



A.U. 700.  Whatever advantages may be hoped from the most exalted patriotism united with the greatest abilities; the public, believe me, expects from you. And should you come prepared (as I am sure you ought, and I trust you will) to act up to these its glorious expectations; then, indeed, you will exhibit to your friends and to the commonwealth in general, a spectacle of the noblest and most affecting kind⁷. In the mean while be assured, no man has a greater share of my affection and esteem than yourself. Farewel.

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

LETTER XI.

TO TREBATIUS.

TWO or three of your letters which lately A.U. 700.
 came to my hands at the same time, tho' 
 of different dates, have afforded me great pleasure: as they were proofs that you have reconciled yourself, with much spirit and resolution, to the inconveniencies of a military life. I had some little suspicion, I confess, of the contrary: not that I questioned your courage, but as imputing your uneasiness to the regret of our separation. Let me intreat you then to persevere in your present temper of mind: and believe me, you will derive many and considerable advantages from the service in which you are engaged. In the mean while, I shall not fail to renew my solicitations to Cæsar in your favour, upon all proper occasions; and have herewith sent you a Greek letter to deliver to him for that purpose: for, in truth, you cannot be more anxious than I am that this expedition may prove to your benefit. In return, I desire you would send me a full relation of the Gallic war: for you must know, I always de-
 pend

A.U. 700. pend most upon the accounts of those who are *least engaged* in the action.

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

I shall recommend you in very strong terms to Balbus, when he returns into Gaul. But you must not be surprised if you should not hear from me again so soon as usual: as I shall be absent from Rome during all this month. I write this from Pomptinus, at the villa of Metrilus Philemon, where I am placed within
hearing

hearing of those croaking clients whom you recommended to my protection: for a prodigious number, it seems, of your ³ Ulubrean frogs are assembled, in order to compliment my arrival among them. Farewel.

A.U. 700.

April the 2th.

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

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

LETTER XII.

TO CAIUS CURIO.

AU 700.

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

adieu to mirth? And what can Cicero write that shall deserve the serious thoughts of Curio, unless it be on public affairs? My situation, however, is such, that I dare not trust my real sentiments of those points in a letter¹: and none other will I ever send you². Thus precluded as I am from every other topic, I must content myself with repeating what I have often urged: and earnestly exhort you to the pursuit of true and solid glory. Believe me, it will require the utmost efforts of your care and resolution, to act up to those high and uncommon expectations which the world has conceived of your merit. There is indeed but one possible method that can enable you to surmount this ar-

A.U. 700.



¹ Affairs at Rome were at this time in the utmost confusion, occasioned (as has already been observed in the notes above) by the factious interruption that was given to the usual election of the magistrates. See note 6. p. 221. of this vol. This state of tumult, or indeed, to speak more properly, of almost absolute anarchy, was however somewhat composed towards the latter end of the present year, by the election of Domitius Calvinus and Valerius Messala to the consular office. *Dio*, xl p. 141.

² The disturbances mentioned in the preceding note, were artfully fomented by Caesar and Pompey, in order to turn them to the advantage of their ambitious purposes. But this was too delicate a circumstance for Cicero to explain himself upon: especially as he was now cultivating a friendship with both.

³ The text in the original is evidently defective: *atque in hoc genere hac mea causa est, ut neque ea quæ non sentio velim scribere*. The sense is supplied in the translation, in a way that seemed to coincide best with this mutilated sentence.

A.U. 700. duous task. The method I mean, is by diligently cultivating those qualities which are the foundation of a just applause: of that applause, my friend, which, I know, is the constant object of your warmest ambition. I might add much more to this purpose: but I am sensible you stand not in need of any incitements. And indeed I have thrown out these general hints, far less with a view of inflaming *your* heart, than of testifying the ardency with which I give you *mine*. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

TO MEMMIUS.

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

LET-

LETTER XIV.

TO CAIUS CURIO.

PUBLIC affairs are so circumstanced, that A.U. 700.
 I dare not communicate my sentiments of them in a letter. This however, I will venture in general to say, that I have reason to congratulate you on your removal from the scene in which we are engaged. But I must add, that in whatever part of the world you might be placed, you would still (as I told you in my last ³) be embarked in the same common bottom with your friends here. I have another reason likewise for rejoicing in your absence, as it has placed your merit in full view of so considerable a number of the most illustrious citizens, and allies of Rome: and indeed the reputation you have acquired is universally, and without the least exception, confirmed to us on all hands. But there is one circumstance attending you, upon which I know not whether I ought to send you my congratulations, or not: I mean with respect to those high and singular

³ The letter to which Cicero refers, is not extant.

A.U. 700. advantages which the commonwealth promises itself from your return amongst us. Not that I suspect your proving unequal to the opinion which the world entertains of your virtues; but as fearing that whatever is most worthy of your care will be irrecoverably lost ere your arrival to prevent it: such, alas, is the weak and well-nigh expiring condition of our unhappy republic! But prudence, perhaps, will scarce justify me in trusting even this to a letter: for the rest therefore I must refer you to others. In the mean while, whatever your fears or your hopes of public affairs may be; think, my friend, incessantly think on those virtues which that generous patriot must possess, who in these evil times, and amidst such a general depravation of manners, gloriously purposes to vindicate the antient dignity and liberties of his oppressed country. Farewel.

L E T T E R XV.

TO TREBATIUS.

IF it were not for the compliments you sent A.U. 700.
me by Chrysippus the freedman of Cyrus }
the architect, I should have imagined I no longer
possessed a place in your thoughts. But surely
you are become a most intolerable fine gentle-
man, that you could not bear the fatigue of
writing to me; when you had the opportunity of
doing so by a man whom, you know, I look
upon as one almost of my own family. Per-
haps however, you may have forgotten the use
of your pen, and so much the better, let me
tell you, for your clients; as they will lose no
more causes by its blunders. But if it is myself
only that has escaped your remembrance; I
must endeavour to refresh it by a visit, before I
am worn out of your mind beyond all power
of recollection. After all, is it not the appre-
hensions of the next summer's campaign, that
has rendered your hand too unsteady to perform
its office? If so, you must e'en play over again
the same gallant stratagem you practised last
year in relation to your British expedition, and
frame some heroic excuse for your absence.

R 4

How-

A.U. 700.

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

LETTER XVI.

TO PUBLIUS SEXTIUS^a.

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

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

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

A.U. 700.

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

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


^b Probably, when he returned from exile: in the year 696.

than

A. U. 700. than I should have advised; yet I omitted no opportunity of rendering you my utmost services. And upon this occasion, when the clamour that was raised against you on account of the corn^c, by those that were the enemies, not only of yourself, but of all who endeavoured to assist you; when the general corruption of the judges; and in short, when many other public iniquities, had prevailed to your condemnation against all truth and justice; I was not wanting in my best good offices of every kind towards your son. Having therefore thus faithfully performed every other sacred duty of friendship, I would not omit this likewise of intreating and exhorting you to bear your afflictions as becomes a man of your distinguished spirit and fortitude. In other words; let me conjure you to support with resolution those common vicissitudes of Fortune, which no prudence can prevent, and for which no mortal is answerable; remembering, that in all popular governments, as well as in our own, it has been the fate of many of the best and greatest men to fall a sacrifice to the injustice of their country. I will add, (and

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

I wish

I wish I could with truth be contradicted) that A.U. 700.
the injurious sentence you lament, has only 
banished you from a commonwealth in which
no rational mind can receive the least satisfaction.

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

A.U. 700. ought to disturb the serenity of a well-regulated mind. In the mean time be assured, that, in compliance with the dictates of that friendship I have long entertained for you, and of that esteem which I bear for your son, I shall neglect no opportunity both of alleviating your afflictions, and of contributing all I can to support you under them. In a word, if upon any occasion you should think it necessary to write to me; you shall find that your application was not made in vain. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

TO CURIO.

I Dispatch Sextus Villius, a domestic of my friend Milo, to meet you with this letter, notwithstanding we have received no account of your being yet advanced near Italy. However, we are assured that you are set forward from Asia⁴: and as it is generally believed it will not be long ere you arrive in Rome, I persuade myself that the importance of the affair which occasions you this application, will justify my desire of making it as early as possible.

⁴ See p. 218. rem. 1. towards the end.

If I estimated my services towards you, by ^{A.U. 700.} the same enlarged standard that you gratefully measure them yourself; I should be extremely reserved in requesting any considerable favour at your hands. It is painful, indeed, to a man of a modest and generous mind, to solicit great obligations from those whom he has greatly obliged; lest he should seem to claim the price of his good offices, and ask a matter of right rather than of grace. But I can have no scruples of this sort with respect to you; as the services you have conferred upon me, and particularly in my late troubles, are not only of the highest, but most conspicuous nature. An ingenuous disposition, where it already owes much, is willing to owe more: and it is upon this principle that I make no difficulty of requesting your assistance in an article of the last importance to me. I have no reason indeed to fear, that I should sink under the weight of your favours, even if they were to rise beyond all number: as I trust there is none so considerable that I should not only receive with gratitude, but return with advantage.

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

A.U. 700. to the world, of the more than common affection with which I enter into his interest. I am persuaded, no man ever was so anxious for the preservation of his own person and fortunes, as I am that Milo may obtain this honour: an event, upon which the security of my own dignities, I am sensible, depends. Now the assistance which it is in your power to give my friend, is so very considerable, that it is all we want to be assured of victory: for thus our forces stand. In the first place, Milo's conduct towards me in his tribunate⁶, has gained him (as I hope you perfectly well know) the affections of all our patriots: as the liberality of his temper and the magnificence of his shews have secured to him the favour of the populace⁷. In the next place, all the young part of the republic, together with those who have the most influence in elections, are wholly in his interest, as having received, or expecting to receive,

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

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

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


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

A.U. 700. Milo himself, I will only assure you, that you never can oblige a man of a more solid turn of mind, of a more resolute spirit, or one who, if you should embrace his interest, will receive your good offices with a more affectionate gratitude. You will at the same time also confer so singular an honour upon myself, as to convince me, that you have no less regard for the support of my credit, than you formerly shewed for the safety of my person. I should enlarge much farther upon this subject, if I were not persuaded, that you are perfectly sensible of the infinite obligations I have received from Milo; and that it is incumbent upon me to promote his election with my utmost zeal, and even at the hazard of my life⁹. I will only then in one word recommend this affair, and

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

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

therein

therein the most important of my concerns, A.U 700.
 to your favour and protection: and be assured, 
 I shall esteem your compliance with my request
 as an obligation superior, I had almost said,
 even to that for which I am so greatly indebted
 to Milo. The truth of it is, it would give me
 more pleasure to make him an effectual return
 for the very considerable part he bore in my re-
 storation, than I received even from the benefit
 of his good offices themselves. And this, I
 am confident, your single concurrence will fully
 enable me to perform¹. Farewel.

¹ Soon after this letter was written, an unfortunate ad-
 venture disconcerted all Cicero's measures in behalf of his
 friend, and obliged him, instead of soliciting any longer
 for Milo as a candidate, to defend him as a criminal. It
 happened that Milo and Clodius having met as they were
 travelling the Appian road, a rencounter ensued, in which
 the latter was killed. Milo was arraigned for this mur-
 der and being convicted, was sentenced to banishment.
 Cicero, in his defence, laboured to prove by a variety of
 circumstances that this meeting could not have been pre-
 meditated on the part of his client. and indeed it seems
 probable that it was not. But however casual that parti-
 cular incident might have been; Milo, it is certain, had
 long before determined to assassinate Clodius and it ap-
 pears too, that Cicero himself was apprised of the design.
 This is evident from a letter to Atticus written about four
 years antecedent to the fact of which I am speaking. *Reum
 Publium*, says Cicero, (*nisi ante occisus erit*) fore a *Milone
 puto. Si se inter viam obtulerit, occisum mi ab ipso Milone
 video. Non dubitat facere; præ se fert.* Dio, xl. p. 143,
 146. Orat. pro Milon. ad Att. iv. 3

LETTER XVIII.

TO TITUS FADIUS¹

A.U. 700.

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

¹ It is altogether uncertain to whom this letter is addressed; as there is great variety in the several readings of its inscription. If the title adopted in the translation be the true one, (and it is that which has the greatest number of commentators on its side,) the person to whom it is written was quaestor to Cicero in his consulate; and afterwards one of those tribunes who in the year of Rome 696, promoted the law by which he was restored to his country. *Vid. ad Att. iii. 23.*

dignities

dignities; tho' there are numbers of the highest quality who have sunk into the same disgrace. A.U. 700.
 To say truth; so wretched is the fate which threatens our laws, our liberties and our constitution in general, that well may he esteem himself happily dealt with, who is dismissed from such a distempered government upon the least injurious terms. As to your own case in particular, when you reflect that you are still undeprieved of your estate; that you are happy in the affections of your children, your family, and your friends; and that in all probability you are only separated from them for a short interval: when you reflect, that among the great number of impeachments which have lately been carried on³, yours is the only one that was considered as entirely groundless; that you were condemned by a majority only of one single vote; and that too, universally supposed to have been given in compliance with some powerful influence.—

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

A.U.700. These, undoubtedly, are considerations which ought greatly to alleviate the weight of your misfortune. I will only add, that you may always depend upon finding in me that disposition both towards yourself and your family, as is agreeable to your wishes, as well as to what you have a right to expect. Farewel.

LETTER XIX.

TO TITUS TITIVS*.

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

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

forget

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

A.U. 700.

L E T T E R XX.

TO TREBATIUS.

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

A, U. 700. his cause to your protection. I do not know a worthier man than Silius, nor any one, excepting yourself, who is more my friend. You will extremely oblige me therefore, my dear Trebatius, by calling upon him in order to give him the promise of your assistance: and I earnestly intreat you, if you have any regard for me, to pay this visit as soon as possible, Farewel,

L E T T E R XXI.

TO MARCUS MARIUS.

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

fold for less than the money you mention. But A. U. 700.
 jesting apart; be assured I shall discharge the
 commission you have assigned me, with all the
 care I ought.

I know you are well-pleased with my victory over Bursa⁵: but why then did you not more warmly congratulate me upon the occasion? You were mistaken in imagining the character of the man to be much too despicable to render this event a matter of any great exultation. On the contrary, the defeat of Bursa has afforded me a more pleasing triumph, even than the fall of Clodius. Much rather indeed would I see my adversaries vanquished by the hand of

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

A.U.700. justice, than of violence: as I would choose it should be in a way that does honour to the friends of my cause, without exposing them at the same time to any uneasy consequences. But the principal satisfaction I derive from this affair, is in that honest and undaunted zeal with which I was supported against all the incredible efforts of a very great man⁶, who most warmly exerted his power in favour of my antagonist. I will mention another circumstance likewise that recommends this victory to me, and which, tho' perhaps you will scarcely think it a probable one, is nevertheless most assuredly the case: I have conceived a much stronger aversion to this man, than I ever entertained even against Clodius himself. To speak truth, I had openly declared war against the latter: whereas I have been the advocate and protector of the former. Besides, there was something enlarged at least in the views of Clodius, as he aimed by my destruction at overturning the whole commonwealth: and even in this he acted less from the motions of his own breast, than by the instigations of a party who were sensible they could never be secure, whilst I had any remaining credit. But the contemptible Bursa, on the

⁶ Pompey. *Vid. Dio*, p. 146.

contrary,

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

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

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

therefore,

A.U. 700. therefore, that no intercalation ^s may protract these affairs beyond the usual period, and prevent the pleasure I propose to myself, of paying you a visit very soon. Farewel.

LETTER XXII.

TO TREBATIUS.

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

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

tract

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

A.U. 700.

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

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

LETTER XXIII.

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

A.U. 700. **I** Find myself obliged, contrary indeed to my expectation as well as my wishes, to accept the government of your province⁹. Amidst the numberless uneasy thoughts and occupations which this circumstance occasions me, it is my single consolation, that I could not have succeeded any man in this employment who would be more disposed than yourself, to deliver it up

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

to me as little embarrassed as possible. I hope A.U. 700.
you entertain the same opinion of my disposition with regard to you: and be assured I shall never disappoint you in this expectation. I most earnestly then intreat you, by all the ties of our friendship in particular, as well as by that uncommon generosity which distinguishes your actions in general, to render me upon this occasion every good office in your power: as undoubtedly there are many.

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

A.U. 700. pend upon receiving a strong and lasting satisfaction from the faithful returns of my gratitude. Farewel.

LETTER XXIV.

To the Same.

I Arrived on the 22d of May at Brundisium, where I found your lieutenant ¹ Quintus Fabius : who agreeably to your orders informed me, that it is highly expedient Cilicia should be strengthened with an additional number of forces. This was conformable, not only to my own sentiments, who am more immediately concerned in the security of that province, but to the opinion likewise of the senate : who thought it reasonable, that both Bibulus ² and myself should reinforce our respective legions with recruits from Italy. ³ But it was strongly opposed

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

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

by Sulpicius³ the consul: though ~~not~~ without A.U. 702,
 very warm remonstrances on our parts. However, as it seemed to be the general inclination of the senate that we should hasten our departure; we were obliged to submit: and we set forward accordingly.

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

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

³ Servius Sulpicius Rufus was consul this year, together with Marcus Claudius Marcellus. For a more particular account of the former; see rem. i. p. 119. vol. II. and of the latter, rem. 3. let. 35. of this book.

afraid you will think he has executed his office A.U.702.
~~rough~~ too punctually. I am sensible at the
 same time, that you are a man of infinite curi-
 osity; and that travellers take pleasure in being
 informed of every little circumstance transacted
 at home. But I hope you will not impute it
 to any want of respect, that I assigned over
 this employment to another hand. On the
 contrary, as much engaged as I really am, and
 as little fond of writing as you know me to be,
 I should with great pleasure execute any com-
 mission which gave me occasion to think of

Marcus Cœlius was tribune of the people, the year before this letter was written. He distinguished himself in that office by zealously and boldly supporting the claims of the senate and the interests of the aristocratical party, against the attacks of the opposite faction. When the civil war broke out between Pompey and Cæsar, he affected at first to stand neuter: he afterwards however thought proper to join with the latter. But Cæsar not gratifying his ambition in the manner he expected, he changed sides, and raised great disturbances in Rome in favour of Pompey.


Cœlius applied himself early to the art of oratory: and for that purpose was introduced by his father to the acquaintance of Cicero, under whose direction he formed his eloquence. His parts and genius soon distinguished him in the forum: but though his speeches were conceived with peculiar spirit and vivacity, his language was thought forced, and the harmony of his periods too much neglected. His morals were suitable to the degenerate age in which he lived; luxurious and dissolute: as his temper was remarkably inflammable, and apt to kindle into the most implacable resentments. *Cic. orat. pro Cœlio. Cæs. Bel. Civ. iii. Vcl. Pat. . . ii. Dialog. de caus. corrupt. eloquent. Senec. de Ira. iii.* See rem. 6. p. 145. and rem. 12. p. 147. of vol. ii.

BOOK III. OF CICERO.

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 same time, that you are a man of infinite curio-
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A.U. 702.  you. I trust however, when you cast your eye upon this volume of news, you will very readily admit my excuse; as I know not indeed who else except the compiler, could find leisure, I will not say to transcribe, but even to peruse such a strange medley. It contains a collection of decrees of the senate and rumours of the people; of private tales and public edicts. Should it happen, nevertheless, to afford you no sort of entertainment; give me due notice, that I may not put myself to this *prodigious* expence only to be impertinent. If any events of more importance should arise, and which are above the force of these hackney news-writers; I will take the relation upon myself, and give you a full account of the sentiments and speculations of the world concerning it: but at present there is little of this kind stirring.

As to the report which was so current when we were at Cumæ⁵, of enfranchising the colonies on the other side the Po⁶; it does not seem

⁵ A city in Campania, situated upon the sea coast; near which Cicero had a villa.

⁶ Cisalpine Gaul was divided into two parts by the river Po; and accordingly as the inhabitants were situated with respect to Italy, either on one side or the other of that river, they were called *Cispadani*, or *Transpadani*. Cæsar had a scheme of putting the latter on the same foot with the municipal towns of Italy; the chief magistrates whereof had a right of suffrage in the assemblies of the Roman people, and were capable of being elected to the offices of

to have travelled beyond that city: at least I ^{A.U. 702.} ~~have~~ heard no mention of this affair since my return to Rome. Marcellus not having yet moved that Cæsar may be recalled from his government in Gaul, and intending to defer it, as he told me himself, to the first of June; it has occasioned the revival of those suspicions to his disadvantage, which so strongly prevailed when you were here ⁷.


If you had an interview ⁸ with Pompey (as I remember it was your intention) let me know the conversation that passed between you, and what you could discover of his designs: for tho' he seldom speaks his real sentiments, he has not artifice enough to conceal them ⁹. As to

the republic. This seems to be the circumstance to which Cœlius here alludes: as Cicero obscurely hints at it likewise, in one of his letters to Atticus. See *ad Att.* v. 2. and the remark of Mongault upon that passage.

⁷ Marcellus the present consul, distinguished himself throughout his whole administration by a warm opposition to Cæsar: as he afterwards actually made the motion, of which Cœlius here speaks. He was not however so fortunate as to succeed in it; being opposed by his colleague Sulpicius in conjunction with some of the tribunes. *Dis.* xli. p. 148. See his character in remark 3. on the 35th letter of this book, p. 320.

⁸ Pompey was at this time at Tarentum, a maritime city of Calabria: where Cicero spent a few days with him in his way to Cilicia, while he waited the arrival of his lieutenant Pontinius. *Ad Att.* v. 6.

⁹ Cicero in his letters to Atticus often mentions the difficulty of penetrating into Pompey's real designs. but if Cœlius may be credited, he was, it seems, one of those

A.U. 702.  Cæsar, we have frequent, and no very favourable, reports concerning him: however they ~~are~~ at present nothing more than rumours. Some say he has lost all his cavalry; and I believe this is the truth of the case: others that the seventh legion has been entirely defeated, and that he himself is so surrounded by the Bellovaci ¹, that he cannot possibly receive any succours from the main body of his army. But this news is not publicly known: on the contrary it is only the whisper of a party which I need not name, and who mention it with great caution; particularly Domitius ², who tells it in your ear with a most important air of secrecy.

A strong report prevailed here, that you were assassinated upon the road on the 24th of May, by Quintus Pompeius ³. I heartily cursed the idle authors of this alarm: however it did not give me any great disturbance, as I knew Pom-

over-refined dissemblers, who, as our British Horace observes, are

— *So very close they're hid from none.* POPE.

¹ A most martial and powerful people in Belgic ^{*}Gaul, against whom Cæsar was at this time making war.

² Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, one of Cæsar's avowed enemies. A particular account will be given of him in the remarks on the letter addressed to him in this collection.

³ Quintus Pompeius Rufus was tribune the last year, and a principal author of those disturbances which ensued upon the death of Clodius. See remark 5. p. 263. of this vol.

peius

peius to be then at Baulis ⁴, where the poor man A.U. 702.
 is reduced to exercise the miserable office of a {
 pilot, to keep himself from starving. May you
 ever be as secure from all other dangers, as you
 were from this!

Your friend ⁵ Plancus is at Ravenna: and
 notwithstanding the very considerable benefaction
 he has lately received from Cæsar ⁶; the man is
 still in distress.

Your political treatise ⁷ is universally read and
 much admired. Farewel.

At the expiration of his office therefore being convicted of
 these misdemeanours, he was banished from Rome. *Dio. xl.*
p. 146.

⁴ A city in Campania.

⁵ Munatius Plancus Bursa: of whom an account has been
 given in remark 5 p. 263. of this vol. Cælius speaks ironi-
 cally, when he calls him Cicero's friend.

⁶ See remark ^b, p. 166. of this vol.

⁷ “ It was drawn up in the form of a dialogue, in which
 “ the greatest persons of the republic were introduced.
 “ From the fragments of this work which still remain, it
 “ appears to have been a noble performance, and one of
 “ his capital pieces; where all the important questions in
 “ politics and morality, were discussed with the greatest
 “ elegance and accuracy.” *Mid. Life of Cíc.* vol. ii. p. 94.
8vo. edit.

L E T T E R XXVI.

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

A.U. 702. **I** Received your letter at this place ⁹ on the 4th of June, by which I am informed that you have charged Lucius Clodius with a message to me. I am therefore waiting for his arrival, that I may hear as early as possible, whatever he has to say on your part. In the mean time, notwithstanding I have already by many instances convinced you, I hope, of my friendship; yet let me assure you, that I shall particularly endeavour to shew it upon every occasion, by the most tender regard for your character. I have the satisfaction in return to be informed, not only by Fabius, and Flaccus, but particularly by Octavius, of the share you allow me in your esteem. I had before, indeed, many reasons for believing I enjoyed that privilege; but chiefly by that very agreeable present of your treatise upon augury,

⁹ Brundisium. This letter was written but a few days after the last addressed to Appius, which is likewise dated from this place where Cicero continued about a fortnight. He was prevented from embarking sooner, not only as he waited the arrival of his Lieutenant Pontinus, but also by a slight indisposition. *Ad Att.* v. 8.

which

which you have so affectionately addressed to me ^{A.U. 709}¹. No testimony shall be wanting on my part likewise, of the singular friendship I bear you. The truth is, you have continually risen in my affection ever since you first distinguished me with yours: but you are now still more endeared to me from that regard I entertain for those illustrious persons with whom you have formed a family-alliance ². For Pompey and Brutus, though so distant from each other in point of age, have both of them the same high rank in my esteem. I must add, that the connection between us as fellow-members of the same sacred college ³, especially after the honourable applause I have lately received from

¹ This treatise was drawn up in vindication of the augural science, or the art of fore-telling events, from certain signs which providence was supposed to have intended as intimations of futurity. This science was generally exploded by the wiser part of their philosophers, as having no foundation in reason or experience: but Appian was so weakly credulous, it seems, as seriously to believe and maintain the contrary. See *life of Cui. v. in. p. 348. 8vo. edit.*

² See the latter end of remark 3. on letter 3. of this book, p. 225.

³ The college of Augurs, of which Cicero and Appian were members, consisted at this time of fifteen *Fellows*, (if that term may be allowed) who were all of them persons of the first distinction in Rome. Their office was to determine whether the omens, which were always consulted previously to the transacting of any public business, were favourable for that purpose, or observed in a proper manner.

A.U. 702. you ⁴, is a very powerful cement of our mutual friendship.

If I should have an interview with Clodius, whom I shall endeavour to see as soon as possible, I shall have occasion to write to you more fully. I will at this time therefore only farther assure you, that I read with great pleasure that part of your letter where you tell me, your single reason for continuing in the province, is in order to give me a meeting. Farewel.

This gave them a very considerable authority in the commonwealth as it was in their power to obstruct the most important affairs of the state, by declaring that they were unwarranted by the auspices. Cicero, about two years before the date of the present letter, was elected into this college, in the place of young Crassus, who perished (as has already been observed) in the unfortunate expedition which his father undertook against the Parthians.

⁴ This alludes to the treatise mentioned above, which Appian inscribed to Cicero.

L E T T E R XXVII.

TO CAIUS MEMMIUS ⁵.

I AM doubtful whether I have more reason to A.U. 702.
regret or rejoice, that I did not find you, as I

⁵ The family of Caius Memmius, was esteemed one of the most ancient in all Rome, being descended, it was said, from Mnestheus, a companion of Æneas in his expedition into Italy. Memmius having passed thro' the offices of tribune and prætor, offered himself as a candidate for the consulship, in the year of Rome 699. and the iniquitous engagement into which he entered in order to secure his election, affords a very remarkable specimen, not only of his own character, but of the unparalleled degeneracy of the age in which he lived. The consuls of that year were Domitius Ænobarbus, and Appius Pulcher, the person to whom the preceding letter, and several others in this book are addressed. It was stipulated between these worthy magistrates, and the two associates who were joint-candidates to succeed them, that they should mutually assist each other in their respective views. On the part of the consuls it was agreed, that they should promote the election of Memmius and his friend Calvinus, with all their credit and power. These, in return, entered into a bond in the penalty of somewhat more than 3000*l.* by which they obliged themselves to procure three Augurs who should attest, that they were present in the Comitia when a law passed to invest these consuls with the military command in their provinces. The contract farther added, that they would also produce three persons of consular rank, who should likewise depose, that they were not only present in the senate, but actually in the number of those who signed a decree, by which the usual proconsular appointments were granted to Appius and Ænobarbus. The truth, however, was, that so far from any law or decree of this nature ever having passed, it had not even been *proposed* either to the people or the senate. *En*

Romanos rerum domino, gentemque togatam !

expected,

A.U. 702. expected, in Athens⁶. On the one hand, if that
 meeting would have renewed my concern for

Extraordinary as this infamous association was; it is still more surprizing that Memmius should have had the front publicly to avow it, by becoming himself the informer of the whole transaction. Yet so the fact is: and, in compliance with the persuasions of Pompey, he laid open the whole of this shameful agreement, to the senate. It is difficult to imagine the motive that could induce Memmius to make a discovery, which must shew him to the world, in every view, so completely abandoned. But Pompey, it is highly probable, instigated him to this resolution, with the hope that the rendering public so unexampled a violation of all that ought to be held most sacred in society, would add strength to those flames which now raged in the commonwealth. For most of the historians agree, that Pompey secretly fomented the present tumults, in order to reduce the republic to the necessity of investing him with the supreme authority. What resolutions were taken in the senate upon this occasion, do not clearly appear: for those passages in the letters to Atticus wherein their proceedings in relation to this affair seem to be hinted at, are extremely dark; and rendered still more obscure by the negligence of the transcribers, in blending epistles together of different and distant dates. It is certain, however, that Memmius lost his election: some time after which, being impeached, and sentenced to banishment, he retired to Athens; where he seems to have spent the remainder of his days. He was a man of greater parts than application, and would have proved an excellent orator, if he had trusted less to the strength of his natural genius: or rather indeed, if he had not been too indolent to improve his faculties of this kind, by an habitual exercise. He was not too lazy however to employ them with the ladies: in which he was extremely successful: particularly with the wife of Marcus Lucullus, brother to the celebrated Lucius Lucullus, so well known to every reader of the Roman story. He seems, in truth, to have been one of that sort of men, who, in the language of Shakespear, is *formed to make woman false*: at least if a poet may be supposed no flatterer in the picture he draws of his patron. For Lucretius, who inscribed his poem to Memmius, represents Venus, in his invocation to that goddess, as having bestowed upon this

the

the injustice ⁷ which has been done you; I should A.U. 702.
 have had the satisfaction on the other, of being
 a witness of your supporting it with the most
 philosophical magnanimity. Upon the whole,
 however, I cannot but lament that I did not

her favourite, every charm that could render him the most
 graceful and accomplished of the sons of men :

*Te sociam studeo scribendis versibus esse,
 Quos ego de Rerum Natura pangere conor
 Memmiadæ nostro: quam tu, Dea, tempore in omne
 Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.*

Thy aid, celestial Queen of beauty, bring,
 While nature's laws in vent'rous verse I sing;
 To Memmius sing: the man by Thee design'd,
 With ev'ry grace and ev'ry art refin'd,
 To shine the first and fairest of his kind.

*Gissani prolegom. in Lucret. de gent. Memmia. ad Att. iv. 18.
 Suet. in Aug. 40. Virgil. Æn. i. 286. De clar. orat. 70. Ad
 Att. i. 18. Lucret. i. 25.*

⁶ Cicero took Athens in his way to Cilicia: and Memmius left that city the day before his arrival. Manutius supposes that he withdrew on purpose to avoid our author, with whom, he imagines, Memmius was disgusted for not having given him his assistance at his trial. But this is merely conjecture, and has so much the less foundation as there is not the least hint of this kind in the letter to Atticus wherein Cicero acquaints him with the circumstance of his not meeting with Memmius. *Ad Att. v. 10.*

⁷ It is by no means certain upon what occasion Memmius was banished. The principal commentators indeed are of opinion, that it was in consequence of a prosecution that was commenced against him for those corrupt practices mentioned in the first remark on this letter. But it seems to appear from Cicero's epistles to his brother, either that Memmius and his associates were all acquitted of that impeachment, or that their several prosecutions were dropped. *Vid. ad Q. F. ju. 2. 3. 8.*

see

AU. 702. sec you : for the uneasiness I feel at your unmerited sufferings is too great to have admitted of much encrease by that interview ; and in all other respects it would have added very considerably to my pleasure. It is a pleasure therefore, in which I shall without scruple indulge myself, the first convenient opportunity. In the mean time, so much of the purpose of my intended visit as may be explained, and, I should hope, settled too, in a letter, I will now lay before you. The favour I am going to request, though of little consequence to you, is of much importance to me : however, ere I enter upon the subject, let me previously assure you, that I do not desire you to comply with my inclinations any farther than it shall be agreeable to your own. I must inform you then in the first place, that I am most intimately united with Patro the Epicurean ; in every article, I mean, except his philosophy : for there, indeed, we are at a great distance. I received the first marks of his esteem, so long ago as when he distinguished himself at Rome by his singular attachment to you and your family : and in the cause which he lately gained in our courts, I was a principal advocate both for him and his associates. I must add, that he was recommended

to

to me by my very worthy friend ⁹ Phædrus : a A.U. 702
 man whom, long before I became acquainted
 with Philo ¹, and indeed from my childhood, I
 always highly valued. The first quality that
 recommended him to my esteem, was his philo-
 sophical abilities : as I afterwards had reason to
 admire him for his moral and social virtues.
 Before I left Rome, I received a letter from
 Patro requesting me, in the first place, to in-
 tercede with you to be reconciled to him ; and
 in the next, that you would make him a grant
 of an old ruinous edifice which belongs, it seems,
 to the college of Epicurus ². I forbore writing
 to you however upon this subject, as being un-
 willing to interrupt you in the design, which I
 then thought you entertained, of building upon
 that spot. But I now comply with his solici-
 tation, as he has assured me, since my arrival in
 Athens, that it is the general opinion of your

⁹ Phædrus, it is supposed, was the predecessor of Patro in the Epicurean college.

¹ Cicero in another part of his writings, mentions an Academic philosopher of this name, whose lectures he attended. If the same person be meant in both places, as indeed is highly probable, Mr. Ross is undoubtedly right in charging the learned Manutius with a mistake, in imagining Philo to have been an Epicurean, and predecessor to Phædrus.

² Memmius had obtained a grant of this edifice from the Athenians, in order to build a house for his own use.


friends,

A.U. 702. friends, that you have totally laid aside this scheme. Should this prove to be the real case, and your particular interest should no longer interfere, let me prevail with you to grant his petition. And if you should have taken any little prejudice against my friend, by the ill offices of his countrymen, (whose capricious tempers I am well acquainted with) I intreat you to renounce your resentment, not only for my sake, but in compliance also with the suggestions of your own generous nature. Shall I freely own to you my real sentiments? To confess the truth then, there does not appear any just reason either for his being so earnest in pressing this affair of the edifice, or for your persisting in your refusal. This at least is most evident, that it is much more suitable to a man of his character than of yours, to be obstinate in trifles. You are well apprised, I know, of the plea which Patro alleges, to justify his warmth upon this occasion. I need not mention therefore, that he urges the honour and reverence which is due to the last injunctions of Epicurus²; the particular regard

² "Diogenes Laertius hath preserved in his life of Epicurus, the will of that great philosopher. In the first article, the schools and gardens, and every thing belonging to them, are intailed upon his successors in that sect of philosophy, which should be called after his name." Mr. Ross.

he owes to the earnest request of Phædrus : together with that veneration which ought to be paid to a mansion impressed with the foot-steps of so many celebrated philosophers. One cannot, indeed, condemn his zeal in this instance, without deriding at the same time the whole system of his philosophy. But neither you nor I are such enemies to those of his sect, as not to be inclined to pardon an enthusiast of this sort ; especially as it is a prejudice (if it be a prejudice) that arises from the weakness, not the wickedness, of his heart. But I must not forget to mention another inducement, which engaged me to apply to you in his favour. I will introduce it by assuring you, that I look upon Atticus as my brother : and indeed there is no man who has a more considerable share of my heart, or from whose friendship I derive greater satisfaction *. It is in pursuance of his most earnest intreaty, as well as of Patro's, that I make the present application. And tho' Atticus is by no means of a temper to be importunate,

* The friendship which subsisted between Cicero and Atticus is so well known even to the most common reader, that it would be impertinent to make it the subject of a note † as it would be foreign to the purpose of these remarks, to enter into the character of that celebrated Roman, who is only mentioned incidentally in this place, and bears no part in the correspondence contained in the present collection.

A.U.702.  nor has any ambitious purposes of his own to gratify; yet he has desired me, with all the ardour imaginable, to exert my utmost interest with you in this affair. Not that he is influenced by his particular attachment to this sect; for he has too much learning as well as judgment, to be a bigot to their unphilosophical tenets: but he is swayed intirely by his friendship for Patro, and the esteem he entertained for his predecessor in this college, the worthy Phædrus. He is persuaded that my influence with you is so great, that the slightest intimation from me would prevail with you to relinquish your right to this edifice, even thro' you had intended to make use of it for your own purposes. If he should hear therefore, that notwithstanding you have no such design, I have nevertheless proved unsuccessful in my application; he will have a worse opinion of *my* friendship than of *yours*, and imagine I did not sufficiently enforce his request. I intreat you then to signify to your agents at Athens, your consent to the repeal of the decree of the Areopagites⁵, which has been made in relation to this structure. Nevertheless, I will end as I began, and again

⁵ The Areopagites were magistrates who presided in the supreme council and court of judicature at Athens, called the Areopagus.

assure you, that although nothing will be more acceptable to me, than your compliance in the present instance; yet I press it no farther than as it may co-incide with your own inclinations. Farewel.

AU. 702.

L E T T E R XXVIII.

TO MARCUS COELIUS⁶.

COULD you seriously then imagine, my friend, that I commissioned you to send me the idle news of the town; matches of gladiators, adjournments of causes, robberies, and the rest of those uninteresting occurrences, which no one ventures to mention to me, even when I am in the midst of them at Rome? Far other are the accounts which I expect from your hand: as I know not any man whose judgment in politics I have more reason to value. I should esteem it a misemployment of your talents, even were you to transmit to me those more important transactions that daily arise in the republic; unless they should happen to relate immediately to myself. There are other less penetrating politicians, who will send me intelligence of this sort: and I shall be abun-

⁶ This letter, as well as the preceding one, was written from Athens. and is an answer to the 25th of this book, p. 272

A U. 702. dantly supplied with it likewise by common fame. In short, it is not an account either of what has lately been transacted, or is in present agitation, that I require in your letters: I expect, as from one whose discernment is capable of looking far into futurity, your opinion of what is likely to happen. Thus, by seeing a plan, as it were, of the republic, I shall be enabled to judge what kind of structure will probably arise. Hitherto, however, I have no reason to charge you with having been negligent in communicating to me your prophetic conjectures. For the events which have lately happened in the commonwealth, were much beyond any man's penetration: I am sure at least they were beyond mine.

I passed several days with Pompey⁷ in conversation upon public affairs: but it is neither prudent, nor possible, to give you the particulars in a letter. In general, however, I will assure you, that he is animated with the most patriot sentiments⁸, and is prudently prepared,

⁷ See rem. 8. p. 275. of this vol.

⁸ Cicero so often changed his opinion, or at least his language in regard to Pompey, that it is difficult to determine what his true sentiments of him were. It is probable, however, that he here speaks the dictates of his real thought, not only as he gives the same account to Atticus, but because Pompey received him with particular civility: a circumstance which seems at all times to have had a very considerable influence upon Cicero's judgment, con-

as well as resolutely determined, to act as the *interest of the republic shall require*. I would A.U. 702 advise you therefore wholly to attach yourself to him : and believe me, he will rejoice to embrace you as his friend. He now indeed entertains the same opinion both with you and myself, of the good and ill intentions ^{of} the different parties in the republic.

I have spent these last ten days at Athens : from whence I am this moment setting out. During my continuance in this city, I have frequently enjoyed the company of our friend Gallus Caninius ⁹.

I recommend all my affairs to your care and protection, but particularly (what indeed is my principal concern) that my residence in the province may not be prolonged ¹. I will not

cerning the characters and designs of men. *Vid. Ad Att. v. 6, 7.*

⁹ It appears by the 5th letter of the preceding book, that when Pompey was exhibiting his entertainments at the opening of his celebrated theatre ; Cicero was engaged in the defence of one Gallus Caninius. Manutius conjectures that this is the same person, who in consequence of that impeachment, was now, he supposes, an exile at Athens

¹ The succession to the several provinces, was usually annual. As Cicero entered upon his government much against his inclinations, he was extremely uneasy lest by any accidental circumstances of the republic, he should be continued in it beyond the expiration of his year. The province was a scene by no means suitable to his temper or talents : and he was impatient to return to the Forum, and the senate, where he imagined he could shine with a much

A.U. 702. prescribe the methods you should employ for that purpose : as you are the most competent judge by what means, and by whose intervention, it may be best effected. Farewel.

July the 6th.

LETTER XXIX.

MARCUS COLLIUS ² TO CICERO.

YES, my friend ; Messalla ³ is most certainly acquitted : and acquitted too, not only by a majority in the several orders ⁴ which

more advantageous lustre. His conduct however was in no part of his life so unquestionably laudable, as in his administration of Cilicia . as will appear, perhaps, from the remarks on the following book. *Ad Att. v. 10. 15.*

² It seems probable from one of the epistles to Atticus, that Cicero received this letter at Gyarus, a little island in the Ægæan sea : at which he touched in his voyage to Cilicia. *Ad Att. v. 12.*

³ Marcus Valerius Messalla, was consul in the year of Rome 700. The corrupt measures which he, as well as the rest of those who were joint-candidates with him, pursued, in order to secure their election, were so extravagantly profuse, as to occasion the interest of money to advance to double the usual rate. It was for those illegal practices, that he was this year brought upon his trial. *Ad Att. iv. 15.*

⁴ The bench of judges, by a late regulation of Pompey, was composed of senators, knights, and certain officers always chosen from among the Plebeians, called *Tribuni æuarii*, who in modern language might perhaps be styled, auditors of the treasury. These judges (somewhat in the nature of our juries) were divided into three classes, agree-

compose

compose the bench of judges, but by every individual member of each respective class. I ^{A.U. 703.} give you this as a fact within my own knowledge: for I was present when their verdict was delivered. You must not imagine, however, that the world is convinced of his innocence: on the contrary, never was there an event more unexpected, or which raised so universal an indignation. For my own part, even with all my prejudices in his favour, I was under the utmost astonishment when I heard him pronounced not guilty: and indeed it was a circumstance I so little expected, that I was actually preparing to condole with him on the reverse. What must have been the surprise then, of others less biassed in his behalf! The whole assembly, in truth, warmly exclaimed against the judges: and very strongly intimated, that they looked upon them as guilty of the most insufferable corruption. My friend, in the mean time, is in much greater danger than he was before: as he will now most assuredly be indicted on the Licinian law⁵. I must not forget to add, that

ably to their respective orders, and gave their verdict by Ballots.

⁵ The author of this law was M. Licinius Crassus, when he was consul with Pompey an. urb. 698. It was called *de Sodalitius*: by which seems to have been understood an unlawful making of parties at elections. See *Ken. R. Antig.* p. 177.

A.U. 702. the day after his trial, his advocate Hortensius⁶ appeared in Curio's theatre⁷: with a view, I suppose, of receiving the general congratulations. But he no sooner entered than lo!

*The hiss contemptuous, and indignant roar,
With thunder harsh the rending concave tore.*

This circumstance is so much the more observable, as Hortensius has passed on to a good old age, without ever having before been thus insulted. But it broke out upon him with so much violence in the present instance, that it might well suffice for a whole life: as I am persuaded indeed, it occasioned him heartily to repent of the victory he had obtained.

I have no political news to send you. Marcellus has dropped the design⁸, upon which he was lately so intent: but not so much from indolence, I^a believe, as prudence. It is wholly

⁶ Hortensius was uncle to Messalla; and the only orator of this age whose eloquence stood in any degree of competition with Cicero's. See vol. II. p. 45. rem. 5.

⁷ This theatre was erected by Curio on occasion of those games which he exhibited in honour of his father's memory. See rem. 6 p. 236. of this vol.

⁸ Cælius in this instance was not so happy in his conjectures, as Cicero represents him in the foregoing letter. For Marcellus had not dropped the design, to which Cælius here alludes: as appears, not only from the authority cited in rem. 7 p. 275. of this vol. but also from one of his own subsequent epistles. See the 7th letter of the following book, p. 359.

uncertain who will be our succeeding consuls. A.U. 702.

As to my own pursuits; there are two competitors with me for the *Ædileship*: the one really is, and the other would fain be thought, a man of quality. In short, Marcus Octavius ⁹ and Caius Hirrus ¹ are candidates with me for that office ². I mention this, as I know your

⁹ No particular account can be given of the person here mentioned. It is certain however, he was not the same Octavius, who was father of Augustus Cæsar. For it appears by the epistles to Atticus that the latter was governor of Macedonia long before the time when this letter was written: and consequently could not now be a candidate for the office of *Ædile*.

¹ Hirrus was a warm partizan of Pompey: but if Cicero, who was his declared enemy, may be credited, he was of a character more likely to prejudice than advance any cause he should espouse. For he represents him as an empty, conceited coxcomb, who had the mortification to stand unrivaled in the good opinion he entertained of his own merit and importance. *O Du!* (says he, speaking of Hirrus in a letter to his brother) *O Du! quam ineptus; quam se ipse amans sine rivali!* Yet a time came when Cicero did not scruple to court the friendship of this man, whom he so much affected to despise. and when he was making interest to obtain the honour of a triumph for his exploits in Cilicia, we find him applying to Atticus for his good offices, in order to close the breach between Hirrus and himself. Cicero seems indeed upon many occasions to have recollected too late, that in popular governments, a man who is not superior to the ambition and interests of the world, can scarcely make a contemptible enemy. *Ad Q. F. iii. 8. Ad Att. vii. 1.*

² The *Ædiles* were of two kinds, plebeian and curule: and it was the latter office that Cælius was at this time soliciting. They had the care of the temples, Theatres, and other public structures. they were the judges likewise in all causes relative to the selling or exchanging estates. *Rosin. Antiq.*

A.U. 702. contempt for the latter will raise your impatience to be informed of the event of this election. I intreat you, as soon as you shall hear that I am chosen, to give proper directions about the Panthers³: and in the mean time, that you would endeavour to procure the sum of money which is due to me on the bond of Sittius.

I sent my first collection of domestic news by Lucius Castrinius Pætus: and I have given the subsequent part to the bearer of this letter. Farewel,

³ It was customary for the *Ædiles* to entertain the people with public shews twice during their office. The principal part of these entertainments consisted in combats of wild beasts of the most uncommon kinds. *Manut.*

LETTER XXX,

From the Same.

OW N the truth, my friend : have I not A U. 702.
verified what I could not persuade you to
believe when you left Rome, and written to you
as frequently as I promised ? I am sure at least,
if all my letters have reached your hands, you
must acknowledge that I have been a more
punctual correspondent than yourself. I am the
more regular in my commerce of this kind, as
it is the only method I have of amusing those
few vacant hours I can steal from business, and
which I used to take so much pleasure in passing
with you. I greatly, indeed, lament your ab-
sence, and look upon it, not only as having re-
duced me, but all Rome in general, to a state
of total solitude. When you were within my
reach, I was careless enough to let whole days
slip by me without seeing you : but now you
are absent, I am every moment regretting the
loss of your company. Thanks to my noble
competitor Hirrus, for giving me an additional
reason thus frequently to wish for you. It
would afford you high diversion, in truth, to
observe with what a ridiculous awkwardness this
formidable

A.U 702. formidable rival of yours⁴, endeavours to conceal his mortification, in finding that my interest in the approaching election⁵ is much stronger than his own. Believe me, however, it is more for your gratification than mine, that I am desirous you may soon receive such an account of his success in this pursuit, as I know you wish. For as to myself, his disappointment may possibly prove a means of my being chosen in conjunction with a colleague, whose superior finances will draw me, I fear, into much inconvenient expence. But however that may be, I shall rejoice if Hirrus should be thrown out: as it will supply us with an inexhaustible fund of mirth. And this appears likely enough to prove the case: for the disgust which the people have conceived against the other candidate Marcus Octavius, does not seem to have any great effect in lessening their many objections to Hirrus.

As to what concerns the behaviour of Philotimus, in relation to Milo's estate⁶; I have en-

⁴ Hirrus stood in competition with Cicero for the office of Augur, when the latter was chosen.

⁵ See the preceding letter.

⁶ Milo having been sentenced to banishment; (See rem. 1. p. 37. of this vol.) his estate was sold for the benefit of his creditors. Philotimus, a freed-man of Cicero, bought this estate in partnership with some others, at an under-value. It was thought strange, that Cicero should

devoured

deavoured that he shall act in such a manner as A.U.702.
 to give full satisfaction to Milo and his friends,
 and at the same time clear your character from
 all imputation,

And now I have a favour to beg in my turn :
 let me intreat you, when your leisure shall per-
 mit (as I hope it soon will) to give me an instance
 of your regard, by inscribing to me some of your
 literary performances. You will wonder, per-
 haps, at the oddness of this request : but I am
 very desirous, I confess, that posterity should
 see, among the many ingenious monuments you
 have erected to friendship, some memorial like-
 wise of the amity which subsisted between us.
 You who possess the whole circle of science, will
 best judge what would be the most proper sub-
 ject for this purpose : but I should be glad it

suffer Philotimus, who acted as a sort of a steward in his family, to engage in a purchase of this kind, which was always looked upon as odious, and was particularly so in the present case. for Cicero had received great obligations from Milo. Accordingly the latter complained of it in the letters he wrote to his friends at Rome. This alarmed Cicero for his reputation. and he seems to have written to Cœlius, as he did to several others of his correspondents, to accommodate this affair in the way that would be most to his honour. It was not easy however entirely to vindicate him upon this article. for tho' he pleaded in his justification an intent of serving Milo ; yet it appears very evidently from his letters to Atticus upon this subject, that he shared with Philotimus in the advantages of the purchase. *Ascon. in orat. pro Milon. Ad Att. v. 8. vi. 4. 5. See also Mong. rem. sur les let. à Att. vol. iii. p. 48.*

might

A.U. 702. might be of a kind that will take in the greatest number of readers, and at the same time bear a proper relation to my own studies and character. Farewel,

L E T T E R XXXI,


To APPIUS PULCHER.

I Arrived at Tralles ⁷ on the 27th of July, where I found Lucilius waiting for me with your letter, which he delivered together with your message. You could not have employed upon this occasion a more friendly hand, or one who is better qualified to give me light into those affairs, concerning which I was so desirous of being informed. Accordingly I listened to his accounts with great attention: as I read your letter with much pleasure. I will not remind you of the numerous good offices which have passed between us: since that part of my last, you tell me, tho' extremely agreeable to you, was by no means necessary. I entirely agree with you indeed, that a well-confirmed friendship, needs not to be animated with any memorials of this nature. You must allow me, however, to return those acknowledgments I so

⁷ A city in Asia Minor.

justly owe you, for the obliging precautions which I find by your letter you have taken, in order to ease me in the future functions of my government. Highly acceptable to me as these your generous services are, can I fail of being desirous to convince both you and the world, that I am most warmly your friend? If there be any, who pretend to doubt of this truth, it is rather because they wish it otherwise, than because it is not sufficiently evident. If they do not yet perceive it however, they certainly shall; as we are neither of us so obscure that our actions can pass unregarded: and the proofs I purpose to give, will be too conspicuous not to force themselves upon their observation. But I will not indulge myself any farther on this subject; chusing to refer you to my actions rather than my professions.

As I find the route I proposed to take, has raised some doubt in you, whether you shall be able to give me a meeting; I think it necessary to explain that matter. In the conversation which I had with your freed-man Phantias at Brundisium, I told him I would land in any part of the province that should be most convenient to you. Accordingly he mentioned Sida; as being the port, he said, where you intended to embark. It was my resolution
therefore.

A.U. 702.  therefore to have sailed thither : but meeting afterwards with our friend Clodius at Corcyra ⁸, he dissuaded me from that design ; assuring me that you would be at Laodicea on my arrival. I should have preferred the former as being much the nearest port, and indeed the most agreeable to me : especially as I imagined it would be so to you. But you have since, it seems, altered your plan : and therefore you now can best settle the measures for our interview. As for myself, I propose to be at Laodicea ⁹ about the first of August : where I shall continue a few days in order to get my bills exchanged. From thence I intend to go to the army ; so that I hope to reach Iconium ¹ towards the 13th of the same month. But if any accident should prevent or retard these designs, (as indeed I am at present far distant both from the places and the purposes of my destination) I will take care to give you as frequent and as expeditious notice as possible of the several times and stages of my journey. I neither ought, nor in truth, desire, to lay you under any difficulties :

⁸ An island in the Ionian sea, at which Cicero touched in his voyage to Cilicia. It is now called, *Corfu*, and belongs to the republic of Venice.

⁹ A city in Phrygia, situated on the river Lycus.

¹ A principal city in the province of Cilicia. It still subsists under the name of *Cogni* ; and belongs to the Turkish dominions.

however,

however, if it might be effected without inconvenience to yourself, it seems greatly for our mutual interest that we should have a conference before you leave the province. Nevertheless, if any disappointment should obstruct our interview, you may still rely upon my best services; and with the same security as if we had met. In the mean while, I shall forbear to enter upon the subject of our affairs by letter, till I despair of talking them over with you in person.

A.U. 702.

I spent the three days I continued at Ephesus², with Scævola³. But though we entered very freely into conversation, he did not mention the least word of your having desired him to take upon himself the government of the province, during the interval between your leaving it and my arrival. I wish, however, it had been in his power (for I cannot persuade myself it was not in his inclination) to have complied with your request. Farewel.

² A very celebrated city in Ionia, situated not far from Smyrna.

³ He was probably either quæstor, or lieutenant, to Appius.

LETTER XXXII.

MARCUS COELIUS TO CICERO.

AU 702.

YOU are certainly to be envied, who have every day some new wonder to enjoy : as your admiration receives constant supplies in the accounts of those strange events that happen amongst us. Thus, with what astonishment will you hear that Messalla ⁴, after having been acquitted of his first impeachment, was condemned on a second ; that Marcellus ⁵ is chosen consul ; that Calidius ⁶ after having lost his election,

⁴ He was cousin to the present consul Marcus Marcellus. The reader will find an account of him in the farther progress of these remarks.

⁵ In the text he is called Marcus Claudius : but Manutius and Corradus both agree in the reading here adopted ; which is likewise confirmed by Pighius. He was competitor for the consulate with Marcellus, mentioned in the preceding note. The wonder therefore in these two instances, was, (as Mr Ross observes) that Marcellus should be chosen consul who was an avowed enemy to Cæsar : while Calidius, though supported by the Cæsarian party, lost his election.

⁶ Calidius was one of the most agreeable orators of his age : as Cicero, who has drawn his character at large, informs us. His sentiments were conceived with uncommon delicacy : as they were delivered in the most correct, perspicuous and elegant expression. His words were so happily combined together, and accorded with each other in such a well-adjusted arrangement, that Cicero, by a


was immediately impeached by the two Galli; and that Dolabella⁷ is appointed one of the Quindecimvirs⁸! In one article however, you are a loser by your absence; as it deprived you of a most diverting spectacle in the rueful countenance which Lentulus⁹ exhibited, when he found himself disappointed of his election. It was an event for which he was so little prepared, that he entered the field in all the gay confidence of victory: whilst his competitor Dolabella, on the contrary, was so diffident of success, that if

very strong image, compares his stile to a piece of beautiful in-laid-work. His metaphors were so justly imagined, and so properly introduced, that they rather seemed to arise spontaneously out of his subject, than to have been transplanted from a foreign soil. His periods at the same time, were exquisitely musical. They did not however lull the ear with one uniform cadence; but were artfully diversified with all the various modulations of the most skilful harmony. In short, if to instruct and to please had been the single excellencies of an orator; Calpurnius would have merited the first rank in the Roman Forum. But he forgot, that the principal business of his profession was to animate, and to inflame. *Cic. de clar. orat.* 274.

⁷ A particular account will be given of him in the notes on the following book.

⁸ They were the presiding magistrates at the Apollinarian and secular games, and entrusted likewise with the care of the Sibylline oracles. See Mr. Ross on this epistle.

⁹ There is some variation among the Mss. in the reading of this name. The best commentators however suppose, that this person is the same who was advanced to the consulship two years after the date of this letter: that is, in the year of Rome 704. It appears he was a competitor with Dolabella for the office of Quindecimvir.

A.U. 702.  our friends of the Equestrian order had not been too wise to have suffered him, he would have tamely retreated without the least contest. But as much disposed as you may be to wonder at our transactions, you will not be surprised, I dare say, when I inform you that Servius, the Tribune elect, has been tried and convicted; and that Curio ¹⁰ is a candidate to succeed him. This last circumstance greatly alarms those who are unacquainted with the real good qualities of Curio's heart. I hope, and indeed believe, he will act agreeably to his professions, and join with the senate in supporting the friends of the republic. I am sure at least, he is full of these designs at present: in which Cæsar's conduct has been the principal occasion of engaging him. For Cæsar, tho' he spares no pains or expence to gain over even the lowest of the people to his interest ¹¹, has thought fit to treat Curio with singular contempt. The latter has behaved with so much temper upon this occasion, that he,

¹⁰ See rem. I. p. 217. of this vol.

¹¹ The account which Dion Cassius gives of Cæsar, exactly corresponds with what Cælius here asserts. For it appears from this historian, that Cæsar, when he could not by direct means secure the ~~master~~ in his interest, insinuated himself by proper applications into the good graces of the favourite slave and by condescensions of this political kind, he gained over many persons of principal rank in Rome. *Dio*, xl. p. 149.

who never acted with artifice in all his life¹², is suspected to have dissembled his resentment in order the more effectually to defeat the schemes of those who oppose his election: I mean the Lælii and the Antonii, together with the rest of that wonderful party. A.U. 702.

I have been so much engaged by the difficulties which have retarded the several elections, that I could not find leisure to write to you sooner: and indeed as I every day expected they would be determined, I waited their conclusion, that I might give you at once an account of the whole. But it is now the first of August, and they are not yet over; the elections of prætors having met with some unexpected delays. As to that in which I am a candidate, I can give you no account which way it is likely to be decided: only it is generally thought that Hirrus will not be chosen. This is collected from the fate that has attended Vinicianus, who was a candi-

¹² If Curio did not act with artifice in the present instance: (of which however there is great reason to doubt) it is certain at least, that he was far from being so incapable of assuming that character, as Cælius here represents him. On the contrary, it appears by the concurrent testimony of the antient historians, that he secretly favoured the cause of Cæsar, long before he avowed his party. And Dion Cassius in particular assures us, that Curio, at the same time that he pretended to act in concert with the enemies of Cæsar, was only gaining their confidence in order to betray them. *Vid. Patere.* ii. 48. *Dio*, xl. p. 149.

A.U. 702. date for the office of Plebeian *Ædile*¹³. That foolish project of his for the nomination of a dictator¹⁴ (which we formerly, you may remember, exposed to so much ridicule) suddenly turned the election against him: and the people expressed the loudest acclamations of joy at his repulse. At the same time Hirrus was universally called upon by the populace to give up his pretensions at the ensuing election. I hope therefore you will very soon hear that this affair is determined in the manner you wish with respect to me, and which you scarce dare promise yourself¹⁵, I know, with regard to Hirrus.

As to the state of the commonwealth; we begin to give up all expectation that the face of

¹³ The Plebeian *Ædiles* were chosen out of the commons: and were in some respects a sort of coadjutors to the Tribunes.

¹⁴ The dictator was a magistrate invested with supreme and absolute power. but was never created unless on emergencies of great and sudden danger, which required the exertion of an extraordinary authority. Accordingly it was on occasion of the disturbances that happened at Rome in the year 700, (See rem. 9. p. 256. and rem. 5. p. 263. of this vol.) that some of the friends and flatterers of Pompey proposed him for this office. Vinicianus and Hirrus were the principal promoters of this scheme: but it was so unacceptable to the people in general, that this single circumstance, it appears, turned the election against the former; and probably was the chief reason that the latter was likewise disappointed of the *Ædileship*. See let. 29. of this book, p. 295. *Ad. Q. F.* iii. 8.


¹⁵ Because Hirrus was supported by Pompey.

public affairs will be changed. However, at a meeting of the senate, holden on the 22d of the last month in the temple of Apollo, upon a debate relating to the payment of the forces commanded by Pompey ¹⁶, mention was made of that legion, which, as appeared by his accounts, had been lent to Cæsar: and he was asked, of what number of men it consisted, and for what purposes it was borrowed. In short, Pompey was pushed so strongly upon this article, that he found himself under a necessity of promising to recall this legion out of Gaul: but he added at the same time, that the clamours of his enemies should not force him to take this step too precipitately. It was afterwards moved, that the question might be put concerning the election of a successor to Cæsar. Accordingly the senate came to a resolution that Pompey (who was just going to the army at Ariminum ¹⁷, and is now actually set out for that purpose) should be

A.U. 702.

¹⁶ Pompey, tho' he remained in Rome, was at this time governor of Spain. which had been continued to him for four years at the end of his late consulship. It was the payment of his troops in that province, which was under the consideration of the senate. *Plut. in vii. Pomp.*

¹⁷ Now called Rimini, situated upon the Rubicon: a river which divided Italy from that part of the Roman province called Cisalpine Gaul. The army here-mentioned, is supposed to be part of those four legions which were decreed to Pompey for the support of his government in Spain. *Vid. Plut. ibid.*

A.U.702.  ordered to return to Rome with all' expedition, that the affair relating to a general election of new governors for all the provinces, might be debated in his presence. This point, I imagine, will be brought before the senate on the 13th of this month : when, if no infamous obstacles should be thrown in the way by the tribunes ¹⁸, the house will certainly come to some resolution. For Pompey, in the course of the debate, let fall an intimation, that he "thought every man owed obedience to the authority of that assembly." However, I am impatient to hear what Paulus, the senior consul elect, will say when he delivers his opinion upon this question.

I repeat my former request in relation to the money due to me on the bond of Sittius : and I do so, that you may see it is an article in which I am greatly interested. I must again likewise intreat you to employ the Cybiratæ ¹⁹,

¹⁸ Some of the tribunes, together with Sulpicius one of the present consuls, were wholly in Cæsar's interest. They thought, or pretended to think, that it was highly unjust to divest Cæsar of his government, before the time was completed for which it had been decreed, and of which there now remained about two years unexpired. *Dis.* xl. p. 148.

¹⁹ "Cibyra was a city of Phrygia major, situated upon the banks of the river Meander, and gave name to one of the these Asiatic dioceses which were under the jurisdiction of the governor of Cilicia." *Mr. Ross.*

in order to procure me some Panthers. I have only to add, that we have received certain accounts of the death of Ptolemy ²⁰. Let me know therefore what measures you would advise me, to take upon this occasion; in what condition he has left his kingdom; and in whose hands the administration is placed. Farewel.

A.U.702.

August the first.

L E T T E R XXXIII.

To the Same.

HOW far you may be alarmed at the invasion ¹ which threatens your Province and the neighbouring countries, I know not: but

²⁰ Ptolemy Auletes: of whom an account has been given in the notes on the first book. By the following inquiries which Cælius makes, it is probable he was one of those who had lent money to that king when he was at Rome, soliciting the senate to assist him with troops for the recovery of his dominions. See rem. 2. p. 51 of this vol.

¹ The Parthians, having lately obtained a most signal victory over Crassus, (an account of whose unfortunate expedition has already been given in the course of these notes) were preparing to make an incursion into the Roman provinces that lay contiguous to their dominions. Accordingly they soon afterwards executed this design by invading Syria and Cilicia: as will be related at large in the letters of the following book.

The kingdom of Parthia is now included in the empire of Persia: of which it makes a very considerable province.

A.U. 702. for myself, I confess, I am extremely anxious for the consequence. Could we contrive indeed, that the enemy's forces should be only in proportion to the number of yours, and just sufficient to entitle you to the honour of a triumph²; there could not be a more desirable circumstance. But the misfortune is, if the Parthians should make any attempt, I well know it will be a very powerful one: and I am sensible at the same time, that you are so little in a condition to oppose their march, that you have scarce troops to defend a single defile. But the world in general, will not be so reasonable as to make the proper allowances for this circumstance. On the contrary, it is expected from a man in your station, that he should be prepared for every occurrence that may arise; without once considering whether he is furnished with the necessary supplies for that purpose. I am still the more uneasy upon your account, as I foresee the contests concerning affairs in Gaul, will retard the nomination of your successor: and tho' I dare say, you have already had this contingency in your view, yet I thought proper to apprise you of its probabi-

² No general could legally claim this honour, unless he had destroyed 5000 of the enemy in one engagement* *Val. Max.* ii. 8.

lity, that you might be so much the more early in adjusting your measures accordingly. I need not tell you that the usual artifices will undoubtedly be played off. A day will be appointed for considering of a successor to Cæsar: upon which some tribune ³ will interpose his negative; and then a second will probably declare, that unless the senate shall be at liberty to put the question freely concerning all the provinces in general, he will not suffer it to be debated with regard to any in particular. And thus we shall be trifled with for a considerable time: possibly, indeed, two or three years may be spun out by these contemptible arts *for ever*. A U. 702.

If any thing new had occurred in public affairs, I should, as usual, have sent you the account, together with my sentiments thereupon: but at present the wheels of our political machine seem to be altogether motionless. Marcellus is still pursuing his former designs concerning the provinces: but he has not yet been able to assemble a competent number of senators. Had ⁴ this motion been brought on the preceding year,

³ See rem. 18. on the foregoing letter.

⁴ There is an obscurity in the original, which the commentators have endeavoured to dissipate by various readings. None of their conjectures, however, appear so much to the purpose, as that of an ingenious gentleman, to whose animadversions I have already acknowledged myself indebted. See rem. * p. 197. of this vol. My judicious friend

and

AU. 702. and had Curio at the same time been tribune; *it would probably have succeeded:* but as affairs are now circumstanced, you are sensible how easy it will be for Cæsar, regardless as he is of the public interest when it stands in competition with his own, to obstruct all our proceedings. Farewell.

LETTER XXXIV.

From the Same.

WILL you ~~not~~ be surprised when I tell you of the victory I have gained over Hirrus? But if you knew how easy a conquest he proved, you would blush to think, that so powerless a competitor once ventured to stand forth as your rival². His behaviour since this repulse, affords us much diversion: as he now affects upon all occasions to act the patriot, and vote against Cæsar. Accordingly he insists upon Cæsar's being immediately recalled: and

supposes that some words of the same import with those which are distinguished by italics in the translation, have been omitted, by the carelessness of transcribers; a supposition extremely probable, and which solves the principal difficulty of the text

¹ At the election for curule Ædiles. See let. 29. of this book.


² As a candidate with Cicero for the office of Augur.

most

most unmercifully inveighs against the conduct of Curio. In a word, as little conversant as he is in the business of the Forum, he is now become an *advocate* professed; and most magnanimously pleads ~~in~~ the cause of liberty^a. You are to observe however, that it is only in a morning he is seized with these violent fits of patriotism: for he is generally much too elevated in an afternoon to descend into so grave a character.

I mentioned in one of my former, that the affair of the provinces would come before the senate on the 13th of the last month: nevertheless by the intervention of Marcellus, the consul elect, it was put off to the first of this instant. But when the day arrived, they could not procure a sufficient number of senators to be present. It is now the second of September, and nothing has yet been done in this business: and I am persuaded it will be adjourned to the following year. As far as I can foresee therefore, you must be contented to leave the administration of your province in the hands of some person, whom you shall think proper to appoint for that purpose: as I am well convinced

^a Instead of *agit causas liberalis*, as in the common editions, I read with Gronovius, *agit causam libertatis*.


A.U. 702.  you will not soon be relieved by a successor. For as Gaul must take the same fate with the rest of the provinces; any attempt that shall be made for settling the general succession, will certainly be obstructed by Cæsar's party. Of this I have not the least doubt: and therefore I thought it necessary to give you notice, that you may be prepared to act accordingly.

I believe I have reminded you of the Panthers, in almost every one of my letters: and surely you will not suffer Patiscus to be more liberal in this article than yourself. He has made Curio a present of no less than half a score: great therefore will be your disgrace, if you should not send me a much larger number. In the mean time, Curio has given me those he received from Patiscus, together with as many more from Africa: for you are to know, it is not only in granting away the lands of the ⁷ public, that the generous Curio displays his liberality. As to yourself, if you can but charge your memory with my request, you may easily procure me as many of these animals as you please: it is only sending for some of the Cybiratæ to hunt them, and issuing forth your orders likewise into Pam-

⁷ This seems to allude to some attempts which Curio had lately made to revive the Agrarian law. See rem. 13. p. 165. of this vol.

phylia; where, I am told, they are taken in great abundance. I am the more solicitous upon this article, as I believe my colleague and I shall exhibit our games separately; so that the whole preparation for them must lie singly upon myself. I know you love ease as well as I do: but I should be glad if you could by any means prevail with yourself to part with a little of it upon the present occasion. In good earnest, you will have no other trouble, than merely to give your commands: as my people, whom I have sent into your province in order to recover the money due to me from Sittius, will be ready to receive the Panthers and convey them into Italy. It is probable likewise, if you should give me any hopes of succeeding in my request, that I may send a reinforcement to assist them.

I recommend Marcus Feridius, a Roman knight, to your protection and friendship, who comes into Cilicia to transact some business relating to his private affairs. He is a young man of great worth and spirit: and his father is my very particular friend. He holds an estate under certain cities in your government, of which he is desirous to procure the enfranchisement: and I am persuaded he may easily obtain his point, by the intervention of your good offices. Your
employing

A.U.702.  employing them upon this occasion, will indeed be doing an honour to yourself: as it will oblige two men of great merit, who, I will venture to assure you, are not capable of proving ungrateful.

You were mistaken when you imagined that Favonius ⁸ was opposed by the more contemptible part of the people: on the contrary, it was all the better fort that voted against him. Your friend Pompey openly declares, that Cæsar ought not to be admitted as a candidate for the consulship, while he retains his command in the province ⁹. He voted however, against passing a decree for this purpose at present. Scipio ¹ moved, that the first of March next,

⁸ He was a great admirer and imitator of the virtues and manners of Cato: as he was also in the number of those who assassinated Cæsar. Manutius conjectures, that he was at this time chosen prætor. *Plat. in vit. Pomp. Dio,* xlvii. p. 356.

⁹ Pompey, who contributed more than any man to the advancement of Cæsar's power, had lately procured a law, by which the personal appearance of the latter was dispensed with in soliciting the consular office. But Pompey now began to repent of a concession so entirely unconstitutional not that his own designs were more favourable to the liberties of Rome, than those of Cæsar: but as discovering at last that they could not both subsist together. His present opposition however, was as impotent, as his former compliances were impolitic; and only tended to bring on so much the sooner his own destruction together with that of the republic. *Vid. ad Att. viii. 3.*

¹ Metellus Scipio. he was chosen consul by Pompey the latter end of the last year, agreeably to a power with which

might be appointed for taking into consideration the nominating a successor in the Gallic provinces; and that this matter should be proposed to the house separately and without blending it with any other question. Balbus Cornelius ² was much discomposed at this motion: and I am well assured, he has complained of it to Scipio in very strong terms.

Canidius defended himself upon his trial with much eloquence: but in the impeachment which he afterwards exhibited, he supported his charge with little force or spirit. Farewel.

he was invested by the senate, for nominating his colleague. Pompey likewise married his daughter, the amiable Cornelia: who added to the charms of her person, every moral and intellectual qualification that could render her the most estimable and accomplished of her sex. And yet with all these extraordinary endowments, she was still more distinguished by that singular modesty and humility with which they were accompanied. It is Plutarch who gives her this character upon which Monsieur Dacier remarks; *Je dois être plus persuadé qu'un autre, que l'éloge que Plutarque donne à Cornélie, peut n'être point flatté. J'ai un exemple domestique, qui prouve que beaucoup d'esprit et de savoir, et de grands talens peuvent se trouver dans une femme, et être accompagnés d'une modestie aussi grande et plus estimable encore que ses talens.* May I add my suffrage to that of this celebrated critic, by declaring from the same domestic experience, that uncommon knowledge and a superior understanding, are perfectly consistent with those more valuable qualities of the heart which constitute the principal grace and ornament of the female character. *Plut. in vit. Pomp. Les vies de Plut. par Dac. vol. v. p. 498. rem. 89*

² He was inviolably attached to Cæsar, and seems to have been the principal manager of his affairs at Rome.

LETTER XXXV.

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS³, consul.

A.U.702. **I** Very warmly congratulate you on your relation Caius Marcellus being elected to succeed you: as I sincerely rejoice in your having received this happy fruit of your pious affection to your family, of your patriot-zeal to your country, and of your illustrious deportment in the con-

³ He was distinguished by a long line of ancestors, who had borne the most honourable offices in the republic: as he himself was advanced to the consular dignity this year, in conjunction with Servius Sulpicius Rufus. It is mentioned to the credit of both these illustrious magistrates, that they were chosen without having employed those corrupt and violent measures, which were at this period so generally practised. and Marcellus, in particular, had recommended himself to the people by the superior grace and energy of his eloquence. It has already been observed in these remarks, that he was extremely zealous in promoting the decree by which Cæsar was recalled from his province, and which forwarded the flames of that unhappy civil war, which soon afterwards broke out to the destruction of the commonwealth. Upon that occasion, Marcellus took the part of Pompey. But after the battle of Pharsalia, he threw down his arms, and withdrew to Mitylenæ, the capital of Lesbos, where he purposed to devote the remainder of his days to a philosophical retirement. But being persuaded by his friends, and particularly by Cicero, to accept the clemency of the victor; he at length yielded to their solicitation. and was preparing to return home, when he was cruelly assassinated by a man who had been in the number of his clients. The reader will find a particular account of this murder, together with some other circumstances concerning Marcellus, in the farther progress of these letters and remarks. *Suet. in vit. Tiber. 1. Dio, xl. p. 148. Cic. de clar. orat. 250 ej. Fam. iv. 12.*

sular

fular office. I can easily imagine the sentiments which your address upon this occasion has created in Rome: and as to myself whom you have sent to these far distant parts of the globe, believe me, I speak of it with the highest and most unfeigned applause. I can with strict truth assure you, that I have ever had a particular attachment to you from your earliest youth: and I am sensible, you have always shewn by your generous offices in promoting my dignities, that you deemed me worthy of the most distinguished honours. But this late instance of your judicious management in procuring the consulship for Marcellus, together with the proof it affords of the favour in which you stand with the republic, has raised you still higher in my esteem. It is with great complacency, therefore, that I hear it observed by men of the first distinction for sense and merit, that in all our words and actions, our tastes and studies, our principles and pursuits, we bear a strong resemblance to each other. The only circumstance that can render your glorious consulate still more agreeable to me, will be your procuring a successor to be nominated to this province, as soon as possible. But if this cannot be obtained; let me intreat you at least not to suffer my continuance here to be prolonged beyond the time

A. U. 702.

A. U. 702. limited by your decree and the law which passed for that purpose. In a word, I hope upon all occasions to experience in my absence, the benefit of your³ friendship and protection. Farewel.

P. S. I have ~~received~~ some intelligence concerning the Parthians: but as it is not at present sufficiently confirmed, I forbear to communicate the particulars to you. For as I am writing to a consul, my letter, perhaps, might be considered as an information to the senate.

LETTER XXXVI.


TO CAIUS MARCELLUS⁴, consul elect.

I Received great pleasure in hearing of your advancement to the consulate. May the gods give you success in the enjoyment of this honour; and may you discharge its important duties in a manner worthy of your own illustrious character and that of your excellent father! You have my best wishes indeed upon this occasion, not only from affection, but gratitude, and in return to those warmest instances of your

⁴ He was cousin ~~german~~ to Marcus Marcellus, to whom the preceding letter is addressed; and by whose interest, in conjunction with that of Pompey, he was elected to succeed him in the consular office. He pursued the politics of his illustrious relation and predecessor, by firmly opposing the views of Cæsar. *Dio*, xl.

friendship

friendship which I have ever experienced in all the various incidents of my life. Many and important are the obligations likewise which I have received from your father, both as my protector in adversity, and as having contributed to adorn my prosperity. I must add also to this family-list of my benefactors, your worthy mother: whose zealous services in behalf both of my person and dignities have risen much higher than could have been expected from one of the tender sex. Being then, as I most certainly ought, entirely devoted to your family; let me earnestly intreat your friendship and protection in my absence. Farewel.


A U. 702.


LETTER XXXVII.

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS^s.

THE advancement of your son to the consular dignity, and your enjoying a pleasure you so much wished to obtain, are circumstances which afford me a very uncommon satisfaction. They do so not only upon his account, but yours, whom I esteem as highly deserving of every advantage that Fortune can bestow. Let

^s Father of Caius Marcellus, to whom the foregoing letter is written.

A.U. 702.  me acknowledge at the same time, that I have experienced your singular good-will towards me, both in the adverse and prosperous seasons of my life: and indeed, my welfare and honours have been the zealous concern of your whole family. I shall be extremely obliged to you therefore for making my sincere and particular congratulations upon this occasion to that excellent woman, your wife. To which request I will only add, that I intreat the continuance of your friendship and protection in my absence. Farewel.

LETTER XXXVIII.

To LUCIUS PAULUS ⁶, consul elect.

THO' I never once doubted, that in consideration of your most illustrious family, and of those important services you have yourself likewise rendered to the commonwealth, you would be unanimously elected consul; yet the confirmation of this desirable news, afforded me an inexpressible satisfaction. It is my sincere

⁶ He was colleague with Caius Marcellus, mentioned in the last note. He set out in his administration, it was thought, with principles agreeable to those of his associate. But Cæsar perfectly well knew how to make him change his sentiments: and by proper applications to his avarice and profusion, he added him to the number of his supple mercenaries. *Plut. in vit. Pomp.*

with,

with, that the gods may give success to your administration, and that you may acquit yourself of this honourable and important trust, as becomes your own character and that of your distinguished family. I should have thought myself extremely happy to have been present at your election, and to have contributed those services which your extraordinary favours to me require. But as the unexpected government of this province has deprived me of that pleasure; I hope I shall have the satisfaction of seeing you at least, in the worthy exercise of your consular office. For this purpose, I most earnestly intreat you not to suffer me to be injuriously continued in this province beyond the expiration of my year: a favour which I shall esteem as a very considerable addition to those instances of friendship, I have already received at your hands. Farewell.

A.U. 702.

L E T T E R S

O F

Marcus Tullius Cicero


T O

Several of his FRIENDS.

B O O K IV.

L E T T E R I.

To the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of
the people, and the Senate.

THE many obstructions I met with in A.U. 702.
my way to this province¹, both by sea 
and land, prevented me from reaching it
sooner than the last of July. I thought it my

¹ Cicero's province comprehended not only Cilicia, but Pamphylia, Lycaonia, part of Phrygia, and the island of Cyprus, together with some other less considerable appen-

A.U. 702. first duty on my arrival, to see that the Militia and Garrisons were in good order; being articles in which the interest of the republic is principally concerned. Accordingly I have taken all proper measures to that end: tho' I cannot forbear adding, that I have been enabled to effect this, more by my own care and diligence, than from any supplies I was furnished with for that purpose. Having thus adjusted my military preparations, and receiving daily intelligence that the Parthians had actually invaded Syria; I thought it adviseable to move with my forces through Lycaonia, Isaurica, and Cappadocia. It seemed highly probable indeed, if the enemy had any design of attempting an irruption into my province, that they would direct their route thro' Cappadocia; as being a country that could give them the least opposition. I marched therefore into that part of Cappadocia which lies contiguous to Cilicia, and encamped at Cybistra: a town at the foot of Mount Taurus. I had a double view in leading my troops to this place. The first was, that in whatever disposition Artuafdes, king of Armenia, stood towards us, he might be sen-

dages. Cilicia was first added to the Roman provinces by Publius Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, in the year of Rome 680. *Ad Att.* v. 21. *Am. Marcellin.* xiv. 8.

fible

sible that a Roman army was not far from his ~~frontiers~~; and in the next place, that I might be as near as possible to Deiotarus²: a prince, I well knew, extremely our friend, and whose counsel and assistance might prove of great advantage in the present conjuncture. As soon as I had finished my encampment, I detached my cavalry before me into Cilicia. A.U. 702. This I did in order to confirm the several cities in that part of my province in their allegiance, by giving them notice of my arrival: and likewise that I might have the earliest intelligence of what was transacting in Syria. During the three days that I continued in this camp, I was engaged in discharging a commission equally necessary and important. I had received your express commands to take

² He was prince of Galatia: a country bordering on Phrygia. He distinguished his zeal for the republic in all the Asiatic wars in which the Romans were engaged during his reign, and was particularly serviceable to Pompey in his expedition against Mithridates: for which he was honoured by the senate with the title of king. Some time after the battle of Pharsalia, (in which he joined with Pompey) his own grandson came to Rome with an impeachment against him. He pretended that Deiotarus formed a design, when Cæsar was his guest as he lately passed thro' his dominions, of assassinating that general. This cause seems to have been pleaded in Cæsar's own house, where both Cicero and Brutus appeared as advocates for Deiotarus. The speech which the former made upon this occasion, is still extant: and if an orator may be credited in the character he gives of his client, this prince was endowed with every royal virtue. *Orat pro Deiot.*

A.U. 702. the worthy and faithful Ariobarzanes³ under my particular protection; and to defend ~~both~~ his person and his kingdom to the utmost of my power. In your decree which passed for this purpose a clause was inserted, declaring that "the welfare of this province was much the concern of the people and senate of Rome:" an honour which was never before paid to any potentate. For this reason, I thought it became me to signify to him in person, the distinction which you had conferred upon him. I acquainted him therefore, in the presence of my council, with the instructions you had given me in his behalf: and called upon him to let me know if there was any instance in which he had

³ The kingdom of Cappadocia, of which Ariobarzanes was monarch, was of a very large extent, comprehending the greater part of those countries, at present under the Ottoman dominion, which are now called Amasia, Genec, and Tocat. It appears however by the letters to Atticus, that this kingdom was so extremely impoverished, that the crown was almost wholly destitute of any revenues: a circumstance to which Horace alludes in one of his epistles,

Mancipis locuples eget aris Cappadocum Rex.

The instance that Plutarch gives of the great scarcity of money among these people is indeed almost incredible, if what the ancient geographers assert be true, that their country abounded in silver mines: for that historian tells us, that when Lucullus was carrying on the war against Mithridates in this part of the world, an ox sold in Cappadocia for about four-pence, and a slave for six-pence. *Ad Att. vi. 1. Hor. ep. i. 6. Plut. in vit. Luculli.*

occasion


occasion for my service. I assured him at the ~~same~~ ^{A.U.702.} time on my own part, that I offered him my protection with the utmost zeal and fidelity. He began his speech with expressing a proper sense of the high honour thus conferred upon him by the people and senate of Rome. He then addressed his acknowledgments to me in particular, for having executed my commission in such a manner as to convince him both of the sincerity with which I proffered him my good offices, and of the strong injunctions I had received from the republic for that purpose.

It gave me great satisfaction to hear him say in this our first interview, that he neither knew, nor indeed suspected, any designs to be carrying on either against his life, or his crown. After I had congratulated him upon so happy a circumstance, and exhorted him, in remembrance of his father's fate, carefully to observe the admonitions of the senate in being particularly cautious of his person; he took his leave, and returned to Cybistra. The next day however he paid me a second visit in my tent, accompanied by his brother Ariarathes, together with several venerable old ministers of his late father: who, in a very plaintive and affecting manner, all joined with him in imploring my protection. Upon my inquiring, with much surprise,

A.U. 702. surprise, what sudden accident had occasioned this unexpected visit; he told me that he had just received certain information of a design to seize his crown: that those who were apprised of this conspiracy, had not the courage to disclose it till my arrival, but in confidence of my protection had now ventured to lay open to him the whole plot; and that the disaffected party had actually made treasonable applications to his brother: of whose singular loyalty and affection, he expressed at the same time, the strongest assurance. This account was confirmed to me by Ariarathes himself, who acknowledged that he had been solicited to accept the government: which in effect, he said, was avowing their intention of destroying Ariobarzanes, as he could never reign during his brother's life. He added, that he had not acquainted the king with these treasonable overtures before, as being apprehensive for his own person, if he had ventured to reveal them sooner. When he had finished, I exhorted Ariobarzanes to take all proper precautions for his security: and then turning to the approved and experienced ministers of his father's and grand-father's reign, I reminded them of the cruel fate that had attended their late sovereign, and admonished them

them to be so much the more particularly vigi- A.U. 702.
~~lance~~ in protecting their present. }

The king requested me to supply him with some troops both of horse and foot; which however I refused, notwithstanding I was impowered, and indeed directed, to do so by your decree. The truth is, the daily accounts I received of what was transacting in Syria, rendered it expedient for the interest of the republic, that I should march my whole army with all expedition to the borders of Cilicia. Besides, as the conspiracy against Ariobarzanes was now fully detected, he appeared to be in a condition of defending his crown without the assistance of a Roman army. I contented myself therefore with giving ~~him~~ **my** advice: and recommended it to him, as the first art of government, to found his security on the affections of his people. With this view, I persuaded him to exert his royal authority in the present conjuncture, no farther than necessity should require, and against those only whom he perceived to be most deeply engaged in the plot: as for the rest, that he should grant them a free and general pardon. To which I added, that the best use he could make of my army, was to intimidate the guilty from persevering in their designs, rather than actually to turn it against them: and
that

A.U. 702.  that when the decree of the senate in his favour should be generally known, the disaffected party would be well convinced that I should not fail of assisting him pursuant to your orders, if occasion required.

Having thus encouraged him, I struck my tents: and am now proceeding on my march to Cilicia. I had the satisfaction in leaving Cappadocia to reflect, that my arrival had wonderfully, and indeed almost providentially, delivered that monarch from a conspiracy which was upon the very point of taking effect. This reflection was so much the more agreeable to me, as you had, not only voluntarily and without any application for that purpose, honoured Ariobarzanes with the acknowledgment of his regal title, but had particularly recommended him to my protection, and expressly declared in your decree that his security was highly your concern. I judged it proper therefore to send you this minute account of what has passed in relation to Ariobarzanes, that you might see with how much prudence you had long before provided against a contingency, which had well-nigh happened. And this I the rather do, as that prince appears to be so faithfully attached to the republic, as well as endowed with such great and excellent qualities, as to justify the

extraor-

extraordinary zeal you have shewn for his interest. A.U 702.

LETTER II.

To THERMUS, Proprætor ⁴.

LUCIUS Genucilius Curvus, has been long in the number of my most intimate friends : and indeed no man possesses a worthier, or more grateful heart. I recommend him therefore, most warmly and entirely to your protection ; beseeching you to assist him upon every occasion that shall not be inconsistent with your honour and dignity. This is a restriction, however, which I might well have spared : as I am sure he will never make you a request unworthy either of your character, or his own. But I must particularly intreat your favour in relation to ~~his~~ ^{his} affairs in Hellespontus. In the first place then, I beg you would confirm the grant of certain lands which was made to him by the city of Parion ⁵, and which he has hitherto enjoyed

⁴ Quintus Minucius Thermus, was prætor in the year of Rome 701. At the expiration of his office he was appointed proprætor or governor of that part of the Asiatic continent, styled *Asia prætor*. which included Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Mysia, and part of Phrygia. Cicero speaks of him in a letter to Atticus, as exercising his administration with great integrity. *Ad Att.* vi. 1.

⁵ A city in Hellespont.

A.U. 702. without molestation: in the next place, that if
 { any inhabitant of Hellepontus should contravert his rights of this kind, you would direct the cause to be heard in that district. But after having already assigned him wholly to your patronage, it is unnecessary to point out particular articles wherein I request your good offices. To say all then in one word; be assured I shall consider every instance wherein you shall advance either his honour or his interest, as so many immediate favours conferred upon myself. Farewel.

LETTER III.

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

THO' I am by no means disposed to be more favourable to myself than to you, in judging of the part we have respectively acted towards each other; yet when I reflect on our late mutual behaviour, I have far greater reason to be satisfied with my own conduct than with yours. As I knew the high rank which Phantias justly possesses in your confidence and esteem; I inquired of him when we met at Brundisium, in what part of the province he imagined you chose I should

should receive the resignation of your government. He assured me it would be extremely agreeable to you if I landed at Sida⁶. For this reason, notwithstanding I could not have made so splendid an entrance from that city, and it was inconvenient to me likewise upon many other accounts; yet I told him I would certainly comply with your inclinations. Some time afterwards I had a conference with your friend Clodius, at Corcyra: and I always consider myself as talking to you, whenever I am conversing with him. I repeated therefore the same promise I had given to Phantias: and assured him that I intended to pursue the route which the latter had marked out to me. Clodius made many acknowledgments upon this occasion in your name: but intreated me to change my design and proceed directly to Laodicea. For it was your purpose, he said, to advance towards the maritime part of the province, in order to embark as soon as possible. He added at the same time, that it was from your great desire to see me that you had deferred your departure: for had any other person been your successor, you would not have waited his arrival. And this indeed corresponded with the

A.U.702.

⁶ A sea-port town of considerable note in Pamphylia.

A.U.702. letters I received from you at Rome : by which
 I perceived your great impatience to leave the
 province. I informed Clodius that I would
 comply with his request : and with much more
 willingness, I told him, than if I had been to
 have executed my first engagement with Pha-
 nias. I therefore changed my plan, and imme-
 diately gave you notice of it with my own hand :
 which I find by your letter you received in due
 time. When I reflect upon my conduct in this
 instance, I have the satisfaction to be assured,
 that it is perfectly consonant to the strictest
 friendship. And now let me desire you to con-
 sider your behaviour in return. You were so far
 then from waiting in that part of the province
 which would have given us the earliest oppor-
 tunity of an interview ; that you withdrew ⁷ to
 such a distance, as to render it impossible for
 me to reach you within the thirty days limited

⁷ It was usual for the governors of provinces when they entered upon their administration, to publish what they styled an *edict* ; which was a kind of code or formulary of laws, by which they intended to proceed in the dispensation of justice. Cicero's institutes of this sort, were founded upon maxims so extremely different from those by which Appius had regulated himself, that the latter looked upon them as so many indirect reflections upon his own unworthy conduct. And this seems to have been the occasion of his treating Cicero in the manner, of which he here, and in other subsequent letters, so much and so justly complains. *Ad. Att. vi. 1.*

(if I mistake not) by the Cornelian law ^{A.U. 702.}, for your departure. This proceeding (to speak of it in the softest terms) must look with no friendly aspect in the eye of those, who are unacquainted with our real sentiments towards each other: as it has the appearance of your industriously avoiding a conference. Whereas mine, on the contrary, must undoubtedly be deemed conformable to whatever could be expected from the strongest and most intimate union.

In the letter I received from you before my arrival in the province, though you mentioned your design of going to Tarsus ⁹, you still flattered me with hopes of a meeting. In the mean time, there are some who have the malice, (for malice I suppose is their motive, as that vice indeed is widely diffused among mankind;) to lay hold of this plausible pretence to alienate me from you: little aware, that I am not easily shaken in my friendships. They assure me, that when you had reason to believe I was arrived in the province, you held a court of

⁸ This law was so called, from its author Cornelius Sylla the dictator.

⁹ The capital city of Cilicia. It is celebrated by Strabo, for having once vied with Athens and Alexandria in polite and philosophical literature: but it is far more worthy of notice as being the birth-place of that great Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul.

A.U.702. judicature at Tarsus; and exercised such other acts of authority, as even those who have yet some little time unexpired in their ministry, do not usually choose to discharge. Their insinuations, nevertheless, are far from making any impression upon me. On the contrary, I rather consider you as having kindly eased me of part of my approaching trouble: and I rejoice that you have thus abridged me of one fatiguing month, out of the twelve I must pass through in my government. To speak freely, however, there is a circumstance that gives me concern; and I cannot but regret to find, that out of the small number of forces in the province, there are ^{now} no less than three complete cohorts wanting: and I know not in what part they are dispersed. But my principal uneasiness is, that I cannot learn where I shall see you: and I should have sooner told you so, if I had not concluded from your total silence both as to what you were doing, and where you proposed to give me an interview, that I might daily expect your arrival. I have therefore dispatched my brave and worthy friend Antonius, præfect of the Evocati^{*}, with this letter; and if you

* These were troops composed of experienced soldiers who had served out their legal time, or had received their dismissal as a reward of their valour. They usually guarded

think proper, you may deliver up to him the command of the troops: that I may be able to enter upon some action ere the season is too far advanced. I had reason to hope, both from our friendship and your letters, to have had the benefit of your advice upon this occasion: and indeed I will not even yet despair of enjoying that advantage. However, unless you give me notice, it is impossible I should discover either when or where I am to have that satisfaction. In the mean while, I shall endeavour to convince even the most uncandid, as well as the equitable part of the world, that I am sincerely your friend. I cannot forbear saying nevertheless, that those who are not disposed to judge in the most favourable manner, have some little cause to imagine that you do not bear the same amicable disposition towards me: and I shall be much obliged to you for endeavouring to remove their suspicions.

That you may not be at a loss what measures to take in order to our meeting consistently ²

the chief standard, and were excused from the more servile employments of the military functions.

It appears by what follows, that this time was already elapsed, Mr. Ross was aware of this difficulty; and has solved it by supposing that Cicero "must mean some place *without* the limits of the province." For otherwise, Cicero's request cannot be reconciled, that commentator observes, to the terms of the Cornelian law.

A.U. 702. with the terms of the Cornelian law: I think it necessary to inform you, that I arrived in the province on the last day of July; that I marched from Iconium on the 31st of August; and am now advancing to Cilicia by the way of Cappadocia. After having thus traced out my route, you will let me know, in case you should think proper to meet me, what time and place will be most convenient to you for that purpose. Farewel.


LETTER IV.

TO MARCUS CATO³.

I Thought it agreeable to our friendship to communicate to you the intelligence I have lately received. I am to inform you, then, that envoys from Antiochus, king of Commagene⁴, arrived in my camp at Iconium on the 30th of August. They brought me advice that the king of Parthia's son, who is married, it seems, to a sister of the king of Armenia, was advanced to the banks of the Euphrates; that

³ Some account will be given of this great and celebrated patriot, in the notes on the first letter of the following book.

⁴ Commagene was a part of Syria not subjected to the Roman dominion,

he was at the head of a very considerable army A.U.702.
 composed of his own nation, together with a 
 large body of foreign auxiliaries: that he had
 actually begun to transport his troops over the
 river; and that it was reported the king of Ar-
 menia had a design to invade Cappadocia. I
 have forborne to acquaint the senate with this
 news, for two reasons. The first is, because the
 Commagenian envoys assured me that Antio-
 chus had immediately dispatched an express to
 Rome with this account: and in the next place;
 knowing that the proconsul Marcus Bibulus *
 had sailed from Ephesus with a favourable wind
 about the 13th of August, I imagined he had
 by this time reached his province, and would be
 able to give the senate a more certain and parti-
 cular intelligence.

As to my own situation with respect to this
 important war; it is my utmost endeavour to
 find that security from the clemency of my
 administration, and the fidelity of our allies,
 which I can scarce expect from the strength and
 number of my troops. I have only to add my
 intreaties that you would continue, as usual, to
 favour me with your friendly offices in my ab-
 sence. Farewel.

* Proconsul of Syria.


LETTER V.

To THERMUS, Proprætor.

A.U.702. **C**LUVIUS Puteolanus distinguishes me upon all occasions with the highest marks of esteem: indeed we are united in the strictest bands of amity. He, has some affairs in your province: and unless he should be able by my means to settle them during your administration, he looks upon them as utterly desperate. This task my very obliging friend having assigned to my care; I take the liberty (in confidence of that most amicable disposition you have ever discovered towards me) of transferring it to yours; with this restriction, nevertheless, that it do not engage you in too much trouble. I am to inform you then, that the corporations of Mylata and Alabanda ⁵ are respectively indebted to Cluvius: and that Euthydemus assured me when I saw him at Ephesus, he would take care that Syndics ⁶ should be sent to Rome from the former, in order to adjust the matters in controversy between them. This however has not

⁵ Two cities of Caria, in Asia minor.

⁶ These officers were a kind of solicitors to the treasury of their respective corporations.

been performed: on the contrary, I hear they A.U. 702.
 have commissioned deputies to negotiate this 
 affair in their stead. But Syndics are the proper
 persons: and therefore I intreat you to command
 these cities to dispatch those officers to Rome,
 that this question may be soon and finally de-
 termined. I am farther to acquaint you, that
 Philotes of Alabanda has assigned certain effects
 to Cluvius by a bill of sale. ~~But the time for~~
 payment of the money ~~for which they are a~~
 security, being elapsed; I beg you would com-
 pel him either to discharge the debt, ~~or~~ to de-
 liver the goods to the agents of Cluvius. My
 friend has likewise some demands of the same
 kind upon the cities of Heraclea and Bargylos⁷.
 I beseech you therefore either to procure him
 satisfaction by an immediate payment, or to
 oblige them to put him in possession of a pro-
 portionable part of their demesnes. The corpo-
 ration of Caunus⁸ is also indebted to Cluvius:
 but they insist that as the money has been ready
 for him, and actually lodged in the temple, for
 that purpose, he is not intitled to any interest
 beyond the time the principal was so depo-
 sited⁹. I intreat the favour of you to inquire

⁷ In Caria.

⁸ This city was likewise in Caria.

⁹ This passage is rendered in a sense very different from
 that in which all the commentators have understood it.
 into

A.U. 702. } into the truth of the fact : and if it shall appear
 that the sum in question was not paid into the
 sacred treasury either in conformity to the ge-

They take the expression, *avunt se pecuniam depositam habuisse*, to mean, that the Caunians pretended the money in dispute was a deposit : and therefore that they were not liable to pay interest. But if we suppose the question between the Caunians and Cluvius to have been, whether the sum he demanded, was, or was not, a deposit ; the request which Cicero afterwards makes, must be highly unjust *si intellexeris hos neque ex edicto neque ex decreto depositam habuisse, des operam ut usura Cluvio conserventur*. For if they were merely trustees, it could make no equitable difference whether the money came to them by a judicial decree, or from a private hand : and in either case it must have been equally oppressive to oblige them to pay interest. Now this difficulty will be entirely removed, by supposing that the expression *depositam habuisse*, is periphrastical, and to be resolved into *deposuisse*. And this is agreeable to the idiom of the Latin language, as well as to the manner in which Cicero expresses himself upon other occasions. Thus in his treatise *De clar. orat.* 147. *habere cognitum Scævolum*, is equivalent to *cognoscere* : as in Plautus *vobis hanc habeo editionem*, is the same as *edico*. *Pseud.* 1. ii. 39. But if *pecuniam depositam habuisse*, is a circumlocution for *deposuisse* ; some substantive must be understood to complete the sense : and accordingly, a passage in the letters to Atticus will not only point out the word required, but prove likewise that *depono* is used in this elliptical manner. Cicero giving an account to Atticus of a transaction relating to the claim of a debt due from the city of Salamis, in Cyprus ; tells him, that *deponere volebant*. *Ad Att.* vi. 1. Which in another letter where he is speaking of the very same affair, he expresses at full length. *ut in fano deponerent postulantes*, says he, *non concessi*. *Ad Att.* v. 21. And the last cited passages will not only justify, but explain, the sense contended for : as they prove that it was usual where any controversy arose concerning the quantum of a debt, for the defendant to apply for leave to pay the money into some temple : from which time it no longer carried interest. Thus Cicero tells Atticus that the interest upon the debt due from the city of Salamis ought to have ceased, *consistere usura debuit* : and assigns this reason for it ;

neral edict^b, or special decree, of the prætor; A.U. 702. to direct that Cluvius may have such a rate of interest allowed him, as is agreeable to the laws you have established in these cases.

I enter with so much the more warmth into these affairs, as my friend Pompey likewise makes them his own: and indeed, seems more solicitous for their success than even Cluvius himself. As I am extremely desirous that the latter should have reason to be satisfied with my good offices, I most earnestly request yours upon this occasion. Farewel.

deponere volebant: they were ready and desirous to have lodged it in the sacred treasury. But in the case of Cluvius, if the Caunians had paid in the money without giving him notice, (which might very possibly have been the fact, if they had not acted under a judicial order) it was no unreasonable request, to desire they might be compelled to pay the whole interest up to the time when Cluvius should receive the principal.

^b By the term *edict* is meant in this place, that formula of provincial laws explained in rem. 7. p. 338. of this vol.

LETTER VI.

To the Consuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of
the people, and the Senate.

A.U.702.

THE first intelligence I received that the Parthians had passed the greatest part of their army over the Euphrates, was extremely positive. However, as I imagined the proconsul Marcus Bibulus could give you a more certain account of this event, I did not think it necessary to charge myself with the relation of what more immediately concerned the province of another. But since my last dispatch, I have been farther and more satisfactorily assured of this fact, by several expresses and deputations that have been sent to me for that purpose. When I consider therefore the great importance of this news to the republic; that it is uncertain likewise whether Bibulus is yet arrived in Syria; and that I am almost equally concerned with him in the conduct of this war; I deem myself obliged to communicate to you the purport of my several informations.

The first advice I received, was, from the ambassadors of Antiochus king of Commagene:
who

who acquainted me, that the Parthians^{*} had actually begun to transport a very considerable body of forces over the Euphrates. But as it was the opinion of some of my council, that no great credit was to be given to any intelligence that came from this quarter; I thought proper to wait for better information. Accordingly on the 19th of September, whilst I was on my march towards Cilicia, I was met by a courier on the frontiers of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, with an express from ^{A.U. 702.} Tarcondimotus: a prince esteemed the most faithful of our allies on that side the Taurus, and extremely in the interest of the Romans. The purport of his dispatches was to inform ~~me~~, that a powerful body of horse commanded by Pacorus, the son of Orodes king of Parthia, had passed the Euphrates, and were encamped at Tyba; and that the province of Syria was in great commotion. The same day I received an express likewise to this purpose from Jamblichus, an Arabian Phylarch[†], and one who has the general reputation of being a friend to the republic. Upon the

^{*} His dominions lay on the southern side of Mount Taurus, in a part of Cilicia which the Romans had not thought proper to annex to their province. A coin of this prince is still extant. See *Biblioth. raisonnée*, Tom. xii. p. 329.


[†] The lord or chief of a clan.


A.U.702. whole therefore I came to a resolution of leading my army to Tarsus². I was sensible, that our allies in general were far from being warm in our interest; and were only waiting the opportunity of some favourable revolution to desert us. I flattered myself however, that the lenity and moderation of my conduct towards such of them through whose territories I had already passed, would render them better inclined to the Romans: as I hoped to strengthen Cilicia in its allegiance, by giving that part of my province an opportunity of experiencing also the same equitable administration. But I had still a farther inducement: I determined upon this march, not only in order to chastise those who had taken up arms in Cilicia, but also to convince our enemies in Syria, that the army of the Romans, far from being disposed to retreat upon the news of their invasion were so much the more eager to advance.

If my advice then has any weight, let me earnestly exhort and admonish you to take proper measures for the preservation of these provinces: measures indeed, which ought to have

² In the original it is *ad Taurum*: but Mr. Ross with good reason supposes there is an error in the text, and that it should be read *ad Tarsum*.

been concerted long before, as you were well-
 apprised of those dangers which are now almost
 within my view. I need not inform you in
 what manner you thought proper to equip me
 when I was sent into this part of the world,
 under a full expectation of being engaged in so
 important a war. If I did not however refuse
 this commission, it was not because I was so
 weak as to be insensible how ill provided I was
 to execute it in a proper manner; but merely
 in submissive deference to your commands. The
 truth is, I have at all times willingly exposed
 myself to the utmost hazards, rather than not
 testify my implicit obedience to your authority.
 But the plain fact is, that if you do not speedily
 send a very powerful re-inforcement into these
 provinces, the republic will be in the greatest
 danger of losing the whole of her revenues in
 this part of the world. If your reliance is upon
 the provincial militia, be assured you will be
 extremely disappointed: as they are very incon-
 siderable in point of numbers, and such miser-
 able dastards as to run away upon the first alarm.
 The brave Marcus Bibulus is so sensible of the
 nature of these Asiatic troops, that he has not
 thought proper to raise any of them; though he
 had your express permission for that purpose.
 As to the assistance that may be expected from

A.U. 702.


A.U. 702.  our allies; the severity and injustice of our government has either so greatly weakened them as to put it out of their power to be of much service to us, or so entirely alienated their affections, as to render it unsafe to trust them. The inclinations however, and the forces too, (whatever they be *) of king Deiotarus, I reckon as entirely ours. Cappadocia is wholly unfurnished with any place of strength: and as to those other neighbouring princes our allies; they are neither willing, nor able, to afford us any considerable succours. Ill provided, however, as I am with troops, my courage, you may be assured, shall not be wanting; nor, I trust, my prudence. What the event may prove, is altogether uncertain: I can only wish that I may be in a condition to defend myself with as much success as I certainly shall with honour.

* It is probable that Cicero did not at this time know their number. but they were by no means inconsiderable. For it appears by a letter to Atticus that they amounted to 12,000 foot, armed in the Roman manner, and 2,000 horse, *Ad Att. vi. 1.*


LETTER VII.

MARCUS COELIUS TO CICERO.

THO' I have some political news to com- A.U. 702.
 municate to you, yet I can acquaint you
 with nothing, I believe, that will give you
 more pleasure than what I am going previously
 to mention. You are to know then, that Ru-
 fus⁵, your *favourite* Sempronius Rufus, has
 been lately convicted of false accusation⁶, to
 the singular joy of the whole city. This pro-
 secution was occasioned by the following cir-
 cumstance. Rufus, soon after the exhibition of

⁵ Cicero mentions this person in a letter to Atticus, as a man who had failed in the civilities he owed him, by not waiting upon him before he set out for Cilicia: but at the same time expresses a satisfaction in having by that means been spared the trouble of a very disagreeable visitor. The epithet therefore which Cælius here gives to Rufus, must be understood ironically. *Ad Att.* v. 2.

⁶ "The Roman laws were particularly severe against those who were discovered to have offended in this point. In criminal causes they inflicted banishment, and *ordinis amissio* (the loss of rank.) In civil causes the plaintiff generally deposited a sum of money, which he forfeited if he was found guilty of bringing a vexatious suit. Cicero alludes to another punishment of marking a letter upon the forehead of the false informer, *pro Rosc. Am.* 20. It was the letter K which was impressed upon them: that being the first letter, according to the old orthography, in the word *Kalumniæ*." Mr. Rojs.


A.U.702. the Roman games ⁷, was impeached by Marcus  Tuccius : and being sensible that the charge would be proved against him, and that his trial must unavoidably come on this year, unless some other of an higher nature ⁸ intervened, he determined upon an expedient for that purpose. Accordingly, as no one, he thought, had so good a title to the honour of this precedence as his prosecutor ; he preferred an accusation upon the Plotian law ⁹ against Tuccius, for a violation of the public peace : a charge, however, which he could not prevail with a single person to subscribe ¹. As soon as I was apprised of this affair,

⁷ These games were instituted by Tarquinius Priscus, A U. 138. in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Their annual celebration commenced on the 9th of September, and continued nine days.

⁸ It is probable, as Manutius observes, that the judges of the present year were in general no friends to Rufus, which made him endeavour to postpone his trial. The same learned commentator remarks, that all trials were brought on in a regular rotation, unless in accusations that were connected with some other cause that had been immediately before adjudged, or in the case of impeachments for the violation of the public peace. These, he proves by several instances, were always determined preferably to all other causes whatsoever.

⁹ The author of this law was P. Plotius, or Plautius, tribune of the people an. urb. 675 . and the penalty inflicted by it was banishment.

¹ It seems to have been customary for the prosecutor in capital causes to procure some of his friends to join with him in signing the articles of his impeachment. These were stiled *subscriptores*, and acted as a sort of seconds to him in this judicial combat. They could not however be


I flew to the assistance of Tuccius, without waiting his request. But when I rose up to speak, I forbore entering into a particular defence of my friend; contenting myself with displaying the character of his adversary in all its true and odious colours: in which you may be sure I did not forget the story concerning Vestorius, and his unworthy conduct towards you. A.U. 702. 

I must inform you likewise of another trial, which at present greatly engages the Forum. Marcus Servilius had been convicted of extortion in his office²: and I ventured to be his advocate, notwithstanding the popular clamour was strongly against him. Servilius, however, having dissipated his whole estate, and being utterly insolvent; Pausanius³ petitioned the prætor Laterensis (and I spoke likewise in support of this

admitted into this association without a special licence from the judges for that purpose. *Vid. Hottom. in 2 Cæcil. di-v n 15.*

² The whole account of the following transactions concerning Servilius, is extremely (perhaps impenetrably) obscure in the original. and has exercised the ingenuity of all the commentators to enlighten. The translator however has ventured in some instances to depart from them: tho' he acknowledges at the same time, that he is scarce more satisfied with his own interpretation, than with theirs.

³ Who this person was, or in what manner concerned in the present cause, is altogether undiscoverable. Perhaps, as Mr. Rois conjectures, he might have been the prosecutor.

A.U.702.  petition) that he might be impowered to pursue the sum in question, into whose hands soever it should appear to have been paid ⁴. But this petition was dismissed; the prætor alledging, that Pilius, a relation of our friend Atticus, had also exhibited articles of impeachment against my client for a crime of the same kind. This news immediately spread throughout Rome: and it was generally said in all conversations, that Pilius would certainly make good his charge. Appius the younger was much disturbed at this report, as having a claim upon Servilius, of eighty-one hundred thousand sesterces ⁵: a sum which he scrupled not to avow, had been deposited in the hands of Servilius, in order to be paid over to the prosecutor in an information against his father, provided the informer would suffer himself to be nonsuited. If you are surprised at the weakness of Appius in thus ac-

⁴ It appears, by a passage which Manutius produces from the oration in defence of Rabirius, that in convictions of this kind the money was recoverable by the Julian law from any hand, into which it could be proved to have been paid. *Pro Rabir. Post.* 4.

⁵ About 65,367*l.* of our money. This sum must appear excessive, if considered only with respect to the wealth of the present times. But Appius might well be enabled to give it, and it might have been extremely prudent in him likewise to have done so, if this prosecution was (what seems highly probable) on account of his father's having plundered some province committed to his administration.

know-

knowledging so shameful a bargain ; how much A.U. 702
 higher would your astonishment have risen, if
 you had heard his evidence, upon the trial of
 that very ill-judged action he brought against
 Servilius for this money : He most clearly in-
 deed made appear, to the full satisfaction of the
 whole court, both his own folly and his father's
 guilt. To complete the absurdity of his con-
 duct upon this occasion, he was so imprudent
 as to summon the very same judges upon this
 cause, who tried the information I just now
 mentioned to have been brought against his fa-
 ther. It happened however, that their voices
 were equally divided ⁶. But the prætor, not
 knowing how the law stood in this case, de-
 clared that Servilius had a majority of the three
 classes of judges in his favour : and accordingly
 acquitted him in the usual form. At the rising
 of the court therefore, it was generally imagined
 that the acquittal of Servilius would be en-
 rolled. But the prætor thinking it advisable
 to look into the laws upon this point, before he
 made up the record, found it expressly enacted,
 that " in all causes sentence shall be pro-
 nounced according to the majority of the
 votes in the whole collective number of

⁶ In this case the Roman law determined by the most fa-
 vourable presumption, and absolved the defendant.

A.U. 702. judges⁷. Instead therefore of registering the acquittal of Servilius, he only inserted in the roll the number of voices as they stood in each respective class. Appius, in consequence of this mistake, re-commenced his suit: while the prætor, by the intervention of Lollius, promised to amend the record, and enter a proper judgment. But the hapless Servilius, neither entirely acquitted nor absolutely condemned, is at length to be delivered over with this his blasted character to the hands of Pilius. For Appius not venturing to contend with the latter, which of their actions should have the priority, has thought proper to wave his prosecution. He himself likewise is impeached by the relations^{*} of Servilius for bribery: as he has also another accusation laid against him by one Titius, a creature of his own, who has charged him with a breach of the peace. And thus

⁷ It has already been observed in the foregoing remarks, that the judges were divided into three classes. See rem. 4. p. 292. of this vol. It is obvious therefore, that there might have been a majority in two of the classes out of the three, in favour of Servilius, and yet that the voices considered with respect to the whole number of judges, might have been equal. But it is inconceivable that a magistrate of Prætorian rank could possibly be ignorant of a practice which one can scarce suppose the most common citizen of Rome to have been unacquainted with. Notwithstanding therefore Cælius ascribes the prætor's conduct to ignorance, it seems much more probable to have arisen from design.

are these two worthy combatants most equally A.U. 702.
 matched. }

As to public affairs; we had waited several days in expectation that something would be determined concerning Gaul; frequent motions having been made in the senate for this purpose, which were followed by very warm debates. At length, however, it plainly appearing agreeable to Pompey's sentiments, that Cæsar's command in Gaul should not be continued longer than the first of March, the senate passed the following orders and decrees⁸.

“ BY AUTHORITY OF THE SENATE, held in
 “ the temple of Apollo, on the 30th day of
 “ September. Signed⁹: L. Domitius Ahenobarbus; Q. Cæcilius; Metellus Pius Scipio;
 “ L. Villius Annalis; C. Septimius; Caius
 “ Lucceius Hirrus; C. Scribonius Curio; L.
 “ Atteius Capito; M. Oppius. WHEREAS a
 “ motion was made by Marcus Marcellus, the
 “ consul, concerning the consular provinces, it
 “ is ORDERED that Lucius Paulus and Caius
 “ Marcellus consuls elect, shall on the first of
 “ March next following their entering upon

⁸ With regard to the difference between an order and a decree, of the senate, see remark 9. p. 64. of this vol.

⁹ The decrees of the senate were usually signed in this manner by those who were the principal promoters of the question.

A.U. 702. " their office, move the senate concerning the
 " consular provinces: at which time no other
 " business shall be proceeded upon, nor any
 " other motion made in conjunction therewith.
 " And for this purpose the senate shall con-
 " tinue to assemble notwithstanding the co-
 " mitial days ¹⁰, and until a decree shall be
 " passed.

" ORDERED, that when the consuls shall
 " move the senate upon the question afore-
 " said, they shall be impowered to summon
 " such of the 300 judges who are members of
 " the senate to attend ¹¹.

" RESOLVED, that if any matters shall arise
 " upon the question aforesaid, which shall be
 " necessary to be laid before the people; that
 " Servius Sulpicius, and Marcus Marcellus,
 " the present consuls, together with the prætors

¹⁰ The comitial days were those on which the *Comitia*, or assemblies of the people, were held: and on these the law prohibited the senate to be convened. The senate however in the present instance, and agreeably to a prerogative which they claimed and exercised upon many other occasions, took upon themselves to act with a dispensing power. See *Mid. on the Rom. sen.* p. 121.

¹¹ This clause was inserted in order to secure a full house: a certain number of senators being necessary to be present for making a decree valid. See remark 14. p. 165. of this vol. The correction of Manutius has been adopted in the translation, who instead of *se* abducere liceret, reads *eos* abducere, &c.

" and

“ and tribunes of the people, or such of them A.U. 702.
 “ as shall be agreed upon, shall call an assembly
 “ of the people for this purpose: and if the ma-
 “ gistrates aforesaid shall fail herein, the same
 “ shall be proposed to the people by their suc-
 “ cessors.”

“ THE THIRTIETH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, in the
 “ temple of Apollo. Signed: L. Domitius Ahe-
 “ nobarbus; Q. Cæcilius; Metellus Pius Scipio;
 “ L. Villius Annalis; C. Septimius; C. Scri-
 “ bonius Curio: M. Oppius,

“ The consul Marcus Marcellus having moved
 “ the senate concerning the provinces;

“ RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of the
 “ senate, that it will be highly unbecoming any
 “ magistrate who has a power of controlling
 “ their proceedings, to occasion any hindrance
 “ whereby the senate may be prevented from
 “ taking the aforesaid motion into consideration
 “ as soon as possible: and that whosoever shall
 “ obstruct or oppose the same, shall be deemed
 “ an enemy to the republic.

“ ORDERED, that if any magistrate shall put
 “ a negative upon the foregoing resolution,
 “ the same shall be entered as an order of
 “ the

A.U. 702. " the senate, and again referred to the consideration of this house."

This resolution was protested against by Caius Cœlius, Lucius Vinicius, P. Publius Cornelius, and Caius Vibius Pansa.

" RESOLVED, that the senate will take into consideration the case of such of the soldiers under Cæsar's command, who have served out their legal time, or who for other reasons are entitled to a discharge: and make such order thereupon as shall be agreeable to equity."

" RESOLVED, that, if any magistrate shall put his negative upon the foregoing decree, the same shall stand as an order of senate, and be again referred to the consideration of this house."

This resolution was protested against by Caius Cœlius, and Caius Pansa, tribunes of the people.

" ORDERED, that such of the present prætors, who have never held any provincial

¹² A Roman soldier could not be compelled to bear arms after having been in the service ten years. As the strength of Cæsar's army in Gaul consisted principally in his Veterans, this clause was added, as Gronovius ob-

" command,

“ command, shall draw lots to succeed respec- A.U. 702.
 “ tively to the government of Cilicia, and the
 “ eight remaining Prætorian¹³ provinces. But
 “ if there shall not be a sufficient number¹⁴ of
 “ these to fill up the aforesaid governments;
 “ then and in this case, the deficiency shall be
 “ supplied by lot out of the first college¹⁵ of
 “ prætors, among those who have never held a
 “ foreign government. And if there shall not
 “ be found a sufficient number among these last,
 “ so qualified as aforesaid; the same shall be
 “ supplied from the members of each preceding
 “ college, till the whole number required be
 “ completed.

“ RESOLVED, that, if any magistrate shall put
 “ his negative upon the foregoing decree, the
 “ same shall stand as an order of the senate.

This decree was protested against by Caius

serves, with a view of drawing off those soldiers from his troops.

¹³ The provinces of lesser note were usually assigned to the prætors: and from thence they were distinguished by the name of the Prætorian provinces.

¹⁴ The number of prætors varied in different periods of the republic. In the times of Cicero this magistracy was composed of eight persons: as Cellarius remarks in his note upon this passage.

¹⁵ Every annual set of prætors were distinguished by colleges, styled the 1st, 2d, 3d, &c. according to their several removes from the current year.

Cælius,

A.U. 702. Cœlius, and Caius Pansa, tribunes of the people.

In the debates which preceded these decrees, Pompey let fall an expression that was much observed, and gave us very confident hopes of his good intentions. “He could not without great injustice, he said, determine any thing in relation to the provinces under Cæsar’s command, before the first of March: but after that time, he assured the senate, he should have no sort of scruple.” Being asked, “what if a negative should then be put upon a decree of the senate for recalling Cæsar?” He declared, that he should look upon it as just the same thing, whether Cæsar openly refused to obey the authority of the senate, or secretly procured some magistrate to obstruct their decrees. But suppose, said another member, Cæsar should pursue his pretensions to the consulate and retain his command abroad at the same time. “Suppose, replied Pompey with great temper, my own son should lay violent hands upon me?” From expressions of this kind the world has conceived a notion, that a rupture will undoubtedly ensue between Pompey and Cæsar. I am of opinion however, that the latter will submit to one of these two conditions:

ditions: either to give up his present pretensions to the consulate and continue in Gaul; or to quit the province, provided he can be assured of his election. Curio is preparing most strongly to oppose his demands. What he may be able to effect, I know not: But sure I am, that a man who acts upon such patriot principles, must gain honour at least, if he gain nothing else. He treats me upon all occasions with great generosity: and indeed in a late instance has been more liberal than I could have wished; as his civility has drawn upon me a trouble which, perhaps, I might otherwise have escaped. He has presented me with some African panthers which he had procured for his own games: and by that means laid me under a necessity of making use of them¹⁷. I must therefore remind you of what I have often mentioned already, and intreat you to send me some of these animals from your part of the world: and I again likewise recommend to your care the bond of Sitius.

I have had occasion to dispatch my freed-man Philo, together with Diogenes a Greek, into your province. I hope you will afford your patronage both to them and their com-

¹⁷ In the games he was preparing to exhibit as *Ædile*.

A.U. 702. mission : as you will find by the letter they are
 to deliver to you on my part, that it is an affair¹⁸ in which I am deeply interested. Fare-
 wel.

LETTER VIII.

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS¹, proprætor.

YOU are apprised, I imagine, of the friendship that subsisted between Titus Pinnius and myself. He has sufficiently declared it indeed by his will : wherein he not only appointed me one of the guardians to his son, but left me the contingent reversion also of his estate. My ward (who is a youth of uncommon modesty as well as great application to his studies)

¹⁸ This affair seems to be explained by an epistle to Atticus, wherein Cicero mentions the receipt of a very pressing letter from Cælius by the hands of his freed-man. The purport of it appears to have been, to solicit Cicero to levy a contribution upon his province towards the expence of those public games, which Cælius, as Ædile, was obliged to exhibit. This oppressive tax had been frequently raised by the governors of provinces, in favour of their friends at Rome : and was indeed almost established into a custom. But Cicero, notwithstanding he seems to have had a sincere affection for Cælius, would by no means be prevailed upon to break through the equitable maxims of his administration : and with great integrity refused his request. *Ad Att. vi. 1. Ad Q. F. l. 1. N. 9.*

¹ He was at this time proprætor, or governor, of Bithynia and Pontus in Asia, where he discharged the provincial functions with great applause. *Ad Att. vi. 8.*

has a very considerable demand upon the city of Nicæa, amounting to eight millions of sesterces^a: and the corporation, I am told, are inclined to pay off part of this sum the first debt they shall discharge. Now, as not only the rest of the trustees, who know the regard you bear me, but the young man himself is persuaded that you will not refuse any thing to my request; I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for employing your good offices, (as far I mean as may be consistent with your dignity and character) that they pay off as large a proportion of this demand as possible. Farewel.

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LETTER IX.

TO MARCUS COLLIUS, Curule-Ædile elect.

I Congratulate you on the honourable post you have lately obtained^b, and on the prospect which by this mean is opened to you of advancing still higher in the dignities of the republic. I am somewhat late, I confess, in my compliments: however you must not impute it to any intentional neglect, but merely to my ignorance of what passes at Rome. For partly from the great distance of my situation, and

^a About 70,000*l.* sterling.^b The Ædileship.

partly

A.U. 702. partly from those banditti which infest the roads, it is a considerable time before I can receive any intelligence from Italy. And now, I know not where to find words sufficiently strong to give you joy upon this occasion, or to express my thanks for your having thus “furnished me (as you termed it in one of your former letters) “with a subject of perpetual ridicule.” When I first received the news of your victory, I could not forbear mimicking a certain *worthy friend* of ours, and imitating the droll figures those gallant youths exhibited, of whose interest he had so confidently boasted ^b.—But it is not easy to give you in description a compleat idea of this my humorous sally. I must tell you, however, that I next figured you to myself, and accosted you, as if present, in the words of the comic poet :

*Far less, my good friend, I rejoice at your deed,
As exceeding whatever before did exceed,
Than as mounting aloft o'er my hopes the most high:
And for this, “By my troth 'tis amazing,”
I cry.*

^b A mere modern reader who judges of past ages, by the modes that prevail in his own, must undoubtedly conceive a very low opinion of Cicero from the account which he here gives of his behaviour. But mimicry was not esteemed by the Romans, as it is with us, a talent becoming only a comedian or a buffoon. On the contrary, this species of humour was thought worthy of the gravest cha-

Upon

Upon which I broke out into a most immoderate fit of laughter: and when some of my friends re-
proved my mirth, as deviating almost into down-
right folly; I excused myself by the old verse,

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Excessive joy is not exceeding wise.

In short, whilst I ridiculed this noble friend of ours, I became almost as ridiculous as himself.— But you shall hear farther upon this subject another opportunity: for in truth, I have many things to say both *of* you and *to* you, whenever I shall find more leisure for that purpose. In the mean time be assured, my dear Cœlius, that I sincerely love you. I consider you indeed as one whom fortune has raised up to advance my glory, and avenge my wrongs: and I doubt not, you will give both those who hate and those who envy me, sufficient reason to repent of their folly and their injustice. Farewel.

ractions even upon the gravest occasions: and it was practised by their orators as well as recommended by their rhetoricians, as a quality, under certain restrictions, of singular grace and efficacy in the whole business of public eloquence. *Vid. Cic. de Orat. ii. 59, 60.*

LETTER X.

To PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.


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YOUR good offices in the affair of Atilius, afford me an additional motive for giving you my affection. Late indeed as I applied to you in his behalf, I have however, by your generous intervention, preserved a most worthy Roman knight from ruin. The truth is, I always looked upon my friendship with Lamia, as giving me a claim to yours. In the first place then I return you thanks for easing my mind of all its disquietude with respect to Atilius; and in the next, after thus acknowledging your last favour, I have the assurance to request another: and it is a favour which I shall repay with the utmost returns of my esteem and gratitude. Let me intreat you then, if I have any share in your heart, to allow my brother an equal enjoyment of the same privilege: which will be adding a very considerable obligation to that important one I so lately received at your hands. Farewel.

LET-

LETTER XI.

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

BY all that I can collect from your last letter, this will find you in the suburbs ^{A.U.702.}  of Rome. But though the impotent calumnies of these poultry provincials, will probably be sub-
sided ere this reaches your hands; yet I think it necessary to return some answer to the long epistle I received from you upon that subject: and I shall do so in as few words as possible.

As to the accusation contained in the two first paragraphs of your letter; it is conceived in such vague and general terms, that it is impossible to give it a direct reply. The whole that I can gather from it, is, that I am accused of having discovered by my countenance and my silence, that I was by no means your friend: a discovery which I made, it

³ Appius at his return from Cilicia, demanded a triumph as the reward of his military exploits in that province: and accordingly took up his residence *without* the city. For those who claimed this honour were not admitted *within* the walls of Rome, till their petition was either granted or rejected; or they chose to drop it themselves. The latter was the case with respect to Appius: as will *hereafter* appear.

A.U.702. seems, upon some occasion in the courts of judicature, and likewise at certain public entertainments. I am very sure, there is not the least ground for this imputation: but as you do not point out the particular instances, I know not in what manner to vindicate myself from the charge. This however I most undoubtedly know, that I have mentioned you upon all occasions both public and private, with the highest applause, and with the warmest professions of friendship. As to the affair of the deputies⁴; I will appeal to your own breast whether I could possibly have acted with more probity and discretion than to lessen the expences of these impoverished cities, without any diminution at the same time of those honours which they proposed to pay you: especially as it was in

⁴ " It was a custom for the governors of provinces upon their retirement from their government, to procure ambassadors to be sent to Rome from the several crues under their jurisdiction, to praise the integrity and equity of their administration. The origin of this custom was undoubtedly good, and in some few instances we find, that it was undertaken voluntarily: but it was generally extorted by force, and a great burden to the miserable inhabitants, who perhaps had been already fleeced by the rapine and plunder of that very person, whose lenity and moderation they were compelled to extol. Appian had taken care, before he left Cilicia, to secure this compliment to be paid to himself, though as undeserving of it, as any of his predecessors. But Cicero, who set out upon a more frugal plan than other governors, prevented it, out of compassion to the poverty and indigence of the province." *Mr. Rogers.*

compliance

compliance with their own immediate request? A.U. 702.
 And indeed I was wholly unapprised of the *particular* purposes of that deputation, which was going to Rome with the customary complimentary address to the senate upon your account. When I was at Apamea⁵, some of the principal inhabitants of several different cities, complained to me of the excessive appointments that were decreed to their deputies; assuring me, that their respective communities were by no means in a condition to support the assessments levied upon them for that purpose. This suggested to my thoughts various reflections; and I imagined that a man of⁶ your refined sentiments, could not be extremely fond of honours of this unsubstantial nature. Accordingly it was at Synnada, I think, that I took occasion to say from the tribunal, (and I expatiated very largely upon the subject) “ that the approved
 “ merit of Appius was sufficient, without the
 “ testimony of the Midenians (for it was in their
 “ city⁶ that the proposal first arose) to recom-
 “ mend him to the esteem of the senate and the

⁵ A city in that part of Phrygia which was annexed to Cicero's province: as was Synnada, likewise, mentioned a few lines below.

⁶ A town in the neighbourhood of Synnada. In the original it is *Myndensium*. but Quartier has given good reasons for the reading here followed.

A.U.702. “ Roman people ; that I had often indeed seen
 “ instances of this kind of deputations, but did
 “ not remember they were ever admitted to an
 “ audience ; that however, I applauded the
 “ gratitude they had thus shewn for your merit
 “ towards them, but thought the particular
 “ instance in question was wholly unnecessary ;
 “ that if any of them were willing to undertake
 “ this commission at their own expence, I should
 “ highly commend their zeal ; and I would
 “ even consent it should be performed at the
 “ public charge, provided they did not exceed
 “ a reasonable sum ; but beyond that, I would
 “ in no sort give my permission.”

I am persuaded there is nothing in what I thus said, that can possibly give you offence : and indeed your principal complaint is levelled, I perceive, against my edict⁷. For there were some, it seems, who thought it manifestly drawn up with a view of preventing these legations. I cannot forbear saying, that to give attention to these groundless insinuations, is no less injurious to me than to be author of them. The truth of it is, I settled this edict before I left Rome : and the single addition that I made to it afterwards, was at the instance of the farmers

⁷ The nature of these proconsular edicts has already been explained in rem. 7. p. 338. of this vol.

of the revenues: who when they met me at Samos ^{A.U. 702.}⁸, desired I would transcribe a paragraph out of your edict⁹ and insert it into mine. It was that article which restrains the public expences, and contains several new and very salutary regulations, which I greatly approved. But as to that particular section which gave rise, I find, to the suspicion that I framed it with a design of striking at you; it is copied entirely from the old precedents. I was not, indeed, so absurd as to think (what I perceive you imagine) that some private affair was concerned in this deputation; well knowing that it was sent from a public body in relation to your public character, and addressed to that great council of the whole world, the senate of Rome. Nor did I, (as you object,) when I prohibited any person from going out of the province without my permission, exclude all those from the possibility of obtaining that leave, who could not follow me to the camp and beyond Mount Taurus: an imputation, I must needs say, the most ridiculous of any in your whole letter. For where, let me ask, was the necessity that any person should follow me for this purpose to

⁸ An island near the coast of Ionia, lying opposite to the city of Ephesus. Cicero touched at this island in his voyage to the province.

A.U. 702. the camp, or beyond Mount Taurus; when I regulated my journey from Laodicea to Iconium in such a manner, that all the magistrates and deputies of the several cities in that district might have an opportunity of meeting me? They could not therefore be under the difficulty you charge me with having thrown in their way, unless they had taken up the design of going to Rome after my having passed Mount Taurus: which most undoubtedly was not the case. For during my stay at Apamea, Synnada, Philomelum*, and Iconium, all affairs of that nature were entirely settled.

I must farther assure you, that I decreed nothing concerning the abating or abolishing the appointments of the deputies, but at the express request of the principal inhabitants of several cities: And their view was, to prevent any unnecessary exactions that were occasioned by the farming of the subsidies imposed for this purpose, and raising them in that cruel method of capitation, with which you are so well acquainted. Compassion indeed as well as justice inclined me to ease the calamities of these unhappy cities, oppressed as they chiefly were

* A city in Phrygia Maior, situated on the frontiers towards Galatia. The situation of the other cities mentioned in this place, has already been occasionally noted as they occurred in the preceding letters.

by their own magistrates¹: and when I was engaged in a design of that nature, I could not possibly overlook an expence, which appeared so extremely superfluous as that of the appointments of these deputies. It was but a piece of justice therefore due to me, not to have listened to any idle tales that might be related to you upon this subject. But if it should prove, after all, that you attribute to the reports of others, what in truth receive their rise merely from your own suspicions; you certainly make use of a sort of figure which the language of friendship will by no means authorise. Had it ever indeed been my design to derogate from your reputation in the province, I should scarce have acted in the manner I did. I should not have referred it to your son-in-law at Rome, to your Freedman at Brundisium, and to the commander of your artillery when I saw him at Corcyra, to name the place which they thought

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¹ It appears from the letters to Atticus, to whom it was that the grievances of these unhappy cities were principally owing. Their own magistrates, it is true, had some share in them: but their chief oppressor was Appius himself. The desolation he had brought upon this plundered province was so dreadful, that one would rather imagine, says Cicero, some savage monster had been let loose upon them, than that they had been trusted to the care of any human creature. And in another letter he tells Atticus, that he had sufficient employment in applying remedies to those wounds which had been given to this province by his predecessor. *Ad. Att. v. 16, 17.*

would

A.U. 702. would be most agreeable to you for our meeting. In short, I wish you would remember the maxim which those great authors have laid down, who have written so excellently upon friendship; that “to *accuse* and to *defend* are terms which “ought for ever to be banished from intercourses “of this amicable kind.”

But do you imagine that I have had no opportunities of listening, in my turn, to accusations of the same nature against yourself? Was it never told me, do you think, that after you had appointed me to meet you at Laodicea, you retired beyond Mount Taurus? That at the very time I was employed in my juridical office at Apamea, Synnada, and Philomelum, you took the liberty to exercise the same authority at Tarsus? But I forbear to enter farther into these particulars, that I may not follow your example in the very instance of which I am complaining. This however, I will say (and I say it with great sincerity) that if you are really persuaded of the truth of these reports; you do me much injustice: and you are not entirely without reproach, if you only suffered them to be related to you. The truth is, it will appear that I have acted towards you in one uniform tenor of friendship. And let those who impute artifice to me, say, whether it is probable, that after having
paid

paid the utmost attention to your interest during your absence from Rome, and at a time when I had not the least expectation of its ever being in your power to return me the same favour; I should give you just reason to abandon me now that I have so many occasions for your good offices. I must however acknowledge, that there is one article wherein I may not perhaps have regulated myself altogether agreeably to your inclinations. I am sensible you would be displeased with any liberties that should be taken with the characters of those who acted in office under you: and I will own that I have heard very unfavourable representations of some of them. But I must add, that no persons were ever mentioned upon this occasion, or any greater irregularities laid to their charge, than those which your friend Clodius himself named to me when I saw him at Corcyra: who lamented, I remember, that you had been some sufferer in your reputation by the male-practices of those officers ². Reports of this kind (and

A. U. 702.

² A particular instance of the cruelty of one of these officers under Appius, is mentioned in the letters to Atticus. Scaptius, who commanded a troop of horse in Cyprus, surrounded their senate with his forces in order to compel them, it is probable, to comply with some unjust demands, and kept them thus besieged till five of the members perished with hunger. When the government of this province came into the hands of Cicero, the Cyprians, as their island lay within his jurisdiction, petitioned that these troops

A.U. 702. many such indeed there are) I never in the least encouraged: but I will frankly acknowledge likewise, that I never greatly endeavoured to repress them; well persuaded as I am, that they can in no sort affect your own character.

Whoever attempts to persuade you, that there is no such thing as a perfect reconciliation between friends whose affections have once been alienated; discovers the perfidy of his own heart, instead of proving the dissimulation of mine: at the same time that it is evident he has not a worse opinion of my sincerity, than he must necessarily entertain of yours. But if any man has taken offence at the measures I pursue in my government, as not exactly coinciding with yours; I

might be withdrawn and he very humanely complied with their request. He relieved them likewise, as well as other cities under his government, from the immoderate interest which they paid for the money which their necessities had obliged them to borrow in Rome, reducing it from 4 per Cent. paid monthly, to one per Cent. This equitable reduction very considerably affected Brutus, who was concerned in these loans and he seems to have complained of it to Atticus. But notwithstanding the latter strongly pressed Cicero to favour Brutus in this affair, and Brutus himself likewise had written to Cicero for the same purpose; yet he resolutely withstood their united solicitations. "If Brutus, says he, repents my conduct upon this occasion, I shall be sorry: but much more so, to find him a different man from what I always thought him." And if Cicero, I will add, had spoken and acted upon every other occasion with the same spirit and integrity, as he certainly did in the present, he would have merited all the encomiums which the warmest of his admirers could have bestowed.

Ad Att. vi. 1, 2.

am perfectly unconcerned at the loss of his friendship. To say truth, we have both acted in the manner we ought, tho' we have not both followed the same plan. The instances you gave of your diffusive liberality, in this province, were suitable to a man of your quality. Tho' indeed even you yourself were obliged the last year, in compliance with the calamities of the season, a little to restrain the munificence of your natural disposition. But if mine, on the contrary, flows in a somewhat more limited channel; let not those to whom the benefit of that stream has not reached, wonder that I rather choose *they* should suffer from the necessary restrictions of my bounty, than that *I* should from the just reproaches of my conscience. I have ever indeed been extremely reserved in dispensing largesses at another's cost: as I cannot but be sensibly affected with distresses that extend themselves throughout a whole community.

I am much obliged to you for the account you gave me of affairs at Rome; and particularly for the assurance of your faithfully executing all my requests. What I principally recommend to your care is, that neither the business nor the period of my administration may be enlarged. To this end, I beg you would intreat

our

A.U. 702.

A.U. 702. our common friend and ³ colleague Hortensius, that if ever he was disposed to comply with my inclinations, he would not persist in my continuing two years in this government: than which he cannot do me a more unfriendly office.

As to the information you desire concerning my own motions; I marched from Tarsus in my way to Amanus on the 7th of October, and, I write this the day following, from my camp in the plains of Mopsuhesta ⁴. If any action should happen, I shall not fail of giving you notice: and you may depend upon my enclosing a letter to you whenever I send one to my family. With respect to the Parthians whom you inquire after; I am persuaded that none ever appeared. They were only a troop of Arabians, armed after the Parthian manner. But these, it is said, are all returned home: and I am assured there is now no appearance of an enemy in Syria.

I intreat you to write to me as often as possible, not only as to what regards your own and my private affairs, but as to those likewise of the republic. I am more than ordinarily indeed

³ In the Augustal College.

⁴ A city in Cilicia, situated upon the banks of the river Pyramus.

solicitous concerning the latter, as I find by your letter, that Pompey is going into Spain⁵. Farewel.

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L E T T E R XII.

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

I Did not imagine I should ever have found myself at a loss for expressions : yet at a loss, believe me, I am, to recommend Marcus Lænius to you in the terms he deserves. I must content myself therefore with explaining the business of this letter in few words : but in such however as may render you sufficiently sensible of my inclinations. It is incredible how great an esteem both my dearest brother and myself entertain for Lænius : an esteem, which is founded, not only on the many good offices he has conferred upon us, but on the exalted integrity of his heart, and the singular modesty with which all his virtues are accompanied. It was with the utmost regret, therefore, that I consented to part with him : as I receive much

⁵ The government of Spain had been renewed to Pompey for five years at the end of his consulate in the preceding year : which province however, he administered by his lieutenants, whilst he himself still continued in Rome. *Deo*, xli. p. 148.

A.U.702. advantage from his counsels as well as great entertainment from his company. But if I should expatiate any farther in his praise, will you not think that, far from wanting words as I just now complained, I have employed more than are necessary? To be short then, I recommend Lænius to your protection with all that warmth which you must be sensible I ought, after what I have here said. Let me earnestly intreat you to expedite the business which has called him into your province, and to favour him likewise with your advice in the conduct of it. You will find him, be assured, a man of a most generous and well-natured disposition: for which reason I beg you would send him back to us with the satisfaction of having finished his affairs by your means, as soon as possible. Your compliance with this request will extremely oblige both my brother and myself. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

TO MARCUS COELIUS, Curule-Ædile elect.

I WISH you would inquire the reason that your ^{A.U. 702.} letters miscarry: for I cannot be induced to think that you have not once written to me since your election^a. I am persuaded, on the contrary, that you would not have omitted to communicate a piece of news I so much wished with regard to yourself, and so little expected in relation to Hirrus. The truth however is, that I have not heard from you since that glorious and joyful event: which gives me some uneasiness, lest my letters should have had no better success in finding their way to your hand. But be assured I have never written to my family without accompanying my packet with a letter for you: as indeed there is no man whom I more sincerely and tenderly value.—But to turn to the principal purpose of this epistle.—Your wish has succeeded: and I have just had employment enough of the military kind to entitle me to a triumph. You were under some apprehensions, I perceive, about the Parthians,

^a Into the office of Ædile.

A.U. 702. as being diffident of my forces. I must acquaint you then, that having received advice that the Parthians had committed hostilities, I took the advantage of some defiles and of the neighbouring mountains to lead my army, supported by a tolerable number of auxiliaries, to Amanus. The reputation of my name was of some benefit to me likewise in my march: for you cannot imagine of what importance it is in places of this kind, to have the populace ask, *Is this the consul that saved Rome? Is this he that was so honoured by the senate?* together with other questions of the same import which I need not add. When I approached to Amanus, a mountain which separates Cilicia from Syria, I had the satisfaction to hear that Cassius ⁶ had obliged the enemy to abandon the siege of Antiochea; and that Bibulus had taken upon himself the command of the province. However, I employed my army in harrassing the Amanienses, our eternal enemies: and having put many of them to the sword, as well as taken a great number of prisoners, and entirely dispersed the rest, I surprised and burnt some of their for-

⁶ He was lieutenant to Crassus in Syria, after whose death the command of the province devolved upon him, till Bibulus, who was appointed successor to Crassus, arrived. A more particular account will be given of him in the farther progress of these remarks.

treffes. Having thus obtained a complete victory, I was saluted with the title of *Imperator*, A.U. 702.
 by the whole army, at Issus⁷: the very place, (as your favourite historian Clitarchus⁸ has often, I have heard you say, informed you) where Alexander defeated Darius. From thence I marched into the most infested parts of Cilicia, where I am now before Pindenessum: a city of great strength, and which I have already been battering above these three weeks. The garrison makes a most obstinate and vigorous defence: so that nothing seems wanting to complete the glory I shall here obtain, but that the name of this place were less obscure. If I should make myself master of it, (as I trust I shall) I will send an immediate express to the senate. In the mean time I have given you this general account of my operations, to let you see there is some foundation to hope that your good wishes will take effect. But to return to the Parthians. This summer's campaign has proved, you find, tolerably successful: I am in great pain however for the next. Let me intreat you therefore, my dear friend, endeavour that a successor be appointed

⁷ A City which stood on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria.

⁸ A Greek historian, who attended Alexander in his Persian expedition.

A.U.702. to my government: but if that should prove a matter of too much difficulty, (as you intimate in one of your letters, and as I am myself inclined to suspect) be careful at least to guard against what may easily be prevented; I mean the prolongation of my residence.

I expect from your letters, (as I mentioned in one of my former) not merely an account of what is at present going forward in the republic, but a clear prospect also of what is likely to happen. For which purpose I intreat you to inform me fully of every thing that concerns the public. Farewel.

LETTER XIV.

MARCUS COELIUS to CICERO.

WE⁹ have received an express from Caius Cassius, and another from Deiotarus, which greatly alarm us. The former writes that the Parthian army has passed the Euphrates: and the latter, that they are actually marching towards your province, by the way of Commagene. As I well know how ill provided you

⁹ This letter appears to have been written, before any of Cicero's dispatches concerning the Parthians, had reached Rome; and consequently before Coelius had received the preceding epistle.

are with troops; the principal concern I feel A.U. 702.
 from this invasion with respect to you, is left
 you should be a loser by it in point of reputa-
 tion. Had you been better prepared indeed, to
 receive the enemy, I should have been in great
 pain for your life: but as the very small num-
 ber of your forces will incline you, I imagine,
 rather to think of a retreat than an engagement;
 I am only anxious concerning your honour. For
 how far the world may consider the necessity of
 the case, and approve of your thus declining a
 battle, is a point, I confess, which gives me
 much uneasy reflection. In short, I shall be
 in continual anxiety till I hear of your arrival
 in Italy. In the mean time, this news of the
 Parthians, has occasioned a variety of specula-
 tions. Some are of opinion that Pompey ought
 to be sent to oppose them: and others, that it
 is by no means convenient he should leave
 Rome. A third party is for assigning this expe-
 dition to Cæsar and his army; whilst a fourth
 names the consuls ¹ as the most proper persons to
 be employed. But all agree, however, in being
 silent as to any decree of the senate for placing
 this command in private hands ². The consuls,

¹ Marcus Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius.

² That is, in the hands of those who were not invested
 with some public command.

A.U. 702. in the apprehension that they shall either be nominated to a commission which they do not relish, or suffer the disgrace of its being given from them, forbear to convene the senate: and by this mean incur the censure of neglecting the public interest. But whether indolence of pusillanimity be the real motive of their declining the conduct of this war; it is concealed under the specious appearance however of modesty.

As we have received no courier from you, it was suspected, till the dispatch from Deiotarus arrived, that the whole was an invention of Cassius, who, it was thought, in order to cover his own rapine, had suffered a parcel of Arabs to make an incursion into the province, and then represented them to the senate as a formidable body of Parthians. Whatever therefore may be the true state of the affair, let me persuade you to be extremely circumspect in giving a faithful and accurate account of it to the senate: that you may neither be reproached with magnifying matters in order to gratify the private purposes of Cassius, nor with concealing any thing which may be of importance for the public to know.

It is now the 18th of November: and as we are advanced thus far towards the end of the year,

year, I do not see that any thing can be done in this affair before the first of January ¹. For you know how slow and inactive Marcellus is upon all occasions, and are no stranger to the dilatory disposition of Sulpicius. You will easily judge therefore what is to be expected from two men of this unperforming cast: and that they who usually act with so much coldness, as to make one doubt their inclinations even in points they really desire to effect, will not be very warm in forwarding a business from which they are certainly averse.

A.U. 702.

If the Parthian war should become a serious matter, the new magistrates will be engaged for the first two or three months of their office, in adjusting the proper measures to be taken in this conjuncture. On the other hand, if it should appear to be an invasion of no consequence, or such at least that with the supply of a few additional troops may easily be repelled by you and the other proconsuls already in those provinces, or by your successors; Curio, I foresee, will begin to play his double game: that is, he will in the first place attempt to weaken the authority of Cæsar ⁴; and in the next en-

¹ When the consuls elect entered upon the administration of their office.

⁴ Curio had not as yet pulled off the mask, and declared himself openly in favour of Cæsar.

A.U.702. deavoured to throw some little advantages on the side of Pompey. As for Paulus⁵, he declares most vehemently against suffering Cæsar to continue in Gaul: and our friend Furnius is the only tribune whom I suspect of obstructing his measures for that purpose. You may depend upon these articles as certain: but beyond these I cannot with any assurance pronounce. Time indeed may produce much; as many schemes I know are concerted: but they all turn upon the points I have already specified.— I forgot to mention, that Curio designs to make an attempt to procure a division of the lands in Campania⁶. It is pretended that Cæsar does not concern himself in this matter: certain, however, it is, that Pompey is very desirous of having the distribution settled before Cæsar's return, that he may be precluded from applying them to his own purposes.

As to what concerns your leaving the province, I dare not promise that you shall be re-

⁵ One of the consuls elect. See rem. 6. p. 324. of this vol.

⁶ Cæsar when he was consul, an. urb. 694. had procured a law for the distribution of these lands: and part of them had actually been distributed accordingly. The remaining part was what Curio had in his view: which were to be purchased of the private possessors with the public money, and parcelled out amongst the poor citizens in the same manner as those had been which were already divided. See rem. 13. p. 165. of this vol. *Vid. etiam Manut. in ep. Fam. i. 9.*

lieved by a successor: but you may rely upon A.U. 700.
 my endeavouring all I can that your administration shall not be prolonged. Whether you will think proper to remain in your government, if affairs should be so circumstanced as to render it indecent for me to oppose any decree of the senate for that purpose; depends upon yourself to determine: as it does upon me to remember, how warmly you made it your request when we parted, that I would prevent any such resolution from being taken. Farewel.

LETTER XV.

TO PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

IT was with the warmest and most grateful acknowledgment of your favours, that my friend Nero assured me, you have distinguished him with every honour in your power. You may depend upon the most efficacious instances of his friendship in return: as there is not a man in the world, of a more grateful and generous disposition. You have conferred at the same time, a very singular obligation upon myself: for I know not any man amongst all our nobility, who stands higher in my esteem and affection. Your good offices to him therefore,

in

A. U. 702. in the following instances ^{le} wherein he ^a dared I would particularly request them, will be highly agreeable to me. In the first place, I beg you to defer the affair of Pausanias, an inhabitant of Alibanda, till Nero arrives in your province: and as this is a point in which I perceive he is exceedingly solicitous, it is with a proportionable degree of zeal that I intreat your compliance. The next favour I am to ask is, your particular protection for the citizens of Nyssa. Nero is greatly attached to the interest of this corporation: and I hope you will shew them that nothing can be more to their advantage than his patronage. I have frequently had occasion of recommending Strabo Servilius to you: but I renew my applications with so much the more ardor, as Nero takes a share in his concerns. We jointly then intreat you to settle his affair, and not leave an innocent man to be a prey, perhaps, to one who may succeed to your government with a turn of mind far different from that generosity which distinguishes yours. This will be acting in a manner highly agreeable to myself, and suitably at the same time to your usual humanity. In a word, the purport of my present application amounts to this; that you would upon all occasions continue to distinguish Nero with your most peculiar regard.

The

The truth is, your province has in this respect A.U. 702
greatly the advantage over mine, as it affords
you full scope of doing honour to so noble, so
ingenious, and so virtuous a youth. Your per-
severance in the same generous offices with
which you have thus far assisted my friend,
will give him an opportunity of confirming and
strengthening those illustrious clientships which
have been delivered down to him from his an-
cestors. And let me add, that it will be placing
your favours with great judgment in respect to
Nero, as well as bestowing them in the most
obliging manner likewise with regard to myself.
Farewel.

L E T T E R XVI.

To CURIO, tribune of the people.

THE congratulations of a friend are not
usually considered as too late, if they are
paid as early as possible: my great distance
therefore from Rome, together with the slow
progress with which news travels into this cor-
ner of the world, will excuse me for not sooner
sending you mine. But I now sincerely give
them you: and most ardently wish that you
may obtain immortal honour by your admi-
nistration

A.U. 702. nistration of the tribunate. To this end, I must exhort you not to suffer yourself to be turned aside from your natural bias, in compliance with the sentiments and advice of others: on the contrary, let me intreat you to be directed in your ministry by the faithful light of your own superior wisdom. No man indeed is capable of giving you more prudent counsels, than will arise from the suggestions of your own good-sense: and believe me, you can never be misguided so long as you pursue the honest dictates of your uninfluenced judgment. I say not this inconsiderately; but as perfectly-well knowing the genius and principles of him to whom I am addressing myself. Yes, my friend, I can never be apprehensive that you will act either weakly, or irresolutely, whilst you support the measures your heart approves. It was neither chance, nor ignorance that led you to solicit this magistracy in so important a crisis. It was a deliberate and well considered resolution that engaged you in this design: and you were perfectly sensible of the great and general confusion in which the commonwealth is involved, together with the utter uncertainty in what manner these our unhappy divisions will finally be terminated. You frequently reflect, I doubt not, on the vain, the treacherous, and the pliant
ant

ant dispositions of the present generation. To ^{A.U. 704.} repeat then what I just now mentioned: let me conjure you steadfastly to persevere in your old principles; to consult the dictates of your own breast; and faithfully to comply with its wise and worthy admonitions. Hardly, perhaps, is any man more qualified than yourself to direct the conduct of others: none, I am sure, to steer your own. Good Gods! Why am I thus prevented from being a witness of your glorious actions, and an associate in your patriot designs? The latter, I am persuaded, you are far from wanting: however, the strength and warmth of my affection, might possibly render the conjunction of my counsels with yours, not altogether unprofitable.

You will hear from me again very soon: as I purpose in a few days to send an express to the senate with a particular account of the success of my arms during the last summer's campaign. In the mean time, you will perceive by the letter which I delivered to your freed-man Thrafo, with what zealous pains I have solicited your election to the pontifical dignity: an election, indeed, that will be attended with much difficulty. I conjure you in return, my dear Curio, not to suffer this my very troublesome provincial administration to be lengthened

A.U. 702. ened out beyond the usual period: and I intreat it by all the strong and tender ties of our mutual friendship. When I first made this request to you in person, and several times afterwards repeated it by letter, I had not the least imagination of your being tribune. I then indeed only intreated your good offices as an illustrious senator, and as one who stood high in the favour and esteem of every Roman. But I now apply to Curio, not only as my noble friend, but as a powerful tribune. I do not desire, however, (what indeed would be more difficult to obtain) that any thing unusual should be decreed in my favour: but on the contrary, that you would support that decree and maintain those laws by which I was appointed to this government. In a word, my single and most earnest request is, that the terms upon which I set out for this province may not be changed. Farewel.

LETTER XVII.

TO THERMUS, Proprætor.

I Found you perfectly well inclined to employ A.U. 702.
 every good office in your power for my lieutenant Marcus Anneius, when I mentioned his affair to you at Ephesus. However, as my affection will not suffer me to omit any circumstance which may tend to his advantage; I write to you in the belief that this letter will considerably add to the favourable disposition in which you already stand towards him. He has long enjoyed a share in my friendship: as indeed I have sufficiently shewn the good opinion I entertain of him, by having appointed him my lieutenant in preference to so many others, who solicited for that office. The war in which I was soon afterwards engaged, gave me occasion of experiencing his military abilities: and the prudence, the courage and the fidelity with which he executed his commission, together with the extraordinary marks he gave me of his affection, have raised him to the highest possible degree of my esteem. I informed you at Ephesus, that there were some points in controversy between him and the city
 of

A.U.702. of Sardis⁷: the particulars of which you will best learn when the cause shall come before you. And, here, I must confess, I have been long debating with myself what I should farther say to you. The world universally acknowledges and admires your impartial administration of justice: and my friend's claim is so well-founded as to require no other protection than that of your usual equity. However, as I am sensible of the great authority which naturally attends the Prætorian office, especially where it is exercised with so much honour, lenity, and wisdom, as are well known to distinguish your administration; I intreat you to exert that influence in such a manner upon this occasion, as may convince Anneius that you are his friend. He is already indeed persuaded that you are so: and has often mentioned you to me in that character. Nevertheless, I cannot forbear conjuring you, by those reciprocal good offices which have equally passed between us, to let him see that this letter has rendered you still more inclined to serve him. Be assured, the whole extent of your provincial power cannot supply you with an opportunity of more effectually obliging me. It is unnecessary I should add, that you cannot better dispose of your favours, than by conferring

⁷ In Lydia.

them on Anneius: and I am persuaded you have too high an opinion of his merit and gratitude to entertain the least doubt upon that article. Farewel.


A.U.702.

L E T T E R XVIII.

T O V O L U M N I U S *.

THE familiar manner in which your letter to me was addressed, tho' extremely agreeable indeed to the intimacy that subsists between us, made me at first doubt whether it did not come from my very good friend your namesake the senator. But I soon found by that lively and elegant humour with which it was distinguished, that it could be the produce of no other hand than yours. I was exceedingly pleased with it in every respect, but that I perceived you had not sufficiently discharged your trust, and defended

* The person to whom this letter is addressed was a Roman knight, extremely admired for his wit and pleasantry. It was this quality, it is probable, that recommended him to Antony, with whom he appears to have been in some credit: as he was likewise employed by him in the civil wars. Atticus also was in the number of Volumnius's friends: and after the battle of Modena, when Antony's faction was supposed to be irrecoverably ruined, he generously protected him from the violences of the successful party. *Ad Att.* xv. 8. *Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici.*

A.U. 702.  the credit of my possessions ~~is~~ a wit. For you tell me, that since I left Rome, every paltry joke, even those of the dull Sextius himself, is placed to my account. And did you suffer your friend to be thus dishonoured, without heroically standing forth in vindication of his genius? I ~~was~~ in hopes, that my wit was stamped with such distinguishing marks as to prevent the possibility of its being mistaken. But it seems there is such a general depravation of taste in Rome, that no man's conceits are so execrably vile, as not to meet with admirers. As you value my reputation then, assert boldly that every low thing which is repeated of this sort, is none of mine. And unless it be some smart pun, or elegant hyperbole, some striking paragram⁹, or some arch and unexpected turn^a; in a word, unless it answers

⁹ The hyperbole is a figure of speech by which any thing is extravagantly magnified or diminished beyond the truth. as a paragram is a species of the pun, which consists in changing the initial letters of a name. It would be needless to produce any example in explanation of the former and an instance of the latter kind will occur to every English reader in the well known reply which Cromwell made to the judges, when they reminded him of *Magna Charta*.

^a Of this kind is what the Duke of Buckingham once said to a noble Earl. *My Lord, you will certainly be damned. How, my Lord?* return'd the Earl with some warmth. *Nay,* replied the Duke, *there's no help for it: for 't is positively said, Cursed is he of whom all men speak well.* Tatler, vol. 1. N^o 17.

the character of true humour¹ as described in A.U. 702.
my dialogue on oratory, I desire you would do }


¹ Cicero in the treatise to which he here refers, introduces one of his speakers as pointing out the principal sources of oratorical humour. among which he makes very honourable mention of the pun. There is scarce an author indeed of any note among the ancients, that has not in some part or other of his writings, tried his genius at a conceit: and it is remarkable that there is one in particular which runs thro' almost the whole set of Roman Classics. The first that appears to have started it, is that venerable censor, Cato the elder. who in a grave speech recorded by Livy, taking notice of those fine statues that had been lately transported into Italy, after the conquest of Greece, expresses his concern, *ne illæ magis res nos ceperint, quam nos illas.* Horace was so well pleased with this witticism, that he has transplanted it into one of his epistles:

*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.*

And even the majestic Virgil could not secure himself from the infection of this contagious ambiguity:

Num Capti petuere Capi?

a quibble, which was afterwards taken up by Quintus Curtius though it seems to be somewhat damaged in passing thro' his hands. *plures captivi*, (says that historian, speaking of one of Alexander's victories) *quam qui caperent, erant.* When it is considered how early this species of false wit appeared in the world; with what difficulty it has been subdued; that some of the best writers have not been able entirely to abstain from it; and that it was the favourite of so unquestionable a genius as Cicero; one cannot forbear thinking with the inimitable Mr. Addison, "that the seeds of punning are in the minds of all men." It is the business therefore of criticism to root out a weed, which the best as well as the worst soil, it seems, is so strongly disposed to produce: as it cannot spread without checking the nobler growth of true wit and just imagination. *Cic. de orat. u. 38 Liv. xxxv. 4. Hor. ep. ii. 1. 157. Virg. Æn. vii. 295. Quint. Cur. v. 13. Addison Spect. i. N^o 61.*

A.U. 702.  me the favour most vehemently to swear, that mine you are confident it is not. With regard to those little pretenders to eloquence, of whom you complain, as having usurped my place in the Forum; I am much less concerned. Fare it as it may with plaintiffs and defendants of every kind, I am nothing disturbed: no not tho' the worthless Silius himself should be deemed eloquent enough to persuade the world, that he is not an arrant slave. But in the article of wit, my friend—there indeed I am much too jealous not to assert my prerogative. It is an article however, in which I stand in fear of no other competitor but yourself: for your pretensions, doubtless, are formidable. Yet when I say this, you will modestly suspect, perhaps, that I am bantering: and who but must own that Voluminus is a man of penetration? To speak seriously: a most agreeable and lively vein of wit runs throughout your whole letter. I will confess, however, that what you mention concerning our friend², tho' you represented it in a very drole light, did not once make me smile. It is much my desire, I must own, that he should conduct himself thro' his tribunitial office with dignity; not only for his own sake, as you know he is a man I value; but for the sake likewise of my


² This seems to allude to Curio.

country : which, however ill it has treated me, A.U.702.
I shall never cease to love. }

And now, my dear Volumnius, I hope you will continue the agreeable correspondence you have begun, and give me frequent accounts of affairs both private and public : for be assured, your letters are extremely pleasing to me. I intreat you, likewise, to endeavour to gain Dolabella intirely to my interests, by confirming him in that amicable disposition towards me, which, I know, he is inclined to entertain. Not that I suspect he wants any applications of this sort : but, as I am very desirous to make him my friend, it is a point, I think, that cannot be too much laboured. Farewel.

LETTER XIX.

TO CRASSIPES³.

A.U. 702.  I Took occasion before I left Rome, of recommending the Bithynia⁴ company to you in the strongest terms I was able: and I had the pleasure to find you perfectly well disposed, not only from my instances, but your own inclinations, to do them all the good offices in your power. However, as those who are concerned in the affairs of this society, think it may be to their advantage that I should thus repeat my assurances of the regard I bear them; I make no difficulty of yielding to their solicitations. Be well persuaded then, that I have ever been desirous of rendering to this whole order in general, my best services: to which indeed the important obligations they have conferred upon me, give them an undoubted right. But my attachments are more particularly strong to that branch of them concerned in

³ He was Quæstor in Bithynia: and probably at the same time when P. Silius was governor of that province: See rem. 1. p. 366. of this vol.

⁴ The revenues of the republic arising from the foreign provinces were farmed by the Roman knights; who were divided into several companies distinguished by the name of the particular province whose taxes they rented. See rem. 53. p. 204. of this vol.

the

the finances of Bithynia: as this company, from A U 702.
the rank and character of its members, forms }
one of the most considerable bodies in the whole
republic. It is composed indeed out of all the
other companies, and happens to consist of several
of my most intimate friends. In this number
their governor Publius Rupilius holds the principal
rank: the most important part of whose
function is concerned in my present address. I
make it then my earnest request (and it is a request
you may very easily comply with) that you assist
and protect their agent Pupius in discharging his
services to the satisfaction of the company: and
in general, that you would promote their interest
by all those means which, I well know, are in
the power of a Quæstor. Your compliance in
this instance will greatly oblige me: and I will
add too, what I can affirm from my own experience,
that you cannot confer your good offices
upon a society that will more gratefully remember
them. Farewel.


LETTER XX.

To PUBLIUS SILIUS, Proprætor.

A.U.702.

PUBLIUS Terentius Hispo, who is deputy-receiver-general of the customs arising from pasture and cattle in your province, is a person for whom I have a very particular friendship: as indeed many important good offices have mutually passed between us. The settling his accounts with the several cities under his department which yet remain unadjusted, is a point wherein his character, you are sensible, is greatly concerned. This I attempted in his behalf with regard to the inhabitants of Ephesus: but my attempts, I must confess, proved unsuccessful. It is the general opinion of the world however, and what I am firmly assured of myself, that the justice and clemency of your administration has gained you such an ascendant over the people of Greece, that you may easily obtain of them any thing you shall request. I intreat you then to employ your interest with them in favour of Hispo: and I ask it as a point in which my honour is peculiarly concerned. The truth is, not only the whole company in this branch of the revenues has placed itself under my protection,

tection, but I have particular intimacies with many of its members. Your compliance therefore with my request will strengthen my interest with this society in general, and will also give me the satisfaction and credit of having obtained your good offices for my friend. To this I will add, that you may depend on receiving great complacency both from the grateful returns of Hispo in particular, and from the interest you will establish with this illustrious company in general. You will likewise oblige me in a most sensible manner: for be assured, the whole extent of your government cannot supply you with an opportunity of rendering me a more acceptable service. Farewel.

A.U.702.


L E T T E R S

O F

Marcus Tullius Cicero

T O

Several of his F R I E N D S.

B O O K V.

L E T T E R I.

T O M A R C U S C A T O '.

THE great authority you bear in the A.U. 703. republic, together with the high esteem I have ever entertained for your un-

This illustrious Roman was great-grand-son to Marcus Cato the Censor: to whom he was no less allied in virtue than in blood. He had all his merit indeed, without any of his failings: and with the same determined inflexibility

A.U.703. common virtues, make me look upon it as a point of much consequence to me, that you

in his public conduct, he was far more amiable in the common intercourses of private life. Perhaps a character equally perfect, is no where to be found in the whole annals of profane history; and it may well be questioned whether *human* philosophy ever produced either before, or since, so truly great and good a man. It is a just observation of Seneca; *magnam rem puta, unum hominem agere* and it is this uncommon consistency of action that marks the character of Cato with its most distinguishing beauty. All the parts of his conduct accord with each other, and are the regular result of one steady and invariable principle.

— *Patria—impendere vitam,
Nec sibi, sed toti gentium se credere mundo.*

This was the glorious object of his ambition from his first appearance in the world, to the last moment of his life and he undauntedly pursued it thro' all the various insults and opposition that Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey, could contrive to traverse and perplex his way. He resolutely indeed opposed the progress of their power, in every step of its unconstitutional advancement; and with a most consummate prudence, perpetually forewarned his countrymen of those calamities which they afterwards experienced. Cicero, nevertheless, has said (and it has been often repeated after him) that there was more of probity, than of prudence in Cato's politics; and particularly instances his treatment of the Roman knight in a very nice case wherein they petitioned the senate for redress. See rem 9. p. 114. of this vol. Perhaps Cato's firmness in this article, cannot be justified: but certainly it would not be reasonable to pronounce from a particular article, that he did not in the general tenor of his public actions discover great abilities. Cicero speaks of them, 'tis true, upon other occasions also, with some diminution: but it is no wonder he should represent that conduct as injudicious, which was almost in every respect the very reverse of his own. One cannot easily indeed believe that Cato's talents were unequal to his virtues, when one considers the perpetual jealousy with which he was looked upon by the first triumvirate, the violent measures they employed to prevent his being elected prætor; and that

should

should be apprised of the success of my arms; of the disinterested protection I have given to our allies; and of the integrity of my administration in general. And I doubt not when you shall be informed of these several articles, I shall find the less difficulty in persuading you to comply with the request I am going to make. A.U. 703.

I arrived in this province on the last of July: and as the season of the year rendered it necessary for me to hasten to the army, I continued only two days at Laodicea, four at Apamea, three at Synnadæ, and as many at Philomelum. I found great numbers of people assembled in these several towns in expectation of my arrival: and during my stay in each, I relieved many cities from the oppressive taxes they laboured under, reduced the exorbitant interest they paid for the money they had been obliged to borrow, and discharged them from the unjust demands of their usurious creditors. Before I

they would never suffer him to attain the consular office. Integrity under the direction of much inferior abilities, could not, surely, have been thus formidable; especially in an age the most venal and unprincipled that ever darkened the annals of human corruption. But whatever may be determined as to the measure of his intellectual qualities; he unquestionably possessed the patriot virtues in their highest perfection: and (as a noble author justly observes) "if he could not save, he prolonged the life of liberty." *Plut. in vit. Caton. Senec. ep. 120. Lucan. ii. 382. Ad Ast. i 18. 11. 5. Let. on the spirit of patriotism, p. 35.*

arrived

A.U. 703. arrived in my government, a mutiny had arisen in the army, and the soldiers had dispersed themselves into different parts of the province: five cohorts in particular were retired to Philomelum, without a single officer to command them. I therefore ordered my lieutenant Anneius to conduct these scattered regiments to the main body in Lycaonia, and to assemble the whole army at Iconium: where I directed him to encamp. These orders he very diligently executed: and I joined the troops on the 26th of August. In the interval I employed myself, agreeably to the injunctions of the senate, in raising a strong body of *Evocati*^a, together with a proper number of cavalry, as also in assembling those auxiliary forces which the free as well as regal states in alliance with the republic, had voluntarily offered me. As soon as the junction of all the troops was completed, I reviewed the whole army: and on the 30th of August we began to move towards Cilicia. In the mean time, envoys from the king of Commagene arrived with a very confused indeed, but however as it appeared afterwards, a very true, account, that the Parthians had invaded Syria. This news greatly alarmed me, not only for the danger to which that province, but my

^a See remark 1. on letter 3. book iv.

own, was exposed: and which threatened like- A.U.703.
wise all Asia in general. I thought it adviseable }
therefore to lead my troops through that part
of Cappadocia which borders on Cilicia. If
indeed I had marched directly into Cilicia, I
could easily have protected that district of my
province from any invasion on the side of Sy-
ria: as it cannot be entered from thence with-
out traversing Mount Amanus, over which there
are only two narrow defiles that might be de-
fended by a very small force. In short, no-
thing can be more impregnable than Cilicia is
from that quarter, by the fortifications with
which nature has secured it. But my chief
concern was for Cappadocia, which lies entirely
open towards Syria: and besides, there are sever-
al little kingdoms in its neighbourhood, which
though in friendship with the Romans, yet dare
not openly act against the Parthians. These
considerations therefore determined me to lie
with my army on the borders of Cappadocia:
and accordingly I encamped at Cybistra, a town
situated not far from Mount Taurus. By
these means I was in a condition of protecting
Cilicia, at the same time that, by possessing my-
self of Cappadocia, I prevented the contiguous
states, from entering into any measures to our
prejudice.

Whilst

A.U. 703.

Whilst affairs were in this commotion, and there was reason to apprehend a general war; King Deiotarus sent an Embassy to my camp with an offer of joining me with all his forces. I was extremely sensible of this instance of his zeal and friendship: and immediately returned him a letter of acknowledgments, with my pressing exhortations at the same time that he would hasten his march. I cannot but observe upon this occasion, that Deiotarus justly merits those peculiar marks of favour and esteem, with which both you and I in particular, as well as the senate in the general, have ever distinguished him. He discovers indeed a remarkable fidelity and affection to the republic, together with an uncommon presence and greatness of mind both in action and in council.


I found it necessary for the better concerting my plan of operations, to continue five days at Cybistra. During my stay there, I had the satisfaction to be of singular service to Ariobarzanes: a prince particularly assigned to my protection by the senate, in consequence of your motion for that purpose. I delivered him from a very dangerous conspiracy, which was just upon the point of being carried into execution. I did more indeed: and not only preserved his person, but strengthened his authority. For this purpose

purpose I procured Metras and Athenæus, (the latter of whom you strongly recommended to my care) not only to be recalled from that exile into which the intrigues of the cruel Athenais had driven them, but to be restored to their former favour and credit with the king. And as it would have produced a very terrible civil war, if the high priest², who was among the disaffected party, had taken up arms, as was generally supposed to be his intention; I found means of obliging him to depart the kingdom. This young man abounded both in money and troops, and possessed every other advantage that could render him of importance to those who were inclined to attempt a revolution.—In a word, I recovered the authority of Ariobarzanes without occasioning the least blood-shed, or disturbance, and firmly established him in his royal dignity.

In the mean time, I was informed by various expresses, that a considerable army of Parthians and Arabians were advanced to the city of Antiochia³; and that a large body of their cavalry which had penetrated into Cilicia, were en-

² It appears by a passage, which Manutius cites from Hirtius, that the high priest of the temple of Bellona at Communa, a city in Cappadocia, was next in rank and power to the king himself. *Hirt. de Bel. Alexand.*

³ In Syria.

A.U. 703.  tirely cut to pieces by a detachment of mine supported by the prætorian⁴ cohort in garrison at Epiphanea⁵. Perceiving therefore that the Parthians had turned off from Cappadocia, and were approached within a small distance of the frontiers of Cilicia; I conducted the army with all possible expedition to Amanus. Upon my arrival, I found the enemy was retired from Antiochia, and that Bibulus had taken possession of the city. I sent an express therefore to Deiotarus, who was upon full march with all his forces to join me, acquainting him that I did not at present see occasion of drawing him out of his dominions; but that if any new occurrence should arise, I would immediately give him notice.

My principal view in advancing to Amanus was, that I might be ready to assist either Cilicia or Syria, as circumstances should require. I had likewise another design, which I had before meditated and now prepared to execute, as being of great importance to both provinces: I mean to quell the insurrection of these highlanders, and extirpate an enemy that was perpetually infesting

⁴ The Prætorian cohort composed a sort of body-guard to the proconsul, or general. and consisted of a select number chosen out of the Evocati. The nature of the latter has been already explained in remark 1. p. 340. of this vol.

⁵ A city in Cilicia.

us. To this end I made a feint of retiring towards another part of Cilicia: and having actually returned a day's march, I encamped at Epi-
A.U 703.
 phanea. But on the 12th of October in the evening, I struck my tents: and by a long march during the whole night, I arrived early the next morning at Amanus. I immediately formed in order of battle, heading part of the troops myself in conjunction with my brother, and distributing the command of the rest amongst my other lieutenants. The enemy being thus surrounded by surprise, were taken and destroyed in great numbers. Mean while, my lieutenant Pontinius attacked Sepyra, Commoris, and Erana: the latter of which is the principal town on these mountains, and indeed considerable enough to be called a city. They each made a very obstinate resistance: and notwithstanding the attack began before day-break, they did not surrender till night, nor without having suffered a prodigious slaughter. In this action we took six fortresses, and burnt many more.

Having thus successfully completed this expedition, we encamped at the foot of Mount Amanus, near Alexander's⁶ altars: where I con-

* A place near Issus, where Alexander having defeated Darius, consecrated three altars to Jupiter, Hercules, and Minerva, as memorials of his victory. *Quint. Curt. iii.*

A.U. 703. tinued four days. During the whole time I remained here, I was employed in extirpating the rest of these mountaineers, and destroying that part of their lands which lies within my province. From hence I sat down before Pindinessum: a city in the territories of that part of Cilicia which has never submitted to the Romans. This was a place of great strength, and inhabited by a stubborn people who had preserved themselves unconquered even by the neighbouring kings. It was a harbour likewise for fugitives of every kind: and they were greatly also in the interest of the Parthians, whose approach they impatiently expected. Upon these considerations I thought it for the honour of my arms to restrain their insolence: especially as I should by this means the more easily subdue the spirit of those other cantons which were equally averse to the Roman government. In consequence of this resolution I invested the town; and having raised six large fortresses, I began to play my battering engines against their walls. They held out however fifty-seven days: but at length finding the flames had seized several parts of the town, and that other quarters were laid in ruins; they surrendered at discretion, after having occasioned me an infinite fatigue. I had the satisfaction to complete this enterprise without occasioning

caſioning our allies the leaſt inconvenience or expence. After having thus reduced Pindineſum, and received hoſtages from the Tiburani, a neighbouring people equally bold and inſolent, I ſent my army into winter-quarters. This care I aſſigned to my brother : and ordered him to canton the troops amongſt thoſe towns we had lately taken, or that were moſt diſpoſed to revolt.

And now, if a motion ſhould be made in the ſenate concerning the honours due to the ſucceſs of my arms, I ſhall eſteem it the higheſt glory to be ſupported in my pretenſions by your ſuffrage. I am ſenſible it is uſual for the graveſt characters to requeſt, as well as to be requeſted, for favours of this nature, in the ſtrongeſt terms : but I perſuade myſelf it will be more proper for me to remind, than to ſolicit you, in the preſent inſtance. You have frequently indeed, not only diſtinguiſhed me with your vote, but with your higheſt applauſe both in the ſenate and in the aſſemblies of the people⁷. And believe me, I have ever thought there was ſo much weight and authority, in all

⁷ Cicero ſoon after the expiration of his conſulate had very particular obligations to Cato, of the kind he mentions. For the latter being tribune at that time, procured him a confirmation from an aſſembly of the people, of the glorious title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. *Plut. in vit. Cic.*

A.U. 703. you uttered, that a single word of yours in my favour was the highest honour I could possibly receive. I remember upon a certain occasion, when you refused to vote for a public thanksgiving⁸ which was proposed in favour of a very worthy and illustrious citizen; you told the senate that you should willingly have given your suffrage in support of the honour in question, had it been designed as a reward for any civil services which that consul had performed in Rome. Agreeably to this maxim, you formerly concurred in voting that a public thanksgiving should be decreed to me, not indeed for having advanced the glory of our country by my military achievements, (for that would have been a circumstance nothing uncommon) but for having, in a most singular and unexampled manner, preserved the liberties of the whole commonwealth⁹ without drawing a sword. I forbear to mention the generous share you have taken in all the envy, the difficulties and the dangers to which my life has been exposed: and a far greater you were willing to have taken, if

⁸ This honour was usually decreed to a general after some signal advantage obtained by his arms. It consisted in appointing a solemn festival in order to return thanks to the gods for the public success: at which time the senate went in solemn procession to the principal temples in Rome, and assisted at the sacrifices instituted for such occasions.

⁹ By the suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

I could

I could have been prevailed upon to have consented. I forbear to mention likewise that you considered my enemy ¹⁰ as your own: and, that in order to give me a convincing proof of your great regard, you scrupled not to shew your approbation even of his death, by defending Milo in the senate. In return, (and I speak of it, not as a favour for which you are indebted to me, but as a tribute which I owed to truth) I have been no silent admirer of your virtues: for who indeed can suppress his applause of them? In all my speeches both in the forum and the senate, as well as in the several pieces I have published, either in our own language, or in Greek, I have ever represented your character as superior, not only to the noblest amongst our contemporaries, but to the most celebrated in history.

After all, you will wonder perhaps, what should induce me to set so high a value upon these little transient honours of the senate. I will acknowledge then the whole truth, and lay open my heart before you with a freedom becoming that philosophy we cultivate, and that friendship we profess: a friendship delivered down to us from our parents, and improved by ~~any~~ reciprocal good offices.

¹⁰ Clodius.

A.U. 703. Let me previously observe, that if ever any man was a stranger to vain-glory and a desire of vulgar admiration, it is myself: and this frame of mind which I possess by temper, has been still strengthened (if I am not deceived) by reason and philosophy. As an evidence of this, I appeal to my consulate: in which, as in every other part of my life, tho' I pursued that conduct, I confess, from whence true honours might be derived; yet I never thought they were of themselves an object worthy of my ambition. On the contrary, I refused the government of a very noble province¹¹: and notwithstanding it was highly probable I might have obtained a triumph, yet I forbore to prosecute my pretensions of that kind. I forbore too the offering myself as a candidate for the office of augur: tho' you are sensible, I dare say, that I might have succeeded without much difficulty. But I will acknowledge, that the injurious treatment I afterwards suffered, tho' you always speak of it indeed as a circumstance which reflects the highest honour upon my character, and as a misfortune only to the republic, has rendered me desirous of receiving the most distinguished marks of my country's approbation.

¹¹ Macedonia. to which he had a right by lot. ¹² He succeeded at the expiration of his consulate. See rem. 1. p. 9. of this vol.

For this reason, I solicited the office of augur which I had before declined: and as little as I once thought the military honours deserved my pursuit, I am now ambitious of that distinction which the senate usually confers on its successful generals. I will own, I have some view by this mean of healing the wounds of my former unmerited disgrace: and therefore, tho' I just now declared that I would not press you upon this article; I recall my words, and most earnestly conjure your suffrage and assistance. I make this request however, upon the supposition that what I have performed in this campaign, shall not appear contemptible in your eye, but on the contrary, far superior to the actions of many of those generals who have obtained the most glorious rewards from the senate.

I have observed (and you are sensible I always listen with great attention whenever you deliver your opinions) that as often as any question of this nature has come before the senate, you were less inquisitive into the military than civil conduct of the proconsul. It was the political ordinances he had established, and the moral qualities he had displayed, that seemed to have the principal weight in determining your vote. If you should examine my pretensions

in

A.U. 703. in this view, you will see, that with a weak and inconsiderable army, I found a strong resource against the danger of a very formidable invasion in the lenity and justice of my government. By these aids I effected, what I never could by the most powerful legions: I recovered the friendship of our alienated allies; firmly strengthened their allegiance to the republic; and conciliated their affections at a time when they were waiting the opportunity of some favourable conjuncture to desert us.

But perhaps I have expatiated farther upon this subject than is necessary: especially to you, before whom all our allies in general are accustomed to lay their complaints¹². To them therefore I refer you for an account of the benefits they have received by my administration. They will all of them as with one voice, I am persuaded, give you the most advantageous testimony in my favour; but particularly those illustrious clients of yours the Cyprians¹³ and

¹² Cato settled a correspondence throughout the whole Roman provinces, and received constant intelligence of the conduct of the several governors in their respective commands: So attentive was this vigilant patriot to whatever concerned the interest of the commonwealth! *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

¹³ Cyprus had a particular claim to the patronage of Cato, as he had been employed in executing a commission by which that island was annexed to the dominions of the republic. This commission was artfully contrived by Clo-

Cappadocians: to whom I may likewise add A.U. 704.

dius in his tribunate, in order to remove Cato out of his way: but the precise nature of it, is no where distinctly explained. It should seem by what may be collected from Plutarch, that it was only an embassy in which Cato was appointed to claim on behalf of the republic, the dominions or *kingdom* of Cyprus; and to offer him at the same time the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus in the island of Paphos. which in those days might have been no distant outrageous exchange. Cato however has been severely censured by some modern historians for having accepted this office: and Dr. Middleton, in particular, thinks he cannot be justified. But none of the ancient historians speak of it as in the least unworthy of Cato's virtue: and indeed one of the most moral writers in all antiquity, mentions it upon an occasion which evidently shews that it was by no means thought inconsistent with that character of rigid ~~virtue~~ which this illustrious Roman had so deservedly obtained. Seneca in his letter of consolation addressed to Marcia on the loss of her son, taking notice of the advantages of an early death, instances, among other examples, those calamities which a more extended period had brought upon Cato. *Marcum Catonem, says he, si a Cypro et hereditatis regie dispensatione redeuntem mare devorasset,—nonne illo bene actum foret?—Nunc anno, un adjecto paucissimum, virum libertatis non sive tantum sed publicæ natum, coegit Cæsarem fugere, Pompeium sequi.* It is evident then that this action was so far from being deemed unjustifiable in the opinion of the antients, (by which alone it can be fairly examined) that the noblest of their moralists has chosen it to complete the glory and grace the exit of his favourite Hero. It must unquestionably therefore have been founded upon some circumstances, that reconciled it to that law of nations which then prevailed in the world. Accordingly it appears by some passages in Cicero's orations, that the republic had an ancient claim to these dominions. For Alexander king of Egypt, to whose territories Cyprus belonged, appointed the Roman commonwealth his general heir. and though the senate did not judge proper at that juncture, to assert their right under this will; they thought it however a sufficient title to possess themselves of Alexander's effects. From that time down to the date of Cato's commission, frequent attempts had been made in the senate to enforce their right under the will: and a decree had actually passed for that

your

A.U. 703. your great and royal friend¹⁴, prince Deiotarus. If thus to act, is a merit of the most superior kind; if in all ages the number has been far less considerable of those who knew how to subdue their desires, than to vanquish their enemies; He that has given an instance of purpose. But as this decree was protested against by some tribune; it had never been carried into execution. Thus far it should seem, that Cato's commission was not founded upon a mere arbitrary exertion of power; but on a right which had long before received the sanction of the senate, and which had already in part been vindicated to the public. In the next place, the inhabitants of Cyprus were extremely oppressed under the government of Ptolemy, and desirous of transferring their subjection to the Romans. Paterculus represents this prince as one who well deserved the government he suffered: *omnibus morum virtus, says he, cari continentiam meritum*. And Dion Cassius expressly declares that the Cyprians received Cato, "*οὐκ ἀρεσίων*"; hoping that "from slaves, as they were before, they should be raised into the number of the friends and allies of Rome." But to consider this question in another view: what probable reason of personal interest can be assigned for Cato's undertaking this office? It could not be from a spirit of avarice: for it is unanimously confessed that he discharged it with the most unspotted integrity. It could not be from a motive of ambition. for he refused all the honours upon this occasion which his country would have paid him. It could not be from a servile compliance with the power of Clodius: for he died rather than submit even to that of Cæsar. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to assert, that Cato acted in this instance, as in all others, upon a principle of disinterested patriotism, and consistently with the strictest maxims of Pagan morality. *Plut. in vit. Caton. Orat. in Rul. i. 1. 11. 16. Vel. Paterc. ii. 45. Dio, p. 101. Senec. Consol. ad Marc. 20.*

¹⁴ Cato took a voyage into Asia, in order to inform himself of the strength and disposition of these eastern provinces: and it was upon this occasion that he entered into a personal friendship with Deiotarus, who paid him the honours of his court with singular marks of esteem and consideration. *Plut. in vit. Caton.*

both,

both, cannot certainly but be deemed, in Ca-
 to's estimation at least, to have strengthened his
 claim to the honours of his country, and to have
 improved the splendor of his military atchieve-
 ments, by the more unusual lustre of his civil
 conduct.

Let me in the last place, and as in diffidence of
 my own solicitations, call in Philosophy for my
 advocate: than which nothing has ever afforded
 me a more sensible satisfaction. The truth is, she
 is one of the noblest blessings that the gods have
 bestowed on man. At her shrine we have both
 & us, from our earliest years, paid our joint
 and equal adorations: and while she has been
 thought by some, the companion only of indo-
 lent and secluded speculatists; we (and we
 alone I had almost said) have introduced her
 into the world of business, and familiarised her
 with the most active and important scenes. She
 therefore it is, that now solicits you in my be-
 half: and when Philosophy is the suppliant,
 Cato, surely, can never refuse. To say all in
 one word: be well assured, if I should prevail
 with you to concur in procuring a decree I so
 much wish to obtain, I shall consider myself as
 wholly indebted for that honour to your autho-
 rity and friendship. Farewel.

LETTER II.

MARCUS CATO to CICERO.

A.U. 703. **T**HE affection I bear both to you and to the republic, induces me very sincerely to rejoice in finding that you exercise the same integrity and vigilance in the conduct of our arms abroad, as distinguished your administration of our most important affairs at home. I have therefore paid your actions that honour which was most consistent with my judgment: *and* in speaking to this question before the senate as well as afterwards when I assisted in drawing up the decree that has passed in your favour, I applauded the probity and prudence with which you have protected your province, preserved the crown and person of Ariobarzanes, and conciliated the affections of our allies in general.


If you rather choose however that we should ascribe to the gods, those advantages which the republic has gained intirely by your own consummate wisdom and probity; I am glad the senate has passed a decree for that purpose. But if you are willing that Fortune should have the credit of your actions, as supposing
a pub-

a public thanksgiving necessarily opens your way to a triumph; I must observe that the latter is not always a consequence of the former. Yet granting it were; is it not far more to the honour of a general, to have it declared by a vote of the senate that he preserved his province by the mildness and equity of his administration, than that he owed it either to the strength of his troops, or to the peculiar interposition of providence? Such at least were my sentiments when this question came before the house: and if I have employed more words than usual in explaining them, it was from a desire of convincing you that tho' I proposed to the senate what I thought would be most for the advantage of your reputation, I rejoice that they have determined what is most agreeable to your wishes. I have only to request the continuance of your friendship: and to intreat you steadily to persevere in those parts of integrity which you have hitherto pursued both in respect to our allies and the republic. Farewell.

* This letter (to speak in the virtuoso language) is an *unique*, and extremely valuable as being the only composition that has been transmitted to us from the hands of Cato. It confirms what Plutarch expressly asserts, that Cato's manners were by no means of a rough and unpolished cast: as no refusal could have been drawn up in more decent and civil terms. A judicious eye, however, cannot but discern thro'

LETTER III.

TO CAIUS MARCELLUS*, consul.

A.U. 703.  **N**OTHING could be more agreeable to my wishes, than that the question concerning the honours due to my military services, should come before the senate at a time when you are consul: as it will afford you an opportunity of gratifying that uncommon zeal for my interests which I have upon all occasions experienced from every branch of your family. Let me intreat you therefore, when the letter I have addressed to the senate shall be laid before that assembly, to exert your influence in procuring a decree in my favour of the most distinguished kind. I persuade myself you will find no difficulty in complying with this request: as the senate, I trust, will by no means be averse to my pretensions. If there were any of your family whose friendship I enjoyed in a higher degree than yours; I should have applied to you by their intervention. But tho'

this veil of politeness, the nice touches of a delicate and concealed raillery: which Cicero nevertheless thought proper to dissemble, as will appear by his answer to this letter in the following book. See vol. ii. p. 50.

* See rem. 4. p. 322.

no man ever entered more warmly into my interests, than your father; tho' the esteem which your relation Marcus Marcellus has long entertained for me, is conspicuous to the whole world; and in a word, tho' all your family in general have ever honoured me with the most signal marks of their regard, yet there is not one of them who hath afforded me stronger instances of affection than yourself. I conjure you then, to distinguish me with the highest honours: and let me experience in the affair of my thanksgiving, as well as in every other wherein the glory of my reputation is concerned, that I want no solicitor to recommend me to your good offices. Farewel.

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LETTER IV.

TO LUCIUS PAULUS³, Consul.

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AMONG many reasons for wishing myself with you at Rome, the principal was, that I might both at your election and in the course of your consular ministry have given you proofs of that zeal to which you have so undoubted a right. I am sensible at the same time, that the unanimity with which you were chosen, (and of which, indeed, I never entertained the least doubt) would have rendered my assistance in that article altogether unnecessary: and I sincerely wish you may have as little occasion for it in the subsequent discharge of your office. However, I should have had the satisfaction at least, of seconding your views in both. It is a great concern to me, I confess, when I reflect that notwithstanding I experienced many important instances of your affection during my consulship; I am yet utterly incapable of making any return in *yours*. And what renders this reflection still more mortifying is, that you were but a young man when you thus generously displayed the effects of your friendship: whereas I am at a time of life when

³ See rem. 6. p. 324. of this vol.

much

much greater advantages might well be expected from *mine*. I know not, in truth, by what fatality it is, that you have continually had opportunities of advancing *my* dignities, and that I have never been able to contribute any thing but ineffectual good wishes to *yours*. Thus, as not only in the instance I just now mentioned, but in the article of my restoration, I was indebted to you for the highest honours; so a fresh occasion now presents itself to you of distinguishing me, as my military achievements have happened to fall within the period of your consulate. The dignity of that office with which you are invested, and the importance of those honours I am suing for, might well require that I should address you in all the warmth of solicitation: but I dare not venture thus to press you, lest it should look as if I forgot, or at least imagined that you had forgotten, your usual disposition to serve me. I will make my request therefore in few words: and it will be treating you in a manner more agreeable, I dare say, to your own inclinations, as well as to those favours which all the world is sensible I have received at your hands. If any others indeed than you and your colleague were in possession of the consular office, you are the first man whose mediation I should have employed

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A.U.703.  in order to render the consuls favourable to my pretensions. But as this high authority is vested in you, with whom I have the strongest and most conspicuous connections; I cannot scruple to conjure your assistance in speedily procuring a decree of the most illustrious kind in my favour: an honour which you will find, by the letter I have addressed to the Senate, that my arms are not unworthy of receiving. I recommend then my reputation, and indeed my concerns of every sort, to your generous patronage. But above all I beseech you (and it is a request I mentioned in my former letter) that you would not suffer the time of my continuance here to be prolonged. It is much my desire, in truth, to see you in your consular office: and I doubt not of obtaining from your administration every advantage, both here and in Italy, that I most wish to enjoy. Farewel.

LETTER V.

MARCUS COELIUS TO CICERO.

YOU have been informed, I doubt not, A.U. 703.
 that Dolabella has exhibited articles of impeachment against Appius⁴; and this prosecution seems to be more agreeable to the world in general than I imagined. Appius, however, has acted with great prudence upon the occasion: for as soon as his adversary had lodged his information, he withdrew his petition for a triumph, and immediately entered the city⁵. By these means he silenced the reports to his disadvantage: as he appeared more willing to take his trial than his prosecutor expected. Appius relies greatly in this conjuncture upon your assistance: and I am persuaded you are not disinclined to serve him. You have it now in your power⁶ to do so, as far as you shall

⁴ He was prosecuted by Dolabella in two distinct impeachments. The first was, for being guilty of treason in his government of Cilicia, and the other, for bribery and corruption in his election to the consulate. *Ep. Fam.* iii. 11.

⁵ See *ref.* 3. p. 371. of this vol.

⁶ As one of Dolabella's impeachments against Appius was for his male practices in Cilicia, it was extremely in

A.U. 703. think proper: tho' I must add, you would be more at liberty to limit your good offices towards him, if you and he had never been upon ill terms together. But ^{as} the case now stands, were you to measure out your services by the right he has to demand them, it might be suspected that you were not sincere in your reconciliation: whereas you can hazard no censure by obliging him; as you will shew that you are not to be discouraged from acting a generous part, even where friendship ^a might incline you to the contrary. This reminds me of acquainting you, that Dolabella's wife obtained a divorce just upon the commencement of this prosecution. I remember the commission ^s you left with me when you set out for the province; as I dare say you have not forgotten what I afterwards wrote to you concerning that affair. I have not time to enlarge

the power of Cicero to serve Appius in those examinations which were necessary to be taken in his province.

^a To Dolabella.

^s It seems probable from this passage, that there was some prospect of a divorce between Dolabella and his wife before Cicero left Rome; and that the latter had commissioned Caelius, in case this event should happen, to take some measures for procuring a match between Dolabella and his daughter Tullia. There will be occasion to make great use of this circumstance in a remark upon a letter in the following book: and therefore it is here pointed out for the reader's particular observation. See rem. 6. p. 6, vol. ii.

upon it at present : only let me advise you, how much soever you may relish the scheme, to wait the event of this trial before you discover your sentiments. If indeed your inclinations should be known ; it will raise a very invidious clamour against you : and should you give Dolabella the least intimation of them, they will certainly become more public than will be convenient either for your interest, or your honour. He would undoubtedly be unable to conceal a circumstance so advantageous to his present views, and which would give so much credit to the prosecution in which he is engaged : and I am persuaded he would scarce refrain from making it the subject of his conversation, notwithstanding he were sure the discovery would prove to his prejudice. Pompey, I am told, interests himself extremely in behalf of Appius : insomuch that it is generally imagined he has a design of sending one of his sons in order to solicit you in his favour. Mean while we are in the humour here of acquitting all criminals : nothing, in truth, so base or so villainous can be perpetrated that is not sure of escaping punishment. You will perceive how wonderfully active our consuls are in their office, when I tell you that they have not yet been able to procure a single decree of the senate, except

A U. 709.

A.U.703. one for appointing the Latian⁹ festivals. Even our friend Curio has not hitherto acted with my spirit in his tribunate: as indeed it is impossible to describe the general indolence that has seized us. If it were not for my contests with the vintners and the surveyors of the public aquæducts, all Rome would appear in a profound lethargy. In short, I know not to what degree the Parthians may have animated *you*: but as for us in this part of the world, we are fast asleep. But how much soever we may want to be awakened; I hope it will not be by the Parthians. It is reported, nevertheless, tho' I know not on what foundation, that they have gained some slight advantage over the troops of Bibulus, near Mount Amanus.

Since I wrote the above, I must recall what I said concerning Curio: the cold fit is at length expelled, by the *warmth* of those censures to which the levity of his conduct has exposed him. For, not being able to carry his point with respect to the intercalation¹⁰, he has deserted the interest of the senate; and harangued the people in favour of Cæsar¹¹. He threatens

⁹ This festival was instituted by Tarquin, in memory of his conquest of Etruria.

¹⁰ See rem. 8. p. 266. of this vol.

¹¹ It has already been observed in the course of these remarks, that Curio secretly favoured the interest of Cæsar,

likewise to propose a Viarian law, somewhat of the same tendency with the Agrarian one which was formerly attempted by Rullus ¹²: as also another, empowering the Ædiles to distribute corn among the people.

If you should determine (as I think you ought) to employ your good offices in behalf of Appius, I beg you would take that oppor-

at the same time that he affected to act in concert with the friends of the senate. But circumstances being now mature for throwing aside the mask, he seized the first opportunity of quarrelling with his party. With this view, he applied to the pontifical college for an intercalation, in order to lengthen out the period of his tribunial ministry. This he knew would not be granted: as having before raised, it is probable, some suspicion of his real designs. He refused, however, furnished him with the pretence he wanted; and gave a colour (such as it was) to the desertion he had long meditated. *Dio*, p. 149.

¹² Rullus was tribune of the people in the consulate of Cicero: by whose address and eloquence the law which Rullus attempted to introduce, was rejected. "These laws (as Dr. Middleton observes) "used to be greedily received "by the populace, and were proposed therefore by factitious magistrates, as oft as they had any point to carry "with the multitude against the public good: but this "law (of Rullus) was of all others the most extravagant, "and by a shew of granting more to the people than had "ever been given before, seemed likely to be accepted. "The purpose of it was to create a decemvirate, or ten "commissioners, with absolute power for five years over "all the revenues of the republic; to distribute them at "pleasure to the citizens; to sell and buy what lands they "thought fit; to determine the rights of the principal "possessors; to require an account from all the generals "abroad, except Pompey, of the spoils taken in their "wars; to settle colonies wheresoever they judged proper, "and particularly at Capua; and in short, to command "all the money and forces of the empire." *Life of Tully*, i. 161. 8vo. edit.

A.U. 703. tunity of recommending me to h^{is} favor. L^{et} me prevail with you likewise not^{ed} to declare y^{our}self with respect to Dolabella^{us} as your leaving that point at large will ~~be~~ *be of singular importance*, not only to the^{re} affair I hint at, but also in regard to the opinioⁿ the world will entertain of your justice and h^{on}our.

Will it not be a^{high} reflection upon you, if I should not be f^{urn}ished with some Grecian panthers? Farewel

LETTER VI.

From the Same.

I Know not how soon you may wish to resign your government; but for my own part, my impatience for your return is in proportion to the good fortune that has hitherto attended your arms. Whilst you continue in the province therefore, I shall be under perpetual apprehensions, lest some unlucky reverse should damp the joy I take in your late successful expedition.

I have time to write but a very few words, as I convey this by the hands of the courier to the farmers of the revenue, who is just setting out; and indeed I sent you a long letter yesterday
by

by your friend-man. Nothing has since occurred ^{A.U. 703.} worth communicating: unless you should have curiosity enough to think (as I imagine you will) that the following articles deserve notice. In the first place then, Cornificius is upon the point of being married to the youngest daughter of Sylla: and in the next, Paula Valeria on the very day her husband was expected from his government, procured a divorce, without alledging the least cause. She is to be married to Decimus Brutus. Several very extraordinary incidents of the same kind have happened during your absence. But would you have suspected that Servius Ocella was so well with the ladies, as to have been twice discovered in close gallantry within the space of three short days? If you ask me where the scene of this amorous adventure was laid? In sad truth, my friend, where I least wished: but for the rest, I leave you to inquire of others¹. And a pleasant piece of intelligence it will be for our noble general to learn, in whose fair quarters the luckless Ocella was seized! Farewel.

¹ One would almost suspect, from the reserved manner in which Cælius relates this adventure, that he had a *glaring reason on his brow* (as the poet humourously calls it) for not being more explicit.

LETTER VII.

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

A.U. 703.

I Will answer your letter more fully than I can at present, the very first moment I shall have more leisure. In the mean while I snatch the opportunity of sending this by the hands of some domestics of Brutus, who just now called upon me at Laodicea, and are returning with all expedition to Rome. They are in so much haste that I have only time to write this, and another to Brutus.

The deputies from Apamea delivered your long letter to me, wherein you very unjustly accuse me of having obstructed by my mandates the public monument ² which that city proposed

² It was usual with these Asiatic provinces, to consecrate temples to their Roman governors and associate them with the gods in the same common ceremonies of religious worship. Probably therefore the building which the City of Apamea proposed to erect, was some compliment to Appius of this sacred kind. The very ingenious Monsieur Mongault has shewn in a learned dissertation which he read before the Royal Academy of *Belles Lettres* at Paris, that the divine honours which were paid to the Roman Emperors, were only a continuance of the same infamous prostitution which had been practised during the times of the republic. *Plut. in vit. Flamin. Mémories de l'Acad. vol. i. p. 369.*

to raise. You desire I would suffer them to proceed immediately upon the execution of that design, lest they should be prevented by the winter; and very severely reproach me for having suspended the assessments for that purpose till I should be able to inquire into the justice of raising them. This, you tell me, was in some sort an absolute prohibition: since the winter would necessarily be set-in, before I could return out of Cilicia in order to examine into that affair. Having thus stated the several articles of your charge; I will now shew you that they are altogether unreasonable. In the first place then, as I had received complaints on the part of those who thought themselves aggrieved by excessive taxes; where was the injustice, if I forbade these subsidies to be levied till I could examine into the merits of the case? But this, it seems, I could not be able to effect, till the winter. Yet why not? let me ask: since it was the part of those who made these complaints to wait upon me, rather than mine to attend them. But you will object, perhaps, to the reasonableness of laying these people under the difficulty of taking so long a journey. Yet this journey you yourself must necessarily have designed they should take, when you gave them your letter to deliver to me. And deliver it they accordingly did:

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A.U. 703. did: but they timed it so absurdly, that tho' it was to desire they might be permitted to begin their work during the summer, they did not bring it to me till that season was expired. I must acquaint you, however, that far the greater part of these very citizens are averse to the levying this tax in question: nevertheless I shall take such measures for that purpose, as I imagine will prove most agreeable to your inclinations. And thus much for this Apamean business.

* I am informed by Pausanias, a freed-man of Lentulus and one of my accensors³, that you complained to him of my having treated you with great haughtiness and incivility by not coming to meet you in your approach to Iconium. The fact, however, is this: I received a message from you late at night, acquainting me that you proposed to give me an interview in that city before the next morning: but your servant could not inform me which of the two roads you intended to take. In order therefore that I might be ready to attend you, I dispatched your friend Varro, together with Lepta, the captain of my artillery, directing them to take different roads, and which-ever should meet you

³ The Accensors were officers who attended on the pro-consular magistrates in their courts of justice.

first, to return with immediate notice. According to ^{A.U. 703.} ~~Lenta~~ came back with great expedition: and assuring me that you had actually passed the camp, I instantly went to Iconium. What followed I need not mention. And now is it probable, that I, who am rather apt to be more assiduous in offices of this kind, than my station and character require, should neglect to pay the accustomed honours to Appius Claudius, to one dignified with the august title of *Imperator*; and what is still stronger, to my friend? But not to dwell any longer upon this article; I cannot forbear taking notice of an expression you made use of to the same person.

“ A compliment of this kind, you told him, “ had mutually passed between you and L^{entulus} ⁴: and did Cicero take upon himself to “ act towards a person of your quality with “ less ceremony?” But can it be true, that so weak an expression should drop from a man of your improved understanding, and knowledge of the world: I will add too, (what the stoics justly rank in the number of social virtues) of your refined good breeding? Can you possibly believe me so mean, as to be influenced more by the distinctions of birth, than of merit? I


⁴ L^{entulus} was predecessor to Appius in the government of Cilicia: as Appius was to Cicero.

A.U. 703. have ever indeed held the founders of illustrious families as truly great: but never could I esteem the splendid names they transmitted to their posterity, as objects of my admiration. These were my sentiments even before I had myself attained what the world considers as the highest honours. But now, after having filled the most distinguished posts in the commonwealth with a character that leaves nothing more for my ambition to wish; tho' I am far from thinking myself superior to those of your rank, I hoped however that I might be deemed their equal. I am persuaded at least, that I have been always regarded as such, not only by Cæmentulus, to whom I yield the preference to myself in every respect; but by Pompey likewise, whom I look upon as the greatest man the world has ever produced. But if you differ from them in this opinion; I would recommend the writings of Athenodorus⁵ to your attentive perusal: as they will teach you to form a more just distinction between high birth and true nobility⁶.

But not to deviate farther from the purpose of my letter: I beg you would do me the justice to believe, not only that I am your friend,

⁵ He was preceptor to Augustus Cæsar. *Manilius*.

⁶ See rem. i. p. 101. of this vol.


but that I am most affectionately so: the truth A.U. 703.
of which I shal' endeavour to evince, by every 
means in my power. Nevertheless, if you are
disposed to make the world suspect that you
have less reason to take my interest under your
protection during my absence, than I had to act
for yours in the same circumstance; I willingly
spare you the trouble;

*There want not chiefs in such a cause to fight,
And Jove himself shall guard a monarch's right*.*

But, notwithstanding you should give me reason to think that you are of a temper too apt to take offence, you will not however extinguish my desire of exerting my best services in your behalf: you will only render me less solicitous in what manner you may receive them.

Thus I have opened my heart to you with a freedom that results from the conscious sincerity of my friendship towards you: and which, as it was founded on dispassionate judg-

* Hom. Pope's translation. These lines are taken from the speech of Agamemnon to Achilles in the first Iliad, where the latter threatens to withdraw his forces from the common cause. Cicero seems to apply them in particular allusion to his interest with Pompey: who, at this time, was the great idol of his devotion, and the political Jove at whose shrine he most devoutly bowed.

A.U. 703.  ment, I shall preserve just as long as may be agreeable to your own inclinations. Farewel.

L E T T E R VIII.

TO CAIUS CASSIUS*, Proquæstor.

MY own inclinations have anticipated your recommendation: I have long since received Marcus Fabius into the number of my friends. He has extremely endeared himself to me indeed, by his great politeness and elegance

* He attended Crassus into Syria, as his quæstor: who being killed in an engagement against the Parthians, as has been related in rem. 7. p. 128. of this vol. the administration devolved upon Cassius. He seems when this letter was written to have been setting out, if not actually upon the road, from that province. Soon after his return to Rome, the civil war broke out; in which he commanded a very considerable fleet on the side of Pompey. but upon the defeat of that general in the plains of Pharsalia, he surrendered both himself and his ships to the conqueror. See rem. * p. 171. vol. ii. It is unnecessary to mention the part which Cassius afterwards acted towards his benefactor: as every body knows that he was the principal contriver and manager of the conspiracy against Cæsar. Plutarch asserts, that he engaged in this design from his passionate love of liberty; but the contemporaries of Cassius thought otherwise, and it was generally believed in Rome, that he was actuated upon that occasion more by pique than patriotism. It is probable indeed that the former was his strongest, if not his single, motive: for his oppressive and tyrannical conduct during his administration of the province of Syria, renders it not very reasonable to suppose that he was a real friend to the natural rights of mankind. *Plut. in vit. Brut. Cæc. epist. famil. viii. 10. see let. 14. book iv. p. 390. of this vol.*

of

of manners: but particularly by the singular affection I have observed he bears towards you. A.U. 703.
Accordingly, tho' your letter in his behalf was not without effect, yet my own knowledge of the regard he entertains for you had somewhat more: you may be assured therefore I shall very faithfully confer upon him the good offices you request.

Many reasons concurred to make me wish you could have given me an interview. In the first place, I was desirous after so tedious a separation, to see a friend whom I have long esteemed. In the next place I should have been glad to have expressed those congratulations in person, which I have already paid you in a letter. I wanted likewise an opportunity of conferring with you upon our mutual affairs, as well as of confirming a friendship founded on many reciprocal good offices, tho' interrupted indeed by a long absence. But since I could not obtain the pleasure of a nearer conference, let me take the advantage at least of this more distant communication: and which in most respects will answer the same purpose. There is one or two however, I must except: as it can neither afford me a satisfaction equal to that of seeing you, nor a mean of rendering you so sensible of the joy I feel in your late success.

A.U. 703. But tho' I have already expressed my congratulations in a former letter, I will here again assure you that I very sincerely rejoice, not only in the illustrious actions you have performed⁹, but at your very opportune departure amidst the general esteem and applauses of the whole province.

And now, what I had farther to say if we had met, related to our mutual affairs : a point

* Cassius, after the death of Crassus, and the total defeat of his army, conducted back the remains of the Roman troops into Syria, and shut himself up in Antiochia. But upon the approach of the Parthians towards that City, he ~~came~~ out; and by his bravery and conduct, having repulsed the enemy, he continued harrassing their retreat till he drove them entirely out of Syria. It is upon this success that Cicero's congratulations are founded: but they are congratulations in which he was by no means sincere. For in some letters to Atticus written about this time, he speaks of Cassius as having magnified his actions to the fence much beyond the truth - and even claims a share with him in the glory of repulsing the Parthians. It was the news, he says, of his being upon the march in order to assist Cassius, that animated his courage, and spread such terror among the enemy as induced them to retreat. But this (as the very ingenious French translator of the letters to Atticus observes) was ascribing to himself an honour to which he had certainly no right. For Cicero was at a great distance from Antiochia when the Parthians retreated from that city: which the bravery of Cassius, together with their own inexperience in the nature of regular sieges, were the only causes of their abandoning. An observation therefore of Cicero's own, may serve, perhaps, as a proper conclusion to this remark: *Deforme est de se ipso prædicare, falso præsertim; et cum irratione audientium imitari militem gloriosum.* Diô, p. 134. Ad Att. v. 20, 21. Mong. Transl. vol. iii. p. 148. rem. 9. De offic. i. 38.

however

however which may full as well be discussed in this manner. With regard to your own ; when I consider your interest in general, I cannot but advise you to hasten to Rome. When I left the city, there was not the least appearance of any designs to your prejudice : and I am persuaded your returning thither while the success of your arms is fresh upon the minds of the people, will insure you a reception greatly to your honour. The reason for hastening your journey will hold still stronger, if you are convinced that you shall be able to defeat those prosecutions which you are apprehensive, it seems, may be brought against some of your officers : as nothing will place your character in a more advantageous light, than a victory of this kind. But, if you imagine the charge can be made good against them ; it merits your consideration, whether your arrival in Rome will not happen in a conjuncture very unfavourable for such a circumstance. Upon the whole, you yourself are most capable of determining this question : as you are the best judge of your own strength. If you think you shall triumph over your adversaries ; it is a circumstance undoubtedly that will raise your general credit : but if you are clear that the reverse will prove the case, you will certainly be less mortified by the

A.U. 703.

A.U. 703. distant reflections of the world, than if you were placed within the hearing of their malicious censures.


As to my own affairs ; I must repeat the request of my last, and intreat you to exert your utmost endeavours that my continuance here may not be extended beyond the period limited by the senate and the people. I urge this request, as one upon which all my hopes depend : and intreat you to act in it with a proportionable zeal. You will find Paulus ¹¹ extremely well disposed to co-operate with you upon this occasion : as also both Curio and Furnius ¹².

I have only to add the last article I mentioned, as an inducement for desiring an interview : I mean, in order to renew and confirm the pledges of our mutual friendship. I persuade myself it will not be necessary to employ many words for that purpose. You discovered indeed an early disposition to be thus united with me : as on my part, I always considered it as my particular honour. I found it too my great support in the season of my misfortunes. Let me add, in farther claim to its continuance, that I have contracted since your absence a great inti-

¹¹ One of the present consuls.

¹² Tribunes of the people.

macy with your relation Brutus¹³. I promise myself much satisfaction from the society of two such ingenious friends, as well as very high advantages from your united services: suffer me not, I conjure you, to conceive this hope in vain. In the mean time, I beg to hear from you immediately: as I desire likewise you would write to me very frequently when you return to Rome. Farewel.

A.U. 703


LETTER IX.

TO MARCUS COELIUS, Curule-Ædile.

THE very worthy and learned Marcus Fabius¹ is a person with whom I am most intimately connected. He strongly indeed engages my affection, not only by his superior genius and erudition, but by that uncommon modesty which adorns them. I intreat you therefore to undertake his cause with the same warmth as if it were my own. I know you fine orators are so much employed, that a man

¹³ Brutus was at this time married to Junia the Sister of Cassius.

¹ This seems to be the person mentioned in the foregoing letter: in whose behalf Cassius had written to Cicero. The following epistle is likewise in favour of the same friend, and upon the same occasion.

A.U. 703. must have committed murder at least, ere he can hope that his affairs are of significancy enough to claim your assistance. In the present instance however, I will take no excuse : and if I have any share in your regard, you will give up all other business, when Fabius requires your services.

The severity of the winter has prevented my receiving any dispatches from Rome, a considerable time. I am extremely impatient therefore to hear what is going forward amongst you : and particularly what my friend Cœlius is doing. Farewel.

LETTER X.

TO CURTIUS PEDUCÆANUS, Prætor^{*}.

I Have long enjoyed an intimacy with Marcus Fabius, for whom I sincerely profess the most tender regard. I do not, however, desire to influence your judgment in the suit which he has depending before you : as I am sure you will not depart from those rules of equity which your honour obliges you to observe, and which

* The prætors were next in rank and power to the consuls : and their office somewhat resembled that of our chief justices. See rem. 14. p. 363. of this vol.

you prescribed to yourself when you first entered upon your office¹. My only request is (and it is a request I most earnestly make) that you would allow him to wait upon you, and would favour his claim so far as justice is on his side. In a word, let me you intreat to shew him that my friendship can avail him even at this distance. Farewel.

A.U. 703.

L E T T E R XI.

TO APPIUS PULCHER.

I Have at last received a letter from you written in a spirit worthy of yourself: as it is conceived in terms full of a generous and candid friendship. It should seem indeed, that the very view of Rome had an immediate effect upon your temper, and restored you to the agreeable possession of your usual good humour and politeness. I am sure at least, that the two complaining letters you wrote to me on your journey, ere you had left Asia, were such as I could not read without reluctance. I will own

¹ The several prætors before they entered upon their office, drew up and published a sort of formulary which they intended to observe in their respective administrations of justice: = *Regiz. Antiq. Rom.* vii. 700.

A.U. 703. too, that conscious of the inviolable attachment which I have ever preserved to your interests, I could not forbear answering them with some warmth. The letter indeed which you delivered to my freed-man Philotimus, left me no room to doubt that there were some persons in this province, who were no well-wishers to our union. But I have the satisfaction to find, that as soon as you came to Rome, or rather as soon as you were met by your friends and family, you were convinced of that warm and constant testimony I gave of my friendship and esteem for you upon all occasions during your absence. You will easily imagine then with how much pleasure I read your assurances, that if any incident should arise wherein my reputation may be concerned, you will endeavour to make me an equal return. And tho' you doubt whether you shall be able effectually to do so; most certainly there is no reason to question it: for there is nothing, my friend, which a sincere and zealous affection is not capable of performing.

Notwithstanding I was well persuaded in my own judgment, and had received frequent assurances likewise by the letters of my friends, that you would undoubtedly be honoured with a triumph; yet it afforded me a singular pleasure

sure to be confirmed ⁺ in this persuasion by your own hand. Believe me however, I by no means rejoice in it from a selfish Epicurean principle, and as it may probably facilitate my own pretensions of the same kind; but as taking a sincere and disinterested share in every increase of your dignities. I intreat you then, as you have more frequent opportunities of writing into this province than any other of my friends, that you would give me immediate notice as soon as you shall have obtained the decree, which you have so much reason to expect, and which I so unfeignedly wish you. If the tedious resolutions of the *long bench*, as our friend Pompey calls the senate, should delay your hopes a few days, (and more than a few days they, surely, cannot delay them) be confident, however, that they will at length distinguish you with those honours which are so justly your due. Again therefore I conjure you as you give me *your* affection, or would preserve *mine*, to let me participate in the joy of this good news as early as possible.

To this request I will join another: and remind you of executing your promise of sending

⁺ When Cicero wrote this epistle he had not received the letter from Cœlius, wherein he gives him an account of Appius having dropped his petition for a triumph. See the 5th letter of this book.

A. U. 703. me the completion of your treatise on augury⁵. I ask this, not only as being desirous of informing myself in the rites and principles of the sacred college; but as I receive with uncommon satisfaction every mark of your favour. As to the request you made me on your part, of returning you a compliment in the same kind; it is a point I must well consider. For it would ill become an author whom you have so often applauded for the pains⁶ he bestows upon

⁵ See rem. i. p. 279. of this vol.

⁶ " 'Tis strange to see how differently the vanity of man, kind runs, in different times and seasons. 'Tis at present the boast of almost every enterprizer in the muses art, that by his genius alone, and a natural rapidity of stile and thought, he is able to carry all before him; that he plays with his business, does things in passing; at a venture; and in the quickest period of time. In the days of Attic elegance, as works were then truly of another form and turn, so workmen were of another humour, and had their vanity of a quite contrary kind. They became rather affected in endeavouring to discover the pains they had taken to be correct. They were glad to insinuate how laboriously, and with what expence of time, they had brought the smallest work of theirs (as perhaps a single ode, or satire, an oration, or panegyric) to its perfection. When they had so polished their piece, and rendered it so natural and easy, that it seemed only a lucky flight, a hit of thought, or flowing vein of humour; they were then chiefly concerned lest it should in reality pass for such, and their artifice remain undiscovered. They were willing it should be known how serious their play was; and how elaborate their freedom and facility; that they might say as the agreeable and polite poet, glancing on himself,

"Ludentis speciem dabit et torquetur."——

Shaft. charact. i. 233.

his compositions, to suffer any crude and indigested performance to come forth from his hands: especially upon an occasion that would justly expose him to the censure, not only of being guilty of negligence, but of a most ungrateful disrespect. However, I may find some opportunity perhaps, of satisfying both you and myself upon this article. In the mean time, I hope you will endeavour, in conformity to your promise, that a public thanksgiving of the most distinguished kind be decreed as soon as possible, on account of my late victories: and I am persuaded you will act with that zeal which is agreeable to your sincerity, and to the friendship which has long subsisted between us. I was somewhat later in my public dispatches for this purpose, than I wished: and as they were delayed likewise by the difficulty of navigation at that season, they did not, I suppose, arrive before the senate was prorogued. It was the influence which your advice always has upon my judgment, that induced me to defer them: and I am satisfied it was perfectly right not to acquaint the senate of my being saluted with the title of *Imperator*, till I had gained still farther advantages by my arms, and entirely completed the campaign. I confidently rely therefore upon the assistance you have

A.U. 709

A.U. 703. have promised me : and recommend ~~my~~ your protection whatever else concerns either my affairs or my family. Farewel.

LETTER XII.

TO MARCUS COELIUS.

WOULD you imagine that I should ever be at a loss for words ? I do not mean of that chosen and elegant kind which are the privilege of you celebrated orators, but those of ordinary and common use. Yet, believe me, I am utterly incapable of expressing the sollicitude I feel concerning the resolutions that may be taken in the senate in regard to the provinces. I am extremely impatient indeed to return to my friends at Rome : among which number you are principally in my thoughts. I will confess likewise that I am quite satiated of my government. For in the first place, I have more reason to apprehend that some reverse of Fortune may deprive me of the glory I have here acquired, than to expect I shall be able to raise it higher. And in the next place, I cannot but look upon the whole business of this scene, as much inferior to my strength : which is both able and accustomed to support a far more important

portant weight. I will acknowledge too, that A.U. 702
 I am uneasy in the expectation of a very terrible war ⁷ which is likely to be kindled in this part of the world : and which I may probably escape, if I should obtain my dismissal at the stated time.

I do not forget the panthers you desired ; and have given my orders to the persons usually employed in hunting them : but these animals are exceedingly scarce with us. They take it so unkind, you must know, that they should be the only creatures in my province for whom any snares are laid, that they have withdrawn themselves from my government, and are marched into Caria. However the huntsmen, and particularly honest Patiscus, are making very diligent inquiry after their haunts ; and all the game they can meet with, shall certainly be yours : but what the number will prove, is altogether uncertain. Be well assured, the honour of your Ædileship is much my care : and this day particularly reminds me of it, as it is the festival of the Megalesian games ⁸.

⁷ With the Parthians.

⁸ The Megalesian games were under the conduct of the curule Ædiles, as well as those called the *Roman*. The learned Manutius therefore conjectures, that the anniversary of the former reminded Cicero of the panthers which Cælius requested in order to grace those shows he was to ex-

I hope

A.U. 703.

I hope you will send me a minute detail of our public affairs : as I have an entire dependance on the accounts which are transmitted to me by your hand. Farewel.

LETTER XIII.

To THERMUS, Proprætor.

YOUR very generous treatment of Marcus Marcilius, the son of my friend and interpreter *, is a most obliging instance, among many others, of the regard you pay to my recommendations. He came to me at Laodicea, and expressed the highest gratitude for the good offices you had conferred upon him at my request. As you see therefore that your favours are not bestowed upon those who are insensible of their value ; I hope you will be the more in-

hibit at the latter : which were celebrated with greater pomp and magnificence. The nature of the *Roman* games has already been explained in rem. 7. p. 354. of this vol. The *Megaleſian* games were instituted in honour of the mother of the gods, and were so called from *Megaleſia*, (scil. ο ναος της μεγαλης θεας) a temple in Phrygia, from whence the statue and worship of that goddess was brought to Rome. This festival commenced on the 4th of April, and continued six days.

* The governors of provinces were prohibited from using any other language than the Latin, in the functions of their ministry : for which reason they were always attended with interpreters. *Val. Max.* ii. 2.

clined to continue them. I intreat you then to A. U. 703.
interpose, as far as your honour will permit, in }
preventing a prosecution wherein the mother-in-law of this young man is likely to be involved. And tho' I strongly recommended Marcilius to you in my former letter, yet it is with still greater warmth that I do so in this: as I have since received very singular, and indeed almost incredible proofs of his father's probity and fidelity during the many months he has been engaged in my service. Farewel.

L E T T E R XIV.

To the Same.

THE report of a very considerable war being kindled in Syria, is confirmed to me by daily expresses. I take the liberty therefore, in confidence of our mutual friendship, to press you so much the more strongly to dismiss my lieutenant Anncius as soon as possible. His military abilities indeed will render his advice and assistance of singular advantage in this conjuncture, both to myself and to the republic. Nothing could have induced him to leave me at this critical season, or, in truth, have prevailed with me to consent to his absence, but


A.U.703. an affair of the last importance to his interest. ~~However~~ However, as I purpose to go into Cilicia² about the beginning of May, it is absolutely necessary he should return before that time.

I will take this opportunity of most earnestly renewing the request I made to you in person, and which I afterwards repeated in a letter, that you would employ your good offices in settling his contest with the city of Sardis, agreeably to the justice of his cause, and the dignity of his character. I had the pleasure when I talked with you upon this subject at Ephesus, to find you perfectly well disposed to assist him upon his own account. Let me add, however, that your adjusting this affair to his satisfaction, will be performing the most acceptable service likewise to myself. I conjure you therefore to dispatch it with all possible expedition. Farewel.

² Besides the province of Cilicia properly so called, there were three other adjoining districts annexed to Cicero's government: in one of which he appears to have been at the time of writing this letter.

LETTER XV.

TO MARCUS COELIUS, Curule-Ædile.

YOUR very agreeable letters visit me but seldom : perhaps, by some accident or other, they lose their way. How full was the last ^{A.U.703.}  which came to my hands, of the most prudent and obliging advice ! I had determined indeed to act in the manner you recommend : but it gives an additional strength to one's resolutions, to find them conformable to the sentiments of so faithful and so judicious a friend. I have often assured you of my extreme affection for Appius : and I had reason to believe, after our mutual reconciliation, that he entertained the same favourable disposition towards me. For he distinguished me in his consulate with great marks of honour and amity : and appeared willing upon all occasions to gratify my requests even in favour of others. I must appeal to you (since the droll Phania ¹, is, I think, no more) that I was not wanting on my part in a suitable return : and indeed he stood so much

¹ The 5th letter of this book.² A favourite freed-man of Appius.

A.U. 703. the higher in my esteem, as I was sensible of the affection he had conceived for you. Add to this, that I am, as you well know, wholly devoted to Pompey, and tenderly attached also to Brutus³. Can I then want a reason of uniting myself with Appius, thus supported as he is, by the most powerful friends and alliances, and flourishing in every other advantage that can be derived from affluent possessions in conjunction with great abilities⁴! But besides these considerations, I must mention likewise the connection that subsists between us as members of the same sacred college, and the honour he has publicly paid me in his learned treatise concerning its

³ That Cicero was wholly devoted to Pompey, cannot be doubted: but that he was sincere in this declaration with respect to Brutus, may well be questioned. It appears indeed that they were neither of them perfectly satisfied with each other at this time. and Cicero complains to Atticus of having received some very haughty and disrespectful letters from Brutus, even when the latter was soliciting his good offices in favour of Appius. *Nullas unquam (says he), ad me litteras misit Brutus, ne proxime quidem de Appio, in quibus non esset arrogans, αριστωνντον aliquid — Plane parum cogitat, quid scribat, aut ad quem.* Ad Att. vi. 3. vid. etiam vi. 1. v. 21. See rem. 2. p. 379. of this vol.


⁴ These were the true, and perhaps the only reasons which induced Cicero to endeavour to be upon good terms with Appius. For that he had a real affection for him, as he pretends in this epistle, is by no means probable. On the contrary, in a letter to Atticus, he speaks of his disposition towards Appius, in terms of much lower import; and discovers at the same time the principal motive that engaged him in his interest. *Pro Appio nos hic omnia facimus; honeste tamen, sed plane libenter. Nec enim ipsi in odiumus; et Pompeius mirifice a me contendit.* Ad Att. vii. 2

institutions.

institutions. I mark out these several circumstances the more particularly, as your letter seemed to intimate a doubt in what manner I was inclined towards him. This leads me to suspect, that some idle tale or other has been reported to the disadvantage of my sentiments respecting Ap-
 pius: but be assured, whatever you have heard of that nature, is utterly false. I must confess at the same time, that his maxims and mine in the administration of this province, have been somewhat different: and it may from thence, perhaps, have been suggested, that I acted counter to his measures more from a spirit of opposition, than from any real disagreement of principles. But believe me, I have never said or done the least thing throughout the whole course of my government, with a view of prejudicing his reputation. And now that my friend Dolabella has so rashly attacked him, I am exerting all my good offices to dissipate the rising storm with which he is threatened.

You mentioned something of a lethargic inactivity that had seized the republic. I rejoiced no doubt, to hear that you were in a state of such profound tranquility, as well as that our spirited friend^s was so much infected with this general indolence, as not to be in a humour of dis-

^s Curio.


A.U. 703.  turbing it. But the last paragraph of your letter, which was written, I observed, with your own hand, changed the scene, and somewhat indeed discomposed me. Is Curio really then become a convert to Cæsar? But extraordinary as this event may appear to others; believe me it is agreeable to what I always suspected. Good gods! how do I long to laugh with you at the ridiculous farce which is acting in your part of the world?


I have finished my juridical circuit: and not only settled the finances of the several cities upon a more advantageous basis, but secured to the farmers of the revenues the arrears due on their former agreements, without the least complaint from any of the parties concerned. In short, I have given entire satisfaction to all orders and degrees of men in this province. I propose therefore to set out for Cilicia^b on the 7th of May: from whence, after having just looked upon the troops in their summer cantonment, and settled some affairs relating to the army, I intend, agreeably to the decree of the senate for that purpose, to set forward to Rome. I am extremely impatient indeed to return to my friends: but particularly to you, whom I much wish to see in the administration of your Ædileship. Farewel.

^b See rem. * p. 466. of this vol.

L E T T E R XVI.

TO QUINTUS THERMUS, Proprætor.

IT is with great pleasure I perceive that my A.U.703.
 services to Rhodo and others of your friends, 
 as well as those likewise which I have performed
 to yourself, prove acceptable to a man of your
 grateful disposition. Be assured you will find me
 still more and more desirous of advancing your
 credit and reputation: though I must add that
 the lenity and justice of your government seem
 already to have raised them as high as possible.

The more I reflect upon your affairs (and
 they are the daily subject of my thoughts) the
 more I am confirmed in that advice I commu-
 nicated to you by Aristo. I am well persuaded
 indeed that you will draw upon yourself very
 powerful enemies, if you should put any slight
 upon a young nobleman of your quæstor's rank
 and interest. And a slight it will undoubtedly
 be, if you should not at your departure commit
 the administration of the province to his hands:
 as there is no other person to whom you can
 trust it, of superior quality. But abstracted from
 all nsiderations of this kind; he has an un-

A.U. 703. questionable right as your quæstor to be preferred to any of your lieutenants: whose blameless and worthy conduct however, I must at the same time in justice acknowledge. I am perfectly sensible that you have nothing to fear from the resentment of any man. I could wish nevertheless, that you would not incur the displeasure, and especially with just reason, of three such distinguished persons as your quæstor and his brothers. For they are all of them men of some eloquence as well as great spirit: to which I must add, that I am persuaded they will successively be tribunes of the people⁶ during the three next following years. Now who can tell what turn public affairs may take? For my own part I think there is much appearance of great commotions arising in the commonwealth. I should be sorry therefore, that you should render yourself obnoxious to so formidable a power as the tribunal: especially since you may easily avoid it, without offending any person, by justly preferring your quæstor to your lieutenants. And should his conduct as your vice gerent in the province, prove worthy of his glorious ancestors, as I hope and believe: it will reflect, in some

⁶ Pighius with great probability conjectures, from the circumstances here mentioned compared with other passages in Cicero's writings, that Caius Antonius, second brother to Mark Antony, was quæstor to Thermus. *Pighius's conject.*
anno, 703.

degree, an honour upon yourself. But on the contrary, should he deviate from their illustrious examples; the whole discredit will fall singly upon his own character, without involving yours in any part of the reproach.

I am this moment setting out for Cilicia^c: so that I have only time to write these loose hints just as they occur. I thought it incumbent upon me however to send you my general sentiments of a point, wherein your interest is so nearly concerned. May the gods give success to whatever you shall determine! But if my advice has any weight, you will avoid raising to yourself unnecessary enemies, and prudently consult your future repose. Farewel.

^c See rem. ^a, p. 466. of this vol.

THE LETTERS BOOK V.

LETTER XVII.

TO C. TITIUS RUFUS, Prætor.

A.U. 703. **L**UCIUS Cuffidius is not only of the same tribe⁷ and corporation⁸ with myself, but is likewise my particular friend. As he has a cause which he purposes to bring before you, I recommend his interest to your protection: but no farther however, than is consistent with your honour and my own good manners. All I request therefore is, that you would allow him freely to wait upon you as often as he shall have occasion; that you would comply with his desires as far as they shall appear equitable; and in a word, that you would convince him that my friendship can effectually avail even at this distance. Farewel.

⁷ Romulus divided his citizens into three tribes, each of which were subdivided into ten curiæ, or wards. These tribes were in after-times gradually increased, till they amounted to the number of thirty-five.

⁸ The corporate or municipal towns were those which were allowed to govern themselves by their own laws and constitutions, and at the same time were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens. Cicero was a native of one of these corporations, called Arpinum. situated in a district of Italy, which now makes part of the kingdom of Naples.

LETTER XVIII.

TO SILIUS.

WILL you not think that I am employed A.U. 703
 in a very unnecessary office, when I
 take upon me to recommend a man to your
 friendship, who already, I know, enjoys that
 privilege? Let it be a proof however, that I
 am with passion, as well as esteem, devoted to
 his interest. I most earnestly intreat you then
 to convince Egnatius by the good effects which
 this letter shall produce in his favour, both of
 your affection for me, and of mine for him.
 And he assured your compliance with this re-
 quest, will be the most agreable of all the many
 and great instances I have received of your dis-
 position to oblige me.

The pleasing hopes I entertained of public
 affairs, are now totally vanished. However,
 whilst we wish things were better, let us support
 ourselves with the trite consolation, that we
 must submit to what cannot be remedied. But
 this is a subject I will reserve to our meeting.
 In the mean time, continue to give me your
 friendship: and be well persuaded of mine.
 Farewel.

L E T.

LETTER XIX.

TO PUBLIUS CÆSIUS.


A.U. 703. **I** Most earnestly recommend to your favour my very intimate friend Publius Messienus, a Roman knight, who is distinguished by every valuable endowment. I intreat you by the double ties of that amity which I enjoy with you and your father, to protect him both in his fame and his fortunes. Be assured you will by this means conciliate the affection of a man highly deserving of your friendship, as well as confer a most acceptable obligation upon myself. Farewel.

LETTER XX.

TO the Magistrates of FREGELLÆ ?

IF my connections with Quintus Hippius were not of the strongest and most amicable kind, I should not depart from the rule I have laid down to myself, of not troubling you with my applications. This maxim, you will bear me witness, I have hitherto strictly observed: tho'

⁹ It is supposed to be the same town which is now called *Capraro* in the *Campagna di Roma*.

I was ever persuaded at the same time, that A.U. 703.
there is nothing you would refuse to my request. 
However, I now most earnestly intreat your
generosity in behalf of my friend's son, and that
you would do me the honour to shew so much
regard to my inclinations as to enfranchise the
estate he has purchased of your corporation. I
shall esteem your compliance with this request as
a very singular favour. Farewel.





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Referring to the order in which the letters of
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