

LETTERS
OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero

TO
Several of his FRIENDS :

With REMARKS
By WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq;

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

THE FOURTH EDITION.

To which is now added,
A GENERAL INDEX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

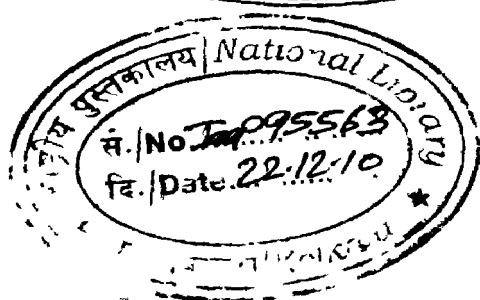


Ex Mss. Reg. Gall.

Brit. Mus.

L O N D O N :
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ADVERTISEMENT.

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

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

ERRATA IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

- Page 41. l. 11. dele *in truth*.
 62. l. 19. for *calling to a division*, read *dividing*.
 67. l. 23. for *upon*, read *from*.
 78. l. 14. for *then add*, read *then to add*.
 124. l. 1. for *day*, read *days*.
 145. l. 12. for *you*, read *your*.
 171. l. 11. dele *us*.
 182. l. 7. dele *himself*.
 185. l. 19. for *to*, read *with*.
 193. l. 11. for *accident*, read *incident*.
 206. l. 17. for *it*, read *both*.
 207. l. 13. for *it is often I do see him*, read *I often do*.
 231. in note, for *Lev.* read *Lxx*.
 258. l. 9. for *oppose*, read *support*.
 259. l. 19. after *too*, add a comma.
 312. l. 3. for *enemies*, read *enemy's*.
 313. l. 14. for *arts*, read *artifices*.
 315. l. 5. dele *in*.
 357. l. 4. after *action*, add *which*.
 452. l. 5. of the note, for *failed*, read *fallied*.
 460. l. 1. for *be*, read *the*.

LETTERS*
OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero
TO
Several of his FRIENDS.

BOOK I.

LETTER I.

To POMPEY the Great: Imperator¹.

YOUR letter to the senate afforded in- A U. 691.
expressible satisfaction, not only to my-
self, but to the public in general: as the hopes

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

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

A.U. 691. it brought us of a peace, are agreeable to those expectations, which, in full confidence of your superior abilities, I had always encouraged the world to entertain². I must acquaint you however, that it entirely sunk the spirits of that party, who from being formerly your declared enemies, have lately become your pretended friends : as it utterly disappointed their most sanguine hopes³.

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

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

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

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

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

A.U. 691. that what I have performed for the preservation of my country, has received the concurrent applauses of the whole world. You will find when you return hither, I conducted that important scene with so much spirit and policy, that you, like another Scipio, tho' far superior indeed to that hero in glory, will not refuse to admit me, like a second Lælius⁵, and not much behind him, I trust, in wisdom, as the friend and

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

⁵ Scipio Africanus the younger, to whom Cicero here alludes, was consul in the year of Rome 605. as Lælius was in the year 612. The strict intimacy which subsisted between these distinguished Romans, is celebrated by several of the classic writers. but Cicero has paid it the highest honours in his Dialogue upon friendship. Scipio and Lælius used to retire together from the business of the state, to a villa situated on the sea-shore near Laurentum; where these illustrious friends did not think it beneath their characters to descend to the humblest recreations. The *virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Læli*, the heroism of Scipio and the wisdom of Lælius could unbend in gathering shells and pebbles on the coast: and perhaps it is some evidence of their merit, that they were capable of being thus easily diverted. *I*ess virtuous minds generally have recourse to more agitated relaxations, and are seldom entertained without carrying their passions into their amusements. *Orat. pro Muræn. 36. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. ver. 72. Cic. de orat. ii. 6.*

associate

associate of your private and public transactions. A.U. 691.
Farewel.

L E T T E R II.

Quintus Metellus Celer⁶, Proconsul : to Cicero.

AS I persuaded myself that our reconciliation and friendship was mutually sincere, I never imagined I should have had occasion to complain of being marked out in my absence as the object of your ridicule⁷. For the same reason I was equally far from supposing that you would have acted with so much bitterness against my relation Metellus⁸, as to persecute him

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

⁷ The reader will find this explained by Cicero's Answer in the following letter.

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

AU 691. even to the loss of his fortunes and his dignities, merely for a single word. If the regard which is due to his own character, could not protect him from the unjust resentment of the senate; at least the zeal I have ever shewn for the interests of that illustrious order, the services I have rendered the commonwealth, and the consideration which is owing to our birth⁹, should have powerfully pleaded in his favour. But it has been *his* fate to be oppressed, as well as *mine* to be deserted, by those, who ought to have treated us in a very different manner: and the honour of that important command with which I am invested, cannot secure me, it seems, from having cause to lament the indignities which are offered both to myself and

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

⁹ Within the space of twelve years there had been no less than twelve of this Family who were either consuls, censors, or distinguished with the honours of a triumph. *Paterc. ii. 11.*

to my family. Since the senate have shewn A.U. 691.
 themselves to be so little influenced by the
 dictates of equity, or those principles of mo-
 deration which distinguished our ancestors; it
 will be no wonder, if they should find reason to
 repent of their conduct. But as to yourself,
 I repeat it again, I never had the least suspicion
 that you were capable of acting with so much
 inconstancy to me and mine. However, nei-
 ther this dishonour which has been cast upon my
 family, nor any injuries which can be done to
 me in my own person, shall ever alienate my
 affections from the republic. Farewel.

L E T T E R III.

To Quintus Metellus Celer, Proconsul.

I Have received your letter wherein you tell
 me, that, "you had persuaded yourself,
 "you should never have had occasion to com-
 "plain of being marked out as the subject of
 "my railleries." I must assure you in return,
 that I do not well understand to what you allude.
 I suspect, however, you may have been informed
 of a speech I lately made in the senate, wherein
 I took notice there was a considerable party
 among us, who regretted that the common-
 B 4 wealth

U. 691. wealth should have owed its preservation to my hands. I added, I confess, that, in compliance with the request, “ of some of your relations
“ whose desires you could by no means refuse,
“ you suppressed the applause with which you
“ intended to have honoured me in that illustrious assembly. I mentioned at the same time,
“ that we had shared between us the glory
“ of having saved the republic : and that whilst
“ I was protecting Rome from the wicked designs of her intestine enemies, you were defending Italy from the open attacks and secret conspiracies of those who had meditated our general ruin. But that some of your family nevertheless had endeavoured to weaken
“ this our illustrious association, and were unwilling you should make any return on your
“ part, for those high honours with which you
“ had been distinguished on mine.” As this was an open confession how much I was mortified in not receiving the applause I expected ; it raised a general smile in the house : not indeed at you, but at myself, for ingenuously acknowledging my disappointment. And surely what I thus said, cannot but be considered as highly to your credit ; since it was an evidence^t that amidst the highest honours, I still thought my
glory

glory incomplete, without the concurrence of A.U. 691.
 your approbation.

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

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

A.U.691. to your province, than I considered how to throw it into your hands. I need not mention the management which was employed in order to secure the lot in your favour: but this much I will say, that I hope you do not imagine the part my colleague acted in that affair was, in any of its circumstances, without my privity and consent. Let me desire you to recollect with what expedition I assembled the senate immediately after the balloting was over, and how fully I spoke upon that occasion in your applause. Accordingly you then told me, that I had not only paid an high compliment to yourself, but at the same time cast a very severe reproach upon your colleagues. I will add, that so long as the decree shall subsist which the senate passed at that juncture, there will not be wanting a public and conspicuous monument of my good offices towards you. Remember likewise the zeal with which I supported your interest in the senate; the encomiums with which I mentioned you in the assemblies of the people; and the affectionate letters I wrote to you, after your departure. And when you have laid these several circumstances together, I may safely leave it to your own determination, whether your behaviour to me upon your last return to Rome, was suitable to these

these instances of my friendship. However, I A.U.694.
know not what you mean by our *reconcilement* ;
an expression, it should seem, which cannot with
any propriety be applied where there never was
any formal rupture.

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

² Sister to Claudius : a woman of most abandoned lewd-
ness, and suspected of having poisoned Metellus, who died
in 694, a few years after this letter was written. Cicero,
who attended him in his last moments, represents them as
truly heroic. " Metellus saw the approaches of death with-
out the least concern upon his own account, and only la-

A.U. 691. ter³: as the latter had often indeed, in consideration of my connections with Pompey, exerted her good offices in my behalf. Nevertheless, (and I am sure you are no stranger to the truth of what I am going to say) upon laying down my consular office, he prevented me from making the usual speech to the people: and thus, what had never been denied to the lowest and most worthless of our magistrates, he most injuriously refused to a consul who had preserved the liberties of his country. This insult however proved greatly to my honour. For as he would only suffer me to take the oath⁴, I pronounced the sincerest and most glorious of asseverations with an uncommon exertion of voice: and the whole assembly of the people as loudly called the gods to witness, that what I had sworn was most religiously true⁵. But tho' I received this signal affront from your cousin, yet I had the very same day sent an ami-

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

³ Mucia. she was married to Pompey, but afterwards divorced from him on occasion of her gallantries with Cæsar. *Ad Att. 1. 12. Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

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

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

cable message to him by our common friends, ^{A. U. 691.} with the hopes of persuading him into a better temper. The answer he returned was, that all applications of this kind were now too late. He had indeed asserted, some days before, in a speech which he made in a general assembly of the people, “ that the man who had punished
 “ others without suffering them to be heard⁶,
 “ ought to be denied the privilege of being
 “ heard in his turn.” Excellent and judicious patriot indeed ! to maintain that the same punishment which had been decreed, and with the approbation too of every honest man in Rome, to those rebels and incendiaries who had at-

⁶ The principal conspirators concerned with Catiline being taken into custody, Cicero convened the senate ; when it was debated in what manner to proceed against the prisoners. Silanus, the consul elect, advised that they should all be put to death. But this was against an express law which prohibited the taking away the life of any citizen without a formal process. The proposal of Silanus was opposed by Cæsar, as being a stretch of the senate’s power which might be productive of very dangerous consequences in a free state. It was his opinion therefore that the estates of the conspirators should be confiscated, and their persons closely imprisoned. Cicero, as Dr. Middleton observes, delivered his sentiments with all the skill both of the orator and the statesman ; and while he seemed to shew a perfect neutrality, and to give equal commendation to both the opinions, was artfully labouring to turn the scale in favour of Silanus’s, which he considered as a necessary example of severity in the present circumstances of the republic. A vote accordingly passed that the conspirators should suffer death : which Cicero immediately put in execution. *Life of Cic. Vol. 1. 219, 221, 230 See rem. 6. p. 25 of this Vol.*

AU. 691. tempted to involve their country in the most dreadful calamities, was due to him who had preserved the senate, the city, and all Italy in general from destruction. These were the provocations that induced me to oppose your cousin openly and before his face: and accordingly in a debate on the first of January concerning the state of the republic, I thought proper to let him see that he had declared war against a man who did not want resolution to return his attack. In a speech which he made a few days afterwards, he was pleased to throw out several menacing expressions against me: and it was evidently his determined purpose to effect my ruin, not by bringing my actions to a fair and impartial trial, but by the most illegal methods of violence. Had I not acted then with spirit in opposition to his ill-considered measures, would not the world have thought (and thought too with reason) that the courage I exerted in my consulate was merely accidental, and not the result of a steady and rational fortitude? If you are ignorant of these instances of your cousin's deportment, he has concealed a very material article of his conduct. On the other hand, if he apprised you of them, you have reason to look upon me as having acted with great temper and forbearance


berrance in never interrupting you with my ex-
 postulations. In a word, you will find my A.U. 691
 complaint against him was not founded on a
 single expression, as you call it, but on a conti-
 nued series of malevolence. Let me now there-
 fore shew you, that my conduct in return was
 influenced by principles of the greatest good-
 nature: if good-nature it may be deemed, not
 to exert a proper resentment against injuries of
 so atrocious a kind. The truth is, I never once
 made a motion in the senate to his prejudice;
 on the contrary, as often as any question arose
 in which he was concerned, I always voted on
 the most favourable side. I will add (tho' it is
 a circumstance indeed, in which I ought not to
 have concerned myself) that I was so far from
 being displeased with the decree which passed in
 his favour, that, in consideration of his being
 related to you, I actually promoted it to the
 utmost of my power.

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

A. U. 691. when I have before me, I had almost called it your threatening letter, yet I will tell you, that I not only excuse, but highly applaud the generous warmth you express in your cousin's behalf: as I know by what passes in my own breast, the wonderful force of family-affection. I hope then you will judge of my resentment with the same candour, and acknowledge that if without the least provocation on my part I have been most cruelly and outrageously treated by any of your relations, I had a right, I will not only say to defend myself, but to be supported in that defence, if it were necessary, even by your whole army. Believe me, I have ever been desirous of making you my friend; as I have endeavoured to convince you upon all occasions that I was entirely yours: sentiments which I still retain, and shall continue to retain just as long as you desire. To say all in one word, I am much more disposed to sacrifice my resentment against your cousin, to my friendship towards yourself, than to suffer the former in any degree to impair our mutual affection. Farewel.

LETTER IV.


TO CAIUS ANTONIUS: Imperator⁶.

I Had determined not to trouble you with my A.U. 691.
 letters, unless of the recommendatory kind: 
 not that I had reason to expect my solicitations would have much weight with you; but as being unwilling it should appear to those who might apply for them, that any coolness had arisen between us. However, as our common friend Atticus, who has been a particular witness of the warmth with which I have ever promoted your interest, is coming into your province, I cannot forbear conveying a letter to you by his hand; especially as he very strongly importun'd me for that purpose.

Were I to claim even your highest services, the demand could by no means be thought unreasonable, after having contributed every thing on my part for the advancement of your ease, your interest, and your honours⁷. But I

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

⁷ The consuls at the expiration of their office, used to draw lots to which of the provinces they should respective-

A.U. 691.  may safely appeal to your own conscience, whether you have ever made me the least return :. so far from it indeed, that I have heard (for I dare not say I have been *informed*^a, as it is an expression, it seems, which you frequently, tho' I am sure, injuriously, object to me) I have heard then that you have intimated something as if —But I leave it to Atticus to tell you the rest : as the report^a has given him no less concern

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

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

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

than it gave myself. In the mean time I will ^{A.U. 691} only say, that the senate and the whole Roman people have been witnesses of that uncommon zeal with which I have entered into your interest. What sentiments of gratitude this has impressed upon your mind, you yourself are the best judge : how much you owe me in consequence of it, let others determine. It was friendship that first engaged my good offices in your favour ; and I afterwards was induced to continue them merely from a principle of constancy. But believe me, your present ⁹ affairs require a much larger

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

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

A.U. 691. } proportion of my zeal and pains: the utmost exertion of which shall not be wanting, provided I may have reason to think that they are not entirely thrown away. For I shall never be so absurdly officious, as to employ them where they are not acceptable. Atticus will inform you, in what particular instances you may, probably, have occasion for my good offices: in the mean while I very warmly recommend him to yours. I am well persuaded indeed, that his own interest with you is his best advocate: however, if you have any remaining affection for me, let me intreat you to shew it (and it is the most obliging manner in which you can shew it) by your services to my friend. Farewel.

L E T T E R V.

TO PUBLIUS SESTIUS, Quæstor¹,

A.U. 692. } **I** Could scarce credit your freedman Decius, as highly as I think of his fidelity and attachment to your interest, when he requested

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

me

me in your name to use my endeavours that you may not at present be recalled. Remembering indeed the very different strain in which all the letters I had before received from you were written, I could not easily be induced to think that you had so greatly altered your mind. But after Cornelia's visit to my wife, and the discourse which I had myself with Cornelius, I could no longer doubt of this change in your inclinations: and accordingly I never failed to attend in your behalf at every subsequent meeting of the senate. The question, however, did not come on till January last: when we carried it without much opposition: tho' I found some difficulty in persuading Quintus Fufius² and the rest of your friends to whom you had written upon this subject, to believe me rather than your own letters.

I had not agreed with Crassus for his house, when you wished me joy of the purchase: but I was so much encouraged by your congratulations, that I soon afterwards bought it at thirty-five hundred thousand sesterces³. I am now therefore so deeply involved in debt as to be

² One of the tribunes of the people.

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

A.U.692. full ripe, you must know, for a plot, if any malecontent will be so charitable as to admit me into one. But the misfortune is, this sort of

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

patriots are all disposed to exclude me from their society: and whilst I am the aversion of some of them as the avowed avenger of conspiracies: others suspect that I only plead poverty with a view of gaining their confidence in order to betray them. They think it incredible indeed, that the man who rescued the bags of all the usurers in Rome from a general attack, should ever be in distress for money⁴. The truth of the matter is, there is enough to be raised at six per cent: and I have gained this much, by the services I have done my country, that I am considered by your money-lenders at least, as a *good* man.

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

present him before the same audience in all the darkest colours of his invective. Cicero being reminded upon this occasion of his former harangue, very gravely replied, "it was only by way of an oratorical exercise, and in order to try the force of his eloquence upon so bad a subject" *Aul. Gell. xii. 2.* See *Life of Cic. i. 259. 8vo. Ed. Aul. Att. iii. 12. Plut. in vit. Cicer.*

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

A.U. 692.

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

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

LETTER VI.

TO TERENTIA, to my dearest TULLIA, and
to my Son⁶.

IF you do not hear from me so frequently as A.U. 695.
you might, it is because I can neither write
to you, nor read your letters, without falling
into a greater passion of tears than I am able to
support: for though I am at all times indeed
completely miserable, yet I feel my misfortunes
with a particular sensibility upon those tender
occasions.

⁶ There is an interval of two years between the date of this and the foregoing letter; the correspondence which Cicero carried on during the intermediate period being entirely lost, except that which he held with Atticus. The following letters to Terentia were written in our author's exile, and will prove either that Cicero was a philosopher only in speculation, or that philosophy itself pretends to more than it has power to perform. Perhaps they will prove both. for as on the one hand they discover the most unmanly dejection of spirit; so it is certain, on the other, that much weaker minds have been able with the assistance of better principles, to support with fortitude far severer trials. Those in which Cicero was at present exercised, were occasioned by Clodius: who procured himself to be elected tribune with the single view of destroying this his avowed adversary. It has already been observed in the sixth remark on the third letter of this book, that Cicero, in his consulate had put to death some of the conspirators concerned with Catiline, without any formal trial, and upon no other authority than a decree of the senate. And it was upon this charge, that Clodius founded his impeachment. Cicero's conduct upon this occasion has also been arraigned by a late very accurate and judicious historian; and it must be acknowledged that, as far as we can be competent judges of it at this distance from the time and scene of action, it seems to have been attended with some circumstances not

A.U. 695.

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

I have spent about a fortnight at this place⁷, with my friend Marcus Flaccus. This worthy man did not scruple to exercise the rites of friendship and hospitality towards me notwithstanding the severe penalties of that iniquitous law against those who should venture to give me reception⁸. May I one day have it in my

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

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

⁸ As soon as Cicero had withdrawn from Rome, Clodius procured a law, which among other articles enacted,

power

power to make him a return to those generous services, which I shall ever most gratefully remember. A.U. 695.

I am just going to embark, and purpose to pass thro' Macedonia in my way to Cyzicum². And now, my Terentia, thus-wretched and ruined as I am, can I intreat you under all that weight of pain and sorrow with which, I too well know, you are oppressed, can I intreat you to be the partner and companion of my exile? But must I then live without you? I know not how to reconcile myself to that hard condition; unless your presence at Rome may be a mean of forwarding my return: if any hopes of that kind should indeed subsist. But should there, as I sadly suspect, be absolutely none; come to me, I conjure you, if it be possible: for never can I think myself completely ruined, whilst I shall enjoy my Terentia's company. But how will my dearest daughter dispose of herself? A question which you yourselves must consider: for, as to my own part, I am utterly at a loss what to advise. At all events, however, that dear unhappy girl must not take any measures

that "no person should presume to harbour or receive him on pain of death." *Life of Cic.* i. 354.

² A considerable town in an island of the Propontis, which lay so close to the continent of Asia as to be joined with it by a bridge.

that

A.U. 695. that may injure her conjugal repose¹, or affect her in the good opinion of the world. As for my son—let me not at least be deprived of the consolation of folding him for ever in my arms. But I must lay down my pen a few moments: my tears flow too fast to suffer me to proceed.

I am under the utmost solicitude, as I know not whether you have been able to preserve any part of your estate, or (what I sadly fear) are cruelly robbed of your whole fortune.—I hope Piso² will always continue, what you represent him to be, entirely ours.—As to the manumission of the slaves; I think you have no occasion to be uneasy. For with regard to your own, you only promised them their liberty as they should deserve it: but excepting Orpheus, there are none of them that have any great claim to this favour. As to mine, I told them, if my estate should be forfeited, I would give them their freedom, provided I could obtain the confirmation of that grant: but if I preserved my estate, that they should all of them, excepting only a few whom I particularly named, remain in their

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

² Cicero's son-in-law, mentioned in the last note.

present condition. But this is a matter of little A.U.695. consequence.

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

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

A.U. 695. keep up your spirits, I am utterly unable to preserve my own!

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

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

Brundisium,
April the 30th.

L E T T E R VII.

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

IMAGINE not, my Terentia, that I write no longer letters to others than to yourself: be assured at least, if ever I do, it is merely because those

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

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

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

A.U.C. 693

A.U.695. should be my cruel fate to expose you to so many calamities, whilst you are thus generously endeavouring to ease the weight of mine. Be assured it was with the utmost grief I read the account which Publius sent me, of the opprobrious manner in which you were dragged from the temple of Vesta, to the office of Valerius⁴. Sad reverse indeed ! That thou, the dearest object of my fondest desires, that my Terentia, to whom such numbers were wont to look up for relief, should be herself a spectacle of the most affecting distress ! and that I, who have saved so many others from ruin, should have ruined both myself and my family by my own indiscretion !

As to what you mention with regard to the Area belonging to my house ; I shall never look upon myself as restored to my country, till that spot of ground is again in my possession⁵. But this is a point that does not depend upon ourselves. Let me rather express my concern for what does ; and lament that, distressed as

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

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

your

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

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

A.U.695. of opinion that I should not retreat farther from Italy, I have laid aside that design. Let me hear from you both as often as possible, particularly if there should be any fairer prospect of my return. Farewel, ye dearest objects of my most tender affection, Farewel !

Theſſalonica ⁶, Oct. the 5th.

LETTER VIII.

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

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

⁶ A city in Macedonia, now called *Salonica*.

⁷ Cicero's ſon was at this time about eight years of age.
Manut.

fat less heavy on my heart. But they are alto-
 together owing to my own folly in imagining I
 was loved where I was secretly envied⁸, and
 in not joining with those who were sincerely de-
 sirous of my friendship⁹. Had I been governed,
 indeed, by my own sentiments, without rely-
 ing so much on those of my weak or wicked
 advisers, we might still, my Terentia, have been
 happy¹. However, since my friends encourage

A.U.695,
 {

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

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

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

A.U.695. me to hope, I will endeavour to restrain my grief lest the effect it may have upon my health should

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

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

With regard to our slaves; I am willing to act as our friends, you tell me, advise. As to your concern in respect to the plague which broke out here; it is entirely ceased: and I had the good fortune to escape all infection. However, it was my desire to have changed my present situation for some more retired place in Epirus, where I might be secure from Piso and his soldiers². But the obliging Plancius was un-

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

A.U.695. willing to part with me; and still indeed detains me here in the hope that we may return together to Rome³. If ever I should live to see that happy day; if ever I should be restored to my Terentia, to my children and to myself, I shall think all the tender sollicitudes we have suffered during this sad separation, abundantly repaid.

Nothing can exceed the affection and humanity of Piso's⁴ behaviour towards every one of us: and I wish he may receive from it as much satisfaction, as I am persuaded he will honour, —I was far from intending to blame you with respect to my brother: but it is much my desire, especially as there are so few of you, that you should live together in the most perfect harmony, —I have made my acknowledgments where you desired, and acquainted the persons you mention, that you had informed me of their services.

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

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

⁴ Cicero's son-in-law.

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

Dyrrachium ⁵,
November 26,

P. S. I came hither not only as it is a free city ⁵, and much in my interest, but as it is situated likewise near Italy ⁶. But if I should find any inconvenience from its being a town of such great resort, I shall remove elsewhere, and give you due notice.

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

^a That is, a city which had the privilege, tho' in the dominions of the Roman republic, to be governed by its own laws.

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

LETTER IX.

TO TERENTIA.

A.U. 695.

I Received three letters from you by the hands of Aristocritus, and have wept over them till they are almost defaced with my tears. Ah ! my Terentia, I am worn out with grief : nor do my own personal misfortunes more severely torture my mind, than those with which you and my children are oppressed. Unhappy indeed, as you are, I am still infinitely more so ; as our common afflictions are attended with this aggravating circumstance to myself, that they are justly to be imputed to my imprudence alone. I ought, most undoubtedly, either to have avoided the danger by accepting the commission⁷ which was offered me ; or to have repelled force by force, or bravely to have perished in the attempt. Whereas nothing could have been more unworthy of my character, or more pregnant with misery than the scheme I


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

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

have

have pursued^{*}. I am overwhelmed therefore, A.U.695.
 not only with sorrow, but with shame : yes, my
 Terentia, I blush to reflect that I did not exert
 that spirit I ought for the sake of so excel-
 lent a wife and such amiable children. The
 distress in which you are all equally involved,
 and your own ill state of health in par-
 ticular, are ever in my thoughts : as I have
 the mortification at the same time to ob-
 serve, that there appear but slender hopes of
 my being recalled. My enemies, in truth,
 are many ; while those who are jealous of me
 are almost innumerable : and tho' they found
 great difficulty in driving me from my coun-
 try, it will be extremely easy for them to pre-
 vent my return. However, as long as you
 have any hopes that my restoration may be ef-
 fected, I will not cease to co-operate with your
 endeavours for that purpose ; lest my weakness
 should seem upon all occasions to frustrate every
 measure in my favour. In the mean while, my
 person (for which you are so tenderly concern-
 ed) is secure from all danger : as in truth I
 am so completely wretched, that even my ene-
 mies themselves must wish, in mere malice, to
 preserve my life. Nevertheless, I shall not fail
 to observe the caution you kindly give me.

* See remark 1 on the preceding letter.

A.U.695.  I have sent my acknowledgments by Dexpus to the persons you desired me, and mentioned at the same time, that you had informed me of their good offices. I am perfectly sensible of those which Piso exerts towards us with so uncommon a zeal: and indeed it is a circumstance which all the world speaks of to his honour. Heaven grant I may live to enjoy with you and our children, the common happiness of so valuable a relation⁹!

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

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

wife ordered Dexippus to return to me with all expedition, and have written to my brother to request he would give me frequent information in what manner affairs proceed. It is with a view of receiving the earliest intelligence from Rome, that I continue at Dyrrachium; a place where I can remain in perfect security, as I have upon all occasions distinguished this city by my particular patronage. However, as soon as I shall receive intimation that my enemies¹ are approaching, it is my resolution to retire into Epirus.

A.U.693.

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

¹ The troops of Piso. See remark 2. on the former letter.

A.U.695.

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

Dyrrachium,
Nov the 30th.

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

LET-

LETTER X.

TO QUINTUS METELLUS NEPOS, the Consul².

THE letters I received both from my brother and my friend Atticus strongly encouraged me to hope, that you were not less disposed than your colleague to favour my recall. In consequence of this persuasion, I immediately wrote to you in terms suitable to my present unfortunate circumstances: acknowledging my grateful sense of your generous intentions, and intreating your future assistance. But I afterwards learned, not indeed so much by any hint of this kind from my friends, as from the report of those who passed this way, that you did not continue in the same favourable sentiments¹: for which reason I would not venture to importune you any farther. My brother however, having transmitted me a copy of the speech

A.U.696.

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

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

A.U.696. you lately made in the senate, I found it animated with such a spirit of candour and moderation, that I was induced to write to you once more. Let me earnestly request you then to consider rather the interests than the passions of your family⁴, lest by falling in with their unjust and cruel opposition to me, you should open a way by which they themselves may be oppressed in their turn. Is it possible, indeed, that you, who gained such a glorious conquest over yourself as to sacrifice your own private enmities⁵ to the welfare of the republic, should be prevailed upon to add strength to a resentment in others which evidently tends to its destruction? If you think proper then to afford me your assistance in this conjuncture, you may, upon all occasions, depend on my utmost services in return. On the other hand, should that lawless violence, which has wounded the commonwealth through my side, be suffered still to prevail; it

⁴ Clodius was cousin to Metellus. *Post red. in sen.* 10.

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

imports you to reflect, whether if you should hereafter be inclined to recall the opportunity of preserving our general liberties, you will not have the misfortune of finding it much too late⁶. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

TO FABIVS GALLVS^a.

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

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

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

indif-

A.U.696. indisposed. In order therefore to avoid their importunities, I retired to Tusculanum; having observed so strict an abstinence for two days before, as not to have tasted even a drop of water. Reduced then as I am by my illness and my fasting, I had more reason to hope for a visit from you, than to imagine you expected one from me.

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


^b In a letter which he wrote during his last sickness: a translation of which is given us by Cicero, in his treatise *De senectute*, li. 31.

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

A U. 696.


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

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

A.U.696.  faction of a visit. I purpose to continue here, till I shall have re-established my health: for I am extremely weakened and emaciated. But if I can once get the better of my disorder, I hope I shall find no difficulty in recovering all the rest. Farewel.

L E T T E R XII.

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul¹.

A.U.697.  I Find it much easier to satisfy the world than myself in those sacred offices of friendship I exert in your behalf. Numberless indeed

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

are the obligations you have conferred upon me : A.U. 697.
 and as you persevered with unwearied zeal till
 you had effected my recall from exile ; I esteem
 it the greatest mortification of my life, ~~that~~ I
 cannot act in your affairs with the same success.
 The truth is, Ammonius, who resides here as
 Ambassador from Ptolemy ², defeats all my

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

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

A.U. 697. schemes, by the most shameless and avowed bribery: and he is supplied with money for this purpose, from the same quarter as when you were in Rome. The party in the king's interest, (tho' their number, it must be owned, is inconsiderable) are all desirous that Pompey may be employed to re-instate him in his dominions. The senate, on the other hand, fall in with the pretended oracle³; not indeed as

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

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

giving

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

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

* One of the present consuls.

A.U. 697- commission : in all other respects, I dare venture to say, he will very strenuously promote your interest. We must be contented to take him in his own way : for I perceive it is impossible to dissuade him from proposing that the injunctions of the oracle shall be complied with. And in fact, he has already made several motions to that purpose.

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

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

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

A.U. 697.

A.U. 697. are much displeased at your having contributed to the late advancement of his power⁶. For myself; I find I have the less influence in your cause, as it is supposed I am solely governed by a principle of gratitude: at the same time, the notion which prevails that this affair affords an opportunity of obliging Pompey, renders my

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

appli-

applications likewise not altogether so effectual A.U. 697.
as they might otherwise prove. It is thus I am
labouring in this perplexed business: which the
king himself, long before you left Rome, as
well as the friends and dependants of Pompey,
had artfully embarrassed. To this I must add
the avowed opposition I meet with from the
consulars; who represent our assisting Ptolemy
with an army, as a measure that would highly
reflect upon the dignity of the senate. Be as-
sured however, I shall employ every means in
my power of testifying both to the world in ge-
neral, and to your friends in particular, the
sincerity of that affection I bear you. And
were there any honour in those who ought to
have shewn themselves influenced by its highest
and most refined principles, I should not have so
many difficulties to encounter. Farewel.

L E T T E R XIII.

TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA ^a.


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

^a He had been prætor the year before: and very in-
strumental in procuring Cicero's recall from exile. At the
expiration of his prætorship he obtained the government of
Africa: and this letter seems to have been written to him
soon after his arrival in that province. *Pigh. anal.* ii. 384.

province,

A.U.697. province, I took occasion in the presence of Publius Cuspius, to desire you would consider every friend of his whom I should recommend to you, as in the number of my own: and that I afterwards repeated this request in the strongest manner. You then assured me, with great generosity and politeness, and agreeably to that affectionate regard with which you have ever distinguished me, that you would comply with my request. I am to inform you then, that Cuspius having been twice in Africa during the time that he had the direction of the affairs of the company which farms the revenues of that province, contracted some acquaintance in that part of the world whom he greatly loves: and as no man is more zealous to serve his friends, he very warmly espouses their interest. I am always ready to assist him for that purpose to the utmost of my credit and influence: which I mention as a reason for my recommending his African friends in general to your protection. For the future therefore, I shall only acquaint you that the person in whose behalf I may happen to write, is a friend of Cuspius: and then add the distinguishing mark we agreed upon^b. But my present

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

recommendation is of the strongest kind: as it. A.U. 697.
 is in compliance with the most earnest desire of 
 Cæsius, that I intreat your good offices to
 Lucius Julius.* If I were to request them in
 the terms that are usually employed in the sin-
 cerest solicitations of this nature, I should scarce
 satisfy, I believe, the zeal of my friend. He
 requires something more new and singular in the
 manner of my present address: and imagines I
 am master of a certain art, that renders me ex-
 tremely well qualified for the task. I promised
 therefore to recommend his friends to you, by
 all the most skilful and insinuating methods of
 persuasion. But as I find myself incapable of
 executing this promise; I can only intreat you
 to give him reason to imagine, that there was
 something wonderfully efficacious in this letter.
 Now this he will certainly suppose, if you exer-
 cise towards Julius every generous act that your
 politeness and your station enable you to con-
 fer; not only by distant services, but by your
 personal notice and distinction: for you cannot
 imagine, as you have not been long enough in
 your post to know it by your own observation,
 how great an advantage it is to a man to have
 the countenance of the governor of his province.
 I am persuaded, that Julius well deserves every
 mark of your friendship upon his own account;
 not

A.U. 697. 'not only because Cuspius has assured me that he does, (which of itself indeed would be a very sufficient reason for my thinking so) but because I know the great judgment of the latter in the choice of his friends.

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

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

LETTER XIV.

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul.

THE senate met on the 13th of January, A.U.697. but came to no resolution; the greatest part of that day having been spent in some warm contests which arose between Marcellinus⁷, the consul, and Caninius, one of the tribunes of the people. I had myself also a very considerable share in the debates: and I represented the zeal you have always shewn towards the senate, in terms that influenced them, I am persuaded, much to your advantage. The next day therefore, we thought it sufficient briefly to deliver our opinions: as I perceived, not only by the favourable manner in which I was heard the day before, but also by inquiring into the sentiments of each particular member, that the majority was clearly on our side. The business of the day opened with reporting to the house the several opinions of Bibulus, Hortensius, and Volcatius. The respective questions therefore were, in the first place, whether three commissioners should be nominated for restoring the king, agreeably to the sentiments of Bibulus; in the

⁷ Cneius Lentulus Marcellinus, who was consul this year with L. Marcus Philippus.

next,

A.U.697. next, whether, according to those of Hortensius, the office should be conferred upon you, but without employing any forces; or lastly, whether, in conformity to the advice of Volcatius, this honour should be assigned to Pompey. The point being thus stated, it was moved that the opinion of Bibulus might be referred to the deliberation of the house in two separate questions^s. Accordingly, as it was now in vain to oppose his motion so far as it related to paying obedience to the declaration of the oracle, the senate in general came into his sentiments: but as to his proposal of deputing three commissioners, it was rejected by a very considerable majority. The opinion next in order, was that of Hortensius. But when we were going to divide upon it, Lupus, a tribune of the people, insisted that in virtue of his office he had the privilege of calling to a division of the house, prior to the consuls: and therefore demanded that the voices should be first taken

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

upon

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

A.U.697. desirous of this commission. On the other hand, when I observe the conduct of his friends of every rank, I am well convinced (and indeed it is now evident likewise to the whole world) that they have been gained by the corrupt measures which a certain party, with the consent of Ptolemy and his advisers, have employed.— I write this before sun-rise on the 16th of January: and the senate is to meet again on this very day. I hope to preserve my authority in that assembly; as far at least as is possible amidst such general treachery and corruption which has discovered itself upon this occasion. As to what concerns the bringing this matter before the people; I think we have taken such precautions, as will render it impracticable, unless by actual violence, or in direct and open contempt, both of our civil and religious institutions. For this purpose a very severe order of the senate⁹ (which, I imagine, was immediately transmitted to you) was entered yesterday in our journals, notwithstanding the tribunes Cato¹ and Caninius interposed their negatives.

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

¹ See remark 3 p. 52. of this vol.

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

A.U. 697.

LETTER XV.

To the Same.

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

A.U. 697. pius ^a passed in his favour. In one word, I hope you will take all opportunities of convincing him, that you do not consider this recommendation as a matter of common and unmeaning form. Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

To the Same.

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

^a The predecessor of Lentulus in this government. *Pigh. Ann* U. C. 696.

^a January.

favour

favour our cause. But Cato and Caninius absolutely refused to suffer any decree to pass, till ^{A. U. 59} a general assembly of the people should be convened.

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

AJ. 697.

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

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

will

will pay the highest attention to your dignity and character. Farewel. A.U. 697

L E T T E R XVII.

To the Same.

THERE is nothing I more ardently wish, than to convince both yourself, and the world, with how much gratitude I retain the remembrance of your services. I cannot however but extremely regret, that your affairs should have taken such a turn since your absence, as to give you occasion of trying the affection and fidelity of your friends. You are sensible, as I perceive by your last letter, that you have been treated with the same insincerity by those, who ought to have concurred in supporting your dignities, as I formerly experienced from some of my pretended friends, in the affair of my banishment. Thus, whilst I was exerting the utmost efforts of my vigilance, my policy, and my interest, in order to serve you in the article relating to Ptolemy; I was unexpectedly alarmed in a point of much more important concern, by the infamous law which Cato has lately proposed to your prejudice⁴. Where as-

⁴ Caius Cato, in order to cut off all hopes at once from Lentulus of being employed in this contested commission,

A.U. 697. fairs are thus embroiled, every thing is, undoubtedly, to be feared: yet my principal apprehension, I confess, arises from the treachery of your false friends. But however that may be, I am earnestly endeavouring to counter-act the malevolent designs of Cato.

As to the Alexandrian commission, both your self and your friends will, I trust, have abundant reason to be satisfied with my conduct. But at the same time I must say, I greatly fear it will either be taken out of your hands, or entirely dropped: and I know not which of these alternatives I should least choose. However we have another expedient in reserve, which (should we be driven to it) neither Selicius nor myself disapprove. By this scheme we shall, on the one hand, prevent the senate from refusing to assist Ptolemy, and, on the other, remove all appearance of our being disappointed, if that person should be employed, who it is more than probable, will now obtain this commission. To be short, I shall take such precautions, that, should our designs fail, you may not seem to have suffered the disgrace of a repulse: yet at the same time I shall remit nothing of my efforts to support your claim, so long as there

proposed a law to the people for recalling him from his government. *Ad Q. F. l. 3.*

shall

shall be the least prospect of success. But which A.U. 697.
 ever way this point may finally be determined, }
 it will be agreeable to those wise and elevated sentiments you possess, to consider the true glory of your character, as resulting entirely from the dignity of your actions and the virtues of your heart. And should the perfidiousness of a certain party ~~deprive~~ deprive you of some of those honours, which fortune has conferred upon you; be assured, it will cast a much darker shade on their characters than on yours. In the meanwhile, your affairs are the constant subject of my thoughts: and I neglect no opportunity of acting in them for your best advantage. I concert all my measures for this purpose with Selicius: as indeed, I know not any one of your friends who has a greater share of good sense, or a more affectionate zeal for your service. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII.

To the Same *.

A.U. 697.

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

* This and the foregoing letter are blended together in the common editions: but they are here separated upon the authority of Manutius and Gronovius.

didate

didate for this office. It is my present hope ^{A.U. 697.} therefore, as well as endeavour, that the king may throw himself into your hands, when he shall find that he cannot, as he expected, be restored by Pompey; and that unless he is replaced upon his throne by your assistance, his affair will be entirely dropped. And this step he will undoubtedly take, if Pompey should give the least intimation of its being agreeable to him. But I need not tell you the difficulty of discovering the sentiments of a man of his reserve. However I shall omit no method in my power to effect this scheme; as I shall easily, I trust, be able to prevent the injurious designs of Cato.

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

* See remark 4. p. 69.

LETTER XIX.

To the Same.

A.U. 697. **Y**OU will receive a full account from Pollio, of all that has been transacted in your affair: as he was not only present, but a principal manager. Believe me, I am much concerned at the unfavourable aspect of this business. However it affords me a very sensible consolation, that there is strong reason to hope the prudence of your friends will be able to elude the force of those iniquitous schemes, which have been projected to your prejudice. Even time itself will probably contribute to this end: as it often wears out the malevolence of those who either professedly, or in a disguised manner, mean one ill. I am yet farther confirmed in these pleasing hopes, whenever I reflect upon the faction that was formerly raised against myself: of which I see a very lively image in the present opposition to you. In the latter instance indeed the attack is by no means so extensive or so dangerous as that which was made upon me; nevertheless there is in general a strong similitude between the two cases: and you must pardon me, if I cannot fear upon your account what

what you never thought reasonable to be apprehensive of on mine. But whatever may be the event, convince the world that you are influenced by those principles for which I have admired you from your earliest youth : and believe me, my friend, the malice of your enemies will only serve to render your character so much the more illustrious. In the mean time, do me the justice to hope from my affection whatever the warmest friendship can effect : and be assured, I shall not disappoint your expectations. Farewel.

A.U. 697.

LETTER XX.

TO LUCIUS LUCCEIUS¹.

I Have frequently had it in my intentions to talk with you upon the subject of this letter ; but a certain aukward modesty, has

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

A.U. 697. always restrained me from proposing in person, what I can with less scruple request at this distance: for a letter, you know, spares the confusion of a blush. I will own then, that I have a very strong, and, I trust, a very pardonable passion, of being celebrated in your writings: and though you have more than once given me assurance of your intending me that honour; yet I hope you will excuse my impatience of seeing your design executed. I had always, indeed, conceived an high expectation of your performances in this kind: but the specimen I have lately seen of them is so far superior to all I had figured in my imagination, that it has fired me with the most ardent desire of being immediately distinguished in your glorious annals. It is my ambition, I confess, not only to live for ever in the praises of future ages, but to have the present satisfaction, likewise, of seeing myself stand approved in the authoritative records of my ingenious friend. I am sensible at the same time, that your thoughts are already deeply engaged in the prosecution of your original design. But as I perceive you have almost completed your account of the Italian ~~reputation~~

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

rian

rian civil wars²; and remember you proposed to carry on the remainder of our history in a regular series; I cannot forbear recommending it to your consideration, whether it would be best to weave the relation of Catiline's conspiracy into the general texture of your performance, or cast it into a distinct work. It is certain, several of the Greek historians will justify you in this latter method. Thus Calisthenes wrote a narrative of the siege of Troy, as both Timæus and Polybius did of the Pyrrhic and Numantine wars, in so many detached pieces from their larger histories³. As to the honour that will arise to me, it will be

A.U.697.

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

³ Calisthenes lived in the times of Alexander the great, and attended that illustrious commander in his expedition much

A.U. 697. much the same, I must own, upon which ever scheme you may determine to proceed : but I shall receive so much the earlier gratification of my wishes, if, instead of waiting till you regularly advance to that period of our annals, you should enter upon it by this method of anticipation. Besides, by keeping your mind attentive to one principal scene and character, you will treat your subject, I am persuaded, so much the more in detail, as well as embellish it with higher graces. I must acknowledge it is not extremely modest, thus to impose a task upon you which your occupations may well justify you in refusing ; and then add a farther request, that you would honour my actions with your applause : an honour, after all, which you may not think, perhaps, they greatly deserve. However, when

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

a man

a man has once transgressed the bounds of decency, it is in vain to recede; and his wisest way is to push on boldly in the same confident course, to the end of his purpose. I will venture then, earnestly to intreat you, not to confine yourself to the strict laws of history, but to give a greater latitude to your encomiums, than, possibly, you may think my actions can claim. I remember, indeed, you declare in one of your very elegant prefaces, that you are as inflexible to all the pleas of affection, as Xenophon represents Hercules to have been to those of pleasure⁴. Let me hope, nevertheless, if friendship should too strongly recommend my actions to your approbation, you will not reject her generous partiality; but give somewhat more to affection, than rigorous truth, perhaps, can justly demand.


⁴ The story to which Cicero here alludes, is this. Hercules when he was yet a youth, as Prodicus relates the fable, retired into a place of undisturbed solitude in order to determine with himself what course of life he should pursue. Whilst he was in the midst of his contemplations, Pleasure and Virtue appeared to him under the figures of two beautiful women: and each accosted him in her turn. He heard their respective pleas with great attention: but Virtue gained her cause and entirely won the heart of the future hero. If the English reader is disposed to know this story in all its circumstances, he will find it wrought up into a very beautiful poem by the Rev. Mr. Lowth and inserted in *Polymetis*, p. 135.

A.U. 697. If I should prevail upon you to fall in with my proposal, you will find the subject, I persuade myself, not unworthy of your genius and your eloquence. The entire period from the rise of Catiline's conspiracy to my return from banishment, will furnish, I should imagine, a moderate volume. It will supply you likewise with a noble occasion of displaying your judgment in politics, by laying open the source of those civil disorders, and pointing out their proper remedies, as well as by giving your reasons for approving or condemning the several transactions which you relate. And should you be disposed to indulge your usual spirit of freedom, you will have an opportunity of pointing out at the same time, with all the severity of your indignation, the treachery and perfidiousness of those who laid their ungenerous snares for my destruction. I will add too, that this period of my life will furnish you with numberless incidents, which cannot but draw the reader's attention in a very agreeable manner: as nothing is more amusing to the mind than to contemplate the various vicissitudes of fortune. And though they were far, 'tis true, from being acceptable in experience, they cannot fail of giving me much entertainment in description: and there is an inexpressible satisfaction in reflecting

ing at one's ease, on distresses we have formerly A. U. 697.
suffered. There is something likewise in that compassion which arises from reading an account of the misfortunes which have attended others, that casts a most agreeable melancholy upon the mind. Who can peruse the relation of the last moments of Epaminondas at the battle of Mantinea, without finding himself touched with a pleasing commiseration? That glorious chief, you may remember, would not suffer the dart to be drawn out of his side, till he was informed that his shield was safe from the hands of his enemies: and all his concern amidst the anguish of his wound was, to die with glory⁵. What can be more interesting also than the account of the flight and death of Themistocles⁶! The truth of it is, a mere nar-

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

⁶ Themistocles after having distinguished himself among his countrymen the Athenians by his military virtues, particularly in the wars in which they were engaged with the Persians, had rendered himself so popular, that it was thought necessary to remove him. and accordingly he was obliged to withdraw from Athens. As the historians mention nothing of his return, Manutius proposes an emendation suggested to him by one of his friends, who imagined that instead of *reductu* it should be read *interit*.

A.U.697.  rative of general facts, affords little more entertainment to the reader, than he might find in perusing one of our public registers^a. Whereas in the history of any extraordinary person, our fear and hope, our joy and sorrow, our astonishment and expectation, are each of them engaged by turns. And if the final result of all should be concluded with some remarkable catastrophe, the mind of the reader is filled with the highest possible gratification. For these reasons I am the more desirous of persuading you to separate my story from the general thread of your narration, and work it up into a detached performance: as indeed it will exhibit a great variety of the most interesting and affecting scenes. *

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

^a These originally were books preserved in the pontifical college, wherein the several divisions of the Roman year were marked out as they were regulated by Numa, and the particular festivals noted upon which it was unlawful to transact any public affairs. These registers in the latter ages of the republic were much enlarged, and contained a sort of journal of the most memorable events both ~~political~~ and religious that happened in every year. *Liv. i. 19, 20. Diderot. sur les fastes par Coulure dans les Mem. de lit. de l'Academi de bel. let. t. 67.*

When

When I tell you it is my ambition to be celebrated by your pen, I am by no means apprehensive you will suspect me of flattery. The consciousness of your merit must always incline you to believe, it is envy alone that can be silent in your praise: as on the other side, you cannot imagine me so weak as to desire to be transmitted to posterity by any hand, which could not secure to itself the same glory it bestowed. When Alexander chose to have his picture drawn by Apelles⁷, and his statue formed by Lysippus⁸, it was not in order to ingratiate himself with those distinguished artists: it was from a firm persuasion that the works of these admired geniuses would do equal credit both to his reputation and their own. The utmost however, that their art could perform, was to perpetuate the persons only of their celebrated contemporaries: but merit needs not any such visible exhibitions to immortalize its fame. Accordingly the Spartan Agesilaus, who would never suffer any picture or statue of him to be taken⁹,

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

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

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

A.U. 697. is not less universally known, than those who have been most fond of having their persons copied out for posterity. The single treatise which Xenophon has written in praise of that renowned general, is more to his glory, than all the pictures and statues of all the artists in the universe. It would be a much higher satisfaction to me therefore, as it would be a far greater honour, to be recorded by your hand than that of any other; not only because your genius would raise and adorn my actions with the same advantage as Timæus¹ has displayed those of Timoleon², or Herodotus³ those of Themis-

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

¹ The works of Timæus are lost.

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

tooles;

toles⁴; but, because of the additional credit I shall receive from the applause of so illustrious, so experienced, and so approved a patriot. By this means I shall enjoy, not only the same glorious privilege which, as Alexander observed when he was at Sigeum, Achilles received from Homer⁵; but what is still more important, the powerful testimony of a man who is himself distinguished by the noblest and most uncommon virtues. Accordingly, I have been always wonderfully pleased with the sentiment which Nævius⁶ puts into the mouth of Hector,

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

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

⁴ See above, remark 6. p. 81.


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

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

A.U. 697. where that hero, speaking of the approbation he had received from his illustrious father, adds, that it gave him so much the more satisfaction, as coming from one who was himself the great object of universal applause. But should want of leisure, (for it would be an injustice to our friendship to suppose it can be want of inclination,) should your occupations then prevent your compliance with this my request; I may perhaps be obliged to take a method, which, tho' often condemned, is supported nevertheless, by several considerable examples: I mean, to be the historian of my own transactions. But you are sensible, there are two inconveniences which attend this scheme: for a man must necessarily be more reserved in setting forth those parts of his conduct which merit approbation; as he will be inclined entirely to pass over others which may deserve reproach. I must add likewise, that what a writer says to his own advantage, always carries with it a less degree of force and authority, than when it comes from any other pen. In a word, the world in general is little disposed to approve any attempt of this kind. On the contrary, one often hears the more modest method of the poets at the olympic games, recommended upon such occasions, who, after they have crowned the several victors, and
publicly

publicly called over their names, always employ A.U. 697.
 some other person to perform the same office to
 themselves, that they may not be the heralds of
 their own applause. This imputation therefore
 I would willingly avoid : as I certainly shall, if
 you should comply with my request, and take
 this employment out of my hands.


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

A.U.697.  the mean time, continue to polish the work you have begun, and to love me as usual? Farewel.

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

LETTER XXI.

QUINTUS METELLUS NEPOS⁸, to CICERO.


THOSE calumnies with which that most virulent, surely, of the human race⁹  is perpetually loading me in his public harangues, are well compensated by the satisfaction I receive from your obliging offices. When I consider indeed the worthless hand from whence these arrows take their flight, I look upon them with the contempt they deserve; and am very willing he should cease to act as

A.U.697.

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

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

a rela-

A.U. 697. a relation, since I have the pleasure to see you
 assume that character in his stead. To say the truth, notwithstanding I had formerly so much regard for him, as to have twice preserved him, even in spite of himself, I should now be glad to forget there is such a person in the world.

That I might not trouble you too frequently with my letters, I have written to Lollius concerning my affairs: who will let you know what measures I am desirous may be taken in regard * to the accounts of this province².—If it be possible, let me still enjoy a place in your affection. Farewel.

² Spain.

L E T T E R S

O F

Marcus Tullius Cicero

T O

Several of his FRIENDS.

B O O K II.

L E T T E R I.

TO QUINTUS ANCHARIUS [†], Proconsul.

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

A.U 698.

[†] Quintus Ancharius was tribune An. Urb. 694: when he distinguished himself by his resolute opposition to the factious measures of his colleague Vatinius. In the year 697 he was chosen prætor; and at the expiration of that

they

A.U. 698. they are in the number likewise of those with whom I most intimately converse. If ever then my recommendation had any weight with you, (and much, I am sensible, it ever had) let it prevail, I conjure you, in the present instance. And be assured, the honours with which you shall distinguish these my friends, will not only indissolubly unite to you two excellent and grateful young men, but at the same time confer a very singular obligation upon myself. Farewel.


LETTER II.

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS, Proconsul.

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

office, he succeeded Piso in the government of Macedonia: in which province this letter is addressed to him. *Orat. pro Sext. 53. in Pison. 36. Rojs remark on the epist. of Cic.*

you

you as often as possible. If you do not hear A.U. 698.
 from me as frequently as you wish; it is solely 
 because I dare not trust my letters to every
 conveyance. But whenever I shall be able to
 put them into hands, upon which I may safely
 rely; be assured I shall not suffer the opportu-
 nity to slip by me.

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

A.U.698. in your interests: as among those who were in the magistracy, Lucius Racilius¹ appeared very sincerely and affectionately to espouse your cause. But, excepting the two former, I cannot name any of the consulars, who discovered the least degree of friendship towards you, when your affair was before the senate. •As for my own endeavours; they might perhaps be generally considered as flowing rather from those singular favours I have received at your hands, than from the uninfluenced dictates of my real sentiments. With regard to Pompey, he seldom attended the house at that season: but I must do him the justice to say, he often takes an opportunity, without my previously leading him into the subject, of discoursing with me concerning your affair; as well as very willingly enters into the conversation, whenever I start it myself. Your last letter, I perceived, was extremely agreeable to him: and I could not but observe with equal admiration and pleasure, the polite and most judicious manner in which you addressed him. Before he received this letter, he seemed a little inclined to suspect, that the notion which some had entertained of his inclination to be your competitor, had alienated you from him. But you have now wholly fixed that excellent man in your interest: who in
truth,

truth, had all the antecedent reasons for being so, that an uninterrupted series of the highest services could possibly give him⁵. I must confess, he always appeared to me, even when the conduct of Caninius had raised the strongest suspicions of the contrary⁶, to favour your views: But I can now assure you, that I found him, after he had perused your letter, entirely disposed to promote whatever may contribute either to your interest, or your honours. You may consider then what I am going to offer, as his immediate sentiments and advice: as indeed it is the result of frequent consulta-

A.U. 698.

⁵ See remark 6. p. 56.


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

A.U.698. tions which we have held together. Accordingly we are of opinion that it may be proper for you to consider, whether any advantages may be derived from your being in possession of Cilicia and Cyprus. For if there should appear a sufficient probability of being able to make yourself master of Alexandria and Egypt, we think it equally for your own honour and that of the republic⁷, to march thither with your army, supported by your fleet; having first left the king at Ptolemais, or some other convenient place in that neighbourhood. By these

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

means

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


A.U.698.


^s See remark 5. p. 54. of this vol.

A.U.698. far this enterprize may be practicable, you, who are situated almost within view of Egypt, are the most competent judge. If therefore you are well satisfied of being able to render yourself master of that kingdom, we are clearly of opinion you should not delay your march one moment : but if you are doubtful of the success, it is our advice that you by no means make the attempt. This I will venture to assure you, that, should you execute this project in the manner we wish, there will be a very considerable party to give it applause, even during your absence : as all Rome will unite in the same approbation, the moment you shall return amongst us. Nevertheless I am persuaded, if this scheme should not take the desired effect, it may be attended with very disagreeable consequences to yourself ; not only upon account of that order of the senate which I just now mentioned, but likewise in regard to the oracle. When therefore, I recommend such measures as you shall have full assurance will terminate in your glory, I must at the same time strongly dissuade you from engaging in them, if you should have the least reason to apprehend an opposition. For (I repeat it again) the world will be determined in their opinion of this whole transaction, not as it is reasonable, but as it shall prove successful.

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

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

A.U.698  ragement². I will own to you, their malice has almost driven me from those principles which I have so long and so invariably pursued. At least if they have not provoked me so far as to make me forget the dignity of my character; they have taught me that it is high time I should act with a view likewise to my own security. I might, consistently with the strictest duties of patriotism, reconcile both these distinct ends, were there any honour or fortitude in those of consular rank. But such a meanness of spirit prevails in general among them, that, instead of applauding the resolution with which my actions have been ever uniformly directed in the cause of the commonwealth, they look with envy upon those dignities to which my public services have advanced me. I the rather mention this, as it is to you that I am principally indebted, not only for the happiness of being restored to my country, but almost for my very first successful steps in the paths of patriotism, and of glory.

² Cicero was at this time acting a part which gave great and just offence, to those who were in the true interest of their country; for he was falling in with the measures of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus. He endeavours therefore to palliate this unworthy conduct, as well as he can: but as he enters more fully into the motives of this step in the 17th letter of this book; the reader is referred to the observations upon that epistle.

I perceive this opposition does not proceed A.U.698.
 (as I formerly suspected) from my not be-
 ing of noble birth¹; since they were actuated,
 I have observed, by the same malignant spirit
 against yourself, who are confessedly descended
 from one of the first families in Rome. Ac-
 cordingly, tho' your enemies are contented to
 see you among those of principal rank in the re-
 public, they will by no means suffer you to soar
 higher. I rejoice that the parallel between us
 extends no farther: and tho' we have met with
 an equal degree of malice from the world, that
 the respective consequences however have proved
 extremely different. For a wide difference there
 surely is, between suffering some diminution in
 point of honours, and being abandoned to total
 ruin. If I have not greater reason to lament
 this cruel outrage of my adversaries, it must be
 attributed to your generous interposition: as it
 was by your means it proved, in the final event,
 of far more advantage to my reputation, than of
 prejudice to my fortunes. Suffer me then, from
 a principle of gratitude as well as affection, to
 exhort you, earnestly to pursue the dictates of

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

A.U.698. that well-regulated ambition, with which you were inflamed from your earliest youth: nor let any injurious treatment depress that heroism of your mind, which I have ever admired and valued. The world, believe me, entertains the highest opinion of your merit, and loudly proclaims that enlarged and generous spirit which distinguishes all your actions: and it particularly remembers, to your immortal honour, the patriotism of your illustrious consulship. You are sensible, therefore, how much the least additional glory, which shall accrue to you from your civil and military conduct in the government of your province, will encrease and strengthen this general lustre of your reputation. But let me express my wishes at the same time, in the first place, that you would not engage in any enterprize with your army, without having long and maturely examined it in all its consequences, nor without being sufficiently prepared to carry it into execution: and in the next, that you would be persuaded, of what I doubt not you are already sensible, that you will find it extremely easy to continue in the possession of that pre-eminence amongst your fellow-citizens, to which you have always aspired. That you may not imagine, however, I am offering the idle tribute of unnecessary advice, I must add,
that

that I could not reflect upon the treatment we have both received, without thinking it proper to exhort you well to consider for the future, on whom you repose your confidence. A.U.698.

As to your inquiry concerning the situation of public affairs; there are great divisions amongst us: but the zeal and prudence of the several parties are by no means equal. Those who enjoy the largest share of wealth and power², have gained a superiority of credit likewise by the folly and instability of their antagonists: for they have obtained from the senate, with very little opposition, what they had no hopes of receiving even from the people, without raising great disturbances. Accordingly the house has voted Cæsar a sum of money for the payment of his army, together with a power of nominating ten lieutenants: as they have also, without the least difficulty, dispensed with the Sempronian law for appointing him a successor³. I do but slightly touch upon these

² Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

³ These immoderate and fatal concessions to Cæsar's ambition, were absolutely unconstitutional, and most evidently tended to the subversion of the Republic. But if the reader is surprised at so mean and so impolitic a compliance on the part of the senate; how much higher will his wonder rise, when he is informed that Cicero himself was the chief adviser and promoter of these very measures which he here condemns? If this were a fact which stood upon the credit of historians; the passage before us would

A.U.698. particulars, as I cannot reflect on our affairs with any satisfaction. However I mention them as suggesting an useful caution to both of us, to preserve a proper poise between our interest and our honour, and not to advance one by an undue depression of the other. A maxim this, which I have learned, not so much from my favourite philosophy as from sad experience: and which I would recommend to you, ere you are taught it by the same unpleasing method of conviction.

Your congratulations on my daughter's marriage with Crassipes⁴, are agreeable to your usual politeness: I hope and believe this alliance will

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

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

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

yield

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

A:U.698.

LETTER III.


TO FABIVS GALLVS^a.

I Received your letter immediately upon my return from Arpinum, together with one likewise from Avianus^b, in which he very generously offers to give me credit as long as I shall require. Now let me desire you to imagine yourself in my situation, and then tell me, whether I can, with a good grace, ask him to allow me even the least time for the payment of this money, much less above a year? In-

^a The same person to whom the 11th letter of the foregoing book is written.

^b He seems to have been the proprietor of the statues mentioned below.

deed,

A.U.698.  deed, my dear friend, I should not have been in this difficulty, if you had not exceeded the limits of my commission, both in the particulars and the sum. However, I am not only willing to ratify the agreement you have made for the statues you mention, but am likewise much obliged to you. I am sensible indeed that in the zeal of your friendship, you have purchased for me what pleased your own eye, and what you imagined would be worthy of mine: and I always considered you as a man of the most judicious and elegant taste in every kind. Nevertheless, I shall be extremely glad if Damasippus^c should continue in the resolution, of taking these figures off my hands: for, to own the plain truth, I have no sort of inclination to them myself. As you were not apprized of my intentions, you have actually consented to pay more for these four or five pieces of sculpture^d, than I would have given for all the statues in the universe. You compare the images of the priestesses of Bacchus, to those of the Muses which I bought of Metellus. But surely, my

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


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

friend,

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

A.U.698

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

A.U.698.  statue of the God of war. It is well there was not a Saturn too: for how could I have expected to have been out of debt, whilst I had lived under the aspect of two such unlucky divinities^f? Mercury would have been a much more welcome guest: for I should have hoped by his influence, to have made a more advantageous bargain^g with Avianus. As to the figure designed for the support of a table, which you intended to reserve for your own use; you shall have it, if you still remain in the same mind: if not, I am ready to take it myself. Upon the whole, however, I had much rather have employed this money in the purchase of a little lodge at Tarracina^h, that I might not always trouble my friend and host. But this mistake is partly owing to the carelessness of my freedman, in not observing the instructions I gave him; and partly also to Junius: whom I suppose you know, as he is a particular friend of Avianus. As I have lately built some addi-

^f Alluding (as Manutius observes) to the notions of the judicial astrologers. who pretended that Mars and Saturn were unlucky planets.

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

^h It is now called *Terracina*: a town in the *campagna di Roma*. It lay in the road from Rome to Cicero's villa at *Formiæ*.

tional apartments to my little portico at Tusculanum¹, I was desirous of adorning them with a few pictures: for if I take pleasure in any thing of this kind, it is in paintings. However, if I must have these statues, let me know where they are, when they will arrive, and by what conveyance you purpose to send them. For if Damasippus should change his intentions of buying them, I shall find, perhaps, some pretender to his taste, who may be glad of the purchase: and I should be willing to part with them even at a loss.

A.U.694

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

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


Cassius :

A.U.698. Cassius : but I believe he is not upon very good terms with his sister. The answer which Licinia gave my daughter was, that her husband being gone into Spain, she durst not remove¹ in his absence and without his knowledge. I am greatly obliged to you for being so desirous of my company as to be impatient to get into a house where you may, not only be near me, but actually under the same roof. Be assured, I am no less desirous of having you for my neighbour : and as I am sensible how much it will contribute to our mutual satisfaction, I shall try every expedient for that purpose. If I should have any success, I will let you know : in the mean while, I beg you would return me a particular answer to this letter, and tell me at the same time when I may expect to see you. Farewel.

¹ This lady seems to have been the tenant of the house, which Gallus wanted either to buy or hire.

LETTER IV.

TO PUBLIUS LENTULUS: Proconsul.

MARCUS Plætorius will fully inform A.U.698.
 you of the promises we have received 
 from Pompey, together with every other circumstance that has been either attempted, or effected in your favour. He was not only present, but indeed a principal agent throughout the whole proceedings: and he acted in every article of your concerns, agreeably to what might be expected from a judicious, a vigilant, and an affectionate friend. To him likewise, I must refer you for an account of public affairs; not well knowing what to say of them myself. This much, however, I can assure you, that they are in the hands (and in the hands they are likely to remain) of our professed friends⁵. As for myself, both gratitude and prudence, together with your particular advice, have determined me, as they ought, to join in *his*⁶ interest, whom you were formerly desirous of associating with you in mine. You are sensible nevertheless, how difficult it is to renounce our old and

⁵ Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.⁶ Pompey.

habitual


A.U.698. habitual notions of politics: especially under a full persuasion of their rectitude. However I conform myself to his system, since I cannot with any decency oppose him: and whatever some may perhaps imagine, I am by no means acting in this a counterfeit part. The truth of it is, Pompey has gained such an absolute possession of my esteem, that I begin to look upon every thing as just and reasonable, which falls in with his interest or inclination⁷. I should think too it would be no imprudent resolution even in his adversaries themselves, to desist from an opposition to which they are evidently unequal. In the mean time, I have the satisfaction to find the world in general agreed, that my character requires I should support, or at least not obstruct, the measures of Pompey: while some are even of opinion I may reasonably retire from all public business, to my favourite pursuits of a literary kind. And indeed were I not prevented by my friendship to Pompey; I should most certainly adopt this latter scheme, as of all others the most suitable to my inclinations. For I can now no longer maintain that dignity in the senate, and that freedom in the commonwealth, which, was the

⁷ See remark 17th, p. 171. of this vol.

single motive of my ambition, and the sole end I proposed to myself in all my labours: a misfortune, however, which is not peculiar to myself, but extends to every Roman in general. In a word, I am under the sad necessity either of tamely submitting to the sentiments of those few who lead the republic, or of imprudently joining in a weak and fruitless opposition¹. I the rather mention this, that you may deliberate, before your return amongst us, what part it may be advisable for you to act in the present conjuncture. To speak freely; the measures both of those of Senatorian and Equestrian rank, and indeed the whole system of the commonwealth in general, are totally changed. All therefore that I have now to wish, is the preservation of the public tranquil-

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¹ A determined patriot could not have been reduced to the alternative which Cicero here mentions. as there was a third expedient which every man of strict political integrity, who dared to act up to his principles, would undoubtedly have embraced. "An honest physician (says Sir William Temple) is excused for leaving his patient, when he finds the disease growing desperate, and can by his attendance expect only to receive his own fees, without any hopes or appearance of deserving them." Our author in one of his orations mentions it to the immortal honour of the celebrated Metellus, that *de Civitate decedere quam de sententia maluit*: and he who is actuated by the same sublime patriotism, will never find himself under the poor necessity of justifying wrong measures by the impossibility of enforcing right ones. See remark 30. p. 181. of this vol.

A.U.698.  lity : which those who are in the administration seem to give us a prospect of enjoying, if a certain party could be prevailed upon to submit with less impatience to their power. As to any hopes of supporting in the senate that true consular character of a firm and inflexible patriot ; it is in vain now to expect it : every mean for that purpose is totally lost, by the mistaken conduct of those who disoblige Pompey⁸, and dissolved that strong union which subsisted between the senate and the Equestrian order⁹.

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

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


But

But to return to what more immediately re- A.U.698.
lates to your own private affairs ;—Pompēy is {
extremely your friend : and by all that I can
observe, you may obtain any thing you shall
desire during his consulship¹. At least I shall
solicit him very strenuously for that purpose :
and you may rely upon my most active offices in
every instance where you are concerned. I am
well persuaded my assiduity upon this occasion
will not be disagreeable to him : on the contrary
he will receive it with pleasure, were it for no
other reason than as affording him a proof of
my grateful disposition. In the mean time, I
intreat you to believe, that whatever bears the
least connection with your interests, is of more
importance to me than my own. From these
sentiments it is, that I despair not only of being
able to return, but even sufficiently to acknow-
ledge, the infinite obligations I owe you : tho'
at the same time I am conscious of having ex-
erted, upon all occasions, the most unwearied
endeavours in your service.

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

even than he had before acquired by means of the peo-
ple ; as it gained over a much more important order to
his party. *Ad Att.* ii. 1. *Suet. in Jul. Cæs.* 20. *Ap. R.*
C. ii.

¹ Pompey and Crassus were at this time consuls.

A.U. 698.  exprefs with the confirmation of this agreeable news. I have already talked with Pompey upon this fubject : and as foon as your courier arrives, I fhall employ my utmoft diligence in convening the fenate. In fine, were I to perform much more for your intereft than lies within the compafs of my prefent power, I fhould ftill think I had fallen far fhort of what you have a right to expect. Farewel.

LETTER V.

TO MARCUS MARIUS².

IF your general valetudinary difpofition, prevented you from being a fpectator of our late public entertainments³; it is more to fortune than to philofophy that I am to impute your abfence. But if you declined our party for no other rea-

² The perfon to whom this letter is addreffed, feems to have been of a temper and conftitution, that placed him far below the ambition of being known to pofterity. But a private letter from Cicero's hands, has been fufficient to difpel the obfcurity he appears to have loved, and to render his retirement conspicuous.

³ They were exhibited by Pompey at the opening of his theatre one of the moft magnificent ftructures of ancient Rome, and fo extenfive as to contain no lefs than 80,000 fpectators. It was built after the model of one which he faw at Mitylene, in his return from the Mithridatic war; and adorned with the nobleft ornaments of ftatuary and painting. Some remain of this immense building ftill fubfift. *Lib. xxxix. Plin. H. N. vii. 3. Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

son than as holding in just contempt what the A.U.698.
 generality of the world so absurdly admire, I
 must at once congratulate you both on your
 health and your judgment. I say this upon a
 supposition however, that you were enjoying the
 philosophical advantages of that delightful scene,
 in which, I imagine, you were almost wholly de-
 serted. At the same time that your neighbours,
 probably, were nodding over the dull humour of
 our trite farces; my friend, I dare say, was in-
 dulging his morning meditations in that elegant
 apartment, from whence you have opened a
 prospect to Sejanum, thro' the Stabian hills*.

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

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

YOUNG.

A.U.698. And whilst you were employing the rest of the day in those various polite amusements, which you have the happy privilege to plan out for yourself; we, alas, had the mortification of tamely enduring those dramatical representations, to which Mærius^s, it seems, our professed critic, had given his infallible sanction! but as you will have the curiosity, perhaps, to require a more particular account; I must tell you, that tho' our entertainments were extremely mag-

^s This person is supposed by the commentators, to be the same to whose judgment Horace advises the Pisos to refer their poetical compositions:

— *S; quid tamen olim*
Scripteris, in Mæti descendat iudicis aures. Art. poet. 386.

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

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

nificent

nificent indeed, yet they were by no means such A.U. 698.
 as you would have relished: at least if I may
 judge of your taste by my own. Some of those
 actors who had formerly distinguished them-
 selves with great applause, but had long since
 retired, I imagined, in order to preserve the re-
 putation they had raised; were now again intro-
 duced upon the stage: as in honour, it seems,
 of the festival. Among these was my old friend
 Æsopus⁶: but so different from what we once


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

A.U.698. knew him, that the whole audience agreed he ought to be excused from acting any more. For when he was pronouncing the celebrated oath,

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

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

Sext. 56. Plut. in vit. Cicer. Macrob. Saturn. ii. 10. Hor. sat. ii. 3. ver. 239. Plin. H. N. x. 51.

gar eyes; but undoubtedly would have had no A.U.698, charm in yours. In plain truth, my friend,  you would have received more amusement from the dullest piece that Protogenes could possibly have read to you⁷, (my own orations however let me always except) than we met with at these ridiculous shews. I am well persuaded at least, you could not regret the loss of our Oscan and Grecian farces⁸. Your own noble senate will always furnish you with drollery sufficient of the former kind⁹: and as to the latter, I know you have such an utter aversion to every thing that bears the name of Greek, that you will

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

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

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

A.U. 698. not even travel the Grecian road to your villa¹.
 As I remember you once despised our formidable gladiators², I cannot suppose you would

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

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

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

have looked with less contempt on our athletic* performers: and indeed Pompey himself acknowledged, that they did not answer the pains and expence they had cost him. The remainder of our diversions consisted in combats of wild beasts³, which were exhibited every morning

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

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

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

and

A.U.698. and afternoon during five day successively; and it must be owned, they were magnificent. Yet after all, what entertainment can possibly arise to an elegant and humanized mind, from seeing a noble beast struck to the heart by its merciless hunter, or one of our own weak species cruelly mangled, by an animal of much superiour strength? But were there any thing really worth observing in spectacles of this savage kind; they are spectacles extremely familiar to you: and those I am speaking of, had not any peculiar novelty to recommend them. The last day's sport was composed entirely of elephants: which, tho' they made the common people stare indeed, did not seem however to afford them any great satisfaction. On the contrary, the terrible slaughter of these poor animals, created a general commiseration: as it is a prevailing notion, that these creatures in some degree participate of our rational faculties⁴.

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

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

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

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

A.U.698. living hereafter according to my own taste and sentiments: as I highly both approve, and applaud that retired scene of life which you have so judiciously chosen. I am sensible at the same time, that this is the reason you so seldom visit Rome. However I the less regret that you do not see it oftener, as the numberless unpleasing occupations in which I am engaged, would prevent me from enjoying the entertainment of your conversation, or giving you that of mine: if mine, indeed, can afford you any. But if ever I should be so fortunate as to disentangle myself, in some degree at least, (for I am contented not to be wholly released) from these perplexing embarrassments; I will undertake to shew even my elegant friends, wherein the truest refinements of life consist. In the mean while, continue to take care of your health, that you may be able, when that happy time shall arrive, to accompany me in my litter to my several villas.

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

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

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LETTER VI.

TO QUINTUS PHILIPPUS: proconsul^a.

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


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

sess :

A.U.698.  sels: and be assured you cannot shew me a more agreeable instance of your friendship. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

TO MARCUS LICINIUS CRASSUS⁶.

A.U.699.  I Am persuaded that all your friends have informed you, of the zeal with which I lately both defended and promoted your dignities⁷:

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


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

as indeed it was too warm and too conspicuous A U 699.
 to have been passed over in silence. The opposition I met with from the consuls⁸, as well as from several others of consular rank, was the strongest I ever encountered: and you must now look upon me as your declared advocate upon all occasions, where your glory is concerned. Thus have I abundantly compensated for the intermission of those good offices, which the friendship between us had long given you a right to claim; but which, by a variety of accidents, have lately been somewhat interrupted. There never was a time, believe me, when I wanted an inclination to cultivate your esteem, or promote your interest. Though, it must be owned, a certain set of men, who are the bane of all amicable intercourse, and who envied us the mutual honour that resulted from ours, have upon some occasions been so unhappily successful as to create a coolness between us⁹. It has

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

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

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

A.U. 699.  happened however, (what I rather wished than expected) that I have found an opportunity, even when your affairs were in the most prosperous train, of giving a public testimony by my services to you, that I always most sincerely preserved the remembrance of our former amity. The truth is, I have approved myself your friend, not only to the full conviction of your family in particular, but of all Rome in general. In consequence of which, that most valuable of women, your excellent wife¹, together

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

¹ This lady's name was Tertulla. and if Suetonius may be credited, she was better acquainted with some of Cæsar's talents than was altogether consistent with her being (what
with

with those illustrious models of virtue and filial piety, your two amiable sons, have perpetual recourse to my assistance and advice: and the whole world is sensible, that no one is more zealously disposed to serve you than myself. A.U 699.

Your family-correspondents have informed you, I imagine, of what has hitherto passed in your affair, as well as of what is at present in agitation. As for myself, I intreat you to do me the justice to believe, that it was not any sudden start of inclination, which disposed me to embrace this opportunity of vindicating your honour: on the contrary, it was my ambition from the first moment I entered the Forum, to be ranked in the number of your friends². I have the satisfaction to reflect, that I have never, from that time to this hour, failed in the highest sentiments of esteem for you: and I doubt not you have always retained the same affectionate regard towards me. If the effects of ~~this~~ mutual disposition have been interrupted by any little suspicions, (for suspicions only, I am sure, they were) be the remembrance

¹ Cicero here calls her) *the most valuable of all women.* Suet. in J. Cæsar. 50.

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

A.U. 699. of them for ever blotted out of our hearts. I am persuaded indeed from those virtues which form *your* character, and from those which I am desirous should distinguish *mine*, that our friendly union in the present conjuncture, cannot but be attended with equal honour to us both. What instances you may be willing to give me of your esteem, must be left to your own determination: but they will be such, I flatter myself, as may tend most to advance my dignities. For my own part, I faithfully promise the utmost exertion of my best services, in every article wherein I can contribute to increase yours. Many, I know, will be my rivals in these amicable offices: but it is a contention in which all the world, I question not, and particularly your two sons, will acknowledge my superiority. Be assured, I love them both in a very uncommon degree; tho' I will own, that Publius³ is my favourite. From his infancy

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

indeed,

indeed, he discovered a singular regard to me: as he particularly distinguishes me at this time with all the marks even of filial respect and affection. A.U 699.

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

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

AU.699 any request to me for this purpose, either by yourself or your family, will meet with a most punctual observance? I hope therefore you will not scruple to employ me in all your concerns, of what nature or importance soever, as one who is most faithfully your friend: and that you will direct your family to apply to me in all their affairs of every kind, whether relating to you or to themselves, to their friends or their dependents. And be assured, I shall spare no pains to render your absence as little uneasy to them as possible. Farewel.

LETTER VIII.

TO JULIUS CÆSAR

I Am going to give you an instance how much I rely upon your affectionate services, not only towards myself, but in favour also of my friends. It was my intention, if I had gone abroad in any foreign employment, that Trebatius⁶ should have accompanied me: and he would not have returned without receiving the highest and most advantageous honours I

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

⁶ See an account of him in the following letter.

should

should have been able to have conferred upon him. But as Pompey, I find, defers setting out upon his commission longer than I imagined⁷; and I am apprehensive likewise that the doubts you know I entertain in regard to my attending him, may possibly prevent, as they will certainly at least delay, my journey; I take the liberty to refer Trebatius to *your* good offices, for those benefits he expected to have received from mine. I have ventured indeed to promise, that he will find you full as well-disposed to advance his interest, as I have always assured him he would find me: and a very extraordinary circumstance occurred, which seemed to confirm this opinion I entertained of your generosity. For in the very instant I was talking with Balbus upon this subject, your letter was delivered to me: in the close of which you pleasantly tell me, that “in compliance with ~~my~~ request, you will make Orsius king of Gaul, or assign him over to Lepta, and ad-

A.U.699.

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

A.U.699. “ vance any other person whom I should be inclined to recommend.” This had so remarkable a coincidence with our discourse, that it struck both Balbus and myself, as a sort of a happy omen that had something in it more than accidental *. As it was my intention, therefore, before I received your letter, to have transmitted Trebatius to you; so I now consign him to your patronage as upon your own invitation. Receive him then, my dear Cæsar, with your usual generosity; and distinguish him with every honour that my solicitations can


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

induce

induce you to confer. I do not recommend A.U. 699.
 him in the manner you so justly rallied, when
 I wrote to you in favour of Orfius: but I will
 take upon me to assure you, in true Roman
 sincerity, that there lives not a man of greater
 modesty and merit. I must not forget to men-
 tion also (what indeed is his distinguishing
 qualification) that he is eminently skilled in
 the laws of his country², and happy in an
 uncommon strength of memory. I will not
 point out any particular piece of preferment,
 which I wish you to bestow upon him: I
 will only in general intreat you to admit him
 into a share of your friendship. Neverthe-
 less, if you should think proper to distinguish
 him with the tribunate or præfecture³, or any
 other little honours of that nature; I shall have

² The profession of the law was held among the Romans, as it is with us, in great esteem but this body of men seem in general to have acted rather in the nature of our *counsellors*, than as advocates at the bar. The latter was properly the province of those whom they called their *orators* and for which every man of good sense, a ready utterance, and a general knowledge of the constitutions of his country, was thought qualified. *Cic. de off. u* 19. *de Orat.* 55, &c.

³ The military tribunes were next in rank to the lieutenants or commanders in chief under the general; as the *præfectus legionis* was the most honourable post in the Roman armies after that of the military tribune. The business of the former was, among other articles, to decide all controversies that arose among the soldiers; and that of the latter was to carry the chief standard of the Legion.

A.U.699.  no manner of objection. In good earnest, I intirely resign him out of my hands into yours, which never were lifted up in battle, or pledged, in friendship, without effect.—But I fear I have pressed you farther upon this occasion than was necessary: however I know you will excuse my warmth in the cause of a friend. Take care of your health, and continue to love me. Farewel.

L E T T E R IX.

T O T R E B A T I U S ².

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

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

check this idle passion for the elegancies of Rome, and resolutely persevere in the purpose of your journey, till your merit and assiduity shall have obtained the desired effect. In the mean time, your friends here will excuse your absence, no less than the ladies of Corinth did that of Medea in the play³, when she artfully persuades them not to impute it to her as a crime, that she had forsaken her country: For, as she tells them,

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

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

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

A.U. 699. from the British charioteers⁴. And since I have been *playing* the Medea, let me make my exit with the following lines of the same tragedy, which are well worth your constant remembrance :

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

Farewel.

LETTER X.

To the Same.

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

I am informed there is neither gold nor silver in all Britain⁵. If that should be the case, I

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

⁵ A notion had prevailed among the Romans, that Britain abounded in gold and silver mines and this report, it is

would

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

A.U. 699.

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

commendation

A.U. 699. commendation. You have every favourable circumstance indeed for your advancement, that can be wished. On the one hand, you are in the prime and vigour of your years; as on the other, you are serving under a commander distinguished for the generosity of his disposition, and to whom you have been recommended in the strongest terms. In a word, there is not the least fear of your success, if your own concurrence be not wanting. Farewel.

LETTER XI.

To the Same.

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

as you might have been excused, it seems, A.U. 699.
from the functions of that post. If you con-
tinue to act thus indiscreetly, I shall certainly
exhibit an *information* against you to your friends
Vacerra and Manilius. I dare not venture
however, to *lay the case* before Cornelius: for
as you profess to have learned all your wisdom
from his instructions; to arraign the pupil of
imprudence, would be a tacit reflection, you
know, upon the tutor. But in good earnest,
I conjure you not to lose the fairest opportunity
of making your fortune, that probably will ever
fall again in your way.

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

LETTER XII.

To the Same.

A.U. 699. **I** Have made your acknowledgments to my brother, in pursuance of your request: and am glad to have an occasion of applauding you for being fixed at last in some settled resolution. The style of your former letters, I will own, gave me a good deal of uneasiness. And allow me to say, that in some of them you discovered an impatience to return to the polite refinements of Rome, which had the appearance of much levity: that in some I regretted your indolence, and in others, your timidity. They frequently likewise gave me occasion to think, that you were not altogether so reasonable in your expectations, as is agreeable to your usual modesty. One would have imagined, indeed, you had carried a bill of exchange upon *Jesus*, instead of a letter of recommendation: for you seemed to think you had nothing more to do than to receive your money and hasten home again. But money, my friend, is not so easily acquired: and I could name some of our acquaintance who have been obliged to travel as far as Alexandria in pursuit of it, without having yet been able to obtain

obtain even their just demands⁶. If my inclinations were governed solely by my interest, I should certainly choose to have you here: as nothing affords me more pleasure than your company, or more advantage than your advice and assistance. But as you sought my friendship and patronage from your earliest youth; I always thought it incumbent upon me to act with a disinterested view to your welfare: and not only to give you my protection, but to advance, by every means in my power, both your fortunes and your dignities. In consequence of which I dare say you have not forgotten those unsolicited offers I made you, when I had thoughts of being employed abroad⁷. I no sooner gave up my intentions of this kind, and perceived that Cæsar treated me with great distinction and friendship, than I recommended you in the strongest and warmest terms to his favour; perfectly well knowing the singular probity and benevolence of his heart. Accordingly he shewed, not only by his letters to me, but by his conduct towards you, the great regard he paid to my recommendation. If you have

A U. 699.

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


⁷ See rem. 7. p. 135. of this vol.

A.U.699. any opinion therefore of my judgment, or imagine that I sincerely wish you well; let me persuade you to continue with him. And notwithstanding you should meet with some things to disgust you; as business, perhaps, or other obstructions may render him less expeditious in gratifying your views than you had reason to expect; still however persevere: and trust me, you will find it prove in the end both for your interest and your honour. To exhort you any farther, might look like impertinence: let me only remind you, that if you lose this opportunity of improving your fortunes, you will never meet again with so generous a patron, so rich a province, or so convenient a season for this purpose. And (to express myself in the style of you lawyers) Cornelius has *given his opinion* to the same effect.

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

LETTER XIII.

To the Same.

IT is a considerable time since I have heard A.U. 699.
any thing from you. As for myself, if I 
have not written these three months, it was
because, after you were separated from my brother,
I neither knew where to address my letters,
nor by what hand to convey them. I much wish
to be informed how your affairs go on, and in
what part of the world your winter-quarters
are likely to be fixed. I should be glad they
might be with Cæsar: but, as I would not
venture in his present affliction * to trouble
him with a letter, I have written upon that
subject to Balbus. In the mean while, let
me intreat you not to be wanting to yourself:

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

A.U. 699. and for my own part, I am contented to give up so much more of your company, provided the longer you stay abroad the richer you should return. There is nothing, I think, particularly to hasten you home, now that Vacerra⁹ is dead. However you are the best judge : and I should be glad to know what you have determined.

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

LETTER XIV.

TO MUNATIUS⁹.

LUCIUS Livineius Turrillanus is the freed-man of my very intimate friend Regulus : And tho' the misfortunes of the latter cannot raise him higher in my affection, they have

⁹ The person to whom this letter is addressed, is unknown ; as is the precise time likewise when it was written : It seems probable however, not to have been very long after Cicero's return from banishment. For by the expression, *his nostris temporibus*, he undoubtedly alludes (as Mr. Ross observes) to the misfortunes which were brought upon him by Clodius.

however


however rendered me more assiduous to testify A U. 699.
 it in every instance wherein he is the least concerned. But I have still a farther reason to interest myself in behalf of his freed-man: as I experienced his services at a season, when I had the best opportunity of proving the sincerity of my friends. I recommend him therefore to your protection with all the warmth of the most sensible gratitude: and I shall be extremely obliged to you for shewing him, that you place to your own account, those many dangerous winter voyages he formerly undertook upon mine. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

TO TREBATIUS.

I Perceive by your letter, that my friend Cæsar looks upon you as a most wonderful lawyer. ~~Are you not~~ Are you not happy in being thus placed in a country, where you make so considerable a figure upon so small a stock? But

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

A.U. 699.  with how much greater advantage would your noble talents have appeared, had you gone into Britain? Undoubtedly there would not have been so profound a sage in the law, throughout all that extensive island.

Since your epistle has provoked me to be thus jocular, I will proceed in the same strain, and tell you there was one part of it I could not read without some envy. And how indeed could it be otherwise, when I found, that, whilst much greater men were in vain attempting to get admittance to Cæsar, you were singled out from the croud and even summoned to an audience¹? But after giving me an account of affairs which concern others; why were you silent as to your own? Assured as you are that

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

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

I inte-

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

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

2 In the original it is, *studiosissimus homo natus*, the ambiguity of which could not have been preserved in a more literal translation. The art of swimming was among the number of polite exercises in antient Rome, and esteemed a necessary qualification for every gentleman. Thus we find Cato the elder, himself instructing his son in this accomplishment : as Augustus likewise performed the same office in the education of his two grandsons, Caius and

A.U. 699. would not venture, I find, to *cross* it with Cæsar : and tho' nothing could keep you from the

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

We can both.

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

Monsieur Dacier observes, that this passage of Cicero discovers the justness of those verses in Horace, where Trebatius is represented as advising the Roman satyrist to swim cross the Tyber, as an excellent remedy against his poetical propensity; since like other physicians, he prescribed a regimen, it seems, most agreeable to his own taste and practice. *Plut. in vit. Cato. Censor. Suet. in vit. Augusti* 64. *Veget. de re milit. i. 10. Dacier rem. sur la Sat. 1. du liv. ii. d'Hor.*


combats

combats ⁴ in Rome ; you were much too wise, I perceive, to attend them in Britain ⁵. A.U. 699.

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

⁴ Alluding to his fondness of the gladiatorial games.

⁵ See remark 5. p. 134. of this vol.

A.U. 699.  the whole nation of Gaul can produce. I intreat you therefore to send me an immediate account in what posture your affairs stand: and be assured, as honest Chremes says to his neighbour in the play ⁶,

*Whatever cares thy lab'ring bosom grieve,
My tongue shall soothe them, or my hand relieve.*
Farewel.

LETTER XVI.

To the Same.

YOU remember the character given of the Phrygians in the play ⁷; “that their wisdom ever came too late:” but you are resolved, my dear cautious old gentleman ⁸, that no imputation of this kind shall be fixed upon you. Thank Heaven indeed, you wisely subdued the romantic spirit of your first letters; as you were not so obstinately bent upon new ad-

⁶ In Terence's play called the *Self-tutor*.

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

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

ventures as to hazard a voyage for that purpose into Britain: and who, in troth, can blame you? A.U. 699.
It is the same disposition, I imagine, that has immoveably fixed you in your winter-quarters: and certainly there is nothing like acting with circumspection upon all occasions. Take my word for it, Prudence is the safest shield.

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

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

^a See the conclusion of let. xiii. p. 148. of this vol.

AU. 699. I find by those who come from your part of the world that you are grown wonderfully *reserved*: for they tell me, you answer no *queries*°. However, it is on all hands a *settled point*, (and you have reason, certainly, to congratulate yourself upon it) that you are the most profound sage in the law throughout the whole city of Samarobriva¹⁰. Farewel.

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

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

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

LETTER XVII.

TO LENTULUS.

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

A.U. 699.

AU. 699. ment. Suffer me then to add, previously to the information you request me to give you of my political sentiments and situation, that if fortune had not thus divided us, I should have enjoyed in you a wife and faithful guide; as you would have found in me, a kind, a friendly, and, perhaps, no unexperienced associate. However, I rejoice (as undoubtedly I ought) at the honourable occasion of your absence, and in which your military conduct and success has procured you the illustrious title of *Imperator*¹. Nevertheless, I must repeat it again, it is owing to this circumstance, that you have not received far more abundant and efficacious fruits of that friendship, to which you have so undisputed a claim. In particular, I should most strenuously have united with you in taking just vengeance on those whose ill offices you have experienced, partly in resentment of your having supported and protected me in my adversity, and partly as they envy you the glory of so generous an action. One of them, however, has sufficiently anticipated our revenge, and drawn down by his own hands the chastisement he merits from ours. The person I meant

¹ History is altogether silent as to the occasion upon which Lentulus was saluted by his army with this title.

is that man who has ever distinguished himself by opposing his benefactors, and who, after having received from you the highest services, singled you out as the object of his impotent malice. This man, in consequence of being detected in his late infamous attempts, has entirely and irretrievably lost at once both his honour and his liberty². As to yourself, tho' I had much rather you should gain experience by my misfortunes than your own; yet it affords me some consolation under your present disappointment³, that you have not paid so severe a fine as I did, for being taught the little dependence there is upon the professions of the world. A reflection this, which may very properly serve as an introduction to the account you require of the motives of my late transactions.

A.U. 699.

You are informed then, it seems, that I am reconciled with Cæsar and Appius⁴: a step, you assure me which you do not disapprove.

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

³ In not obtaining the commission to replace Ptolemy on his throne.

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

But

A.U. 699. But you are at a loss to guess what reasons could induce me to appear at the trial of Vatinius, not only as an advocate, but as a witness in his favour^s. To set this matter in the clearest light, it will be necessary to trace back the motives of my conduct to their original source. Let me observe then, my Lentulus, that when I was recalled from exile by your generous offices, I considered myself as restored, not only to my friends and to my family, but to the commonwealth in general. And as you had a right to the best returns of my affection and gratitude

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

for

for the distinguished part you acted in that affair; so I thought there was something more than ordinary due from me to my country, which had so singularly co-operated with you upon this occasion. I often took an opportunity, during your consulate, of publicly declaring these my sentiments in the senate: as I always, you well know, expressed myself to the same purpose in our private conversations. Nevertheless, I had many reasons at that time to be highly disgusted. I could not, in truth, but observe the disguised malice of some and the coolness of others, when you were endeavouring to procure a decree for restoring the inscription of that honourable monument of my public services, which had been erected by the senate⁶. But it was not only in this instance that those who had many obligations to concur in your good offices towards me, acted a part I had little reason to expect. They looked indeed with much ungenerous indifference on the

A.U. 699.

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


A.U.699. cruel outrage which was offered to my brother and myself under our own roof⁷: and the estimate they made in pursuance of the senate's order, of the damages I had sustained by these acts of violence, was far unequal to my real loss⁸. This last article of their injustice, tho' least indeed in my concern, I could not but very sensibly feel amidst the general wreck of my fortunes. But

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

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

tho^{*}

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

A.U. 696


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

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

A.U.699. occasion (and asserted too in the hearing of Pompey) that the same persons who confined Bibulus to his house, had driven me from mine. Indeed the whole series of those interrogatories " which I put to Vatinius at this trial, was entirely designed as an invective against his tribunate : and I particularly exposed with much freedom and indignation, his contempt of the Auspices, his corrupt disposal of foreign kingdoms " , together with the rest of his

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

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

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

violent

violent and illegal proceedings. But it was ^{A.U. 699.} not only upon this occasion that I spoke thus unreservedly: I frequently avowed my sentiments with the same resolute spirit in the senate. Thus when Marcellinus and Philip-
pus were * consuls, I carried a motion that the affair of the Campanian lands ¹³ should be referred to the re-consideration of a full house ¹⁴, on the 15th of May following. Now tell me,

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

* They were consuls A. U. 697.

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

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

A.U. 699. my friend, could I possibly have made a bolder or more formidable attack upon this party? could I possibly have given a more convincing evidence, that I had not departed from my old principles, notwithstanding all I had formerly suffered for their sake? The truth of it is, this motion greatly exasperated, not only those whom it was reasonable to expect it would offend, but others upon whom I did not imagine it would have had any such effect. Pompey, soon after this decree had passed, set forward upon his expedition into Sardinia and Africa^a, without giving me the least intimation of his being disgusted. In his way thither he had a conference with Cæsar at Luca^b, who made great

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

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

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

A.U. 699

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

^c A city in Cisalpine Gaul, still subsisting under the same name, in the Pope's dominions.

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

A.U. 699. assurances, he said, my brother had given him of the measures I would pursue with respect to that article. He added, that my brother himself was a witness that the steps he had formerly taken for procuring my recall, were with the full consent and approbation of Cæsar. Upon the whole therefore, he intreated him, if it were either not in my power or my inclination to support the interest and dignity of the latter, that he would at least prevail with me not to oppose them. The account which my brother gave me of this conversation, together with a message I had before received from Pompey by Vibullius, to request that I would not proceed any farther in the affair of the Campanian lands till his return, threw me into a very serious train of reflections. I could not but think, after having performed and suffered so much for my country, that I might now at least be permitted to consider what was due to gratitude and to the honour of my brother: and as I had ever conducted myself with integrity towards the public; I might be allowed, I hoped, to act the same honest part in my more private connections¹⁵.

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

During

During the time I was engaged in these votes A.U. 69
 and other proceedings with which Pompey ap-
 peared thus dissatisfied, I was informed of what
 passed in the conversations of a set of men,
 whom you will now guess without my naming.
 This party, tho' they approved of my public
 measures, as being agreeable to what had ever
 been their professed sentiments; were yet so un-
 generous as to express great satisfaction in be-
 lieving, that my conduct would by no means
 oblige Pompey, at the same time that it would
 highly exasperate Cæsar. Well might I resent,

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


indeed,

~~A~~U. 699. indeed, so injurious a treatment; but much more when I saw them, even before my face, maliciously encouraging and caressing my avowed enemy¹⁶;—mine do I call him? Rather let me say an enemy to the laws and tranquillity of his country, and to every character of worth and virtue amongst us.

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

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

¹⁶ Clodius.

friendship and gratitude. But when a man of A.U. 699.
 Pompey's distinguished character presides over 
 the republic; a man who has acquired that
 eminence of power and honour by the most he-
 roic actions, and the most signal services; I
 could not imagine it would be imputed to me
 as a levity of disposition, if in some few in-
 stances I declined a little from my general max-
 ims, and complied with his inclinations¹⁷. But
 my justification, I thought, would still rise in
 strength, when it should be remembered
 that I favoured his credit and dignity even from
 the earliest part of my life; as I particularly
 promoted them in my prætorship and consu-
 late: when it should be remembered, that he
 not only assisted me with his vote and his influ-
 ence in the senate during my adversity, but

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

A.U.699. joined his counsels and his efforts with yours, for the same generous purpose: in a word, when it should be remembered, that he has no other enemy in the whole commonwealth, except the man who is my professed adversary¹⁸. In consequence of these sentiments, it was absolutely necessary for me, you see, to unite with Cæsar, as one who was joined in the same views and the same interest. His friendship likewise which, you are sensible, my brother and I have long shared, together with his humane and generous disposition which I have abundantly experienced both by his late letters and his good offices towards me, contributed greatly to confirm me in these resolutions. To which I must add, that the commonwealth in general seemed to be most strongly averse from giving any opposition to these extraordinary men: more especially after Cæsar had performed such great and glorious exploits for the honour of his country. But what had still a farther, and very powerful weight in my deliberations, was Pompey's having engaged his word for me to Cæsar, as my brother had given the same assurances to Pompey.


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

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

A.U. 699.

¹⁹ The fifth. It was on this day, in the consulship of Cicero and Antonius A. U. 690, that the senate came to a resolution of inflicting capital punishment on all those who were concerned in Catiline's conspiracy. "And it is certain (as the learned and polite historian of Cicero's life observes) that Rome was indebted to him on this day for one of the greatest deliverances which it had ever received since its foundation; and which nothing perhaps but his vigilance and sagacity could have so happily effected." *Vol. 1. 231.*

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

A.U. 699.  about the time you took possession of your government in Spain, the commonwealth could not so properly be said to be, under the administration of consuls, as of infamous barterers of provinces²¹, and the mean vassals and ministers of sedition. It was then that discord and faction spread thro' all ranks amongst us: and I was marked out as the victim of party rage. In this critical season however, not only every man of worth, but the greater part of the senators, and indeed all Italy in general, rose up with remarkable unanimity in my cause²². What the event proved, I forbear to

²¹ The consuls to whom Cicero alludes, are Lucius Calpurnius Piso, whose daughter Cæsar had married; and Aulus Gabinius, a dependant and favourite of Pompey. They succeeded Cæsar and Bibulus in this office in 595, the year when Cicero went into exile. "Clodius secured them to his measures by a private contract to procure for them, by a grant from the people, two of the best governments of the empire: Piso was to have Macedonia with Greece and Thessaly; Gabinius, Cilicia. For this price they agreed to serve him in all his designs, particularly in the oppression of Cicero." *Middlet. life of Cic.* i. 336.

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

mention: as in truth it is to be imputed to a complication of errors and artifices. But this I will say, it was not forces, so much as leaders to conduct them, that were wanting to me at this crisis. I must add, that whatever censure may justly fall on those who refused me their assistance; most certainly they who first promised it and then deserted me, are not less to be blamed²¹. In a word, if some of my friends may well be reproached for the timid, tho' sincere, counsels they gave me; how much more se-

A.U. 699.

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

²¹ In this number was Pompey himself, who tho' he had given Cicero the most solemn assurances that he would, at the hazard of his life, protect him against Clodius; yet when afterwards our author solicited the execution of this promise, he treated him with much rudeness as well as great treachery, and absolutely refused to concern himself in the affair. *Ad Att. ii. 20. x. 4.* It seems altogether unaccountable that Cicero should be so injudicious as to touch upon a circumstance that destroys the whole force of his apology; so far I mean, as he intended to justify his conduct by his friendship to Pompey. For it exceeds all power of credulity to imagine, that he could really be influenced by a motive of that kind with respect to a man, whose insincerity he had so lately and so severely experienced.

verc

A.U. 699: vere must their 'condemnation prove, who artfully alarmed me with their pretended fears? Let it be noted at the same time to my honour, that zealous as my fellow-citizens shewed themselves to rise up in the defence of a man who had formerly stood forth in theirs; yet I would not suffer them to be exposed (unsupported as they were by those who ought to have been their protectors) to the barbarous insults of a lawless banditti. On the contrary, I rather chose the world should judge by the power of my friends in recalling me from my exile, what their honest unanimity could have effected, had I permitted them to have drawn their swords to prevent it.

You were sensible of this general zeal in my favour, when you undertook my cause: and you not only encouraged, but confirmed it, by your influence and authority. I shall always most willingly acknowledge, that you were assisted upon this occasion by some of the most considerable persons in Rome²⁴; who, it must

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

be owned, exerted themselves with much greater vigour in procuring my return, than in preventing my banishment. And had they persisted in the same resolute disposition, they might have recovered their own authority at the same time, as they obtained my restoration. The spirits, in truth, of the aristocratical part of the republic were at this juncture greatly raised and animated, by the inflexible patriotism of your conduct during your consulship, together with Pompey's concurrence in the same measures. Cæsar likewise, when he saw the senate distinguishing his glorious actions by the most singular and unprecedented honours, joined in adding weight to the authority of that assembly. Had these happy circumstances therefore been rightly improved, it would have been impossible for any ill-designing citizen, to have violated the laws and liberties of the commonwealth. But let me intreat you to reflect a moment on the subsequent conduct of my political associates. In the first place, they screened from punishment that infamous intruder on the matron-mysteries, who shewed no more reverence for the awful ceremonies of the goddesses in whose honour these sacred solemnities are celebrated, than for the chastity of his three sisters²⁵. And thus

²⁵ Clodius (as Plutarch relates the story) had an intrigue

A. U. 699. by preventing a worthy tribune of the people from obtaining that justice upon Clodius which he endeavoured to procure, they deprived future times of a most salutary example of chastisement²⁶. Did not they suffer likewise th.

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

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

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

monument.


monument, that glorious monument, which was erected, not indeed with the spoils I had gained in foreign wars, but by the generosity of the senate for my civil services; did they not most shamefully suffer it to be inscribed with the name of the cruel and avowed enemy of his country²⁷? Obligated, most certainly, I am to them for having restored me to the commonwealth: But I could wish they had conducted themselves, not only like physicians whose views terminate merely in the health of their patients, but like the *Aliptæ*²⁸ also, who endeavour to establish the spirits and vigour of those under their care. Whereas they have acted with re-

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

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

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

A.U.699.  gard to me, as Apelles did in relation to his celebrated picture of Venus²⁹: they have finished one part of their work with great skill and accuracy, but left all the rest a mere rude and imperfect sketch.

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

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

sented as broken and dispirited after his return from exile³⁰. But if broken he really were, it

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

A. U. 699. could not be the effect of his adversity: as it is certain he submitted to his sentence without the least reluctance, and lived under it, not only with indifference, but with cheerfulness. The truth is, no man ever equalled him in the strength and heroism of his mind: no, not even the celebrated Marcus Scaurus himself³¹. Neverthe-

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

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

less,

less, such as they had heard, or at least chose to imagine Metellus to have been, they figured me to themselves: or, if possible indeed, even yet more abject. The reverse, however, proved to be the case: and that general concern which the whole republic expressed at my absence, inspired me with more vigorous spirits than I had ever before enjoyed. The fact is, that the sentence of banishment against Metellus was repealed by a law proposed only by a single tribune of the people: whereas I was recalled from mine upon the motion of the consul himself³², and by a law in which every magistrate of Rome concurred. Let me add likewise, that each order and degree in the commonwealth, headed by the senate and supported by all Italy, zealous

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

³² Lentulus, the person to whom this letter is addressed.

A.U. 699. lously united in one common effort for recovering me to my country. Yet high as these unexampled honours were, they have never elated my heart with pride, or tempted me to assume an air which could give just offence even to the most malevolent of my enemies. The whole of my ambition is, not to be wanting either in advice or assistance to my friends; or even to those whom I have no great reason to rank in that number. It is this, perhaps, which has given the real ground of complaint to those who view only the lustre of my actions, but cannot be sensible of the pains and solicitude they cost me. But whatever the true cause may be, the pretended one is, my having promoted the honours of Cæsar: a circumstance which they interpret, it seems, as a renunciation of my old maxims. The genuine motives however of my conduct in this instance are, not only what I just before mentioned, but particularly what I hinted in the beginning of my letter, and will now more fully explain.

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

occasionally interrupted, and at length entirely A.U. 699
 overthrown, was again fully restored during
 your administration. It is now however totally
 abandoned by those who ought most strenuously
 to have supported it. I do not assert this upon
 the credit only of appearances, in which it is
 exceedingly easy to dissemble: I speak it upon
 the unquestionable evidence of facts, and the
 public proceedings of those who were styled pa-
 triots in my consulate. The general scheme of
 politics therefore being thus changed, it is
 time, most certainly, for every man of prudence
 (in which number I have the ambition to be
 justly accounted) to vary likewise his particular
 plan. Accordingly, that chief and favourite
 guide of my principles whom I have already
 quoted, the divine Plato himself advises, not to
 press any political point farther than is consonant
 to the general sense of the community: for me-
 thods of violence, he maintains, are no more to
 be used towards one's country, than one's parent.
 Upon this maxim, he tells us, he declined engag-
 ing in public affairs: and as he found the people
 of Athens confirmed by long habit in their mis-
 taken notions of government, he did not think it
 lawful to attempt by force, what he despaired of
 effecting by persuasion. My situation, however,
 is in this respect different from Plato's: for on the
 one

A.U. 699.  one hand, as I have already embarked in public affairs, it is too late to deliberate whether I should now enter upon them or not: so on the other, the Roman people are by no means so incapable of judging of their true interest as he represents the Athenians. It is my happiness, indeed, to be able by the same measures to consult at once both my own and my country's welfare ³¹. To these

³¹ If Cicero was sincere in what he here asserted, and really imagined that by falling in with the schemes of Cæsar and Pompey, he could more effectually serve his country, as well as himself, his policy, as far as we can judge of it at this distance, seems to have been very extraordinary. To have supported the one in opposition to the other, might, perhaps, have been a probable method of defeating the designs of both; as they could neither of them have advanced to so formidable a height, if they had not mutually assisted in raising each other. But to join in their coalition, was in effect to be accessory in cementing an union most evidently calculated for the ruin of the commonwealth. This reasoning is not built merely upon distant speculation, but is supported by the express testimony of one who was not only an actor in this important scene, but well understood the plot that was carrying on. "You are mistaken (said Cato to those who were lamenting the breach that afterwards happened between Pompey and Cæsar) you are mistaken in charging our calamities on that event: they owe their rise to another cause, and began, not when Pompey and Cæsar became enemies, but when they were made friends." The difficulty of justifying Cicero in this measure grows still stronger, when it is remembered that he must have been sensible at this very time, how much was to be dreaded from the power of these his pretended friends. For he assures Atticus in a letter which was written at the breaking out of the civil war, that he foresaw the storm that had been gathering to destroy the Republic, fourteen years before it fell; and calls the union of these ambitious chiefs, *sceleratæ consensionis fides*, a wicked confederacy. To which considerations

considerations I must add those uncommon acts A.U. 699.
of generosity, which Cæsar has exerted both to-
wards my brother and myself: so much indeed
beyond all example, that even whatever had
been his success, I should have thought it in-
cumbent upon me, at least to have defended
him. But now, distinguished, as he is, by such
a wonderful series of prosperity, and crowned
with so many glorious victories, I cannot but
esteem it a duty which I owe the republic, ab-
stracted from all personal obligations to himself,
to promote his honours as far as lies in my
power. And believe me, it is at once my con-
fession and my glory, that next to you, together
with the other generous authors of my restora-
tion, there is not a man in the world from whom
I have received such amicable offices.

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

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

My

A.U. 699. My reconciliation then with Vatinius¹⁴ was effected by the mediation of Pompey, soon after the former was elected Prætor. I must confess, when he petitioned to be admitted a candidate for that office, I very warmly opposed him in the¹⁵ senate: but it was much less from

¹⁴ Some observations have already been made upon Cicero's conduct with regard to Vatinius; see remark the 5th on this letter.

¹⁵ The passage in the original, it is acknowledged, does not absolutely imply the sense which is given to it in the translation. It runs thus: *cum quidem ego ejus petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententius oppugnassan.* But it is not easy to conceive in what manner the competition between Cato and Vatinius in relation to the office of Prætor, could come before the Senate, unless the authority of that assembly were some way necessary in nominating or recommending the candidates to the people. This interpretation seems to be favoured by a passage in one of Pliny's letters. *Meo suffragio* (says he, speaking of a friend for whom, not being legally qualified to sue for the Tribunate, he had obtained a dispensation from the Emperor for that purpose) *Meo suffragio pervenit ad jus Tribunatum petendi, quem nisi obiret in senatu, veror ne decessisse Cæsarem videar.* ii. 9. That the Senate originally claimed this prerogative with respect to the election of Kings, is indisputable. *Patres decreverunt* (as Livy informs us) *ut cum populus regem jussisset, id firratum esset, si patres auctores fierent.* i. 17. It is equally clear likewise that the Senate exercised a privilege of the same kind after the republican government was established: for Cicero taking notice in one of his orations of an unsuccessful attempt that had been formerly made by that august Assembly in order to extend their power, adds; *sum enim magistratum non gerebat is qui ceperat, si patres auctores non erant facti.* Orat. pro Manc. 3. But the difficulty is, this speech was delivered in the very same year in which the present letter was written; so that the passage quoted from it seems to imply that no such right subsisted at the time under consideration: and indeed Dr. Chapman produces it in confirmation of this notion, (Essay on R. S. p. 317.)

my resentment to the man himself, than in order A.U. 699.
 to support the honour and interest of Cato^a.
 Soon after this, he was impeached: and it was
 in compliance with the earnest solicitation of
 Cæsar, that I undertook his defence. But you
 must not inquire why I appeared at this trial,
 or indeed at any other of the same kind, as
 a witness in favour of the accused: lest I
 should hereafter have an opportunity of retort-
 ing the question upon you. Tho' to say truth,
 I may fairly ask it even now: for do you not
 remember, my friend, in whose behalf it was
 that you formerly transmitted certain honourable

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

^a Cato, the year before the date of this letter, had soli-
 cited the Prætorship, in order to arm himself with the au-
 thority of that important office against the dangerous de-
 signs of Crassus and Pompey; who were at that time Con-
 suls. But they were too well aware of the honest purposes
 of this inflexible Patriot, not to obstruct his election: and
 accordingly they carried it against him in favour of the
 pliant and worthless Vatinius, whose pretensions they sup-
 ported by every infamous method of artifice, corruption,
 and violence. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

testimonials

A.U. 699. testimonials even from the utmost limits of the Roman empire? You need not scruple, however, to acknowledge the fact: for I have acted, and shall continue to act, the same part towards those very persons. But to return to Vatinius: besides the reasons I have already assigned, I was provoked to engage in his defence, by an opposition of the same sort which the parasite recommends to the amorous soldier in the play³⁶. The obsequious Gnatho, you know, advises his friend the captain whenever his mistress endeavours to pique his jealousy by mentioning his rival Phædria, to play off Pamphila upon her in return. Thus, as I told the judges at this trial, since certain honourable persons who were formerly much in my interest, had thought proper by many little mortifying instances in the senate, to caress my avowed enemy before my face; I thought it but equitable to have a Clodius on my part, in opposition to the Clodius on their's. Accordingly I have upon many occasions acted suitably to this declaration: and all the world acknowledges I have reason³⁷.

³⁶ The Eunuch of Terence.

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

Having thus explained my conduct with regard to Vatinius, I will now lay before you those motives which determined me in respect to Crassus³⁸. I was willing, for the sake of the common cause, to bury in oblivion the many and great injuries I had formerly received from him. Agreeably to this disposition, as we were then upon good terms, I should have borne his unexpected defence of Gabinius³⁹, (whom he had very lately with so much

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

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

³⁹ Aulus Gabinius was Consul the same year in which Cicero was so outrageously persecuted by Clodius; with whom (as has been observed in the notes above) Gabinius most zealously concurred. To give his character as Cicero himself has drawn it in several of his orations, he was effeminate in his mien, dissolute in his principles, and a professed libertine in every kind. After the expiration of his Consulship in 696 he went governor into Syria; from whence he was recalled the following year by a decree of the Senate. Cicero spoke very warmly in favour of the decree; and it is probable that the dispute here mentioned between him and Crassus, happened in the debates which arose upon this occasion. Not many months after the date of this letter, Gabinius was impeached for male-practices during the administration of his proconsular government and Cicero was now so entirely at the disposal of Cæsar and Pompey, that, in compliance with their request, he meanly undertook his defence. But it was not without great strug-

warmth

A.U. 699. warmth opposed) if he had avoided all personal reflections on myself. But when, with the most unprovoked violence, he broke in upon me whilst I was in the midst of my speech; I must confess it raised my indignation: and perhaps I took fire so much the sooner, as possibly there still remained in my heart some latent sparks of my former resentment. However, my behaviour in the senate upon this occasion, was much and generally applauded. Among the rest, I was complimented likewise by the same men whom I have often hinted at in this letter; and who acknowledged I had rendered a very essential service to their cause, by that spirit which I had thus exerted. In short, they affected to speak of me in public, as being now indeed restored to the commonwealth in the best and

gles with himself that he submitted to an office so unworthy of his principles and his character. However he endeavoured to represent it to the world as an act of pure generosity: and indeed the sentiment with which he defended himself from the censure that passed upon him on this occasion, is truly noble: *Neque me vero pœnitet mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere.* But Gabinius was by no means entitled to the benefit of this generous maxim; nor was it true (as will incontestably appear by a passage I shall presently have occasion to produce) that Cicero was governed by it in the case under consideration. Cicero's conduct indeed upon this occasion is so utterly indefensible, that his very ingenious and learned advocate Dr. Middleton himself is obliged to confess, that it was "contrary to his judgment, his resolution, and his dignity." *Orat. pro Sext. in Psso de Prov. consular. pro Rabir. Plut. in vit. Caton. Uticen. Life of Cicero. II. 121. 8vo. Edit. See remark 44, below.*

most

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

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

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

A.U.699. having invited himself to spend the preceding night with me, we supped together in the gardens of my son-in-law Crassipes ⁴². It was for these reasons that I thought my honour obliged me to defend his cause in the senate ⁴³: and I confess I mentioned him with that high applause, of which, it seems, you have been informed.

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

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

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

⁴³ See rem 7. p. 128. of this vol.

⁴⁴ It will appear very evident, perhaps, from the foregoing observations, that what Cicero here asserts, could

Besides,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-however

however that may be, I shall most certainly ^{A.U. 699.} submit all my actions to your guidance and advice, whenever I shall again enjoy your company: and I am sure you will not be less attentive to the preservation of my honour, than you formerly were to that of my person. Of this at least you may be persuaded, that you will find me a faithful friend and associate in all your counsels and measures: as it will be the first and daily purpose of my life, to supply you with additional and more powerful reasons for rejoicing in those obligations you have conferred upon me.

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

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

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

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

Your

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

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

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

you

A.U.699. you are to me : and of this truth I hope to
 ~~~~~ render not only you, but all the world, and even  
 posterity itself, thoroughly sensible.

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

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

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

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


Cornelian

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

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

time,

A.U.699.  time, that my doubts are by no means considerable. Of this however I am perfectly sure, that it is agreeable to your honour, and to that generosity of conduct in which I know you place your highest gratification, quietly to yield up your province to your successor; especially as you cannot in this instance oppose his ambitious views, without incurring the suspicion of being influenced by the same motives yourself. But be that as it will, I thought it incumbent upon me to inform you of my sentiments: as I shall certainly defend yours, whichever way they may determine you to act.

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

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



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

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

## LETTER XVIII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## L E T T E R XIX.

To the Same.

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

## THE LETTERS Book II.

**A.U.699.** in what you have thus generously begun, till you shall have perfectly completed the purposes for which we requested your assistance. You will by these means greatly oblige not only Lucceius, but Pompey: and never, I will venture to assure you, can you lay out your services to more advantage. I have nothing farther to add; having given you my full sentiments of public affairs in a letter which I wrote to you a few days ago, by one of your domestics. Farewel.

### LETTER XX.

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

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

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

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

A.U.699.

L E T T E R XXI.


To BASILIUS<sup>b</sup>.

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

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

## LETTER XXII.

TO QUINTUS PHILIPPUS, Proconsul .

A.U.699.  **I** Congratulate your safe return from your province in the fulness of your fame, and amidst the general tranquillity of the republic. If I were in Rome, I should have waited upon you for this purpose in person, and in order likewise to make my acknowledgments to you for your favours to my friends Egnatius and Oppius.

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

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

this family. But if I am not mistaken, (and A.U.699.  
indeed I very possibly may) your clemency to-  
wards them will rather add to your character,  
than derogate from it. If it be not too much  
trouble therefore, I should be glad you would  
let me know how far a compliance with my  
request, is in your power: for that it is in your  
inclination I have not the least reason to doubt.  
Farewel.

## LETTER XXIII.

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

A.U.699.

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

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

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

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

wonder



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

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kind from one of the epistles to Atticus. *Vid. ad Att. iii. 27.*


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

—————*Quæ*  
*Desperat tentata nitescere possè, relinquit.*

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

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

Lett. de Voît. i. 165.

A.U.699.  your native province? For, like Ulysses when he first returned to his Ithaca, you will be much

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

too prudent, undoubtedly, to lay claim to your noble kindred. Farewel. A. U. 699.

verfary : and indeed it would have been inconfilient with the general chara&ter of that Hero to have defcribed him under fuch circumftances of terror.

Τον δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μεγ' ἐγέθειον ἐισορόωντες·  
Τρῶας δὲ τρόμος αἶνος ὑπῆλυθε γυῖα ἱκάστον,  
Ἑκτορι τ' αὐτῷ θυμός ἐν. ἠθεσσι πατάσσειν.

Ver. 214.

But there is a great difference (as Dr. Clarke obferves in his remarks upon thefe lines) between θυμός ἐν ἠθεσσι πατάσσειν, and καρδίῃ ἐξ ἠθέων ἐθρώσκει, or τρόμος αἶνος ὑπῆλυθε γυῖα. The Trojans, fays Homer, trembled at the fight of Ajax; and even Hector himfelf felt fome emotion in his breaft; or to exprefs it in the fame fpirit of poetry which diftinguiſhes the original,

*Thro' ev'ry Argive heart new tranſport ran :  
All Troy flood trembling at the mighty man.  
Ev'n Hector paus'd, and with new doubt oppreſt,  
Felt his great heart ſuſpended in his breaſt.*

POPE,

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

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L E T T E R S

O F

Marcus Tullius Cicero

T O

Several of his FRIENDS.

---

B O O K III.

---

L E T T E R I.


T O C A I U S C U R I O <sup>1</sup>.

**T**HOUGH I am sorry you should suspect me of neglecting you; I will acknowledge that I am not so much concerned at your reproaches for my not writing, as I am pleased to find that you are de-

A.U.700.

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

sured

A.U.700.  firous of hearing from me. Conscious indeed of not meriting your friendly accusation, the

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

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

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

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

instance

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

A.U.700.

Tho' I regret extremely the being thus long<sup>2</sup> deprived of your agreeable company; yet I cannot but rejoice at an absence which has contributed so much to your honour: as fortune indeed has in all that concerns you, answered

<sup>2</sup> "Cúrio had been most probably absent from Rome about two years: for Caius Clodius, to whom he is supposed to have been quæstor, obtained the government of Asia an. urb. 698. *Fig. Annal.*" Mr. R<sub>2</sub>/s.

A.U.700. my warmest wishes. I have only to offer you one short piece of advice : and I offer it in compliance with the sincere dictates of that singular affection I bear you. Let me earnestly then intreat you, to come well-prepared at your return to act up to those great ideas which the world has, with so much reason, conceived of your spirit and talents. And as nothing can ever wear out the deep impressions your good offices have stamped upon my mind <sup>3</sup>; so I hope you will not forget, on your side, that you could not have attained those honours or advantages that attend you, if you had not in the earlier part of your life complied with my faithful and affectionate admonitions <sup>4</sup>. Have I not reason then to expect in return, that as the weight of old age now begins to bend me down <sup>5</sup>, you will suffer me to repose my

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

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

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

declining

declining years upon your youth and friendship? A.U. 700.  
Farewel. }

## LETTER II.


TO TREBATIUS.

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

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

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



A.U.700.  in the law <sup>s</sup>? But tell me, my friend, since your letters, I observe, have lately run in a more enlivened strain than usual, what is it that has elevated you into so gay a humour? This air of pleasantry I like well; it looks as if the world went successfully with you: and I am all impatience to know what it is that has thus raised your spirits. You inform me indeed, that Cæsar does you the honour to advise with you. For my own part, however, I had rather hear that he *consulted* your interest, than your judgment. But seriously; if the former is really the case, or there is any probability of its proving so, let me intreat you to continue in your present situation, and patiently submit to the inconveniences of a military life: as on my part, I shall support myself under your absence with the hopes of its turning to your advantage. But if all expectations of this kind are at an end; let us see you as soon as possible: and perhaps some method may be found here, of improving

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

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

A.U.700.

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


<sup>1</sup> Laberius was a Roman Knight, who distinguished himself by his comic humour: and he had written several farces which were acted with great applause. He was prevailed upon by Cæsar to take a part himself in one of his own performances: and the prologue which he spoke upon that occasion is still extant. The whole composition is extremely spirited, and affords a very advantageous specimen of his genius: but there is something so peculiarly just and beautiful in the thought of the concluding lines, that the reader, perhaps, will not regret the being carried out of his way in order to observe it. Laberius was 60 years of age, when in complaisance to Cæsar he thus made his first entrance upon the stage: and in allusion to a circumstance so little favourable to his appearing with success, he tells the audience,

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

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

Macrob. Saturn. ii. 7.

Laberius

**A.U.700.**  Laberius and my companion Valerius \*. And what a burlesque character would a British lawyer furnish out for the Roman stage ! You may smile perhaps at this notion : but tho' I mention it in my usual style of pleasantry, let me tell you it is no jesting matter. In good earnest ; if there is any prospect that my recommendations will avail in obtaining the honours you deserve ; I cannot but exhort you, in all the sincerity of the warmest friendship, to make yourself easy under this absence, as a means of increasing both your fortunes and your fame : if not, I would strongly advise your return. I have no doubt, however, that your own merit in conjunction with my most zealous services, will procure you every advantage you can reasonably desire. Farewel.

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

## LETTER III.

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

**I**F the genius of Rome were himself to give A.U. 700.  
you an account of the commonwealth, you  
could not be more fully apprised of public af-  
fairs, than by the information you will receive  
from Pharias: ~~a person~~, let me tell you, not  
only of consummate politics, but of infinite cu-  
riosity. I refer you therefore to him, as to the  
shortest and safest means of being acquainted  
with our situation. I might trust him likewise  
with assuring you at the same time of the friendly  
disposition of my heart towards you: but That  
is an office which I must claim the privilege of  
executing with my own hand. Be persuaded  
then, that I think of you with the highest af-  
fection: as indeed you have a full right to

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

A.U. 700. these sentiments, not only from the many generous and amiable qualities of your mind, but from that grateful sensibility with which, as I am informed both by your own letters and the general account of others, you receive my best services. I shall endeavour therefore, by my future good offices, to compensate for that long intermission which unhappily suspended our former intercourse<sup>4</sup>. And since you seem willing to renew our amicable commerce; I doubt not of engaging in it with the general approbation of the world<sup>5</sup>.

Your freedman Cilix, was very little known to me before he delivered your obliging letter into my hands: the friendly purport of which

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

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

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

I very strongly recommend to your patronage Valerius the lawyer<sup>6</sup>; even tho' you should discover that he has but a slender claim to that appellation. I mention this, as being more cautious in obviating the flaws in his *title*, than he usually is in guarding against those of his clients. But seriously, I have a great affection for the man: as indeed he is my particular friend and companion. I must do him the justice to say, that he is extremely sensible of the favours you have already conferred upon him. Nevertheless he is desirous of my recommendation, as he is persuaded it will have much

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

A.U. 700. weight with you. I intreat you to convince him that he is not mistaken. Farewel.

## LETTER IV.

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

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

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

LETTER V.

TO TREBATIUS.

I Was wondering at the long intermission of A.U. 700.  
 your letters, when my friend Panfa accounted for your inopulence, by assuring me that you were turned an Epicurean. Glorious effect indeed of camp-conversation! But if a metamorphosis so extraordinary has been wrought in you amidst the martial air of Samarobriva, what would have been the consequence had I sent you to the softer regions of Tarentum<sup>\*</sup>! I have been in some pain for your principles, I confess, ever since your intimacy with my friend Seius. But how will you reconcile your tenets to your profession, and act for the interest of your client, now that you have adopted the maxim of doing nothing but for your own? With what grace can you insert the usual clause in your deeds of agreement: *The parties to these presents as becomes good men and true, &c.*? For neither truth, nor trust can there be in those, who

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



A.U. 700.            professedly govern themselves upon motives of absolute selfishness? I am in some pain likewise, how you will settle the law concerning the partition of "rights in common:" as there can be nothing in common between those, who make their own private gratification the sole criterion of right and wrong. Or can you think it proper to administer an oath, while you maintain that Jupiter is incapable of all resentment? In a word, what will become of the good people of Ulubraz<sup>9</sup> who have placed themselves under your protection, if you hold the maxim of your sect, that "a wise man ought not to engage himself in public affairs?" In good earnest I shall be extremely sorry, if it is true that you have really deserted us. But if your conversion is nothing more than a convenient compliment to the opinions of Panfa, I will forgive your dissimulation, provided you let me know soon how your affairs go on, and in what manner I can be of any service in them. Farewel;

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

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

Mr. Rossi.

LET-

## LETTER VI.

TO CAIUS CURIO.

YOUR friendship, I trust, needs not any A U. 700.  
 evidence to confirm its sincerity, than what arises from the testimony of our own hearts. I can only, however, but consider the death of your illustrious Father, as depriving me of a most venerable witness to that singular affection I bear you<sup>1</sup>. I regret that he had not the satisfaction of taking a last farewell of you, before he closed his eyes: it was the only circumstance wanting to render him as much superior to the rest of the world in his domestic happiness, as in his public fame<sup>2</sup>.

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

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

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

## LETTER VII.

TO TREBATIUS.

A.U. 700. **C**AN you seriously suppose me so unreasonable as to be angry, because I thought you discovered too inconstant a disposition in your impatience to leave *Germany*. And can you possibly believe it was for that reason I have thus long omitted writing? The truth is, I was only concerned at the uneasiness which seemed to have overcast your mind: and I forbore to write, upon no other account but as being entirely ignorant where to direct my letters. I suppose however that this is a plea which your loftiness will scarce condescend to admit. But tell me then, is it the weight of your purse, or the honour of being the counsellor of *Cæsar*, that most disposes you to be thus insufferably arrogant? Let me perish if I do not believe that thy vanity is so immoderate, as to choose rather to share in his councils than his coffers. But should he admit you into a participation of both, you will undoubtedly swell into such intolerable airs, that no mortal will be able to endure you: or none at least except myself, who am philosopher enough, you know, to endure

endure any thing.—But I was going to tell you, A.U. 700  
that as I regretted the uneasiness you formerly  
expressed; so I rejoice to hear, that you are  
better reconciled to your situation. My only  
fear is, that your wonderful skill in the law  
will ~~not~~ <sup>will</sup> avail you in your present quarters;  
for I am told that the people you have to deal  
with,

*Rest the strength of <sup>their</sup> cause on the force of  
their might,*

*And the sword is supreme arbitrator of right'.*

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

3 Ennius.

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

<sup>3</sup> The public coin was under the inspection of three officers called *Treviri monetales*: and several pieces of money are still extant in the cabinets of the curious, inscribed with the names of these magistrates. *Vid. Petri Bembi epist. apud Manus.*

A.U. 700. jokes to another opportunity : in the mean time, let me desire you would send me a full account of whatever is going forward in your province. Farewel.

March the 4th.

## LETTER VIII.

TO CORNICIUS<sup>a</sup>.

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

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

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

A.U. 700.

## L E T T E R IX,

TITREBATIUS.

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

A.U. 702. in your power. For, believe me, you cannot bring home a more valuable acquisition. Farewel.

## LETTER X.

TO CAIUS CURIO

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

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

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

What-

A.U. 700.