>d</sup> & *per multa talia sunt, quæ vos ipsi nè quidem digna refutatione conscribitis*<sup>e</sup>. At nullius igitur ponderis esse credis, tot illa *Scriptorum veterum testimonia, quæ Medicos Romæ degentes, Servos* maximam partem fuisse clare atque aperte declarant? num *minimi momenti* esse, nec refutatione quidem digna putas, tot illa *genuine*

<sup>c</sup> Resp. p. 81.<sup>d</sup> Not. br. p. 19.<sup>e</sup> Ib. p. 23.

*vetustatis monumenta, tot antiquas inscriptiones, quæ plurima nobis Medicorum Servorum nomina ad hæc usque tempora conservant? numve illa omnia minus propterea Auctoris apud lectores habitura existimas, quod ad ea Tu ne verbum quidem unum respondere fueris dignatus?*

Pergit tamen more suo, *Vir egregius, ad aliam, uti ait<sup>f</sup>, Middletoni calumniam refellendam, qui negat, Medicinam inter liberales artes apud Romanos haberi: ad Middletonum igitur redarguendum loca quædam è Jure Civili profert, quæ probant, non id quidem ullo modo quod oportuit, Medicinam scilicet in Artibus Liberalibus numerari; sed illud solummodo, quod omnes scimus, & concedimus, videlicet, Medendi Artem juxta ac Artes Liberales immunitatibus & privilegiis ab Imperatoribus tandem auctam & munitam fuisse. Atque hæc dum scribit, videt ille quidem, quam nihil profus ad suam causam pertineant, & fateri aperte cogitur, Artem Medicam<sup>g</sup> a reliquis Artibus Liberalibus quodammodo segregari & distingui; eamque apud Veteres non tam in studiis liberalibus, quæ ab ingenuis colebantur, quam in Artibus necessariis haberi: quis autem hominem unquam tam petulantem, tamque absurdum simul vidit; qui argumenti sui initio Middletoni calumniam id esse dicit, quod antequam locum ipsum dimittat, verum omnino esse agnoscit? nec quicquam sane hoc in loco acutius meliusve sese gessit Responsionis Auctor, sed eadem fere omnia protulit; & postquam contra sententiam meam, idque multis quidem verbis, disputaverit; fatetur tandem per Artes Liberales eas præcipue ab Auctoribus intelligi, quibus ingenui pueri in scholis institui solebant; nec nisi posterioribus seculis Jurisconsultos tam lato sensu Liberales Artes accepisse, ut Medicinam quoque eo nomine complecterentur<sup>h</sup>. Sed de hoc omni Artium Liberalium genere alium mox dicendi locum, atque eum magis*

<sup>f</sup> Ib. p. 20.<sup>g</sup> Not. br. p. 22.<sup>h</sup> Resp. p. 74.

quidem opportunum, habebimus; cum *Rhetorem nostrum* in *Cicerone* ad suam hac in re sententiam interpretando, turpiter lapsum demonstrabimus.

Annotator autem interea, tanquam Victor e certamine rediens, triumphum plane agere, & *Middletonum* currum suum sequentem, catenisque vinctum *Medicis suis* ostentare sibi videtur. *Jam satis demonstratum*, exclamat, *quàm futilia atque etiam falsa pro gravibus & certissimis argumentis habuerit Middletonus; quàmque facilè refutentur ea, quæ in Medicos tanto studio congestit. Etenim testimonia ejus præcipua, vel Clinicos quos deprimere tantopere studet, minime attingentia, vel omnino per incuriam depravata, per malitiamve ficta, vel denique Veterum testimoniis certissimis contraria deprehendistis*<sup>i</sup>. Hujusmodi autem exclamationibus, haud sane expectandum erit, ut quidquam omnino respondeam; cum nihil certe aliud requiritur ad vanitatem hominis ostendendam, quam ipsius verba referre atque exponere: sin autem inventi aliqui sint, istiusmodi ingenii homines, qui ejus vel *disputandi acumen* vel *scribendi stilum* probare possunt; siqui, inquam, sint, qui *Notis hîsce brevibus* eum quidquam prorsus aliud demonstrasse credant, ac suam ipsius ignorantiam, temeritatem, malevolentiam; istiusmodi certe hominibus ego nec satisfacere curo, nec mea omnino placere cupio.

Me tamen *homo facetus* deridendum<sup>k</sup> proponit, propterea quod *Græci Tragici* vericulo *Romanorum hominum* consuetudinem quandam demonstrare esse aggressus: de *Servis scilicet ab iis studiis atque Artibus quibus ipsi delectabantur, lege arcendis*: nonne verò *Romani etiam Poetæ* testimonium ad rem eandem confirmandam adjeci? idque nonne omnium recte ac dilucide disputantium est, quam rem susceperint probandam, eam rem primùm univèrse veram, aliarumque gentium notionibus consen-

<sup>i</sup> Not. br. p. 23.<sup>k</sup> Ib. p. 24.

taneam, deinde apud eos homines præcipue de quibus quæstio instituitur, in usu fuisse ostendere? Sed *Annotatori* hic quoque subsidio venit *Responsionis Auctor*, & *Terentium*, quo auctore usus essem, ad *Atticorum solummodo, non ad Romanorum mores respicere affirmat*<sup>1</sup>: quasi non perinde ac in *Græcia*, ita *Romæ* etiam eandem legem obtinuisse constaret; ubi *Servos* non à *causis modo orandis*, sed vel a *testimonio dicendo* prohibitos cognovimus. Sed de objectionis hujus futilitate pluribus mox disputabimus, cum illuc pervenerimus, ubi *Plauti* etiam in re confimili testimonium *Auctorem nostrum* rejicere cernemus.

Dixeram autem in *Dissertatione meâ*, nullam per aliquot secula de *Medicinâ*, tanquam de re humili nimis atque abjecta, a *Scriptoribus Romanis mentionem fieri*: atque alio loco; *Græculos eos, qui Romam sese Medicinæ exercendæ causâ contulissent, etsi liberos quidem nonnullos fuisse concedamus, generatim tamen humilis seu potius infimæ fortis homines fuisse*. Id homini stomachum movere video; quæritque a me, *quonam Scriptorum Veterum testimonio, id mihi affirmandum sumam, idque nullo prorsus Auctore, sed ex propriâ scientiâ me possuisse dicit: mihi autem fidem non habendam, quippe qui dudum mala fide egerim*<sup>m</sup>. Quasi id omnino testimoniis egeret, quod per se clarum & perspicuum esset; quasi, inquam, non sensus communis omnes præter hunc unum docuisset; de qua scilicet re monumenta plane omnia silent; nec *Historici mentionem ullam faciunt, eam rem aut omnino non existitisse, aut nihil saltem celebratione seu memoria dignum suppeditasse*.

Atqui idem etiam hoc in loco *Responsionis Auctor* a me quærit, *quo scilicet argumento Medicos hosce liberos, humilis atque abjectæ conditionis fuisse demonstrerem*<sup>n</sup>. Illud vero nonne per se quoque æque perspicuum est? nonne id, inquam, ratio sensusque communis evincunt, homines illos, qui *quæstus victusque quæ-*

<sup>1</sup> Resp. p. 60.<sup>m</sup> Not. br. p. 25.<sup>n</sup> Resp. p. 62.

rendi causâ, de patria sua in alienam migrant, humilis seu infimæ potius fortis maximam partem esse? num divites, num beati, num famâ atque opibus florentes natale solum exiliâ mutare solent, ut lucrum sibi apud exteras gentes non sine probro atque odio conficiant? num *Græci* præcipuè hoc omnino facere voluerint, qui omnium longè maximè patriam cùm suam amaverint, tum alienas contempserint? et si verò me nullius omnino *Auctoris sententiam ne detortam quidem sceleratè ad opinionem meam confirmandam protulisse Annotator affirmat*<sup>o</sup>; nonne *Plutarchi* tamen <sup>p</sup> verbis clarissimis ostenderam, totam *Græcorum* gentem odio & contemptui *Romanis* fuisse, ipsumque nomen *Græcus* a plebe semper in ore convitii loco haberi & jactitari solere?

Sed quid hoc ad *Medicorum* conditionem *Responsionis auctor* ait, si mos esset *Romanæ plebecule*, *Græcorum gentem ita tractare*<sup>3</sup>? Tu verò cum *Medicos tuos* & *Græcos* & *Romæ* tamen honoratos & splendidos fuisse disputas; nonne contra sententiam tuam vim aliquam habere videtur, quòd ostenderam, *Græcos* plane omnes, qualiscunque fuerint *Artis* aut conditionis, *Romæ* non nisi in probro & dedecore versari: & quam aliam ob causam hoc fieri putandum est, nisi quod id hominum genus egenum, fordium, efuriens, *populus Romanus* semper cognovisset. Num cuiquam igitur præter *auctores nostros* verisimile videri potest, *Principes Græcorum Medicos*, gratiâ apud suos & dignitate florentes, atque amplissima fortuna usos, *Romam* quæstûs causâ migrare velle, ut tam iniquâ conditione viverent, ut sibilis & contumeliis a plebe exciperentur?

*Annotator* autem, postquam in sententia mea refutandâ tantum frustra laboris consumpserit; videt tandem atque aperte fatetur, hanc meam disputationem non modo *dedecoris nihil*, sed *laudem potius* & *gloriam Arti Medicæ* afferre, quæ *Professores*

<sup>o</sup> Not. br. p. 25.

<sup>p</sup> Dissert. p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Resp. p. 63.

suos ex ignobili illo servitutis statu, ad libertatem sepiissime atque honores evehere solet<sup>†</sup>. In quo tandem uno utriusque facillè consentimus; etenim hunc ego honorem nec *Medendi Arti* invidio, nec quicquam contra disputare aggrediar: vellem solummodo, hoc idem initio homo vidisset; nec sibi quidem tam turpiter scribendi infamiam, nec mihi tam ridiculi hominis castigandi fastidium peperisset: quippe non odium certe aut reprehensio ulla, sed gratiæ mihi potiùs a *Medicis* debentur, qui eam causam defenderim ac probarim, quam *Arti suæ* honorem laudemque adjungere fatentur.

Sed ab ipso *Cicerone* jam dudum, inquit<sup>‡</sup>, *dijudicata est hæc controversia, locusque suus Medicinæ tributus, neque primus is quidem neque secundus, at medius certe, &c. tantum rogo ut sententiam ipsam, non ut apud Middletonum discerpitur sed integram legere dignemini, &c.* Oh hominem omnium sane sagacissimum! qui inter *Primum & Secundum, Medium* quiddam Princeps invenerit! Egonè verò *Ciceronis* locum illum discerpfi, qui omnia quæ ad quæstionem nostram pertinerent, integrè quidem ipsissimisque ejus verbis protuleram? quippe cum de *Medicina sola* hæc omnis disputatio institueretur, quid mihi cum reliquis *iis Artificiis*, a *Cicerone* enumeratis; *Coquis, Mercatoribus, Agricolis, &c.* rei esset planè non videbam. Ille verò postquam hæc omnia in *Notas suas breves* integra transfulerit; *habetis hic*, inquit, *plenam atque apertam Ciceronis sententiam, quam filii instituendi gratiâ posuit, &c.* existimat forsitan *Vir bonus*, hæc ad *Filium* ideo scripsisse *Ciceronem*, ut artem aliquam ex ibi memoratis, *Medicinam* scilicet seu *Mercaturam* adolescens sibi exercendam deligeret: sed optimo, fautor, consilio, longam hanc *Ciceronis* periodum, etsi nihil quidem ad rem spectantem, huc tamen integram traduxerit, ut

<sup>‡</sup> Not. br. p. 26.

<sup>†</sup> Not. br. p. 26.

*sensus* tandem aliquis atque *Oratio pura*, quæ in reliquo suo opere requiruntur, in *tribus saltem pagellis* hisce reperirentur.

Ciceronem autem quandoquidem is appellat, cujus quidem Auctoritate nihil mihi sanctius esse potest, eum nobis Judicem constituamus: atque omiffis iis, quæ de *cæteris*, ut dixi, *artibus*, nihil ad nos pertinentibus, hoc in loco differat; *Medicinæ* solummodò quem locum gradumve assignet unicè consideremus: *quibus autem Artibus*, inquit Cicero, *aut prudentia major inest, aut non mediocris utilitas, ut Medicina, &c. hæ sunt iis, quorum Ordini conveniunt, honestæ.* Hic vero quantum, *Dii boni*, eruditionis, quantum doctrinæ reconditoris *homo noster* ostentat? etenim *Asconium Pedianum, Manutiosque ambos, Paulum atque Aldum* testes adhibet, Vocem eam, **ORDO**, dignitatis alicujus significationem continere; atque ad *Senatum, Equitesve* ad minimum, ad *plebem* vero nullo modo referri oportere: *Servorum* vero & *Libertinorum* non *Ordinem* sed *conditionem* dici solere: atqui eum hac saltem vice felicem fateamur necesse est, quod magnorum tandem nominum auctoritate nugari sibi contigit. Hoc autem omne quod tam erudite differuit, si aliàs verum interdum esse concedamus; nonne videt tamen *Vir egregius* quàm hoc in loco non solum *Ciceronis* sed *suæ* etiam *ipfius* sententiæ contradicat; etenim num nobis hac suâ eruditione persuadere vellet, *medendi Artem*, iis temporibus *Senatorio* seu *Equestri saltem Ordini* fuisse honestam? at nemo unquam tam temerarius fuit ut id diceret: neque is ipse *ea audacia, eoque Artis amore* id quidem vel mustitare audeat; sed aperte fatetur, nec *Primum* nec *Secundum* dignitatis gradum *ad Medicos* pertinere, sed *Medium*, ut supra dixi, *nescio quem.* Sicut autem nec *Senatorem* nec *Equitem* unquam temporibus illis *Medicinam* exercuisse certissimum est; ita nec *de Plebe magis aliquem* nec *Civem omnino ullum*

! Not. br. p. 28.

eam attigisse contendo: neque illi omnes, qui hanc sententia in impugnaverint, vel unum quidem *hominem Romanum*, qui *Medicinam, ante Cæsarum ætatem*, fuerit professus, ostendere unquam potuerint; quod quidem vel *Responsionis Auctor* fateri plane cogitur, nec ullum ante eam ætatem de Romanis Medicum extitisse concedit<sup>u</sup>: itaque quid nobis aliud relictum est hominum genus, de quo Cicero loqui intelligatur, cuive Vox illa, ORDINI applicetur, quàm, quem ipse dixeram, *Servorum, Libertorum & Peregrinorum Ordo*?

Vides jam, opinor, non temere me ac fortuito, sed re prius perpensâ & consideratâ, ad *Ciceronem interpretandum* accessisse: Vides, inquam, istam tuam eruditionem, etiam si vera nunquam esset, in hac tamen causâ nec locum ullum habere, nec lucis quicquam afferre: sed quid tandem dices, si *futilem, falsamque eam* prorsus esse ostendero? etenim ex multis *Scriptorum Veterum* locis probare facile possum, Vocem mea, ORDO, apud *optimos Latinatis Auctores* nihil aliud significare, ac *certum quodlibet hominum genus, communi aliqua vite sorte, vel abjecta atque infima* utentium.

Conveni *hodie hominem mei loci atque Ordinis*<sup>w</sup>.

Nonne hoc de homine squallido & miserrimo à *Gnatbone Parasito* dicitur? *Ciceronem* etiam ipsum, quem nobis *judicem* constituisti, hanc eandem vocem non *Senatui* modo *Equitibusque*, sed *Plebi* quoque sepiissime & *Libertinis interdum ipsis*, abjectæque fortis hominibus, *Apparitoribus & Scribis* \* applicare meministi. Item in *Inscriptione quâdam Sepulchrali* mulier de marito loquens.

*Qui me ab imo Ordine ad summum perduxit honorem*<sup>y</sup>.

<sup>u</sup> Resp. p. 164. it. p. 220.

\* Ter. Eun. 2. 2.

<sup>v</sup> In Pison. 8. In Catal. 4. 8. In Verr.

1. 47. In Verr. 3. 78.

<sup>w</sup> Gruter. p. 353.



Homo autem *noster*, qui *Auctorum verba discerpenti* atque *aliena adtexendi* crimen mihi objicit, videamus jam qualem tandem ex hoc omni *Ciceronis* loco sententiam extorserit. *Uti- que huc tandem*, inquit, *res redit*. MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO AIT, MEDICINÆ PROFESSIONEM, HONESTO CIVIUM ORDINI DECORAM ESSE; CONYERS MIDDLETON NEGAT; EAMQUE ESSE SORDIDAM, ILLIBERALEM, CIVE PRORSUS INDIGNAM AFFIRMAT: UTRI CREDITIS QUIRITES<sup>z</sup>:

Quis jam non summam *hominis* vel incitiam, vel temeritatem, vel utrumque potiùs admirabitur, qui hunc locum aut tam parùm intellexerit, aut tam fœdè corruperit? ille tamen, quasi impudentia gloriaretur, hoc *ingenii sui commentum*, tanquam *legis*, aut *Senatus Consulti* vim obtineret, *litteris majusculis* describendum curavit. At in hoc omni *Ciceronis* loco, num de *ullo omnino Civium Ordine*, nedum *honesto aliquo*, verbum quidem unum reperitur? num *Medicinæ professio*, *Romanis omnino hominibus* convenire dicitur? nihil certè minùs: nec quicquam sanè aliud, ex verbis ipsis elici aut intelligi potest, ac *Artes eas humiliores*, isti hominum generi, cui propter *vitæ sortem* convenirent, laudem quandam & decus afferre; quod de *Servis, Libertis, & Peregrinis* prorsus accipiendum esse abundè demonstravi.

Sed quoniam *Ciceronem* appellavimus; quid de verbis istis existimandum putas, ubi is *ingenui nihil ex Officina prodire posse* affirmat? nonne id *Medicos* aliquo modo attingere credis, quos omnes *Officinas suas* habuisse notissimum est? de illo itidem altero, quem tu *verissimum esse* dicis, quid cogitas? scilicet, *Honori alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria, jacentque ea semper, quæ apud quosque improbantur*<sup>a</sup>. Etenim si quod omnes plane

<sup>z</sup> Not. br. p. 29.<sup>a</sup> Not. br. p. 31.

fatenatur, nec honores ulli *Medendæ Arti* constituti, nec ad studium ejus promovendum *gloria ulla* ante *Cæsarum ætatem* fuerit unquam propofita; tum, *Cicerone ipfo judice, jacuisse eam ac contemptam prorsus fuisse* necesse est.

Sed ad *Responſionis jam Auctorem* nosmet convertere necesse est, qui hunc itidem *Ciceronis* locum in librum suum idcirco tranſtulit, *ut me non minus*, uti ait<sup>b</sup>, *In Ciceronis ac in Plinii ante verbis exponendis lapsus ostendat*: in hoc autem loco interpretando, quod vix fieri poſſe credideram, *vel Annotatore ipſo ſtultiorem ſeſe longe ac levioſem præbuit*: diſputat enim *Vir Eruditus, Ciceronem* ibi de pervulgata ea *Artium partitione, in LIBERALES proprie ita dictas, ſeu INGENUAS, ut Cicero eas alibi vocat, ac ILLIBERALES ſeu SORDIDAS tractare propoſuiſſe*<sup>c</sup>: atque hanc *Artium diſiſſionem tam clare & aperte expoſuiſſe ut mirum proſeſſo videatur, eam quemquam effugere potuiſſe*<sup>d</sup>: a *Sordidis* autem *Ciceronem*

nem

<sup>b</sup> Reſp. p. 53.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. p. 54. it. 74.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. 57. ut clariùs quod diſputemus intelligatur, verba ipſa *Ciceronis* huc etiam apponenda duxi — Jam de *Artificiis & quaſtibus*, qui liberales habendi, qui fordidi ſint, hæc ſere accepimus: primum improbantur ij quaſtus, qui in odia hominum incurunt, ut *Portitorum & Fæneratorum*. *Illiberales* autem & fordidi quaſtus mercenariorum omnium, quorum opere non quorem artes emanant; eſt enim illis ipſa merces auſtoramentum ſervitutis. *Sordidi* etiam putandi, qui mercantur a mercatoribus, quod ſtatim vendant, nihil enim proficiunt, niſi admodum mentiantur: nec vero quicquam eſt turpius vanitate. *Opificesque* omnes in fordida arte verſantur. Nec vero quidquam ingenuum poſſet habere officina. *Minimeque Artes*

probandæ, quæ miniſtræ ſunt voluptatum; ceteri, lanii, coqui, factores, piſcatores, ut ait *Terentius*. Adde his, ſi placet, unguentarios, ſaltatores, totumque ludum talarium. **HACTENUS DE SORDIDIS: JAM AD LIBERALES VENIMUS.** Quibus autem *Artibus* aut prudentia major ineſt, aut non mediocri Utilitas queritur, ut *Medicina*, ut *Architectura*, ut *Doctrina rerum honeſtarum*; hæc ſunt eis, quorum ordini conveniunt, honeſtæ. *Mercatura* autem, ſi tenuis eſt, ſordida putanda eſt; ſi magna & copioſa, multa undique apportans, multiſque ſine vanitate impertiens, non eſt admodum vituperanda; atque etiam, ſi fatiata quaſtu, vel contenta potius, ut ſæpe ex alio in portum, ex ipſo portu ſe in agros, poſſeſſioneſque contulerit, videtur optimo jure poſſe laudari. *Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus*

nam incipere, easque omnes percurrere dicit, usque ad *Saltatores, totumque ludum talarium*; deinde quo res tota explicatior fieret, non *Ciceronis* sed sua quædam verba homo acutus interponit; [*hætenus de Sordidis, jam ad liberales venimus*] reliquasque deinceps ibi enumeratas *liberalium* in numero *Ciceronis auctoritate* habendas affirmat; videlicet *Medicinam; Architecturam; Doctrinam rerum honestarum; Mercaturam; Agriculturam.*

Quis autem, si *Diis placet*, tam ridiculum unquam *Artium Liberalium* catalogum antea vidit? quis præter *Auctorem nostrum* ejusmodi illarum *Corpus quoddam* effingere potuit; de quibus ne unam quidem in *Liberalibus* unquam haberi reperimus? Artes enim istæ modò memoratæ, si in *Liberalibus* habendæ sunt, tunc *Ars illa Agricoliarum* omnium longe *liberalissima* esset, utpote omnium maxime hoc in loco laudata, liberisque hominibus commendata: quod quidem homo noster fatetur, eamque ex omnibus *speciatim seu præcipue liberalem esse* dicit<sup>e</sup>. Sed tantum abfuit, ut *Agriculturam* Cicero unquam in *Artium Liberalium* numero ponendam existimaret, ut eam ipsam, tanquam *ab omni politiori elegantia abhorrentem, ab Artibus ingenuis ac elegantibus* quàm longissime sejungat<sup>f</sup>.

Instat autem *Responsionis Auctor, & Medicinam cum Doctrina rerum honestarum* hoc in loco conjungi dicit, nec me tam temerarium fore credit, ut *doctrinam rerum honestarum Servis* convenire posse contendam<sup>g</sup>: at quicquid ille contra disputet, contendam tamen, vel eam quoque *Servis* competere posse. Quid enim aliud per *doctrinam rerum honestarum* intelligi poterit, ac *munus ipsum, professioque res honestas docendi?* at harum plerumque

quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est *Agriculturæ* melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil libero homine dignius. Cic. de Off. l. 1. 42.

<sup>e</sup> Resp. p. 54.

<sup>f</sup> Cic. de Fin. l. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Resp. p. 57.

doctores, *Rhetores* scilicet, *Grammaticos*, *Pædagogos*, ex *Servorum* grege fuisse cognovimus: quamvis enim *res ipsæ*, quas docebant, *honestæ & liberales* censebantur, docendi tamen munus Romæ saltem haud ullo fere in honore fuisse accepimus.

Ut hominis autem nostri incitiam clariùs appareat; loci hujus sententiam tandem veram, sensumque paucis exquiramus. Atque id primum de *Artium Liberalium* notione sciendum est; illas solummodo in earum numero a Veteribus cenferi; non quæ *victus querendi, lucrive faciendi* causa, sed *animi erudiendi, delectandive* gratia excolebantur; atque ex quibus non *quæstus aliquis, Utilitatisve ad vitam necessaria*, sed *libera quædam animi oblectatio* quærebatur. Quam quidem earum veram propriamque esse definitionem arbitror: & quoties de *quæstibus* illis aliquas, *minusve ingenuis, Liberales* tamen aliquando dici reperimus, id non nisi *improprio vocis usu, & laxiori quodam sensu* accipiendum, atque, uti hoc in loco, haud aliud indicare intelligendum est, ac ejusmodi *Artes a probrosis & turpibus* distingui, atque isti hominum generi, *cui convenient, honestas* esse.

Hoc igitur loco *Ciceronem*, uti primo plane aspectu perspicuum est, de *Artibus revera & propriè liberalibus* nec verbum quidem ullum fecisse, nec omnino cogitasse dico: disserit solummodo de *Artificiis* seu *quæstibus* istis, unde *lucrum conficiebatur*, atque *aliquid adquiribatur*: *sordidas* primum enumerat, easque omnes, quæ non nisi cum probro, ac turpitudine quadam conjunctæ videntur; deinde ad *honestiores* progreditur; *Medicinam, Architecturam*, &c. quas *Ordini, cui convenient*, non probrum aliquod, sed decus potius, laudemque afferre significat; & concludit denique; *omnium autem rerum* ex quibus aliquid adquiritur, *nihil esse Agricultura melius, uberius, dulcius, nec libero homine dignius*. Videmus jam, opinor, quo sensu *Agriculturam* tanto-

tantopere laudet; non ut *Artem liberalem, aut ingenuam*, sed de *quæstibus illis* solummodo, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, optimam & homine libero dignissimam.

Artes autem, ut supra dixi, *liberales* a toto illo genere *quæstus* se junctas semper esse notissimum est, eoque *liberaliores* haberi, quo a *quæstu & lucro omni* remotiores essent: quod quidem, cum ex multis *ipsius Ciceronis* locis demonstrari potest, tum ex eo potissimum, ubi ex *Pythagoræ* sententia, vitam hominum mercatûs cujusdam celebritati comparari ait.<sup>b</sup> *In quem, uti alii emendi aut vendendi quæstu & lucro ducerentur, alii vero, iique vel maximè ingenui, nullum lucrum quærerent, sed visendi solummodo causa venirent, studiosèque perspicerent, quid ageretur;* sic in vita & studiis hominum accidere solere disputat: nam *ut illic liberalissimum esset spectare nihil sibi acquirentem; sic in vita, ea longè studia excellere, cæterisque omnibus præstare, quæ nulla quæstus aut pecuniæ spe propofita, in rerum cognitione & contemplatione versabantur.* Atque hinc jam quivis facile judicabit, quam *Rbetor noster* ingenii fuerit; quàm in Veterum scriptis evolvendis diligens: quam in interpretandis acutus; quamque ad Eruditorum controversias dijudicandas instructus accesserit; quàm denique verum vel nunc etiam illud ipsum sit, quod *Ciceronem* alicubi indicasse memini; nihil scilicet magni aut solidi unquam ex *Rbetorum Officiis*, sed *Academice solummodo spatii* extitisse.

Sed ad *Annotatorem* tandem *nostrum* revertamur, qui hac *sua velitatione* quasi defatigatus, nec in aciem ipsam ac dimicationem descendere ausus, receptui canere incipit, & *dimittamus jam*, inquit, *Theologum undique doctissimum; reliqua perséquantur* ii, quibus otium est, quique fuerint diutius in *Antiqui-*

<sup>b</sup> Tusc. qu. 1. 5. 3.

*talitatis cognitione versati.*<sup>1</sup> Quorum alterum, Præclare Annottator, Tibi facile concedam, *Antiquitatis* scilicet *cognitione* Te ab aliis certe quibusvis superari; alterum vero nunquam Tibi dabo; *otio* quemvis alium *plus Teipso* abundare: qua enim in re Te tantopere occupatum existimare possumus? num literarum studiis? at *egregium hocce opusculum tuum* nos id omnino putare vetat; Teque in bonis literis, bonisque artibus hospitem esse declarat. Num professionis tuæ muniis, ægrivse obeundis? at quisquam tam vitæ prodigus invenitur, qui Tibi ea ignorantia simul ac temeritate valetudinem suam committere audeat? Sed singularem hominis modestiam hic etiam obiter notare libet. Quippe is, *occupationibus* licet distentus, nec in *Antiquitatis cognitione* versatus, mea tamen omnia, quæ *præcipua tibi visa* sunt, sibi ipsi refutanda atque evertenda suscepit; reliqua vero, quæ ne *minimi quidem momenti*, nec *refutatione digna* pronuntiat<sup>2</sup>, iis tamen persequenda relinquit, qui *otio abundant*, qui *rerum antiquarum scientia* excellunt.

Ut verò cum primis, ultima tandem consentiant; cum nihil aliud *Notæ hæc breves* ac summam hominis malevolentiam, cum pari sanè stultitiâ conjunctam ostenderint; *velim autem*, inquit<sup>3</sup>, *existimet Vir Eruditus*, ea quæ à me contra ejus sententiam libere dicta sunt; non esse eo animo dicta, quod aliquam in illum contumeliam jacere cuperem, sed quia veritatem, quæ ab ipso obscurata quidem est, quantum potui patefacere studeo. Tu vero, num vel unam demum nobis veritatem patefecisti? numvè unam aliquam calumniandi occasionem prætermisisti? quippe ea, *Vir probe*, annon contumelia est; *Theologicæ Professorum*, Mendacem, *Malevolum*, *Calumniatorem* ubique appellare? annon id, in-

<sup>1</sup> Not. br. p. 30.<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 23.<sup>3</sup> Not. br. p. 31.

quam, quàm maximè *contumeliosum*; hominem liberalitè educatum infimulare; quòd *falsitate alios circumvenire studcat*<sup>m</sup>; quod de locis ex auctoribus citatis, *nonnulla audacter mutaverit*<sup>n</sup>; *alia malitiosè confinxerit*<sup>o</sup>; *aliis verba aliena adtexerit, quofucum faceret*<sup>v</sup>; *quod de veritate nihil sit sollicitus, dummodo convitiis aliquid congerat*<sup>q</sup>; *quod fide nullà dignus sit, propterea quod mala fide egerit*<sup>r</sup>. Quippe hujus generis omnia, si vera prorsus essent, parcius tamen objici, nec tam apertè dici solent; cum autem sint falsissima, & tam libere tamen profundantur, non verbis solummodo & disputatione castigari, sed legibus pœnifque potius coerceri merentur.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. 19.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. 23.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 18.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. 13.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 24.







THE  
E P I S T L E S  
OF  
M. T. CICERO to M. BRUTUS,  
AND OF  
BRUTUS to CICERO:  
WITH THE  
*Latin* Text on the opposite page,  
AND  
*English* Notes to each EPISTLE.  
Together with a  
PREFATORY DISSERTATION,  
In which the Authority of the said Epistles is vindicated, and all the Objections of the Rev. Mr. *Tunstall* particularly considered and confuted.



VOL. IV.

L I



T H E  
P R E F A C E.

**T**HE authority of the following letters having lately been called in question by the learned *Mr. Tunstall*, Fellow of *St. John's College*, and *Orator of the University of Cambridge* [1]; who in a Latin Epistle addressed to myself, has attempted to prove them to be the forgery of some Sophist, and on the merit of that proof, has rejected them as spurious [2]; it seems incumbent particularly on me, to vindicate their credit, and assert their real antiquity: since it might justly be reckoned a fraud in the literary, as it is in the mercantile world, to offer any thing to the public, which we did not either believe, or could not even warrant to be genuin: and an Epistle indeed of that sort addressed to me, must be interpreted by every body, as a defiance or challenge to enter the lists with him in that cause; which it would be shamefull in me to decline, not onely as an Editor of the Epistles in question, but as I have made great use of them in my *Life of Cicero*, without intimating the least scruple, or indeed without conceiving any about them.

For I am not ashamed to own, that I have always looked upon these letters, not onely as originals, but the most valuable of that kind, which are preserved to us from old *Rome*; written in the very crisis and last struggle of it's liberty, by the greatest men who then lived in it, and who soon after died for it. This,

[1] Vid. Tunstalli Epist. ad C. Mid-  
dleton. 8vo Cantabrigiæ 1741.

[2] De Epistolis—quæ *Ciceronis* nomen  
falsò præferunt. *ibid.* p. 3.

I say, has been my constant persuasion; which, after all the pains, that our learned Critic has taken, I see not the least reason to alter: and since it would be a sensible loss to all the lovers of polite letters, to be deprived of a classical remnant of antiquity, of which they have fancied themselves rightfully possessed; I think it my duty, as far as I am able, to free them from that apprehension, and to ensure to them the possession of a treasure, which they have so long enjoyed and so highly valued.

If it should be asked, why in a controversy of this nature, I have chosen to give an *English* answer to a *Latin Epistle*; there were several reasons, which determined me to prefer this method: first, the perpetual reference and connection, which this piece will necessarily have with my *Life of Cicero*: secondly, as it will be a proper Preface to this English Edition of the letters themselves: and thirdly, as it will make the subject of our dispute more intelligible to every body; especially since our Critic, with his *Latin* performance, though he professes, *to come fresh from the Study of Tully's Epistles* [1], has not had the fortune to make himself understood, and will consequently be very little read, without the help of such a comment.

In order therefore to place the whole argument in the clearest light, I shall lay before the reader, in the first place, a short history of the Epistles here published; as it is delivered to us from the earliest tradition, to the time of our Critic's attack upon them.

It appears from the accounts of the ancients, that a collection of letters, between *Cicero* and *Brutus*, was subsisting many ages after *Cicero's* death. *Nonius Marcellus*, an old Grammarian, cites a passage from *the first*; and another, from the *eighth book*

[1] Nam cum ab Epistolarum earum, recens ad has—devenissem. Tunst, Epist. quæ haud dubie Ciceronis sunt, lectione p. 193.

of them [2]: *Quintilian* often refers to them [3]: and *Plutarch*, as our Critic observes, has given us extracts from two of the principal of them [4]. This collection then consisted of *eight books*; all of them probably written, between the time of *Cæsar's* and of *Cicero's* death, concerning the memorable events of that busy period; which included about a year and half: for the passage, that *Nonius* cites from *the first* book, is found in *the first* of these *Epistles* now remaining [5]; which seems to have been written about the end of the year, in which *Cæsar* was killed [6]. The correspondence indeed between these two great men began several years before, when *Cicero* was Proconsul of *Cilicia* [7]; and was carried on occasionally through all *Cæsar's* reign; but as the letters of that interval related chiefly to private affairs, and the mutual recommendation of their friends to each other; so those, which happened to be preserved, were inserted among the *Familiar Epistles*, where some of them are to be found at this day [8].

As the original letters then of this collection are allowed to have subsisted till the time of *Plutarch*; so we cannot suppose them to have been wholly lost in *Rome* and *Italy*, till the final declension of that Empire, and that universal ruin, which oppressed all the liberal arts, by the overbearing power of *the Goths and Vandals*. But after many centuries of *Gothic* barbarism,

[2] Vid. Non. Marcell. de different. Nonio, in differentia inter *amare* & dictionum in different. inter *amare* & *diligere*. And. Patric. in Fragm. Epist. *diligere*. it. And. Patric. in Fragment. ad Brut.

[3] Vid. Quintil. l. 3. c. 8. l. 8. 3, 6. l. 9. 3, 4.

[4] Vid. Tunstall. Epist. p. 194.

[5] Observeandum est, eum Epistolarum librum, qui nunc etiam extat inter impressos, ad *Brutum*, primum nominari

[6] A. U. 709.

[7] In *Cicero's* Epistles to *Atticus*, during his government of *Cilicia*, he mentions several letters, which he had received from *Brutus*. Ep. ad Att. l. 6. 1. &c.

[8] Ep. Fam. 13. 10.

whenever any men of genius or superior taſt began to enquire after the monuments of the ancients, *Cicero's* works were generally the firſt, that were ſought for in all the places, where there was any ſchool of learning, or library of books. *Petrarch*, who flouriſhed about the year 1340, was the leader in this ſearch, as all the later writers teſtify of him. *He was the firſt*, ſays *Ludovicus Vives*, *who unlocked the muſty Libraries, and wiped off the duſt from the monuments of the Clafſic writers: on which account the Latin tongue is much indebted to him; though he was not able to attain to a purity of writing, or to clear himſelf intirely from the barbariſm of his age. Paullus Jovius* and others give the ſame account of him; *that he was the firſt, who attempted to retrieve the Latin tongue, and to raiſe up the ancient letters from their Gothic Sepulchers* [1].

He tells us himſelf, in one of his letters, what great pains he took, to recover the remains of *Cicero*; not onely in perſon and in his travels through *France* and *Germany*, but by commiſſions to his friends and correſpondents in all parts of Europe, the reſult of which was; *that he got together ſeveral duplicates of Cicero's common pieces, but was not able, he ſays, to procure any of the rare ones, except the two books on Glory, (which he loſt again ſoon after by lending to a friend) and ſome ſeparate Epiſtles and Orations* [2]. Among the reſt, we find him poſſeſſed of theſe very Epiſtles, which are the ſubject of our preſent inquiry: for in one of his letters, fancifully addreſſed to the Manes of *Cicero*, he cites two paſſages, from the two celebrated Epiſtles of *Brutus*; the one to *Cicero*, the other to *Atticus* [3].

[1] Vid. Doct̄or. teſtimonia de Pe- [3] Vid. Petrarch. Epiſt. ad quofdam  
trarcha. in Edit. Oper. Fol. Baſil. 1581. c. Veterib. Ep. 1. p. 704.

[2] Vid. Petrarch. Epiſt. l. 15. 1.

*Petrarch's* example improved the taste of his own, as well as of the succeeding ages; and inspired the learned with the same zeal of hunting out the works of the ancients, and particularly of *Cicero*. Among whom *Poggius of Florence*, in the next century, is said to have brought into *Italy* the copies of several of his pieces, from *the Council of Constance*; and to have been the first discoverer of the intire collection of his *Epistles to Atticus* [4]; which, with those to his Brother *Quintus*, and the few, that were then found of these very letters to *Brutus*, were printed together in one volume, soon after *Poggius's* death, at *Venice*, by *Nicolas Jenson*; and at *Rome* by *Sweynheim* and *Pannartz*; A. D. 1470. Which letters, as it is signified in an Epigram, at the end of *Jenson's* Edition, were very rare to be met with before the time of that impression [5].

But of the *eight books* of these letters, which anciently subsisted, no more could be retrieved by the curious of those times, than *eighteen* scattered Epistles, which were published in that first edition; and of which several impressions were afterwards made in different parts of Europe: till *six* or *seven* more, rather fragments, than intire letters of the same collection, happened to be found many years after in *Germany*; which were printed likewise and added to the common editions, though separated and distinguished in most of them, as they continue still to this day, from the *eighteen*, which were before published.

These *eighteen*, from their first appearance in the world, either in MS. or print, have generally passed among the learned for *the original Epistles of Cicero and Brutus*. *Erasmus* indeed seems to rank the letters of *Brutus*, in the same class with those

[4] Vid. Hoffman. Lexic. de Poggio. [5] Vid. Mattaire Annal. Typograph. & And. Patric. in Fragm. de Gloria. vol. 1.

of *Phalaris*, as *the declamatory compositions* of some Sophist [2]: yet upon another occasion, he cites the very same letters, without intimating the least suspicion of them [3]; and I do not know, that they have ever been suspected by any body else. As to the rest, which were found afterwards in Germany, though the novelty of the discovery surprized the Critics a while, and made them cautious of declaring any judgement upon them; yet after they had been spread into all hands, and considered at leisure by men of taste, they met with the same approbation, as the first eighteen; and have been cited ever since without any scruple, as the unquestionable remains of the great authors, to whom they are ascribed.

*I publish these six Epistles, says Victorius, as I received them from the Germans: for though I have never met with them in any old MSS, yet I have no mind to impeach the fidelity of the Germans, who attest, that they found them in an ancient copy, nor to interpose my own judgement on either side* [4]. *Lambinus says the same thing, but adds, yet if any one is desirous, to know my opinion about them, I take them to be the genuin Epistles of Brutus and Cicero* [5].

*Sigonius, in his collection of the fragments of Cicero, speaking of these same letters, says; " I have chosen to insert in this place, four letters of Cicero to Brutus, and one of Brutus to Cicero, which are said to be found by the Germans in a*

[2] Porro, quas nobis reliquit nescio quis, *Bruti* nomine; nomine *Phalaridis*, nomine *Senecæ & Pauli*; quid aliud censeferi possunt, quam declamatiunculae? *Epist. ad Beat. Rhenan. Oper. Tom. 3. par. 1. p. 554. C. Lugd. Bat. 1703.*

[3] *Brutus* indignatur *Ciceroni*, qui

fuis concionibus & scriptis irritaret eos, quos irritatos non posset opprimere. *Ep. ad Guilhelm. ib. p. 641. A.*

[4] See Victorius's Edition of Cicero's works.

[5] See Lambinus's Edition.



“ MS copy [1]; because they are rejected by many, as spurious, nor are found in all the printed editions; and in those, where they are found, are jumbled together confusedly, and read with little or no regard—yet both the matter and time of them shew, that they ought to be placed before all the rest of the Epistles to *Brutus*, but so, as to be connected with them [2].” And in another part of his comment, he confirms a passage in one of these letters, by a parallel expression in the other *eighteen*, which, as he declares, *were unquestionably held to be Cicero's* [3].

*Andr. Patricius* also, who published a more compleat collection of the same fragments, soon after that of *Sigonius*, speaking of *the Epistles found in Germany*, says; “ there are some indeed, who deny them to be *Cicero's*, but I attribute more in this case, to the letters themselves, which speak sufficiently for themselves, and to the authority also of *Manutius*, who affirms the same thing, than to any man living. Yet those, who do not acknowledge *Cicero's* hand in them, are but few, and cannot surely be very learned. Let these letters then be joined to the rest, as the thing itself requires, and as *Sigonius* has shewn the way [4].”

This was the state of *the following Epistles*, when our Critic thought fit to make his attack upon them. The *eighteen*, first printed, had been generally received as genuin by the Critics of all ages: the rest were suspected a while by a few, but after a due examination obtained the same credit with the first. Our

[1] These Epistles found in Germany belonged originally to the same letter.

are differently divided in the common Editions into *five, six or seven*. For as five [2] Vid. *Sigonii, Schol. in Fragm. Cic. p. 176.*

of them were found imperfect, so some of the five have been annexed to each other [3] *Quod etiam facit in iis, quæ pro certo Tullianæ habentur, ibid, p. 178.*

according to the different fancy of different Editors, as supposed to have [4] Vid. *And. Patricium in Fragm. Epist. ad Brutum,*

Critic makes no distinction, but roundly condemns them all: and so far I am ready to agree with him; that if he can prove any one of them to be forged, I shall make very little difficulty to give up the rest. But though I have considered his arguments with attention, yet they have had no other effect, but to persuade me more strongly than ever, that the letters are originals: and I can hardly doubt, but that every reader will be of the same mind, when we come to the examination of his particular objections.

But before we descend to this task, it will be necessary to discuss with him a preliminary point or two, which seem to be of no small moment towards determining the main question. For if, upon his authority, we must believe the Epistles to be spurious, it might reasonably be expected, that he should give us some account *at the same time*, in what age, or *by whom*, they might probably be forged; concerning which he has not ventured, to offer the least conjecture. That we may supply therefore what he has omitted, let us consider here a little, at what time this imagined forgery could possibly be executed. He allows them indeed to be *ancient* [4]; yet in another place seems to suspect, that they may perhaps *be modern* [5]; but does not pretend to say, either *how ancient* or *how modern* he takes them to be: and here lies the difficulty; and so great an one, as seems sufficient of itself, to shake his whole Hypothesis.

The original letters were extant, as we have seen, to the time of *Plutarch*; and could not therefore be lost, till the purity of the Latin tongue was lost: and as there could be no room

[4] Quod si quis horum antiquitatis monumentorum, veterum fortasse—amore [5] Hæc quidem antithesis quiddam τὸν νεώτερον sapere videtur, ibid. p. 233, adductus, &c. Tunstall. Epist. p. 251. in notis.

for such a forgery, as long as the genuin letters were in being, so it is not credible, that, in the following ages of barbarism, a Sophist should be found, so perfect a master of *Cicero's* stile, and the purest taste of writing, as to impose his forgeries upon the ablest Critics, who have ever lived: or that he should think of putting such a cheat upon the world, at a time, when there was scarce a man, much less a society of men in it, who had any particular respect for *Cicero*, or made any study of his writings: or when those writings lay dispersed and neglected in distant parts of *Europe*, that he should be furnished with them so largely, as to be able to execute a work, which required an intimate knowledge and acquaintance with them all.

Again; as the genuin letters subsisted, till the purity of Latin was lost, so these remains, which are now in our hands, were actually in being long before that purity revived; being cited, as I have shewn, by *Petrarch*, two centuries before the reformation; or before any taste of fine writing began to flourish again in Europe: so that, if they were really forged, as our Critic contends, they must have been forged in the intermediate ages of darkness and ignorance, since their known history precludes us from ascribing them to any other age.

For my own part, as far as I am able to judge, either from the stile, or, on what I lay a far greater stress, the matter of them, I take them to be in all points so truly *Ciceronian*, as to be persuaded, that there has scarce been a man in the world, from the time of *Plutarch*, to that of *Petrarch*, who was capable of such a forgery. Nay, from the time even of *Augustus*, we see so remarkable an alteration, and gradual declension of language, in the very best writers of the succeeding ages, as could hardly have failed of being distinguish'd, in a series of many letters, from the flowing periods of *Cicero*. The

lower we descend, the case is still worse; and in proportion, as we remove from the age of *Cicero*, towards that of *Petrarch*, the difficulty encreases to a degree almost of impossibility. About the time indeed of the Reformation, the men of taste and polite letters began to vie with each other in the delicacy of their stile, and above all, in the imitation of *Cicero*; in which they were so nice and fastidious, as to allow nothing to be classical, that was not drawn from his works [1]. Some of these, by making *Cicero* their sole pattern, were able perhaps to copy his manner, with more exactness, than any who have lived since *Plutarch's* time: but it happens, that the suspected letters were not only extant, but printed, long before any writers of this class were in being.

But if we had found a Sophist, capable of such a work, and settled the time, in which he lived, yet another question will occur, of no less difficulty, concerning the end, that he proposed to himself in undertaking it. It could not certainly be fame; since he chose to lie concealed, and continues concealed to this day: nor could it be money; since in the barbarous ages, no body would buy his work; nor in any age, would the gain ever pay for the labor of it. Our Critic indeed has pointed out two ends, which he might possibly have in view; first, to draw up an *epilogue or supplement to the Epistles to Atticus, so as to carry on the history, where these to Atticus drop it* [2]. But when there had been *eight books* of these letters originally subsisting,

[1] Quasi parùm sit in orbe factio, probrosum esse ducunt, quam appellari revixit nova factio *Ciceronianorum*—Ut, fateor *Ciceroni* primam in dicendo laudem deberi, ita puto ridiculum, tota vita nihil aliud agere, quam ut *Ciceronem unum* exprimas. Ep. ad Jac. Tuffanum, ib. p. 938. D.

Ac non *Ciceronianum* appellari, multo

probrosius esse ducunt, quam appellari hæreticum. ad Jo. Vergar ib. p. 1015. E.

[2] Hæque remaneant solæ, quæ earum, quæ ad *Atticum* sunt, historiam producant, & *Epilogi* cujusdam vicem, quasi id de industria comparatum fuisset, sustineant.

Tunstall. Epist. p. 194.

whose

whose loss suggested the thought of forging others in their stead, it is reasonable to imagine, that he would have carried on the history, as far as those books had done; or given us at least a regular series of letters, and not, what we now find, a few unconnected Epistles, with some pieces or fragments of others, which appear to be the ruins of a greater work; and instead of continuing the history to the end of the correspondence between *Cicero* and *Brutus*, afford but a partial and broken detail of it, through four months only of the twelve, which he had undertaken to supply.

The second end, which he has provided for his Sophist, is, *to vindicate Cicero's character from the imputation of rashness, in throwing too much power into the hands of Octavius* [1]: and this indeed was the only answer, that he gave me, when I asked him once in a conversation, *what end the Sophist could serve by such a forgery*: and though I thought it ridiculous, and freely told him so, yet he has taken occasion to intimate it in different parts of his work. But against whom then could this Sophist mean to defend *Cicero*? why truly against himself. For no body ever accused him, but the author of these letters; or no body, I may venture to say, who had not first read and believed them to be genuine. This *Petrarch*, though he had a veneration for *Cicero's* character, yet upon the authority of these letters, does not scruple to censure his conduct, as inconsistent with his principles. *What answer, says he, will you give to your Brutus, when he tells you, that the court, which you pay to Octavius, shows, that you are not displeas'd with a master, but want only to have a more friendly one?* And again, *I myself, with*

[1] Id notare proclive est, *defensorem* daque dignitate, famam, quod dicit, *sub-  
nebrum Ciceronis* plus nimio laborasse, ne is, *iret temeritatis*, lb. 212,  
in suscipiendo *Cæsaris* patrocinio, promov-

that same Brutus, can no longer set any value on those *arts*, with which I know you to be so greatly furnished [1]. Our Critic therefore, if he will be consistent, must introduce *two Sophists*, instead of *one*, in his next edition ; the one to arraign, and the other to defend *Cicero*.

But it is time to procede to the examination of his objections, which he summs up in general to the following effect ;

“ That as he came fresh from the reading of Cicero’s genuin letters, so he perceived, that these to Brutus wanted the beauty and copiousness of the Ciceronian diction ; that both Brutus’s and Cicero’s were drawn in the same stile and manner of coloring ; and trimmed up with so much art and diligence, that they seemed to procede rather from scholastic subtlety and meditation, than from the genuin acts and affairs of real life : that when there had been several other letters from Brutus to Cicero, and to Atticus, both before and after the time, in which these are supposed to be written, it was strange, that all those should be lost, and these only remain, which appear to have been industriously designed for an Epilogue to the Epistles to Atticus. That these reasons induced him to suspect ; but upon looking farther into the letters themselves, he discovered many absurdities in the sense, improprieties in the language ; many remarkable predictions of future events, both on Brutus’s side and on Cicero’s ; but what was most material, a great number of historical facts, not only quite new, but wholly altered, and some even apparently false, and contradictory to the genuin works of Cicero [1].”

He goes on to support this general charge by particular

[1] Vid. Petrarch. Epist. ad viros quosdam e veteribus. Ep. 1. p. 704.

[1] Tunst. Epist. p. 193.

proofs, and begins with such as relate to history; which he opens with two notable passages, as he calls them, from *Plutarch*; wherein he gives the following summary account of the two famous Epistles of *Brutus*; the one to *Cicero*, the other to *Atticus*, which our Critic supposes *Plutarch* to have seen in the original collection, that subsisted in his time [1]. “*When Cicero, says Plutarch, out of hatred to Antony had espoused the interests of Octavius, Brutus reproved him for it severely, telling him by letter, that he had no aversion to a master, but was afraid onely of an angry one; that all his measures tended to procure an easy servitude, since he was constantly declaring in his letters and speeches, that Octavius was a good natured man; whereas our ancestors, says he, would not endure even a gentle master. That for his part, he had not thought proper as yet, either to enter forwardly into war, nor wholly to sit idle, but had taken onely this single resolution, not to live a slave. That he was surprized, that Cicero should have so much dread of a civil and dangerous war, yet have none at the same time of a base and inglorious peace; but should demand as the reward of dispossessing Antony of his tyranny, to make Octavius the Tyrant in his stead. To this effect, says Plutarch, Brutus expressed himself in his first letter [2].*”

Again; with regard to *Brutus's* other letters to *Atticus*, *Plutarch* says; “*that Cicero's hatred to Antony in the first place, and in the next, his own natural temper, unable to hold out against those, who paid a court to him, made him Octavius's friend; imagining, that he should attach his power by that means to the service of the state. For the young man carried himself so obsequiously towards him, as to call him even Father. Upon which Brutus, being greatly incensed, inveighs*

[1] Tunst. Epist. p. 194.

[2] Vid. *Plutar. in Vit. Brut. p. 994.*  
“*against*

“ against Cicero, in a letter to Atticus; that by the observance  
 “ which he paid to Octavius, through fear of Antony, he plainly  
 “ shewed, that his aim was, not to procure the liberty of his country,  
 “ but a kind master onely to him self (1).”

Now these two passages agree very well in the main with the general argument of the two letters, which are still extant. But our Critic observes, that there are some manifest contradictions between them; the principal of which is, that the genuine letters, which *Plutarch* had seen, were written by *Brutus*, while he continued in Italy; whereas these, which are now in our hands, are pretended to be written much later, when *Brutus* was in *Macedonia* [2]. He mentions two other contradictions of less moment, which I shall not repeat, as being nothing to his purpose; since those, who follow fact and plain sense, would make no other reflection upon them, but that *Plutarch* was negligent and inaccurate, as he is known to be in all his *Lives*, and the whole difficulty would be solved.

But this solution cannot please our Critic. It cuts short all refinement, and leaves no room for an Hypothesis; which he resolves to build upon these very facts; for he tells us in the next paragraph, “ that some Sophist, happening to read these  
 “ true sentiments of Brutus, in *Plutarch*, or some other Historian,  
 “ took the hint to forge a collection of letters upon that plan, and  
 “ executed it accordingly; but without the least regard to the time, in  
 “ which the original letters were written; or without considering,  
 “ how much earlier *Plutarch* had placed the facts there mentioned,  
 “ than he thought fit afterwards to place them; or how long before  
 “ his account of the matter, Octavius had been suspected, and  
 “ Brutus had found reason to chide Cicero for his inconsiderate

[1] *Plat. in Vit. Cic. p. 883.*

[2] *Tunst. Ep. p. 196.*



“ *rashness in making him so great* [1].” But he must be a stupid Sophist indeed, who after forming the plan of a work, by which he hoped to deceive the world, could be so careless in the execution of it, as to contradict his author in the very articles, which he was borrowing from him.

Since *Plutarch's authority* then is made the foundation of our Critic's Hypothesis, in opposition to what I have elsewhere observed with relation to it, it will be necessary to resume the consideration of that question, and to state the real merit of it, as briefly as I can; especially as it will afford us a specimen of our Critic's judgement, and manner of reasoning through his whole performance.

I had observed in the Preface to my *Life of Cicero*, “ that the *Greek Historians* were to be read with some caution, in their accounts of Roman affairs; as being strangers to the language and customs of *Rome*; and on that account liable to many mistakes, and subject to many prejudices: that *Plutarch* in particular was not sufficiently qualified for a compiler of a *Roman History*, for the want of a competent skill in the Latin tongue; but if he had possessed all the talents requisite to that character, yet the attempt of writing the *lives of all the illustrious Greeks and Romans*, was above the strength of any single man, of what abilities and leisure soever; much more of one, who, as he himself tells us, was perpetually engaged in public business, and in giving lectures of Philosophy to the great men of *Rome*: that his *Lives* therefore must needs be imperfect and superficial; and the sketch rather than the completion of a great design: for the truth of which I appealed to his *Life of Cicero*; in which, besides

[1] Tunst. Ep. p. 197.

“ the numerous mistakes that have been charged upon it by the  
 “ learned, we see all the imaginable marks of negligence, in-  
 “ curacy, and want of due information of it [1].”

After the publication of that work, I was informed, that an ingenious member of the French Academy, *M. Secouffe*, had given the same judgement on *Plutarch* before me, and for the same reasons; which he had exemplified by many instances from the lives of *Camillus*, *Lucullus* and *Pompey*: where, among other mistakes, he had taken notice of one or two, which seemed to be derived from the equivocal sense of the *Latin word*, and *Plutarch's* imperfect knowledge of it [2].

But the most decisive testimony in the case, is that of *Plutarch* himself, who confesses the very fact, that I affirm, in *the Life of Alexander*, which he begins with these words.

“ As I am drawing up in this volume *the lives of Alexander*  
 “ *and of Cæsar*, so I shall premise nothing more, on account  
 “ of the number of their great actions, but onely entreat the  
 “ reader, not to cavil or find fault with me, if I do not describe  
 “ all their celebrated acts, nor even the particular ones, with  
 “ any exactness; but cut short the greatest part of them;  
 “ since I do not pretend to write *histories* but *lives*. Nor does  
 “ the illustration of men's virtues or vices depend always  
 “ on their most conspicuous acts; but a little fact, or  
 “ saying, or jest has often given a clearer discovery of their  
 “ real temper and manners, than their most bloody battels,  
 “ most famous engagements and sieges. As Painters therefore  
 “ draw the likenesses of persons from the features of the face  
 “ and countenance, by which their manners are chiefly dis-  
 “ cerned, and pay very little regard to the other parts of the

[1] See Pref. to the Life of Cic. p. 24.

[2] Hist. de L'Academ. Royal. des Inscrip. Tom. 5. p. 169. &c.

“ body ;

“ body; so it must be allowed likewise to me, to attend principally to the indications of the mind; and from these to form the picture of each man’s life, leaving their great actions and achievements to be described by others.”

—This was the maxim, that *Plutarch* constantly pursued; and which makes him so full every where of the *apophthegms* and *jest*s of his Heroes [1]; overlooking at the same time their most celebrated actions; or treating them at least in a slight and summary way; and, as he himself professes, without any kind of accuracy: of which there are infinite examples in all those lives. I shall trouble the reader with one or two, which relate to our present subject, and are drawn from the same page, whence our Critic has borrowed one of his *notable* testimonies, which have given him this occasion to insist upon the accuracy, and authority of *Plutarch*, who in his *Life of Cicero*, after an account of *Cicero’s* return to *Rome*, from his intended voyage to *Greece*, and of the open quarrel, which then first broke out between him and *Antony*, goes on to say.

“ From this time, whenever they met, they passed by each other, without any mark of respect, and kept themselves upon their guard: till young *Octavius*, arriving from *Apollonia*, took possession of the inheritance of his uncle *Cæsar*, and entered into a controversy with *Antony*, about 2500 myriads, which he detained of that estate. Upon which *Philippus*, who had married his mother, and *Marcellus*, who married his sister, bringing the young man with them to *Cicero*, made an agreement with him; that *Cicero* should assist

[1] In the *Life of Cato the Elder*, “ I will relate, says he, a few of his sayings, that are still remembered, as being one of those, who contend, that the manners of men are discovered much more easily by their words, than by their countenances, &c.” p. 340.

“ *Octavius* with all the power of his eloquence and civil authority, both in the Senate and with the people; and that *Octavius* should afford *Cicero* the support of his money and troops: for the youth had already gathered about him a great number of veterans, who had served under *Cæsar*; and *Cicero* seemed very willing to embrace his friendship [1].”

Now in this summary account of the most considerable and critical passages in *Cicero's* life, we see all the proofs of negligence and inaccuracy, that a writer could possibly give, within so small a compass. For in opening the grounds of *Cicero's* breach with *Antony*, he says not a syllable of *Cicero's* first *Philippic*, which was spoken at that very time, and was the foundation of that breach. Then he makes *Octavius's* arrival from *Apollonia* to happen after *Cicero's* rupture with *Antony*, which was in the beginning of *September*; whereas we know from the letters to *Atticus* that *Octavius* arrived at *Naples*, on the 18th of *April*; went the next morning to the Villa of his Father *Philippus*; whence he was introduced presently to *Cicero* in his *Cuman Villa*, adjoining to that of *Philippus*; where *Balbus*, *Hirtius*, and *Pansa* were with *Cicero* [2]: and though from this first interview, *Octavius* paid all imaginable court to *Cicero*, and solicited him afterwards by letters and messages, to take his affairs under his protection; yet *Cicero* constantly declined it, and would not enter into any agreement with him, till the *November* following; when it was brought about at last by the mediation of *Oppius* [3]. Yet all this, which was the work of seven months, *Plutarch* represents, as concluded at their first meeting, and at *Rome*, and by the interposition of *Philippus* and *Marcellus*.

[1] *Plut.* in *Cicero.* p. 883.

[3] *Ep.* ad *Att.* l. 16. 15.

[2] *Ep.* ad *Att.* l. 10. 11.

The same page affords still a more glaring proof, of *Plutarch's* negligent manner of huddling over the great events of history. For, after the passage cited above, relating to *Brutus's* reproof of *Cicero*, in his letter to *Atticus*, he says; "yet for all this, *Brutus* finding *Cicero's* son at *Athens*, gave him a command in his troops, and by his services gained many advantages against the enemy: and *Cicero's* power at that time was at it's greatest height in the City; where he did whatever he pleased; raised up a party against *Antony* and drove him out of *Rome*; sent away the two Consuls, *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, to make war upon him; persuaded the Senate to decree to *Octavius*, the rank and ensigns of a Prætor, as having taken up arms in the defence of his country: but when *Antony* was beaten, and the two Consuls killed in the battle, then all their forces went over to *Octavius*, &c." [1]

Here again we see the transactions of many months, the most important, not onely in *Cicero's* life, but in the whole *Roman history*, in which *Cicero* made the most shining figure, and spoke all his *Philippic* orations, huddled over within the compass of a few lines; without any regard to time, or order, just as *Plutarch* happened to think of them; and in the manner, that we might expect from his own account of the design and method, which he pursued in that work.

These testimonies, I am persuaded, will justify the judgement, that I have given of *Plutarch* as a *Roman Historian*; which instead of flowing from any contempt of him, with which our Critic unjustly charges me [2], is nothing more in effect, than what he himself has declared; and what every one, who

[1] *Plut.* in *Cicer.* 883.

[2] *Mirror*, sc *Plutarcho*, quem tamen contemnis, *Tunst. Epist.* p. 30.

reads him without the prepossession of an Hypothesis, will necessarily observe from innumerable facts and instances,

I cannot however quit this fruitful page, without adding one remark more, not upon *Plutarch's* negligence, but our *Critic's*; to say no worse of it; who affirms, that *the two Epistles of Brutus, to which Plutarch refers, were written before Brutus left Italy; for this, says he, is not onely manifest from the context, but Plutarch himself expressly declares it* [1]. Yet in the account already given of one of those Epistles, *Plutarch*, as we have seen, says not a syllable about the time of it; and the context is so far from shewing it to be written, *while Brutus was in Italy*, that, from the facts and circumstances annexed, it clearly shews the contrary; that it was written, when *Brutus was employing Cicero's son in the command of his troops in Macedonia; while Cicero himself was in the height of his power at Rome; after he had driven away Antony; sent the two Consuls after him; and decreed the Prætorian ensigns to Octavius*: all which did not happen, till many months after *Brutus had quitted Italy*. Nor is our *Critic's* assertion true, with regard to the other letter; for though the context seems to imply, that it was written by *Brutus in Italy*; yet *Plutarch* says nothing directly about the time of it. Should we allow then all the weight, that can be given to these two notable testimonies; should we grant them to be both accurate and decisive; yet they amount to no more than this; that, as far as we may guess from the context, one of the letters was written in *Italy*; the other in *Macedonia*; yet in neither case, though our *Critic* affirms it of both, does *Plu-*

[1] Nimirum Epistolæ, de quibus *Plutarchus* loquitur, scriptæ sunt, dum *Brutus* adhuc in Italia consistebat. Id ex historiz contextu manifestum est; sed & ideâ diserte dicit. *ibid.* p. 196.

*Plutarch* say expressly, either when, or where they were written. He calls the Epistle indeed to *Cicero*, *Brutus's first Epistle*; though it was certainly later than the other to *Atticus*; but that they were both written from *Macedonia*, is demonstrably evident, as *Yinall* shew by and by; though *Plutarch*, according to his usual negligence, and as far as his authority reaches, has made both the place, and the time of them uncertain.

But though *Plutarch's* authority be of little force in this question, I have another authority to combat, on which our Critic perhaps may lay a greater stress; that is, his own: for he declares it to be his absolute opinion, that the two original letters, which *Plutarch* had seen, were written before *Brutus* left Italy [1]: because, there were substantial reasons before that time, for suspecting *Octavius*; and for censuring *Cicero's* inconsiderate rashness, in making him so great [2].

It is surprizing, that a man, who has made any study of the *Epistles to Atticus*, can declare such an opinion, which is directly confuted by a series of those very Epistles. But the foundation of his Hypothesis must be destroyed, if this point cannot be made good, that the original letters between *Cicero* and *Brutus* were written at a different time, from the letters now extant; and all regard to facts, and to *Cicero's* character must be sacrificed to the support of this favorite Hypothesis. But a few extracts from the letters themselves will clear up the matter, and let the reader see with what judgement, as well as modesty, he so freely and frequently charges *Cicero*, with an inconsiderate

[1] Atque hoc quidem tempore ipso, *Brutum*, insignes illas Epistolas, & ad *Atticum* & ad *Ciceronem*, de quibus *Plutarchus* narrat, scripsisse, omnino existimo.

Tunst. Ep. p. 200.

[2] Inconsultam in *Octavio* augendo *Ciceroni* temeritatem, justissimamque adeo *Bruti* objurgationes. *ibid.* 197.

*ra*shness,

raptness, and marvellous eagerness, in espousing the interests of *Octavius*, from the first moment of his landing at *Naples*;

In the first letter, in which *Cicero* mentions *Octavius*, he says; “*Octavius* arrived at *Naples* on the 18th of April; whither “*Balbus* went to him early the next morning, and came “the same day to me, in my *Cuman* villa; and brings word, “that he will assert his right of succession to his uncle. But “this, as you write, will make a rare dispute between him “and *Antony* [2].”

In the second; “*Balbus*, *Hirtius* and *Pansa* are here with “me: *Octavius* is just arrived, and into the neighbouring “villa of his Father *Philippus*; intirely at my devotion [3].”

In the third, dated April the 22d; “*Octavius*, who is still “with us, treats me with the greatest respect and friendship; “his domestics give him the name of *Cæsar*; *Philippus* does “not; nor for that reason do I. I think it impossible for “him, to make a good Citizen; there are so many about “him, who threaten the death of our friends, and de- “clare, that what they have done, cannot be forgiven. What “will be the case, think you, when the boy comes to *Rome*, “where our deliverers cannot appear with safety? Who yet “must ever be famous, nay happy too, in the consciousness “of their act; but as for us, if I be not deceived, we shall “be undone. I long therefore to go abroad, where I may “hear no more of these *Pelopidæ*, &c. [4].”

This is all that passed between *Cicero* and *Octavius*, while he continued in the country, at his Father *Philippus*'s villa. But he soon went to *Rome*, to pursue his claim to *Cæsar*'s estate, as

[1] Et sane ex quo *Octavius Neapolim* primus venit, *Cicero* juvenis amplectendi mira cupiditate ferebatur, & ut *Plutarchus* dicit, τὰ τῷ Καίσαρι; ἔπειτα. ib. 190.

[2] Ep. ad Att. 14. 10.

[3] Ibid. 11.

[4] Ep. ad Att. 14. 12.



his son, and adopted son; and to entertain the people with the plays, which *Cæsar* himself had promised, and prepared to give in his life time, upon the completion of all his victories. At *Rome*, *Octavius* made a speech to the people from the *Rostræ*; where he seems to have been produced by *Antony's* Brother, *Lucius*, one of the Tribuns [1]. This speech was sent to *Cicero*, who says, *that he had the same opinion of it with Atticus*; which was no advantageous one: since, in the same letter, he declares himself displeas'd with *Octavius's* shows, and with his friends *Matius*, and *Postumius*, for undertaking the care of them [2]: and in another letter, applauds the Tribuns, for ordering *Cæsar's* golden chair to be removed out of the Theater, where *Octavius* seems to have placed it; and the Knights also, for expressing their approbation of that act, by some general clap [3]. This happened about the middle of May; and towards the end of it, while *Antony* and *Octavius* were quarrelling at *Rome*, about the possession of *Cæsar's* estate, *Cicero* writing again to *Atticus*, says;

“ *Octavius*, as I clearly saw, has parts and courage  
 “ enough; and seems likely to be affected, as we could wish,  
 “ towards our Heroes: but how far we may trust his age,  
 “ name, succession, education, is a matter of great delibera-  
 “ tion. His Father-in-law, whom I saw at *Astura*, thinks,  
 “ not at all. He must be cherish'd however, if for nothing  
 “ else, yet to keep him at a distance from *Antony*. *Marcellus*  
 “ acts nobly, if he instills into him a good disposition towards  
 “ our friends. He seem'd to be much influenced by him;

[1] Ibid. 14. 20.

[2] De *Octavii* concione idem sentio, quod tu, & *Matius* & *Postumius* mihi pro-

curatores non placent. Ad Att. 15. 2.

[3] De *Sella Cæsaris* bene Tribuni, præclaros etiam sive ordines. ibid. 3.

“ but to have no confidence in *Pansa* and *Hirtius*: his natural temper is good, if it does but hold [1].”

Now this is the whole, that *Cicero* either transacted, or declared, or thought of *Octavius*, before *Brutus* left *Italy*, as it manifestly appears from the letters to *Atticus*: which is so far from shewing that *inconsiderate rashness*, and *marvellous eagerness*, with which our Critic charges him, that it shews just the contrary; the utmost caution and reserve; and such a distrust of *Octavius*, as neither the greatest civilities on *Octavius*'s part, nor the good opinion which *Cicero* had conceived of his capacity could over-rule.

Nor had *Cicero* indeed as yet broken all measures with *Antony*; for though he strongly disliked and suspected his proceedings, yet for several prudential reasons, he chose to keep up a shew of friendship and fair correspondence with him; and had undertaken at this very time, to solicit him in person on the behalf of *Atticus*, in an affair, which *Atticus* had much at heart [2]. *Antony* likewise, observed the same forms of civility on his part; and wrote in very complaisant terms to *Cicero*, to desire his consent to the restoration of *S. Clodius* from exile [3]: and upon some alarm, given afterwards to the friends of liberty, on the account of a division of lands in *Italy* to *Antony*'s Soldiers, *Antony*'s Brother, *Lucius*, wrote particularly to *Cicero*, to free him from any apprehensions on that head [4].

*Cicero* however was so little pleased, either with *Antony* or *Octavius*, or with any thing indeed, that was now going forward in *Italy*, that instead of any eagerness to embrace *Octa-*

[1] Ep. ad Attic. 15. 12.

[2] De Buthortio negotio, utinam quidem *Antonium* conveniam: multum quidem proficiam. Ad *Atticum*, 14. 17.

it. 15. 1, 2.

[3] Ep. ad Att. 14. 13.

[4] *L.* quidem *Antonius* liberaliter litteris sine cura me esse jubet, ib. 15. 12.

*Brutus* at this time, he took a resolution of making a voyage to *Greece*, and of residing with his Son at *Athens*, till *Hirtius* and *Pompey* should enter upon the Consulship on the first day of the next year; on whose administration he had now placed all his hopes. In the beginning therefore of *July*, he set forward upon this voyage, and pursued it as far as *Sicily*; but being driven back by contrary winds to *Rhegium*, and meeting there with some fresh intelligence from *Rome*, of an unexpected turn of affairs, and a change of disposition in *Antony* to measures of peace, and submission to the Senate, he dropt all farther thoughts of the voyage, and turned back towards *Rome*, to assist with his authority in bringing about so desirable an end. But upon his arrival there, finding his hopes frustrated, and that *Antony* was aiming at nothing less than a Tyranny, and the Subversion of the Republic, he spoke his first *Philippic*, on the 2d of *September*, which gave the beginning to that inexorable quarrel, which soon after ensued between him and *Antony* [1].

*Brutus* in the mean while left *Italy*; and could have no reason therefore before his departure, to blame *Cicero*, on the account of *Octavius*; since at that time, *Cicero* had not taken any step in favour of him, nor, in all probability, had so much as seen him, from the time of their first interview: and as *Brutus* had no reason to complain of *Cicero*, during his stay in *Italy*, so it is evident from the same letters to *Atticus*, that in fact, he did not complain of him, either on the account of *Octavius*, or any other account whatsoever. For during this interval, from the arrival of *Octavius*, to the departure of *Brutus*, there was a continual exchange of letters and messages between *Cicero* and *Brutus*, of which frequent mention is made in the Epistles to

[1] See the Life of Cicero, vol. 2. p. 309—315, &c.

*Atticus* [1]. In one of which Epistles, *I am glad, that my letters to Brutus and Cassius were agreeable to them*, and in another; *Ob! how affectionate was Brutus to me* [3]? Whence we may collect, that *Brutus*, who used generally to be rough and haughty in his letters, was now particularly complaisant, from a just sense of *Cicero's* zeal and services to him. Nay, he appears to have been so cautious at this time of offending *Cicero* in any degree, that though he strongly disliked his *voyage to Greece*, yet he resolved to be silent on that subject, and would not drop a syllable, either to discourage or dissuade it, from an unwillingness to press him, to any thing disagreeable [4].

But besides a constant intercourse of letters, they had many personal conferences within the same interval, and chiefly at *Brutus's* desire; which all passed with the greatest affection and harmony. *Cicero* saw him at *Lanuvium* [5]; again at *Antium* [6]; afterwards in *Nesís*, a little Isle on the Campanian coast, where he conversed with him many days successively [7]; and lastly at *Velia*, as he came back from his *Grecian* voyage: where *Brutus* no sooner heard of his arrival, than *he came three miles on foot* to embrace him; expressed the utmost joy at his return; and told him in the kindest manner, what he did not care to mention to him before, that by dropping the pursuit of the voyage he had escaped two imputations on his character; the one, *of too hastily a despair and desertion of the common cause*;

[1] Epist. ad Att. l. 14. 18, 19, 20. l. 15. 1, 4, 5, 10, 23, 26, 29, &c.

[2] Gratas fuisse meas litteras *Bruto* & *Cassio* gaudeo, itaque iis rescripti. Ad Att. 14. 20.

[3] O *Bruti* amanter scriptas litteras! *ibid.* 15. 10.

[4] *Brutus*—effudit illa omnia, quæ tacuerat; ut recordarer illud tuum; *nam Brutus noster silet.* *ib.* 16. 7.

[5] Ad Att. 15. 20.

[6] *Ib.* 15. 11.

[7] *Ib.* 16. 1, 2, 4, 5.

the others, of the vanity of going to see the Olympic games [1]: that in none of these conferences, was there the least hint of any expectation, or ill humour, with regard to *Octavius*.

The interview at *Velia* was the last which *Cicero* ever had with *Brutus*, on the 17th of August [2]: when he left him prepared, and ready to sail with his fleet towards *Greece*; as he undoubtedly did within a few days after. For he had already staid longer, than his friends thought adviseable; waiting still to see, whether chance might not produce something in his favor at *Rome*; especially upon the occasion of the shows, which he had lately exhibited there, with the universal applause of the people [3].

Now this is the whole state of *Cicero's* conduct towards *Octavius*, during the time of *Brutus's* stay in *Italy*. As to what passed afterwards, since it does not relate to our present argument, I shall refer the reader to my *Life of Cicero*; where he will find, that notwithstanding the most pressing instances of *Octavius*, by daily letters and messages, to engage *Cicero* to assist him against their common enemy, *Antony*; yet *Cicero* still held off, and expressed the same diffidence as before, till the exigencies of the Republic, and the immediate ruin threatned to it by *Antony*, made their union necessary: To which *Cicero* would not consent even at the last, but upon the express condition, that *Octavius* should engage himself to be a friend to *Brutus* and his accomplices; and as a proof of his sincerity, should suf-

[1] *Ib.* 16. 7.

[2] *Nam xvi Kal. Sept. cum venissem Veliam.* *ibid.*

[3] *Illud mihi submolestum, quod parum Brutus properare videtur. Primum confectorum ludorum nuncios expectat.* *ibid.* 16. 4.

*Existimabam μετ'εσπορί'εσθαι εἶναι; & hercule erat; & maxime de ludis. At mihi, cum ad villam rediissem, Cn. Lucceius, qui multum utitur Bruto, narravit, illum valde morari, non tergiversantem, sed expectantem, si qui forte casus.* *ibid.* 16. 5.

for *Caſca*, who gave the firſt blow to *Cæſar*, to enter into the *Tribunate*, to which he had been nominated by *Cæſar* [1], which *Oſtavius* readily agreed to, and permitted accordingly, on the 10th of *December*: and in conſequence of that agreement, *Cicero*, on the 19th of the ſame month, firſt recommended him to the Senate, and to the people, in a diſtinct ſpeech to each [2]; and on the firſt of *January*, procured a decree, to inveſt him with the legal command of his troops; together with the rank and enſigns of a *Prætor* [3]. Theſe were the firſt public meaſures, that *Cicero* entered into with relation to *Oſtavius*; and the foundation of what *Brutus* took occaſion to reproach him with many months after. For, as I have ſhewn in the *Life of Cicero*, he never began to complain of him, till after *Antony's* defeat at *Modena*, and the death of the two *Conſuls*; which was an accident, that *Cicero* could neither foreſee nor provide for; and was the ſole reaſon of throwing all that power into *Oſtavius's* hands, by which he was enabled to deſtroy the Republic [4]. And this fact is not onely declared in theſe ſuſpected letters, but is intimated likewiſe in the letters, which *Plutarch* had ſeen, and in one of the very paſſages, which our Critic has produced; as he might eaſily have obſerved, if he had come to it without prejudice: for *Brutus*, in his reproof of *Cicero*, plainly ſuppoſes, that *Cicero* had already got the better

[1] Sed, ut ſcribis, certiffimum eſſe video diſcrimen, *Caſcæ* noſtri *Tribunatum*. De quo quidem ipſo dixi *Oppio*, cum me hortaretur, ut adoleſcentem, totamque cauſam, manumque veteranorum complecterer, me nullo modo facere poſſe, ni mihi exploratum eſſet, eum non modo non inimicum *Tyrannoctonis*, verum etiam amicum fore. Cum ille diceret, ita futurum. Quid igitur feſtinamus? inquam. Illi enim mea

opera ante *Kalendas* *Januarias* nihil opus eſt. Nos autem ejus voluntatem ante *Idus Decemb.* perſpicimus in *Caſca*. Mihi valde aſſenſus eſt. *Ad Att.* 16. 15.

[2] Theſe were his 3d and 4th *Philippic* Orations.

[3] See his 5th *Philippic*.

[4] See the *Life of Cicero*, vol. 2. p. 432.

of *Antony*, and dispossessed him of his Tyranny, yet, by his management, raising up *Octavius* into his place, and making him the Tyrant in *Antony's* stead [1].

But if this hint be not sufficient to satisfy our Critic, I can give him another, from the same *Plutarch*, and the same Life of *Brutus*, which is a clear comment upon it, and marks out the precise time, when *Brutus* first conceived his apprehensions of *Octavius's* power, and began consequently to expostulate with *Cicero*, by whose help he had been advanced to it. For *Plutarch*, after a brief detail of *Brutus's* success and exploits in *Macedonia*, tells us, “ that when he was preparing to go from  
“ thence into *Asia*, he received the news of the change of their  
“ affairs at *Rome* : where young *Octavius*, who had hitherto  
“ been cherished and supported by the Senate in opposition to  
“ *Antony*, having now driven *Antony* out of *Italy*, was become  
“ formidable himself. For he laid claim to the Consulship, in  
“ defiance of the laws ; and kept about him great armies,  
“ which the City did not want [2].” Thus I have shewn, in contradiction to our Critic's declared persuasion, and by that very authority, on which he lays so great a stress, that *Brutus's* real letters, as it is expressly delivered in these suspected ones, were written from *Macedonia*, some time after the battle of *Modena* ; and many months after *Brutus* himself had left *Italy*.

I cannot dismiss this argument, without taking notice of a censure, that our Critic here throws out, upon the use of a testimony, which I had produced, to shew *Cicero's* strong suspicions of *Octavius*, even after *Brutus's* departure out of *Italy*. It is taken from a letter to *Atticus*, where *Cicero* says ; as to what

[1] Τὸν δὲ Ἀντωνίου ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς τυραννίδος μισθὸν αἰεὶ, τὸν οὐσίωνα κατα-  
[2] Plut. in Brut. p. 996.

you wrote, *I warmly assent to you, that if ever Octavius acquire any great power, the Tyrant's acts will be more strongly approved, if they were in the Temple of Tellus; and that will be all that is necessary to be said, &c.* [1]. Now can any opinion be more explicitly declared, than this is declared here to be *Cicero's*? But *Atticus*, it seems, had signified it before to be his; and if twenty people had signified the same, it would be *Cicero's* no less, for all that; whose opinion was the only one, that had any relation to my subject. Yet our Critic plainly charges me, with a misapplication of this testimony, in ascribing a sentiment to *Cicero*, which really belonged to *Atticus* [2]: and it is by such quibbles as these, that he attempts most commonly through his whole Epistle, to combat clear facts and direct proofs.

He proceeds next, to the examination of the Epistles themselves, and begins with *Brutus's* Epistle to *Atticus*, which he allows to be *really a fine one* [3]: but after a small cavil or two by way of prelude, he discovers in it two contradictions to true history: the first is this; that *Cicero* is there accused of censuring the act of killing *Cæsar*, and of reproaching *Cæsa* for it, as an assassin: whereas the genuine *Cicero* constantly applauded that act, and had a particular friendship likewise with *Cæsa* [4]. But of this I have given some account already in the Life of *Cicero*; and shall add something more in my notes on the Epistle itself; to which therefore I must refer the reader [5].

[1] Valde tibi assentior, si multum possit *Octavius*, multo firmitus acta Tyranni comprobata iri, quam in *Telluris*. Atque id contra *Brutum* fore Ad Att. 16. 14.

[2] Nuperissime ita scripserat *Atticus*, que tamen *Ciceroni* attribuis. Tunst. p. 173.

[3] Venio ad Epistolas, atque ad illam imprimis ad *Atticum* sane bellulam. Tunst. Epist. p. 200. See Let. 15.

[4] Ibid. 201, 202.

[5] See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 487. Not. and Let. 15. Not. 3.



The second contradiction is grounded on a hint, that *Brutus* drops in the end of the letter, concerning *certain conditions offered to Atticus's daughter*, which he interprets, with *Manutius*, of the conditions of a marriage; and then declares, that *Attica was but seven years old at this time* [1], and could not therefore be ripe for marriage; being born, he says, when *Cicero was Proconsul of Cilicia*, whence he congratulated *Atticus* by letter upon that birth, in the following words; *Filiolam tuam tibi jam Romæ jucundam esse gaudeo; eamque, quam nunquam vidi, tamen & amo, & amabilem esse certo scio* [2]: which I translate thus; *I am glad, that your little daughter is so good company to you now at Rome; and though I never saw her, yet I love her, and am very sure, that she is lovely.* In which words, though our Critic discovers the clear proof of a birth, and a congratulation upon it, yet I cannot see the least tittle of either; or the least probability, that they can admit any such interpretation.

*Atticus* had been married above five years [3]; and it is not credible, that *Cicero*, who was at his wedding, and particularly interested in every thing, that related to him, should pay so cold a compliment upon so joyful an occasion, as the birth of a first child, after five years of marriage. The case therefore was this, that the daughter, who was now probably four years old, had been nursed all that while in the country, for the greater care of her health, at a distance from *Rome*, whither she had been lately brought for the first time; which gave occasion to this little compliment: or otherwise why should her being at *Rome* be taken notice of; as if to be born there was of any consequence, or a circumstance worth mentioning in a

[1] Sed hoc tempore *Attica* ætatis annum septimum paucis mensibus excefferat, nam, &c. Tunst. Ep. p. 203.

[2] Ad Att. 5. 19. Tunst. Ep. 203.

[3] See Life of Cic. vol. 1. p. 450.

congratulation of that sort? and this interpretation seems to be demonstrably confirmed by another letter, written a short time after, from the same province of *Cilicia*; in which *Cicero* says, *your little daughter is very obliging, in giving you so strict a charge, to pay her compliments to me* [1]. Which cannot be understood of a child, who was but *five months* old; yet so it must be understood, if our Critic's account be admitted, of the time of her birth.

I could produce more testimonies to the same purpose and from the same letters, if this was not sufficient to shew his objection to be wholly groundless. But from the frequent discoveries of this sort, with which he entertains us from the letters to *Atticus*, we may see, with what reason he insults me, for contenting myself with *the obvious and common sense of them*, instead of searching always, like him, for *something exquisite and refined* [2].

As to the other Epistle of *Brutus to Cicero*, our Critic, after giving it the finest character, that can be given of an Epistle, both for the art of *it's composition and gravity of it's sentiments* [3], leaves it to us, just as he found it, without any other reflection than that it contains nothing historical. Since this then is so perfect a piece, and so worthy consequently of it's author, that he can neither find, nor invent an objection to it, we must necessarily claim it as genuin, whatever may become of the rest. For an immemorial possession, which no body controverts, will surely give us a right to hold this fine Epistle at least, as an unquestionable monument of pure antiquity.

[1] *Filiola tua gratum mihi fecit, quod tibi diligenter mandavit, ut mihi salutem, afferiberes, &c. Ad Att. 6. 1. p. 591.*

[2] *Hic a te, viro ingenioso, exquisiora quaedam expectavi, communia ta-*

*men invenio. Tausst. Ep. p. 31.*

[3] *Jam illa altera Epistola omnes alias & compositionis artificio, & sententiarum gravitate exsuperat &c. ib. p. 203. Epiit. 22.*

He proceeds to *Cicero's* celebrated letter, or apology for himself in answer to *Brutus*; where after some trifling exceptions to the character given of *Messala*, in which he discovers the *operose diligence of the Sophist*, he starts an objection of *more weight*, as he calls it [1], because the *suspected Cicero* here praises *Messala*, for having studied and acquired the *best manner of speaking*; whereas there had been a dispute, he tells us, between the *true Cicero and Brutus*, about that *best manner, which the Sophist must needs have been ignorant of, or he would never have touched upon that topic*. It is hard to conceive, what it is that he means by this objection; or what weight he can suppose it to have, towards overthrowing the credit of the letter. If he imagines, that *Brutus* would have been affronted by *Cicero's* mention of the *best manner*, because they had each a different idea of it; or that he would have thought the worse of *Messala*, for studying that manner, which *Cicero* recommended; he judges very weakly of those great men: for notwithstanding their different notions of the *most perfect eloquence, or manner of speaking*, *Brutus* certainly allowed *Cicero* to be the best Speaker of his age: and it was at his desire, and for his information, that *Cicero* drew up those Oratorical pieces, in which he illustrates his own idea of the most perfect way of speaking; and lays down rules for the attainment of it: as this then is a cavil of no force or sense, I shall drop it where I found it, and pass on to the rest.

He next observes, that this letter supposes *M. Brutus to be the author of saving Antony's life, when Cæsar was killed*; which he declares to be contrary to true History, since *Deci-*

[1] Quis hic non videt operosam Sophistæ diligentiam? quod autem majus est.

*mus Brutus*, as he undertakes to prove, was the *sole adviser* of that step : and to make us sensible, what an extraordinary exploit he is going to perform ; by correcting an inveterate error of all the old Historians ; he first produces two famous testimonies, as he calls them from *Plutarch* and *Appian*, which expressly ascribe that counsel to *M. Brutus* [1] : upon which he declares, with his usual gayety, that it could not be expected from the Sophist, that he should be wiser, than the Historians, who led him into that mistake [2]. This is a strange turn indeed ! the Sophist must be excused, and the whole blame thrown upon *Plutarch* : and after he has been fighting so strenuously for *Plutarch's* authority, yet now, when he has no occasion for it, he treats it, we see, as a mere *ignis fatuus*, that serves onely to lead people out of the way.

He promises however to make good this point, by the testimony of *Cicero* himself ; and for that purpose alledges two passages from the letters to *Atticus* ; where *Cicero* complaining of the misery of the times, after *Cæsar's* death, and how much they endured, and were like to endure from *Antony*, says, *the fault of all this lies upon one of the Brutus's* [3]. And in another letter, *the whole blame of this belongs to Brutus* [4]. Thus far then we are agreed ; that from the evidence of these passages, the blame must certainly rest upon *one of the Brutus's* : but before we go farther, let us pause a while, and consider, on which side the probability lies.

In the first place, wherever *Cicero*, in his letters to *Atticus*,

[1] *Insignia* in hanc sententiam sunt verba *Plutarchi*—in *Brut.* 592. it. in *Anton.* 921. & *Appian.* p. 499. *ibid.* 206. in *Notis.*

[2] A *Cicerone* nimirum personato re-

quirendum non erat, ut plus iis, quos sequeretur *Historicis*, saperet. *Tunil. Ep.* p. 206.

[3] *Ad Att.* l. 15. 12.

[4] *Ib.* 20. Hæc omnis culpa *Bruti.*

mentions *Brutus* absolutely, or without a prænomen, we may take it for granted, that he means *Marcus*; since there is not, I believe, a single instance to the contrary, except where *Decimus* is so marked out by the context, that we cannot possibly mistake him: and in the second testimony, it is manifest, that he could not mean any body, but *Marcus*; for within a line or two after, speaking still of *the same Brutus* he declares him to be leaving *Italy* quickly [1]; which determines it to *Marcus*. Besides, if we reflect on the different characters of *the two Brutus's*, we should be apt to conclude at once, that it must needs be *Marcus*, whose authority was able to bring over *Cassius*, and sixty more brave men to his single opinion. But if *Cicero* had onely left the thing indifferent, and in common; yet *Plutarch's* positive and repeated testimony, confirmed not onely by *Appian*, but by a better Author than them both, *Paterculus*, who had long before affirmed the same thing of *Marcus* [2], would naturally make us look upon the fact as certain, and the question decided. Yet all this signifies nothing to our Critic, who proceeds boldly, by a third testimony, to fix the whole blame at last upon *Decimus*.

This third testimony is drawn from another letter to *Atticus*; where *Cicero*, giving an account of the conference which he had at *Antium*, with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, concerning the measures, which they ought to pursue, says; that *after much discourse on that subject, the company began to lament their past mistakes, and Cassius above all warmly complained, that they had lost their*

[1] Properemus igitur. Sed juva me consilio, *Brundisiane* an *Puteolis*. *Brutus* quidem subito: sed sapienter, &c. Ad Att. 15. 20.

[2] Cum Consul *Antonius* (quem cum

simul interimendum censuisset *Cassius*) — *Brutus* repugnaverat; dictitans, nihil amplius civibus præter Tyranni—petendum esse sanguinem. l. 2. 58.

opportunities, and blamed *Decimus* severely on that account [1]. Now our Critic, who never loses sight of his Hypothesis, declares this loss of opportunities, charged upon *Decimus*, to mean nothing else, but the omission of killing *Antony* [1]: and this is his constant way of supporting his discoveries; by multiplying conjectures, instead of testimonies, and proving one Hypothesis by another. For there were many other opportunities, which they lost, after *Cæsar's* death, that *Cicero* pressed them to lay hold of, and for the omission of which he frequently reproved them: that they did not summon the Senate into the Capitol, on that first day; and during the consternation of their enemies, seize the whole Republick into their bands; and proceed to some vigorous decrees for the establishment of the publick liberty [3]. And when by the neglect of that advice they were driven soon after out of *Rome*; they lost the opportunity of retrieving their first error by resolving to live quiet and retired, so as to give no pretext for war; dismissing the concourse of their friends, who flocked about them, and rejecting the assistance of all *Italy*, which was eager to arm itself in their cause.

These were the lost opportunities, which *Cassius* lamented, and charged to the account of *Decimus*: who, when *Brutus* and *Cassius* had withdrawn themselves from *Rome*, on account of the tumults, occasioned by *Cæsar's* funeral, continued still privately in the City, to negotiate with *Antony*, by the mediation of *Hirtius*, some measures for their common safety.

[1] Multo inde sermone querebantur atque id quidem *Cassius* maxime, amissas occasiones; *Decimumque* graviter accusabat. Ad Att. 15. 11.

[2] Tunit. Ep. page 207.

[3] Meministi me clamare, illo ipso primo die Capitolino, Senatum, in Ca-

pitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales, quæ tum opera effici poterunt, lætantibus omnibus bonis—fractis latronibus?—Ad Att. 14. 10.

Illam Sessionem Capitolinam mihi non placuisse, tu testis es, &c. ib. 14.

Whence he acquaints them with what he had been transacting, in the following letter ; which I have chosen to insert, as it gives some light, not onely to the present question, but to others also, which may fall in our way, in the progress of this dispute.

*D. Brutus to Brutus and Cassius.*

“ Observe what a situation we are now in. Yesterday in the evening, *Hirtius* was with me and plainly told me, in what a disposition *Antony* was; namely the worst and most treacherous: for he said, that he could neither grant me the Province; nor believed, that any of us could be safe in *Rome*, where the soldiers and the populace were so much irritated against us: both which, I imagine, you perceive to be false; as well as that it is true, what *Hirtius* declared; that he is afraid, lest, if we should acquire any little accession of dignity, no share of the publick administration would be left for any of them. Under these difficulties I thought it best, to demand an honorary legation for myself, and the rest of our friends; that we might have a decent pretext for going abroad. This he undertook to procure: but I am confident, he will not be able to procure it; such is the insolence of people, and such their malice towards us: and should they grant us even what we ask, I am yet of opinion, that presently after, we should either be declared to be enemies, or interdicted from water and fire. What is it then, you will say, that I would advise? We should yield a while, I think to fortune; retreat out of *Italy*; remove to *Rhodes*, or any other part of the earth. If things should turn out in our favour we will come back to *Rome*; if they afford but an indifferent prospect, we will live in exile; but if the

“ worst

“ worst should happen, we will betake ourselves to the last  
 “ remedy. But some of you perhaps may here object; why  
 “ should we wait for the last extremity, rather than attempt  
 “ something at the present? Because we have no place as yet  
 “ where to make a stand; except with *S. Pompeius*, or *Bassus*  
 “ *Cæcilius*; who, upon the news of *Cæsar’s* death, seem  
 “ likely to grow stronger: and it will be time enough for  
 “ us to go to them, when we know for certain, what strength  
 “ they have. If you would have me undertake for any thing,  
 “ on the part of *Cassius* and you, I will engage my word for  
 “ you, for this is what *Hirtius* requires me to do. I beg  
 “ of you, to send me an answer as soon as possible: for I  
 “ make no doubt, but that *Hirtius* will let me know, before  
 “ ten a-clock, in what place we may meet together again upon  
 “ these affairs. Send me word also, whither you would have  
 “ me come to you. After the last conference with *Hirtius*,  
 “ I took a resolution to demand, that we might be allowed  
 “ to stay at *Rome*, with a public guard: which I do not  
 “ think they will grant us; since our presence will draw a  
 “ great odium upon them: I thought it my business however,  
 “ to demand every thing, which I took to be equitable [1].

From this letter it appears, what it was, that *Decimus* advised *Brutus* and *Cassius* to do, after *Cæsar’s* death. *To sit still for the present, and to attempt nothing vigorous; but to retire even out of Italy and expect what chance might offer to them: and it seems probable, that in the next conference with Hirtius, he actually engaged his word for them, that they should undertake nothing against the public quiet, but live retired, at a distance from Rome; on the condition of a promise from An-*

[1] *Epist. Fam. 11. 1.*



Antony, that he would ensure their safety, and calm the disorders of the City, and restore peace to the Republic. For this was his conduct, which they actually pursued; and which they professed to pursue, by Antony's advice, and from a dependence upon his promises [1]: and it was likewise, what *Hirtius* particularly required from them, and insisted with *Cicero*, that they should continue to pursue [2]: and soon after the time of this letter, *Brutus* and *Cassius* had a personal conference with *Antony* which seems to have passed to mutual satisfaction, and where this same agreement was probably confirmed [3].

Here then we see a clear and consistent story, positively attested by three ancient Historians, that *M. Brutus*, and not *Decimus*, was the author of saving *Antony*. But what is most remarkable, the same fact is confirmed by *Cicero* himself, and in that very letter, which our Critic has alledged to confute it: where *Cicero*, in relating the particulars of his conference with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, says, "that when he entered upon the mention, of what they ought to have done, he took care, not to touch upon that point, that some body else should have been killed, as well as *Cæsar*; but chose to say onely, what all the world said at that time, that they ought to have summoned the Senate into the Capitol, and taken the advantage of the zeal of the people, &c [4]. These were the lost op-

[1] Sed certe, cum ipsi in tua potestate fuerimus, tuoque adducti consilio dimiserimus ex municipiis nostros necessarios—Nos ab initio spectasse otium, nec quidquam aliud libertate communi quæsisse, exitus declarat. Fallere nemo nos potest nisi tu—tibi enim uni credidimus, & credituri sumus, &c. ib. 11. 2.

[2] *Brutus* & *Cassius* utinam—ne quod calidius ineant consilium.—Retine, obsecro te, *Cicero*, illos—tantum, si quid timent, caveant. Nihil præterea moliantur. Ad

Att. 15. 6. Epist. Hirtii ad Cicer.

[3] *Antonii* colloquium cum *Heroibus* nostris pro re nata non incommodum. Ad Att. 14. 6.

[4] Cumque ingressus essem dicere quid oportuisset; nec vero quidquam novi, sed ea quæ quotidie omnes; nec tamen illum locum attingere; quæquam præterea oportuisset tangi, sed Senatum vocari, populum ardentem studio vehementius incitari, &c. Ad Att. 15. 11.

portunities, that *Cassius* lamented, and charged to the account of *Decimus*, who was absent: for *Cicero's* caution, also touching on the affair of *saving Antony*, could not flow from any other motive, but his respect to *M. Brutus*, the author of it, who was present: and for the same reason *Cassius* also, who lived in a perfect union with him, would not touch upon so tender a point, which must needs have made him uneasy; especially when *Brutus's* mother, *Servilia*, and his wife, *Porcia*, and his sister *Tertia*, *Cassius's* wife, were a part of the company.

But our Critic refers us on this occasion to *Mr. Montgault's* authority and comment upon the place [1]; whose words are these; "*Paterculus* tells us, that it was *Cassius's* advice to kill *Antony*, together with *Cæsar*, and that *Decimus Brutus* opposed it. *Plutarch* and *Appian*, who usually copy him, say; that it was *M. Brutus*: but there is reason to judge from this passage, that it was *Decimus*; and the rather, because this last had served a long time with *Antony* under *Cæsar* [2]." *Mr. Mongault*, we see, builds his interpretation upon the testimony of *Paterculus*; in which he happens to be wholly mistaken; since *Paterculus*, as I have already shewn, directly affirms the contrary; that it was *M. Brutus*, not *Decimus*, who over-ruled the design of killing *Antony* [3]. *Mr. Mongault* was drawn inadvertently into this mistake by two eminent Commentators, *Boffius* and *Popma*, who had declared the same before

[1] Tunst. Ep. p. 207. Not.

[2] Mongault. Remar. 5. in Ep. ad Att. 15. 11.

[3] Quo anno id patraverit facinus, *Brutus* & *C. Cassius*, prætores erant; *D. Brutus* consul designatus. Hi—stipati gladiatorum *D. Bruti* manus, Capitolium oc-

cupavere; cum Consul *Antonius* (quem cum simul interimendum censuisset *Cassius* —*Brutus* repugnasset; discutans, nihil amplius civibus, præter Tyranni—petendum esse sanguinem, &c.) Vell. Pat. l. 2. c. 58.

him:

him [1] which shews what little dependence ought to be placed, in questions of this sort, on second-hand testimonies, without recurring to the originals. But from this unlucky reference to *Mr. Mongault*, we plainly see, that our Critic's great attempt, to correct the false tradition of antiquity, was grounded at last on nothing else, but a gross and palpable error [2].

He produces another imaginary contradiction, between the true *Cicero* and the author of this letter, who says, *when I saw the City in the hands of Traitors, oppressed by the arms of Antony, and that neither you nor Cassius could be safe in it, I thought it time for me to quit it too.* This plainly implies, he says, *that Cicero did not leave Rome, till Brutus had first left it*, whereas it is certain, *that he quitted it immediately after the meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Tellus, and that Brutus and Cassius staid in it some time longer* [3]; for the proof of which he refers us to four of *Cicero's* letters to *Atticus* [4]. Now the meeting of the Senate in that Temple was on the 17th of March [5]; and from the letters to which we are refered, it appears, that *Cicero* did

[1] Vid. *Notas Bosii & Popmæ* in *Epit. ad Attic. l. 15. 12.* Edit. *Græv.*

[2] This use of *Mr. Mongault's* testimony seems to betray no small dissimulatio in our Critic; and would make us apt to suspect, that he is more sollicitous to establish an Hypothesis, than the Truth. He had undertaken to prove, that *D. Brutus* was the adviser of saving *Antony's* life. *Mr. Mongault* had declared himself of the same opinion, but upon the mistaken authority of *Paterculus*, who in reality declares the contrary. Our Critic in all probability must have seen that mistake, yet thought fit to dissemble it; because the confession of it would have overthrown his own opinion, and *Mr. Mongault's* testi-

mony at the same time; from which he might hope however to draw some advantage; imagining, as it generally happens in such cases, that few or none of his readers would take the pains to examine it.

[3] *Aperte dicit, quod tute etiam intellexisti, se urbe excessisse postea, quam Brutus & Cassius excessissent—statim post eum diem urbe excessisse eum—veræ ejus Epistolæ declarant.* *Tunst. p. 208.*

[4] *Ad Att. l. 14. 1, 2, 3, 4.*

[5] It was the third day after the *Lies*, when *Antony* summoned the Senate into this Temple. *Phil. 2. 35.* which was the Feast also of *Bacchus* called *Liberalia*, on 16. *Kal. April. ad Att. 14. 10.*

not leave *Rome* till about the 5th or 6th of *April*, near three weeks later, than our Critic supposes him to have quitted it. But how does he prove that *Brutus* and *Cassius* staid in it all that while? Why because *Cicero*, in a letter dated *April* 11th, says, that they were forced to hide their heads, or to keep themselves close within their own walls [1]: and in another, dated the 12th, that they had held a conference with *Antony* [2]: neither of which implies, that they must necessarily be in the City: for whether they were in it, or in the near neighbourhood of it, in the one of which they undoubtedly were, they kept themselves so close, that none but their own domestics knew where they were: and it is most probable, that their conference with *Antony* was held out of the City, where they could hold it with more ease and safety, than in the midst of the riots within. This however is certain, that neither *Cicero* nor *Brutus* went out of *Rome*, till after *Cæsar's* funeral, and the tumults that ensued upon it. *Plutarch* declares, that *Brutus* and his accomplices quitted it directly upon that very occasion [3]; which is confirmed, as we have seen above by *Decimus's* letter: and *Cicero* mentions *Brutus* to have been seen near *Lanuvium*, before the 14th of *April* [4]. So that without any contradiction to what is said in his genuine letters, *Cicero* might possibly stay in *Rome*, till *Brutus* retired out of it. But if *Brutus* after all had onely disappeared, or kept himself close within the City, for a few days before he left it, or had continued there in private, for a day or two after *Cicero* was gone, which is the utmost that can be pretended, it would be intirely consistent with every thing, that is said or implied about it in these suspected letters.

[1] Parietibus contineri. Ad Att. 14. 5.

[2] Ad Att. 6.

[3] Plut. in Brut.

[4] *Brutum* nostrum audio visum sub *Lanuvio*. ibid. 7.

He urges another objection of the same kind, drawn from these words, *you were retreating, Brutus, were retreating, I say; since your Stoics will not allow their wiseman to fly.* Where the *Sophist*, he says, foolishly blames *Brutus's retreat out of Italy, which the true Cicero had advised* [1]. But by the same way of reasoning, every caviller, whose views do not reach to the whole of things, and who makes no allowance for different circumstances, may find contradictions in any thing, that a man either says or does.

I have observed above, what is opened more at large in *my Life of Cicero*, that from the moment of *Cæsar's* death, *Cicero* constantly urged *Brutus* to vigorous measures, and not to trust to *Antony*, who would promise every thing and perform nothing. *Brutus*, on the other hand, depending on the integrity of his cause, and having conceived some hopes of *Antony*, resolved to proceed calmly, and give no pretext on his part for war. When by this indolence, he was driven out of *Rome*, he pursued the same resolution, of living quiet and retired in the country. *Cicero* in the mean time, displeas'd to see him sit idle, while *Antony* was gathering an army about him, advis'd him and *Cassius*, in the conference above mentioned, instead of doing nothing at home, where their persons were expos'd to danger, to accept a Commission, which the Senate had provided for them, and to go abroad: where they would not onely be safe, but might have an opportunity of securing some of the provinces and armies to their interests. But this advice also was reject'd, and *Brutus* continued still inactive; waiting, as *Cicero* tells us, for some favourable turn of affairs at *Rome*; till finding his hopes disappoynted, and his enemies grown too strong for

[1] *Tuill.* p. 209.

him in *Italy*, he was forced at last to retreat, in order to try his fortune elsewhere.

With this Comment, the passage in question will be found consistent with every thing that is said by the *true Cicero*. The letter objected to, is an apology for *Cicero's* conduct, in answer to the exceptions of *Brutus*; wherein *Cicero* takes occasion to recapitulate the motives of all his measures, from the time of *Cæsar's* death; and puts *Brutus* in mind of what he had advised at that time, both to him and *Cassius*; and how by adhering to their own pacific maxims, in opposition to his advice, they had been forced to quit *Rome*, and afterwards *Italy* itself.

Nor is it yet, as our Critic imagines, the act of quitting *Italy*, that is censured at all in this place; for that was become necessary in *Brutus's* present circumstances; and as such is even commended by the *true Cicero* [1]; but it is *Brutus's* general conduct, which is blamed, for driving him to that necessity, of flying out of *Italy*, when by following *Cicero's* counsel, he might have been master of it. For it is certain, that *Cicero* never wished or advised him to go abroad, till by his own fault he could no longer be safe at home [2].

But our Critic does not reflect, that by this very argument he makes the *true Cicero* not onely contradict the Sophist, but confute even himself; and by the same method therefore, may prove any other part of *Cicero's* works to be spurious, as easily as these letters. For *Cicero*, as I have shewn, often complains in his letters to *Atticus*, that *Brutus* had lost his opportunities, and

[1] *Brutus* quidem subito sed sapienter. Ad Att. 15. 20.

[2] —age, quiescant auctoribus nobis? quis incolumitatem præset? [ad Att. 15. 10.] Ego—suadere ut uteretur Asiatica curazione frumenti: nihil esse jam reliqui,

nisi ut salvos esse. In eo etiam ipsi Reip. esse præsidium—tuto enim non eris [Romæ.] Quid si possem esse? placeretne? atque ita, ut omnino neque nunc neque ex Prætura in provinciam ires. Ad Att. 11.

even ruined his cause by his indolence, in those very first days of his residence in the Capitol [1]. Yet the same Cicero, in a Speech to the Senate, applauds that very indolence, and his retreat out of Italy, as a wonderful instance of his patience, moderation and love of peace: whom no injuries could provoke to think of war, till he saw the Senate itself obliged to take arms [2]. But with a proper allowance for different circumstances, this will be found intirely consistent; and both the one, and the other perfectly agreeable to Cicero's character: first, to give the best advice to Brutus, that he was able; and if that was rejected, then to make the best construction, and the best use of the measures, which Brutus chose to pursue.

The next contradiction, urged against the same letter, is this, that whereas it tells us, that Servius first moved the Senate, to grant Octavius the privilege, of suing for the public Magistracies before his regular time, and that Servilius also moved, to shorten that time, yet it appears from Cicero's genuin writings, that he himself was the first, and the onely one, who made any such motion [3].

It is declared indeed in one of Cicero's *Philippics*, that among the honors granted to Octavius, at Cicero's motion, it was decreed, that he might sue for the public Offices, as if he were then

[1] Itane vero? hoc meus & tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanuvii esset?—meministi me clamare; illo ipso primo Capitolino die, Senatum in Capitolium a Prætoribus vocari? Dii immortales! quæ tum opera effici potuerunt?—liberalia tu accusas, quid fieri tum potuit? jampridem perieramus. *ibid.* 14. 10.

[2] Tantamne patientiam, Dii boni?

tantam moderationem, tantam in injuria tranquillitatem & modestiam? &c. *Phil.* 10. 3.

[3] Cicero tempore illo, quo imperium Cæsari decrevit, primo, eoque ipso, ut verius dicam, spiritu, sententiam dixit ipse, non alienæ adsentitus est. *Tunæ, Ep.* p. 211.

of *Quæstorian rank* [1]. But how does it appear, that no body but *Cicero*, had ever made the same motion either in that, or any other meeting of the Senate? For as this was but a part, and the most inconsiderable one, of those honors, which *Cicero* decreed to him, so it may be presumed, with regard to this particular article, that it had been proposed before by *Servius*, and that *Servilius* might move still, to carry it one step farther, so as to have *Octavius* considered, as an *Ædilician*; and that *Cicero* might close with his friend *Servius*, and then add the other greater honors; *the legal command of his army, with the rank and ornaments of a Prætor*. This solution is intimated by *Manutius* [2]; and may fairly be presumed, I say, upon the credit of these letters; till it can be shewn to be either absurd in itself, or flatly contradicted by a better authority. For otherwise, our Critic's argument is a mere *petitio principii*, which doubly begs the question; first, in rejecting the fact, because it is found in these suspected letters, and then rejecting the letters, because this suspected fact is found in them.

He charges another inconsistency upon the eighteenth letter, which he discovers in these words; "as to *Cæsar*, who has "been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an "excellent disposition and admirable constancy; some people "by most wicked letters, messages, and fallacious accounts "of things, have pushed him to an assured hope of the Con- "sulship: which, as soon as I perceived, I never ceased ad- "monishing him in absence, nor reproaching his friends, who "are present, and who seemed to encourage his ambition:

[1] Ejusque rationem, quemcunque Magistratum appetet, ita haberi, ut haberi per leges liceret, si anno superiore Quæstor

fuisse. Phil. 5. 17.

[2] See *Manutius's* note upon the place.



“ nor did I scruple, to lay open the source of those traitorous counsils in the Senate [1].” Where he observes in the first place, that we have a quite different account of this affair from *Plutarch*: whose authority is again called to his assistance; though in the last instance, when it was expressly on the side of these letters, he declared it to be of no other use, but to mislead a *poor Sophist*. But now he tells us, that *though the Sophist appears to have seen what Plutarch says*, yet being resolved to defend *Cicero*, he chose to take no notice of it: and he thinks it certain likewise, “ that *Cicero would never have called Octavius’s attempt upon the Consulship a most wicked one, or exposed the source of it in the Senate, when he himself had decreed to him the honors above mentioned, and given him an assured prospect of the Consulship* [2].”

*Cicero* had decreed to *Octavius* the privilege of pretending to the public Magistracies, as if he had already been a *Quæstor*: which gave him the start by ten years, before all others of the same age: for he was now scarce *twenty years old*; and could not legally have obtained the *Quæstership*, till he was *thirty*. Yet this privilege left him still at a great distance from the *Consulship*: which he could not yet pretend to, till he had passed through the *Ædileship* or *Tribunate*, and after that, the *Prætorship*: all which, with the regular interval between each of them, would require about ten years more, before he could arrive at the *Consulship*.

But our Critic, by the manner of pushing his argument, seems to mistake the matter and to imagine, that by the rank and ensigns of a *Prætor*, decreed to him by *Cicero*, he was in effect to be considered as a *Prætor*, and had nothing left, but

[1] Tunst. Ep. p. 212.

petitione Consulatus habita, sceleratissima

[2] *Cicero* certe consilia illa, de Cæsaris vix appellasset, &c. Tunst. 213.

to demand the Consulship at the next step: whereas *his rank of Prætor* reached no farther, than to a mere precedence in the Senate; whilst in other respects, he was to be treated only as a *Quæstor*; and to pass through all the higher offices in their turn. *Cicero* then might well be shocked, as every body else was; that a boy, not twenty years old, should not be content with the extraordinary honors, already decreed to him, but in contempt of those, who decreed them, resolve at once to seize the Consulship; since an ambition so extravagant, and so bold an insult upon the laws, was not like'y to stop there, but threatened the utmost danger to the liberty of the Republic.

He alledges another fact, as a farther ground of suspicion upon these letters, that in letter the 11th, dated *the 15th of May*, *Brutus* begins to express his apprehensions, that *Octavius* would make an attempt upon the Consulship, before *Octavius* himself had given the least indication of it [1]. But why does he fancy, that *Octavius* had not given any intimation of such a design? The Consuls had been dead about a month; and all *Rome* was expecting who should succeed them; where all people's eyes and thoughts would necessarily be turned upon *Octavius*, as the only person in *Italy*, who could impose what Consuls he pleased: and who, by his refusal to pursue *Antony*, or to take any farther step against the declared enemies of the Republic, seemed to be forming some projects, which alarmed the friends of liberty; and in consequence of which, he afterwards seized the Consulship in *August* [2]. *D. Brutus*, we find, in a letter to *Cicero*, dated *May the 5th*, plainly intimates his apprehensions

[1] Prutus enim—timet statim (prius enim, quam *Cæsar* ipse suæ voluntatis indicium ullum ediderat) de Consulatu, &c. *Tunst. Ep.* 213.

[2] Sextilem mensẽ e suo cognomine nuncupavit — quia hoc sibi & primus Consulatus, &c. *Sueton. in Aug. c.* 31. *Dio. p.* 552.

hensions

hensions on this very article [1]. Yet our Critic will not allow *M. Brutus* to be half so sagacious as his namesake; or capable of comprehending what *Decimus* had suspected about a fortnight before: for on the improbability of such a supposition, the force of his present objection depends.

He next produces, what he calls a *manifest and most shameful blunder*, from the 14th letter [2], where *Cicero* says; *as to what you write concerning the Sedition about C. Antonius, in the 4th Legion, &c.* Upon which our Critic insults the poor Sophist, for his *scandalous ignorance, in not knowing, what is mentioned so frequently in Cicero's Philippics, that the 4th legion, which is here said to be with Brutus in Macedonia, was actually with Hirtius at this time before Modena* [3]: and so far I allow, that the 4th veteran legion was now fighting against *Antony, in Italy*; and on that account is so often celebrated in *Cicero's Philippics*, that no man, who had compiled them so diligently as this Sophist, could possibly be ignorant of it. I allow likewise, that the Roman legions were distinguished, according to the order of their enrollment, by the names of the 2d, 3d, 4th, &c. But to clear the letters still from this *manifest blunder*, I take it for a certain fact, though our Critic, it seems, does not know it, that the Roman Generals, who had occasion to raise new legions in distant parts of the Empire, used to name them according to the order, in which they themselves raised them, without re-

[1] *Quantam perturbati. nem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Consulum, quantumque cupiditatem hominibus in.licita vacuatas, te non fugit.* Ep. Fam. 11, 10.

[2] Jam aliam *dispositio* adfero, manifestam quidem illam & plane pudendam. *Tunst.* p. 215.

[3] Nunquamne in *Orationibus Cicero's*

*Philippicis*, quarum tamen dicta sententiaque saepe numero compilasse videtur, *legionem quartam C. Caesaris* fortunas a principio belli secutam esse animadvertit; hocque tempore ipso sub *Hirtio* Consule, duce militasse? quae quidem ignorantia ideo turpior est, &c. *ibid.* 216.

gard to any other legions whatsoever. Thus I have observed, in some ancient inscriptions, *two distinct legions*, called at the same time *the 4th*: viz. the *4th Scythian*, and *the 4th Phœnician*: the one having been raised on the confines of *Scythia*; and the other somewhere else by *Vespasian* [1]: and in *Gruter's collection*, we may find *six* or *seven* more under the same denomination, but distinguished by different surnames, drawn chiefly from the places, in which they had been raised, or had long resided; as *IIII Cyrenaica*, *Gallica*, *Italica*, *Sorana*, in *Hispania*, &c. Thus *Dio* likewise, in a catalogue of all *the veteran legions*, which had been kept up to his time, from the reign of *Augustus*, reckons *three*, which were each severally called, in different parts of the Empire, by the name of *the third legion*; one in *Phœnicia*, one in *Arabia*, and one in *Numidia*: *two* others also, called *the 6th*; one in *Britain*, and one in *Judea*: and in the same manner *the 7th*, *8th*, and *10th*, appear likewise to have been *duplicates* [2].

[1] Vid. Marfigli Hist. Danub. Tom. 2. p. 122, 123.

[2] Dio. p. 564. Edit. Hanov. In the area of the Capitol at *Rome*, there is an ancient Stone, with the names of the following Legions inscribed on it.

## NOMINA LEG.

II AVGVSTA	XI CLAVDIA
VI VICTRIX	XIII GEMINA
XX VICTRIX	XII FVLMINATRIX
VIII AVGVSTA	XV APOLLINEA
XXII PRIMIGENA	III GALLICANA
I MINERVIA	II PARTHICA
XXX VLP:IA	III SCYTHICA
I ADIVTRIX	XVI FLAVIA
X GEMINA	VI FERRATENSIS
XIIII GEMINA	X FRETENSIS
I PANTHICA	III CYTENENSIS
II ADIVTRIX	II TRAIANA
IIII FLAVIA	III AVGVSTA
VII CLAVDIA	VII GEMINA
I ITALICA	II ITALICA
V MACEDONICA	XIII PARTHICA.

*Brutus,*

*Brutus* therefore, when he made himself master of *Macedonia*, having secured *all the veteran troops in that Province, and raised new ones* [1], to the number, as it is here said, of *five legions*, distinguished them undoubtedly by the order, in which he himself had raised and placed them, without respect to any other legions in the Empire. For in that time of confusion, when every General was raising not onely new, but hostile and opposite legions, it was hardly possible, to distinguish them otherwise; since it was not easy to know, either the distinct number of the whole Empire, or that of their particular enemies. *Dec. Brutus* was at the head of *ten*, or at least of *seven legions*, all of them new: *Ventidius* at the same time had raised *three* for the service of *Antony*: so that *Brutus*, in giving an account of *the Sedition* in his army, could not mark out the particular legion, in which it happened, in any other manner, but that of the order, in which it stood among his own *five legions*.

He discovers another inconsistency in the same letter, which he calls still *more wonderfull*: for *Antony's defeat and flight from Modena* are mentioned in it, he says, by *Brutus*, *before he could possibly have heard of them*: which he proves from *the date of the letter*, as it now stands in all the Editions, on *the 18th of April*, whereas the news of that event did not arrive at *Rome*, till *after the 20th* [2]. But *the dates of letters*, as every novice in Criticism knows, are too weak a foundation to lay any stress upon; on account of the infinite blunders, that are perpetually made in them, through the ignorance or inadvertency of transcribers, in all MSS whatsoever. They were described by nu-

[1] Brutus—in Macedonia adrolavit  
— legiones conscripsit novas, excepit  
veteres. Philip. 11. 12.

[2] Alia porro in eadem Epistola Cloro  
noster memorarat magis adhuc mirabilia.  
Tunst. p. 216.

mond letters, according to the Roman way of computing, by *the Nones, Ides, and Kalends* of each month, in this manner: VI, V, IV, III, &c. Non. VIII, VII, VI, &c. Id. xvii, xvi, xv, &c. Kal. and there is scarce a possible mistake, that can be committed, either by adding, deducting, or transposing any of these numerals, but what has actually been made, in some of the best MSS, and is still found even in the best editions of *Cicero's* works [1]. For example; in one of his letters to his Brother, where he is giving an account of the transactions at *Rome* for several days successively, *all the dates*, as they now stand, are manifestly contradictory to the contents of the letter, and must necessarily be changed, before they can be reduced to a consistency with it [2]. Thus also, one of the letters to *Tiro* [3], is dated *xv Kal. Nov.* where some MSS dropping the x, make it *v Kal. Nov.* others changing the month, make it *xv Kal. Dec.* yet the original date, as it evidently appears from a following letter, was *xvi Kal. Dec.* [4].

The dates of letters then cannot be urged in prejudice to facts, unless they themselves be first proved to be genuin, or there appear no reason at least to suspect them. But in this case, it is as hard to conceive, that a Sophist should flatly con-

[1] Sometimes an x is dropt out of the date: thus instead of xiiii Kal. some copies have iiii Kal. [Ep. Fam. 10. 6.] Sometimes it is changed into v. and vice versa; and where we find viii Kal. other MSS give xiiii Kal. [ad Att. 8. 9.] Some of the single strokes are oft omitted or added to the original date: so that instead of ii, some copies have iii, others iiii Non. [ad Att. 7. 15.] The *Kalends* likewise are often changed to *Ides* or *Nones*, and vice versa: as where we read *iv Kal. Feb.* some MSS have *v Id. Feb.* [ad Att. 8. 11.] And instead of *Prid.*

*Id.* some others, *post. Id. & prid. K. Nov.* [Ep. Fam. 14. 23.] And lastly, one month is sometimes put for another. As for *iiii Kal. Jun.* others have *iiii Kal. Mollis* and others *ii Kal. Mal.* [ad Att. 3. 8.] All which mistakes, with many instances of each, the reader will observe, by comparing *the Acts of the Kings*, in *Greuvius's* edition, with the various readings, which he has collected of them.

[2] Ad Quint. Frat. 1. 2. 3.

[3] Ep. Fam. 1. 16. 7.

[4] Vid. *ibid.* Ep. 9.

radiet,

dict, by the date, what he affirms in the letter, as that *Cicero* himself should have done it. Our Critic therefore, if he expects to make any impression, must not depend upon *dates*, as of any force in the question: for where he has nothing else to alledge, we shall reduce those dates to a conformity with the facts, and his pretended contradictions will vanish at once: which is a sufficient answer, not onely to the present objection, but to all others of the same kind.

He offers another of his *notable* objections, as he calls them, to letter the xith; wherein *Brutus*, expressing his joy for the victory at *Modena*, declares himself particularly pleased, that *Decimus's* eruption or sally out of the Town, was of such moment towards determining the victory [1]. Here *Brutus*, he says, speaks of this eruption, before he had heard of it. Because the express, which brought the first news of the victory, signified, that *Decimus* continued still blocked up in *Modena*: and so he certainly did, when that first express came away. But our Critic either widely mistakes, or wilfully perplexes this fact: for as I have shewn elsewhere [2], there were *two several* victories obtained against *Antony* before *Modena*: in the first, *Pansa* was mortally wounded, but *Antony's* troops defeated by *Hirtius*: in the second, *Antony* was utterly routed, though *Hirtius* himself was killed; and *Dec. Brutus*, by forcing his way at the same time out of the Town, helped to complete the victory. The first of these victories was gained on the 15th of *April*, and the news of it arrived at *Rome* on the 20th: of which we have a distinct relation still remaining: as well as of the rejoicings, made for it at *Rome*, and of the honors,

[1] Sed in re *Bruti eruptionis* aliud est [2] Life of *Cicero*, vol. 2, p. 477.  
perquam notabile. Tunst. 217.

decreed for it to the victorious Generals [1]. The *second* victory, which was more complete, happened a day or two after; and the news of it reached *Rome*, at the same distance of time: but there is no other account of it now extant, except what may be gathered from some scattered hints, and occasional references to it.

Now in this suspected letter to *Brutus*, dated the 22d of *April*, *Cicero* makes but a slight mention of these two victories, as knowing, what he there declares, that all the particulars of them were sent to him by other hands: and *Brutus's* letter, in which he speaks of *Decimus's* eruption, and returns an answer at the same time to some of the particulars of *Cicero's*, is dated the 15th of *May*; during which interval of above three weeks, our Critic supposes, and on that supposition builds his notable objection, that *Brutus* had not heard a syllable more of that most important event, either from *Cicero*, or any body else, than what was slightly intimated in the letter just mentioned, of the 22d of *April*. A supposition, utterly incredible; and expressly contradicted by the very letter, which we are considering.

But he pushes this objection still farther; and makes an attempt even to persuade us, that *Antony* voluntarily quitted the siege of *Modena*, before he was forced to it; and that *D. Brutus* therefore could not make any such eruption, as is here pretended [2]: and what is still more strange, that this same eruption is not taken notice of by any other writer, but the author of these letters [1]: though he himself has pointed out a passage, where

[2] Vid. Ep. Fam. 10. 30. Philipp.  
14.

[2] *Appianus* porro *Antonium*, matine obliuionem reliquitte narrat.—Concinit *Pollionis* *Epitola* ad *Ciceronem* ipsum *Tunã*. p. 219. Not.

[1] Neque quidem præliis iis. quæ postea commissa sunt. quibusque, fufis tamen *Antonii* copiis, *Consules* ceciderant, quidquam de eruptione *Bruti* auditur, nisi ab his, *Bruto* & *Cicerone*. *Tunã*, ib.



it is expressly declared by the *true Cicero*: who expostulating with *D. Brutus*, for not pursuing *Antony*, after so intire a rout, but giving him time to recollect himself, says; “ that famous eruption of yours out of *Modena*, brought us such assured hopes of an absolute victory, from the account of *Antony's* flight, and his army cut to pieces, that all mens minds were unbent at once, and cannot be brought to think again of war [1].” Now does not *this famous eruption*, as it is called by the *real Cicero*, tally exactly with what is here said of it, by the imaginary *Sophist*; that it was an action of vigor and importance towards determining the victory? And can *Antony's flight*, and *army cut to pieces*, consist with a voluntary retreat from the Siege? Yet our Critic, it seems, by his refining art, can extract this exquisite sense out of it.

But he urges us with a contradiction between the letters themselves; because in the 14th letter, *Brutus* is said to have *five legions*, with an excellent body of horse, and a great number of auxiliaries; yet in the 4th, is declared to want both money and recruits. Which knot, says our Critic, you in vain endeavour to solve, by telling us, that though *Brutus* in his public letters to the Senate, signified nothing but what was prosperous, yet in his private letters to *Cicero*, he laid open his wants [2]. But for my part, I never dreamt of any knot in the case; nor can I now see any, but in our Critic's imagination; who fancies, that *five legions*, with an excellent body of horse, was a force sufficient to support the liberty of *Rome*. Whereas when *D. Brutus*, who had *ten legions*, was joined with *Plancus*, who had *four*, as good as any

[1] Tantam spem attulerat exploratae victoriae tuae praecleara mutinae eruptio, fuga Antonii, conciso exercitu, &c. Ep. Fam. 11. 14.

[2] Itaque in hoc nodo explicando parum proficis, cum dicis, *Brutum* privatis litteris indicasse inopiam suam, publicis dissimulasse.

in the Empire, with the strongest body of horse; yet they both earnestly demanded *supplies*; without which, they declared themselves too weak, to venture a battel with *Lepidus* and *Antony* [1]: and they had great reason to press that demand; since *Antony*, as *Plutarch* tells us, after his union with *Lepidus*, marched into *Italy* with *seventeen legions and ten thousand horse*, and left *six legions* still behind him in *Gaul* [2]. *Brutus* therefore, a great part of whose troops was newly raised, and unprovided with necessaries, might well call for recruits, though he had *five complete legions*.

He goes on to tell us, that he finds the same contradiction to true history, with regard also to the affairs of *Cassius* [3]. But what he has produced to support that assertion, is so perplexed and involved, that I am at a loss how to unravel it. For a further jumbling together several facts of a different kind, and of different times; and among the rest, the account of *Cassius's success in Syria*, he declares, that these new events gave birth to the *xith Philippic*. Where it is not easy to conceive, what it is, that he would suggest to us. Whether it be, that by the blundering account of these letters, *Cassius's success*, the news of which did not arrive at *Rome* till *April*, is made the occasion of the *xith Philippic*, which was spoken in *March*: or whether he would have us take it for his own opinion, that *Cassius's success* did really give occasion to that *speech*. But whether he means the one or the other, it is certain, that he mistakes the matter; and that the letters in question are perfectly consistent on

[1] Copias nostras notas tibi esse ar-  
bitror. In castris meis legiones sunt vete-  
rane tres, tironum vel luculentissima ex  
omnibus una: in castris *Bruti*, una vete-  
rana legio, altera bima, octo tironum. Ita

universus exercitus numero amplissimus est,  
firmitate exiguus, &c. Ep. Fam. 10. 24.

[2] Plut. in Anton. p. 923.

[3] De C. item Cassio non minora  
peccata sunt. Tunst. p. 223.

his head: since they neither suppose *the news of Cassius to arrive at Rome, till the beginning of April*, nor make any reference to *Cicero's xith Philippic*, but as to a speech, delivered before that time, and without any relation to *that news*: as every one will perceive from the letters themselves, to which he refers us [1].

His next objection, though more intelligible, is not more to the purpose; where he observes, that *Cicero*, according to these letters, received an account of *Cassius's success, in the beginning of April*, yet writing afterwards to *Brutus*, on the 5th of May, he says; *as to Cassius's forces, we know nothing at all about them; for we have neither received any letters from him, nor any intelligence, that we could certainly depend upon* [2]. Upon this, he insults, as upon a flagrant contradiction. *What is become now*, says he, *of Brutus's express on Cassius's affairs, on which Cicero congratulated himself so much, on the xith of April? And how can he write in this manner to Brutus, from whom he had received a distinct account of those very forces long before* [3]? But, if he will have a little patience, he will find it all consistent. For though *Cicero* had heard in *April*, that *Cassius* was master of all the forces in *Syria*, yet from that time, he had not heard a syllable of what he had done with those forces; or which way he had marched with them; and was in the utmost expectation to hear of some action performed with them. This is all that is meant in the passage before us; as it appears from a letter of *the true Cicero* to *Cassius* himself; wherein he professes *the same ignorance*

[1] Vid. Epist. ad Brut. 3, 4.

[2] Vid. Epist. ad Brut. 3, 10.

[3] Ubi nunc sunt *Bruti nostri* nuncii, de *Cassii* rebus gestis, quibus iii *Id. Apr.* 225. auditis, *Cicero* Reip. gratulabatur? Quo-

modo porro nunc scribit ad *Brutum*—qui de copiis iis *Brutum* ipsum καὶ ἄ μίτον nar- rantem longe ante audiverat? Tunst. p.

*fall of Cassius's forces in July, which the suspected Cicero does here in May: his words are these. "As for your army, I will do every thing to serve it, that lies in my power. But there will be time enough for that, when we begin to know, what help it is likely to bring, or has already brought to the Republic. For we have heard nothing of you hitherto, but attempts onely: those indeed are great and noble; but we long to hear of some action: which, I persuade myself, is already either over, or near at hand [1]."*

Our Critic indeed refers us to another letter of the true Cicero, wherein it is said, *that they had heard nothing at all, either where Cassius was, or what forces he had [2].* Whence he infers, that Cicero had received no information at all about Cassius at that time. But this letter was written in March, immediately after Cicero had spoken his *ninth Philippic*, of which he gives Cassius an account in it: which was *three weeks*, before any news about Cassius was received at Rome, either from Brutus, or any body else. So that this testimony has not the least relation to his argument: and can serve no other end, but to perplex and mislead the reader.

He shews more contradictions still, in the case of *C. Antonius*, *M. Antony's* brother, who was *Brutus's* prisoner in Macedonia; and says, *that Cicero did not know, that he was taken prisoner by Brutus, till Pansa had left Rome*; which he quitted in the end of March, as I readily allow; but then he affirms, what he cannot prove, that Cicero and Brutus are supposed in these letters *to have written several times to each other about him, while Pansa continued in Rome [3].* But Brutus, as I have observed

[1] Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

nec quas copias haberet. Tunst. p. 224.

[2] Ibid. Ep. 7. Verus igitur Cicero nihil dum audierat, nec ubi Cassius esset,

[3] Brutus tamen noster, quod jam pridem fecerat, Cicero nem deinceps de capto An-

elsewhere, sent *two public letters*, at different times, to the Senate, concerning his affairs in *Macedonia* [1]. The first of them arrived, while *Pansa was in Rome*; and signified, that he had secured the greatest part of that province and the troops in it, to the interests of the Republic; and that *C. Antonius was retired into Apollonia, with seven cohorts*, where he hoped soon to give a good account of him [2]. The second arrived shortly after; yet not till *Pansa had left Rome*, and brought word, that *Brutus had now reduced the whole province, and taken Antonius himself prisoner* [3]: and this distinction of *the two expresses*, which our Critic is loth to acknowledge [4], though the nature of the thing shews, that there must have been *two*, will dissipate at once his imaginary contradiction.

But with regard to this *Antonius*, he finds a *wondrous inconsistency* in the letters themselves [5]. For in one of them, *Cicero* says, “that no enemies were ever more worthy of the last punishment, than those Citizens, who had taken up arms against their country in this war—and that the Senate had adjudged all to be enemies, who followed the party of *M. Antony* [6].” And in another, “that there was no difference between *Dolabella*, and any one of the *three Antony's* [7].” Yet he declares at the same time, “that, when

*sonio* consuluit; Ciceroque de eodem consilia dedit, dum *Pansa* Consul adhuc Romæ erat. Tunst. in Notis ad p. 227.

[1] See Life of Cicer, vol. 2. p. 400.

[2] Philip. 10. 4, 5, &c.

[3] Erat expectatio reliquiarum *Antonii*—ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem—Nam tuæ litteræ, quæ recitatæ sunt in Senatu & Imperatoris consilium—declarant. Quod—nisi in turbulentissimum tempus post discessum *Pansæ* Consulis incidissent—&c. Ad Brut. 1. 2. Ep. 7.

[4] Quæ de litteris *Bruti* secundis narrantur, mihi merito suspecta sunt. Tunst. p. 226. Not. n.

[5] De hoc autem *C. Antonio* multa alia *Cicero* *Brutusque* interloquuntur—antea vero miram sane ἀνολογίαν. ib. 227.

[6] Hostes autem omnes judicati, qui *M. Antonii* sectam secutus sunt. Ad Brut. Ep. 9.

[7] Quid interest inter *Dolabellum*, & quemvis *Antoniorum trium*, &c. ib. Ep. 5.

“ he

“ he was speaking to the Senate, upon *C. Antonius* by name,  
 “ he moved for nothing particularly severe upon him, because  
 “ he had resolved to reserve that, till the Senate had received  
 “ their information of his case from *Brutus* [1].”

Now in this *wondrous contradiction*, as it is stated by our Critic, I can discover nothing but what is perfectly consistent. *Cicero* constantly pressed *Brutus*, to consider his prisoner *Antonius*, as an enemy; whom *Brutus*, contrary to *Cicero's* advice, continued to treat with great respect and tenderness. But though *Cicero* urged this in his private letters, yet in the Senate, out of regard to *Brutus*, he was content with *Antonius's* being included in the general vote against all the adherents of that party, and would not move for any particular or personal censure upon him; till the Senate, according to custom, had received their information of his case, from *Brutus*, the General, whose prisoner he was.

He has thrown together several other passages, relating to this same *Antonius*, as seeming to be inconsistent with each other: which are all so trifling and captious, that I need not trouble myself with the recital of them. But he closes this argument with an observation, which he declares to be *most important* [2]: that after all, which is said in these Epistles, about the case of *C. Antonius*, between *Brutus* consulting *Cicero* upon it, and *Cicero* giving advice; and *Brutus* again rejecting that advice; yet it appears extremely probable, that *Plutarch* had not seen any such letters [3]; because he gives this summary account of the whole matter; “ that *Brutus* for a long time treated *C. Antonius*

[1] *Ib.* Ep. 9.

[2] *Quod autem maximum est, &c.*  
*Tunst.* p. 229.

[3] *Plutarchum tamen harum Epistolarum vidisse nullam, perquam verisimile est.*  
*Tunst.* p. 229.

with great respect, though many of his friends, as it is said, and particularly *Cicero*, were writing and urging him from "*Rome*, to put him to death [1]." I shall not dispute with him, whether *Plutarch* had seen the letters or not; being very sure, that he had very little curiosity, about seeing any of *Cicero's* genuin letters; but this I will venture to say, that if he had not seen, he had heard of them at least, and manifestly refers to them in this very passage; which is as full an account of the affair of *Antonius*, as *Plutarch* is apt to give of affairs of much greater importance.

He observes in the next place, that in the case of *Lepidus*, these letters are plainly prophetic, and speak of facts, long before they happened [2]: for in the third of them to *Brutus*, *Cicero* says; "from the letters of your own people, you are convinced, I guess by this time, of the levity, inconstancy, and perpetual disaffection of your friend *Lepidus*, who next to his own Brother, hates you his near relations the most." This passage he supposes to have been borrowed by the Sophist, from a letter of the true *Cicero* to *Cassius*, which begins thus; "You are informed, I guess, from the public acts, of the treachery of your kinsman *Lepidus*, and his surprizing levity and inconstancy [3]." Where the Sophist was very blind, he says, not to see, that the letter of the true *Cicero*, which refers to *Lepidus's* union with *Antony*, was written after the battel of *Modena*; whereas the censure upon *Lepidus*, in this suspected one, was written before that battel [4]: and so far indeed I agree, that the times or dates of the two letters

[1] *Plut.* in *Brut.* 996.

[2] *De Lepido nostro plane divinus est.*  
*Tunif.* p. 229.

[3] *Ep. Fam.* 12. 8.

[4] *Sed tamen ille alter valde cæcavit,*  
*quod non animadvertit, &c. Tunif.* 229.

are quite different; but there is a good reason for it; because *the facts*, to which they allude, are different too; and *the blind* must not be charged to *the Sophist*, but to the Critic, whose Hypothesis would not suffer him to see any fact but *one*, of which *Lepidus* could be guilty. For he affirms, *that before the battle of Modena, it was not possible for Brutus to know any thing of Lepidus's inconstancy, from the accounts of his friends* [1]: which though boldly affirmed, is utterly false. For before that battle, two of *Lepidus's* Lieutenants, *Silanus* and *Culleo*, marched with a detachment of *Lepidus's* troops to *Antony's* assistance; which as all people then imagined, was done by *Lepidus's* order, but most certainly by his connivence [2]. This then is the fact to which this letter refers: and which, after *Antony's* defeat, *Lepidus* himself endeavours to excuse to *Cicero*, in an humble strain; disclaiming the act of his Lieutenants, and declaring it *to have been done against his will* [3]. But before the time of his union with *Antony*, which our Critic takes to be *the first, and onely instance of his inconstancy*, *D. Brutus*, in a letter to *Cicero*, calls him a man *as light and variable as the wind, and who was never disposed to do any thing, that was right* [4]: which implies many former instances of an inconstant and perfidious temper; agreeably to the character given of him in these letters, where *Cicero* speaking of *his union with Antony*, says, *that they had experienced many instances of his levity before, but not any, that was likely to be so pernicious* [5].

[1] Tunst. 230.

[2] Dio. l. 46. p. 316.

[3] *Silanus* & *Culleo* ab eo discesserunt.

Nos etiã graviter ab his læsi eramus, quod contra nostram voluntatem ad *Antonium* ierant, &c. Epist. Fam. l. 10. 34.

[4] In primis rogo te, ad hominem

ventosissimum, *Lepidum* mittas.—Sed mihi persuasissimum est, *Lepidum* rectè facturum nunquam. Epist. Fam. l. 11. 9.

[5] Datumque *Lepido* tempus est, in quo levitatem ejus, sæpe perperam, majoribus in malis experiremur. Epist. 18.



As to the letter of condolence, from Cicero to Brutus, the 16th of this collection; he allows it, whether forged or genuine, to relate, as I have applied it, to the death of *Porcia*, *Brutus's* wife [1]. But the author of it, he says, not having the confidence, openly to assert a fact, so contrary to history, contrived artfully to conceal both the name and the sex of the person, whose loss he was condoling. But this very circumstance is so far from suggesting the suspicion of a forgery, that it suggests just the contrary: for it is not credible, that a Sophist, who had taken the bold resolution to contradict all history, should be so bashful at the same time, as to involve what he had to say in such obscurity, that no body should be able to understand it: whereas, on the other hand, it is natural to imagine, that *Cicero*, writing upon the death of a beloved wife, should chuse out of good manners, and a regard to *Brutus's* tenderness, to avoid the mention of her name, or to dwell upon her personal qualities: which is the probable source of the difficulty, that the learned have found, in determining the real subject of the letter.

He adds a remark, as a farther proof of the Sophist's craft; how he had taken care before hand, to drop a small hint of *Porcia's* illness, that we might not be surprized to hear of her death [2]. This was cunningly done indeed, to make us believe, that she happened to be sick, before she died. Yet after filling a page or two more, with observations of the same sort, he declares the letter itself to be a poor, jejune composition, which could not possibly be *Cicero's*; because *Cicero*, on such an occasion, would have collected examples of similar losses from all history,

[1] De *Porcia*—scriptam fuisse tecum letudine *Porciae* spargentem induxit. Tunst. omnino judico, &c. Tunst. 231.

[2] Pro suo artificio—*Brutum* de va-

231. See Lett. 15th.

as he had done before, in his treatise on *Consolation*, written upon the death of his daughter: where, as he proves by another set of testimonies, *Cicero* had drawn together all the cases of the same kind, that either *the Greek or Roman history* furnished [1]. But he might have spared his learned pains; for if he had reflected on the circumstances, in which *Brutus* then was; at the head of the most important and critical affairs, in which a mortal could be engaged, and on which the fate of *Rome* depended; he must have thought, that the less, which was said on so tender and dejecting a subject, must needs be the better; and that this letter, as short and slight as it appears, was more agreeable to the prudence of *Cicero*, and the situation of *Brutus*, than the most studied composition on the same argument could possibly be.

He goes on to produce more contradictions from two other letters, relating to *Vetus Antistius*. The first was written by *Brutus*, and brought to *Rome* by *Vetus*, at a time when *Brutus* supposed the Consuls to be living [2]: but here lies the contradiction; that though the matter of the letter implies it to have been written, *while the Consuls were alive*, yet it is signified in the beginning of it, that the writer had heard of *the battel of Modena*, and consequently of *their death* [3]. It is very strange, that a cunning Sophist should be so forgetfull of himself in a short letter, as to contradict in one line, what he affirms in another: but this reflection does not stop our Critic; who, when it serves his purpose, can find a contradiction wherever he pleases: the words in which he finds it are these; “*Vetus Antistius* is so well affected to the Republic, that I cannot

[1] Tunst. p. 236. in Notis.

[2] See Lett. 6th.

[3] Sed *Brutus*, cum illam epistolam

scripsit, se *Matinensis* prælii nuncium accepisse, ipse in initio epistolæ declarat.

Tunst. 238.

“ doubt,

“doubt, but that if he had met with an occasion, he would have shewn himself a strenuous assertor of our common liberty, both against *Cæsar* and *Antony* [1].” Now according to his comment, the occasion, which *Vetus* had never met with, of acting against *Antony*, was nothing else but the *battel of Modena*, in which the two *Consuls* were killed [2]. But what man living, besides himself, can discover any such sense in them? The meaning of them is evidently this; that if *Vetus* had been at *Rome*, while he resided in the Provinces, he would have joined with the friends of liberty, in declaring and acting both against *Cæsar* and *Antony*: and there were occasions enough of doing that, long before the *battel of Modena*. *Cicero* began to act openly against *Antony* in *November*: *Octavius* had done it before: *Hirtius* led out an army against him in *January*; and every body was declaring and acting on the one side or the other. But no occasion could be of use to our Critic, except the *battel of Modena*; and unless that *battel* be referred to in those words, his pretended contradiction falls to the ground; where it will be his wisest part, I believe, to let it lie.

*Vetus* then, for any thing that appears to the contrary, might come to *Rome* at any time while the *Consuls* were living; or before he knew at least of their death. But he came, as the letter informs us, to sue for the *Prætorship*; and if the *Consuls* should not hold that election in due time, had promised *Brutus* to return to him directly; yet from the letter, which *Cicero* sent back by him to *Brutus*, [3], we find, that he staid to the beginning of *July*: all which may easily be accounted for, by supposing onely, that a person of *Vetus's* rank, who had govern-

[1] See *Epist.* 6.

prælium ipsum *Matinense* erat. ib. 239.

[2] Jam illa occasio, cui *Antistium* occurrere non potuisset, *Brutus* cognoverat,

[3] See *Lett.* 17th.

ed a Province, and been long absent from *Rome*, might find more business there at his return, than he expected, or enough at least, to detain him for three or four months. But there is an obvious reason for his stay, suggested by the circumstances of the times, as well as by *Cicero's* genuine letters; namely, the difficulty of making an election of Prætors, occasioned by the unexpected death of the Consuls; since no other Magistrate could regularly call an assembly of the People for that Purpose: yet in that exigency and time of confusion, the Prætors seemed to have taken a resolution to exercise that prerogative, till *Cicero*, by his personal authority, got the election postponed to the *January* following; when *D. Brutus* and *Plancus* were to enter upon the Consulship, from whose administration he expected the establishment of their liberty and ancient constitution [1].

As to what is objected, concerning the *elections into the Priesthoods and the Prætorships* [2], since it appears to have nothing solid in it, I shall spare myself the trouble of repeating it. The sum of it amounts onely to this; that our Critic does not know how to reconcile it to the customs and constitution of *Rome*; and that *Manutius* also is puzzled, how to solve it: all which may safely be granted, without any discredit to the letters themselves: for supposing them even to be forged, I can easily imagine the author of them to have been more perfectly acquainted with the constitution of the Republic, than any modern Critic, who has since attempted to explain them. But if any difficulty should occur to the reader on this article, he will find, I hope, a satisfactory account of it in the notes [3].

[1] Vid. Ep. Fam. 10. 25, 26.

[2] T. Quint. Epist. p. 241. &c.

[3] See Lett. 10th Note [10], and

Lett. 20th, Note [3].

He concludes his observations about *the Priests*, with this acute reflection, that the Sophist, having understood from history, that *young Cicero was made a Priest by Augustus*, took occasion to form a letter or two upon that subject, and to feign *Cicero* himself greatly sollicitous to procure that honor for his son [1]. But were not all the Roman Nobles just as sollicitous, as *Cicero* is said to be here, to get *their Sons elected Priests*? If there was no such practice in *Rome*, that might be a reasonable objection to these letters, which make so much mention of it: but if all the Nobles, at all times, really acted, as *Cicero* is supposed to act on this occasion, what room is there for any scruple, or refinement in the case? But this is his constant method of criticising; if he sees any thing in the letters, which he knows not how to reconcile to *history*, or to *the true Cicero*, or to *the customs of Rome*, he condemns them presently as spurious; if he finds them to agree exactly with them all, he then alarms us, with *the scholastic arts*, *the minute diligence*, and *the subtle imitation of the Sophist* [2].

He proceeds to observe, that from *the number of auguries* in these letters, or *presages of things*, which really happened, it is reasonable to conclude, that *the events did not follow the predictions*, but that *the predictions were forged afterwards upon the events* [3]: and this he frequently insinuates in different parts of his work [4]. For it never seems to enter into his head, that *Cicero* could know any thing more of affairs than he, or be able to foretell, what he should never have dreamt of. But whatever he may think

[1] Non sine causa videor suspicari, nostrum — ὑπόθεσιν scribendi sumpsisse ex eo, quod illum postea a *D. Augusto* Sacerdotem factum esse ex historia comperisset. Tunst. 245.

[2] Περιεργασία etiam scholastica in illis est. ib. 235. Not. Hic notanda diligentia

minimè Ciceroniana. ib. 245. Imitations vestigia magis manifesta sunt. ib. 220. Not. &c.

[3] Tunst. p. 245, 250. &c.

[4] Hic rerum multo post futurarum περιλάλησις est. [ib. p. 226.] sequitur aliud *Bruti* vaticinium. ib.

of *Cicero*, an esteemed writer of *Cicero's* own times, who lived with him, and after him, has left us this testimony with regard to the point in question; *the presages of his letters*; “that his wisdom might be looked upon as a kind of divination; since he foretold things in futurity, not such onely, as happened whilst he himself was still living, but declared as a Prophet, what came even into common use and practice after his death [1].” Thus what those ancients, who knew *Cicero* personally, have delivered as the distinguishing character of his letters, our ingenious Critic considers every where, as the very proof and criterion of their forgery.

But what after all are *these frequent auguries*, which give him so much offence? Why, after the battel of *Modena*, and the death of the two Consuls, *Cicero* begins to apprehend, that *Octavius*, who by that accident was become the master of all the veteran forces in *Italy*, *would not be governed by him so easily as he had hitherto been*: and *Brutus* also on his part, before he had heard of *Octavius's* design upon the Consulship, expresses his fears, *lest he should take a resolution to seize upon it* [1]: apprehensions so obvious and natural, that they could hardly fail of being entertained, in some degree or other, by all men of sense. But observe the strange perverseness of our Critic. He had been contending at setting out, that *Octavius*, even before *Brutus's* departure out of *Italy*, and while he had little or no power to do either good or harm, had given *the strongest reasons to apprehend every thing bad of him*; yet now at last, when *Octavius*

[3] Ut facile existimari possit, prudenti usu veniunt, cecinit ut vates. *Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att. c. 16.*  
 enim *Cicero* ea solum, que vivo se acciderunt, futura prædixit, sed etiam que nunc

[2] *Tunst. p. 213, 248, &c.*

had got all power into his hands, he contends, that he had not the least ground to suspect, *that he would make an ill use of*

To this article of predictions, *he will add, he says, one prediction more, but that indeed a manifold one, delivered with singular confidence, in the following words; "as to myself, I can say, what Plautus's old man says in the Trinummus; life is almost over with me; it is you, who are the most interested in it. You will be undone, Brutus, believe me, if you do not take great care. For you will neither have the people always the same as now; nor the Senate; nor a leader of the Senate. Take this as delivered to you from the Pythian Oracle; nothing can be more true [1]."*

Upon this passage, he cavils, in the first place, at something, I know not what, in the expression, as not being *Ciceronian*, but betraying a *sophistical diligence* [2]: he discovers likewise a *prediction*, which *Cicero here makes, of his own death* [3]. Then as to what is declared, of the probability of danger to *Brutus*, and of a turn of affairs at *Rome*, he takes great pains to prove, that it could not be foretold at this time by *the true Cicero*, but was forged afterwards by the Sophist from the event. The strongest argument, that he alledges for it, is this; "that the letter, in which *this Oracle* is delivered, was most certainly written before the news of the victory at *Modena* arrived at *Rome*; at which time *the true Cicero* could have no ground for such a passage, since the whole people and the Senate, with *Cicero* himself at their head, were wonderfully una-

[1] Tunst. p. 245.—See Lett. 14.

[3] Rufus Cicero suam mortem providit.

[2] Hic notanda diligentia minime Ciceroniana. ib. 245.

—mibi quidem aetas ferme acta est. Tunst. 232. in Notis.

“ nimous in the defence of their common liberty [1].” But in answer to this, it happens, that this letter, contrary to what our Critic affirms, was written *after the victory at Modena had been known for some time at Rome*, as the contents of it expressly demonstrate: and the date of it therefore, on which he wholly depends, ought to be reduced, as I have shewn above, to a conformity with the contents.

But at what time soever the letter was written, it is certain, that there is nothing either strange, or improbable, in any part of the prediction. As long indeed as *Cicero* continued the leader of the Senate, and the favorite of the people, things were sure to go well in the City; but whenever any accident should happen to him, a reverse was certainly to be apprehended: and even whilst he lived, the populace, always fickle, might possibly be gained by artifice or bribes to turn against him: and in the Senate itself, where he had the ascendant, it was with no small struggle, as it appears from his *Philippics*, that he was able to maintain it, against the Chiefs of the opposite faction: and we find from his genuine letters, what he declares in these suspected ones, that even *after the battel of Modena*, and in the midst of their joy for that victory, he found *more malevolence than gratitude*, in a great part of that body [2]. All this, I say, is declared by *the true Cicero*, while their affairs seemed to be in a prosperous state; yet our Critic thinks it incredible, that he could foresee the possibility of a change in them. But I am ashamed to detain the reader on such trifles; of which I may

[1] Imprimis hoc oraculum tum esse, cum pugna Mutinensis jam esset commissa, nec tamen ejus rei fama ad Romam usque pervenisset, certissimum est. Hoc autem tempore ipso, *Cicero* noster domi populum, Senatam, Senati ducem, civitatem denique

totam in libertate communi defendenda admirabiliter consentientem videbat. ib. 247. See Lett. 14.

[2] Ep. Fam. 10. 12. 11. 14. ad Brut. 21.



say with much truth, what he has not scrupled to declare of these letters, that they are the fruits of *scholastic futility*, and betray a total ignorance of *affairs and real life* [1].

He has offered two objections more to the general character of these letters, which I have not yet touched upon, first, that *they want the beauty and copiousness of the Ciceronian style* [2]; secondly, that *they are all drawn in the same style and manner of writing*, as coming evidently from the same hand [3].

As to the first, it is so contemptibly supported, that it is hardly worth while to take notice of it. He has collected several passages, which he declares to be *futile, improper, too confused and hard in the syntax*, to be received as *Cicero's* [4]: and he observes, that the *true Cicero*, if he had begun a sentence with *cave existimes*, would have resumed it after a *parenthesis*, with the same phrase; and not as this Sophist, with *cave putes* [5]: and that he would have used the præposition, *per*, where the Sophist has used, *propter* [6]; with other criticisms of the same kind, which cannot be a proper subject of dispute, except with those, who profess to be perfect masters not onely of *Cicero's* writings, but of the whole extent of the Latin tongue; which no modest man will easily pretend to. Such cavils as these might be formed, I dare say, from every

[1] Ut ex *μετεγγρασία* potius & meditatione scholastica, quam ex negotiis ipsis, vitæque veræ actione natæ esse viderentur. Tunst. 193.

[2] In illis orationis *Ciceronianæ* candorem copiamque statim desiderabam—ibid.

[3] Tum eodem genere & colore descriptas esse clare perpexisse videbar. ibid.  
[4] Hæc autem sunt & dispositione

perturbatiore, & *συνάξεσι* duriora, quam ut credantur esse *Ciceronis*. [Tunst. 220. in Notis.] Et sane in his Epistolis multarum & sæculentæ orationis exempla occurrunt. [ib. 221. Not.] Hæc item duriuscula sunt. [ib. 222. Not.] Hæc omnino futilia. ib.

[5] Ibid. p. 204.

[6] Ib. p. 234.

page of *Cicero's* genuin Epistles. In the last of them to his Brother, which immediately precedes this very collection, casting my eye upon the end of it, I observed the following sentence; *sed sumus unà tamen valde multum*: which consists onely of six words, and yet five of them *adverbs*. Now might we not declame here with our Critic, upon *the poverty and futility of the diction*; that it *wants the beauty and copia of the Ciceronian stile*; and *cannot possibly be received as Cicero's*? Yet *Cicero* himself tells us, that *in familiar Epistles*, he was not at all scrupulous about the choice of words, but took the first that occurred from *vulgar use* [1].

But in truth, all arguments drawn from *stile*, are of too loose and precarious a nature, to have any great weight in questions of this sort; there being no settled rule or criterion, to which we can apply them, but the different taste and judgement of different men. Our Critic denies these letters to be *Ciceronian*; and others perhaps may do the same; yet the generality of the learned have always been of a contrary mind; and *Manutius* used to admire the peculiar dignity, or *majesty*, as he called it, *of stile in them* [2]. For my own part, I take *Cicero's* hand to be so clearly discernible in them, as to think it hardly possible, that they could have been written by any body else; and if the expression, in any of them appears to be somewhat different from that of his other Epistles, it is no more, than what may be charged to a difference of the subject; which is generally more urgent and warming

[1] Veruntamen, quid tibi ego in Epistolis videor? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum?—Epistolas vero quotidianis verbis texere solemus. Ep. Fam. l. 9. 21.

[2] P. Manutius, in familiaribus sermonibus, sæpe solet earum epistolarum majestatem prædicare. Andr. Patr. Schol. in Fragm. Epist. ad Brut. p. 5, 6.

in these, than in any of the familiar kind. The most effectual way of attacking them on the article of style, is to produce some phrases, of a *later origin and use*, than the age of *Cicero*: and if, as our Critic contends, they had been forged after the time of *Plutarch*, we should certainly find some instances of that sort in them; on account of the remarkable change, which the Latin tongue had undergone in that interval; in which many new words were introduced, unknown to the *Ciceronian* age; and the whole turn and fashion of writing quite altered; as every one may readily observe, in all the best writers of the intermediate ages, between *Cicero* and *Plutarch*.

As to the second objection, of *an identity of style in them all*, it depends upon the bare word, and authority of our Critic. But though it could not be thought strange, if in a series of letters, between two great men of the same age and City, some similitude of expression or sentiment should happen to be found; yet in these every man must necessarily discern as great a difference, as can possibly be expected, from the different characters of the two writers [1]. In *Brutus's*, we see an impatient, querulous, dogmatic manner; agreeable to the fierceness and haughtiness of his nature: in *Cicero's*; all the calmness, prudence and management of *Brutus's* temper, that we should expect from an experienced Statesman, all whose views were bent, in that crisis of their affairs, on the preservation of his country: and it is this different spirit, so agreeable to the characters of the men, which makes the letters themselves so much admired by all, who read them with any judgement or attention.

[2] See *Life of Cicero*, vol. 2. p. 487.

Yet what is the most remarkable, our Critic, while he insists upon *this identity of stile*, and even argues from it as an allowed fact [1]; has himself affirmed, and endeavoured to prove, the *greatest difference* between the letters, that can be imagined, between any of the most different writers. He calls *Brutus's epistle to Atticus, really a fine one* [2]; and as for the other to *Cicero*; he gives it all the praise, that can be given to a letter, and declares it to be *justly admired by all, who have any taste of fine writing, or any sparks of liberty in them* [3]. Yet on the other hand, he declares *Cicero's answer to Brutus, or apology for himself, to betray the operose diligence and wretched craft of the Sophist; to be insipid, blundering, foolish; full of obscurity, impropriety, and impertinence* [4]. What is become then of *his pretended identity of stile, and coloring* in all the letters; when he himself ascribes to *Brutus's*, all the beauties, and to *Cicero's*, all the faults, that can possibly be found in any compositions of that sort?—nor is this less contradictory to another reflection, which he insinuates with equal judgement in different parts of his work, that the Sophist's view in these letters, was to *vindicate Cicero's conduct and character*: since he affirms the only two letters, which accuse him, to be finest and the strongest; and *Cicero's defence* of himself, to be the most trifling and contemptible in the whole collection.

But, as I have intimated above, the matter of these letters seems to be a stronger evidence for their authority, than their

[1] Quod quidem latius etiam patere videtur, atque efficere, ut genus etiam utriusque epistolare, unum & prope Germanum, quod in hoc epistolarum volumine deprehenditur, nequaquam esse potuerit. Tunst. 205.

[2] Illam ad Atticum, sane bellulam.

ib. 200.

[3] Neque quidem miram est, eam in omnibus iis, qui vel de scriptis recte judicare possunt, vel ullos libertatis igniculos habeant, incredibilem excitasse admirationem sui. Tunst. 203.

[4] Ibid. p. 204, ad 215—

stile. For it consists of a great variety of facts, and several of them not touched upon by any other writer; which could be known only to those, who were intimately acquainted both with the constitution of *Rome*, and the affairs of those times; and are generally of such a nature, as no Sophist would chuse for the subject of his forgery, or venture to deal in so freely, for fear of betraying himself; unless we suppose him so perfect a master of all history, as to be assured, that it could furnish nothing to detect him.

The very first letter for instance, which is cited by *Nonius Marcellus*, (a circumstance sufficient of itself to evince it's authority) is natural and probable, supposing it to be real, but quite otherwise, on the supposition of it's forgery. For why should a Sophist pitch upon a *Clodius*, for one of *Cicero's* intimate friends; a name particularly hostile to *Cicero*? Why should he feign him a *Tribun elect*, when the *Clodii* were generally *Patricians*: and incapable of the *Tribunate*? Why should he give him a title, that carries with it an historical mark, that might possibly detect him; since it fixes the date of the letter to some time between the death of *Cæsar* and the 10th of *December*; on which day the *Tribuns elect* entered into Office? Why should he imagin him to have been obliged to *Antony*, as well as to *Brutus*, and on that account suspected in his allegiance to the Republic? Yet all this, I say, is natural for the true *Cicero* to write: for though the *Clodii* were generally in opposition to *Cicero*, yet in so numerous a family, there were some still without doubt, who were his particular friends; some also, who must have been *Plebeians*, either by adoption or descent from the freedmen of the *Patrician* branch, who had recommended themselves gradually to the honors of the state: and the time of this letter was the very season of people's taking  
their

their party, either for *Antony*, or *Brutus*: and in the case of a Tribune, *Cicero* would necessarily be solicitous to secure him to the Republic, and prevent any coldness between him and *Brutus*, that might alienate so powerfull a magistrate. But on the other hand, to suppose a Sophist sitting down, with so much thought and contrivance, to dress up a mere dry fact, void of all entertainment to the reader, is an hypothesis too forced and improbable, to be embraced by men of sense, without solid reasons to support it.

As for *the Epistle*, as it is called, to *Octavius*, which is annexed to these letters in all the editions, our Critic, from an imaginary similitude of stile, pronounces it to be of *the same stamp*, and to come from *the same hand* with the rest [1]. Yet, as far as I am able to judge, any one, with a moderate use of the Latin tongue, would discover a manifest difference on the first reading. He himself allows the Epistles, which I am vindicating, to be *elegant and shining both in diction and sentiment*; declares some of them, as we have seen above, to be *fine compositions*, and justly admired by all, *who have any taste of polite writing or any Sparks of liberty in them* [2]. But in this pretended Epistle, he would be puzzled to find a single sentiment, or a single word, I may say, that shines. It is a stiff and forced performance; void of all beauty either of stile or sense; ever flat and spiritless, where it labors the most to move: in short, it is no Epistle, but the declamation of some boy, venting his indignation, and trying under the person of *Cicero*, how well he could harangue on the perfidy and ingratitude of

[1] In Epistola ad *Octavius*, quæ propter multa similitudinis vestigia ab eadem manu profecta esse videtur. Tunst. p. 221. Not. Epistola ad *Octavius*, quæ τῆ αὐτῆ νόμου est. ib. 232. Not.

[2] Ib. p. 193. 200, 203, 251.

*Octavius*: but whatever similitude our Critic may pretend to find between this and the other Epistles, yet time, the surest judge and discerner of true and false, has made a most substantial difference between them, by rejecting the one and retaining the other: for there is not perhaps a single person now living, who takes the one to be genuin; and very few, I believe, besides our Critic, who hold the other to be forged. *Victorius* indeed, as our Critic takes notice, entertained a more favorable opinion of this piece [1]; and *thought it not very different either in expression or sentiment from Cicero's genuin manner*: which serves only to confirm, what I have already observed, concerning *the precarious nature of arguments drawn from stile*; since so learned and eminent a Critic was so easily deceived by it. I have added this piece however to the present collection, lest it should be thought the less perfect, for wanting any thing how contemptible soever, that is found in all the former editions.

I have now examined all our Critic's objections, which I took to have any weight in them, in the order in which he has ranged them; nor have willfully omitted any; but what are either too trifling to deserve any notice; or are considered by me in the notes on the particular passages objected to. But our Critic himself will hardly accuse me, of neglecting any of his capital arguments; or such, as he had reason to lay any stress upon: and a great part of the rest, which arise from corrupt *dates*, and the confusion, in which the Epistles have hitherto lain, will be dissipated at once by the very disposition and order to which I have reduced them. On the whole, the reader must needs be surprized, to see so bold an attempt so weakly supported; and scarce a single objection produced, but

[1] *Tunst.* 253.

what is grounded either on mistake, or misapplication of the testimonies alledged to confirm it. How far any other Critic may venture hereafter upon the same attempt, and with what better success, I will not take upon me to determine; but this I may safely affirm, that the glory of atchieving it can never be reserved, after so many ages, to an adventurer, in the noviciate of his Criticism, and the very first essay of his skill.

As to the other part of his Latin Epistle, every one will easily guess from this sketch of his critical talents, what the merit of it must be. It is all of a piece; exactly agreeable to the specimens here given. For I have not singled out this part, as the most obnoxious, or most liable to be confuted; but as the onely one, in which men of letters and curiosity could be interested. The rest was written by him as he professes, with a view of raising some reputation to himself, by exposing the faults of a work which has been received with approbation by the public [1]; and in pursuance of that design, he has employed it chiefly in contesting the time and order of certain minute facts delivered in *the Life of Cicero*; which, whether true or false, are of little or no moment, either to the general truth of the history, or the credit of the work: and it cannot therefore be of any use or entertainment to the public, to be informed, whether he or I have blundered the most about them. Yet if I should ever be invited by a proper occasion, to enter upon that task, I could shew his whole performance, as easily as I have shewn this part of it, to be a frivolous, captious, disingenuous piece of criticism; full of more real mistakes with-

[1] Commendatus inde institutum illud nostrum fore arbitrabar, si per earum Epistoliarum scripturam depravatam, rerumque etiam ipsarum obscuritatem, Te vel

minus recta quadam pro certis venditasse, vel recta nonnunquam perperam intellexisse constaret. Vid. Tunst. Epist. p. 1.



in the compass of a little volume, than he pretends even to have found in the large work, which he has thought fit to criticise.

But to return once more to the Epistles. It may be proper, before I commit them to the reader, to put him in mind of an observation, which will enable him to judge the more clearly of this question, of their authority. They were all, excepting the first, written within the compass of four months; from the beginning of *April*, to the end of *July*; and make frequent mention or reference to four principal facts; the times of which being known from *Cicero's* genuin Epistles, may serve as so many *æra's* towards settling the dates of the particular letters. The first of those facts is, the Consul *Pansa's* march out of *Rome*, at the head of his army, to join his Collegue, *Hirtius*, near *Modena*; on which he set forward before the 30th of *March* [1]. The second is, the battle of *Modena*, which happened on the 15th of *April* [2]. The third is, the union of *Lepidus* with *Antony*, on the 29th of *May* [3]. The fourth, the vote of the *Senate*, condemning *Lepidus* as an enemy, on the 30th of *June* [4]. Now if there be any mention of these facts in the following letters, which cannot be reconciled with their known dates, it must be allowed to be a strong argument in favor of our Critic's hypothesis; but if nothing of that kind can be found in them, it is a great confirmation, on the other hand, of their genuin authority.

To conclude; since these letters have never yet been reduced to their proper order by any of the Editors, but published generally, as they happened to be thrown together by the first collectors of them, from imperfect and mutilated copies; I have endeavoured to dispose them in the very order, in which

[1] Ep. Fam. 10. 10. [2] Ib. 30. [3] 23. 4 Ib. 1. 12. 10.

they were written ; as far as it can be collected from the matter of the Epistles themselves : which will clear them from many of the difficulties, and imaginary contradictions, with which they have been charged. As to *the Latin text* ; I have formed it from a collation of the principal Editions, and the various readings collected by the several Editors ; especially by *Victorius, Manutius* and *Lambinus*. I have varied indeed in some places both from the printed and MS. copies ; but those variations are rare, and of little moment as to the sense ; yet such as the syntax seemed manifestly to require. In my *English version*, I have pursued the maxim, which I laid down in the *Life of Cicero*, of attending in the first place to the sentiment, and in the next, adhering to the letter, as closely as the genius of our tongue would allow me to express it in an easy and familiar manner ; such as *Cicero* himself recommends for the style of an Epistle. How far I have succeeded in either case ; in giving *Cicero's* genuine words, or in rendering his genuine sense ; I readily submit to the judgement of the reader.

M. TULLII CICERONIS

THE

A D

E P I S T L E S

M. BRUTUM, &amp; BRUTI

O F

A D

M. T. CICERO to M. BRUTUS,

C I C E R O N E M

A N D O F

E P I S T O L Æ. BRUTUS to CICERO.

E P I S T O L A I.

E P I S T. I.

C I C E R O B R U T O, S. D.

C I C E R O to B R U T U S.

**L.** Clodius, tribunus plebis designatus, valde me diligit; vel, ut ἐμφρατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat: quod

**L.** Clodius [1], *Tribun of the people* elect [2], has a very great affection, or to speak more emphatically, a very great love for

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cum

[1] *N* *Onius Marcellus*, in observing the difference here made, between the Verbs, *amare* and *diligere*, cites this Letter, as from the *first book of Cicero's Epistles to Brutus*. [De different. nonnullar. diction. c. 5.] It was written therefore probably about the month of November, near to the expiration of *M. Antony's* Consulship, and after he had quitted the City, when people began to have a clear view of his designs, by his hostilities in the *Cisalpine Gaul*.

It does not appear from any of *Cicero's* Letters, who this *Clodius* was; or of what branch of the *Clodian* family. He must have been a Plebeian, on the account of his being a *Tribun*. All the editions of these Letters call him *Lucius*; but *Pighius*, in his *Annals*, takes him to be that *Caius Clodius*, ment oned by *Diø*; [l. 47. p. 340.] one of *Brutus's* Lieutenants, and particular confidents in *Macedonia*; who was entrusted by him with the custody of *C. Antonius*, of whom much will be said in the following Letters: and if that conjecture be true, then *Cicero's* recommendation of him, so warmly expressed in this Letter, had the desired effect, of wiping out all suspicions, that *Brutus* might have conceived of him.

[2] His title, of *Tribun elect*, was not derived, according to the ancient usage, from

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the

cùm mihi ita persuasum fit, non dubito (bene enim me nosti) quin illum quoque judices à me amari. Nihil enim mihi minùs hominis videtur, quàm non respondere in amore iis, à quibus provocere. Is mihi visus est suspicari, nec sine magno quidem dolore, aliquid à suis, vel per suos potiùs iniquos ad te esse delatum, quo tuus animus à se esset alienior. Non soleo, mi Brute, (quod tibi notum esse arbitror) temere affirmare de altero; est enim periculosum, propter occultas hominum voluntates, multipli-

me [3]. *As I am fully persuaded of this, so I do not doubt, but that you, who thoroughly know me, will believe, that I have the same love also for him. For nothing in my opinion is less worthy of a man, than to be behind hand in good offices with those, who invite you to their friendship. He seems to suspect, and not without great concern, that something has been written, or insinuated to you rather in person, by his enemies [4], which has made an impression on you to his disadvantage. It is not usual with me, my Brutus, as you, I imagine, well know, to affirm any thing too hastily of another. The thing itself is hazardous, on the account of the dark inclinations,*

the choice of the people, but the nomination of *J. Cæsar*, who a little before his death, upon the occasion of his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, named the *Consuls*, and all the *Tribuns*, for the two succeeding years. [Ep. ad Att. l. 14. 6.] It determines however the date of the Letter to some time between the death of *Cæsar*, and the 10th of December; on which day the *Tribuns* elect used to enter into their office.

[3] This distinction between the Verbs *amare* and *diligere*, is intimated also in some of his other Letters. Ep. fam. l. 9. 14. l. 33. 47.

[4] The different force of the præpositions, *a* and *per*, as they are here applied, is this; that though both of them, when joined to a passive verb, denote the agent, or the efficient cause; yet, *a*, relates properly to the remote or primary cause, *per*, to the immediate instrument producing the effect: for example; information given, *a suis iniquis*, implies it's being given from a distance, *per alium*, or *per litteras*; but given *per suos iniquos*, denotes the immediate and personal agency of his enemies. Thus

Filius meus—*per alium* ostendit sententiam suam. Ter. Heaut. 2. 1.

cesque naturas. Clodii animum perspectum habeo, cognitum, judicatum: multa ejus indicia, sed ad scribendum non necessaria. Volo enim hoc testimonium tibi videri potius quàm epistolam. Auctus Antonii beneficio est: itaque eum, falvis nobis, vellet falvum. In eum autem locum rem adductam intelligit (est enim, ut scis, minime stultus) ut utrique falvi esse non possint: itaque nos mavult. De te verò amicissime & loquitur & sentit. Quare

*and variable natures of men [5]. But Clodius's disposition is perfectly understood, known, and tried by me. I have many proofs of it; but not necessary to be committed to writing: for I would have you look upon this, as a testimonial, rather than an epistle. He was advanced by Antony's favor; yet a great share of that very favor came originally from you [6]. He would be glad therefore, to see him in safety; yet so, as to see us also safe at the same time: but he perceives things brought to such a pass [7], for he is, as you know, very far from a fool) that it is not possible for us both to be safe. He wishes therefore for us: and both talks, and thinks in the most*

[5] The same sentiment is expressed by him with his usual elegance in different parts of his writings. "Every man's nature, says he, is wrapped up in many deceitful teguments, and covered as it were from our notice with certain veils. The forehead, the eyes, the countenance often deceives us, but most of all the tongue." [Ep. ad Quint. Fr. l. 1. 1. §. 5.] and in another place, "since there are so many dark holes, and impenetrable recesses in the minds of men." Pr. Marcell. 7.

[6] He had been first recommended most probably by Brutus to Antony, in order to procure *Cæsar's* nomination of him to the Tribunate.

[7] This seems to refer, as I have hinted above, to some hostilities, actually committed by Antony, in *Cisalpine Gaul*, against *D. Brutus*, who was blocked up by him in *Modena*, a Colony of Rome.

fit,

fi quis fecus ad te de eo scripsit, aut si coram locutus est, peto à te etiam atque etiam, mihi ut potius credas, qui & facilius iudicare possum quam ille nescio quis, & te plus diligo. Clodium tibi amicissimum existima, civemque talem, qualis & prudentissimus, & fortuna optima esse debet.

*friendly manner of you. Wherefore if any one has written, or given you any different information about him; I earnestly entreat you to give credit rather to me; who am both better able to judge of him, than any obscure informer, and have a greater affection also for you. Look upon Clodius then, as one perfectly well affected to you; and such a Citizen, as one of the greatest prudence, and the easiest fortunes ought to be [8].*

## E P I S T O L A II.

## E P I S T. II.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

**L**itteras tuas valde exspecto, quas scripsisti post nuncios nostrarum rerum, & de morte Trebonii: non enim dubito, quin mihi consilium tuum explices. Indigno scelere & civem optimum amisimus, & provinciæ possessione depulsi su-

**I***Am in great expectation of the Letter, which you wrote, after the receipt of my last express, on the subject of my affairs and the death of Trebonius [1]. For I make no doubt, but that you will give me your sentiments on that occasion. We have lost an excellent Citizen, by a base act of violence;*

[8] It is a just observation, which Cicero makes in different parts of his works, that men of affluent fortunes are generally well affected to the peace and liberty of their country, as being likely to be the greatest sufferers by any change, that tends to subvert the laws, and government, under which they live. [See Epist. 7. it. Philip. 13. 8.]

[1] Brutus, from the time of his leaving Italy, had sent two public Letters to the Senate,

mus; quam recuperari facile est: neque minus turpe aut flagitiosum erit, si potest, non recuperari. Antonius adhuc est nobiscum: sed mediufidius & moveor hominis precibus, & timeo, ne illum aliorum furor excipiat: planè æstuo. Quod si scirem, quid tibi placeret; sine sollicitudine essem: id enim optimum esse,

*lains; and are driven out of possession of the Province, which yet may easily be recovered; nor will it be less base and scandalous in us, not to recover it, if it be possible. Caius Antonius is still my prisoner: but in truth, I am moved by the prayers of the man; and afraid, lest the madness of some should make him an occasion of mischief to me [2]. I am wretched at a loss, what to do with him. If I knew, what your opinion upon it*

persua-

Senate, giving an account of the state of his affairs abroad. The first informed them, how he had secured the greatest part of Macedonia, Illyricum and Greece, with the several armies belonging to them, to the interests of the Republic, against the attempts of *Caius Antonius*; whom he had obliged to retire into Apollonia, with no more than seven Cohorts. Upon the receipt of which news the Consul *Pansa* immediately summoned the Senate, to whom *Cicero* delivered his 10th *Philippic*, on the subject of decreasing proper honors and thanks to *Brutus* for his eminent services. [See Life of *Cicero*, vol. 2. p. 363.] The second express, which is referred to in this Letter, brought a farther relation of *Brutus's* success, and his intire reduction of those provinces, by the final defeat of *C. Antonius*; who was taken prisoner in the engagement by young *Cicero*, to whom *Brutus* had given the command of that day's action. [See Life. ib. p. 399.] The same express gave an account also of the murder of *Trebonius* by *Dolabella*; who by that treachery had possessed himself of Asia. But this last piece of news had been received at Rome before, directly from Asia, while the Consul *Pansa* was still in the City, and gave occasion to *Cicero's* 11th *Philippic*, spoken in a debate upon that subject; in which he displays at large the perfidy and inhumanity of *Dolabella's* act, and recommends *Cassius*, as the properest General to prosecute the war against him. As to *Trebonius's* Character, and the manner of his death: See Life of *Cic.* ib. p. 233, 373.

[2] *C. Antonius*, Brother to *Mark Antony*, had been Prætor of the City the preceding year, when *Cæsar* was killed; and, near the expiration of his Prætorship, seized the Province of Macedonia, in virtue of a pretended allotment, made by his Brother the Consul, in order to secure it against the designs of *M. Brutus*— who, after he had taken him prisoner, treated him with great lenity, and all the respect due to a Proconsul, and was inclined to give him his liberty, lest his detention might occasion some disturbance in his camp, where many of the soldiers loved him, and a great part had served under him. But *Cicero's* constant remonstrances, which we shall find in the following Letters, induced *Brutus*, against his inclination, to keep him still in custody: where after the league of the Triumvirate, and their cruel proscription of all the friends of liberty, he

persuafum effct mihi. Quare quàm primùm fac me certior quid tibi placeat. Caffius nofter Syriam, & legiones Syriacas habet; ultro quidem à Murco & à Marcio, & ab exercitu ipfo arceffitus. Ego fcripsi ad Tertiam forem & matrem; ne priùs ederent hoc, quod optimè ac feliciffimè gefit Caffius, quàm tuum confilium cognouiffent, tibi que vifum effct. Legi orationes duas tuas; quarum altera kal. Jan. ufus es; altera de litteris meis; quæ habita eft abs te contra Calenum. Nunc fcilicet hoc expectas, dum eas laudem.

*was, I should be at ease; for I should persuade myself, that it was the best. Let me know therefore, as soon as possible, what you would have me do. Our Cassius is in possession of Syria, and the Syrian Legions; to which he was freely invited by Murcus and Marcius, as well as by the army itself [3]. I wrote to my sister Tertia, and to my mother [4], that they should not publish this most happy and fortunate turn of Cassius's affairs, till they had consulted you, and obtained your consent [5]. I have read your two Orations; the one of which you spoke on the first of January; the other is on the subject of my Letters, in answer to Calenus [6]. You expect now, I suppose, that I should praise them.*

Nescio

was put to death at last, as a particular sacrifice to *the Manes of Cicero*. Plutar. in Brut.

[3] The account of this extraordinary success of *Cassius* in Syria is related more particularly in two several Letters, written on that occasion to *Cicero* by *Cassius* himself. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 11, 12. *L. Staius Murcus* and *Q. Marcius Crispus*, were *Cæsarian* Generals, each at the head of three legions, and acting in conjunction against *Cæcilius Bassus*, a *Pompeian* Commander, who had possessed himself of *Apamea* in Syria, which he maintained against them with a single legion, which voluntarily submitted to *Cassius*. Dio. l. 47. Philip. 11. 12.

[4] *Brutus's* Sister, *Tertia*, was the wife of *Cassius*. His Mother was *Servilia*; Sister to *M. Cato*, by the same Mother, but a different Father, *Servilius*: for the daughters generally bore the name of their Father's family; except where there happened to be several of them in one house; who, in that case, were distinguished usually, according to the order of their birth, by the names of *Secunda*, *Tertia*, &c.

[5] The ground of *Brutus's* scruples about the publication of this news at *Rome*, is explained in the 4th Letter.

[6] The first of these Orations is the fifth of *Cicero's* *Philippics*, in which he warmly exhorts



Nescio animi an ingenii tui major in his libellis laus continetur. Jam concedo, ut vel Philippici vocentur, quod tu quãdam epistola jocans scripsisti. Duabus rebus egemus, Cicero, pecunia & supplemento: quarum altera potest abs te expediri, ut aliqua pars militum istinc mittatur nobis, vel secreto consilio adversus Panfam, vel actione in senatu: altera, quæ magis est necessaria, neque meo exercitui magis quàm

*I do not know, what to praise the most in these pieces; your courage, or your abilities. I allow you now, to call them even Philippics, as you intimated jocosely in a former Letter [1]. I am in want of two things, Cicero; money and recruits: the one of which may be supplied by you, so as to send me from thence some part of the troops; either by some secret management, against the will of Panfa [2]; or by a motion in the Senate: the other, which is more necessary, nor yet more so to my army, than to those of the other Commanders,*

exhorts the Senate, instead of sending Embassadors to *Antony*, which had been proposed by *Calenus*, to declare him an enemy: and then decrees some extraordinary honors to *D. Brutus*, *M. Lepidus*, and *Octavius*—the second is the tenth *Philippic*, spoken, as is said above, upon the occasion of *Brutus's* first public Letters, in which *Cicero* decrees extraordinary honors to him, as due to his great services and success, in opposition to what was moved by *Calenus*, who had proposed, that *Brutus* should be required to give up the army, which he had raised by his private authority, to some Commander appointed by the Senate. This *Q. Fufus Calenus* was Father-in-law to the Consul *Pansa*, had been made Consul by *J. Cæsar*, and was *Antony's* fast friend, and the manager of his interests in the Senate against *Cicero*—See more of him, in *Life of Cic.* vol. 2. p. 338. 349. 353.

[1] *Cicero* called these Orations, *Philippics*, in imitation of *Demosthenes's* Orations against *Philip of Macedon*, as being chiefly of the same nature with those of *Demosthenes*; a series of invective Orations delivered to his Citizens, against *M. Antony*, the public enemy of the State: yet they were called indifferently, for some ages, either *Philippics* or *Antonians*. A. Gell. l. 13. 1. *Lif. of Cic.* vol. 2. p. 370.

[2] *C. Pansa*, the Consul, had been very busy for some time past, in raising new levies and gathering all the troops, that he could, in order to march with them to the assistance of his Collegue *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, who were already gone, each at the head of a veteran army, to the relief of *Modena*; in which *D. Brutus* was closely besieged, and reduced almost to extremity by *Antony*. He marched therefore out of *Rome* with his army, in the end of *March*, a few days before the date of this Letter, though *Brutus* had not yet heard of it, and was unwilling to spare any forces out of *Italy*, for reasons, which will be signified in Letter the 4th.

reliquorum, \* \* hoc magis doleo Afiam \* \* nos amiffiffe : quam fic vexari à Dolabella audio, ut jam non videatur crudeliffimum ejus facinus, interfectio Trebonii. Vetus Antiftius me tamen pecunia sub-

[cannot perhaps be fupplied fo eafily [1] ]. For this reafon, I am the more concerned \* \* for our lofs of Afia [2] : which is fo miferably baraffed, I hear, by Dolabella [3], that the murder of Trebonius can no longer be thought his cruelleft act. Vetus Antiftius however has relieved me with money.

The words in the Latin text, *vel fecreto confilio adverfus Panfam*, may poffibly bear a different interpretation from what I have given them : for if *adverfus*, as it is fometimes ufed, fhould be thought to have the fame meaning here as *apud Panfam*, then the tranflation of the fentence fhould be, *by fome private confultation in concert with Panfa*, but the other fenfe is the moft natural ; fince Brutus might well be fuppofed to know, for reafons very obvious, that Panfa would not confent to fend any troops at that time out of Italy.

[1] There is fomething wanted at this place in the text, to complete the fenfe, which *And. Patricius* fupplies, by the Words [*vix poteft.*] It was fomewhat moft probably of a fimilar turn, and agreeable to what I have inferted in the tranflation. [See *Patric. Not. in Fragment. Epift. ad Brut.*] The remaining part of the Letter is printed feperately in the common Editions ; as if it were a Fragment, or conclufion of a different Letter ; but *Sigonius*, *Manutius* and *Patricius*, who had confidered thefe fragments with a particular attention, have added it to this place ; with which it feems to fuit fo naturally, as to make 'it probable, though not certain, that it might originally have belonged to it.

[2] *Afia* was a Province, remarkably rich and fruitful ; and of all others the moft conveniently fituated for fupplying *Brutus* and *Caffius*, with what they particularly wanted ; money and the other neceffaries of war ; which made the lofs of it at this time the more fenfibly felt and regretted.

[3] *P. Cornelius Dolabella* was *Cicero's* Son-in-law ; the third husband of his daughter *Tullia*, from whom he was divorced a little before her death. *Cicero* however, both before and after that divorce, continued to keep up a fair correpondence with him ; and more efppecially after *Cæfar's* death, when he was Conful with *M. Antony*, he took great pains to preferve his authority with him ; in order to engage him to the interefts of the Republic, and to ufe him as a check upon his Colleague, *Antony* ; of which *Dolabella* for fome time gave him great hopes : but being ambitious, needy and void of every good principle, he was bribed and wholly gained at laft by *Antony* ; in concert with whom he formed a project to feize the Province of *Syria*, and to feize the Eaftern part of the Empire againft the attempts of *Caffius* : and in purfance of that refolution, as he was paffing through *Afia*, he furprifed and took the City of *Smyrna* by

levavit. Cicero filius tuus sic mihi se probat, industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio, ut profusum numquam dimittere videatur cogitationem, cuius sit filius. Quare quoniam efficere non possum, ut pluris facias eum, qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue iudicio meo, ut tibi persuadeas, non fore illi abutendum gloria tua, ut adipiscatur honores paternos. Kalend. April. Dyrrachio.

ney [1]. Cicero, your son, recommends himself to me so effectually by his industry, patience, activity, greatness of mind, and in short, by every duty, that he seems never to drop the remembrance, of whose son he is. Wherefore, since it is not possible for me, to make you love him more, than you do already; yet allow thus much to my judgement, as to persuade yourself, that he will have no occasion to borrow any share of your glory, in order to obtain his Father's honors [2]. April 1st, from Dyrrhachium.

## EPISTOLA III.

## EPIST. III.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO TO BRUMUS,

**P**Lanci animum in republicam egregium, legiones, auxilia, copias ex litte-

**F**ROM Plancus's Letter [1], a copy of which, I imagine, has been sent to you, you have been

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ris

by treachery, where the Proconsul *Trebonius* resided; whom he put to death with the utmost cruelty; and having by this means got possession of *Asia*, began presently to waste and plunder it of every thing that was useful for war; for which he was declared an enemy by the Senate. See a farther account of his character and death, in the *Life of Cicero*, v. 2. p. 40, 264, 373, 444, &c.

[1] See Letter the sixth.

[2] This good character of *Cicero's* son, to whom *Brutus* had given the command of his horse, is confirmed by the Letters of other friends, during his continuance at *Athens*, and with *Brutus*. *Ep. Fam.* l. 12. 14, 16. See an account of him at large, in *Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 570.

[3] *L. Plancus* was Consul elect for the ensuing year, by the nomination of *J. Caesar*. and

ris ejus, quarum exemplum tibi missum arbitror, perspicere potuisti. Lepidi tui necessarii, qui secundum fratrem affines habet, quos oderit proximos, levitatem & inconstantiam, animumque semper inimicum reipublicæ, jam credo tibi ex tuorum litteris esse perspectum. Nos expectatio sollicitat, quæ est omnis jam in extremum

*able to inform yourself of his excellent disposition towards the Republic; with the condition of his Legions, auxiliaries, and whole forces. From the letters also of your own people, you are convinced, I believe, by this time, of the levity, inconstancy, and perpetual disaffection of your friend Lepidus [1]; who, next to his own brother [2], hates you, his near relations, the most [3]. We are anxious with expectation, which is adducta*

and now commanded the farther *Gaul*, with Proconsular authority. His Letter here referred to was a public one, still extant; addressed to the *Magistrates, Senate and People of Rome*. [Ep. Fam. l. to. 8.] It was received and read in the Senate, on the 7th of April, where it occasioned a warm debate for two days successively, of which *Cicero* gave *Plancus* an account in a letter dated the 11th of April. [Ep. Fam. 10. 12.] This Letter therefore to *Brutus* must have been written about the same time, within a day or two after the same debate, which is alluded to below. The reader will find a large account of *Plancus*, in the Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 404, 436, 446, 461.

[1] *M. Æmilius Lepidus* appears to have been a weak, vain, inconstant man; void of all good intentions towards the Republic; and governing himself wholly by such motives, as flattered his vanity, or served his ambition. *D. Brutus*, in a Letter to *Cicero*, calls him, *hominem ventosissimum*; light and changeable as the wind; and never disposed, to do any thing that was right. [Ep. Fam. 11. 9.] See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 250, 494.] The particular instance of his disaffection, for which *Cicero* censures him here so severely, was not, as *Mr. Tunstall* interprets it, the act of receiving *Antony* into his camp, after his flight from *Modena*, for that was above six weeks later, but his sending a body of troops to *Antony's* assistance before *Modena*, under two of his Lieutenants, *Silanus* and *Culleo*: which he endeavoured afterwards to excuse, in a Letter to *Cicero*, dated the 22d of May, as done against his orders, and by the persidy of those Officers. Ep. Fam. l. 10. 34.

[2] *Lepidus's* Brother was *Paullus Æmilius Lepidus*, who had been Consul seven years before, with *C. Marcellus*, when he was said to have sold himself to *Cæsar*. [See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 49.] But at this time he was acting a contrary part, and appears to have been zealous in the cause of the Republic: for after the defeat of *Antony*, and death of the Consuls, he made a motion in the Senate, that the fourth and martial Legions, which were both veteran, and had put themselves under the command of *Octavius*, should be delivered up by him to *D. Brutus*: [Ep. Fam. l. 11. 19.] for which he was afterwards proscribed by the Triumvirate, with the consent of his Brother.

[3] *Lepidus's* wife and *Cassius's* were Sisters to *M. Brutus*, and both living at this time

adducta discrimen. Est enim spes omnis in Bruto expediendo, de quo vehementer timebamus. Ego hic cum homine furioso satis habeo negotii, Servilio; quem tuli diutius quàm dignitas mea patiebatur: sed tuli reipublicæ causa; ne darem perditis civibus hominem, parùm sanum illum quidem, sed tamen nobilem, quò concurrerent: quod faciunt nihilominus: sed eum alienandum à republica non putabam. Finem feci ejus ferendi: cœperat enim esse tanta insolentia, ut neminem liberum duceret: In Planci verò causa exarsit incredibili dolore; mecumque per biduum ita contendit, & à me ita fractus est; ut eum in perpetuum modestiorem sperem fore. Atque in

*now reduced to the last crisis. All our hopes are fixed on the delivery of Brutus; for whom we have been under great apprehensions [1]. I have business enough here upon my hands with the madman, Servilius [2]; whom I have endured longer, than became my dignity: but I did it for the sake of the Republic; lest I should give our profligate Citizens a leader, though of little sense indeed himself, yet noble, to resort to: which nevertheless they still do: but I did not think it convenient to alienate him from the Republic. I have now put an end to my forbearance of him; for he began to grow so insolent, that he looked upon every man as a Slave. But in the debate about Plancus he was strangely mortified; and, after a contest with me for two days, was so roughly handled by me, that he will always, I hope, be the modester for it hereafter [3]. In the midst*

in Rome. Thus Cicero also begins one of his Letters to Cassius; *the perfidy of your Kinsman Lepidus, &c.* [Ep. Fam. 12.]

[1] They were expecting every day at Rome, to hear of a decisive action at Modena, where D. Brutus had been besieged near four months: and within a few days after this Letter was written, they had the joyful news of Antony's defeat. See Let. 8th. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 417.

[2] P. Servilius was Consul with J. Cæsar, five years before, when Cæsar followed Pompey into Greece, and fought with him at Pharsalia. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 111.

[3] The debate here mentioned, about the case of Plancus, is more particularly related by Cicero in a Letter to Plancus himself. Ep. Fam. 10. 12.

hac contentione ipsa. quum maximè res ageretur a. d. v. id. April. litteræ mihi in senatu redditæ sunt à Lentulo nostro; de Cassio, de legionibus, de Syria: quas statim cum recitaviffem cecidit Servilius; complures præterea: sunt enim insignes aliquot, qui improbiffime sentiunt: sed acerbiffime tulit Servilius, assensum esse mihi de Planco. Magnum illud monstrum in repub. est sed quo \* \*.

*of this contention, and in the very heat of the debate, on the ninth of April, a Letter was delivered to me in the Senate from our Lentulus [1]; giving an account of Cassius, the Legions, and Syria; which when I had read presently in public, Servilius sunk; and many more besides: for there are several of distinguished rank, most wickedly affected: but Servilius was cruelly chagrined to see the Senate assent to my motion about Planco. The part which he acts in the Republic, is very monstrous: but whither \* \* \* \*,*

## E P I S T O L A IV.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

**D**ATIS mane a. d. III. id April. Scaptio litteris, eodem die tuas accepi kal. April. Dyrrachio datas, vesperi:

## E P I S T. IV.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

**A**FTER I had given my Letter to Scaptius [2], on the 11th of April in the morning [3], I received one from you the same day in the evening, dated from ire,

[1] This *P. Lentulus* was the Son of *P. Lentulus Spinther*, who was Consul in the time of *Cicero's* exile, and the chief author of his restoration. The Son was *Quæstor* in *Asia* to *Trebonius*; and, upon *Trebonius's* death, took upon him the administration and defence of that Province, in opposition to *Dolabella*; by whom however he was driven out of it. See his Letters to *Cicero*. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 14, 15.

[2] This refers most probably to the preceding Letter, which is now imperfect in the conclusion, but must have been written, as I have shewn in the notes, on the 10th, or 11th of April.

[3] All the Editions exhibit here, (*a. d. vi. id. April.*) or the 8th of April; whereas the

itaque mane prid. id. April. cum à Scaptio certior factus effem, non esse eos profectos, quibus pridie dederat, & statim ire, hoc paullulum exaravi ipsa in turba matutinæ salutationis. De Cassio lætor & reipublicæ gratulor : mihi etiam, qui, repugnante & irascente Panfa, sententiam dixerim ; ut Dolabellam bello Cassius perfequeretur : Et quidem audacter dicebam, sine nostro senatusconsulto jam illud eum bellum gerere. De te etiam dixi, tum quæ dicenda putavi. Hæc ad te oratio perferetur ; quoniam

*Dyrrachium, on the first of April [1]. Being informed therefore by Scaptius [2] early on the 12th, that the messengers, to whom he had delivered [3] my Letters the day before, were not yet set forward, but were going away immediately, I scratched out this short Letter, in the croud of my morning visitors. I rejoice at Cassius's success, and congratulate the Republic upon it ; and myself also, who against the will, and to the displeasure even of Panfa, moved the Senate, that Cassius should have the conduct of the war against Dolabella : nay I boldly declared, that without waiting for a decree of the Senate, he was already prosecuting that war. I spoke also concerning you, what I thought proper to be said at that time. This Speech shall be conveyed to*

the words of the letter declare it to have been written, [a. d. iii. id.] or on the eleventh : the date likewise at the end, as it stands in the Editions, is [id. Apr.] or the 12th ; though it appears from the letter, that it should have been, [prid. id.] or the 11th. Since the original dates then have been unquestionably corrupted by the negligence of transcribers, I found it necessary to reduce them to a conformity with the letter, agreeably to what I have said on that subject in my Preface.

[1] Letter the second, from *Brutus to Cicero*, as above.

[2] There were two *Scaptius's*, who are mentioned by *Cicero*, during his government of *Cilicia*, as the managers of *Brutus's* affairs ; the one in *Capadocia*, the other in *Cyprus* : to the first of whom, at *Brutus's* desire, he granted a *Præfecture* and *Tribunate* in the army. *Epist. ad Att. l. 6. 1, 3.*

[3] All the Editions give us in this place *dederam*, as referable to *Cicero*, speaking of himself. But the context makes it necessary, I think, to change it to *dederat*, in the third person, as being clearly applicable to *Scaptius*.

cogno-

te video delectari Philippicis nostris. Quod me de Antonio confulis: quoad Bruti exitum cognorimus, custodiendum puto. Ex his litteris, quas mihi misisti; Dolabella Asiam vexare videtur, & in ea se gerere teterrime: compluribus autem scripsisti, Dolabellam à Rhodiis esse exclusum: qui si ad Rhodum accessit, videtur mihi Asiam reliquisse. Id si ita est, istic tibi censeo commorandum: sin eam semel cepit, mihi crede, non erit; at in Asiam censeo persequendum. Nihil mihi videris hoc tempore melius acturus. \* \* Quod egere

to you [1]; since you are pleased, I perceive, with my Philippics. As to my advice, which you ask about C. Antonius, I think, that he should be kept in custody, till you know the fate of D. Brutus. By the Letters which you sent to me, Dolabella seems still to be harassing Asia, and acting in it most villainously [2]: Yet you wrote to several others, that he had been refused admittance by the Rhodians: If he really came to Rhodes, I take him to have quitted Asia. If that be the case, I am of opinion, that you should stay where you are; but if he has got possession of that Province, take my word for it, you must not stay \* \* \* but should pursue him directly into Asia: You can do nothing more serviceable in our present circumstances [3]. \* \* As

[1] This affair of Cicero's opposition to *Pansa* in favor of *Cassius*, and what he declared on that occasion, to the Senate and to the people, is signified in a particular Letter to *Cassius* himself. Ep. Fam. 12. 7. His Speech upon it to the Senate, which he promises here to send to *Brutus*, is the 11th *Philippic*. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 376.

[2] *P. Lentulus* also, in a Letter to *Cicero*, speaking of *Dolabella's* cruelties, says; *after he had laid waste the Province, seized the public revenues, most cruelly plundered the Roman Citizens, and even sold them for Slaves, he quitted Asia.* Ep. Fam. 12. 15.

[3] The remainder of this Letter is printed separately in the common Editions, as a distinct Epistle without any date: but *P. Manutius* and *And. Patricius* have connected it with the foregoing part dated April 12th: as seeming to be a continuation of *Cicero's* answer to the several particulars of *Brutus's* Letters above, and in such a manner, as might be expected from one writing, as he says, in haste, and in a croud.



te duabus necessariis rebus scribis, *supplemento & pecunia*, difficile consilium est: non enim mihi occurrunt facultates, quibus uti te posse videam, præter illas, quas senatus decrevit; ut pecunias à civitatibus mutuas sumeres. De supplemento autem non video quid fieri possit: tantum enim abest, ut Panfa de exercitu suo aut delectu tibi aliquid tribuat, ut etiam moleste ferat, tam multos ad te ire voluntarios: quomodo equidem credo, quòd his rebus quæ in Italia decernuntur, nullas copias nimis

to what you write, that you are in want of two necessary things, recruits and money; it is difficult to help you. I cannot think of any other way to raise money, which could be of use to you, but that, which the Senate has decreed, that you should borrow it from the Cities [9]. But as to recruits, I do not see what is possible to be done. For Panfa is so far from granting any share of his army, or new levies to you, that he is even uneasy, to see so many volunteers going over to you. His reason for it, as I really believe, is; that he thinks no forces too great for the demand of our affairs in Italy; [10] but, as many suspect, it is, because he has no mind to see you too

[9] Upon the receipt of Brutus's letters, the Senate decreed at Cicero's motion, and in his words, that Brutus should borrow money, on the public credit, for the support of the war, from whomsoever he thought fit. Phil. 10. 11.

[10] Panfa certainly judged right, in imagining the strefs of the war to lie at present in Italy; and the fate of the republic to depend principally on their success before Modena; where, at the event shewed, the united forces of the two Consuls and Octavius, with the help also of D. Brutus, were but barely sufficient, and not without great difficulty, to get the better of Antony. What is said in this letter concerning Panfa, would lead one to imagine, that he was in Rome, at the time when Cicero wrote it: and if so, the latter part of the letter, annexed here as I have observed, by Manutius, cannot belong to the former part, which bears date on April 21st; because Panfa quitted Rome before the end of March. [Ep. Fam. 10. 10.] But the passage does not necessarily require that interpretation; but may allude onely perhaps to Panfa's known inclination; and to what he had declared to Cicero on that subject before he left Rome: who when he quitted it, left one of his legions still behind for the guard of the City, and might leave orders withal, that no part of it should be sent away to Brutus.

magnas esse arbitretur, quomodo autem multi suspicantur, quòd ne te quidem nimis firmum esse velit: quod ego non suspicor. Quod scribis, *te ad Tertiam sororem scripsisse, ut ne prius ederent ea, quæ gesta à Cassio essent, quàm tibi visum esset*; video te veritum esse id quod verendum fuit; ne animi partium Cæsaris, quomodo etiam nunc partes appellantur, vehementer commoverentur. Sed antè quàm tuas litteras accepimus, audita res erat & pervulgata: tui etiam tabellarii ad multos familiares tuos litteras attulerant. Quare ne

*too strong; of which I have no suspicion* [11]. *As to what you say, that you had written to your Sister Tertia, not to publish the good news about Cassius, before they had taken my opinion upon it; you were afraid, I perceive, of what indeed was to be apprehended, lest the minds of the Cæsarian party, as our parties are even still distinguished, should be greatly shocked at it* [12]. *But before we had received your letters, that affair was known and divulged* [13]; *and your own Messengers also had brought other letters to many of your friends. The*

[11] *Brutus* and his friends greatly suspected the fidelity of the Consuls; but *Cicero*, who had conversed with them more intimately, than any of his party, always discouraged those suspicions, and vindicated the integrity of their intentions; which was shortly after confirmed by their behaviour at *Modena*, where they both lost their lives in the defence of their country. Upon which occasion *Cicero* puts *Brutus* in mind in a following Letter, that they had answered to the character, which he had always given of them. See *Epist.* 8. note [3] and *Epist.* 9. note [12].

[12] *Brutus's* caution about the publication of this news seems to have been well grounded, as *Cicero* allows indeed in this Letter, but signifies more clearly in some of his *Philippics*; where he takes great pains to refute the insinuations, invidiously thrown out by the opposite party, of the danger, that might be apprehended, from the excessive power of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Vid. *Phil.* 10. 7. it. 11. 12. 15.

[13] The first account of this news came probably from *Centulius's* Letter, which *Cicero* read to the Senate, as it is mentioned in *Epist.* the 3d; which seems to have arrived about two days before *Brutus's* letter.

que suppressenda res erat, præfertim cum id fieri non possêt; neque si possêt, non divulgandam potiùs, quàm occultandam putaremus. De Cicerone meo, & si tantum est in eo quantum scribis, tantum scilicet quantum debeo gaudeo; & si quòd amas eum eò majora facis, id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, à te eum diligì. Prid. id. April.

*thing therefore could not be suppressed, since that was already out of our power; yet if it had been otherwise, we should have thought it proper to be published, rather than concealed. As to my Son, if his merit be really as great, as you write, I rejoice at it, as much as I ought to do: or if you make it greater than it is, because you love him, even that also gives me an incredible joy, to find that he is beloved by you. April the 12th.*

## EPISTOLA V.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

**Q**UÆ litteræ tuo nomine recitatæ sint id. April. in senatu, eodemque tempore Antonii, credo ad te scripsisse tuos; quorum ego nemini concedo. Sed nihil necesse erat eadem omnes: illud necesse me ad te scribere; quid sentirem de tota constitutione hujus belli, & quo judicio essem, quaque sententia. Voluntas mea, Brute, de summa republica semper eadem fuit,

## EPIST. V.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

**W**HAT Letters were read in the Senate on the 13th of April, in your name, and at the same time, in Antonius's, you have been informed, I suppose, by your people; to none of whom I give place, in point of affection for you. But there was no necessity, that we should all write on the same subject. The part, that belongs necessarily to me, is, to signify my sentiments on the whole state of this war; what my judgement of it is; what my ground of voting in the Senate. My general view, Brutus, with regard to public affairs, has always been the same with yours; though my mea-

quæ tua; ratio quibus iam in rebus (non enim omnibus) paullo fortassè vehementior. Scis mihi semper placuisse, non rege solùm, sed regno liberari rempublicam: tu leniùs; immortalì omnino cum tua laude; sed quid melius fuerit; magno dolore sensimus, magno periculo sentimus. Recenti illo tempore, tu omnia ad pacem, quæ oratione confici non poterat: ego omnia ad libertatem, quæ sine pace nulla est: pacem ipsam bello atque armis effici posse arbitrabar. Studia non deerant arma poscentium, quorum repressimus impetum,

*measures, in some particular cases, for I cannot say in all, have been perhaps a little more vehement [1]. It was ever my wish, as you know, to see the Republic freed, not only from a Tyrant, but from Tyranny itself. You were for milder counsils; and with immortal honor to yourself: but which of the two was the better, we have felt to our great grief, and still feel to our great danger. In that time of our late confusion [2], all your aim was bent on peace, which was not to be obtained by Speeches; mine on liberty; which is nothing indeed without peace: but a real peace, I imagined, was to be procured only by war and force of arms. There was no zeal wanting in the people, who called aloud for arms: but we discouraged their vigor,*

[1] After the death of *Cæsar*, *Cicero* was constantly urging *Brutus* and his accomplices, to support that act by vigorous measures, and to arm themselves against the dissimulation and ambitious views of *M. Antony*. *Brutus* on the other hand was bent on pacific counsils, and persuaded, that the integrity of their cause would work it's own way, and unite all people in defence of that liberty, which was offered to them; and having conceived some hopes also of *Antony*, he was willing to pay all due respect to his Consular authority; nor to take any step, but in the ordinary forms of the constitution: and even after he was driven out of the City by *Antony's* intrigues, he adhered to the same maxims; lived retired in the country, and dismissed the concourse of his friends, who resorted to him from all parts of *Italy*, and were eager to take arms in his cause. This is the ground of *Cicero's* expostulation with him in the first part of this Letter; where he reminds him likewise of his original mistake, in saving *Antony*, at the time when *Cæsar* was killed, as being the cause of all the trouble, which they had since suffered, and of the danger to which they were now exposed.

[2] Which was occasioned by *Cæsar's* death.

ardoremque restinximus. Itaque res in eum locum venerat, ut nisi Cæsari Octaviano deus quidam illam mentem dedisset, in potestatem perditissimi hominis & turpissimi, M. Antonii, veniendum fuerit: quocum vides hoc tempore ipso quod fit quantumque certamen. Id profectò nullum esset, nisi tum conservatus esset Antonius. Sed hæc omitto: res enim à te gesta, memorabilis & penè cælestis, repellit omnes reprehensionem

and extinguished their ardor [3]. Our affairs therefore were reduced to such a state, that unless some God had inspired Cæsar Octavianus with that resolution, which he exerted, we must have fallen into the power of a most desperate and infamous man, M. Antony [4]; with whom you see at this very time, how great and difficult a struggle we have upon our hands [5]: which would have been wholly avoided, if Antony had not then been preserved [6]. But I omit what is past: for that memorable and almost celestial act of yours is so far superior to all reprehension,

[3] This was owing to the pacific measures of the Conspirators, and especially of Brutus; which gave their enemies time to arm themselves, and gather such a force about them, as proved strong enough in the end, to destroy both them and the Republic. Thus in a letter to Antony, written jointly by Brutus and Cassius, they put him in mind, how they had voluntarily thrown themselves into his power; and, by his advice, had dismissed the guard of their friends, who resorted to them from the principal Towns of Italy. Ep. Fam. 11. 2.

[4] Octavius, who, by the will of his Uncle, J. Cæsar, was left the heir of his name and estate, finding himself ill treated by the Consul Antony, and likely to be deprived by him of that succession, betook himself directly to arms, though but eighteen years old; and by great bribes and greater promises, presently drew together a strong army of veterans, who had served his Uncle in his wars, and were dispersed in the several colonies of Italy. With these he declared for the authority of the Senate, and marched into the neighbourhood of Rome, to cover it from the insults of Antony; who would otherwise have made himself master of it, but was obliged by this disappointment to carry the war into Cisalpine Gaul. [Phil. 3. 2. 5. 11.] where D. Brutus had fortified himself in Modena; which he held out against him, till the Consuls Hirtius and Pansa, in conjunction with Octavius, came with their several armies to his relief.

[5] In Cisalpine Gaul, where Modena was now besieged, and reduced almost to the last extremity by Antony.

[6] At the time when Cæsar was killed; for which piece of scrupulous and unfeasonable clemency, Cicero reproves the other chiefs also of the Conspiracy, in his letters to them. Ep. Fam. 10. 23. 12. 4.

fiones

siones: quippe quæ ne laude quidem fati idonea affici possit. Exististi nuper vultu fevero: exercitum, copias, legiones idoneas per te brevi tempore comparasti. Dii immortales! qui ille nuncius, quæ illæ literæ, quæ lætitia senatus, quæ alacritas civitatis erat! nihil umquam vidi tam omnium consensione laudatum. Erat expectatio reliquiarum Antonii; quem equitatu, legionibusque magna ex parte spoliaras: ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem. Nam tuæ literæ, quæ recitatæ in senatu sunt, & imperatoris consilium, & militum virtutem, & industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei, declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset de his literis referri; & nisi in tempus turbulentissimum, post discessum Panfæ consulis, incidissent, honos quo-

*that it cannot even be praised so much, as it deserves [7]. You have assumed of late an air of severity; and have drawn together in a short time by your own vigor, a competent army, forces, Legions. Good Gods! how welcome was that express of yours? how those letters [8]? What a joy did they raise in the Senate? what alacrity in the City? I never saw any thing so universally applauded. We were in some suspense still, about the remains of C. Antonius; whom you had deprived of his horse, and in great part of his legions: but that affair also had such an end as we wished. For your letter, which was read in the Senate [9], shews the prudence of the General, the virtue of your Soldiers, the industry of your Officers, and in particular of my Cicero. If your friends had been willing to move the Senate upon it, and if it had not fallen into a most turbulent time, after the departure of the Consul Panfa [10], some just and proper honor would have*

[7] The act of *killing Cæsar* in the Senate; which *Cicero* afterwards, in a Speech to the same Senate, called, *the most glorious, that was ever performed in any City*, Phil. 2. 12.

[8] This refers to *Brutus's* first express, which brought account to the Senate of his unexpected success in *Macedonia*. See Note [1] Epist. 2d.

[9] This relates to *Brutus's* 2d express. See Note ib.

[10] Who marched out of *Rome* a little before the arrival of the second express, with a new raised army towards *Molena*, in order to join with *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, and give battle to *Antony*.

mortali-

que justus & debitus diis immortalibus decretus effret. Ecce tibi idib. April. advolat manè celer Pilus: qui vir! dii boni, quàm gravis! quàm constans! quàm bonarum in republica partium! Hic epistolas affert duas; unam tuo nomine, alteram Antonii: dat Servilio tribuno plebis: ille Cornuto: recitantur in senatu. ANTONIUS PROCOS. magna admiratio; ut si esset recitatum, DOLABELLA IMPERATOR; à quo quidem venerant tabellarii; sed nemo Pili similis, qui proferre litteras auderet, aut magistratibus redere. Tuæ recitantur; breves

*been decreed for it to the Gods [11]. In this interval, on the 13th of April, in the morning, your nimble Courier, Pilus, comes flying to us. What a man! good Gods! how important? how constant to himself? how zealous in the cause of the Republic? he brings with him two letters; one in your name; the other in C. Antonius's: gives them to Servilius, the Tribune; he, to Cornutus the Prætor [12]: they are read in the Senate, ANTONIUS PROCONSUL [13]; raised as much admiration, as if any one had read; DOLABELLA EMPEROUR. From whom also there came an express; but there was no body, like your Pilus, so hardy, as to produce the letters, or deliver them to the magistrates. Your*

[11] It was always usual, upon the news of any signal victory, signified in form to the Senate by their Generals abroad, to decree a *Supplication* or *public Thanksgiving* to the Gods, for a number of days successively; proportionable to the importance of the victory, and the reputation of the General.

[12] The Tribuns had the power of convoking the Senate in the absence of the superior magistrates. In virtue of which, they summoned that meeting, on the 20th of December, when Cicero spoke his *third Philippic*. [Phil. 3. 5.] But the *Prætors*, by their office, were properly the *Collegues of the Consuls*, and their Deputies in absence. [A. Gell. 13. 15.] Thus Cicero, in a letter written about this time to *Plancus*, says; *we carried your letters directly to Cornutus, the Prætor of the City; who because the Consuls were absent, supplied the Consular office, by the custom of our ancestors.* [Ep. Fam. 10. 12.]

[13] *Brutus*, who, as it is said above, treated his prisoner *Antonius* with great civility, carried his indulgence of him so far, as to suffer him not onely to write to the Senate, but to assume the Title of *Proconsul* in his letter. Though his *Proconsular* power was at first illegally usurped, and afterwards traiterously employed against the Republic. This greatly startled and shocked all *Brutus's* friends at *Rome*, so as to drive them to the hardy expedient, here mentioned, of disclaiming his letters, as forged.

illæ

illæ quidem, sed in Antonium  
admodum lenes: vehementer  
admiratus fenatus: mihi autem  
non erat explicatum, quid age-  
rem: falsas dicerem? quid si  
tu eas approbasses? confirma-  
rem? non erat dignitatis tuæ:  
itaque ille dies silentio. Pos-  
tridie autem, cùm sermo incre-  
bruiisset; Pilusque oculos vehe-  
mentius hominum offendisset;  
natum omnino est principium  
à me. De PROCOS. ANTONIO  
multa. Sextius causæ non de-  
fuit. Post mecum: quanto  
suum filium, quanto meum  
in periculo futurum duceret,  
si contra procos. arma tulis-  
sent: nostri heminem: cau-  
sæ non defuit. Dixerunt etiam  
alii. Labeo verò noster, nec  
signum tuum in epistola, nec  
diem appositum, nec te scrip-  
sisse ad tuos, ut soleres: hoc  
cogere volebat, falsas litteras

*letter was read, stout indeed, but extremely mild towards Antonius. The Senate was greatly surprized at it. For my part, I did not know how to act. Should I affirm it to be forged?—what if you should own it? should I admit it to be genuin? that was not for your honor [14]. I was silent therefore for that day. But the day following, when the affair had raised much talk, and Pilus's behaviour given public offence; I began the debate, Spoke much on PROCONSUL Antonius. Sextius performed his part; and remonstrated to me afterwards; in what danger he should think his Son; in what mine; if they had really taken up arms against a PROCONSUL. You know the man: he did justice to the cause. Others also spoke: but our friend Labeo observed [15], that your seal was not put to the Letter; nor any date added; nor had you written about it, as you used to do, to your friends. By this he had a mind to prove, that the letter was forged; and*

[14] For if *Antonius* had been a legal *Proconsul*, it must have been not onely dishonorable, but criminal in *Brutus*, to act against him as an enemy, and detain him a prisoner.

[15] *Labeo* was one of the Conspirators against *Cæsar*, and *Brutus's* Lieutenant in *Macedonia*; where he fell in the battle of *Philippi*: upon the news of whose death, *Brutus* is said to have expressed a particular concern, just before he put an end to his own life. *Plutar.* in *Brut.*



esse; & si quæris, probabat. Nunc tuum est consilium, Brute, de toto genere belli. Video te lenitate delectari, & eum putare fructum esse maximum: præclare quidem; sed aliis rebus, aliis temporibus, locus esse solet debetque clementiæ. Nunc quid agitur, Brute? templis deorum immortalium imminet hominum egentium & perditorum spes; nec quidquam aliud decernitur hoc bello; nisi utrùm simus, necne. Cui parcimus, aut quid agimus? His ergo consulimus, quibus victoribus, vestigium nostrum nullum relinquetur? Nam quid interest inter Dolabellam, & quemvis Antoniorum trium? quorum sicui parcimus, duri fuimus in Dolabella. Hæc ut ita sentiret senatus populusque Romanus, etsi res ipsa cogebat, tamen maxima ex parte nostro consilio atque auctoritate perfectum est. Tu si hanc rationem non

*in scorn<sup>1</sup>, convinced the Senate of it. It is now your part, Brutus, to consider the whole nature of the war. You are delighted, I perceive, with lenity; and take it to be of the greatest use to us. This in general is laudable; but the proper place of clemency is, and ought to be, in cases and seasons different from the present. For what are we now doing, Brutus? we see a needy and desperate crew, ready to fall upon the Temples of the Immortal Gods: and that the single point, to be decided by this war, is, whether we are to live or not. Who is it then, that we are sparing? or what are we aiming at? are we consulting the safety of those, who, if they happen to conquer, will not leave the least remains of any of us? for what difference is there between Dolabella and any one of the three Antony's [16]? If we spare any of these, we have been too hard upon Dolabella [17]. It was owing chiefly to my advice and authority, that the Senate and people were brought into this way of thinking; though the thing itself indeed engaged them also to it. If you do not ap-*

[16] *Marcus*, who was besieging *D. Brutus* in *Modena*; *Lucius*, who was in his Brother's Camp; and *Cælius*, now the prisoner of *M. Brutus*.

[17] Who was declared an enemy, for the murder of *Trebonius*, and his cruelties in *Africa*. See *Epist.* 2d. Note 1, 11.

probas; tuam sententiã defendam, non relinquã meam. Neque dissolutum à te quidquam homines expectant, neque crudele: hujus rei moderatio facilis est; ut in duces vehemens sis, in milites liberalis. Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quàm plurimùm tecum habeas. Virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quàm contemplationem atque imitationem tui. xvi. kalend. Maii.

*prove this manner of proceeding, I shall defend your opinion, yet cannot depart from my own. The world does not expect any thing from you, either remiss, or cruel. It is easy to moderate the matter, by using severity to the Leaders, generosity to the Soldiers. As for my son, I desire you, my Brutus, to keep him with you, as much as possible. He will find no better school of virtue, than in the contemplation and imitation of you.*

April. 16.

## EPISTOLA VI.

## EPIST. VI.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

**V**eteris Antistii talis animus est in rempublicam, ut non dubitem, quin & in Cæsare & Antonio se præstaturus fuerit acerrimum propugnatores communis liber-

**V**etus Antistius is so well affected to the Republic [1], that I cannot doubt, but that, if a proper occasion had offered, he would have shown himself a most strenuous assertor of our common liberty, both against Cæsar and

[1] This *Vetus*, who appears now to be so well affected to *Brutus*, had been *Proprætor* of *Syria* during *Cæsar's* reign; and a little before his death, was besieging *Apamea*, possessed by *Cæcilius Bassus*, one of the *Pompeian* Commanders, who after his flight from *Pharsalia*, had gathered a body of troops, with which he maintained his ground in that Province, in opposition to *Cæsar's* power; and when besieged and reduced almost to extremity by *Vetus*, was delivered from the siege by *Pavorus*, Prince of *Parthia*, and *Alebandonius*, an Arabian Tetrarch, Ep. ad Att. 14. 9. Dio, l.

tatis, si occasione potuiffet occurrere. Nam qui in Achaia congressus, P. Dolabella milites atque equites habente, quodvis adire periculum, ex insidiis paratissimi ad omnia latronis, maluerit, quàm videri, aut coactus esse pecuniam dare, aut libenter dedisse homini nequissimo atque improbitissimo; is nobis ultro & pollicitus est, & dedit H-S xx. ex sua pecunia: &, quod multo carius est, seipsum obtulit, & conjunxit. Huic persuadere coepimus, ut imperator in castris remaneret, remque publicam defenderet; statuit eundem

Antony. *For he, who, in Achaia, in a congress with Dolabella, when surrounded with troops and horse [2], chose to expose himself to any danger, from the treachery of a robber, prepared for every thing desperate, rather than seem, either through force or inclination, to have given any money to a most abandoned and profligate man [3]; yet he, I say, both voluntarily promised, and has actually given me two millions of Sesterces, out of his own money [4]: and what I value much more, has offered and joined himself to me. I have been endeavouring to persuade him, that in virtue of his command, as General, he would continue with me in the Camp, and defend the Republic [5]: but since he had dis-*

[2] *Vetus*, as it appears from this letter, had not yet passed through the *Prætorship*, though he had commanded in Syria as *Proprætor*: but he had governed it either by an extraordinary commission from *Cæsar*, or had been *Quæstor* probably to the last *Proconful*; upon whose death or departure, the Province fell of course into his hands. Thus *P. Lentulus*, *Quæstor* to *Trebonius* in *Asia*, took upon him the command of that Province, upon the death of his *Proconful*, with the stile of *Proprætor*. Ep. Fam. 12. 15.

[3] *Dolabella's* business, in this progress, was to gather all the troops and money, that he could find in the Cities and Provinces, through which he passed, in order to make head against *Brutus* and *Cassius* in the Eastern part of the Empire. *Plutarch* has preserved a Greek Epistle of *Brutus* on this subject, written in his *Læmic* stile to the *Pergamenians*. "I hear, that you have given *Dolabella* money. If you gave it willingly, you must own, that you have injured me: if unwillingly, shew it, by giving unwillingly to me." *Plut.* in *Brut.*

[4] This is computed to amount to 16 44 l. of English money.

[5] As he had commanded an army in chief, so a General's commission never expired, till he entered again within the walls of *Rome*.

A a a 2

sibi,

fibi, quoniam exercitum dimiffet: ftatim verò rediturum ad nos confirmavit, legatione fufcepta, nifi prætorum comitia habituri effent confules. Nam illi ita fentienti de republica magnopere auctor fui, ne differret tempus petitionis fuæ; cujus factum omnibus gratum effe debet, qui modò judicant, hunc exercitum effe reipublicæ; tibi tanto gratius, quanto & majore animo gloriaque libertatem noftram defendis, & dignitatem, fi contigerit noftris confiliis exitus, quem optamus, perfructurus es. Ego etiam, mi Cicero, proprie familiariterque te rogo, ut Veterem ames, velifque effe quàm ampliffimum: qui etfi nulla re deterreri à propofito potefit, tamen excitari tuis laudibus indulgentiaque poterit, quo

*miſſed his army, he reſolves to go to Rome; yet has promiſed to return to me quickly in the quality of a Lieutenant; unleſs the Conſuls ſhould hold an aſſembly for the election of Prætors [6]. For in that caſe, I greatly encouraged him, who is ſo well diſpoſed to the Republic, not to poſtponè his ſuit to another year. What he has done therefore ought to be agreeable to all, who look upon my troops, as the army of the Republic; and ſo much the more to you, as you defend our liberty with greater courage and glory than any man, and if our endeavours be crowned with the ſucceſs, that we wiſh, are ſure to reap a greater increaſe of dignity [7]. I beg of you alſo, my Cicero, in a peculiar and familiar manner, that you would love Vetus, and promote his advancement, as much as you are able; who, though he cannot by any motive be deterred from his preſent purpoſe, may yet be excited by your praiſes and kindneſs, to per-*

[6] Where *Vetus* intended to appear as a Candidate for the Prætorſhip. This paſſage ſhews, that the letter was written before *Brutus* had received the news of the battle of *Modena*, and the death of the two Conſuls.

[7] I have followed here an emendation recommended by *Manutius* and *Laminius*, and inſtead of *perfructurus* in the common Editions, which nobody underſtands, have given *perfructurus* or *perſuſciturus*: which verb is uſed with an accuſative caſe, not onely by the older writers, as *Plautus*, but by *Lucretius* of *Cicero's* own times.

omnia perfructus vitali præmia, l. 3. 969.

magis amplectetur ac tueatur  
judicium suum: & id mihi  
gratissimum erit.

*severe and support his own judge-  
ment with the greater zeal: and  
by this you will very much oblige  
me.*

## EPISTOLA VII.

## EPIST. VII.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

**M**ULTOS tibi commen-  
davi, & commendem,  
necesse est: optimus enim  
quisque vir & civis maxi-  
mè sequitur judicium tuum;  
tibi que omnes fortes viri  
navare operam & studium vo-  
lunt: nec quisquam est, quin  
ita existimet, meam apud te  
& gratiam & auctoritatem  
valere plurimum. Sed C. Naf-  
ennium, municipem Sueffa-  
num, tibi ita commendo, ut  
neminem diligentius. Cretensi  
bello, Metello imperatore, oc-

**I** Have already recommended  
many, and must necessarily  
recommend many more to you.  
For every one, in proportion as he  
is the honestest man, and better  
Citizen, declares himself the more  
freely on your side; and all men of  
courage are eager to exert their  
pains and zeal in your service:  
nor is there any of them, who is  
not persuaded, that my interest and  
authority are of the greatest weight  
with you. But as to C. Nafennius,  
[1], I recommend him to you as  
warmly, as ever I did any man.  
In the Cretan war, he command-  
ed the eighth century of the Prin-  
cipes [2], under Metellus, the  
tatum

[1] *Suessa Pometia*, once a flourishing City, and the Capital of the *Volsci*. There was another *Suessa*, called *Arunca*; a colony of Rome in *Campania*.

[2] There were three classes of Soldiers in every legion, ranked according to their different ages of service: the first was of the *Hastati*; the second, of the *Principes*; and the third, of the *Triarii*. The two first classes were each divided into ten centuries or maniples: the first century of the *Hastati* was called, *Primus Hastatus*; the second *Secundus Hastatus*; and so on: the centuries of the *Principes*, were called likewise in the

tavum principem duxit: postea in re familiari occupatus fuit. Hoc tempore cum reipublicæ partibus, tum tua excellenti dignitate commotus, vellet per te aliquid auctoritatis assumere. Fortem virum, Brute, tibi commendo; frugi hominem; & si quid ad rem pertinet, etiam locupletem. Pergratum mihi erit, si eum ita tractaris, ut merito tuo mihi gratias agere possit.

*General* [3]; and has been employed ever since in the care of his private affairs. But at this time moved by the cause of the Republic, and the excellence of your dignity, he would be glad to obtain some command under you. I recommend therefore to you, Brutus, a brave and worthy man; and if that be any thing to the purpose, a rich one also [4]. I shall take it very kindly, if you treat him in such a manner, as to give him reason to thank me, on the account of your favors to him.

## EPISTOLA VIII.

## EPIST. VIII.

CICERO BRUTO, S,

CICERO to BRUTUS.

QUUM hæc scribebam, res existimabatur in extremum adducta discrimen: tristes enim de Bru-

WHILE I was writing this, our affairs were supposed to be reduced to the last extremity [1]. For all our let-

the same manner, *Primus Princeps, Secundus Princeps, &c.* But the Body of the *Triarii* is generally thought to have been laid aside by *C. Marius*, and out of use therefore at this time, or reserved at least to the defence of their camps. Vid. *Car. d'Aquino Lexic. militar.*

[3] In this *Cretan* war, which had been ended about 23 years, the *Romans*, as *Florentius* declares, [1. 3. 7.] were the aggressors; and from no other motive, but the desire of conquering so noble an Island; which after great cruelties exercised on the poor inhabitants, was finally reduced by *Metellus*, an old and able Commander; who obtained from it the surname of *Creticus*.

[4] See *Epist.* 1st. Not. [6].

[1] By the siege of *Modena*, where the scene of action now lay; and where *D. Brutus*, if not presently relieved, must necessary have fallen into *Antony's* hands.

to nostro litteræ nuntiique adferebantur. Me quidem non maximè conturbabant: his enim exercitibus ducibusque, quos habemus, nullo modo poteram diffidere: neque assentiebar majori parti hominum: fidem enim consulum non condemnabam, quæ suspecta vehementer erat: desiderabam nonnullis in rebus prudentiam & celeritatem; quæ si essent usi, jampridem rempublicam recuperassemus. Non enim ignoras quanta momenta sint in republica temporum; & quid interfit, idem illud utrùm antè, an post decernatur, suscipiatur, agatur. Omnia, quæ severè decreta sunt hoc tumultu, si aut, quo die

*ters and messages brought us sad accounts of our Brutus [2]. They did not however very much disturb me. For I could not by any means distrust the armies, and the leaders, who are now acting for us: nor was I of the same opinion with the majority of our friends, for I did not condemn the fidelity of the Consuls, which was vehemently suspected. I blamed their want of prudence and celerity in some cases, where if they had exerted themselves, we should long ago have recovered the Republic [3]. For you are not ignorant, of what moment it is in public affairs, to seize the proper times of acting: and what a difference it makes, whether the same thing be decreed, undertaken, or transacted sooner or later. If all the vigorous decrees, that have been made since the beginning of this disturbance, had either been carried into effect on the day,*

dixi

[2] He gives the same account also in a letter to *Cassius*; the affair of *Medena*, says he, is reduced to the last extremity; for *Brutus* was hardly able to hold it out any longer. Ep. Fam. 12. 6.

[3] The Consuls, *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, had been the creatures and ministers of *Cæsar's* power; greatly entrusted by him in all his affairs, in which they served him with much fidelity. But after *Cæsar's* death, they declared themselves for the cause of liberty, and entered into *Cicero's* measures; with whom they kept up a strict correspondence. But their long engagements with the *Cæsarian* party had left in them some prejudices, that gave a check to their Patriotism; and disposed them, to act with more moderation towards their old friends, than the necessity of the times could allow; and to try the slow methods of negotiation, before they proceeded to the extremity of arms. It

was

dixi sententiam, perfecta essent, & non in diem ex die dilata; aut quo ex tempore suscepta sunt ut agerentur, non tardata & procrastinata; bellum jam nullum haberemus. Omnia, Brute, præstiti reipublicæ, quæ præstare debuit is, qui esset in eo, in quo ego sum gradu, senatus populique iudicio collocatus: nec illa modò, quæ nimirum sola ab homine sunt postulanda, fidem, vigilantiam, patriæ caritatem: ea sunt enim, quæ nemo est qui non præstare debeat. Ego autem ei, qui sententiam dicat in principibus de republica, puto etiam prudentiam esse præstandam: nec me, quum mihi tantum sumpserim, ut gubernacula reipublicæ prenderem, minùs putarim reprehendendum, si inutiliter aliquid senatui suaserim, quàm si infideliter. Acta quæ sunt quæque agantur, scio perferri

*when I proposed them, and not put off from day to day, or if, from the time, when they began to be put in execution, they had not still been delayed and postponed, we should have seen an end of the war before now. I have acquitted myself, Brutus, to the Republic in all points, as that man ought to do, who, by the judgement of the Senate and people, is placed in that rank of authority, in which I now am: and not merely in those things, which alone are to be required from man; fidelity, vigilance, love of my country; for these are duties, from which no body ought to be excused; but I take it to be the part of him, who acts as one of the leaders in state affairs, to ensure even the prudence of his measures to the public: and for my part, since I have assumed so much to myself, as to take the steerage of the republic into my hands, I should not think myself less culpable, if I should draw the Senate into any thing impertinently, than if I had drawn them into it treacherously. I know, that a punctual account is sent you of all things, that are done or*

was in this respect, that Cicero found reason to blame their want of prudence and vigor on particular occasions, but never to distrust the integrity of their general views. See Life, vol. 2. p. 337, 430, &c. it. see Epist. 4th. Note [9]. Epist. 9. Note [12].

illud



te diligenter. Ex me autem illud est, quod te velim habere cognitum; meum quidem animum in aciem esse, neque respectum ullum quaerere, nisi me utilitas civitatis fortè converterit. Majores autem partes animi te Cassiumque respiciunt. Quamobrem ita te para, Brute, ut intelligas; aut si hoc tempore bene res gesta sit, tibi meliorem rempublicam esse faciendam: aut, siquid offensum sit, per te esse eandem recuperandam.

*going forward amongst us. But what I would have you informed of particularly by me, is this; that my mind is wholly intent on the war; nor cares to attend to any other object; unless when the immediate service of the City may have called it by accident to something else [4]. But the greatest part of my attention is fixed upon you and Cassius. Wherefore prepare yourself, Brutus, in such a manner, as to be persuaded, that, if at this very time our affairs be crowned with success, it is you, who must set the Republic right; or if any ill fortune has befallen us, it is you, who must recover it.[5].*

## EPIST. IX.

## EPIST. IX.

M. T. C. M. BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

**N**ostræ res meliore loco videbantur. Scripta enim ad te certo scio quæ gesta  
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**O**UR affairs seemed to have taken a more favourable turn [1]. For an account, I know, is sent you of all that has been done.  
B b b sunt.

[4] Cicero had long foreseen, what every day's experience confirmed to him, that their hopes of liberty depended intirely on the success of their arms. So that all his measures and counsils were employed at this time in exhorting and engaging their Generals abroad, to unite themselves in the glorious cause of preserving their country, in this last struggle for their common liberty. See Life, vol. 2. p. 403.

[5] This was always Cicero's opinion, that whatever success they had, or how faithful soever their other Generals might prove, it was Brutus onely and Cassius, who were truly disposed to settle the republic again on it's right foundation.

[1] By the defeat of Antony before *Molena*: where a great part of his troops was beaten

sunt. Quales tibi sæpè scripsi consules, tales existierunt. Cæsaris verò pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere possimus, quàm facile adhuc tenuimus! Est omnino illud difficilius: sed tamen non diffidimus. Persuasum est enim adolescenti, & maximè per me, ejus opera nos esse salvos: & certè, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, periissent omnia. Tri-duo verò, aut quadriduo ante hanc rem pulcherrimam, timore quodam perculsa civitas tota ad te se cum conjugibus &

*done. The Consuls answered to the character, which I often gave you of them in my letters [2]. But young Cæsar has shewn a wonderful disposition to virtue. I wish, that I may be able to hold and govern him still, in this height of honor and favor, as easily, as I have hitherto done. It is now indeed become more difficult; yet I do not despair of it [3]. For the young man is persuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe our safety to his vigor: and in truth, if he had not kept off Antony from the City, all had been lost [4]. Nay, within three or four days before this most happy event, the City, struck with a kind of panic, was all running away at once with their wives and*

beaten by *Hirtius*, in a fierce engagement on the 15th of April: [Ep. Fam. l. 10. 30] and within a day or two after, his whole army utterly routed by *Hirtius* and *Octavius*; while *D. Brutus* also, by falling out of the Town, helped to complete the victory. *Cicero* omits to recite the particulars of these important actions, as knowing *Brutus* to be punctually informed of them from other hands.

[2] By shewing themselves sincere in the defence of the Republic, for which they had now sacrificed their lives.

[3] The loss of both the Consuls, in the two battels at *Modena*, which could not be foreseen or expected, destroyed at once the good effect of all *Cicero's* measures. For the veteran legions, which had hitherto acted under their command, refusing after their death to follow *D. Brutus*, chose *Octavius* for their General: who by this accession of power being placed above all controul, and made superior to any other force, which was now in *Italy*, thought it of no farther use to his affairs, to keep any measures with the Republican party, and began therefore to drop all regard to *Cicero's* counsils. *Cicero*, we see, was presently aware of this unhappy turn; and though he did not at first despair of holding *Octavius*, yet he found fresh reason every day to distrust him still more and more. See *Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 432.

[4] See *Epist.* 5. Note [4].

liberis

liberis effundebat: eadem re-  
 creata a. d. XII. kalend. Maias  
 te huc venire, quàm se ad te ire  
 malebat. Quo quidem die mag-  
 norum meorum laborum multa-  
 rumque vigiliarum fructum cepi  
 maximum, si modò est aliquis  
 fructus ex solida veraque gloria.  
 Nam tantæ multitudinis, quan-  
 tam capit urbs nostra, concur-  
 sus est ad me factus: ea cùm  
 usque in Capitolium deductus,  
 tum maximo clamore atque  
 plausu in rostris collocatus sum.  
 Nihil est in me inane: neque

*children to you [5]; till, be-  
 ing made easy again on the 20th  
 of April [6], they began to wish,  
 that you would rather come hither  
 to them, than they go to you [7].  
 On which day, I reaped the full  
 fruit of all my great pains and  
 constant watchings; if there be  
 any fruit at all from true and so-  
 lid glory. For the whole multi-  
 tude, which our City contains,  
 flocked on that day to my house;  
 whence I was carried by them first  
 to the Capitol; then placed in the  
 Rostra, with the loudest acclama-  
 tions and applause [8]. There is  
 nothing of vanity in me; nor in-*

[5] The partisans of *Antony* at *Rome* were perpetually alarming the City, during the siege of *Modena*, with false rumors, that *Antony* had taken the Town, and *D. Brutus* in it; and that the Consuls had joined with him. It was some report of this kind, which had raised that general terror here mentioned, for three or four days before the news of *Antony's* defeat. [Philip. 14. 6.] Thus *Cicero* also in a letter to *Cassius*; *Brutus is hardly able to hold out any longer at Modena. If he be preserved, we have conquered. If not, which the Gods avert, all people here will run away to you.* Ep. Fam. 12. 6.

[6] The day, on which the news of the first victory arrived at *Rome*, in five days from *Modena*: which seems to have been the usual time for performing that journey, by an expeditious Courier. For *Cicero*, on another occasion, mentions an express received from *D. Brutus*, on the sixth day from the same place. Ep. Fam. 11. 6.

[7] From the apprehensions intimated above of the difficulty of governing *Octavius*, in his present height of power, *Cicero* begins here to drop the first hint, that *Brutus's* army might possibly be wanted in *Italy*; of which much more will be said in the following letters.

[8] That he might give them a distinct account of the particulars of the late victory. The *Rostra* being the usual place, whence the magistrates used to deliver, what they had to say to the people.

enim debet: sed tamen omnium ordinum consensus, gratiarum actio, gratulatioque me commovet; propterea quod popularem me esse in populi salute, præclarum est. Sed hæc te malo ab aliis audire: me velim de tuis rebus consiliisque facias diligentissimè certior: illudque consideres, ne tua liberalitas dissolutior videatur. Sic sentit senatus, sic populus Romanus; nullos unquam hostes digniores omni supplicio fuisse, quàm eos cives, qui hoc bello contra patriam arma ceperunt: quos quidem ego omnibus sententiis ulciscor & persequor, omnibus bonis approbantibus. Tu quid de hac re sentias, tui iudicii est. Ego sic sentio; trium fratrum unam & eandem esse causam. Consules duos, bonos quidem, sed duntaxat bonos, amissimus.

*deed ought there to be: yet the consent of all orders, their thanks, and congratulations really move me; since it is truly noble, to become popular by the preservation of our people [9]. But I would rather you hear of these things rather from others. I desire you, to send me a punctual account of all your affairs and designs; and to take care particularly, that your generosity may not seem to be carried to a degree of remissness [10]. The Senate is of opinion, and the Roman people of the same, that no enemies were ever more worthy of the last punishment, than those Citizens, who have taken up arms against their country in the present war. On whom indeed I am taking a proper revenge, and pursuing in all my votes, with the approbation of all honest men. It is your part to determine, what you ought to judge of this affair. My opinion of it is, that the case of the three Antony's is one and the same [11]. We have lost two Consuls; good ones, it is true; but*

[9] The character of popularity generally implied something factious and bad in it; as being commonly acquired by an ambitious and prostitute adulation of the meaner people, for the sake of some private interests, in opposition to the public good. *Cicero* therefore distinguishes here the true species of it; the only one, that he affixed; grounded on a real merit, and services to his country.

[10] This refers to *Brutus's* manner of treating his prisoner, *C. Antonius*, mentioned above. Epist. 2. Note [2]. Epist. 5. Note [13].

[11] See Epist. 5. Note [16].

Hirtius quidem in ipsa victoria *barely good* [12.] Hirtius fell in the very midst of victory, after he had beaten the enemy a few days before in a great battel. For Panfa fuerat, vulneribus acceptis quæ ferre non potuit. Reliquias hostium Brutus persequitur, & Cæsar. Hostes autem omnes iudicati, qui M. Antonii sectam secuti sunt: itaque id senatus consultum plerique interpretantur, etiam ad tuos sive captivos sive deanticios pertinere. Equidem nihil disleri durius, cum nominatim de C. Antonio decernerem; quod ita statueram, à te cognoscere causam ejus sena-

[12] This alludes to their want of prudence and vigor on some occasions, as is said above. Epist. 4. Note [9]. Epist. 8. Note [3].

[13] In the first battel, *Panfa* received two desperate wounds, and was carried off the field to *Belgona*; [Philip. 14. 9.] where he died, the night after the second battel. In which *Hirtius* was also killed, after he had got possession of *Antony's* Camp. See Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 427.

[14] This was said by conjecture onely; being what *Cicero* took for granted: but it was soon after understood, that *Octavius* refused to pursue *Antony*, and that *D. Brutus* was in no condition to do it, till it was too late, for want of *Horie*, &c. Ep. Fam. 11. 13. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 437.

[15] This decree related principally to those, who were in arms against the Republic in *Italy*. yet was interpreted to extend to all, who were acting in the same cause, in any other part of the Empire. By which *Cicero* meant to admonish *Brutus*, of the indecency of treating *C. Antonius* with so much tenderness, who was now adjudged to be an enemy. For though *Antonius*, as is here hinted, was said to have surrendered himself; yet it was not, till his forces were utterly routed, and himself with the few that remained, enclosed in a morass, whence there was no possibility to escape. Plutar. Brut.

tum oportere. x. kalend. Mai- take their information of his case  
as. from you. April 22d [16].

## EPISTOLA X.

## EPIST. X.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

**A**D. v. kalendas Maias  
cùm de iis, qui hostes  
judicati sunt, bello persequen-  
dis, sententiæ dicerentur, dixit  
Servilius etiam de Ventidio, &  
ut Cassius persequeretur Dola-  
bellam. Cui cùm effem assen-  
sus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu,

**O**N the 27th of April, when  
we were debating on the  
means of prosecuting the war a-  
gainst those, who are adjudged to  
be enemies, Servilius moved [1],  
that Ventidius also should be in-  
cluded in that number [2]; and  
that Cassius should pursue Dola-  
bella: to whom when I had as-  
sented, I made this farther motion;

[16] The first battle of *Modena* happened on the 15th of April, according to *Galba's* account of it to *Cicero*; [Ep. Fam. 10. 30.] or on the 14th, according to *Ovid*; [Fast. 4.] and the news of it reached *Rome* on the 20th: on which occasion *Cicero* spoke his 14th *Philippic*, the day following; on the 21st: from which it appears, that they had not, at that time, heard any thing of the second battle; and of the death of the two *Consuls*: an account of which must necessarily have arrived to them, either on that very day, after the Senate was dismissed, or on the next, before *Cicero* wrote this letter, in which he mentions the death of the *Consuls*; if the present date of it be really the true one.

[1] *Servilius* appears from this account, to have changed his note, upon *Antony's* late defeat at *Modena*, and to have affected a peculiar zeal for the Republican cause.

[2] *Ventidius*, from the condition of a *Mule-driver*, as he is called by *Plancus*, in a letter to *Cicero*, [Ep. Fam. 1. 10. 18.] advanced himself to the highest honors of the state, both civil and military. He was the creature of *Antony*; to whose fortunes he had attached himself; and for whose service he had been employed for some time past, in gathering soldiers up and down in *Italy*; with which he was marching to join *Antony* before *Modena*; but not being able to come up to him, before his defeat, he had since joined him, in his flight towards the Alps, with three legions; for which he was declared an enemy by the Senate. [Ep. Fam. 11. 13.] He seems to have been *Prætor* at this very time; but before the end of the year, was promoted to the *Consulate*, upon the resignation of *Cæsar Octavius*.

si arbitrarere utile, eque republica esse, persequerere bello Dolabellam: si minus id commodò reipublicæ facere posses, siue non existimares è republica esse, ut in iisdem locis exercitum contineres. Nihil honorificentius potuit facere senatus, quàm ut tuum esset iudicium, quid maximè conducere reipublicæ tibi videretur. Equidem sic sentio, si manum habet, si castra, si ubi consistat uspiam Dolabella; ad fidem & ad dignitatem tuam pertinere eum persequi. De Cassii nostri copiis nihil sciebamus: neque enim ab ipso ulkæ litteræ, neque nuntiabatur quidquam, quod pro certo haberemus. Quantopere autem interfit opprimi Dollabelam, perfectò intelli-

*that you also, if you thought it of use, and benefit to the Republic, should carry on the war against Dolabella; but if you could not do it with convenience to the public affairs, or did not think it for the public service, that you should keep your army in the same quarters, where you now are. The Senate could not decree any thing more honorable to you, than, that it should be left to you to determine, what was the most conducive to the service of the Republic. My opinion of the matter is this; that if Dolabella have any troops, any camp; any place, where he can make a stand; it concerns your character and dignity, to pursue him. As to our Cassius's forces, we knew nothing at all about them. For we have neither received any letters from him, nor any intelligence, that we could depend upon as certain [3]. You are very sensible, of what importance it is, that Dolabella should be destroyed: not onely, that he*

[3] Cicero does not here mean, that they had heard nothing at all about Cassius, since he left Italy; for Brutus and Lentulus, as we have seen above, had severally sent accounts to Rome, that he had got possession of Syria, and of all the Legions in it; and Cassius himself also had sent the same news to Cicero, by a letter dated March the 7th. [Ep. Fam. 12. 11.] But from the time of his being at the head of an army, they had not heard of any motion or action that he had performed with it. Thus Cicero in a letter to Cassius, dated two months after this to Brutus, says; *nothing has hitherto been heard of you, but endeavours onely; those indeed are great and noble; but we long to hear of some action.* Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

gis; cum ut sceleris pœnas perfolvat; tum ne sit, quò se latronum duces ex Mutinensi fuga conferant. Atque hoc mihi jam antè placuisse, potes ex superioribus meis litteris recordari: quanquam tum & fugæ portus erat in tuis castris, & subsidium salutis in tuo exercitu: quo magis nunc liberati (ut spero) periculis, in Dolabella opprimendo occupati esse debemus. Sed hæc cogitabis diligentius, statues sapienter. Facies nos, & quid constitueris, & quid agas, (si tibi videbitur) certiores. Ciceronem nostrum in vestrum collegium cooptari volo. Existimo omnino absentium rationem sacerdotum comitiis posse haberi: nam etiam factum est antea. C. enim Ma-

*may suffer the punishment due to his treason; but that the chiefs of the rebels may not have a place to resort to, in their flight from Modena. That this was my opinion even before, you may recollect from my former letters [4]: though at that time, our only refuge was in your camp, and our hopes of safety in your army. Wherefore now, when we are deliver'd, as I hope, from all danger, we ought to be more intent on the ruin of Dolabella [5]. But this you will take into your serious consideration; and determinè upon it what is most prudent; and will make me acquainted, as far as you think proper, with what you resolvè to do, and what you are doing. I have a mind, that my Cicero should be made a member of your College [6]: and take it for granted, that in the election of priests, the absent are capable of being considered; since there are precedents for it. For C. Marius was made Augur*

[4] This refers to some letters now lost.

[5] Cicero was of this opinion before the battel of *Modena*, and continu'd so for some little time after; imagining, that they were freed by that victory from all farther danger in *Italy*. Yet he soon chang'd his mind, from an unexpected change in their affairs. For their apprehensions from the East were presently at an end by the destruction of *Dolabella*, but were renew'd more strongly than ever in the West, by *Antony's* union with *Lepidus*: from which era, Cicero began to press *Brutus* and *Cassius* in every letter, to come with their armies in all haste into *Italy*.

[6] That is, of the *Pontifices*, or *minor Priests*, in which there were several vacancies at this time. See Lett. 12.



rius, cùm in Cappadocia effec-  
 lege Domitia factus est augur:  
 nec, quo minus id postea lice-  
 ret, ulla lex sanxit. Est etiam  
 in lege Julia, quæ lex est de  
 sacerdotiis proxima, his verbis,  
 QUI PETIT, CUJUSVE RATIO  
 HABEBITUR: aperte indicat,  
 posse rationem haberi, etiam  
 non præsentis. Hac de re  
 scripsi ad eum ut tuo iudicio  
 uteretur, sicut in rebus omni-  
 bus. Tibi autem statuendum  
 est de Domitio, & de Catone  
 nostro. Sed quamvis liceat  
 absentis rationem haberi, tamen  
 omnia sunt præsentibus faci-  
 liora. Quòd si statueris in  
 Asiam tibi eundem, nulla erit  
 ad comitia nostros arcessendi  
 facultas. Omnino Panfa vivo  
 celeriora omnia putabamus:  
 statim enim collegam sibi sub-  
 rogasset: deinde ante prætoriam  
 sacerdotum comitia fuissent.  
 Nunc per auspicia longam mo-

*by the Domitian law, while he  
 was in Cappadocia: nor has there  
 been any law since that time, which  
 forbids it. In the Julian law like-  
 wise, which is the last, relating  
 to the Priesthoods, there are these  
 words; he, who sues in person,  
 or of whom a regard shall be had:  
 which plainly shews, that regard  
 may be had to one, who is not pre-  
 sent. I wrote to him, that he should  
 take your advice in this, as well as  
 in all other affairs. But it is your  
 business to determine, what Domi-  
 tius [7], and our Cato are to do  
 [8]. But though a regard may  
 be had to the absent, yet all things  
 are easier to the present. If you  
 have resolved therefore to go into  
 Asia [9], there will be no possibi-  
 lity of calling our friends away to  
 the election. If Panfa had lived, all  
 these affairs, I imagined, would  
 have been dispatched much sooner.  
 For he would quickly have provided  
 himself a Colleague; and then brought  
 on the election of Priests, before  
 that of the Prætors. But now it  
 will be a tedious business, I see, on  
 account of the Auspices. For as*

[7] Domitius was Nephew to Porcia, Brutus's wife. See Lett. 12. Note [4].

[8] Cicero, as we may collect from some hints in his letters, [ad Att. 13. 6.] was left a guardian by M. Cato to His Sons, of whom young Cato here mentioned was one; Cousin-german; as well as brother-in-law to Brutus; who was killed afterwards fighting, and refusing quarter in the battle of Philippi. Plut. in Brut.

[9] In the Pursuit of Dolabella.

ram video. Dum enim unus erit patricius magistratus, auspicia ad patres redire non possunt: magna sane perturbatio. Tu tota de re quid sentias, velim me facias certiore. III. nonas Maias. Vale.

*long as there is one Patrician Magistrate remaining, the Auspices cannot return to the Fathers [10]. Our affairs in truth are in great disorder. I desire you, to let me know your sentiments on the whole state of the case. May the 5th. Adieu,*

## EPISTOLA XI.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

## EPIST. XI.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

QUANTA sum lætitia affectus, cognitis rebus Bruti nostri & consulum, facilius est tibi existimare, quàm mihi scribere. Cum alia laudo, & gaudeo accidisse, tum quòd Bruti eruptio non solum ipsi

**H**OW great a joy it gave me, to hear of the success of our Brutus, and the Consuls, it is easier for you to imagine, than me to express. I am pleased and rejoice on several accounts, but particularly on this; that Brutus's rally was not onely salutary to him-

[10] The right of taking the *Auspices*, which was necessary in all the elections of the principal magistrates, and all other transactions of importance, was lodged in the Consuls, and the *Patrician* magistrates. But when there happened to be no Consul, or *Patrician* magistrate, as in some factious times, when the annual magistracies expired, before the new elections could be made; then the *Auspices* fell into the hands, not of the Senate in general, but of the *Patrician Senators* onely, who chose an *Interrex* out of their own body, to preside in all affairs of the City, till the regular magistrates were again elected. The Consuls therefore being dead, in whom *Cicero* confided, and the *Auspices* not yet devolved to the *Patrician Senators*, whom *Cicero* might have influenced by his authority; the Prætor *Cornutus*, who was now the supreme and governing Magistrate, and does not seem to have been wholly at *Cicero's* devotion, had it in his power, by the management of the *Auspices*, to give no small trouble in the election of *Priests*, as by the same power he had put off, for one day, the debate, mentioned Letter the 4th, on the affairs of *Plancus*. [See Ep. Fam. 10. 12, 16.] *Cicero* therefore, foreseeing the difficulties, that might possibly arise in this election, where his son and the other young Noblemen in *Brutus's* Camp were to be Candidates, got it postponed to the next year, by his great authority in the Senate, on account of the present confusion of the public affairs, as we shall see in letter the 20th, Note [3].

salu-

salutaris fuit, sed etiam maximo ad victoriam adjumento. Quòd scribis, trium Antoniorum unam atque eandem causam esse; & quid ego sentiam mei iudicii esse: statuo nihil, nisi hoc: Senatus aut populi Romani iudicium esse de iis civibus, qui pugnantes non interierint. At hoc ipsum, inquires, iniquè facis, qui hostilis animi in rempublicam homines, cives appelles. Immo iustissime. Quod enim nondum senatus censuit, nec populus Romanus iussit, id arroganter non præjudico, neque revoco ad arbitrium

*self, but of the greatest service towards completing the victory* [1]. *As to what you write; that the case of the three Antony's is one and the same, and that it is my part to determine, what I ought to judge of it* [2]: *I lay down no other rule to myself, but this; that it is the right of the Senate and people of Rome, to pass judgement on those Citizens, who have been taken fighting against us. But I am to blame, you will say, for giving the title of Citizens to those, who bear an hostile disposition to the Republic. Yes, I do it with the greatest justice. For where the Senate has not yet decreed, nor the Roman people commanded anything, there I neither arrogantly take upon*

[1] *Brutus*, in signifying his joy for the victory, omits, we see, to mention the name of *Octavius*, or to give him any share in it; and affects even to ascribe the principal part to *D. Brutus*, who had utterly been lost, if the Consuls and *Octavius* had not conquered; and whose power of breaking out of the Town, was the effect rather, than the cause of their victory. Nor does he take any notice, or intimate the least concern for the death of the Consuls, whose intentions he had always suspected: yet that unhappy and unexpected accident was the primary and most effectual cause not only of his ruin, but of the final oppression of the liberty of *Rome*.

[2] These are *Cicero's* words in Letter the 9th; to which *Brutus* now answers with some little resentment, to see his treatment of *Antonius* condemned by *Cicero*. But the event shewed that *Cicero* judged right, and that *Brutus's* lenity was wholly imprudent towards enemies, who had no other design than to overturn the Republic, and destroy all those, who defended it. I have inserted the copulative [*et*] into the Latin text, though not found in any of the Editions: since it seems necessary to connect the two branches of the sentence; or the two distinct points, which *Cicero* had mentioned in his letter, and to which *Brutus* here gives a particular answer. As to the remaining part of the letter, in which *Brutus* reproves him for conferring honors too profusely on *Octavius*; the reader may see that whole case considered, and *Cicero* vindicated from any blame on that account; and in *the Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 429, 471, &c

meum. Illud quidem non mutò; quod ei, quem me occidere res non coegit, neque crudeliter quidquam eripui, neque dissolute quidquam remisi, habuique in mea potestate quoad bellum fuit. Multo quidem honestius iudico, magisque quod concedere possit respublica, miserorum fortunam non insectari, quàm infinitè tribuere potentibus, quæ cupiditatem & arrogantiam incendere possint. Qua in re, Cicero, vir optime ac fortissime, mihi que merito & meo nomine & respublicæ carissime, nimis credere videris spei tuæ; statimque, ut quisque aliquid rectè fecerit, omnia dare ac permittere. Quasi non liceat traduci ad mala consilia corruptum largitionibus animum. Quæ tua est humanitas, æquo animo te moneri patieris, præsertim de communi salute: facies tamen quod tibi visum fuerit: etiam ego, cùm me

*myself to prejudge, nor to impose my will as a law. Nor have I changed my mind with regard to that person; from whom, when I was under no necessity of killing him, I neither took away any thing cruelly, nor remitted any thing idly, but kept him in my power, as long as the war continued [3]. I take it to be much the more decent part, and what the Republic would more easily allow to us, not to persecute the fortunes of the miserable, than to heap infinite honors on the powerfull, which tend to inflame their ambition and arrogance. In respect to which, Cicero, thou best and bravest of men, and of all, most justly dear to me, both upon my own and the public account, you seem to trust too much to your hopes; and as soon as any one happens to have done what is right, immediately to grant and give up every thing to him. As if a mind corrupted by extravagant concessions, could not be drawn to abuse them to ill purposes. Such is your humanity, you will not take it ill to be admonished; especially where the public safety is at stake. You will go on however to act, as you shall judge for the best; and so too will I, whenever*

[3] By Antony's defeat and flight out of Italy, Brutus seems to have thought the war at an end, and was meditating therefore either to dismiss his prisoner Antonius, or to send him to Rome, that his case might be determined by the Senate.

docueris.

docueris. Nunc, Cicero, nunc hoc agendum est, ne frustra oppressum esse Antonium gravissimum; neu semper primi cujusque mali excidendi [ratio,] causa sit, ut aliud renascatur illo pejus. Nihil jam neque opinantibus aut patientibus nobis adversi evenire potest, in quo non cum omnium culpa, tum præcipue tua futura sit: cujus tantam auctoritatem fenatus ac populus Romanus non solum esse patitur, sed etiam cupit, quanta maxima in libera civitate unius esse potest: quam tu non solum bene sentiendo, sed etiam prudenter, tueri debes. Prudentia porro, quæ tibi superest, nulla abs te desideratur, nisi modus in tribuendis honoribus. Alia omnia sic adsunt; ut cum quolibet antiquorum comparari possint. Unum hoc, grato animo liberalique profectum, cautiorem ac moderatiorem liberalitatem desiderat. Nihil enim fenatus

*you will instruct me. Now is the time, Cicero; now the time for us to act so, that we may not rejoice in vain for Antony's ruin; nor, by our method of extirpating the first evil, give occasion to another, still worse to sprout up [4]. Nothing bad can now happen to us, either through our inadvertency or permission, without some fault in us all; but especially in you; whose authority the Senate and people of Rome not onely suffer, but desire to see as great, as can possibly be allowed to any single man in a free state: which it is your business to maintain, by recommending not onely honest, but prudent measures. Nor is any other prudence required from you for the time to come, but a moderation in conferring honors. All other virtues are so eminent in you, that you may be compared with any of the antients. This one part, which flows from a gratefull and generous mind, requires a more cautious and temperate generosity. For the Senate ought to grant no-*

[4] The Syntax is here somewhat imperfect; nor do the MSS or Critics afford any help to amend it. The word *ratio*, or something of the same import, seems to have been dropt by the transcribers, on account of the following word, *causa*, which they might fancy perhaps sufficient to complete the sense.

cuiquam

cuiquam dare debet, quod male cogitantibus exemplo aut præsidio sit. Itaque timeo de consulatu; ne Cæsar tuus altius se ascendisse putet decretis tuis, quàm inde, si consul factus sit, adscensurum. Quòd si Antonius ab alio relictum regni instrumentum occasione regnandi habuit: quonam animo fore putas, si quis, auctore, non tyranno interfecto, sed ipso senatu, putet se imperia quælibet concupiscere posse? Quare tum & felicitatem & providentiam laudabo tuam, cum exploratum habere cœpero, Cæsarem honoribus quos acceperit extraordinariis fore contentum. Alienæ igitur, iniquis, culpæ me reum facies?

*thing to any man, that may either be an example, or a support to the disaffected. I am in pain therefore about the Consulship: lest this Cæsar of yours should think himself raised higher already by your decrees, than it would be, from his present height, to be advanced still to a Consul [5]. For if Antony took the ensigns of royalty, left to him by another, for an occasion of making himself our King; in what disposition, think you, will he be, who by the authority, not of the Tyrant, whom we have killed, but of the Senate itself, imagines himself encouraged to pretend to what power soever he pleases? Wherefore I shall then at last applaud your felicity and prudent foresight; when I begin to know for certain, that Cæsar will be content with the extraordinary honors, which he has hitherto received. Will you make me answerable then, you will say, for another man's*

[5] I have followed in this place an emendation of P. Manutius; of reading *adscensurum*, instead of *descensurum*, which is found in the printed Editions. Brutus, on the account of the great power, of which Octavius was now possessed, by the unexpected death of the two Consuls, was afraid, that he would aspire even to the Consulship; which, at his age, was an ambition so extravagant, as to be little less than the affectation of a Tyranny. His meaning therefore in this passage, is this; I am afraid, lest he should aim at the Consulship, and, after he has been raised so high by your decrees, should think it an easy step to mount from that height into the Consulship, and the grant of it consequently a less extraordinary favor, than what he has already received from you. The common reading perplexes the sentence, and gives a turn quite foreign to Brutus's meaning.

Prorsus alienæ, si provideri potuit, ne existeret: quod utinam inspectare possis timorem de illo meum! His litteris scriptis, te consulem factum audivimus: tum verò incipiam proponere mihi rempublicam justam & jam suis nitentem viribus, si isthuc videro. Filius valet, & in Macedoniam cum equitatu præmissus est. Idibus Maii, ex castris.

*fault? Yes surely, as far as it might have been foreseen, and prevented. I wish, that you could look into the fears, which I conceive in my breast about him. After I had written this letter, we heard, that you were made Consul, If ever I see that day, I shall then begin to form to myself the true figure of a Republic, subsisting again upon its own Strength. Your Son is in good health, and is sent before me into Macedonia, with the horse. May the 15th; from my Camp.*

## EPISTOLA XII.

## EPIST. XII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

**L.** Bibulus quàm carus mihi esse debeat, nemo melius judicare potest quàm tu, cujus tantæ pro republica contentiones sollicitudinesque fuerunt. Itaque vel ipsius virtus vel nostra necessitudo debet conciliare te illi: quo minus multa mihi scribenda esse arbi-

**H**OW dear L. Bibulus ought to be to me [1], after so many struggles and anxieties, which he has sustained for the Republic, no man is better able to judge, than you. Wherefore either his own virtue, or our friendship ought sufficiently to recommend him to you; so as to make it needless for me, I imagine, to employ many words.

[1] This L. Bibulus was the Son of M. Bibulus, Cæsar's Collegue in his first Consulship, by Porcia, Cato's daughter, now wife to Brutus; who does not recommend him here, for the sake of his near relation to him, but for his eminent zeal and services to the Republic.

tror. Voluntas enim te movere debet nostra, si modò justa est, aut pro officio necessario suscipitur. In Panse locum petere constituit: eam nominationem à te petimus: neque conjunctiori dare beneficium quàm nos tibi sumus, neque digniorem nominare potes quàm Bibulum. De Domitio & Apuleio quid attinet me scribere, cum ipsi per se tibi commendatissimi sint; Apuleium verò tu tua auctoritate sustinere debes. Sed Domitius in sua epistola celebrabitur. Bibulum noli dimittere ex sinu tuo tantum

*For my desire surely deserves to have weight with you, provided it be just, or excited by a necessary duty. He resolves to sue for the Priesthood, in Panse's place. We beg that nomination from you [2]. You cannot grant this favor to one, more strictly united with you, than I am; nor name a person, more worthy of it than Bibulus. What occasion have I to say any thing of Domitius, and Apuleius; who, on their own account, possess so great a share of your esteem? As for Apuleius, you ought to support him with your authority [3]. But Domitius's pretensions will be set forth in his own Epistle [4]. Do not fail however to admit Bibulus*

jam

[2] *The Priesthoods of Rome* were usually filled by persons of the first dignity. [pr. Dom. 1.] The *Rex Sacrorum*; the three principal *Flemines*; and the *Salii*, were necessarily to be *Patricians*: the rest were, one moiety *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. [pr. Dom. 14.] They were chosen for life, by a part onely of the Tribes, called for that purpose by lot, and upon the nomination of one or two of the *Priestly College*. [Philip. 2. 2. Agrar. 2. 7.] and were inaugurated into their office by one of the *Augurs*. [Phil. 2. 43.] It was a place in the College of *Pontifices*, or *minor Priests*, that *Bibulus* was now suing for—but the Priests in general had great prerogatives and influence in public affairs; especially in cases of religion, in which they were the sole judges, which made these places eagerly sought for by the nobility.

[3] There was one *P. Apuleius*, a Tribune of the people at this time, and one of *Cicero's* warmest friends. [Phil. 6. 1. 14. 6.] There was *M. Apuleius* also, now with *Brutus* in *Macedonia*; and recommended to the Senate by *Cicero*, as greatly instrumental in bringing over the *Macedonian* army from *C. Antonius*; and this probably was the person here mentioned, as a Candidate for the Priesthood. Phil. 10. 11.

[4] *Domitius* was of the first nobility, Grandson to *Cato* by his mother, and the Son of that *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, nominated by the Senate for a successor to *Cæsar*, in his government of *Gaul*; and who made the first stand against him at *Corfinium*, in the beginning of the civil war. The printed Editions at this place give us, [*sed Apulei-*



jam virum, ex quanto, crede mihi, potest evadere, qui vestris paucorum respondeat laudibus.

*into your confidence; who is already, take my word for it, so accomplished a man, that he bids fair to merit the honor of being ranked, amongst the few of your class.*

## EPISTOLA XIII.

## EPIST. XIII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

**N**OLI expectare dum tibi gratias agam: jam pridem hoc ex nostra necessitudine, quæ ad summam benevolentiam pervenit, sublatum

**D**O not expect now, that I should pay you my thanks [1]: those ought long ago to be banished from our friendship; which is arrived to the utmost de-

us] &c. but as *Brutus*, from the turn of the sentence, seems to make a distinction here between the case of *Apuleius*, whom he had mentioned immediately before, and of *Domitius*; and as some MSS are said to have, *Domitius*, instead of *Apuleius*; I have chosen that reading as the more probable.

[1] These thanks were due for that decree, made in favor of *Brutus*, at *Cicero's* motion, the 27th of *April*; of which *Cicero* sent him word, in Letter the 10th. *Plancus* begins a letter with the same turn, though expressed with more politeness. "I cannot forbear thanking you for every particular instance of your favors to me. But in truth, I do it with some shame. For so great an intimacy, as you have been pleased to allow between you and me, does not seem to want the office of thanks. Nor am I willing to discharge myself so cheaply, of my extraordinary obligations to you, as by the poor return of words, &c." [Ep. Fam. 10. 24.] *D. Brutus* likewise begins a letter with a sentiment of a similar kind. "I now no longer give you thanks. For since I can hardly ever requite you sufficiently by my acts, it is not possible for me to do it by words." [ib. 11. 13.] *Cicero* however would have been better pleased if *Brutus* had really thanked him, and might have answered probably as he did to *Plancus*. "Though I did not desire any thanks from you, since I know, both from experience and your own disposition, that you are of all men the most grateful, yet (for I cannot help confessing it) they were very agreeable to me." [ib. 10. 19. Vid. Hen. Steph. Schedias. 1. 3. 19.] for *Cicero*, as we shall see below, had observed a particular coldness in *Brutus's* letters, with regard to his acts; as if he studiously avoided to signify any approbation of them; and he had given *Brutus* perhaps some hint of it, which is here alluded to.

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D d d

esse

esse debet. Filius tuus à me abest: in Macedonia congregemur: iussus est enim Ambracia ducere equites per Thesfaliam, & scripsi ad eum ut mihi Heracleam occurreret. Cùm eum videro, quoniam nobis permittis, communiter constituemus de reditu ejus ad petitionem, aut ad commendationem honoris. Tibi Glycona, medicum Panfæ, qui forem Achilleos nostri in matrimonio habet, diligentissimè commendo: audimus eum venissè in suspicionem Torquato de morte Panfæ, custodiri que ut parricidam: nihil minus credendum est: quis enim majorem calamitatem morte Panfæ accepit? præterea est modestus homo & frugi; quem ne utilitas qui-

*gree of affection. Your son is at a distance from me; but we shall meet again in Macedonia. For he is ordered to lead the Horse from Ambracia, through Thesfaly; and I have written to him to come to me at Heraclea. As soon as I see him, we will settle the matter together, since you leave it to us, about his return to prosecute his petition, or to recommend it to the next occasion [2]. I recommend to you, in the most pressing manner, Panfa's Physician, Glyco; whose wife is sister to our Achilles [3]. We hear, that he is fallen under some suspicion with Torquatus [4], about Panfa's death; and is kept in chains as a Parricide [5]. Nothing can be more incredible: for who has suffered a greater calamity by Panfa's death than he? besides, he is a modest, worthy man, whom no motive even*

[2] Brutus's meaning seems to be this, as it is explained by *Mannius*; that young *Cicero*, by his return to *Rome*, might prosecute his suit for the *Priesthood*, if, in the present confusion of their affairs, the magistrates should think fit to make an election; or if they postponed it, might recommend his interests in such a manner, as to make it needless for him to return again on the same account.

[3] He was one of *Brutus's* Greek friends; eminent probably for his learning and merit; and on that account well known to *Cicero*, as appears by the appellation of our *Achilles*: for *Brutus* constantly entertained in his house many Greeks of that character. *Plut.* in *Brut.*

[4] *Torquatus* was *Questor* to the Consul *Pansa*. *Appian.* *Bell. Cic.* l. 2. 571.

[5] *Glyco* was suspected to have been bribed by *Octavius*, to poison *Pansa's* wounds. *Suet.* *August.* c. 11. *Tac. Ann.* 1. 10. See *Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 452.

dem

dem videatur impulsura fuisset ad facinus. Rogo te, & quidem valde rogo (nam Achilles noster non minus, quam æquum est, laborat) eripias eum ex custodia, conservesque. Hoc ego ad meum officium privatarum rerum æquè atquè ullam aliam rem pertinere arbitror. Cùm has ad te scriberem litteras, ab Satrio legato C. Trebonii reddita est mihi epistola à Tullio & Dejotaro, Dolabellam cæsum fugatumque esse. Græcam epistolam tibi misi Cycherei cujusdam, ad Satrium missam. Flavius noster de controversia, quam habet cum Dyrrachinis hereditariam, sumpsit te judicem: rogo te, Cicero, & Flavius rogat, rem conficias: quin ei, qui Flavium fecit heredem, pecuniam debuerit civitas, non est dubium; neque Dyrrachini in-

*of gain seems likely to have engaged in any villainous act. I beg of you, and beg it indeed very earnestly, that you would release him out of prison, and preserve him: for our Achilles, as it is reasonable to imagine, lays it not a little to heart. I take this to relate, as much as any thing whatever, to my duty, with respect to my private affairs. While I was writing this, a letter was delivered to me by Satrius, Lieutenant to Trebonius, from Tullius and Deiotarus [6]; signifying, that Dolabella was routed and put to flight. I have sent you a Greek letter also of one Cychereus, written to Satrius. Our Flavius [7] has chosen you the Umpire in the dispute, which he has with the people of Dyrrhachium, about an estate, that was left to him. I desire it of you, Cicero, and Flavius does the same, that you would put an end to the affair. There is no doubt, but that the City owed money to the man, who made Flavius his heir; nor do the Dyrra-*

[6] Tullius Cimber was one of the Conspirators against Cæsar, and now Proprætor of Bithynia. [Dio. l. 47. p. 345. Plut. in Brut.] Deiotarus was King of Galatia, a faithful Ally of the Republic, and deprived by Cæsar of part of his dominions for his adherence to Pompey. See Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 215.

[7] C. Flavius was Commander of the artillery with Brutus, in Macedonia, and his intimate friend; upon the news of whose death, as well as of Labæus's, in the battle of Philippi, Brutus is said to have expressed a particular concern. Plutar.

fitiantur: sed sibi donatum æ alienum à Cæsare dicunt. Noli pati à necessariis tuis necessario meo injuriam fieri. xvii. kalend. Jun. ex castris ad imam Candaviam.

chians deny it; but plead, that all their debts were remitted to them by Cæsar. Do not suffer your friend [8] to do an act of injustice to my friend. May 16th, from my Camp in the lower Candavia [9].

## EPISTOLA XIV.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

**S**cripta & obfignata jam epistola, litteræ mihi redditæ sunt à te, plenæ rerum novarum: maximeque mirabile, Dolabellam quinque cohortes misisse in Cherronesum. Adeone copiis abundat, ut is, qui ex Asia fugere dicebatur, Europam appetere conetur? Quinque autem cohortibus quidnam se facturum arbitratus est, cum tu eo quinque legiones, optimum equitatum, maxima auxilia haberes? quas quidem cohortes spero jam tuas esse, quoniam

## EPIST. XIV.

CICERO TO BRUTUS.

**A**fter I had written and sealed up my letter, I received one from you; full of strange news. What surprised me the most in it, was; that Dolabella had sent five cohorts into the Cherronesse [1]. Does he abound then so much in troops, that he, who was said to be flying out of Asia [2], is in condition to make attempts upon Europe? But what can he think to do there with five cohorts [3]; where you have already five legions; with an excellent body of horse, and a large number of auxiliaries? Yet since that Traitor has been so mad, I hope, that the

[8] The City of *Dyrrachium* had always been protected by *Cicero*, and was attached particularly to his interests. Ep. Fam. 14. 3. ad Att. 3. 22.

[9] A mountainous country dividing *Macedonia* from *Illyricum*.

[1] The Thracian Cherronesse upon the *Hellefpont*.

[2] See Epist. 4th.

[3] Five Cohorts made but half a Legion.

latro ille tam fuit demens. Tuum confilium vehementer laudo, quòd non priùs exercitum Apollonia Dyrrachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria, Itaque, quòd scribis, postea statuisse te ducere exercitum in Cherronesum, nec pati, sceleratissimo hosti ludibrio esse imperium populi Romani, facis ex tua dignitate, & è republica. Quòd scribis de seditione, quæ facta est in legione quarta, de C. Antonio, (in bonam partem accipies) magis mihi probatur militum severitas, quàm tua. Te benevolentiam exercitus equitumque expertum vehementer gaudeo. De Dolabella, ut scribis,

*five cohorts are by this time yours. I highly applaud your resolution, of not removing your army from Apollonia and Dyrrachium, before you had heard of Antony's flight; Brutus's eruption; and the victory of the Roman people [4]. As to what you write therefore, that you have since resolved to lead your army into the Cherronesse, nor to suffer the Empire of Rome to be insulted by a most wicked enemy; you do what is agreeable to your dignity, and to the public service. As to the Sedition, which was made, as you write, in the fourth legion, about C. Antonius; you will take what I say in good part; I am better pleased with the severity of the Soldiers, than with yours. I am extremely glad, that you have had such a trial of the affection of your army, and of the horse [5]. As*

fi

[4] Brutus had kept his army on the coast opposite to Italy, till he saw the event of things at Modena; that he might be in readiness, to support his friends at Rome, if occasion had required. But upon Antony's defeat and flight, he thought himself at liberty, to march away into Macedonia, and repress the insults of Dolabella. This also was Cicero's first advice, from an apprehension, that Dolabella, if not speedily quelled, might grow dangerous to them in those parts. But upon the unhappy turn of their affairs at home, by the death of the Consuls, and the accounts received from abroad, that Dolabella was in no condition to give any trouble in the East, Cicero began to press Brutus and Cassius in every letter, to bring their armies with all speed into Italy, as the only thing that could save the Republic.

[5] C. Antonius, by the benefit of Brutus's indulgence to him, found means to tamper with his troops, so as to raise a Sedition amongst them, from which he hoped to find an opportunity of putting himself again at their head. But Brutus by a timely discovery of the design, prevented the effects of it: and the Soldiers themselves, being brought to

a sense

fi quid habes novi, facies me certiore: in quo valde delector, me antè providisse, ut tuum judicium liberum esset cum Dolabella belli gerendi: & id valde pertinuit, ut ego tum intelligebam, ad rempublicam; ut nunc judico, ad dignitatem tuam, Quod scribis, me maximo otio egisse ut infestarer Antonios, idque laudas: credo ita videri tibi: sed illam distinctionem tuam nullo pacto probo. Scribis enim, acrius prohibenda bella civilia esse, quam in superatos iracundiam exercendam. Vehementer à te, Brute, dissentio; nec clementiæ tuæ concedo; sed salutaris severitas vincit in-

*to Dolabella, if you have any thing new concerning him, you will send me an account of it, as you promise: with relation to whom, I am much delighted, that I had taken care beforehand, that the prosecution of the war against him should be left to your discretion [6]. For that, as I then imagined, was of importance to the Republic, and, as I now judge, to your honor. As to what you write, that I have managed so, as to be able to pursue the Antony's much at my ease; for which you commend me: I suppose you really think so: but I do not by any means approve your distinction, where you say; that our zeal should be employed rather, in preventing civil wars, than in exerting our revenge on the vanquished [7]. I differ widely from you, Brutus; not that I yield to you in point of clemency; but a salutary severity is*

a sense of their rashness, by Brutus's prudent management, killed the authors of the disturbance, and demanded the *Quæstor* and *Lieutenants of Antonius*, to be delivered into their hands: but Brutus, on pretence of ordering them to be thrown into the sea, sent them to be kept safely on Ship-board; and leaving Antonius a prisoner still in *Apollonia*, under the custody of *C. Clodius*, marched away towards the *Chersonese*, in pursuit of Dolabella. Dio. l. 47—340.

[6] This was decreed by the Senate, on the 27th of April, upon Cicero's motion, as he signifies to Brutus, in Letter 10th.

[7] This citation from one of Brutus's letters now lost, is somewhat similar to what we find in letter 11th, where Brutus calls it a more decent part, and what the Republic would more easily allow, not to persecute the fortunes of the miserable, than to heap infinite honors on the powerful, &c.

anem speciem clementiæ. Quod si clementes esse volumus, numquam deerunt bella civilia. Sed de hoc tu videris. De me possum idem quod Plautinus pater in Trinummo: *mibi quidem ætas acta ferme est: tua istuc refert maxime.* Opprimemini, (mihi crede,) Brute, nisi provideritis. Neque enim populum semper eundem habebitis, neque senatum, neque senati ducem. Hæc ex oraculo Apollinis Pythii edita tibi puta: nihil potest esse verius, xiv. kalend. Jun.

*always preferable to a vain ostentation of mercy. If we are fond of being mercifull, there will be no end of civil wars. But it is your business to look to that: for as to myself, I can say, what Plautus's old man says, in the Trinummus; life is almost over with me, it is you, who are the most interested in it [8]. You will be undone, Brutus, believe me, if you do not take care: for you will not always have the people, nor the Senate, nor a leader of the Senate, the same as now. Take this as delivered to you from the Pythian Oracle: nothing can be more true. May 18th [9].*

## EPISTOLA XV.

## EPIST. XV.

BRUTUS ATTICO, S.

BRUTUS to ATTICUS.

**S**cribis mihi; mirari Ciceronem, quòd nihil significem unquam de suis actis. Quoniam **Y**OU write me word, that Cicero wonders, why I never take any notice of his acts effiagi-

[8] He has expressed the same sentiment, in one of his letters to *Atticus*; *mibi quidem senectus; viderint Juvenes.* [Ep. ad. 14. 21.] for he was now in his sixty-fourth year.

[9] This letter, in the common Editions, is dated, xiv Kal. Maii, or 17th of April. But there are two passages in it, which shew that date to be false. First, the mention of the second battel of *Modena* and *Antony's* fight: the news of which did not reach Rome till the 22d of April. [See Lett. 9. Note 16.] Secondly, the reference to a decree mentioned in Letter 10th, which was made in favor of *Brutus* at *Cicero's* motion,

efflagitas, coactu tuo scribam quæ sentio. Omnia fecisse Ciceronem optimo animo, scio: quid enim mihi exploratius esse potest, quàm illius animus in rempublicam? Sed quædam mihi videtur, (quid dicam?) imperitè, vir omnium prudentissimus; an ambitiose fecisse; qui valentissimum Antonium suscipere pro republica non dubitarit inimicum? Nescio quid scribam tibi, nisi unum; pueri & cupiditatem & licentiam potius esse irritatam, quam repressam à Cicerone: tantumque eum tribuere huic indulgentiæ, ut se maledictis non absti-

[1]. Since you require it then, and extort it from me, I will tell you, what I think of them. That Cicero has done every thing with the best intention, I certainly know. For what can I possibly be more assured of, than of his disposition towards the Republic? yet some things he seems to have done; what shall I say? imprudently? of a man, of all others, the most prudent? or ambitiously? of one, who, for the sake of the Republic, has not scrupled to declare war against all the power of Antony? I am at a loss what to write; except this one thing; that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy have been encouraged, rather than repressed by Cicero [2]: and that he carries his indulgence of him so far, as not to abstain even from

on the 27th of April. As it is a common mistake therefore of transcribers, to put one month inadvertently for another in the dates of letters, which we see frequently exemplified in the copies of Cicero's letters, so I have taken the liberty to alter the month in this date, in order to make it correspond with the facts above mentioned, and instead of *xiv Kal. Maii*, have put *xiv Kal. Jun. or 18th of May*, which will solve all the objections that are made to the letter itself. Vid. Tunst. Epist. p. 217, &c.

[1] While Cicero was exerting all his pains and authority at Rome, to support the tottering Republic, and making it his particular care, to strengthen the hands of Brutus and Cassius, he was surprized to see Brutus so reserved in his letters on that head, and studiously avoiding to take any notice of his acts; which clearly implied, that there was something in them, that displeased him. Atticus therefore, as a common friend, had been employed, we may imagine, to found him on this occasion, and to learn the cause of his secret disgust: which produced this answer from Brutus.

[2] The general charge and the onely one indeed, which Brutus urges in this, as well as his other letters, against Cicero's conduct, is, that he was the Author of throwing that power into Octavian's hands, by which he was enabled at last to over-turn the Republic. But the reader may see the merit of this charge fully considered, and Cicero vindicated from it; *Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 471.*

neat.



neat; iis quidem quæ in ipsum dupliciter recidunt; quod & plures occidit uno, seque prius oportet fateatur sicarium, quam obijciat Cascæ quod obijcit, & imitetur in Casca Bestiam. An quia non omnibus horis jactamus idus Martias, similiter at-

*opprobrious language* [3]; and such, as reflects doubly upon himself: since he has taken away the life of more than one [4]; and must first confess himself to be an assassin, before he can reproach Casca, with what he objects to him; and treat Casca, as Bestia once treated him [5]. Or because we are not boasting every moment of the Ides of March,

[3] This refers to some words, that had passed between Cicero and Casca, one of the Conspirators, who gave the first blow to *Cæsar*, yet was Tribune of the people at this very time, by virtue of *Cæsar's* nomination. The passage seems to imply, that Cicero had reproached him for killing *Cæsar*, and called him an *Assassin*. But that is incredible; since Cicero, on all occasions, as well in public speeches, as private letters, never failed to extoll that act, as the most glorious that was ever executed: and with regard to this very Casca, had refused to enter into any measures with *Octavius*, but upon the express condition, that he would be a friend to the Conspirators, and as a proof of it, would suffer Casca, in consequence of *Cæsar's* nomination, to enter into quiet possession of the *Tribunate*. [Ep. ad Att. 16. 13.] Brutus therefore, who was now in *Macedonia*, had either been misinformed, or was charging Cicero with some consequential meaning of his words, which was never intended by him. He had been admonishing Casca possibly to carry himself with more moderation towards *Octavius*, lest, by the advantage of his present power, he might take occasion to treat him as an assassin, and put the laws in execution against him, as he did quickly after against all the Conspirators; for such an admonition would have been sufficient with one of Brutus's fierce spirit, to make him consider it, as a direct condemnation of Casca's act. [See Life of Cic. vol. 2. p. 487. Notes.] But if we reflect on the miserable waste, that has been made in these letters, of which there are but twenty-three now left, out of eight original books; and that there were three books likewise to *Octavius*; three more to *Pansa*, and eight to *Hirtius*; [Vid. Fragm. Ciceron. apud Andr. Patric.] all relating to the same times; and all now destroyed; it cannot be thought strange, that some few facts should be touched in these fragments, which cannot readily be accounted for; when we have lost all the helps, that were the most likely to explain them; and which in all probability had actually explained them.

[4] In *Catiline's* plot; for which he put five of the principal Conspirators to death; *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Gabinus*, *Ceparius*.

[5] *L. Calpurnius Bestia* was a Tribune of the people, at the expiration of Cicero's Consulship; supposed to have been deeply engaged in *Catiline's* conspiracy; and when Cicero laid down his office, joined with his Colleague, *Metellus*, in prohibiting him from speaking to the people: and was ever after a perpetual enemy and reviler of his administration. Vid. Sallust. c. 43. Plutar. in Cic.

que ille nonas Decembres suas in ore habet, eo meliore conditione Cicero pulcherrimum factum vituperabit, quàm Bestia & Clodius reprehendere illius consulatum soliti sunt? Sustinuisse mihi gloriatur bellum Antonii togatus Cicero noster: quid hoc mihi prodest, si merces Antonii oppressi poscitur in Antonii locum successio; & si vindex illius mali auctor existit alterius, fundamentum & radices habituri altiores, si patiamur? ut jam ista, quæ facit, non dominationem; non; sed dominum Antonium timentis sint. Ego autem gratiam non habeo, si quis, dum ne irato seruiat, rem ipsam non deprecatur: immo triumphus & stipendium decernitur; & omnibus decretis ornatur. Pudeat concupiscere

*as he is, of his Nones of December [6], what better pretext can he have for censuring our most laudable act, than Bestia and Clodius [7] had, for inveighing against his Consulship? Our Cicero brags, that he, in his gown, has sustained the war against Antony. But of what service is that to me, if the succession to Antony's place be claimed as the reward of oppressing Antony? And if the avenger of that evil has been the author of another, which is likely to be more firmly grounded, and to take a deeper root, if we suffer it [8]? As if all, that he is doing, came from one, not afraid of a master; no, but of having Antony for that master. But for my part, I cannot think myself obliged to a man, who, as long as he does not serve an angry Lord, has no quarrel with servitude itself; nay decrees triumphs, and pay, and every kind of honor to him [9]. It is a shame for any*

for-

[6] *Cæsar* was killed on the *Ides, or 15th of March*, and *Catiline's* accomplices put to death on the *Nones or 5th of December*.

[7] *P. Clodius*, *Cicero's* inveterate enemy, who in his *Tribunate* procured a law, to banish him for putting those *Conspirators* to death.

[8] That is, if *Octavius*, for the merit of oppressing *Antony*, must be allowed to oppress the Republic in *Antony's* place. Whole power was likely to be the more dangerous of the two, as having the pretext of being authorized by *Cicero* and the Senate.

[9] *Cicero* had decreed an *Ovation* to *Octavius*, which *Brutus* here aggravates into a *Triumph*: yet *Cicero*, in a subsequent letter asserts it, to have been one of his most prudent

fortunam, cujus nomen susceperit. An consularis hoc; an Ciceronis est? Quoniam mihi tacere non licuit, leges quæ tibi necesse est molesta esse. Etenim ipse sentio, quanto cum dolore hæc ad te perscripserim; nec ignoro, quid sentias in republica; & quam desperatam quoque sanari putes posse. Nec mehercule te, Attice, reprehendo. Ætas enim, mores, liberi, segenem efficiunt: quod pudent auct. [Let. 21. it. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 474.] He had decreed likewise, that all the pay and rewards, which had been promised to the Legions by *Octavius*, either in lands or money, should be made good to them by public authority. Philip. 5. 1. 14. 3.

[10] This passage has been much tortured, and is variously read both in the MSS. and printed editions. I have followed the reading of *Manutius*, said to be found in an old copy, which I take to be the most agreeable to *Brutus's* stile.

[11] *Atticus* was at this time full *sixty-six years old*: *P. Manutius* says, that he was *quinquagenarius*, or of the age of *fifty*, when he married his wife *Pilia*; [See *Manut. Not. in Ep. ad Qu. Fra. l. 2. 3.*] which led me into the mistake of reckoning him about a year younger than *Cicero*, who was *fifty-one*, at the time of that marriage. [See *Life of Cic. v. 1. p. 450.*] Whereas in truth, *Atticus* was *three years*, and about three months older than *Cicero*, as we may collect, by comparing what *Corn. Nepos* says of his age, and death. *Vit. Attic. c. 21.*

[12] He was by principle an *Epicurean*: whose chief good consisted in the secure enjoyment of a pleasurable life; undisturbed by the cares, and management of public affairs. See his character, *Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 580.*

[13] *Atticus* had but one child; a daughter; of whom he was very fond: but the word, *children*, is oft applied in this general manner to the case of a single child. *Cicero* rallies him, in one or two of his letters, upon his fondness for his little girl, as being a direct confutation of his *Epicurean School*; which held, that the love of our children was not implanted in us by nature, but derived onely from habit and fashion. *Ep. ad Att. 5. 19. 7. 20.* See *Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 302.*

quidem etiam ex Flavio nostro perpexi. Sed redeo ad Ciceronem. Quid inter Salvidienum, & eum interest? Quid autem amplius ille decerneret? Timet, inquires, etiam nunc reliquias belli civilis. Quisquam ergo ita timet profligatum, ut neque potentiam ejus, qui exercitum victorem habeat, neque temeritatem pueri putet extimescendam esse? An hoc ipsum ea re facit, quòd illi propter amplitudinem omnia jam utroque deferenda putat? O magnam stultitiam timoris, id ipsum, quod verearis, ita ca-

*which I perceived also from the account of our friend Flavius [14]. But to return to Cicero. What difference is there between him and Salvidienus [15]? or what more would Salvidienus himself decree to Octavius [16]? He is afraid still, you will say, of the remains of the civil war. But can any one be so afraid of a routed enemy, as to think, neither the power of one, who is at the head of a conquering army, nor the rashness of a boy at all to be feared? Or does he do all this, because he thinks, that every thing ought freely to be given up to him, on the account of his great power? Oh the strange folly of fear! to be so cautious of stunning what we*

[14] This is explained by a story, related by *Corn. Nepos*, that a scheme having been projected, for raising a fund of money for the support of *Brutus* and his forces, by a voluntary contribution of the *Roman Knights*, *Flavius* proposed the affair to *Atticus*, as *Brutus's* particular friend, and one of the richest of that order, desiring, that he would undertake the management, and put himself at the head of it. But *Atticus* answered, that *Brutus* was unwelcom to make what use he pleased of his fortunes, as far as they would go; but that for his part, he would not have any conference or meeting with any person whatsoever, on any such occasion. *Vit. Attic.* c. 8.

[15] *Salvidienus* was a Creature, and intimate favorite of *Octavius*; who, from the lowest condition of life, was raised by him to the highest honors of the Republic; yet was afterwards put to death, for conspiring perfidiously against him in favor of *M. Antony*, *Suet. Aug.* 66. *Dio.* 48. 376. *Vell. Pat.* 2. 76.

[16] When *Octavius* marched with his army against *Antony*, into *Cisalpine Gaul*, the Senate, at *Cicero's* motion, decreed to him the legal command of that army, as *Pro-prætor*; and that he should carry on the war in conjunction with the two Consuls, and should have a Seat in the Senate, with the rank of a *Prætor*. After the first battel of *Modena*, they decreed to him likewise a thanksgiving of fifty days, with the title of *Imperator*, in common with the Consuls; and after the second battel, and the death of the Consuls, they decreed to him an *Ovation*. *Phil.* 3. 2. 5, &c. 14. 10.

vere,

vere, ut, cùm vitare fortasse potueris, ultro arcessas, & attrahas ! Nimiùm timemus mortem, & exilium, & paupertatem : hæc videntur Ciceroni ultima esse in malis : & dum habeat à quibus impetret quæ velit, & à quibus colatur, ac laudetur ; servitutem, honorificam modò, non aspernatur : si quidquam in extrema ac miserima contumelia potest honorificum esse. Licet ergo patrem appellet Octavius Ciceronem ; referat omnia, laudet, gratias agat ; tamen illud apparebit, verba rebus esse contraria. Quid enim tam alienum ab humanis sensibus est, quàm eum patris habere loco, qui ne liberi quidem hominis numero sit ? Atqui eo tendit, id agit, ad eum exitum properat vir optimus, ut sit illi Octavius propitiis. Ego vero jam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus scio Ciceronem instructissimum esse. Quid enim illi profunt, quæ pro libertate patriæ, de dignitate ; quæ de morte, exilio, paupertate scri-

*are afraid of, that instead of avoiding it, as we might perhaps have done, we forwardly invite and draw it upon ourselves. We have too great a dread of death, and of exile, and of poverty. These Cicero looks upon, as the chief ills of life ; and as long as he can find people, who will grant him what he desires ; who will respect, and applaud him ; he has no objection to slavery, provided it be an honorable one ; if any thing can be honorable, in a state of the most wretched and abject contumely. Let Octavius then call him Father ; refer all things to him, praise, thank him : yet it will be seen at last, that his words are contrary to his acts. For what is so opposite to the common sense of mankind, as to hold any one in the place of a Father, who cannot be ranked in the number even of freemen ? And yet all that this excellent man is aiming at ; all that he is doing, tends onely to this, that Octavius may be kind to him. I can no longer set any value on these arts, of which I know Cicero to be so great a master : for of what use to him are all the fine things, that he has written with such eloquence, for the liberty of his country, or on dignity, death, exile, poverty ? How*

psit copiosissimè? Quanto autem magis illa callere videtur Philippus; qui privigno minus tribuerit, quàm Cicero alieno tribuat? Desinat igitur glorando etiam infectari dolores nostros. Quid enim nostra, victum esse Antonium; si victus est, ut alii vacaret, quod ille obtinuit? tametsi tuæ litteræ dubia etiam nunc significant. Vivat hercule Cicero, qui potest, supplex & obnoxius; si neque ætatis, neque honorum, neque rerum gestarum pudet. Ego certe, quin cum ipsa re bellum geram; hoc est, cum regno, & imperiis extraordinariis, & dominatione, & potentia, quæ supra leges se esse velit: nulla erit tam bona conditio serviendi, qua deterrear: *much better does Philippus seem to understand these subjects, who was more reserved in his concessions to a son-in-law, than Cicero to a stranger [17]? Let him forbear then in his boastings to insult even our miseries. For what is it to us, that Antony is vanquished, if his fall has made room only for another, to possess his place? Though your letters even still speak dubiously of him [18]. Let Cicero then live on, since he can submit to it, suppliant and obnoxious; if he has no regard, either to his years, or his honors, or the acts of his past life. As for me, I will wage war with the thing itself; that is, with Tyranny, with extraordinary commands, with dominion, and with every power, that seeks to advance itself above the laws: nor shall any condition of servitude, how advantageous soever, divert me from it; though*

[17] *L. Marcus Philippus* was Consul, A. U. 697. and had married *Octavius's* mother, *Atia*, in her widowhood, with whom he now lived. But *Brutus* does not seem to have been exactly informed of the transactions at *Rome*, by charging *Cicero* with a greater forwardness in decreeing honors to *Octavius*, than even his Father-in-law approved, since, as we shall find from a following letter, besides the honors, mentioned above, which *Cicero* decreed, *Philippus* decreed the additional honor of a *Statue in the Rostra*.

[18] *Atticus* had given an intimation in his letter, that *Antony* had recovered some considerable strength since his flight from *Modena*, and that his affairs did not seem so desperate, as they were commonly imagined. This was occasioned, as it is observed above, by *Octavius's* refusal to pursue him after his defeat, which gave him an opportunity of gathering up his scattered troops, and joining with *Ventidius*. But the dubious state of his affairs, which *Atticus* had suggested, shews, that *Atticus's* letter was written before *Antony's* union with *Lepidus*, which happened on *May 29th*: and this answer therefore from *Brutus* might be written probably about the middle of *June*.

quam-

quamvis fit vir bonus, ut scribis, Antonius : quod ego numquam existimavi. Sed dominum, ne parentem quidem, majores nostri voluerunt esse. Te nisi tantum amarem, quantum Ciceroni persuasum est, diligi se ab Octavio, hæc ad te non scripsissem. Dolet mihi, quod tu nunc stomacharis, amantissimus tum tuorum omnium, tum Ciceronis : sed persuade tibi, de voluntate propria mea nihil esse remissum, de judicio largiter. Neque enim impetrari potest, quin, quale quidque videatur ei, talem quisque de illo opinionem

Antony, as you write, be an honest man; which was never my opinion of him [19]. But as to a Master, our Ancestors would never endure one, though it were even a Parent [20]. If I did not love you, as much, as Cicero persuades himself, that he is beloved by Octavius, I would not have written this to you. It grieves me to reflect, how much you are now disgusted; you, who love all your friends so warmly, and above all, Cicero. But assure yourself, that I have abated nothing of my particular affection, though a great deal of my judgement of him. For it cannot possibly be otherwise, but that every man's opinion of things must be agreeable to the light, in which they appear to him. I wish

[19] Mr. Tunstall, upon the strength of his hypothesis and the authority of *Plutarch*, thinks the true reading in this place ought to have been *Octavius*, instead of *Antonius*. [*Vulg. malè Antonius*. Vid. Tunst. Epist. p. 194. Not.] But this emendation is not only contradictory to all the Copies, both MSS, and printed, but to the sense of the passage and to history itself. *Atticus*, to whose letter *Brutus* is here answering, had a particular friendship with *Antony*, and at the very time of this letter, when *Antony's* affairs were thought quite desperate, and when it was unpopular and invidious, to profess the least regard for him, is celebrated by the Ancients, for acting a most generous part, and performing all manner of good offices to his wife and children at *Rome*. In this disposition therefore, when he was touched with a particular compassion for *Antony's* deplored condition, it was natural to mention him with some tenderness in his letter to *Brutus* : but as to *Octavius*, it does not appear, that *Atticus* had any personal acquaintance or commerce with him, till many years after : when he was indebted even for that, to the favor and recommendation of *Antony*. See *Atticus's* character. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 564. 580. &c.

[20] This doctrine is taught by *Cicero* also, in his book of *Offices*, as a duty of perpetual obligation ; that where a Parent persists in subverting the liberties of his country, we ought to rescue our country, though at the expence of that Parent's life. Off. l. 3. 23.

habeat. Vellem mihi scripsisses, quæ conditiones essent Atticæ nostræ: potuissẽm aliquid tibi de meo sensu perscribere. Validitudinem Porciæ meæ tibi curæ esse non miror. Denique quod petis, faciam libenter: nam etiam sorores me rogant; & hominem noro, & quid sibi voluerit.

*you had sent me word, what are the conditions offered to our Attica. I might then have given you my sentiments upon them [21]: I do not wonder at the concern, which you express for my Porcia's health [22]. To conclude, what you desire of me, I will do with pleasure: for my Sisters also make the same request [23]; and I know the man, and what it is, that he would have.*

## EPISTOLA XVI.

## EPIST. XVI.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

**F**ungerer officio, quo tu functus es in meo luctu, teque per litteras consolarer, nisi scirem, his remediis, quibus meum dolorem tu levasses, te in tuo non egere: ac velim

**I**Should perform the same office, which you performed in my loss, of comforting you by letter, did I not know, that you cannot want those remedies in your grief [1], with which you relieved  
faci-

[21] *P. Manutius* supposes, that a proposal of marriage had been made to *Atticus* for his daughter *Attica*, which he had signified to *Brutus*. But as *Attica* could not be above *eleven years old* at this time, so, if this hint relates to any proposal of that sort, it could mean nothing more, than that some party had been offered, in order to take effect, when she should be thought ripe for the married state.

[22] This implies, that *Porcia* was now indisposed, or lay sick, of which more will be said in the 16th Letter.

[23] His Sisters, as it is said, were the wife of *Lepidus*, and the wife of *Cassius*, both now at *Rome*.

[1] This letter of condolence relates evidently to the death of some person intimately dear to *Brutus*, and whose loss affected him with the utmost tenderness. I have taken occasion elsewhere to apply it to the death of his wife *Porcia*; [Life of Cic. v.



facilius, quàm tunc ego mihi, *mine* [2]. *I wish only, that you may cure yourself now more easily, than at that time I cured myself; for it would be strange in so great a man as you, not to be able to practise, what he had prescribed to another.* nunc tibi tute medeare. Est enim alienum tanto viro, ut es tu, quod alteri præceperit, id ipsum facere non posse. Me quidem cum rationes, quas collegeras, tum auctoritas tua à nimio mœrore deterruit. Cum enim mollius tibi ferre viderer quàm deceret virum, præsertim eum qui alios consolari solet; accusasti me per litteras gravioribus verbis quàm tua consuetudo ferebat. Itaque iudicium tuum magni æstimans, idque veritus, me ipse collegi :

2. p. 441.] and have given my reasons for an interpretation, which contradicts the common tradition of Antiquity. We have observed an intimation given, in letter 15th, Note 22. of *Porcia's* sickness: and *Plutarch* says, that the e was a letter of *Brutus's* extant in his days, if it was genuine, in which he laments her death, and complains of his friends, for neglecting her in her last illness. [in Brut.] *Cicero*, we see, avoids to name the person deceased, which, in the case of *Porcia*, would be the natural effect of good manners, and a proper respect to *Brutus's* tenderness. It could not be his mother, for she survived her Son several years: [Corn. Nep. Vit. Att. c. 11.] nor has any probable conjecture been ever offered with regard to any body else. *P. Manutius* declares himself wholly at a loss, after the most diligent attention, to guess at the subject of it. He observes, that there are several strokes in it, which eminently describe the singular greatness of *Brutus's* loss, and which would turn his thoughts towards *Porcia*, were there not some internal marks in the letter itself, that confuse such an interpretation. These marks will be considered, when we come to the passages, that are supposed to contain them; where as I shall shew *Manutius* to be mistaken, so I shall confirm my Hypothesis of *Porcia's* death.

[2] Upon the death of his daughter *Tullia*: on which occasion *Brutus* sent him a letter of condolence, written, as he says of it, *in such a friendly and prudent manner, that while it drew many tears from him, yet it gave him great consolation.* Ep. ad. Att. 12. 13.

& ea, quæ didiceram, legeram, acceperam, graviora duxi, tua auctoritate addita. Ac mihi tum, Brute, officio solum erat & naturæ, tibi nunc populo & scenæ (ut dicitur) ferviendum est. Nam cum in te non solum exercitus tui, sed omnium civium ac penè gentium coniecti oculi sint, minimè decet, propter quem fortiores cæteri sumus, eum ipsum animo debilitatum videri. Quam ob rem accepisti tu quidem dolorem (id enim amisti cui simile in terris nihil fuit) & est dolendum in tam gravi vi-

self; and by the accession of your authority, took every thing that I had learnt, or read, or heard upon that subject to have the greater weight: Yet my part, Brutus, at that time was onely to act agreeably to duty and to nature: but yours is to be acted, as we say, upon the stage, and before the people. For when the eyes, not onely of your army, but of all the Citizens, nay of all nations are upon you; it is wholly indecent for you, by whom we other mortals are made the stouter, to betray any dejection or want of courage [3]. You have suffered indeed a great loss, (for you have lost that, which has not lost it's fellow on earth) [4], and must be allowed to grieve under

here,

[3] This was a very proper topic to be urged to *Brutus* in his present circumstances; that he was at the head of an army, on which the fate of *Rome* depended; and that a trust of so great importance ought to engross the whole man, and absorb all other cares of a private nature. But he had already shewn, as *Plutarch* tells us, how well he could support his character on so trying an occasion. For in the morning, when *Cæsar* was killed, after he had left his house in order to execute that act, *Porcia*, whom he made privy to it, being unable to bear the anxiety and agitations, which the expectation of that event gave her, fainted away in such a manner, that she was imagined by all to be dead: and the news of her death was accordingly sent to *Brutus*; who though extremely troubled, yet was not so oppressed by his private grief, as to neglect the public affair, in which he was engaged. *Plut. in Brut.*

[4] I cannot yet guess, says *Manutius*, to whom these words can be applied, since they cannot relate either to *Porcia*, or to his mother. [Vid. Not. Manut.] *Franciscus Robertellius* declares them to allude to the death of *P. Servilius Isauricus*, a person of great dignity, who died about this time at *Rome* in an extreme old age; [*Dio. l. 45. p. 277.*] and to whom he supposes *Brutus* to have been nearly related by his mother *Servilia*. But the greatness of *Brutus's* affliction, intimated in the letter, shews it to be applicable to some body,

nere, (ne id ipsum, carere omni  
 sensu doloris, sit miserius quàm  
 dolere) sed, ut modicè, cæte-  
 ris utile est, tibi necessè est.  
 Scriberem plura, nisi ad te hæc  
 ipsa nimis multa essent. Nos te  
 tuumque exercitum expecta-  
 mus: sine quo, ut reliqua ex  
 sententia succedant, vix satis

*so cruel a blow; lest to want all  
 sense of grief, should be found  
 more wretched than grief itself  
 [5]: but to grieve with moderation,  
 as it is usefull to every body, so it  
 is necessary to you. I should write  
 more, if this was not already too  
 much to one of your character.  
 We expect you, and your army:  
 without which, though all other  
 things succede to our wishes [6],  
 we shall hardly ever be free. I*

F f f 2

liberi

body, more intimately dear to him, than a decrepit old Senator; who, how eminent  
 soever, had long ceased to make any figure, or to bear any part in the public affairs;  
 and whose son, having been *Colleague* with *J. Cæsar* in the consulship, appears to have  
 been an opposer, rather than a favorer of *Brutus*. [Ep. Fam. 10. 12. ad Brut. Ep. 3.]  
*Robertellus* however, upon the merit of this groundless conjecture, insults *Manutius*, for  
 confessing his ignorance, in a question so obvious; and for thinking it possible, that the  
 death of *Porcia*, or of any little woman, could affect *Brutus* so tenderly. *Robor. Emen-*  
*dation. l. 2. c. 18.*

[5] For not to grieve at all, as he expresses himself elsewhere, *would shew a mind  
 void of humanity, and a body void of feeling, Tusc. qu. 3.*

[6] *Manutius* contends, that the doubt, which *Cicero* here intimates, concerning the  
 success of their arms, shews, that it was written before *Antony's* defeat at *Modena*,  
 whereas in the 15th letter, which was written after that defeat, mention is made of  
*Porcia*, as then living. But if these words do not imply what *Manutius* imagines, but  
 on the contrary, prove the letter to have been written not onely after *Antony's* defeat,  
 but after his union also with *Lepidus*, then his objection vanishes of course. As to the  
 doubt then, here signified, about their success, it must be remembered, that though  
 presently after the victory at *Modena*, *Cicero* thought their danger over, yet he soon had  
 reason to change his mind, and especially after *Antony's* union with *Lepidus*, clearly  
 saw, what he expresses with great sollicitude in all his letters, that the fortune of the  
 Republic was become again wholly uncertain. But the other part of the sentence,  
 where he signifies his expectation of seeing *Brutus* and his army in *Italy*, seems to de-  
 monstrate, that the letter was written after *Antony's* union with *Lepidus*; for it was after  
 that event onely, that *Cicero* began to press *Brutus* and *Cassius*, to bring their armies  
 into *Italy*; as the reader will observe through the course of these letters; as well as  
 in several others written to *Cassius*: in one of which, *when we had imagined the war to  
 be over*, says he, *we are brought again into the utmost danger, by your friend Lepidus*: [Ep.  
 Fam. 12. 9.] and in another; *the war*, says he, *while I am writing this, is become a  
 dangerous*

liberi videmur fore. De tota *shall write more largely on the*  
 republica plura scribam, & for- *whole state of the Republic; and*  
 tasse jam certiora his litteris, *perhaps with more certainty, in the*  
 quas Veteri nostro cogitabam *letters, which I am thinking to*  
 dare. *send by our Vetus [7].*

## E P I S T O L A XVII.

## E P I S T. XVII.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

**E**TSI daturus eram Mes-  
 salæ Corvino continuò  
 litteras, tamen Veterem nos-  
 trum ad te sine litteris meis  
 venire nolui. Maximo in dis-

*dangerous one again, by the treachery of Lepidus: —wherefore there is a general persuasion  
 in the City, that you are coming into Italy with your army; that, if things succeed to our  
 wishes, we may have the benefit of your advice and authority; or, if any ill luck befall us,  
 as it is usual in war, we may have the support of your army—be assured therefore, that all  
 our hopes are in you and Brutus; that both of you are expected, but Brutus immediately. Ep.  
 Fam. 10.*

[7] What Cicero here hints of his design to write again quickly by *Vetus*, is another strong proof, that this letter was written after *Antony's* union with *Lepidus*. *Vetus*, as we have seen from letter the 7th, was with *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, before the death of the Consuls; whence he came to *Rome*, in order to sue for the *Prætorship*; but with a promise of returning to *Brutus*, as soon as that affair could be finished. He was now preparing to return within a few days, when he carried with him the following Letter from *Cicero*; written, as we shall find, not onely after *Lepidus's* union with *Antony*, but about the time when he was declared an enemy by the Senate, which was still a month later. Ep. Fam. 10. 23. 12. 10.

[1] The reader will see a particular character of this *Messala* in letter 21st.

[2] *Vetus* was now returning to *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, according to his promise, about the beginning of *July*; when he carried this letter with him from *Cicero*: and from this time he continued probably to act with him to the end of the war; yet within a few years after it, by his interest, as we may imagine, with the conquerors, we find him in the possession of his friend *Cicero's* *Villa*, near *Puteoli*, called the *Academy*: on the subject of which there is an *Epigram* still extant, made by one of *Cicero's* freedmen. *Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 31. 2. Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 511.*

crimine

crimine respublica, Brute, ver-  
satur; victoresque rursus de-  
certare cogimur: id accidit M.  
Lepidi scelere & amentia. Quo  
tempore cum multa propter  
eam curam quam pro repub-  
lica suscepi, graviter ferrem,  
tum nihil tui gravius, quàm  
me non posse matris tuæ pre-  
cibus cedere, non fororis: nam  
tibi, quod mihi plurimi est, fa-  
cilè me satisfacturum arbitra-  
bar. Nullo enim modo po-  
terat causa Lepidi distingui ab  
Antonii: omniumque iudicio  
etiam durior erat; quòd, cum  
honoribus amplissimis à senatu  
esset Lepidus ornatus, tum eti-  
am paucis ante diebus præcla-  
ras litteras ad senatum misisset;  
repente non solum recepit reli-  
quias hostium, sed bellum a-

*now in the utmost danger, and  
after we had conquered, we are  
forced again to fight, by the per-  
fidy and madness of M. Lepidus.  
Upon which occasion, when on the  
account of the care, with which  
I have charged myself for the Re-  
public, I had many things to make  
me uneasy, yet nothing has vexed  
me more, than that it is not in  
my power to yield to the entreaties  
of your mother and sister [3]:  
for I imagined, that I should  
easily satisfy you; on which I lay  
the greatest stress. For Lepidus's  
case could not by any means be dis-  
tinguished from Antony's: nay  
in all people's judgement, was  
even worse: since after he had been  
adorned with the highest honors by  
the Senate [4]; and a few days  
before, had sent an excellent letter  
to them; on a sudden, he not only  
received the broken remains of our  
enemies, but is waging a most cruel*

[3] One of Brutus's sisters, as it is said above, was wife to Lepidus, by whom she had children. Brutus's mother therefore, and his other sister, Tertia, the wife of Cossus, were pressing Cicero, that Lepidus might not either be adjudged an enemy, and his estate consequently confiscated; or that his children at least, on the merit of being Brutus's nephews, might be exempted from that calamity, and not involved in their father's ruin. Cicero could not comply with their entreaties, but got Lepidus declared an enemy by the unanimous decree of the Senate, on the last of June [Ep. Fam. 12. 10.] He looked upon the intercession of the women, as the effect of a feminine weakness, and fancied, that Brutus would be satisfied with the necessity of that step: but in this he was much mistaken, as we shall see by the next letter from Brutus.

[4] The Senate, at Cicero's motion, had decreed to him a *gilt equestrian Statue in the Rostra*: an honor, which had never before been decreed to any man. Philip. 5. 15.

cerrimum terra marique gerit ;  
 cujus exitus qui futurus sit, in-  
 certum est. Itque cum roga-  
 mur, ut misericordiam liberis  
 ejus impertiamus, nihil affertur  
 quo minus summa supplicia, si  
 (quod Jupiter omen avertat!)  
 pater puerorum vicerit, sube-  
 unda nobis sint. Nec vero me  
 fugit, quàm sit acerbum, pa-  
 rentium scelera filiorum pœnis  
 lui. Sed hoc præclare legibus  
 comparatum est, ut caritas  
 liberorum amiciores parentes  
 reipublicæ redderet. Itaque Le-  
 pidus crudelis in liberos ; non  
 is, qui Lepidum hostem judi-  
 cat. Atque ille si, armis po-  
 sitis, de vi damnatus esset, quo  
 in judicio certe defensionem  
 non haberet, eandem calami-  
 tatem subirent liberi, bonis  
 publicatis ; quamquam quod  
 tua mater, & soror deprecatur  
 pro pueris, idipsum & multa  
 alia crudeliora nobis omnibus  
 Lepidus, Antonius, & reliqui  
 hostes denunciant. Itaque ma-  
 ximam spem hoc tempore ha-  
 bemus in te atque exercitu tuo.  
 Cum ad reipublicæ summam,

*war against us by land and sea,  
 the event of which is wholly un-  
 certain. When we are desired  
 therefore, to extend mercy to his  
 children, not a word is said, why,  
 if their father should conquer,  
 (which the Gods avert!) we are  
 not to expect the last punishment  
 from him. I am not ignorant,  
 how hard it is, that Children  
 should suffer for the crimes of their  
 parents: but this is wisely con-  
 trived by the laws, that the love  
 of their children should make pa-  
 rents more affectionate to their  
 country. Wherefore it is Lepidus,  
 who is cruel to his children ;  
 not he, who adjudges Lepidus to  
 be an enemy. For if, laying down  
 his arms, he were to be condemned  
 cruelly of violence, in which no de-  
 fence could be made for him, his  
 children would suffer the same ca-  
 lamity, by the confiscation of his  
 estate. Yet what your mother and  
 sister are now solliciting against,  
 in favor of the children, the very  
 same and much worse, Lepidus,  
 Antony, and our other enemies  
 are, at this very moment, threat-  
 ening to us all. Wherefore our  
 greatest hope is in you and your  
 army. It is of the utmost con-  
 tum*

tum ad gloriam & dignitatem tuam vehementer pertinet, te in Italiam, ut ante scripsi venire quamprimum. Eget enim vehementer cum viribus tuis, tum etiam consilio republica. Veterem, pro ejus erga te benevolentia singularique officio, libenter ex tuis litteris complexus sum : eumque cum tui, tum reipublicæ studiosissimum amantissimumque cognovi. Ciceronem meum propediem, ut spero, videbo: tecum enim illum in Italiam celeriter esse venturum confido.

*sequence, both to the Republic in general, and to your glory and dignity in particular, that as I wrote to you before, you come, as soon as possible, into Italy: for the Republic is in great want, not onely of your forces, but of your counsil. Upon the recommendation of your letter, I served Vetus with pleasure, on the account of his singular benevolence and duty to you: and I found him extremely zealous and affectionate both to you, and to the Republic. I shall see my Son, I hope, very soon; for I depend upon his coming with you quickly to Italy.*

## EPISTOLA XVIII.

## EPIST. XVIII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

**D**E M. Lepido vereri me cogit reliquorum timor: qui si eripuerit se nobis, (quod velim temere atque injuriose de illo suspicati sint homines)

**O**THER people's fears oblige me to entertain some also myself, on Lepidus's account [1]: If he should withdraw himself from us, (which will prove, I hope, a rash and injurious suspicion of him)

[1] While *Lepidus's* affair was in agitation at *Rome*, and it was generally expected, that he would be declared an enemy by the Senate, *Brutus's* Mother and Sister had sent an account, we may suppose, to *Brutus*, of the Solicitation, which they had been using in vain with *Cicero*, to prevent any such decree of the Senate; or to exempt the children at least from the effects of it; and desired him therefore to interpose his authority on that occasion, which produced the present letter.

oro atque obsecro te, Cicero, necessitudinem nostram tuamque in me benevolentiam obtestans, fororis; meæ liberos obliviscaris esse Lepidi filios; meque his in patris locum successisse existimes: hoc si a te impetret, nihil profecto dubitabis pro his suscipere. Aliter alii cum suis vivunt: nihil ego possum in fororis meæ liberis facere, quo possit expleri voluntas mea aut officium. Quid vero aut mihi tribuere boni possunt, si modo digni sumus quibus aliquid tribuatur; aut ego matri, ac forori, puerisque illis prestaturus sum, si nihil valuerit apud te reliquumque senatum, contra patrem Lepidum Brutus avunculus? Scribere multa ad te neque possum præ sollicitudine ac stomacho, neque debeo. Nam si in tanta re tamque necessaria verbis mihi opus est ad te excitandum & confirmandum; nulla spes est,

[2], *I beg and beseech you, Cicero, conjuring you by our friendship and your affection to me, to forget, that my sister's children are Lepidus's sons; and to consider me in the place of their father. If I obtain this from you, you will not scruple, I am sure, to do whatever you can for them. Other people live in a different manner with their friends: but I can never do enough for my Sister's children, to satisfy either my inclination, or my duty. But what is there, in which honest men can oblige me, (if in reality I have deserved to be obliged in any thing) or in which I can be of service to my mother, sister, and the boys; if their Uncle Brutus has not as much weight with you and the Senate, to protect, as their father Lepidus to hurt them? I feel so much uneasiness and indignation, that I neither can, nor ought to write more fully to you: for if, in a case so important and so necessary, there could be any occasion for words, to excite and confirm you, there is no hope, that you will do, what I wish, and*

[2] Though *Lepidus* had actually united himself with *Antony*, and *Brutus* had heard of it before this time, yet he seems to have flattered himself still, that it was not with any desperate view, or a resolution to act against the Republic, but with design only to act the Mediator, agreeably to what he himself declared, and make peace among Fellow-Citizens. Ep. Fam. 10. 27, 34.

factu-



facturum te quod volo, & *what is proper. Do not expect therefore any long prayers from me. Consider who I am: one, who ought to obtain this, either from Cicero, a man the most particularly united with me; or without any regard to our private friendship, from a Consular, of such eminence. Pray send me word, as soon as you can, what you resolve to do* [3]. *From my Camp, July the 1st* [4].

facturum te quod volo, & quod oportet. Quare noli expectare longas preces: intuere meipsum; qui hoc, vel a Cicero conjunctissimo homine privatim; vel a consulari tali viro, remota necessitudine privata, impetrare debeo. Quid sis facturus, velim mihi quamprimum rescribas. Kalend. Quint. ex castris.

## EPISTOLA XIX.

## EPIST. XIX.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

**N**ULLAS adhuc à te litteras habebamus; ne famam quidem quæ declararet, te cognita senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque matu-

**W**E have yet had no letters from you, nor so much as any report, to inform us, that in pursuance of the vote of the Senate, you were bringing your army into Italy: which that you would do, and with all speed, the

[3] The great sollicitude, which *Brutus* peevishly expresses on the account of his Nephews, and his demand to have the laws suspended in their favor, at a time of such confusion, when the liberty of *Rome* was at stake, seems to be much out of character. For if *Lepidus* had returned to his duty, of which *Brutus* professes some hopes, the case of the children would be set right of course; or upon the conclusion of the war, which side soever got the better, their fortunes would necessarily have been repaired, either by their Father, or their Uncle. See *Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 470.

[4] *Lepidus* was declared an enemy by the Senate, on the 30th of *June*; the day before the date of this letter; but the news of it could not reach *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, till about a fortnight after.

rare, magnopere desiderabat respublica. Ingravescit enim in dies intestinum malum, nec externis hostibus magis quàm domesticis laboramus, qui erant omnino ab initio belli, sed faciliùs frangebantur. Erectior fenatus erat, non sententiis solum nostris, sed etiam cohortationibus excitatus. Erat in fenatu fatis vehemens & acer Panfa, cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maximè in focerum: cui consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur, nihil ut in Cæsare reprehenderes; nonnulla in Hirtio: hujus belli fortuna, ut in secundis, fluxa;

*Republic earnestly desired of you [1]. For our intestine evil gains ground upon us every day; nor do we find more trouble from our enemies abroad, than from those at home [2]: who were troublesome indeed from the beginning of the war, but more easily kept under. For the Senate was then in higher spirits; roused not only by my votes, but exhortations. Panfa, at the head of it, was sufficiently brisk and vigorous against all the rest of that class; but above all against his Father in law [3]: who, during his Consulship, wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last. The war was so managed at Modena, that you could find no fault with Cæsar, though some with Hirtius [4]. The fortune of this war, if compared with a prosperous state, is*

[1] The Senate had passed a vote, at Cicero's motion, to call Brutus into Italy, with his army, of which Brutus had not yet taken any notice, or signified any intention of complying with it. Cicero therefore presses him to it very warmly in this letter, where he opens the grounds of it, and lays before him the uncertain and critical state of their affairs.

[2] After the union of Antony and Lepidus, their partisans at Rome began to be very insolent, and troublesome to the friends of liberty; whose apprehensions also were much increased by the suspicions, which they had reason to conceive about Octavius.

[3] Q. Fufius Calenus, of whom some account is given above, Lett. 2. Not. 6.

[4] It does not appear from any of Cicero's letters what particular reason he had to blame Hirtius, with regard to his conduct at Modena; besides that general want of vigor and celerity mentioned above, in executing the decrees of the Senate; and the imprudence of imagining, that the war might be ended by amicable methods. Lett. 8. Not. 3. Lett. 4. Not. 9.

ut in adversis, bona: erat victrix reipublica, cæsis Antonii copiis, ipso expulso à Bruto. Deinde ita multa peccata, ut quodammodo victoria excideret è manibus: perterritos, inermes, faucios, non sunt nostri duces persecuti: datumque Lepido tempus est, in quo levitatem ejus sæpè perspectam, majoribus in malis experiremur. Sunt exercitus boni, sed rudes, Bruti & Planci. Sunt fidelissima, & maxima auxilia Gallorum: sed Cæsa-

*uncertain; if with an adverse one, good. The Republic was victorious; Antony's forces routed; he himself driven out of Italy by Brutus. But so many blunders ensued, that the victory slipped, as it were, out of our hands: for our Generals did not think fit to pursue the frightened, disarmed, disabled rebels [5]: and an opportunity was given to Lepidus, to make us feel the effects of his levity; though felt by us indeed often before, but now to our greater mischief [6]. The armies of Brutus and Plancus are good, but raw [7]: the Gallic auxiliaries faithful and numerous. But as to*

[5] Cicero was much shocked, as he often complains, that their Generals at Modena, D. Brutus and Octavius, made so little use of their victory, as to give Antony time, for want of pursuing him, to gather the scattered remains of his forces, and to join with Ventidius, and march in all safety out of Italy. But D. Brutus excused himself from any share of that blame, by assuring Cicero, that his army, after having been shut up so long in Modena, was destitute of all necessaries for such a pursuit, and without any horse, whilst Antony's horse remained almost intire; and that Octavius, who alone was in condition to follow him, could neither be prevailed with himself, nor prevail with his troops to do it. [Ep. Fam. l. 11. 10, 13.] Plancus also, in a letter to Cicero, declares, that it was wholly owing to Octavius, that Antony survived that defeat, and was able to give them any farther trouble. Ep. Fam. l. 10. 24.

[6] By uniting his army with Antony's, and renewing the war; which would otherwise have been at an end by the victory at Modena.

[7] D. Brutus and L. Plancus were appointed Consuls for the following year, by J. Cæsar, and had now joined their armies in the defence of the Republic, against Antony and Lepidus in Gaul: [Ep. Fam. 11. 15.] but Plancus, who had much the better army, though not so numerous, soon after betrayed and deserted his Colleague. Besides his Horse and Gallic auxiliaries, he had four complete legions, three of which were veteran: whilst Brutus, though he reckoned ten in all, had but one veteran Legion; and the rest raw and unprovided with all necessaries. Ep. Fam. 10. 24. 11. 10, 13.

rem meis consiliis adhuc gubernatum, præclara ipsum indole, admirabilique constantia, improbissimis litteris quidam fallacibusque interpretibus ac nunciis impulerunt in spem certissimam consulatus. Quod simulatque sensi, neque ego illum absentem litteris monere destiti, nec accusare præsentis ejus necessarios, qui ejus cupiditati suffragari videbantur: nec in senatu sceleratissimorum consiliorum fontes aperire dubitavi: nec verò ulla in re meminì, aut senatum meliorem, aut magistratus. Numquam enim in honore extraordinario potentis hominis, vel potentissimi potius (quando quidem potentia jam in vi posita est & armis) accidit, ut nemo tribunus plebis, nemo alio magistratu, nemo privatus, auctor

*Cæsar, who has been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an excellent disposition, and wonderfull constancy, some people, by most wicked letters, mes-sages, and fallacious accounts of things, have pushed him to an assured hope of the Consulship. Which as soon as I perceived, I never ceased admonishing him in absence, nor reproaching his friends here present, who seemed to encourage his ambition: nor did I scruple to lay open the source of those traitorous counsils in the Senate [8]: nor do I ever remember the Senate, or the Magistrates to have behaved better on any occasion. For it never happened before, in voting an extraordinary honor to a powerfull, or rather most powerfull man, (since power is now measured by force and arms) that no Tribun, nor any other Magistrate, nor so much as a private Senator would move for it [9].*  
existe-

[8] It has been commonly believed, on the authority of that *Plutarch*, *Cicero* was a promotor of *Octavius's* demand of the Consulate; being duped and drawn into it by an assurance given him by the young man, that he would take him for his Colleague, and be governed by him in all points during their joint administration; but this letter is a confutation of that story, and shews, that no man was more shocked at *Octavius's* attempt, or took more pains to dissuade it than *Cicero*.

[9] It is very remarkable, what *Cicero* here declares, that there was not a single Magistrate, or Senator, who could be induced to move the Senate, for a grant of the Consulship

existeret : sed in hac constantia atque virtute, erat tamen sollicita civitas. Illudimur enim, Brute, cum militum delictis, tum imperatorum insolentia. Tantum quisque se in republica posse postulat, quantum habet virium: non ratio, non modus, non lex, non mos, non officium valet; non iudicium, non existimatio civium, non posteritatis verecundia. Hæc ego multo antè prospiciens fugiebam ex Italia, tum, cum me vestrorum edictorum fama revocavit. Incitavisti verò tu me, Brute, Velia: quamquam enim dolebam, in eam me urbem ire, quam tu fugeres, qui eam liberavisses; (quod

*Yet in the midst of all this firmness and virtue, the City is still alarmed: for we are insulted, Brutus, both by the licentiousness of the Soldiers, and the insolence of the Generals. Every one demands to have as much power in the state, as he has force to extort it: no reason, no moderation, no laws, no custom, no duty is at all regarded; no judgement or opinion of the Citizens; no reverence for posterity. I had foreseen all this long beforehand, and was flying out of Italy, at the time when the fame of your edicts called me back again [10]. But you, Brutus, gave me fresh courage at Velia [11]. For though it grieved me to think, that I was going to that City, from which you, who had given liberty to*

ship to *Octavius*. Which explains the reason of that extraordinary method of demanding it, by a deputation of his Officers, with a rough Centurion at their head; who, throwing back his gown and laying his hand upon his sword, bluntly declared, *that if they would not make him Consul, that should*. Sueton. in August. c. 26. See Life of Cic.

v. 2. p. 457.

[10] This happened in the preceding summer, while *Antony* and *Dolabella* were Consuls: when *Cicero* despairing of any good from their administration, resolved to make an excursion into *Greece*, and spend the remainder of that year at *Athens*, till the next Consuls entered into office, on the first of *Jan*. With this design he proceeded as far as *Syracuse*; but being driven back to *Rhegium* by contrary winds, and meeting there with news of a change of affairs at *Rome*, and of *Antony's* disposition to listen to pacific counsils, he dropt his intended voyage, and returned to the City, in order to assist in any measures proper to bring about so desirable an end.

[11] A port on the *Leucanian* coast, where he had his last interview with *Brutus*, of which, after his arrival at *Rome*, he gave a pathetic account to the Senate. Philop. 1. 4.

mih

mili quoque quondam acciderat, periculo simili, casu tristiore) perrexi tamen, Romamque perveni; nulloque præsidio quatefecerunt Antonium; contraque ejus arma nefanda, præfidia, quæ oblata sunt Cæsaris, consilio & auctoritate firmavi: qui si steterit idem, mihi que paruerit; satis videmur habituri præsidii: sin autem impiorum consilia plus valuerint, quàm nostra; aut imbecillitas ætatis non potuerit gravitatem rerum sustinere; spes omnis est in te. Quam ob rem advola, obsecro; atque eam rempublicam, quam virtute atque animi magnitudine magis quam eventis rerum li-

*it, was forced to fly, (which had happened also formerly to me, in a case of similar danger, but of more unhappy issue) [12] I yet went on, and came to Rome; and, without the support of any guard, shook the power of Antony [13]; and by my advice and authority secured to us the troops of Cæsar, which the occasion offered, against his traitorous arms [14]. In whom, if he continues in the same disposition and deference to my advice, we are likely to have a sufficient guard: but if the counsils of the disaffected should have more influence with him than mine; or if the imbecillity of his age should not be able to sustain the weight of the affairs, which he has now upon his hands; all our hopes are in you. For which reason, fly to us, I beseech you; and perfect your work of freeing the Republic; which you have freed rather as yet by your virtue and greatness of mind, than in fact and rea-*

[12] He alludes to the case of his Exil; when he was not driven out of the City by his enemies, as *Brutus* now was, but was banished by a particular law, which had not yet happened to *Brutus*, though it did in a short time after.

[13] By his first *Philippic*, delivered to the Senate, while *Antony* was Consul, and in the City; wherein he admonishes him with great freedom, of the danger, to which the violent measures, that he was then pursuing, would expose both the Republic and himself, &c. In relation to which speech, he says in one of his letters, *that while the rest of the Senate acted like slaves, he alone showed himself to be free.* Ep. Fam. 12. 25. Phil. 5. 7.

[14] See Lett. 5. Note 4. and Lett. 9. Note 3.

berasti, exitu libera: omnis omnium concursus ad te futurus est. Hortare idem per litteras Cassium. Spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Firmos omnino & duces habemus ab occidente, & exercitus. Hoc adolescentis præsidium equidem adhuc firmum esse confido: sed ita multi labefactant, ut, ne moveatur, interdum extimescam. Habes totum reipublicæ statum; qui quidem tum erat, cùm has litteras da-

*lity* [15]. *All the world will run to you. Exhort Cassius by letter to do the same. There is no hope of liberty any where, but in the strength of your camps* [16]. *We have both the Generals, and the armies of the West, wholly firm to us* [17]: *I have some confidence also, that these troops of the young man are still firm: but there are so many at work to pervert him, that I am sometimes afraid, lest they make an impression on him. You see the whole state of the Republic, as it stood at the time, when I was sending away this*

[15] The Conspirators imagined, that, by destroying *Cæsar*, they should give immediate liberty to the Republic: but things were now taking a quite different turn; and, by the treachery of *Lepidus*, and their apprehensions of the same treachery from *Octavianus*, the Republic was in danger of being oppressed by a more cruel Tyranny than the former; unless *Brutus* and *Cassius* could bring their armies into *Italy* to prevent it.

[16] *Principiis* is the general reading both of the Editions and the MSS; yet *Mouretius* suspects it, and prefers *præsidii*. But *principia* was a peculiar quarter or division of the Camp; in which the officers used to pitch their tents, and hold their assemblies: for the affairs of the army. [Flor. 3. 10. 4. 2.] It is used sometimes also by *Livy* and other writers, to denote the Soldiers themselves, or that body of them called *Principes*, which being the flower of the army, is here put for the whole: whereas if the original reading had been *præsidii*; a word of common use, understood by all, and mentioned twice before in the same page, it is not probable, that the transcribers would have changed it for one of a more difficult and recondite interpretation. Vid. Flor. 3. 10. 4. 2. Liv. 8. 10. Pet. Victor. var. lect. l. 3. c. 6. & Car. d'Aquino Lexic. militar.

[17] *D. Brutus* and *L. Plancus*, as it is said above, had united their armies in *Gaul*, in defence of the public liberty: *Sextus Pompey* also, though he had quitted *Spain*, was master of a very considerable force, which he had offered to the service of the Republic. [Philip. 13. 10. And *Æfinius Pollio*, who now governed *Spain*, as Proconsul, gave strong assurances in his letters to *Cicero*, of his fidelity to the same cause. Ep. Fam. 10. 32, 33.

bam.

ban. Velim deinceps meliora sint: sin aliter fuerit, (quod dii omen avertant! reipublicæ vicem dolebo, quæ immortalis esse debebat: mihi quidem quantum reliqui est?

*letter. I wish, that things may henceforward take a better turn: but if it should fall out otherwise, (which omen the Gods avert!) I shall lament the fate of the Republic, which ought to be immortal; but what a poor share of life is left at these years for me?*

## EPISTOLA XX.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

**B**Reves tuæ litteræ: breves dico? immò nullæ. Tribusne versiculis his temporibus Brutus ad me? nihil scripsisses potiùs; & requiris meas. Quis umquam ad te tuorum sine meis venit? Quæ autem epistola non pondus habuit? Quæ si ad te perlata non sunt, ne domesticas quidem tuas perlatas arbitror. Ciceroni scribis

## EPIST. XX.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

**Y**OUR letter was short: short do I say? it was no letter at all. In times like these, can Brutus think three lines enough to me [1]? You had better have written nothing; and yet are always calling for my letters. Did any of your people ever come to you without them? And was there ever a single Epistle, which had not something of weight in it? If these have not been delivered to you, neither were your letters from home, I suppose, delivered to you.

[1] *Plutarch* takes notice, that *Brutus* was remarkable for his brevity, in all his Greek Epistles, in which he affected the sententious and Laconic stile. [in Brut.] *Cicero* rallies him here for the same affectation in his Latin letters; as not being agreeable to the importance of the affairs, which they had now upon their hands, and that free communication of their counsils, which the public service required. But it appears on the whole, from the other letters of this collecti on that there was no great reason to complain of him on this head.



te longiorem daturum epistolam; rectè id quidem: sed hæc quoque debuit esse plenior. Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu scrip-  
fisses, statim extrusi tabellarios, litterasque ad Ciceronem; ut, etiam si in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret: nihil enim mihi jucundius, nihil illi honestius: quamquam aliquoties ei scrip-  
feram, sacerdotum comitia, mea summa contentione in alterum annum esse rejecta: quod ego cum Ciceronis causa

*But you will send me a longer letter, you say, by my son [2]. That indeed will be right, but this also ought to have been fuller. For my part, you had no sooner sent me word, that my son had left you, than I dispatched away messengers, with letters to him, that if they had found him even landed in Italy, he should turn back directly to you: that nothing could be more agreeable to me, or reputable to him: though I had written to him several times before, that I had procured the election of Priests to be postponed, after a very hard struggle, to the next year [3]. In which I exerted myself, not only for the*

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elabo-

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[2] *Brutus* had actually sent away young *Cicero* towards *Rome*, according to his Father's desire, to be a Candidate for one of the vacant Priesthoods. See Lett. 13.

[3] *Monatius* is puzzled how to account for the consistency of this passage. "What does *Cicero* mean, says he, by *this hard struggle*; when the election must have been postponed of course to the next year, without any struggle at all; since, as I have shown above, there was no Magistrate at this time in *Rome*, capable of holding it?" *Mr. Tossall* also from the same difficulty, has raised one of his numerous objections to the credit of these letters, [p. 241, &c.] Yet it admits an easy solution from *Cicero's* genuine epistles, which I shall endeavour to explain as briefly as I can.

In the beginning of the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Cæsar* being resolved to be Consul for the following year, a question was started, whether, in the absence of the Consuls, who were abroad in *Pompey's* camp, the *Consular* election could not be made by a *Prætor*. *Lepidus*, who was then *Prætor*, maintained, that it could: but *Cicero* condemned that opinion, and the author of it very severely, and declared upon the authority of the *augural* books, that neither the Consuls, nor even the *Prætors* could be created by a *Prætor*, and that there never had been an instance of it. [Ep. ad Att. 9. 9.] *Cæsar* therefore, not willing at this time to break through the ancient custom, was afterwards declared Dictator by *Lepidus*, in order to hold that election, in which he made himself Consul, with *P. Scævilius*. [Cæs. Comment. de Bell. civ. 2. 549.] But in the end

elaboravi, tum Domitii, Cato- *fake of Cicero, but of Domitius,*  
 nis, Lentuli, Bibulorum: quod *Cato, Lentulus, and the Bi-*  
 ad te etiam scripferam. Sed *bulus's [4]. This I mentioned al-*  
 videlicet cùm illam puffillam *fo in a letter to you; which was*  
 epistolam tuam ad me dabas, *not, it seems, come to your hands,*  
 nondum erat tibi id notum. *when you sent away that puny e-*  
 Quare omni studio à te, mi *pisfile of yours. Wherefore I beg*  
 Brute, contendo, ut Ciceronem *of you, my Brutus, with the great-*

end of the war, when he was become master of the Republic, he no longer retained any of those scruples; but by the plenitude of his power named all the Magistrates, as he pleased, and a little before his death settled the succession of the Consuls and Tribuns, for the two following years. [Ep. ad Att. 14. 6.]

The City likewise, by an habitual patience under the daily subversion of all their laws, during *Cæsar's* reign, were grown, we may imagine, much less scrupulous than before, about the obervance of their old forms, and would easily admit an election of Priests or Prætors to be made by a Prætor; especially in this particular exigency of their affairs, and the vacancy of the Consulship. For we find in fact, that such an election was going to be made, and that *Cicero* expected it to be made very speedily; and for that reason admonished his friend *Furnius*, to come to *Rome* directly, lest he should be too late to appear as a Candidate for the Prætorship. [Ep. Fam. 10. 25.] Yet it is certain, that there was no other Magistrate in the City, who could preside in that election, but the Prætor; who, in all other transactions, was *supplying the Consular Office* at this very time, as *Cicero* himself tells us according to the custom of their Ancestors. [Ep. Fam. 12.] On the whole then; *Cicero*, upon the unexpected case of the death of the Consuls, not knowing at first what the Senate or the Prætors either would, or could do, with regard to the vacant Priesthoods, and the creation of the other Magistrates, expresses his apprehensions, in the 10th Letter, of much difficulty and delay in that affair; yet perceiving them resolved at last to proceed to those elections, he thought it the most adviseable, as he says, on many accounts, for the public service, to get both the *Pontifical* and *Prætorian* elections postponed to *January* following; [ibid. 26.] when *D. Brutus* and *Plancus* were to be Consuls; under whose administration the friends of liberty would have the better chance for success; nor be obliged in the mean time to desert their commands in the Provinces, in order to pursue their pretensions at *Rome*, to the detriment of the Republic, in so critical a conjuncture: and this account I take to be perfectly consistent with every thing that is said on that subject, either in the suspected or genuine letters of *Cicero*.

[4] These young noblemen were all likewise at this time in *Brutus's* camp, and designed to be Candidates for the vacant Priesthoods.

meum

meum ne dimittas, tecumque adducas: quod ipsum, si rempublicam, cui susceptus es, refuicis, tibi jam jamque faciendum est: renatum enim bellum est: idque non parvo scelere Lepidi. Exercitus autem Cæsaris, qui erat optimus, non modò nihil prodest, sed etiam cogit exercitum tuum flagitari: qui si Italiam attigerit, erit civis nemo (quem quidem civem appellari fas sit) qui se non in tua castra conferat: et si Brutum præclarè cum Planco junctum habemus: sed non ignoras, quàm sint incerti, & animi hominum, infecti partibus, & exitus præliorum. Quin etiam, si ut spero, vicere-

*est earnestness, that you would not dismiss my son; but bring him hither along with you. This you must do instantly, if you have any regard for the Republic, for which you was born. For the war is renewed upon us, by the great treachery of Lepidus: and as for Cæsar's army, which was the best, it is not onely of no service to us, but obliges us even to call for yours [5]. Whenever that shall set foot in Italy, there will not be a single Citizen, whom we can truly call by that name, who will not presently be in your Camp. We have D. Brutus indeed happily united with Plancus [6]. But you are not ignorant, how uncertain the minds of men infected with party [7], as well as the events of battles, are. Nay, should we conquer, as I hope*

[5] *Octavian's* army, composed intirely of Veterans, who had been trained under his Uncle *J. Cæsar*, began, after the battel of *Munda*, and the death of the two Consuls, to discover their disaffection to the Republican cause; and an unwillingness to act against their old Commanders and Fellow-soldiers; with whom they had served so successfully to the ruin of the *Pompeian* party, which they now imagined to be reviving and gathering strength again, by the growing power of the Senate and the depression of *Antony*.

[6] See Letter the 19th, Note [7].

[7] *Cicero* seems here to intimate some distrust of *Plancus*, on the account of his old attachment to the *Cæsarian* party; and he had good reason for it; since *D. Brutus*, in a letter to him, dated *May the 6th*, acquaints him, that he had intercepted some of *Antony's papers*, which signified that *Antony* was not without hopes of gaining him. [Ep. Fam. 11. 11.] *Plancus* in the mean while was giving *Cicero* the strongest assurances of his fidelity to the Republic; yet soon after the date of this letter, infamously betrayed *D. Brutus*; who being deserted likewise by his own army was pursued and killed by some of *Antony's Soldiers*. See Life of Cic. vol. 2. 461.

mus, tamen magnam gubernationem tui consilii tuæque auctoritatis res desiderabit. Subveni igitur, per deos, idque quamprimum; tibi que persuade, non te idibus Martiis, quibus servitutem à tuis civibus repulisti, plus profuisse patriæ, quàm, si maturè veneris, profuturum II. idus Quintus.

*we shall, there will be a great want of your advice and authority, to settle all our affairs. Help us therefore, for God's sake; and that as soon as possible: and assure yourself, that you did not do a greater service to your country, on the Ides of March, when you delivered your Fellow-Citizens from slavery, than you will do, by coming to us quickly. July the 12th.*

## E P I S T O L A XXI.

## E P I S T. XXI.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

**M**essalem habes. Quibus igitur litteris tam accurate scriptis assequi possum, subtilius ut explicem, quæ gerantur, quæque sint in republica, quàm tibi is exponet, qui & optimè omnia novit, & elegantissimè expedire & deferre ad te potest? Cave enim existimes, Brute, (quamquam non est necesse ea me ad te, quæ tibi nota sunt, scribere; sed tamen tantam omnium laudum excellentiam non queo

**Y**OU have Messala with you [1]. How is it possible therefore for me, to explain by letter, though ever so accurately drawn, the present state of our public transactions, more precisely than he; who both knows them all more perfectly, and can describe and relate them to you more elegantly than any man? For do not imagine, Brutus, (though there is no occasion for me to write, what you know already yourself, but that I cannot pass over in silence such an excellence of all good qualities) do

[1] See the character of Messala at large, *Life of Cic.* vol. 2. p. 575. Note 1.

filentio præterire) cave putes, probitate, constantia, cura, studio reipublicæ, quidquam illi esse simile: ut eloquentia, qua mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum habere videatur: quamquam in hac ipsa, sapientia plus apparet; ita gravi iudicio multaque arte se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem industria est, tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non maxima ingenio (quod in eo summum est) gratia habenda videatur. Sed provehor amore; non enim id propositum est huic epistolæ, Messalam ut laudem; præsertim ad Brutum; cui & virtus illius non minùs, quàm mihi, nota est, & hæc ipsa studia, quæ laudo, notiora: quem cum à me dimittens graviter ferrem, hoc levabar uno, quòd ad te, tamquam ad alterum me, proficiscens, & officio fungebatur, & laudem maximam sequebatur. Sed hæc hæcenus. Venio nunc, longo

*not imagine, I say, that for probity, constancy, care and zeal for the Republic, there is any one equal to him: so that eloquence, in which he wonderfully excells, scarce finds a place amongst his other praises: since even in that, his wisdom shines the most eminent; by his having formed himself, with so much judgement and art, to the truest manner of speaking. Yet his industry all the while is so remarkable; and he spends so much of his time in Study, that he seems to owe but little to his parts, which are still the greatest. But I am carried too far by my love for him. For it is not the purpose of this Epistle, to praise Messala; especially to Brutus, to whom his virtue is not less known, than to myself; and these very studies, which I am praising, still more known; whom when I could not take leave of without great regret, I comforted myself with reflecting, that by going away to you, as it were, to my second self, he both discharged his duty, and pursued the swiftest path to glory. But so much for that. I come now, after a long interval, to consider a certain letter of your's [2], wherein, while you*

[2] The letter here referred to seems to be the 11th, dated May 15th; whereas this was written about the end of July, after a long interval, as he calls it, of about two months.

fanè intervallo, ad quandam epistolam, qua mihi multa tribuens, unum reprehendebas, quòd in honoribus decernendis effem nimius, & tamquam prodigus. Tu hoc: alius fortassè, quòd in animadversione pœnae durior; nisi forte utrumque tu. Quod si ita est; utriusque rei meum iudicium tibi cupio esse notissimum: neque solum, ut Solonis dictum usurpem, qui & sapientissimus fuit ex septem, & legum scriptor solus ex septem; is rempublicam duabus rebus contineri dixit, pœnio & pœna: est scilicet utriusque rei modus, sicut reliquarum, & quaedam in utroque genere mediocritas: sed non tanta de re propositum est hoc loco disputare. Quid ego autem secutus hoc bello sim in sententiis dicendis, aperire non alienum puto.

*allow me, to have done well in many things, you find fault with me for one; that in conferring honors, I have been too free and even prodigal. You charge me with this; other people probably, with being too severe in punishing; or you yourself perhaps with both [3]. If so, I desire, that my judgement on each may be fully known to you. Not that I mean to justify myself onely by Solon's maxim; the wisest of the Seven [4], and the only Legislator of them all; who used to say, that the public weal was comprized in two things; rewards and punishments; in which however, as in every thing else, there is a certain medium and temperament to be observed. But it is not my design at this time to discuss so great a subject; yet I think it not improper, to lay open the motives of my opinions and votes in the Senate, from the beginning of this*

[3] *Brutus* was often admonishing *Cicero*, of his being more severe in his votes and decrees against their enemies, than the state of their affairs required. Which point *Cicero* disputes with him in these letters, and shews, that, in their present circumstances, severe methods were of more service to the Republic, than that ostentation of lenity which *Brutus* affected. See Lett. 5, 9, 11, 14, &c.

[4] One of the seven wisemen of Greece, as they were called; who gave a body of laws to the Athenians, about the time in which *Tarquinus Priscus* reigned at Rome. A. Gell. 17. 21.

Post interitum Cæsaris, & vestras memorabiles Idus Martias, Brute, quid ego prætermissum a vobis, quantamque impendere reipublicæ tempestatem dixerim, non es oblitus. Magna pestis erat depulsa per vos, magna populi Romani macula deleta: vobis vero parta divina gloria: sed instrumentum regni delatum ad Lepidum & Antonium: quorum alter inconstantior, alter impurior; uterque pacem metuens, inimicus otio. His ardentibus perturbandæ reipublicæ cupiditate, quod opponi posset præfidium, non habebamus. Exererat enim se civitas in retinenda libertate consentiens. Nos tum nimis acres? vos fortasse sapientius excessistis urbe ea, quam liberatis: Italiæ sua vobis studia profidenti remisistis. Itaque cum teneri urbem a parricidis viderem; nec te in

*war. After the death of Cæsar, and these your memorable Ides of March; you cannot forget, Brutus, what I declared to have been omitted by you [5]; and what a tempest I foresaw hanging over the Republic. You had freed us from a great plague; wiped off a great stain from the Roman people; acquired to yourselves divine glory: yet all the equipage of Kingly power was left still to Lepidus and Antony: the one inconstant; the other vicious; both of them afraid of peace, and enemies to the public quiet. While these were ardently wishing, to raise fresh disturbances in the state, we had no troops about us, which we could oppose to them: for the whole City was eager and unanimous in asserting it's liberty. I was then thought too violent [6]; whilst you perhaps more wisely withdrew yourselves from that City, which you had delivered; and refused the help of all Italy, that offered to arm itself in your cause [7]. Wherefore when I saw the City in the hands of rebels; and oppressed*

[5] The omission here signified, and frequently complained of by Cicero in his letters to Brutus and the other Conspirators, was that, of not killing Antony, together with Cæsar. Ep. Fam. l. 12. 3, 4. 10. 28.

[6] See Lett. 5. Note 1.

[7] See Lett. *ibid.* and Note 3.

ca nec Cassium tuto esse posse; camque armis oppressam ab Antonino; mihi quoque ipsi esse excedendum putavi. Tætrum enim spectaculum, oppressa ab impiis civitas opitulandi potestate præcisa. Sed animus idem, qui semper infixus est patriæ caritate, discessum ab ejus periculis ferre non potuit: itaque in medio Achaico cursu, cum, Etesiarum diebus, Auster me in Italiam, quasi dissuasor mei consilii, retulisset; te vidi Veliae, doluique vehementer. Cedebas enim, Brute, cedebas; quoniam Stoici nostri negant fugere sapientis. Romam ut veni, statim me obtuli Antonii scelere atque dementiæ: quem cum in me incitavissim, consilia inire cœpi Brutina planè

*by the arms of Antony; and that neither you nor Cassius could be safe in it; I thought it time for me to quit it too. For a City overpowered by Traitors, without the means of relieving itself, is a wretched spectacle. Yet my mind, always the same, and ever fixed on the love of my country, could not bear the thought of leaving it in it's distress. In the midst therefore of my voyage to Greece, and in the very season of the Etesian winds [8], when an uncommon south wind, as if displeas'd with my resolution, had driven me back to Italy, I found you at Velia; and was greatly concern'd at it [9.] For you were retreating, Brutus; were retreating, I say; since your Stoics will not allow their wiseman to fly [10]. As soon as I came to Rome, I expos'd myself to the wickedness and rage of Antony [11]: whom when I had execrated against me, I began to enter into measures, in the very spirit*

[8] The *Etesian* winds were so called, from their being *annual*, or constant every year, in the Season of the Dog-days; blowing from the *north*, or *north-west*; and favourable therefore, as it is here hinted, for sailing from *Sicily* into *Greece*. Plin. II. N. 2. 17.

[9] See Lett. 19. Note 10, 11.

[10] *Brutus*, though he profess'd himself to be of the *old Academy*, yet was a great favorer and imitator of the *Stoics*; whom *Cicero* calls therefore *your Stoics*. These maintained, that a wiseman could not be mov'd by any passion; and was incapable therefore of fearing, or flying from any thing; and that it was his part to resist, whatever was contrary to nature and reason, and either to conquer or die.

[11] By speaking his first *Philippic* to the Senate.



(vestri enim hæc sunt propria sanguinis) reipublicæ liberandæ. Longa sunt, quæ restant, prætereunda: sunt enim de me: tantum dico; Cæsarem hunc adolescentem, per quem adhuc sumus, si verum fateri volumus, fluxisse ex fonte confiliorum meorum. Huic habiti à me honores nulli quidem, Brute, nisi debiti; nulli, nisi necessarii. Ut enim primum libertatem revocare cœpimus, cum se nondum ne Decimi quidem Bruti divina virtus ita commovisset, ut jam id scire possemus; atque omne præsidium esset in puero, qui à cervicibus nostris avertisset Antonium; quis honos ei non fuit decernendus? quamquam ego illi tum verborum laudem tribui, eamque modicam. Decevi etiam imperium: quod quamquam videbatur illi ætati honorificum, tamen erat exer-

*of the Brutus's, (for such are peculiar to your blood) for the delivery of the Republic. I shall omit the long recital of what followed, since it relates to myself; and observe only, that this young Cæsar, by whom, if we are willing to confess the truth, we subsist at this day, flowed from the source of my counsils [12]. I decreed him no honors, Brutus, but what were due; none, but what were necessary. For when we first began to recover any liberty, while the divine virtue of D. Brutus had not yet shewn itself so far, that we could know it's real force [13]; and our whole defence was in the boy, who had repelled Antony from our necks; what honor was not really due to him? though I gave him nothing still but the praise of words; and that even moderate. I decreed him indeed a legal command [14]; which, though it seemed honorable to one of that age, was yet necessary to*

[12] All the service, which the Republic had hitherto received from *Octavius*, and which *Brutus* himself, in the following letter, owns to be very great, were intirely derived from *Cicero's* authority and management of him. Vid. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

[13] Before the act of killing *Cæsar*, *D. Brutus* does not seem to have had any particular character of virtue or Patriotism; nor after that act, to have given any remarkable proof of his vigor, till his seizure of *Cisalpine Gaul*, in opposition to *Antony*, and his brave defence of *Modena*.

[14] See *Phillip*. 5. 16.

citum habenti necessarium : *one, who had an army : for what is an army without such a command? Philippus decreed him a Statue [15] ; Servius, the privilege of suing for offices before the legal time [16] ; which time was shortened afterwards by Servilius [17]. Nothing was then thought too much. But men are apt, I know not how, to be more liberal in fear, than gratefull in success. When D. Brutus was delivered from the Siege [18] ; a day of all others the most joyous to the City, and which happened also to be his birth-day, I decreed, that his name should be ascribed for ever to that day in the public Kalendars. In which I followed the example of our Ancestors, who paid the same honor to a woman, Larentia [19] ; at whose altar you Priests perform sacred rites in the Velabrum [20]. By giving this to D. Brutus, my design was,*

[15] *Philippus* was his Father-in-law. See Lett. 15. Not. 17.

[16] *Servius Sulpicius*, a Senator of the first dignity, who died upon an Embassy from the Senate to *Antony*. See his character at large in Life of Cic. v. 2. p. 361.

[17] *P. Servilius*, see Lett. 3. Note 6.

[18] From the Siege of *Modena*, by the defeat of *Antony*.

[19] The old writers give various accounts of the history of this *Larentia* ; and of the origin of the rites, which were annually performed to her. The common tradition is, that she was *Romulus's* Nurse ; and left some considerable lands at her death to the people of *Rome* ; and that *Romulus*, out of piety to her memory, appointed a yearly Festival and Sacrifice to be celebrated at her Sepulcher. A. Gell. 6. 7. Macrob. Sat. 1. 10.

[20] *Velabrum* was a Street, or Square in Old *Rome*, where the *Forum Boarium*, and *Temple of Janus* stood. Marlian. Rom. Topogr. l. 4. c. 4.

notam

notam esse in fastis gratissima: victoriae sempiternam volebam: atqui illo die cognovi paullo plures in senatu malevolos esse quam gratos. Eos per ipsos dies effudi (si ita vis) honores in mortuos Hirtium & Pansam; Aquilam etiam: quod quis reprehendit, nisi qui, deposito metu, praeteriti periculi fuerit oblitus? Accedebat ad beneficium memoriam gratam ratio illa, quae etiam posteris esset salutaris. Existare enim volebam in crudelissimos hostes monumenta odii publici sempiterna. Suspicio illud minus tibi probari, quod ab tuis familiaribus, optimis illis quidem viris, sed in republica rudibus, non probatur; quod, ut ovanti introire Caesari lice-

*to fix in the Kalendars a perpetual memorial of a most acceptable victory. But I perceived on that day, that there was more malevolence than gratitude, in many of the Senate. During these same days, I poured out honors (since you will have it so) on the deceased, Hirtius, and Pansa, and Aquila also [21]: and who can find fault with it, but those, who when fear is once over, forget their past danger? But besides the grateful remembrance of services, there was a view in it that reached to posterity: for I was desirous, that there should remain an eternal monument of the public hatred to our most cruel enemies. There is one thing, I doubt, which does not please you; for it does not please your people here; who, though excellent men, have but little experience in public affairs; that I decreed an Ovation to Caesar [22]: but for*

[21] He decreed a Thanksgiving of 50 days, with the title of Emperor, to the two Consuls, after the first battle; while they were both supposed to be living; as we may see from his 14th Philippic; but there is no account, in any part of his writings, of the honors, which he decreed to them after their death; nor to *Pontius Aquila*; one of the Conspirators against *Caesar*, who was killed at the same time: to whom however, as *Dio* tells us, a Statue was decreed. l. 46. 317.

[22] An Ovation was a petty, or *pedestrian Triumph*, as the Greek writers call it: in which the General, instead of being introduced in a Chariot, marched on foot with his army, through the City to the *Capitol*, crowned with *Myrtle*, instead of *Laurel*, which was peculiar to the *Triumph*. It was decreed usually, in the place of a *Triumph*, where the war was less formidable and dangerous, and the victory consequently of less importance: or, as in the present case, where it was not over a foreign or proper enemy. Thus *M. Crassus* received the same honor, for putting an end to the servile war in *Italy*. See *Life of Cic.* v. 1. p. 69.

ret, decreverim. Ego autem (sed erro fortasse; nec tamen is sum, ut mea me maximè delectent) nihil mihi videor hoc bello sensitse prudentius. Cur autem ita sit, aperiendum non est; ne magis videar providus fuisse quàm gratus: hoc ipsum nimium: quare alia videamus. D. Bruto decrevi honores; decrevi L. Planco. Præclara illa quidem ingenia, quæ gloria invitantur: sed senatus etiam sapiens, qui, qua quemque reputat, modò honesta, ad rempublicam juvandam posse adduci, hac utitur. At in Lepido reprehendimur; cui cum statuam in rostris statuissimus, iidem illam evertimus. Nos illum honore studuimus à furore revocare: vicit amentia levissimi hominis nostram prudentiam: nec tamen tantum in statuenda Lepidi statua factum est mali, quantum in ever-

*my part, (though I may perhaps be mistaken: nor am I yet one of those, who are the most pleased always with what is their own:)* I cannot but think, that I have advised nothing more prudent during this war. Why it is so, is not proper to be explained; lest I be thought, to have been more provident in it, than grateful [23]. But even this is too much: let us pass therefore to other things. I decreed honors to D. Brutus; decreed them to Plancus. They must be men of great souls, who are attracted by glory: but the Senate also is certainly wise, in trying every art, that is honest, by which any one can be engaged to the service of the Republic. But I am blamed in the case of Lepidus: to whom after I had raised a Statue in the Rostra, I presently threw it down again. My view was, to reclaim him by that honor, from desperate measures; but the madness of an inconstant man got the better of my prudence: nor was there yet so much harm in erecting, as good in demolishing the Sta-

[23] By this decree of an Ovation, Cicero meant, not only to confer a proper honor on *Octavius*, agreeably to the usage of the Republic; but, as he here intimates, had a farther view in it, which seems to be this; that whenever *Octavius* should take the benefit of it, his command would cease of course, by his very entrance into the City, and his army consequently might be transferred to another General: for this had ever been the practice of the Republic. But in times of such confusion, neither law nor custom were regarded by any, who had the power to over-rule them.

tenda, boni. Satis multa de honoribus: nunc de pœna pauca sunt dicenda. Intellexi enim ex tuis sæpe litteris; te in iis, quos bello devicisti, clementiam tuam velle laudari. Existimo equidem nihil à te, nisi sapienter. Sed sceleris pœnam prætermittere, (id enim est quod vocatur ignoscere) etiam si in cæteris rebus tolerabile est, in hoc bello perniciosum puto. Nullum enim bellum civile fuit in nostra republica omnium, quæ memoria mea fuerunt, in quo bello non, utrumque pars vicisset, tamen aliqua forma esset futura reipublicæ: hoc bello victores quam rempublicam firmos habituri, non faciliè affirmarim; victis certe nulla unquam erit. Dixi igitur

[24] The *gilt equestrian Statue*, which Cicero had decreed to *Lepidus*, [Lett. 17. Not. 4.] was ordered to be demolished most probably at the time, when he was declared an enemy by the Senate, on the 30th of June: [Ep. Fam. 12. 10.] the reference therefore here made to it, shews, that this letter could not be written till July.

[25] This refers to his manner of treating *C. Antonius*, so often mentioned above. Lett. 5, 9, 14, &c.

[26] Cicero reckons up *four civil wars*, besides the present, which had happened in his memory; *viz.* of *Sylla* with *Marius* and *Sulpicius*: of *Cinna* with *Othavius*; of *Sylla* again, with *young Marius* and *Carbo*; and of *Cæsar* with *Pompey*. Each of which arose, he says, from a contention onely of opposite parties in the State, and had a plausible pretext for taking arms; to defend their several rights and honors in the City: and

tur sententias in Antonium, dixi in Lepidum severas: neque tam ulciscendi causa, quam ut & in præsens sceleratos cives timore ab impugnanda patria deterrerem; & in posterum, documentum statuerem, nequis talem amentiam vellet imitari: quamquam hæc quidem sententia, non magis mea fuit, quam omnium: in qua videtur illud esse crudele; quòd ad liberos, qui nihil meruerunt, pœna pervenit. Sed id & antiquum est, & omnium civitatum: siquidem etiam Themistocles liberi eguerunt: & si iudicio damnatos eadem pœna sequitur cives, qui potuimus leniores esse in hostes? Quid autem queri potest quisquam de me, qui si vicisset, acerbio-

*were severe against Antony; severe against Lepidus; not from any spirit of revenge; but to deter wicked Citizens at the present, from making war against their country; and to leave an example to posterity, that none hereafter might be disposed to imitate such rashness. Yet this very vote was not more mine, than it was every body's: in which there seems, I own, to be something cruel, that the punishment should reach to children, who have done nothing to deserve it: but the constitution is both ancient, and of all Cities: for even Themistocles's children were reduced to want [27]: and since the same punishment falls upon Citizens, condemned of public crimes, how was it possible for us to be more gentle towards enemies? but what reason can any man have to complain of me, who, if he had conquered, must needs confess, that*

and to prevent the unworthy from getting the ascendant: whereas the present war with *M. Antony* was a contention of force and power, against an union of all parties; where nothing was aimed at or pretended, but an avowed *Tyranny*, and the utter overthrow of the Republic. Philip. 8. 2.

[27] *Themistocles* was condemned of treason, in his absence, by the *Athenians*, and his estate confiscated. But his Sons *Neocles* and *Demophilus* are said to have returned afterwards privately to *Athens*, where they continued for some time incognito; till upon the occasion of certain funeral games, *Neocles* won the prize in the long course, and his Brother in the *Stadium* or short course; for which they were both publicly crowned. Yet as soon as they came to be known, they had like to have been stoned to death upon the spot by their Father's enemies. *Plato* mentions a third Son, called *Diophantus*, as a perfect master of all the arts and exercises, that were esteemed the accomplishments of a Gentleman. Vid. *Cælius Rhodig. Antiquar. lect. l. 14. c. 12.*

rem

rem se in me futurum fuisse confiteatur necesse est? Habes rationem mearum sententiarum, de hoc genere duntaxat honoris & pœnæ: nam de cæteris rebus quid senserim, quidque censuerim, audisse te arbitrator. Sed hæc quidem non ita necessaria: illud valde necessarium, Brute, te in Italiam cum exercitu venire quàm primum: summa est expectatio tui: quod si Italiam attigeris, ad te concursus fiet omnium. Sive enim vicerimus; (qui quidem pulcherrimè viceramus, nisi Lepidus perdere omnia, & perire ipse cum suis concupivisset) tua nobis auctoritate opus est ad collocandum aliquem civitatis statum: sive etiam nunc certamen reliquum est, maxima spes est cum in auctoritate tua, tum in exercitu tui viribus. Sed propera, per deos: scis enim, quantum sit in temporibus, quantum in celeritate. Sororis tuæ filii quàm diligenter consulam; spero te ex matris & ex fororis litteris cogniturum:

*he would have treated me even with greater severity? You have now the grounds of my opinions, as far as they relate to the case of rewards and punishments: for as to other points, you have heard, I suppose, what my sentiments, and votes have been. But the mention of these is not so necessary: what I am going to mention, Brutus, is greatly so; that you come with your army to Italy, as soon as possible. There is the utmost expectation of you. Whenever you set foot in Italy, all the world will run to you. For whether it be our lot to conquer, (as we had done already most finely, if Lepidus had not been desirous to overturn all, and to perish himself with his friends) there will be a great want of your authority, in order to settle some state of a City amongst us: or if there be any danger or struggle still behind, our greatest hope is in your authority, as well as in the strength of your army. But hasten to us, for God's sake: for you know, how much depends on opportunity; how much on dispatch. What diligence I shall use in the care of your Sister's children, you will be informed, I hope, by the letters of your Mother and*  
qua

qua in causa majorem habeo rationem tuæ voluntatis, quæ mihi carissima est, quàm, ut quibusdam videor, constantiæ meæ: sed ego nulla in re malo quàm te amando constans & esse & videri.

*Sister: in whose cause I have more regard to your will, which is ever most dear to me, than as some think, to my own constancy [28]. But it is my desire, both to be, and to appear constant, in nothing so much, as in loving you.*

## EPISTOLA XXII.

BRUTUS CICERONI, S.

Particulam litterarum tuarum, quas misisti Octavio, legi, missam ab Attico mihi. Studium tuum curaque de salute mea nulla me nova voluptate affecit. Non solum enim usitatam, sed etiam quotidianum est, aliquid audire

## EPIST. XXII.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

*I Have read a small part of your letter, which you sent to Octavius, transmitted to me by Atticus [1]. Your zeal and concern for my safety gave me no new pleasure: for it is not unely common, but our daily news, to hear something, which you have said or done*

[28] We see from this passage, what a great regard Cicero paid, even against his own judgement, to Brutus's remembrance, on the behalf of Lepidus's children; since he was now contriving some method to exempt them from the legal effects of the decree of the Senate, so as to prevent their being involved in the ruin of their father's fortunes. See Lett. 17, 18.

[1] When Cicero, soon after the victory of Modena, saw their affairs taking a turn, quite contrary to his hopes; and that Octavius especially, by his demand of the Consulate, as well as by every other step, seemed to be entering into measures, to oppress the Republic, and to revenge his Uncle's death. He took occasion, as we may imagine, in strong and pathetic terms, to dissuade him from those counsils; and to exhort him to a reconciliation with Brutus; and to the observance of that amnesty, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of their future peace. This letter was communicated by him to Atticus; who highly approving it, and not doubting, but that Brutus would be pleased with it too, sent Brutus a copy of that part, which related to him, and which gave occasion to the present expostulation from him.





lute cujusquam civis ; non dicam pro liberatoribus orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnificè loqui ; & certe decet, adversus ignorantes, quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum sit. Hoc tu, Cicero, posse fateris Octavium, & illi amicus es ? aut, si me carum habes, vis Romæ videri ; cum, ut ibi esse possem, commendandus puero illi fuerim ? Cui quid agis gratias, si, ut nos salvos esse velit & patriatur, rogandum putas ? An hoc pro beneficio est habendum, quòd se, quàm Antonium, esse maluerit, à quo ista petenda essent ? Vindici quidem alienæ dominationis, non vicario, ecquis supplicat, ut optime meritis de republica liceat esse salvus ? Ista verò inbecillitas & desperatio, cujus culpa non magis in te residet quam in omnibus aliis, & Cæsarem in cupiditatem regni impulit, & Antonio post interitum illius persuasit, ut interfecti locum occupare conaretur : & nunc puerum istum

*for the life of any one Citizen ; I will not say, for the deliverers of the world. It is a pleasure, to talk thus magnificently ; and it becomes me surely to those, who know not either what to fear for any one, or what to ask of any one. Can you, Cicero, allow Octavius to have this power, and be still a friend to him ? Or if you have any value for me, would you wish to see me at Rome, when I must first be recommended to the boy, that he would permit me to be there ? What reason have you to thank him, if you think it necessary to beg of him, that he would grant and suffer us to live in safety ? Or is it to be reckoned a kindness, that he chuses to see himself, rather than Antony, in the condition, to have such petitions addressed to him ? One may supplicate indeed the successor, but never the avenger of another's Tyranny ; that those, who have deserved well of the Republic, may be safe. It was this weakness and despair, not more blameable indeed in you, than in all, which first pushed on Cæsar to the ambition of reigning ; and after his death, determined Antony to attempt to seize his place ; and has now raised this boy so high, extulit,*

extulit, ut tu judicares precibus esse impetrandam salutem talibus viris; misericordiaque unius, vix etiam nunc viri, tutos fore nos; haud ulla alia re. Quod si Romanos nos esse meminissimus, non audacius dominari cuperent postremi homines, quam id nos prohiberemus: neque magis irritatus esset Antonius regno Cæsaris, quam ob ejusdem mortem deterritus. Tu quidem consularis & tantorum scelerum vindex, (quibus oppressis vereor ne in breve tempus dilata sit abs te pernicies) qui potes inveni quæ gefferis, simul & ista vel probare, vel ita demissè ac facilè pati, ut probantis speciem habeas? Quod autem tibi cum Antonio privatum odium? nempe quia postulabat hæc; salutem ab se peti; precariam nos incolumitatem habere, à quibus ipse libertatem accepisset; esse arbitrium suum de republica. Quærenda esse arma putasti, quibus dominari prohiberetur; scilicet, ut illo prohibito, rogarem alterum,

*that you judge it necessary, to address your prayers to him, for the preservation of men of our rank, and that we can be saved only by the mercy of one, scarce yet a man, and by no other means. But if we had remembered ourselves to be Romans, these most infamous men would not be more daring, to grasp at dominion, than we, to repel it: nor would Antony be more encouraged by Cæsar's reign, than deterred by his fate. How can you, a Consular, and the avenger of so many treasons, (by suppressing which, you have but postponed our ruin, I fear, for a little time) reflect on what you have done, and yet approve these things; or bear them so tamely, as to seem at least to approve them? For what particular hatred had you to Antony? No other; but because he assumed all this to himself; that our lives should be begged of him; our safety be precarious, from whom he had received his liberty; and the Republic depend upon his will and pleasure. You thought it necessary to take up arms, to prevent him from tyrannizing over us: but was it your intent, that by pre-*

qui se in ejus locum reponi pateretur, an ut esset sui juris ac mancipii respublica? nisi forte non de servitute, sed de conditione serviendi recusatum est à nobis. Atqui non solum bono domino potuimus Antonio tolerare nostram fortunam; sed etiam beneficiis atque honoribus, ut participes, frui quantis vellemus: quid enim negaret iis, quorum patientiam videret maximum suæ dominationis præsidium esse? Sed nihil tanti fuit, quo venderemus fidem nostram & libertatem. Hic ipse puer, quem Cæsaris nomen incitare videtur in Cæsaris interfectores, quanti aestimet (si sit commercio locus) posse, nobis auctoribus, tantum, quantum profectò poterit; quoniam vivere, & pecunias habere & dici consulares volumus? ceterum nequicquam perierit ille: cuius interitu quid gavisi sumus; si mortuo nihilo minùs servituri eramus? Nulla cura adhibeatur. Sed mihi prius omnia dii deæque eripuerint, quàm illud

*venting him, we might sue to another, who would suffer himself to be advanced into his place; or that the Republic might be free and mistress of itself? As if our quarrel was not perhaps to slavery, but to the conditions of it. But we might have had, not only an easy master in Antony, if we would have been content with that fortune, but whatever share with him we pleased, of favors and honors. For what could be deny to those, whose patience, he saw, was the best support of his government? But nothing was of such value to us, that we would sell our faith and liberty for it. Would not this very boy, whom the name of Cæsar seems to incite against the destroyers of Cæsar, think it worth any price, if there was room to traffic with him, to be enabled by our help, to maintain all that power, which he now enjoys? Since we have a mind to live, and to be rich, and to be Consulars? But then Cæsar must have perished in vain. For what reason had we to rejoice at his death; if after it, we were still to continue slaves? Let other people be as indolent, as they please: but as for me, may the Gods and God-*  
judi-

judicium, quo non modo heredi ejus, quem occidi, non concesserim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, ut patiente me, plus legibus ac senatu possit. An hoc tibi persuasum est, fore ceteros ab eo liberos, quo invito nobis in ista civitate locus non sit? Quis porro id, quod petis, fieri potest, ut impetres? Rogas enim, velit nos salvos esse. Videmur ergo tibi salutem accepturi, cum vitam acceperimus? quam, si prius dimittimus dignitatem & libertatem, qui possumus accipere? An tu Romæ habitare, id putas incolumem esse? Res non locus oportet præstet istuc mihi: neque incolumis fui Cæsare vivo, nisi postquam illud confeci facinus: neque usquam exsul esse possum, dum servire & pati contumelias, pejus odero malis omnibus aliis. Nonne hoc est in easdem tenebras recidisse, quum ab eo, qui tyranni nomen ascivit sibi, (cum in Græ-

*diffes deprive me sooner of every thing, than the resolution, of not allowing to the heir of him, whom I killed, what I did not allow to the man himself; nor would suffer even in my Father, were he living; to have more power, than the laws and the Senate. How can you imagine, that the rest of you can ever be free under him, without whose leave there is no place for us in that City? Or how is it possible for you after all, to obtain what you ask? You beg, that he would allow us to be safe. Shall we then receive safety, think you, when we have received life from him? But how can we receive it, if we first part with our honor and our liberty? Do you fancy, that to live at Rome, is to be safe? It is the thing, and not the place, which must secure that to me: for I was never safe, while Cæsar lived; till I had resolv'd with myself upon that attempt: nor can I in any place live in exile, as long as I hate slavery and insults above all other evils. Is not this to fall back again into the same state of darkness; when he, who has taken upon him the name of the Tyrant,*

cis civitatibus liberi tyrannorum, oppressis illis, eodem supplicio afficiantur) petitur, ut vindices atque oppreffores dominationis salvi sint? Hanc ego civitatem videre velim, aut putem ullam, quæ ne traditam quidem atque inculcatam libertatem recipere possit? Plusque timeat in puero nomen sublatis regis, quam confidat sibi; cum illum ipsum, qui maximas opes habuerit, paucorum virtute sublatum videat? Me vero posthac ne commendaveris Cæsari tuo: ne te quidem ipsum, si me audies. Valdè carè æstimas tot annos, quot ista ætas recipit, si propter eam causam puero isti supplicaturus es. Deinde quod pulcherrimè fecisti ac facis in Antonio, vide ne convertatur a laude maximi animi ad opinionem formidinis. Nam si Octavius tibi placet, à quo de nostra salute

*when the Tyrants are destroyed, their children also perish with them) [2] must be entreated, that the avengers of Tyranny may be safe? Can I ever wish to see that City, or think it a City, which has not the power even to accept liberty, when offered, and even forced upon it; but has more dread of the name of their late King, in the person of a boy, than confidence in itself; though it has seen that very King taken off, in the utmost height of power, by the virtue of a few? Do not recommend me therefore any more to your Cæsar; nor yourself indeed, if you will hearken to me. You set a very high value on the few years, which remain to you at that age, if for the sake of them, you can supplicate that boy. But take care after all, lest what you have done, and are doing so laudably against Antony, instead of being applauded, as the effect of a great mind, be not charged to the account of your fear. For if you are pleased with Octavius so, as to petition him for our Safety, you*

[2] Brutus puts Cicero here in mind, that Octavius, the adopted Son of Cæsar, instead of meriting the honors, which had been decreed to him, deserved to have been killed with his father, according to the usage of ancient Greece: yet we have seen above, how differently he thought in the case of Lepidus's children, and how anxious he was, to preserve them from suffering any diminution even of their fortunes, on the account of their Father's treason. See Lett. 18.

petendum sit; non dominum fugisse, sed amiciores dominum quæsisse videberis. Quem quod laudas ob ea, quæ adhuc fecit, plane probo: sunt enim laudanda; si modo contra alicuiam potentiam, non pro sua suscepit eas actiones. Cum vero iudicas, tantum illi non modo licere, sed etiam a te ipso tribuendum esse, ut rogandus sit, ne nolit esse nos salvos; nimium magnam mercedem statuis. Id enim ipsum illi largiris, quod per illum habere videbatur respublica. Neque hoc tibi in mentem venit; si Octavius ullis dignus sit honoribus, quia cum Antonio bellum gerat; iis, qui illud malum exciderint, cuius istæ reliquæ sunt, nihil, quo expleri possit eorum meritum, tributurum unquam populum Romanum, si omnia simul congererit. At vide, quanto diligentius homines metuant, quam meminere, quia Antonius vivat, atque in armis sit. De Cæsare verò, quod fieri potuit ac debuit, transactum

*will be thought, not to have disliked a master, but to have wanted a more friendly one. As to your praising him, for the things, that he has hitherto done, I intirely approve it; for they deserve to be praised; provided that he undertook them, to repel other men's power; not to advance his own. But when you adjudge him, not onely to have this power, but that you yourself ought to submit to it so far, as to entreat him, that he would not destroy us; you pay him too great a recompense: for you ascribe that very thing to him, which the Republic seemed to enjoy through him: nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, that if Octavius be worthy of any honors, because he wages war with Antony; that those, who extirpated the very evil, of which these are but the reliques, can never be sufficiently requited by the Roman people; though they were to heap upon them every thing, that they could bestow. But see how much stronger people's fears are than their memories, because Antony still lives, and is in arms. But as to Cæsar, all that could and*

est: neque jam revocari in integrum potest. Octavius is est, qui quid de nobis iudicaturus sit, expectet populus Romanus? Nos hi sumus, de quorum salute unus homo rogandus videatur? Ego verò, ut istuc revertar, is sum, qui non modò non supplicem, sed etiam coerceram postulantes, ut sibi supplicetur. Aut longè a fervientibus abero, ibique esse iudicabo Romam, ubicumque liberum esse licebit: ac vestri miserebor; quibus nec ætas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuire potuerit. Mihi quidem ita beatus esse videbor, si modò constanter ac perpetuò placebit hoc consilium, ut relatam putem gratiam pietati meæ. Quid enim est melius, quam memoria recte factorum, & libertate contentum negligere humana? Sed certe non succumbam succumbentibus, nec vincar ab iis qui se vinci volunt: experiarque & tentabo omnia, neque desistam abstrahere a servitio

*ought to be done, is past and cannot be recalled. Is Octavius then a person of such importance, that the people of Rome are to expect from him, what he will determine upon us? Or are we of so little, that any single man is to be entreated for our safety? As for me, may I never return to you, if ever I either supplicate any man, or do not chastise those, who require such supplications to be made to them: or I will remove to a distance from all such, as can be slaves; and fancy every place to be Rome, wherever I find it in my power to live free; and shall pity you, whose fond desire of life, neither age, nor honors, nor the example of other men's virtue has been able to moderate. For my part, I shall ever think myself happy, as long as I continue to be pleased with the persuasion, that my piety has been fully required. For what can be happier, than for a man, conscious of virtuous acts, and content with liberty, to despise all human affairs? but I will certainly never yield to those, who are fond of yielding; or be conquered by those, who are willing to be conquered themselves; but will first try and attempt every thing; nor ever desist from dragging our City fuerit,*



civitatem nostram. Si secuta fuerit, quæ debet, fortuna; gaudebimus omnes: sin minus; ego tamen gaudebo. Quibus enim potius hæc vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur, quàm iis, quæ pertinuerint ad liberandos cives meos? Te, Cicero, rogo atque hortor; ne defatigare, neu diffidas. Semper in præsentibus malis prohibendis, futura quoque, nisi ante sit occursum, explores, ne se influent. Fortem & liberum animum, quo & consul & nunc consularis rempublicam vindicasti, sine constantia & æquabilitate nullum esse putaris. Fateor enim duriorum esse conditionem spectatæ virtutis quam incognitæ. Benefacta pro debitis exigimus. Si quæ aliter eveniunt; ut decepti ab his, infesto animo reprehendimus. Itaque resistere An-

*out of slavery. If such fortune attend me, as I ought to have; we shall all rejoice; if not; I shall rejoice still myself. For how can this life be spent better, than in acts and thoughts, which tend to make my fellow Citizens free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero, not to desert the cause, through weariness or diffidence. In repelling present evils, have your eye always on the future; lest they insinuate themselves, before you are aware. Consider, that the fortitude and bravery, with which you saved the Republic when Consul, and now again when a Consular, are nothing without constancy and equability. The case of tried virtue, I confess, is harder than of untried. We require services from it, as debts. If in any instance it happens to disappoint us, we blame with resentment, as if we had been deceived by it [3]. Wherefore, for Cicero to act*

[3] This maxim is verified by this very letter: wherein Brutus disgusted by the miscarriage of some of Cicero's measures, though projected with the best intention and the greatest prudence, and overlooking all his past services, and glorious struggles for the support of the Republic, chides him with an air of superiority, wholly indecent towards a person of his age and eminent wisdom; as I have remarked elsewhere more at large; where I have compared the merit also of Cicero's conduct with that of Brutus's, from the time of Cæsar's death; as well as the different spirit of the two preceding letters. See Life of Cicero vol. 2. p. 471, 487.

tonio Cicronem, etſi magna laude dignum eſt, tamen quia ille conſul hunc conſularem merito præſtare videtur, nemo admiratur. Idem Cicero ſi flexerit adverſus alios iudicium ſuum, quod tanta firmitate ac magnitudine direxit in exturbando Antonio, non modo reliqui temporis gloriam eripuerit ſibi, ſed etiam præterita evaneſcere coget. Nihil enim per ſe amplum eſt, niſi in quo iudicii ratio exiſtat. Quia neminem magis decet, quam te, rempublicam amare, libertatiſque deſenſorem eſſe, vel ingenio & rebus geſtis; vel ſtudio atque eſſagitatione omnium. Quare non Octavius eſt rogandus, ut velit nos ſalvos eſſe: magis tu te exſufcita; ut eam civitatem, in qua maxima geſiſti, liberam atque honeſtam fore putes, ſi modo ſint populo duces ad reſiſtendum improborum conſiliis.

*againſt Antony, though it be a part highly commendable, yet becauſe ſuch a Conſul ſeems of courſe, to promiſe ſuch a Conſular, no body wonders at it: but if the ſame Cicero, with reſpect to others, ſhould waver at laſt in that reſolution, which he has exerted with ſuch firmneſs and greatneſs of mind in repelling Antony, he would deprive himſelf, not only of the hopes of all future glory, but forfeit even that which is paſt. For nothing is great in itſelf, but what flows from the reſult of our judgement: nor does it become any man more than you, to love the Republic, and to be the defender of liberty; on the account either of your natural talents, or your former acts, or the wiſhes and expectation of all men. Octavius therefore muſt not be entreated, to ſuffer us to live in ſafety. Do you rather rouse yourſelf ſo far, as to think that City, in which you have acted the nobleſt part, to be ever free and flouriſhing, as long as there are leaders ſtill to the people, prepared to reſiſt the deſigns of Traitors.*

## EPISTOLA XXIII.

## EPIST. XXIII.

CICERO BRUTO, S.

CICERO to BRUTUS.

CUM sæpe te litteris hortatus essem, ut quàm primùm reipublicæ subvenires, in Italiamque exercitum adduceres, neque id arbitrarer dubitare tuos necessarios; rogatus sum à prudentissima & diligentissima femina, matre tua, cujus omnes curæ ad te referuntur, & in te consumuntur; ut venirem ad se a. d. IIX. kal. Sext. quod ego, ut debui, sine mora feci. Cum autem venissem, Casca aderat, & Labeo, & Scaptius. At illa retulit; quæsitque, quidnam mihi videretur; arcessemusne te, atque id tibi conducere putare-

After I had often exhorted you by letters [1], to come, as soon as possible, to the relief of the Republic, and bring your army into Italy; and never imagined, that your own people had any scruples about it; I was desired by that most prudent and diligent woman, your mother [2], all whose cares are fixed and employed on you, that I would come to her on the 25th of July; which I did, as I ought, without delay. When I came; Casca, Labeo and Scaptius were with her [3]. She presently entered into the affair, and asked, what my opinion was; whether we should call you home immediately, and whether I took that to be the most for your service; or

[1] These exhortations may be found in every letter, after the union of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, on the 29th of *May*.

[2] *Brutus's* mother, *Servilia*, had been mistress to *Cæsar*; greatly beloved and entrusted by him; and possess'd, by his gift, the confiscated estate of *Pontius Aquila*, a zealous *Pompeian*; who was afterwards an accomplice with her son, in killing *Cæsar*. Yet after *Cæsar's* death, she bore a principal part and had the chief influence in all her son's counsils, to the disgust of *Cicero*: who seems to have distrusted, as well as disliked her management: [Ep. ad Att. 15. 10.] though out of civility to *Brutus*, he mentions her in this letter with great respect. See her character in *Life of Cic.* v. 2. p. 29<sup>h</sup>.

[3] Of *Casca*; see lett. 15. not. 3: of *Labeo*; lett. 5. not. 15. of *Scaptius*; 4. not. 4.

mus; an tardare & commorari te melius esset. Respondi id, quod sentiebam & dignitati & existimationi tuæ maximè conducere; te primo quoque tempore ferre præsidium labenti & inclinatæ pene reipublicæ. Quid enim abesse censes mali in eo bello, in quo victores exercitus fugientem hostem persequi noluerunt? & in quo incolumis imperator, honoribus amplissimis fortunisque maximis, conjuge, liberis, vobis affinis ornatu, bellum reipublicæ indixerit? Quid dicam in tanto senatus populique consensu, cum tantum resideat intra muros mali? Maximo autem, cum hæc scriberem, afficiebar dolore; quod cum me pro adolescentulo ac penè puero reipublica accepisset vadem, vix videbar, quod promiseram, præstare posse. Est autem gravior & difficilior

*thought it better for you to wait, and continue still abroad. I answered, what I believed to be most conducive to your dignity and reputation, that, without loss of Time, you should bring present help to the tottering and almost falling State. For what mischief may not be expected, think you, from that war, where the conquering armies refused to pursue a flying enemy [4]? Where a General unhurt, unprovoked; possessed of the highest honors, and the greatest fortunes; with a wife, children, and near relation to you, has declared war against the Republic [5]. I need not add where in so great a concord of the Senate and the People, there resides still so much disorder within our walls. But the greatest grief, that I feel, while I am now writing, is, to reflect, that when the Republic had taken my word for a Youth, or rather a boy, I shall hardly have it in my power, to make good, what I promised for him [6]. For it is a thing of greater animi*

[4] This, as it is observed above, is to be applied chiefly to *Othavius*, and his army. See lett. 19. not. 5.

[5] *Lepidus*, whose wife was *Brutus's* Sister.

[6] He alludes to that declaration, which he made to the Senate, in his 5th *Philippic*, after he had sent *Othavius* with his army, to act against *Antony* before *Modena*; on which

animi & sententiæ, maximis præfertim in rebus, pro altero, quam pecuniæ, obligatio. Hæc enim solvi potest; & est rei familiaris jactura tolerabilis; reipublicæ quod sponderis, quemadmodum solvas, nisi is dependi facile patitur, pro quo sponderis? Quamquam & hunc (ut spero) tenebo multis repugnantibus. Videtur enim in eo esse indoles; sed flexibilis ætas; multique ad depravandum parati: qui, splendore falsi honoris objecto, aciem boni ingenii præstringi posse confidunt. Itaque ad reliquos hic quoque labor mihi accessit; ut omnes adhibeam machinas ad tenendum adolescentem; ne famam subeam temeritatis. Quamquam quæ temeritas est? Magis enim illum, pro qua spondeo, quam me ipsum ob-

moment and difficulty, to engage one's self for the sentiments and principles of another, especially in affairs of the greatest importance, than for money: For this may be paid, and the loss itself be tolerable: But how can you pay, what you stand engaged for to the Republic, unless he, for whom you are engaged, will suffer it to be paid? yet I am still in hopes to bold him, tho' many are plucking him from me: for his natural disposition seems good, tho' his age be flexible [7], and many at hand to corrupt him: who, by throwing in his way the splendor of false honor, think themselves sure of dazzling his good sense and understanding [8]. Wherefore to my other labors, this new one is added, of setting all engines at work, to bold fast the young man, lest I incur the imputation of rashness. Tho' what rashness is it after all? for in truth, I bound him, for whom I engaged my word,

occasion he says, *I will venture, Fathers, to pawn my credit for him to you, and to the people of Rome, and to the whole Republic: which as I am under no necessity of doing, so I should not forwardly venture to do, for fear of incurring the dangerous imputation of rashness, in an affair of the greatest moment. Yet I promise you, Fathers, und take, and give you my word, that C. Cesar will always be such a Citizen, as we see him at this day; such an one, as we ought also to desire, and wish him to be.* Phil. 5. 8.

[7] He was but 20 years old. Suet. Aug. c. 26.

[8] His flatterers were now urging him to the demand of the Consulate, which, by the law and usage of Rome, was incompatible with his age, and could be of no other use, but to give him the better opportunity of overturning the Republic.

ligavi.

ligavi. Nec vero pœnitere potest rempublicam, me pro eo spondisse; qui fuit in rebus gerendis cum suo ingenio, tum mea promissione constantior. Maximus autem (nisi me forte fallit) in republica nodus est, inopia rei pecuniariæ: obdurescunt enim magis quotidie boni viri ad vocem tributi: quod ex centesima collatum impudenti censu locupletum, in duarum legionum præmiis omne consumitur. Impendent autem infiniti sumptus cum in hos exercitus, quibus nunc defendimur, tum vero in tuum: nam Cassius noster videtur posse satis ornatus veni-

*more strongly than myself. Nor has the Republic as yet any cause to repent, that I was his Sponsor: since he has hitherto been the more firm in acting for us; as well from his own temper, as for the sake of my promise. The greatest difficulty in the Republic, if I am not mistaken, is the want of money: for the honest grow every day more and more averse to the name of a tribute [9]: and what was gathered from the hundredth penny [10], where the rich are shamefully rated, is all spent in the rewards of the two Legions [11]. There is an infinite expence upon us, to support the armies, which now defend us; and also yours: for our Cassius seems likely to come sufficiently provided [12]. But I long to talk*

[9] This tribute seems to have been a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's substance, and had been wholly disused in Rome, ever since the conquest of Macedonia by P. Æmilius; which produced a revenue sufficient, to ease the Republic ever after from that burthen, till the present necessity obliged them to renew it. [Plin. H. n. 33. 3.] From the aversion, which even the honest are here said to have shewn to the renewal of it, one cannot but reflect on the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected the Republic in this age, and hastened it's ruin. See life of Cic. V. 2. p. 49.

[10] A tax of 1 per Cent, paid by the month.

[11] The Senate had passed a decree, to insure to the 4th and Martial Legions all the rewards, which Octavius had promised to them, upon their declaring themselves for the authority of the Senate against Antony. Which, after Antony's defeat, they were now making good to them. Philip. 5. 19.

[12] As to Cassius's conduct in this war, and his diligence in providing himself with money, and all other necessaries for the support of it, the reader may see it compared with Brutus's, in Life of Cic. V. 2. p. 469.

re. Sed & hæc, & multa alia coram cupio; idque quam primum. De sororis tuæ filiis non expectavi, Brute, dum scriberes. Omnino jam tempora (bellum enim ducetur) integram tibi causam refervant. Sed ego à principio, cum divinare de belli diuturnitate non possem, ita causam egi puorum in senatu, ut te arbitror è matris litteris potuisse cognoscere. Nec vero ulla res erit unquam, in qua ego non, vel vitæ periculo, ea dicam eaue faciam, quæ te velle, quæque ad te pertinere arbitror. Vale  
v1. kalend. Sext.

*over this, and many other things with you in person; and that quickly. As to your sister's children, I did not wait, Brutus, till you should write to me: the times themselves, since the war will be drawn into length, reserve the whole affair to you [13]. But from the first, when I could not foresee the continuance of the war, I pleaded the cause of the children in the Senate, in a manner, which you have been informed of, I suppose, by your mother's letters: nor can there ever be any case, where I will not both say and do, at the hazard even of my life, whatever I think agreeable either to your inclination, or your interest. Adieu.*  
July the 27th.

[13] Cicero perceiving Brutus's great tenderness for his Sister's children, puts him here again in mind, that before the receipt even of his letters, he had been using his authority with the Senate, to make that matter easy to them: but that without any endeavours of his, the times themselves would throw the affair into his hands, whenever he should come into Italy, since the war, by the treachery of Lepidus, was now likely to be carried into length.

## Direction to the Bookbinder.

Place all the Cuts together immediately after the Preface to  
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N. B. *Pref.* stands for *Preface*; *Intr.* for *Introductory Discourse*; *Post.* for *Postscript*; *N.* for *Note*. The Numerals refer to the Volumes, and the Figures to the Pages of the several Tracts.

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- CARTWRIGHT**, Dr Thomas, depriv'd of the professorship of divinity at *Cambridge*, and expelled the university, iii. 203.
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- HARE**, Bishop: his character, by Dr *Middleton*, ii. 483.
- HARMONY**, found in the four gospels, with regard to the principal transactions, justly celebrated as a strong proof of the integrity of the evangelists, and of the certainty of the facts delivered by them, and consequently of the truth of Christianity itself, ii. 23. This harmony denied by the adversaries of Christianity, *ibid*.
- HARPIS**: the story of them seems to be copied in the first church within the walls of *Rome*, iii. 112.
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- HEATHEN WORLD**: no dissenters in it from the established modes of worship, ii. Pref. iv.
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- HEINSIUS**, Daniel, says, that the whole diction of the new testament may be justly called *Hebraistical*, ii. 91. Declares the language of the new testament to be barbarous and impure, ii. 94.
- HELLADIUS**, the disciple and successor of St *Basil*, said to have recorded a revelation of that saint, concerning the death of *Julian* the emperor, i. N. [2] 126.
- HENRIETTA**, Queen of *Charles I*, a zealot for the popish religion, uses all her power with that king to support and propagate it, i. Intr. lxxi.
- HERCULES**: the impression of his feet shewn on a stone in *Sythia*, iii. 104.
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- HERMAPHRODITES**, iv. 152.
- HERODOTUS** affirms, that the *Egyptians* circumcised themselves, ii. 152. That the *Phenicians* and *Syrians*, who inhabited *Palestine*, confessed, that they received the custom of circumcision from the *Egyptians* *ibid.* Examination of his account of the religion of the *Egyptians*, ii. 210 & seqq. Owns, that the *Greeks* borrowed almost every thing from the *Egyptians*, ii. 228. Relates a story of certain sacred mythical things, which travelled about from country to country, and settled at last in *Delos*, iii. 108, 109. Mentions a yearly festival of the *Egyptians*, called the *lighting up of candles*, iii. 75.
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- HILARION**, the Monk: his life written by St *Jerom*, i. Post. lxxxviii. 122. Affirmed by St *Jerom* to have healed wounds, and preserved the lives of two persons by consecrated oil, 61. Exorcises a camel possessed by the devil, 72. Could tell by the smell, to what Devil or vice a man was subject, *ibid.* The founder of the monastic orders in *Syria* and *Palestine*, iii. 14. Miracle of him related by St *Jerom*, *ibid.* First introduces among Christians the practice of sprinkling horses with holy water, iii. 126.
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- HISTORIANS**, not a single one of antiquity, who has not recorded oracles, prodigies, &c. i. 177.
- HISTORY**, the credit of it not destroyed by rejecting the unanimous testimony of the fathers in their reports of the primitive miracles, i. 173. Of miracles of a kind totally different from that of common events, 176. The faith of it not hurt by disbelieving false miracles, 177.
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- HOSIUS**, a learned and venerable bishop, chiefly intrusted by *Constantine the Great* in the affairs of the church, ii. 116.
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- JAMES**, Dr, regius professor of divinity at *Cambridge*, endeavours to enlarge his fees, iii. 270.
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