

CICERO
LETTERS TO ATTICUS
VOLUME III

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY



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CICERO'S
LETTERS TO ATTICUS

CICERO

166 (VIII.16)

Scr. in Formiano IV Non. Mart. an. 49 (§2)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Omnia mihi provisa sunt praeter occultum et tutum iter ad mare superum; hoc enim mari uti non possumus hoc tempore anni. illuc autem quo spectat animus et quo res vocat qua veniam? cedendum enim est celeriter, ne forte qua re impediatur atque adliger. nec vero ille me ducit qui videtur; quem ego hominem ἀπολιτικώτατον omnium iam ante cognoram, nunc vero etiam ἀστρατηγητότατον. non me igitur is ducit sed sermo hominum qui ad me <a> Philotimo scribitur; is enim me ab optimatibus ait conscindi. quibus optimatibus, di boni? qui nunc quo modo occurrunt, quo modo etiam¹ se venditant Caesari! municipia vero deum,²
- 2 nec simulant, ut cum de illo aegroto vota faciebant. sed plane quicquid mali hic Pisistratus non fec[er]it³ tam gratum est quam si alium facere prohibuerit. <hunc> propitium sperant, illum iratum putant. quas fieri censes ἀπαντήσεις ex oppidis, quos honores? 'metuunt' inquit. credo, sed mehercule illum magis; huius insidiosa clementia delectantur, illius iracundiam formidant. iudices de CCCL<x>,⁴ qui praecipue Gnaeo nostro delectabantur, ex quibus cottidie aliquem video, nescio quas eius minas⁵ horrent. itaque quaero qui sint isti optimates qui me exturbent

¹ autem (SB) ² al. ad eum : ad caelum conī. SB³ fecit Sedgwick ⁴ add. Iunius⁵ lucerias codd. superstites¹ Pompey had been dangerously ill the previous summer.² Drawn up by Pompey in 52.

LETTER 166 (VIII.16)

166 (VIII.16)

Formiae, 4 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have provided for everything except a safe and secret journey to the Adriatic. I cannot go by this sea at this time of year. But how to go where my heart would be and where duty calls? I must leave quickly, or I may somehow be obstructed and tied down. Nor, appearances notwithstanding, is it Pompey who draws me. I already knew him to be a hopeless failure as a statesman, and I now find him an equally bad general. It is not he therefore who draws me but the things people are saying, which I learn from Philotimus. He says the optimates are tearing me to shreds. What sort of optimates, in heaven's name? Look at the way they are now going out to meet Caesar and positively currying his favour. As for the towns, they make a god of him, and no pretence about it either, as there was when they were offering their prayers for Pompey's recovery.¹ But the truth is that any evil this Pisistratus has not done is earning him as much popularity as if he were to have stopped someone else doing it. In him they hope to find a gracious power, while Pompey they think is an angry one. You can imagine the town deputations and official compliments. You will say they are frightened. I dare say they are, but I'll be bound they're more frightened of Pompey than of Caesar. They are delighted with *his* artful clemency and fear the other's wrath. Jurors of the panel of 360,² who were our Gnaeus' especial admirers (I see one or other of them every day), are shuddering at certain threats of his. So I ask you, what sort of optimates are these that thrust me out

CICERO

cum ipsi domi maneant. sed tamen, quicumque sunt, 'αἰδέομαι Τρῶας.' etsi qua spe proficiscar video coniungoque me cum homine magis ad vastandam Italiam quam ad vincendum parato dom<in>umque exspecto. et quidem cum haec scribebam IIII Non. iam exspectabam aliquid a Brundisio. quid autem 'aliquid'? quam inde⁶ turpiter fugisset, et victor hic qua se referret et quo;⁷ quod ubi audissem si ille Appia veniret, ego Arpinum cogitabam.

167 (IX.1)

Scr. in Formiano prid. Non. Mart. an. 49 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Etsi cum tu has litteras legeres putabam fore ut scirem iam quid Brundisi actum esset (nam Canusio VIII<I>¹ Kal. profectus erat Gnaeus; haec autem scribebam prid. Non., XIII die postquam ille Canusio moverat), tamen angebar singularum horarum expectatione mirabarque nihil adlatum esse ne rumoris quidem; nam erat mirum silentium. sed haec fortasse *κενόςπουδα* sunt, quae tamen iam sciuntur
- 2 necesse est; illud molestum, me adhuc investigare non posse ubi P. Lentulus noster sit, ubi Domitius; quaero autem, quo facilius scire possim quid acturi sint, iturine ad Pompeium et, si sunt, qua quandove ituri sint.

Urbem quidem iam refertam esse optimatium audio, Sosium et Lupum, quos Gnaeus noster ante putabat Brun-

⁶ ille *Sedgwick* ⁷ quando *coni. SB*

¹ *add. Pontadera*

³ See Letter 25, note 2.

LETTER 167 (IX.1)

while they themselves stay at home? And yet, be they what they may, 'I fear the Trojans,'³ although I am only too well aware with what prospects I shall set out, and although I am allying myself with a man who is better prepared for the devastation of Italy than for victory, and although I expect to find myself a slave. And indeed as I write this on the 4th I am already expecting some news from Brundisium. Why do I say 'some'? I mean news of his disgraceful flight and the victor's return—his route and destination. When I hear that, if he is travelling by the Appian Way, I am for Arpinum.

167 (IX.1)

Formiae, 6 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Although by the time you read this letter I expect I shall already know the outcome at Brundisium (for Gnaeus set out from Canusium on 21 February and I am writing this on the 6th, thirteen days after he marched from Canusium), I am tortured none the less by suspense from hour to hour. It is extraordinary that nothing has come through, not even a rumour. The silence is uncanny. But perhaps all this is worry to no purpose, and after all the truth must soon be out. What *does* trouble me is that I still cannot discover the whereabouts of our friend P. Lentulus or of Domitius. I am looking for them in order to learn their plans, whether they are going to join Pompey, and if so, when and by what route.

Rome I hear is now full of optimates, and Sosius and Lupus, who our Gnaeus thought would arrive at Brun-

disium venturos esse quam se, ius dicere. hinc vero vulgo vadunt; etiam M'. Lepidus, quocum diem conterere solebam, cras cogitabat. nos autem in Formiano morabamur, quo citius audiremus, deinde Arpinum volebamus; inde iter qua maxime ἀναπάντητον esset ad mare superum, remotis sive omnino missis lictoribus. audio enim bonis viris, qui et nunc et saepe antea magno praesidio rei publicae fuerunt, hanc cunctationem nostram non probari multaue mihi et severe in conviviiis, tempestivis quidem, disputari.

Cedamus igitur et, ut boni cives simus, bellum Italiae terra marique inferamus et odia improborum rursus in nos, quae iam extincta erant, incendamus et Luccei consilia ac Theophani persequamur. nam Scipio vel in Syriam proficiscitur sorte vel cum genero honeste vel Caesarem fugit iratum. Marcelli quidem, nisi gladium Caesaris timuissent, manerent. Appius et eodem timore et inimicitiarum recentium. et tamen praeter hunc et C. Cassium reliqui legati, Faustus pro quaestore; ego unus cui utrumvis liceret. frater accedit, quem socium huius fortunae esse non erat aequum; cui magis etiam Caesar irascetur. sed impetrare non possum ut maneat. dabimus hoc Pompeio, cui² debemus. nam me quidem alius nemo movet, non sermo bonorum, qui nulli sunt, non causa, quae acta timide est, agetur improbe. uni, uni hoc damus, ne id quidem roganti nec suam causam, ut ait, agenti sed publicam.

² quod vel quo (O. E. Schmidt)

¹ Pompey.

LETTER 167 (IX.1)

disium before him, are sitting on the bench. Here there is a general exodus; even my daily companion M'. Lepidus is off tomorrow. I am staying on at Formiae to get the news quicker. Then I want to go to Arpinum and from there by the least frequented route to the Adriatic, putting my licitors out of the way or discharging them outright. For I hear that the honest men, who now and so often in the past have been such a tower of strength to the constitution, disapprove of this dallying of mine and that there is a deal of severe comment at dinner parties, lengthy ones too!

So I had best leave and show myself a good citizen by carrying war into Italy by land and sea, and once again stir up against myself the hatred of the rascals, which had by now died out, and execute the counsels of Lucceius and Theophanes. Scipio goes to Syria as his allotted province, or if you like he is accompanying his son-in-law,¹ which is a respectable reason, or he is escaping Caesar's anger. As for the Marcelli, they would have stayed behind if they had not been afraid of Caesar's sword. Appius has the same reason for fear, and recent enmities besides. And anyhow, apart from him and C. Cassius, the others are all Legates, Faustus is Proquaestor. I am the only one who might take either way. Then there is my brother, who should not in fairness have been associated with me in this plight. Caesar will be even angrier with him than with me; but I cannot induce him to stay. I shall do this for Pompey; it is what I owe him. No one else influences *me*, neither the honest men's talk (there *are* no honest men) nor the cause, which has been conducted without courage and will be conducted without scruple. I do it simply and solely for Pompey, who does not even ask it of me and is, so he says, fighting not for himself but for the country.

CICERO

Tu quid cogites de transeundo in Epirum scire sane velim.

168 (IX.2)

Scr. in Formiano Non. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Etsi Non. Mart., die tuo, ut opinor, expectabam epistulam a te longiorem, tamen ad eam ipsam brevem quam III<I>¹ Non. ὑπὸ τὴν διάλευψιν² dedisti rescribendum putavi. gaudere ais te mansisse me et scribis in sententia te manere. mihi autem superioribus litteris videbare non dubitare quin cederem, ita si et Gnaeus bene comitatus conscendisset et consules transissent. utrum hoc tu parum commeministi, an ego non satis intellexi, an mutasti sententiam? sed aut ex epistula quam expecto perspiciam quid sentias aut alias abs te litteras eliciam. Brundisio nihil dum erat adlatum.

169 (IX.2a)

Scr. in Formiano VIII Id. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 O rem difficilem planeque perditam! quam nihil praetermittis in consilio dando! quam nihil tamen quod tibi ipsi placeat explicas! non esse me una cum Pompeio gaudes: ac proponis quam sit turpe me adesse cum quid de illo detra-

¹ *add. Corradus*

² ΔΙΑΛΗΨΙΝ *vel sim. (Orelli)*

¹ Of Atticus' fever.

LETTER 169 (IX.2a)

I should be very glad to know what you have in mind about crossing to Epirus.

168 (IX.2)

Formiae, 7 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Though I am expecting a longer letter from you today (Nones of March), your bad day I believe, I thought I ought first to reply to that short letter which you sent on the 4th, just after the intermission.¹ You say you are glad I have stayed and write that you hold to your opinion. But in your previous letter I thought you were clear that I should leave, provided that Gnaeus had embarked with a large following and that the Consuls had crossed. Don't you remember this? Or did I not fully understand? Or have you changed your mind? But I shall see from the letter I am waiting for what you think, or I shall make you write another. No news yet from Brundisium.

169 (IX.2a)

Formiae, 8 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

What a difficult, what an absolutely desperate business! How completely you cover the ground in giving your advice! But how completely you fail to find a solution with which you yourself can be satisfied! You are glad that I am not with Pompey; and you point out how discreditable it would be for me to be present at any proceedings deroga-

CICERO

hatur; nefas esse approbare. certe. contra igitur? 'di' inquis 'averruncent!' quid ergo fiet si in altero scelus est, in altero supplicium? 'impetrabis' inquis 'a Caesare ut tibi abesse liceat et esse otioso.' supplicandum igitur? miserum. quid si non impetraro? 'et de triumpho erit' inquis 'integrum.' quid si hoc ipso premar? accipiam? quid foedius? negem? repudiari se totum, magis etiam quam olim in XXviratu, putabit. ac solet, cum se purgat, in me conferre omnem illorum temporum culpam: ita me sibi fuisse inimicum ut ne honorem quidem a se accipere vellem. quanto nunc hoc idem accipiet asperius! tanto scilicet quanto et honos hic
 2 illo est amplior et ipse robustior. nam quod negas te dubitare quin magna in offensa sim apud Pompeium hoc tempore, non video causam cur ita sit hoc quidem tempore. qui enim amisso Corfinio denique certiore me sui consili fecit, is queretur Brundisium me non venisse cum inter me et Brundisium Caesar esset? deinde etiam scit ἀπαρησίαστον esse in ea causa querelam suam. me putat de municipiorum imbecillitate, de dilectibus, de pace, de urbe, de pecunia, de Piceno occupando plus vidisse quam se. sin cum potuero non venero, tum erit inimicus; quod ego non eo vereor ne mihi noceat (quid enim faciet? 'τίς δ' ἐστὶ δούλος τοῦ θανεῖν ἄφροντις ὢν;'), sed quia ingrati animi crimen horreo. confido igitur adventum nostrum illi, quoquo tempore fuerit, ut scribis, ἀσμενιστὸν

¹ In 59; see Letter 39.4.

² From Euripides, play unknown (fr. 958 Nauck).

tory to him. 'It would be criminal to approve.' No doubt. Should I oppose then? 'Heaven forbid!' say you. Well, what *am* I to do then, with crime on the one side and punishment on the other? Caesar, you say, will give me permission to stay away, out of public life. Am I to beg then? Miserable! Supposing the permission is refused? And you point out that the Triumph will remain open. Suppose he presses me with that very thing? Am I to accept? Could anything be uglier? Refuse? He will feel utterly spurned, even more than over the place on the Board of Twenty in the old days.¹ In his own excuse he always lays the whole blame for what happened then on my shoulders, says that I was so bitterly hostile to him that I would not even accept an honour at his hands. How much harder he will take a similar rebuff now! Obviously in proportion to the greater importance of the honour and the greater strength of his own position. You say you don't doubt that I am in very bad odour with Pompey at present. I do not see any reason why this should be so *at present*. Having informed me of his plans only after the loss of Corfinium, he is surely not going to complain of my not having gone to Brundisium when there was Caesar between me and there. Furthermore he knows that a complaint from him on that subject would be out of court. He thinks I judged better than himself on the weakness of the municipalities, on the levies, on peace, on the capital, on the money, on occupying Picenum. But if I don't go when I can, then he will be angry. I am not afraid of that because of any harm that may come to me—after all, what can he do? 'What man's a slave that nothing reckes of death?'²—but because I dread the charge of ingratitude. So I am confident that my coming will, as you say, be acceptable to him, happen when it may. You add that if

CICERO

fore. nam quod ais, si hic temperatius egerit, consideratius te consilium daturum, qui hic potest se gerere non perdit? <vetat>¹ vita, mores, ante facta, ratio suscepti negoti, socii, vires bonorum aut etiam constantia.

- 3 Vixdum epistulam tuam legeram cum ad me currens ad illum Postumus Curtius venit, nihil nisi classis loquens et exercitus; eripiebat Hispanias, tenebat Asiam, Siciliam, Africam, Sardiniam, confestim in Graeciam persequabatur. eundem igitur est, nec tam ut belli quam ut fugae socii simus. nec enim ferre potero sermones istorum, quicumque sunt; non sunt enim certe, ut appellantur, boni. sed tamen id ipsum scire cupio, quid loquantur, idque ut exquiras meque certiore facias te vehementer rogo. nos adhuc quid Brundisi actum esset plane nesciebamus. cum sciemus, tum ex re et ex tempore consilium capiemus, sed utemur tuo.

170 (IX.3)

Scr. in Formiano VII Id. Mart. an. 49 (§ 2)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Domiti filius transiit Formias VIII Id. currens ad matrem Neapolim mihi que nuntiari iussit patrem ad urbem esse, cum ex eo curiose quaesisset servus noster Dionysius. nos autem audieramus eum profectum sive ad Pompeium sive in Hispaniam. id cuius modi sit scire sane velim. nam ad id

¹ *add. SB* : vetant Purser, duce Boot

LETTER 170 (IX.3)

Caesar shows moderation you will consider your advice more carefully; but how can he behave otherwise than as a desperado? That is precluded by his life, his character, his past, the nature of his present enterprise, his associates, the strength of the honest men or just their persistence.

I had hardly read your letter when Curtius Postumus arrived at my door hurrying to join Caesar and with nothing but fleets and armies on his tongue. His talk was of snatching Spain, holding Asia, Sicily, Africa, Sardinia, pursuing Pompey hot-foot into Greece. So I must be off to take my part, not so much in fighting as in running away. For I shall not be able to bear the talk of your friends in Rome—I don't know what name to give them, for they certainly are not what they are usually called, honest men. Be that as it may, I am anxious for information on this very point, what they are saying, and I particularly request you to find out and let me know. So far I am completely in the dark about what has happened at Brundisium. As soon as I know I shall take counsel according to the event and the hour, but I shall follow yours.

170 (IX.3)

Formiae, 9 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Domitius' son passed through Formiae on the 8th, hastening to join his mother in Naples, and sent me word that his father was in the neighbourhood of Rome, in answer to a particular enquiry by my slave Dionysius. I had heard that he had left Italy, either to join Pompey or for Spain. I should much like to know the truth of the matter; for it is

CICERO

quod delibero pertinet, si ille certe nusquam discessit, intellegere Gnaeum non esse facilis nobis ex Italia exitus, cum ea tota armis praesidiisque teneatur, hieme praesertim. nam si commodius anni tempus esset, vel infero mari liceret uti. nunc nihil potest nisi supero tramitti, quo iter interclusum est. quaeres igitur et de Domitio et de Lentulo.

- 2 A Brundisio nulla adhuc fama venerat, et erat hic dies VII Id., quo die suspicabamur aut pridie ad Brundisium venisse Caesarem. nam Kalendis Arpis manserat. sed si Postumum audire velles, persecuturus erat Gnaeum; transisse enim iam putabat coniectura tempestatum ac dierum. ego nautas eum non putabam habiturum; ille confidebat, et eo magis quod audita naviculariis hominis liberalitas esset. sed tota res Brundisina quo modo habeat se diutius nescire non possum.

171 (IX.5)

Scr. in Formiano VI Id. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 [Natali]¹ die tuo scripsisti epistulam ad me plenam consili summaeque cum benevolentiae tum etiam prudentiae. eam mihi Philotimus postridie quam a te acceperat reddidit. sunt ista quidem quae disputas difficillima, iter ad superum, navigatio infero, discessus Arpinum ne hunc

¹ *secl. Sternkopf*

LETTER 171 (IX.5)

relevant to my own problem, if he definitely has not gone away, that Gnaeus should understand that it is not so easy for us to get out of Italy, held down as the entire country is by garrisons and armies, in winter especially. If the season were more favourable, one could go by the Western Sea at a pinch. As it is, nothing can be got across except by the Adriatic, and the road to that is blocked. So please enquire both about Domitius and about Lentulus.

No report has come in yet from Brundisium, and today is the 9th, that or yesterday being the day on which according to my idea Caesar should have reached Brundisium, since he spent the night of the Kalends at Arpi. But if one cared to believe Postumus, Caesar was intending to pursue Gnaeus, who he thought had already crossed, judging by the weather and the number of days. I did not think Caesar would have the sailors; but Postumus was confident that he would, all the more so because, as he said, the shipowners had heard of the man's liberality. But I can't have long to wait before I know how the whole business at Brundisium stands.

171 (IX.5)

Formiae, 10 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On your bad day you wrote me a most kind and also most wise letter, full of advice. Philotimus delivered it to me the day after he had received it from you. The problems you discuss are indeed very difficult, journey by road to the Eastern Sea, by ship on the Western, departure to Arpinum, which might look like flight from Caesar, remaining

CICERO

fugisse, mansio Formiis ne obtulisse nos gratulationi videamur, sed miserius nihil quam ea videre quae tamen iam, <iam> inquam, videnda erunt.

- Fuit apud me Postumus, scripsi ad te quam gravis. venit ad me etiam Q. Fufius quo vultu, quo spiritu! properans Brundisium, scelus accusans Pompei, levitatem et stultitiam senatus. haec qui in mea villa non feram †cur tum†²
- 2 in curia potero ferre? age, finge me quamvis *εὐστομάχως* haec ferentem; quid illa 'dic, M. Tulli'? quem habebunt exitum? et omitto causam rei publicae, quam ego amissam puto cum vulneribus suis tum medicamentis iis quae parantur; de Pompeio quid agam? cui plane (quid enim hoc negem?) suscensui. semper enim <me>³ causae eventorum magis movent quam ipsa eventa. haec igitur mala (quibus maiora esse quae possunt?) considerans vel potius iudicans eius opera accidisse et culpa inimicior huic eram quam ipsi Caesari. ut maiores nostri funestiozem diem esse voluerunt Alliensis pugnae quam urbis captae, quod hoc malum ex illo (itaque alter religiosus etiam nunc dies, alter in vulgus ignotus), sic ego decem annorum peccata recordans, in quibus inerat ille etiam annus qui nos hoc <non>⁴ defendente, ne dicam gravius, adffixerat, praesentisque temporis cognoscens temeritatem, ignaviam, negligentiam
- 3 suscensebam. sed ea iam mihi exciderunt; beneficia eiusdem cogito, cogito etiam dignitatem; intellego, serius

² Curtium anon. ap. Corradum : del. Boot

³ add. Casaubon

⁴ add. Victorius

¹ 18 July, when the Gauls defeated the Romans in 390.

LETTER 171 (IX.5)

at Formiae, which might look like putting myself in the way of congratulating him; but the most wretched thing of all is the sight of what all the same (I repeat it) we must presently see.

Postumus has paid me a visit, how disagreeable you know from my letter. Another caller was Q. Fufius (imagine the look of him, the arrogance!), hastening through to Brundisium, loud against Pompey's wickedness and the Senate's fickleness and folly. If I can't stand this sort of thing under my own roof shall I be able to stand it (?) in the Senate House? Well, suppose I do stand it as phlegmatically as you please. What then? 'Speak M. Tullius!' Where is my way out? And I leave aside the cause of the Republic, which I take for lost, what with its own hurts and the remedies now in preparation; what am I to do about Pompey? I was frankly incensed against him—why should I deny it? I always attach more importance to the causes of events than to the events themselves. So considering these unparalleled disasters, or rather determining that they happened by his agency and fault, I felt a greater resentment against him than against Caesar himself. Our ancestors made the day of the battle of the Allia¹ of blacker memory than that of the capture of the city, because the second calamity arose from the first, so that the former is even now a day of ill omen while the other is generally unknown. On the same principle I was angry when I remembered the mistakes of the past ten years, including the year of my own disaster in which *he* did not defend me (to use no harsher phrase), and when I perceived his recklessness, inertia, and negligence at the present time. But now all that has gone out of my mind. I think of Pompey's services to me, and his greatness too. I understand, later

CICERO

equidem quam vellem propter epistulas sermonesque Balbi, sed video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, <nisi>⁵ ut hunc occideret. e<g>o igitur, sicut⁶ apud Homerum cui et mater et dea dixisset 'αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἑκτορα πότμος ἔτοιμος' matri ipse respondit

αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρω
κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμύναι—

quid si non ἑταίρω solum sed etiam εὐεργέτη, adde tali viro talem causam agentis?—ego vero haec officia mercanda vita puto. optimatibus vero tuis nihil confido, nihil iam ne inservio quidem. video ut se huic dent, ut daturi sint. quicquam tu illa putas fuisse de valetudine decreta municipiorum prae his de victoria gratulationibus? 'timent' inquires. at ipsi tum se timuisse dicunt. sed videamus quid actum sit Brundisi. ex eo fortasse alia⁷ consilia nascentur aliaeque litterae.

172 (IX.6)

Scr. in Formiano v Id. Mart. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Nos adhuc Brundisio nihil. Roma scripsit Balbus putare¹ iam Lentulum consulem tramisisse [me] nec eum a minore Balbo conventum, quod is hoc iam Canusi audisset; inde

⁵ add. *Wesenberg*

⁶ si quid (*Faernus* : sicut ille *O. E. Schmidt*)

⁷ ea (*Lambinus*) ¹ putari *Orelli*

² Thetis to Achilles in *Iliad*, 18.86.

LETTER 172 (IX.6)

indeed than I could have wished because of Balbus' letters and talk, but I do see clearly that Caesar's whole purpose is and has been from the first to destroy him. I think of how in Homer a mother and a goddess says to her son²

Your doom awaits you after Hector's end.

And her son replies

Let me die quickly, since my friend is slain
And I not there to aid.

It is not only a friend in my case but a benefactor too; add the greatness of the man and of the cause he champions. Truly I think life worth losing for these duties' sake. As for your optimate friends, I don't put any faith in them, I don't even seek their good opinion any more. I see how they are kowtowing to Caesar, and will so continue. Those municipal decrees during Pompey's illness—are they to be compared, do you think, with these victory congratulations? You will say they are afraid; but by their own account they were afraid last year. But let us see what has happened at Brundisium. Perhaps that will give rise to other plans and other letters.

172 (IX.6)

Formiae, 11 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Still nothing from Brundisium. Balbus wrote from Rome that he thought Consul Lentulus had already crossed, without having had an interview with Balbus junior, because the latter had heard this when he got to Canusium

CICERO

ad se eum scripsisse; cohortisque sex quae Albae fuissent ad Curium via Minucia transisse; id Caesarem ad se scripsisse et brevi tempore eum ad urbem futurum. ergo utar tuo consilio neque me Arpinum hoc tempore abdam, etsi, Ciceroni meo togam puram cum dare Arpini vellem, hanc eram ipsam excusationem relicturus ad Caesarem. sed fortasse in eo ipso offendetur, cur non Romae potius. sed tamen, si est conveniendus, hic potissimum. tum reliqua videbimus, id est et quo et qua et quando.

- 2 Domitius, ut audio, in Cosano est <et> quidem, ut aiunt, paratus ad navigandum, si in Hispaniam, non <im>probo,² si ad Gnaeum, laudo; quovis potius certe quam ut Cur<t>ium³ videat quem ego patronus aspicere non possum. quid alios? sed, opinor, quiescamus, ne nostram culpam coarguamus qui, dum urbem, id est patriam, amamus dumque rem conventuram putamus, ita nos gesimus ut plane interclusi captique simus.

- 3 Scripta iam epistula Capua litterae sunt adlatae hoc exemplo:

Pompeius mare transiit cum omnibus militibus quos secum habuit. hic numerus est hominum milia triginta et consules duo⁴ et tribuni pl. et senatores qui fuerunt cum eo omnes cum uxoribus et liberis. conscendisse dicitur a. d. IIII Non. Mart. ex ea die

² *add. SB*

³ certum *vel* curium (*Victorius*)

⁴ duo et pr(aetores) et *coni. SB*

¹ Leading from Beneventum to Brundisium. Vibius Curius was a Caesarian cavalry commander.

LETTER 172 (IX.6)

and had written to himself from there; also that six cohorts stationed at Alba had come over to Curius by the Minucian Way.¹ Caesar, he says, had so informed him by letter, and would be at Rome shortly. Accordingly I shall follow your advice and not hide myself away in Arpinum at present, though I wanted to give Marcus his white gown in Arpinum and that was the excuse I intended to leave with Caesar. But perhaps he will take offence at that too, because I am not doing it in Rome. But anyhow, if I must meet him, let it be here. Then we shall consider the next step, I mean where I am to go and how and when.

Domitius, I hear, is at his house near Cosa, and, so they say, ready to sail—if to Spain I do not blame him, if to join Gnaeus I commend him. Better go anywhere than have Curtius before his eyes, a sight too much for me his former counsel²—not to speak of the others. But I had best lie low or I shall be convicting myself, in that for love of Rome, my country, and in the belief that there would be a compromise I got myself into the position of a prisoner, completely cut off.

After I had written this letter one came in from Capua. It reads as follows:

Pompey has crossed the sea with all the troops he had with him. They numbered 30,000 men, together with the two Consuls, and the Tribunes and Senators, all who were with him, along with their wives and children. He is said to have embarked on 4 March. The winds have been northerly from that

² (C.) Curtius (Postumus) was almost certainly the C. Rabirius Postumus whom Cicero defended in an extant speech.

CICERO

fuere septemtriones venti. navis quibus usus non est
omnis aut praecidisse aut incendisse dicunt. de hac
re litterae L. Metello tribuno pl. Capuam adlatae
sunt a Clodia socru, quae ipsa transiit.

- 4 Ante sollicitus eram et angebar, sicut res scilicet ipsa
cogebat, cum consilio explicare nihil possem; nunc autem,
postquam Pompeius et consules ex Italia exierunt, non
angor sed ardeo dolore,

οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ

ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτῃμαι.

non sum, inquam, mihi crede, mentis compos; tantum mihi
dedecoris admisisse videor. mene non primum cum Pom-
peio, qualicumque consilio usus <est>,⁵ deinde cum bonis
esse, quamvis causa temere instituta? praesertim cum ii
ipsi quorum ego causa timidius me fortunae committe-
bam, uxor, filia, Cicerones pueri, me illud sequi mallent,
hoc turpe et me indignum putarent. nam Quintus quidem
frater quicquid mihi placeret id rectum se putare aiebat,
id animo aequissimo sequebatur.

- 5 Tuas nunc epistulas a primo lego. hae me paulum rec-
reant. primae monent et rogant ne me proiciam, proximae
gaudere te ostendunt me remansisse. eas cum lego, minus
mihi turpis videor, sed tam diu dum lego. deinde emergit
rursum dolor et *αἰσχροῦ φαντασία*. quam ob rem obse-
cro te, mi Tite, eripe hunc mihi dolorem aut minue saltem,

⁵ *add. Wesenberg*

³ Cicero had been misinformed. Pompey did not sail with the
Consuls on 4 March but thirteen days later.

⁴ From *Iliad*, 10.93.

LETTER 172 (IX.6)

day on. They say he disabled or burned all the ships he did not use. A letter on this subject was received in Capua by the Tribune L. Metellus from his mother-in-law Clodia, who was one of those to cross.

I was anxious before and distressed, as one clearly could not but be in such a case, by my inability to think of any solution. But now that Pompey and the Consuls have left Italy,³ I am not merely distressed, I am consumed with grief.

My heart
stands not, I am distraught.⁴

Yes, I give you my word I am beside myself at the thought of the dishonour I feel I have brought upon my head. To think that in the first place I am not with Pompey, whatever his mistakes, and in the second that I am not with the honest men, never mind how ill-advisedly they have managed our cause!—especially as the very ones for whose sake I hesitated to take the plunge, I mean my wife and daughter and the two boys, would have preferred me to follow the other course and thought this one discreditable and unworthy of me. As for my brother Quintus, he told me that whatever I thought best had his approval and followed it without qualm.

I now read over your letters from the beginning; they raise my spirits a little. The earliest warn and beg me not to burn my boats; the most recent profess your satisfaction at my having stayed behind. When I read them I feel less ashamed, but only while I am actually reading; then pain and the spectre of dishonour rise afresh. So, my dear Titus, I implore you, rid me of this pain or at any rate relieve it,

aut consolatione aut consilio aut quacumque re potes. quid tu autem possis, aut quid homo quisquam? vix iam deus.

- 6 Equidem illud molior quod tu mones sperasque fieri posse, ut mihi Caesar concedat ut absim cum aliquid in senatu contra Gnaeum agatur. sed timeo ne non impetrem. venit ab eo Furnius. ut quidem scias quos sequamur, Q. Titini filium cum Caesare esse nuntiat—sed⁶ illum maiores mihi gratias agere quam vellem. quid autem me roget, paucis ille quidem verbis sed ἐν δυνάμει, cognosce ex ipsius epistula. me miserum quod tu non valuisti! una fuissimus; consilium certe non defuisset. ‘σύν τε δὴ ἐρχομένω . . .’

- 7 Sed acta ne agamus, reliqua paremus. me adhuc haec duo fefellerunt, initio spes compositionis, qua facta volebam ut<i>⁷ populari via,⁸ sollicitudine senectutem nostram liberare;⁹ deinde bellum crudele et exitiosum suscipi a Pompeio intellegebam. melioris me dius fidius civis et viri putabam quovis supplicio adfici quam illi crudelitati non solum praeesse verum etiam interesse. <sed>¹⁰ videtur vel mori satius fuisse quam esse cum his. ad haec igitur cogita, mi Attice, vel potius excogita. quemvis eventum fortius feram quam hunc dolorem.

⁶ *distinxit SB*

⁷ *add. Bosius*

⁸ *ut ea (Purser)*

⁹ *liberari vel -arem (Wesenberg)*

¹⁰ *add. SB*

LETTER 172 (IX.6)

by consolation or advice or any way you can. And yet what could you do, what could any man do? A god could hardly help now.

For my part I am trying, as you advise and hope will be practicable, to obtain Caesar's consent to my absence from any proceedings in the Senate against Gnaeus. But I am afraid I may not succeed. Furnius has come from him—to show you models for our imitation, he reports that Q. Titinius' son is with Caesar. Anyway, according to Furnius Caesar expresses his gratitude to me, more than I could have wished. As for what he asks of me, briefly but as one having authority, you will learn it from his own letter. If only you had not been ill! We should have been together. Assuredly we should have hit upon a plan. "Two heads . . ."⁵

However let bygones be bygones and let us plan the future. Two things have misled me hitherto. At first there was the hope of a settlement, in which event I wanted to take a popular line and free my old age from anxiety. Then I saw that Pompey was embarking on a cruel and destructive war. Upon my word I thought that as a man and a citizen it was better to suffer any punishment rather than take a part, let alone a leading part, in such atrocity. But I feel even death would have been preferable to being with these people here. So think of all this, my dear Atticus, or rather think it out. I shall bear any outcome better than this pain.

⁵ From *Iliad*, 10.224: 'When two go in company, one before the other sees chance of advantage.'

CICERO

172A (IX.6A)

Scr. in itinere Arpis Brundisium c. III Non. Mart. an. 49

CAESAR IMP. S. D. CICERONI IMP.

Cum Furnium nostrum tantum vidissem neque loqui neque audire meo commodo potuissem, <cum>¹ properarem atque essem in itinere praemissis iam legionibus, praeterire tamen non potui quin et scriberem ad te et illum mitterem gratiasque agerem, etsi hoc et feci saepe et saepius mihi facturum videor; ita de me mereris. in primis a te peto, quoniam confido me celeriter ad urbem venturum, ut te ibi videam, ut tuo consilio, gratia, dignitate, ope omnium rerum uti possim. ad propositum revertar: festinationi meae brevitatiue litterarum ignosces. reliqua ex Furnio cognosces.

173 (IX.4)

Scr. in Formiano IV Id. Mart. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ego etsi tam diu requiesco quam diu aut ad te scribo aut tuas litteras lego, tamen et ipse ego argumento epistularum et tibi idem accidere certo scio; quae enim soluto animo familiariter scribi solent ea temporibus his excluduntur, quae autem sunt horum temporum ea iam contrivimus. sed tamen, ne me totum aegritudini dedam, sumpsi mihi quasdam tamquam *θέσεις*, quae et *πολιτικαὶ* sunt et temporum horum, ut et abducam animum a querelis et in eo ipso de quo agitur exercear. eae sunt huius modi:

¹ *add. Victoriuss : et Koch*

LETTER 173 (IX.4)

172A (IX.6A)

Between Arpi and Brundisium, ca. 5 March 49

CAESAR IMPERATOR TO CICERO IMPERATOR

Though I have only just seen our friend Furnius and could neither speak nor listen to him at leisure since I am in haste and on the march with my army already sent ahead, yet I could not neglect to write to you and to send him and to express my thanks; though *that* I have often done and expect to do even oftener—you give me so much cause. Especially I ask of you, since I have every hope of getting to Rome in the near future, to let me see you there, so that I may be able to avail myself of your advice, influence, standing, and help in all matters. To return to my point: you must forgive my haste and the brevity of this letter. You will learn all else from Furnius.

173 (IX.4)

Formiae, 12 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Though the time I spend writing to you or reading your letters brings me my only respite, I am at a loss for matter and I am sure it is the same with you. The kind of things friends usually write to one another when their minds are easy is ruled out by the times we live in, while we have already worn threadbare the topics appropriate to *them*. However, not to surrender myself wholly to bitterness of spirit, I have chosen some themes as it were, which are both political and topical, with the object of distracting my mind from its griefs and to keep it busy on the question at issue. This sort of thing:

- 2 Εἰ μενετέον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυραννουμένης αὐτῆς. εἰ παντὶ τρόπῳ τυραννίδος κατάλυσιν πραγματευτέον, κἂν μέλλῃ διὰ τοῦτο περὶ τῶν ὄλων ἢ πόλις κινδυνεύσειν. εἰ εὐλαβητέον τὸν καταλύοντα μὴ αὐτὸς αἴρηται.¹ εἰ πειρατέον ἀρήγειν τῇ πατρίδι τυραννουμένην καιρῷ καὶ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ πολέμῳ. εἰ πολιτικὸν τὸ ἡσυχάζειν ἀναχωρήσαντά ποι τῆς πατρίδος τυραννουμένης ἢ² διὰ παντὸς ἰτέον κινδύνου τῆς ἐλευθερίας πέρι. εἰ πόλεμον ἐπακτέον τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πολιορκητέον αὐτὴν τυραννουμένην. εἰ καὶ μὴ δοκιμάζοντα τὴν διὰ πολέμου κατάλυσιν τῆς τυραννίδος συναπογραπτέον ὅμως τοῖς ἀρίστοις. εἰ τοῖς εὐεργέταις καὶ φίλοις συγκινδυνευτέον ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς κἂν μὴ δοκῶσιν εὖ βεβουλεύσθαι περὶ τῶν ὄλων. εἰ ὁ μεγάλα τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργετήσας δι' αὐτό τε τοῦκτο ἀνήκεστα παιδῶν καὶ φθονηθεὶς κινδυνεύσειεν ἂν ἐθελοντῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἢ³ ἐφετέον αὐτῷ ἑαυτοῦ ποτε καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ποιείσθαι πρόνοιαν ἀφεμένῳ τὰς⁴ πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχύοντας διαπολιτείας.

- In his ego me consultationibus exercens et disserens in
3 utramque partem tum Graece tum Latine et abduco parumper animum a molestiis et τῶν προὔργου τι de libero. sed vereor ne tibi ἄκαιρος sim; si enim recte ambulavit is qui hanc epistolam tulit, in ipsum tuum diem incidit.

¹ ἄρθηται *al.* (Bosius)

² εἰ (s)

³ εἰ (s)

⁴ τῆς Daniellson

LETTER 173 (IX.4)

Ought a man to remain in his country under a despotism? Ought he to strive for the overthrow of a despotism by every means, even if the existence of the state is going to be endangered thereby? Ought he to beware of the overthrower lest *he* be set up as a despot? Ought he to try to help his country under a despotism by taking opportunity as it comes and by words rather than by war? Ought a statesman to live quietly in retirement while his country is under a despotism or ought he to take every risk for freedom's sake? Is it right to make war against one's land and blockade it when it is under despotic rule? Ought a man to enrol himself on the side of the best citizens even if he does not approve of overthrowing the despotism by war? Ought he in politics to join in the dangers of his friends and benefactors even though he does not approve of their actions in capital matters? Ought a man who has rendered his country great service and has on that account brought himself irreparable suffering and hostility voluntarily to incur danger on his country's behalf, or may he be allowed to begin to think of himself and his family, giving up political opposition to those in power?

Practising myself upon these questions and setting out the arguments on either side, now in Greek now in Latin, I take my mind for a while off my troubles and at the same time ponder matters of relevance. But I am afraid I come upon you at the wrong moment, for if the bearer of this letter has made decent time it will have reached you just on the day of your attack.

CICERO

174 (IX.7)

Scr. in Formiano III Id. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Scripseram ad te epistulam quam darem IIII Id., sed eo die is cui dare volueram non est profectus. venit autem eo ipso die ille celeripes quem Salvius dixerat. attulit uberrimas tuas litteras, quae mihi quiddam quasi animulae restitularunt; recreatum enim me non queo dicere. sed plane τὸ συνέχου effecisti. ego enim non iam id ago, mihi crede, ut prosperos exitus consequar. sic enim video, nec duobus his vivis nec [hoc]¹ uno nos umquam rem publicam habituros. ita neque de otio nostro spero iam nec ullam acerbitatem recuso. unum illud extimescebam, ne quid turpiter facerem vel dicam iam ne fecissem.²
- 2 Sic ergo habeto, salutaris te mihi litteras misisse neque solum has longiores, quibus nihil potest esse explicatius, nihil perfectius, sed etiam illas breviores, in quibus hoc mihi iucundissimum fuit, consilium factumque nostrum a Sexto probari, pergratumque mihi tu fecisti; a quo et diligere me et quid rectum sit intellegi scio. longior vero tua epistula non me solum sed meos omnis aegritudine levavit. itaque utar tuo consilio et ero in Formiano, ne aut ad urbem ἀπάντησις mea animadvertatur aut, si nec hic nec
- 3 illic eum videro, devitatum se a me putet. quod autem suades ut ab eo petam ut mihi concedat ut idem tribuam Pompeio quod ipsi tribuerim, id me iam pridem agere intelleges ex litteris Balbi et Oppi quarum exempla tibi

¹ *secl. SB*

² *effecissem (O. E. Schmidt, qui iam, ne f-)*

¹ *Caesar.*

LETTER 174 (IX.7)

174 (IX.7)

Formiae, 13 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I wrote a letter to you meaning to dispatch it on the 12th, but the man to whom I had meant to give it did not go. That same day Fleet-foot, as Salvius called him, arrived with a most substantial letter from you, which put back a *souççon* of life into me—it would be too much to say that it set me up again. But you have certainly achieved the essential. Believe me, I no longer aim at finding a happy outcome. I realize that we shall never have a free state in the lifetime of those two or of one singly. So I have no longer any hope of a quiet life for myself and I am ready to swallow every bitter pill. My one fear was of doing, or shall I say of having already done, something dishonourable.

So rest assured that your letters have done me good, not only this longer one, which could not have been better set out or more complete, but the shorter one too, in which I was particularly pleased to read that my course and conduct have Sextus' approval. Thank you very much. I know his regard for me and his sound moral judgement. Your longer letter raised not only myself but all of us from our distress of mind. Accordingly I shall follow your advice and stay at Formiae, so that on the one hand I shall not attract notice by welcoming him¹ at Rome and on the other he will not think I have deliberately avoided him, if I see him neither here nor there. As for your suggestion that I ask him to allow me to pay as much regard to Pompey as I have paid to himself, you will see from Balbus' and Oppius' letters, copies of which I enclose, that this is what I have

- misi; misi etiam Caesaris ad eos sana mente scriptas litteras quo modo in tanta insania. sin mihi Caesar hoc non concedat, video tibi placere illud, me *πολίτευμα* de pace suscipere; in quo non extimesco periculum (cum enim tot impendeant, cur non honestissimo depecisci velim?) sed vereor ne Pompeio quid oneris imponam, *μή μοι γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου* intorqueat. mirandum enim in modum Gnaeus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupivit. *εἰδώς σοι λέγω*; nihil ille umquam minus obscure tulit. 'cum hocne igitur' inquires 'esse vis?' beneficium sequor, mihi crede, non causam, ut in Milone, ut in
- 4 — sed hactenus. 'causa igitur non bona est?' immo optima, sed agetur, memento, foedissime. primum consilium est suffocare urbem et Italiam fame, deinde agros vastare, urere, pecuniis locupletum <non> abstinere. sed cum eadem metuum ab hac parte, si illinc beneficium non sit, rectius putem quidvis domi perpeti. sed ita meruisse illum de me puto ut *ἀχαριστίας* crimen subire non audeam, quamquam a te eius quoque rei iusta defensio est explicata.
- 5 De triumpho tibi adsentior, quem quidem totum facile et libenter abiecero. egregie probo fore ut, dum <aliud>³ agamus, *ὁ πλόος ὠραῖος* obrepat. 'si modo' inquis 'satis ille erit firmus.' est firmior etiam quam putabamus. de isto licet bene speres. promitto tibi, si valebit, tegulam illum in Italia nullam relicturum. 'tene igitur socio?' contra meher-

³ *add. SB** : id vel rem iam *Goodyear*

² From *Odyssey*, 11.634.

³ A Greek tag from an epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Pal.* 10.1), who may have taken it from Hesiod.

LETTER 174 (IX.7)

been doing for some time past—I also enclose a letter of Caesar's to them, a sane letter so far as there can be any sanity in such madness. If however Caesar should refuse me this, I see that you are in favour of my coming forward as an advocate of peace. I do not fear the danger involved (so many hang over me that I might as well settle for the most honourable), but I am afraid of causing Pompey embarrassment and of his turning on me 'the Gorgon's head, monster most terrible.'² For our Gnaeus is marvellously covetous of despotism on Sullan lines. *Experto crede*; he has been as open about it as he ever was about anything. 'And is that the man you want to be with?' Believe me, it is the obligation that moves me not the cause, as in Milo's case or—but enough. 'Is the cause not a good one then?' An excellent one, but remember that it will be abominably conducted. The plan is first to strangle Rome and Italy with hunger, then to carry fire and sword through the countryside and dip into the pockets of the rich. But since I fear the same from *this* quarter, if I did not have an obligation to repay in the other, I should think it better to take whatever may come at home. But I feel so much beholden to Pompey that I dare not lay myself open to a charge of ingratitude, though there too you have made out a fair defence.

About the Triumph I agree with you. I shall throw the whole thing aside, lightly and willingly. I particularly like your remark that before we know it 'the seasonable sailing'³ may steal upon us. 'Provided only that Pompey is strong enough,' you say. He is even stronger than we thought. On that point you can make your mind easy. I give you my word that if his health holds he won't leave one stone standing on another in Italy. And shall I be with him,

CICERO

cule meum iudicium et contra omnium antiquorum auctoritatem; nec tam ut illa adiuvem quam[quam] ut haec ne videam cupio discedere. noli enim putare tolerabilis horum insanias nec unius modi fore. etsi quid te horum fugit, legibus, iudiciis, senatu sublato libidines, audacias, sumptus, egestates tot egentissimorum hominum nec privatas posse res nec rem publicam sustinere? abeamus igitur inde qualibet navigatione; etsi id quidem ut tibi videbitur, sed certe abeamus. sciemus enim <iam>,⁴ id quod exspectas, quid Brundisi actum sit.

6 Bonis viris quod ais probari quae adhuc fecerimus sciri-que ab iis <non sine causa nos>⁵ non profectos valde gaudeo, si est nunc ullus gaudendi locus. de Lentulo investigabo diligentius. id mandavi Philotimo, homini forti ac nimium optimati.

7 Extremum est ut tibi argumentum ad scribendum fortasse iam desit; nec enim alia de re nunc ulla scribi potest et de hac quid iam amplius inveniri potest? sed quoniam et ingenium suppeditat (dico mehercule ut sentio) et amor, quo et meum ingenium incitatur, perge, ut facis, et scribe quantum potest.

In Epirum quod me non invitas, comitem non molestum, subirascor. sed vale. nam ut tibi ambulandum, ungen- dum, sic mihi dormiendum. etenim litterae tuae mihi somnum attulerunt.

⁴ *add. Wesenberg*

⁵ *add. SB*

LETTER 174 (IX.7)

you may ask. Yes, but against my own judgement and all ancient authority, nor is it so much to help there as to spare myself the sight of things here that I am anxious to leave. For take my word for it that the excesses of the men on the spot will be various and intolerable. But you must be well aware of all this—that after the subversion of laws, law courts, and Senate neither private wealth nor common can satisfy the lusts, impudence, extravagance, and necessities of such a multitude of starvelings. So let's away from it all, by any sailing that offers—though that shall be as you think best; but at all events let's away. We shall soon know what has happened at Brundisium, which is what you are waiting for.

You say that the honest men approve of my conduct thus far and know that I had good reason for not leaving. I am very glad to hear that, if one can be glad at anything nowadays. I shall make more thorough enquiries about Lentulus. I have entrusted that commission to Philotimus, a man of mettle and an ultra-optimate.⁴

To end, it may be that you no longer have a theme for a letter, for one can't write about anything else at the present time and what more can one find to say about this? But since you have both wit (I say as I think, you can be sure) and affection, which stimulates even *my* wits, carry on and write as much as you can.

I feel a little aggrieved that you don't invite me to Epirus, not being the most difficult of company. But good-bye. You to your exercise and massage, I to bed. And indeed your letter has brought sleep to my eyes.

⁴ Cicero believed this freedman to be a swindler and ridiculed his pretensions to high and dry aristocratic political views.

CICERO

174A (IX.7A)

Scr. Romae VI vel v Id. Mart. an. 49

BALBUS ET OPPIUS S. D. M. CICERONI

- 1 Nedium hominum humilium, ut nos sumus, sed etiam amplissimorum virorum consilia ex eventu, non ex voluntate a plerisque probari solent. tamen freti tua humanitate quod verissimum nobis videbitur de eo quod ad nos scripsisti tibi consilium dabimus. quod si non fuerit prudens, at certe ab optima fide et optimo animo proficiscetur.

Nos, <si>¹ id quod nostro iudicio Caesarem facere oportere existimamus, ut, simul Romam venerit, agat de reconciliatione gratiae suae et Pompei, id eum facturum ex ipso cognovissemus, <non desineremus>² te hortari ut velles iis rebus interesse, quo facilius et maiore cum dignitate per te, qui utrique es coniunctus, res tota confieret; aut si ex contrario putaremus Caesarem id non facturum et etiam velle cum Pompeio bellum gerere sciremus, numquam tibi suaderemus contra hominem optime de te meritum arma ferres, sicuti te semper oravimus ne contra Caesarem pugnares. sed cum etiam nunc quid facturus Caesar sit magis <sit>³ opinari quam scire, non possumus nisi hoc, non videri eam tuam esse dignitatem neque fidem omnibus cognitam ut contra alterutrum, cum utrique sis maxime necessarius, arma feras, et hoc non dubitamus quin Caesar pro sua humanitate maxime sit probaturus. nos tamen, si tibi videbitur, ad Caesarem scribemus ut nos certiores faciat quid <in> hac re acturus sit. a quo si erit nobis rescriptum, statim quid⁴ sentiamus ad te scribemus et tibi

¹ *add. Tunstall* ² *add. SB (post hortari Madvig)*

³ *add. SB* ⁴ *quod vel quo vel cum (Wesenberg)*

LETTER 174A (IX.7A)

174A (IX.7A)

Rome, 10 or 11 March 49

BALBUS AND OPPIUS TO M. CICERO

Advice, even the advice of great men, let alone of humble folk like us, is generally judged by the event, not by the intention. None the less we shall rely on your charitable heart and give you the advice which seems to us the soundest on the matter about which you have written to us. It may or may not be wise, but at any rate it is offered in all sincerity and good will.

If we had learned from Caesar himself that he would do what in our judgement we think he ought to do, namely start negotiations for a reconciliation between himself and Pompey as soon as he gets to Rome, we should not cease to urge you to consent to take part in them, so that through you, who have ties with both, the whole matter might be settled with greater facility and dignity. Alternatively, if we thought on the contrary that Caesar would *not* do this and even knew that he wanted war with Pompey, we should never persuade you to bear arms against your benefactor, just as we have always besought you not to fight against Caesar. Since however Caesar's intentions are still a matter of conjecture rather than knowledge, all we can say is that it does not seem to us to suit your dignity and good faith, which all recognize, that you should bear arms against either, since you are a close friend of both; and we do not doubt that Caesar, with his sense of what is due to others, will thoroughly approve this view. However, if you think fit, we will write to Caesar asking him to let us know what he intends to do in this matter. When he replies, we shall immediately write to tell you our sentiments and we shall

CICERO

fidem faciemus nos ea suadere quae nobis videntur tuae dignitati, non Caesaris actioni esse utilissima; et hoc Caesarem pro sua indulgentia in suos probaturum putamus.

174B (IX.7B)

Scr. Romae VI vel V Id. Mart. an. 49

BALBUS CICERONI IMP. SAL.

- 1 S. v. b. Postea quam litteras communis cum Oppio ad te dedi, ab Caesare epistulam accepi cuius exemplum tibi misi; ex quibus¹ perspicere poteris quam cupiat concordiam <suam>² et Pompei reconciliare et quam remotus sit ab omni crudelitate; quod eum sentire, ut debeo, valde gaudeo. de te et tua fide et pietate idem mehercule, mi Cicero, sentio quod tu, non posse tuam famam et officium sustinere ut contra eum arma feras a quo tantum beneficium te accepisse praedices. Caesarem hoc idem probaturum exploratum pro singulari eius humanitate habeo, eique cumulatissime satis facturum te certo scio cum nullam partem belli contra eum suscipias neque socius eius adversariis fueris. atque hoc non solum in te, tali et tanto viro, satis habebit, sed etiam mihi ipse sua concessit voluntate ne in iis castris essem quae contra Lentulum aut Pompeium futura essent, quorum beneficia maxima haberem, sibi que satis esse dixit si togatus urbana officia sibi praestitsem, quae etiam illis, si vellem, praestare possem. itaque nunc Romae omnia negotia Lentuli procuro, sustineo,
- 2

¹ qua nescio quis

² add. Wesenberg

¹ In particular, for the grant of Roman citizenship.

LETTER 174B (IX.7B)

satisfy you that the course we recommend is what seems to us most serviceable to your dignity and not to Caesar's policy; and we think that Caesar, with the indulgence he always shows his friends, will approve.

174B (IX.7B)

Rome, 10 or 11 March 49

BALBUS TO CICERO IMPERATOR

Greetings. After dispatching Oppius' and my joint letter I received a letter from Caesar of which I send you a copy. From it you will see how anxious he is to restore good relations with Pompey, and how far removed from any sort of cruelty. I am of course very pleased that these are his views. As regards yourself and your sentiments of loyalty and gratitude, I feel exactly as you do, my dear Cicero, that your reputation and duty do not allow of your bearing arms against one from whom you give out that you have received so great a service. That Caesar, the most considerate of men, will take the same view I am well assured, and I have no doubt that he will be more than satisfied if you take no part in war against him and refrain from joining his adversaries. And not only will this satisfy him in the case of so distinguished a personage as yourself, but to me also he signified entirely of his own good will that I need not serve in any army which would be used against Lentulus or Pompey, to whom I am under the greatest obligations,¹ and he told me that he would be content if I rendered him as a civilian in Rome the same good offices as I might, if I chose, render them. Accordingly I am now looking after all Lentulus' affairs in Rome and taking them upon myself,

CICERO

meumque officium, fidem, pietatem <in>³ iis praesto. sed mehercule rursus iam abiectam compositionis spem non desperatissimam esse puto, quoniam Caesar est ea mente qua optare debemus.

Hac re mihi placet, si tibi videtur, te ad eum scribere et ab eo praesidium petere, ut petisti a Pompeio me quidem approbante temporibus Milonianis. praestabo, si Caesarem bene novi, eum prius tuae dignitatis quam suae utilitatis rationem habiturum.

- 3 Haec quam prudenter tibi scribam nescio, sed illud certe scio, me ab singulari amore ac benevolentia quaecumque scribo tibi scribere, quod te (ita incolumi Caesare moriar!) tanti facio ut paucos aequae ac te caros habeam. de hac re cum aliquid constitueris, velim mihi scribas. nam non mediocriter laboro <ut> utrique, ut vis, tuam benevolentiam praestare possis quam mehercule te praestaturum confido. fac valeas.

174C (IX.7C)

Scr. in itinere c. III Non. Mart. an. 49

CAESAR OPPIO CORNELIO SAL.

- 1 Gaudeo mehercule vos significare litteris quam valde probetis ea quae apud Corfinium sunt gesta. consilio vestro utar libenter et hoc libentius quod mea sponte facere constitueram ut quam lenissimum me praeberem et Pompeium darem operam ut reconciliarem. temptemus hoc

³ *add. SB*

LETTER 174C (IX.7C)

rendering therein my duty, loyalty, and gratitude. But really I begin once more to think that the hope of a composition, which I had given up, is not altogether forlorn, seeing that Caesar's sentiments are such as we must wish.

Therefore I am in favour, if you agree, of your writing to him and requesting him to provide you with a body-guard, as you requested Pompey to do, very rightly as I thought, in the Milo period.² I will guarantee, if I know Caesar, that he will think more of your position than of his own interests.

How wisely I have written I do not know, but this at least I do know, that whatever I write to you is written out of particular affection and good will, for, as I hope to die before Caesar, my regard for you is such that I hold few so dear. When you have come to any decision on this matter, perhaps you will write to me. I am in no little anxiety that you should be able to lend your good will to both parties as you wish to do and as indeed I do not doubt that you will do. Best wishes.

174C (IX.7C)

On the march, ca. 5 March 49

CAESAR TO OPPIUS AND CORNELIUS

I am indeed glad that you express in your letter such hearty approval of the proceedings at Corfinium. I shall willingly follow your advice, all the more willingly because I had of my own accord decided to show all possible clemency and to do my best to reconcile Pompey. Let us try whether by

² The period of Milo's trial early in 52.

CICERO

modo si possimus omnium voluntates recuperare et diurna victoria uti, quoniam reliqui crudelitate odium effugere non potuerunt neque victoriam diutius tenere praeter unum L. Sullam, quem imitaturus non sum. haec nova sit ratio vincendi ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. id quem ad modum fieri possit non nulla mihi in mentem veniunt et multa reperiri possunt. de his rebus rogo vos ut cogitationem suscipiatis.

- 2 N. Magium, Pompei praefectum, deprehendi. scilicet meo instituto usus sum et eum statim missum feci. iam duo praefecti fabrum¹ Pompei in meam potestatem venerunt et a me missi sunt. si volent grati esse, debebunt Pompeium hortari ut malit mihi esse amicus quam iis qui et illi et mihi semper fuerunt inimicissimi, quorum artificii effectum est ut res publica in hunc statum perveniret.

175 (IX.8)

Scr. in Formiano prid. Id. Mart. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Cenantibus II<I>¹ Id. nobis ac noctu quidem Staius a te epistulam brevem attulit. de L. Torquato quod quaeris, non modo Lucius sed etiam Aulus profectus est, alter multos <ante dies, alter paucos>.² de Reatinorum corona quod scribis, moleste fero in agro Sabino sementem fieri proscriptionis. senatores multos esse Romae nos quoque audieramus. ecquid potes dicere cur exierint?

¹ *al. partium*

¹ *add. SB*

² *add. SB, duce Castiglioni*

LETTER 175 (IX.8)

this means we can win back the good will of all and enjoy a lasting victory, seeing that others have not managed by cruelty to escape hatred or to make their victories endure, except only L. Sulla, whom I do not propose to imitate. Let this be the new style of conquest, to make mercy and generosity our shield. As to how that is to be done, certain possibilities occur to me and many more can be found. I request you to apply your thoughts to these matters.

I captured N. Magius, Pompey's Prefect. Naturally I followed my set practice and immediately discharged him.¹ Two Prefects of Engineers of Pompey's have now fallen into my hands and been released by me. If they wish to show themselves grateful they should urge Pompey to prefer my friendship to that of those who have always been his and my bitter enemies, by whose machinations the country has been brought to its present pass.

175 (IX.8)

Formiae, 14 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

We were at dinner on the 13th and night had fallen, when Staius brought a short letter from you. You ask about L. Torquatus. Not only Lucius but Aulus too has left, the former a long while ago, the latter within the last few days. As for what you write about the military auction at Reate, I am sorry that the seeds of proscription should be sown on Sabine land. We too have heard that there are many Senators in Rome. Can you tell me why they ever left?

¹ According to Caesar (*Civil War* 1.26.2f.), Caesar sent Magius to Pompey with a request for a conference. See Letter 181.

CICERO

- 2 In his locis opinio est coniectura magis quam nuntio aut litteris Caesarem Formiis a. d. XI Kal. Apr. fore. hic ego vellem habere Homeri illam Minervam simulatam Mentori cui dicerem 'Μέντορ, πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω, πῶς τ' ἄρ' προσπύξομαι αὐτόν;' nullam rem unquam difficiliorem cogitavi; sed cogito tamen, nec ero, ut in malis, imparatus. sed cura ut valeas. puto enim diem tuum heri fuisse.

176 (IX.9)

Scr. in Formiano XVI Kal. Apr. an. 49 (§ 4)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Tris epistulas tuas accepi postridie Id. erant autem IIII, III, prid. Id. datae. igitur antiquissimae cuique primum respondebo. adsentior tibi ut in Formiano potissimum commorer, etiam de supero mari, <tem>ptaboque,¹ ut antea ad te scripsi, ecquonam modo possim voluntate eius nullam rei publicae partem attingere. quod laudas quia oblivisci me scripsi ante facta et delicta nostri amici, ego vero ita facio; quin ea ipsa quae a te commemorantur secus ab eo in me ipsum facta <facta>² esse non memini. tanto plus apud me valet benefici gratia quam iniuriae dolor. faciamus igitur ut censes, colligamusque nos. σοφιστεύω enim simul ut rus³ decurro atque in decursu θέσεις meas commentari non desino; sed sunt quaedam earum perdifficiles ad iudicandum. de optimatibus, sit sane ita ut vis; sed nosti

¹ plaboque (*Nipperdey*)

² *add. coni. SB**

³ festivo enim simili urus (*Bosius*)

LETTER 176 (IX.9)

It is thought hereabouts, rather by conjecture than from any report or letter, that Caesar will arrive at Formiae on 22 March. I wish I had Homer's Minerva here disguised as Mentor so that I could say to her 'Mentor, how shall I go, how greet him? Say.'¹ I have never pondered a more difficult matter, but ponder it I do, and as far as a bad case allows I shall not be unprepared. But take care of yourself—I think yesterday was your bad day.

176 (IX.9)

Formiae, 17 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I received three letters from you on the 16th, dispatched on the 12th, 13th, and 14th. So I shall answer them in chronological order. I agree with you that I should stay at Formiae for preference, also about the Adriatic, and as I wrote to you earlier I shall see whether by any means I can avoid taking part in public affairs with Caesar's good will. You praise me for writing that I forget the past actions and errors of our friend. Yes, I do forget them. Even those grievances of my own against him of which you remind me I do not remember. So far does gratitude for a service outweigh with me resentment of an injury. Let me then do as you recommend and collect my thoughts. For as soon as I run out into the country I play the sophist, and on the road I meditate my 'themes' all the time. But some of them are very hard to judge. About the optimates, let it be as

¹ So Telemachus to Athena (disguised as Mentor) in *Odyssey*, 3.22.

illud 'Διονύσιος ἐν Κορίνθῳ.' Titini filius apud Caesarem est. quod autem quasi vereri videris ne mihi tua consilia displiceant, me vero nihil delectat aliud nisi consilium et litterae tuae. qua re fac ut ostendis; ne destiteris ad me quicquid tibi in mentem venerit scribere. nihil mihi potest esse gratius.

- 2 Venio ad alteram nunc epistulam. recte non credis de numero militum; ipso dimidio plus scripsit Clodia. falsum etiam de corruptis navibus. quod consules laudas, ego quoque animum laudo, sed consilium reprehendo; discessu⁴ enim illorum actio de pace sublata est, quam quidem ego meditabar. itaque postea Demetrii librum de concordia tibi remisi et Philotimo dedi. nec vero dubito quin exitiosum bellum impendeat, cuius initium ducetur a fame. et me tamen doleo non interesse huic bello! in quo tanta vis sceleris futura est ut, cum parentis non alere nefarium sit, nostri principes antiquissimam et sanctissimam parentem, patriam, fame necandam putent. atque hoc non opinione timeo sed interfui sermonibus. omnis haec classis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyro, Sidone, Arado, Cypro, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodo, Chio, Byzantio, Lesbo, Smyrna, Mileto, Coe ad intercludendos commeatus Italiae et ad occupandas frumentarias provincias comparatur. at quam veniet iratus! et iis quidem maxime qui eum maxime salvum volebant, quasi relictus ab iis quos reliquit. itaque mihi dubitanti

⁴ dispersu (s)

¹ A Greek proverb based on the story that Dionysius II opened a school in Corinth after his expulsion from Syracuse, 'so unable was he to do without tyranny.' Similarly, Cicero implies, the optimates preferred a travesty of political importance to obscurity,

LETTER 176 (IX.9)

you wish; but you know the saying 'Dionysius in Corinth.'¹ Titinius' son is with Caesar. You almost seem afraid that your advice is disagreeable to me; why, your advice and letters are my only pleasure. So do as you promise; don't cease to write to me whatever comes into your mind. You can do me no greater kindness.

To come now to the second letter. You are right to be incredulous about the number of soldiers.² Clodia multiplied by two. The report of the spoiled ships was also untrue. You praise the Consuls. I too praise their spirit, but I blame their action. Their departure has ruled out a peace initiative, of which I was thinking; so after the news I returned you Demetrius' book on Concord and gave it to Philotimus. Nor have I any doubt that a destructive war is ahead, to be introduced by famine. And yet I grieve that I am not participating in such a war! The criminality of it! To refuse to maintain one's parents is wicked, but our leaders think it right and proper to starve that older, most venerable parent, their country, to death. And this is no conjectural fear of mine; I was present when it was discussed. All this fleet from Alexandria, Colchis, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, Lesbos, Smyrna, Miletus, Cos, is being collected with the object of cutting Italy's lifelines and occupying the grain-exporting provinces. How angry he will be when he comes!—most of all with those who wished him best, as though he had been deserted by those he abandoned. So as I consider where my duty lies, it is my good will towards

whereas Atticus had maintained that they were trucking to Caesar only out of fear.

² See Letter 172.3.

quid me facere par sit, permagnum pondus adfert benevolentia erga illum; qua dempta perire melius esset in patria quam patriam servando evertere. de septemtrione plane ita est; metuo ne vexetur Epirus. sed quem tu locum Graeciae non direptum iri putas?³ praedicat enim palam et militibus ostendit se largitione ipsa superiorem quam hunc fore. illud me praeclare admones, cum illum videro, ne nimis indulgenter et ut cum gravitate potius loquar. plane sic faciendum. Arpinum, cum eum convenero, cogito, ne forte aut absim cum veniet aut cursem huc illuc via deterima. Bibulum, ut scribis, audio venisse et redisse prid. Id.

- 3 Philotimum, ut ais epistula tertia, exspectabas. at ille Idibus a me profectus est; eo serius tibi ad tuam illam epistulam, cui ego statim rescripseram, redditae sunt meae litterae. de Domitio, ut scribis, ita opinor esse, ut et in Cosano sit et consilium eius ignoretur. iste omnium turpissimus ac sordidissimus qui consularia comitia a praetore ait haberi posse est idem qui semper in re publica fuit. itaque nimirum hoc illud est quod Caesar scribit in ea epistula cuius exemplum ad te misi [et] se velle uti 'consilio' meo (age, esto; hoc commune est), 'gratia' (ineptum id quidem sed, puto, hoc simulat ad quasdam senatorum sententias), 'dignitate' (fortasse sententia consulari); illud extremum est, 'ope omnium rerum.' id ego suspicari coepi tum ex tuis litteris aut hoc ipsum esse aut non multo secus. nam permagni eius interest rem ad interregnum non venire; id adsequitur si per praetorem consules creantur. nos

³ Northerly winds would carry the Pompeian fleet down the Adriatic in the direction of Atticus' property.

⁴ Back from Syria.

⁵ Identity unknown (not M. Lepidus).

LETTER 176 (IX.9)

him personally that weighs so heavily; that apart, it would be better to die in my country rather than by saving to destroy her. Yes, you are quite right about the North Wind; I am afraid Epirus may be in for a bad time.³ But what part of Greece do you think will *not* be plundered? He gives out openly and promises his men that even in largesse he will go one better than Caesar. Your admonition not to be too easygoing in what I say to the latter when I see him, to maintain my dignity rather, is excellent. Yes, that is the line to take. I mean to go to Arpinum after I have met him, so that I shall not happen to be away when he arrives or be rushing to and fro on a vile road. I hear that, as you say, Bibulus⁴ came and left again on the 14th.

In your third letter you say you are expecting Philotimus. But he left me on the Ides. That is why my reply to that other letter of yours, which I answered straight away, will have reached you a little late. As regards Domitius I think it is as you say—he is at Cosa and his plans are unknown. That squalid wretch⁵ who says that consular elections can be held by a Praetor is what he has always been throughout his political career. So *that* will be what Caesar means when he writes in the letter of which I have sent you a copy that he wants to avail himself of my 'advice' (well, let that pass as a commonplace), 'influence' (silly enough, but I suppose he affects here to be thinking of certain senatorial votes), 'standing' (my right to speak as an ex-Consul perhaps), and then at the end comes 'help in all matters.' I began to suspect from your letter at the time that it was either that or something not very different, for it's very important to him not to have it come to an interregnum. This he achieves if Consuls are elected under a

autem in libris habemus non modo consules a praetore sed ne praetores quidem creari ius esse idque factum esse numquam; consules eo non esse ius quod maius imperium a minore rogari non sit ius, praetores autem cum ita rogentur ut collegae consulibus sint, quorum est maius imperium. aberit non longe quin hoc a me decerni velit neque sit contentus Galba, Scaevola, Cassio, Antonio. *τότε μοι*
 4 *χάνοι εὐρεία χθών'*; sed quanta tempestas impendeat vides.

Qui transierint senatores scribam ad te cum certum habebo. de re frumentaria recte intellegis, quae nullo modo administrari sine vectigalibus potest; nec sine causa et eos qui circum illum sunt omnia postulantis et bellum nefarium times. Trebatium nostrum, etsi, ut scribis, nihil bene sperat, tamen videre sane velim. quem fac hortaris ut properet; opportune enim ad me ante adventum Caesaris venerit.

De Lanuvino, statim ut audiui Phameam mortuum, optavi, si modo esset futura res publica, ut id aliquis emeret meorum, neque tamen de te, qui maxime meus, cogitavi. sciebam enim te quoto anno et quantum in solo solere quaerere, neque solum Romae sed etiam Deli tuum digamma videram. verum tamen ego illud, quamquam est bellum, minoris aestimo quam aestimabatur Marcellino consule,⁵ cum ego istos hortulos propter domum Anti

⁵ Marcellino et Philippo consulibus (coss.) *coni.* SB

⁶ Augurs. ⁷ Augurs who supported Caesar.

⁸ *Iliad*, 4.182. ⁹ I.e., Caesar would not be able to keep up the normal public corn distributions without revenues from the provinces, especially Asia.

LETTER 176 (IX.9)

Praetor. But we⁶ have it in our books that it is illegal not only for Consuls but even Praetors to be elected under a Praetor, and that such a thing is without precedent—illegal for Consuls because it is illegal for a higher authority to be proposed by a lower, and for Praetors because they are proposed as colleagues of the Consuls, who possess higher authority. It won't be long before he wants me to sanction this, he won't be content with Galba, Scaevola, Cassius, Antony.⁷ "Then may the earth gape wide for me."⁸ But you see what a storm is brewing.

I shall send you the names of the Senators who have crossed the water when I get them for certain. You are right about the grain supply, it cannot possibly be managed without the revenues.⁹ And you have good cause to fear both the uninhibited demands of his entourage and a wicked war. I should be very glad to see our friend Trebatius, though, so you say, he is most pessimistic. Please ask him to make haste. It will be convenient if his visit takes place before Caesar's arrival.

About the property at Lanuvium, as soon as I heard of Phamea's death I hoped—assuming that an ordered society was to continue—that one of my friends would buy it; but of you, my greatest friend, I did not think, being aware that you generally want to know about price-yield ratio and immovables and having seen your mark (?) in Delos¹⁰ as well as in Rome. Anyhow, nice as it is, I don't think it's worth as much as it was reckoned to be in Marcellinus' Consulship,¹¹ when I thought that this little estate near Rome would be pleasanter for me on account of the house

¹⁰ This Aegean island was a great commercial centre; but the exact meaning is doubtful.

¹¹ In 56.

CICERO

quam tum habebam iucundiores mihi fore putabam et minore impensa quam si Tusculanum refecissem. volui HS Q. egi per \dagger predum \dagger ,⁶ ille daret <t>anti, cum⁷ haberet venale. noluit. sed nunc omnia ista iacere puto propter nummorum caritatem. mihi quidem erit aptissimum, vel nobis potius, si tu emeris. sed eiusdem Antias cave contemnas; valde est venustum. quamquam mihi ista omnia iam ad dicta vastitati videntur.

Respondi epistulis tribus, sed exspecto alias; nam me adhuc tuae litterae sustentarunt.

D. Liberalibus.

177 (IX.10)

Scr. in Formiano xv Kal. Apr. an. 49 (§ 1)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Nihil habebam quod scriberem; neque enim novi quicquam audieram et ad tuas omnis rescripseram pridie. sed cum me aegritudo non solum somno privaret verum ne vigilare quidem sine summo dolore pateretur, tecum ut quasi loquerer, in quo uno acquiesco, hoc nescio quid nullo argumento proposito scribere institui.
- 2 Amens mihi fuisse a principio videor et me una haec res torquet quod non omnibus in rebus labentem vel potius ruentem Pompeium tamquam unus manipularis secutus sim. vidi hominem XIII Kal. Febr. plenum formidinis. illo ipso die sensi quid ageret. numquam mihi postea placuit nec umquam aliud in alio peccare destitit. nihil interim ad me scribere, nihil nisi fugam cogitare. quid quaeris? sicut

⁶ pr(a)edem ς : *Precium cont. SB*

⁷ antiquum (*Lehmann, duce Marshall*)

LETTER 177 (IX.10)

I had at Antium in those days, and less expensive than rebuilding my place at Tusculum. I offered HS 500,000, proposing through Precius (?) that he should let me have it for that price when he was ready to sell. He refused. But I imagine all these things have dropped in value because of the money shortage. It will suit me best, or rather us, if *you* buy it. But don't despise the same person's place at Antium. It is really charming; though I look on everything of this sort as already scheduled for destruction.

I have answered three letters, but I expect more. It is your letters that have kept me going till now.

Dispatched on Bacchus' Day.

177 (IX.10)

Formiae, 18 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have nothing to write about, having heard no news and having replied to all your letters yesterday. But since my distress of mind is such that it is not only impossible to sleep but torment to be awake, I have started this scrawl without any subject in view, just in order as it were to talk to you, which is my only relief.

I think I have been out of my senses from the start, and the one thing that tortures me is that I have not followed Pompey like any private soldier in his drift or rather plunge to disaster. I saw him on 17 January, thoroughly cowed. That very day I realized what he was at. Thereafter he was never to my liking. He went on blundering now here now there. Meanwhile not a line to me, not a thought except

CICERO

ἐν τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς alienat <quod>¹ immunde, insulse, indecore² fit, sic me illius fugae neglegentiaeque deformitas avertit ab amore. nihil enim dignum faciebat quare eius fugae comitem me adiungerem. nunc emergit amor, nunc desiderium ferre non possum, nunc mihi nihil libri, nihil litterae, nihil doctrina prodest. ita dies et noctes tamquam avis illa mare prospecto, evolare cupio. do, do poenas temeritatis meae. etsi quae fuit illa temeritas? quid feci non consideratissime? si enim nihil praeter fugam quaereretur, fugissem libentissime, sed genus belli crudelissimi et maximi, quod nondum vident homines quale futurum sit, perhorruī. quae minae municipiis, quae nominatim viris bonis, quae denique omnibus qui remansissent! quam crebro illud 'Sulla potuit, ego non potero?'

- 3 Mihi autem haeserunt illa: male Tarquinius qui Porsennam, qui Octavium Mamiliū contra³ patriam, impie Coriolanus <qui> auxilium peti<i>t a Volscis, recte Themistocles qui mori maluit, nefarius Hippias, Pisistrati filius, qui in Marathonia pugna cecidit arma contra patriam ferens. at Sulla, at Marius, at Cinna recte. immo iure fortasse; sed quid eorum victoria crudelius, quid funestius? huius belli

¹ aliena(n)tur (*SB* : -namur si quid *Madvig*)

² insulis unde decore (*Madvig*)

³ concitavit contra *Lehmann*

¹ Plato's seventh Epistle, which Cicero seems to have been reading at this time (he quotes from it again in Letter 180.4), tells of how he was kept in Syracuse against his will by Dionysius II: 'After that we lived together, I and Dionysius, I gazing out like a bird longing to take wing' (7.348a). Plato does not mention the sea, but Cicero will have written with the Bay of Gaeta before his eyes. ² Tarquin the Proud, banished King of Rome.

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for flight. In short, just as *en choses d'amour*, anything uncleanly, uncouthly, unsuitably done alienates, so the ugliness of his flight and discourtesy turned me from my affection. Nothing in his conduct seemed to deserve that I should join him as his companion in flight. But now my affection comes to the surface, the sense of loss is unbearable, books, writing, philosophy are all to no purpose. Like Plato's bird¹ I gaze out over the sea day and night, longing to take wing. Indeed and indeed I am punished for my thoughtlessness. And yet, what thoughtlessness? Was not everything I did most carefully considered? If flight had been the only object, I should have been perfectly ready to fly; but I shuddered at the kind of war intended, savage and vast beyond what men yet see. What threats to the municipalities, to honest men individually named, to everyone who stayed behind! 'What Sulla could do, I can do'—that was the refrain.

For myself I could not forget certain precedents. Tarquinius² did wrong to stir up Porsenna and Octavius Mamilius against his country, Coriolanus committed an impiety in seeking help from the Volsci, Themistocles was right in preferring to die,³ Hippias,⁴ son of Pisistratus, who fell at Marathon in arms against his country, was a villain. It may be said that Sulla or Marius or Cinna acted rightly. Legally, perhaps; but their victorious regimes were the cruellest and most sinister episodes in our history. That

³ The legend of Themistocles' suicide after his flight to Persia maintained itself, though discountenanced by Thucydides (1.138.4).

⁴ Fighting for the Persians. But the story of his death in the battle is probably false.

genus fugi, et eo magis quod crudeliora etiam cogitari et parari videbam. me, quem non nulli conservatorem istius urbis parentemque esse dixerunt, Getarum et Armeniorum et Colchorum copias ad eam adducere? me meis civibus famem, vastitatem inferre Italiae? hunc primum mortalem esse, deinde etiam multis modis posse extinguere cogitabam, urbem autem et populum nostrum servandum ad immortalitatem, quantum in nobis esset, putabam; et tamen spes quaedam me oblectabat⁴ fore ut aliquid conveniret potius quam aut hic tantum sceleris aut ille tantum flagiti admitteret. alia res nunc tota est, alia mens mea. sol, ut est in tua quadam epistula, excidisse mihi e mundo videtur. ut aegroto, dum anima est, spes esse dicitur, sic ego, quoad Pompeius in Italia fuit, sperare non destiti. haec, haec me fefellerunt et, ut verum loquar, aetas iam a diuturnis laboribus devexa ad otium domesticarum me rerum delectatione mollivit. nunc si vel periculose experiri dum erit, experiar certe ut hinc avolem. ante oportuit fortasse; sed ea quae scrips[ist]i me tardarunt et auctoritas maxime tua.

- 4 Nam cum ad hunc locum venissem, evolvi volumen epistularum tuarum quod ego <sub> signo habeo servoque diligentissime. erat igitur in ea quam. x Kal. Febr. dederas hoc modo: 'sed videamus et Gnaeus quid agat et illius rationes quorsum fluant. quod si iste Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male et, ut ego existimo, ἀλογίστως, sed tum demum consilia nostra commutanda erunt.' hoc scribis post diem quartum quam ab urbe discessimus. deinde VIII Kal. Febr.: 'tantum modo Gnaeus noster ne, ut

⁴ obtentabat (*Moser*)

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was the kind of war from which I shrank, especially as I saw that even worse cruelties were contemplated and prepared. Was I, whom some have called Rome's saviour and father, to lead troops of Getae and Armenians and Colchians against her? Was I to bring famine upon my fellow countrymen, devastation upon Italy? I reflected that Caesar was mortal to begin with and further that he might be eliminated in various ways, whereas our city and people should, as I thought, be preserved to eternity, so far as in us lay. And yet after all I was beguiled by a kind of hope that some agreement would be reached to save the one from such crime and the other from such infamy. Now the whole picture is changed and my mind with it. I feel as though the sun, as you put it in one of your letters, has fallen out of the universe. There is said to be hope for a sick man while there is life, and so long as Pompey was in Italy I kept on hoping. These things, I say, misled me. And also let me admit that in my declining years I am inclined to rest after my long labours and softened by the comforts of domestic life. But now, even if the attempt is dangerous, I shall at any rate try to fly away. Perhaps I ought to have done so earlier; but the considerations aforesaid and above all your advice held me back.

Having arrived at this point I unrolled the roll of your letters, which I keep under seal and preserve most carefully. Well, the one you dispatched on 21 January contains this passage: 'But let us see what Gnaeus is doing and where Caesar's plans tend. If your man abandons Italy, he will act wrongly and in my judgement irrationally; but then will be the time to change our plans.' You write this three days after our departure from Rome. Then on 23 January: 'Just so long as our friend Gnaeus does not abandon Italy

- urbem ἀλογίστως reliquit, sic Italiam relinquat.' eodem die das alteras litteras quibus mihi consulenti planissime respondes; est enim sic: 'sed venio ad consultationem tuam. si Gnaeus Italia cedit, in urbem redeundum puto; quae enim finis peregrinationis?' hoc mihi plane haesit, et nunc ita video, infinitum bellum iunctum miserrima fuga,
- 5 quam tu peregrinationem ὑποκορίζη. sequitur χρησμός VI <Kal.> Febr.: 'ego, si Pompeius manet in Italia nec res ad pactionem venit, longius bellum puto fore; sin Italiam relinquit, ad posterum bellum ἄσπονδον strui existimo.' huius igitur belli ego particeps et socius et adiutor esse cogor quod et ἄσπονδον est <et> cum civibus! deinde VII Id. Febr., cum iam plura audires de Pompei consilio, concludis epistulam quandam hoc modo: 'ego quidem tibi non sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque profugere. summo enim periculo faci<e>s nec rei publicae proderis; cui quidem posterius poteris prodesse, si manseris.' quem φιλόπατριν ac πολιτικὸν hominis prudentis
- 6 et amici tali admonitu non moveret auctoritas? deinde III Id. Febr. iterum mihi respondes consulenti sic: 'quod quaeris a me fugamne foedam an moram nefandam⁵ utiliorem putem, ego vero in praesentia subitum discesum et praecipitem profectionem cum tibi tum ipsi Gnaeo inutilem et periculosam puto et satius esse existimo vos dispertitos et in speculis esse; sed me dius fidius turpe nobis puto esse de fuga cogitare.' hoc turpe Gnaeus noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita sullaturit animus eius et proscripturi<t> iam diu. inde, ut opinor, cum tu ad me quaedam γενικώτερον⁶ scripsisses et ego mihi a te

⁵ defendam (*Lambinus*)

⁶ PENIK- (*Victorius* : ἀρρενικ- s)

LETTER 177 (IX.10)

in the same irrational way as he abandoned Rome.' On the same day you send another letter in which you make a categorical reply to my request for advice. It reads thus: 'But to come to your problem: if Gnaeus withdraws from Italy I think you should return to Rome. Otherwise where will your travels end?' That sank deep into my mind; and now I see it is so, war without limit combined with a miserable exile which you euphemistically term 'travel.' Then follows an oracle, on 25 January: 'If Pompey remains in Italy and there is no composition, I think the war will last a pretty long time; but if he leaves Italy, then I judge a war *à outrance* later on is in the making.' So I must needs be joint partaker and abettor in this war *à outrance* with my fellow countrymen! Then on 7 February, when you were hearing more of Pompey's intention, you conclude a letter thus: 'I for my part would not advise you, in the event of Pompey leaving Italy, to flee too. You will be taking a very grave risk and doing no service to the state, whereas you may be able to serve it later on if you stay.' What patriotic public man would not be moved by the weight of such an admonition from a wise friend? Then on 11 February you once more reply to my consultation as follows: 'You ask me which I think the more expedient, the ignominy of flight or the guilt of remaining. I think that for the present a sudden and precipitate departure would be inexpedient both for you and for Gnaeus himself and dangerous, and I consider it better that you people should stay apart on your watchtowers. But upon my soul I think it dishonourable for us to contemplate flight.' This dishonour our Gnaeus contemplated two years ago. He has been hankering after Sulla and proscriptions all that while. Then, I think it was after you had written to me in rather general terms and I

- quaedam significari putassem ut Italia cederem, detestaris hoc diligenter XI Kal. Mart.: 'ego vero nulla epistula significavi, si Gnaeus Italia cederet, ut tu una cederes, aut si significavi, non dico fui inconstans sed demens.' in eadem epistula alio loco: 'nihil relinquitur nisi fuga, cui te socium neutiquam puto esse oportere nec unquam putavi.' totam autem hanc deliberationem evolvis accuratius in litteris VIII Kal. Mart. datis: 'si M'. Lepidus et L. Volcaci-
 7 cius remanent, <manen>dum puto, ita ut, si salvus sit Pompeius et constiterit alicubi, hanc νέκυιαν relinquant et te in certamine vinci cum illo facilius patiaris quam cum hoc in ea quae perspicitur futura colluvie regnare.' multa disputas huic sententiae convenientia. inde ad extremum: "quid si" inquis "Lepidus et Volcaci-
 8 cius discedunt?" plane ἀπορώ. quod evenerit igitur et quod egeris id στερκτέον putabo.' si tum dubitares, nunc certe non dubitas istis manentibus.
- 8 deinde in ipsa fuga v Kal. Mart.: 'interea non dubito quin in Formiano mansurus sis. commodissime enim τὸ μέλλον ibi παραδοκῆσεις.' at Kal. Mart., cum ille quintum iam diem Brundisi esset: 'tum poterimus deliberare, non scilicet integra re sed certe minus infracta quam si una proieceris te.' deinde III Non. Mart., ὑπὸ τῆς διάλειψιν cum breviter scriberes, tamen ponis hoc: 'cras scribam plura et ad omnia; hoc tamen dicam, non paenitere me consili de tua mansione, et, quamquam magna sollicitu-

⁵ Atticus' name for Caesar's entourage. The Greek word is the title of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus calls up the ghosts from Hades. Many of Caesar's followers were disgraced or bankrupt outcasts from respectable society who had emerged like ghosts at the summons of Odysseus-Caesar.

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had thought you were suggesting something to the effect that I should leave Italy, you were at pains to repudiate this on 19 February: 'No, I never in any letter suggested that if Gnaeus left Italy you should leave with him, or if I did I was—I won't say inconsistent, but out of my mind.' Elsewhere in the same letter: 'Nothing remains except flight, in which I by no means think and never have thought that you should take part.' You develop this whole question in greater detail in a letter dispatched on 22 February: 'If M. Lepidus and L. Volcaci⁵ stay behind, I think you should stay, with the proviso that, if nothing happens to Pompey and he establishes himself somewhere, you should leave this underworld and think defeat at his side a lesser evil than rule with Caesar in the sink of iniquity we can see ahead of us here.' You argue at length in accordance with this view. Then at the end: 'You may ask "What if Lepidus and Volcaci⁵ leave?" I really don't know what to say. So whatever the event and you decide, I shall not quarrel.' If you would have been in doubt then, assuredly you are not now, since they are still in Italy. Next, when the flight had already started, on 25 February: 'Meanwhile you will no doubt remain at Formiae. That is the most convenient place for you to wait upon events.' And on the Kalends of March, when Pompey had been at Brundisium for four days: 'Then we shall be able to take stock, not indeed with free hands but at any rate less hopelessly compromised than if you take the plunge with Pompey.' Then on 4 March, though the letter was a short one written just after our intermission, you write as follows: 'Tomorrow I shall write more at length and deal with all your points; but I will say this much, that I do not regret my advice about our remaining, and although very far from easy, still,

CICERO

dine, tamen quia minus mali puto esse quam in illa profec-
 9 tione, maneo in sententia et gaudeo te mansisse.' cum vero
 iam angerer et timerem ne quid a me dedecoris esset ad-
 missum, III Non. Mart.: 'te tamen non esse una cum Pom-
 peio non fero moleste. postea, si opus fuerit, non erit
 difficile, et illi, quoquo tempore fiet, erit ἀσμευστόν. sed
 hoc ita dico, si hic qua ratione initium fecit eadem cetera
 aget, sincere, temperate, prudenter, valde videro et con-
 10 sideratius utilitati nostrae consulero.' VII Id. Mart. scribis
 Peducaeo quoque nostro probari quod quierim, cuius auc-
 toritas multum apud me valet.

His ego tuis scriptis me consolor, ut nihil a me adhuc
 delictum putem. tu modo auctoritatem tuam defendito;
 adversus me nihil opus est, sed consciis eg<e> aliis. ego,
 si nihil peccavi, reliqua tuebor. ad ea tute hortare et me
 omnino tua cogitatione adiuva. hic nihil dum de reditu
 Caesaris audiebatur. ego his litteris hoc tamen profeci; per-
 legi omnis tuas et in eo acquievi.

178 (IX.11)

Scr. in Formiano XIII Kal. Apr. an. 49 (§ 1)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Lentulum nostrum scis Puteolis esse? quod cum e viatore
 quodam esset auditum, qui se diceret eum in Appia via,
 cum is paulum lecticam aperuisset, cognosse, etsi vix veri

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thinking this as I do a lesser evil than departure with Pompey, I stand by my opinion and am glad that you have stayed.' But when I was in agony of mind from anxiety lest I might have blemished my reputation, on 5 March: 'After all I am not sorry that you are not with Pompey. Later, if desirable, it won't be difficult, and come when it may it will be acceptable to him. But I say this with the reservation that if Caesar continues as he has begun, with sincerity, moderation, and prudence, I shall think hard and look more attentively to our interests.' On 9 March you write that my quiescence is also approved by our friend Peducaeus, whose judgement carries great weight with me.

I console myself with these passages in your letters, which make me think that I have done nothing amiss so far. But you must defend your own advice; there is no occasion to do so to me, but I want others in the picture. For my part, if I have done nothing wrong, I shall not fail in what remains. Encourage me in that, and in general help me with your deliberations. Nothing is heard here yet as to Caesar's return. By this letter I have done myself this much good at least: I have read all yours through, and found comfort in the reading.

178 (IX.11)

Formiae, 20 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Do you know that our friend Lentulus is at Puteoli? I heard it from a traveller who said that he had recognized him on the Appian Way when he drew the curtain of his litter a little aside. Though it seemed scarcely probable, I sent

simile <visum est>,¹ misi tamen Puteolos pueros qui pervestigarent et ad eum litteras. inventus est vix in hortis suis <se>² occultans litterasque mihi remisit mirifice gratias agens Caesari; de suo autem consilio C. Caecio mandata ad me dedisse. eum ego hodie exspectabam, id est XIII[I] Kal. Apr.

- 2 Venit etiam ad me Matus Quinquatribus, homo mehercule, ut mihi visus est, temperatus et prudens; existimatus quidem est semper auctor oti. quam ille haec non probare mihi quidem visus est, quam illam *νέκυιαν*, ut tu appellas, timere! huic ego in multo sermone epistulam ad me Caesaris ostendi, eam cuius exemplum ad te antea misi, rogavique ut interpretaretur quid esset quod ille scriberet 'consilio meo se uti velle, gratia, dignitate, ope rerum omnium.' respondit se <non dubitare> quin et opem et gratiam meam ille ad pacificationem quaereret. utinam aliquod in hac miseria rei publicae *πολιτικὸν* opus efficere et navare mihi liceat! Matus quidem et illum in ea sententia esse confidebat et se auctorem fore pollicebatur.

- 3 Pridie autem apud me Crassipes fuerat, qui se prid. Non. Mart. Brundisio profectum atque ibi Pompeium reliquisse dicebat, quod etiam qui VIII Id. illinc profecti erant nuntiabant; illa vero omnes, in quibus etiam Crassipes †qui³ prudentia potius†⁴ attendere, sermones minacis, inimicos optimatum, municipiorum hostis, meras proscriptiones, meros Sullas; quae Luceium loqui, quae totam

¹ *add. SB (est Reid)* ² *add. Victorius*

³ qui pro sua *Lehmann* : quo(a)d sua *SB* ⁴ potuit s

¹ He and Theophanes were Pompey's intimates; Metellus

LETTER 178 (IX.11)

some boys to Puteoli to make enquiries, along with a letter to him. After some trouble they found him hiding on his estate near the town, and he sent me a letter back containing glowing expressions of gratitude to Caesar. About his own plans he says that he has given C. Caecius a message for me. I am expecting him today, i.e. 20 March.

I also had a visit from Matius on Minerva's Day. I must say he impressed me as a man of moderation and good sense. Certainly he has always been looked upon as an advocate of peace. To me at any rate he seemed very far from approving what is going on, and very apprehensive of the Underworld, as you call them. In the course of a long talk I showed him Caesar's letter to me, the one of which I sent you a copy the other day, and asked him to interpret what Caesar meant by 'wanting to avail himself of my advice, influence, standing, and help in all matters.' He answered that he had no doubt Caesar was seeking both my help and my influence with a view to peacemaking. If only I *could* do some political yeoman service to the state in this sorry pass! Matius at any rate was confident that Caesar was so minded and promised his personal support.

The previous day Crassipes had been with me. He said that he had set out from Brundisium on 6 March and left Pompey there—as was also reported by persons who started from Brundisium on the 8th. All, including Crassipes so far as his sagacity enabled him to pay attention (?), report threatening talk—enemies of the optimates, foes of the municipalities, proscriptions and Sulla in every sentence. The language attributed to Lucceius¹ and to the

Scipio, Faustus Sulla, and Scribonius Libo his relations by marriage.

CICERO

- 4 Graeciam, quae vero Theophanem! et tamen omnis spes salutis in illis est, et ego excubo animo nec partem ullam capio quietis et, ut has pestis effugiam, cum dissimillimis nostri esse cupio! quid enim tu illic Scipionem, quid Faustum, quid Libonem prae<ter>missurum <s>celeris putas, quorum creditores convenire dicuntur? quid eos autem, cum vicerint, in civis effecturos? quam vero μακροψυχίαν Gnaei nostri esse? nuntiant Aegyptum et Arabiam Εὐδαίμονα et Μεσοποταμίαν cogitare, iam⁵ Hispaniam abiecis-
 cisse. monstra narrant; quae falsa esse possunt, sed certe et haec perdita sunt et illa non salutaria.

Tuas litteras iam desidero. post fugam nostram numquam tantum⁶ earum intervallum fuit. nisi ad te exemplum litterarum mearum ad Caesarem, quibus me aliquid profecturum puto.

178A (IX.11A)

Scr. in Formiano XIV aut XIII Kal. Apr. an. 49

CICERO IMP. S. D. CAESARI IMP.

- 1 Ut legi tuas litteras quas a Furnio nostro acceperam, quibus mecum agebas ut ad urbem essem, te velle uti 'consilio et dignitate mea' minus sum admiratus; de 'gratia' et de 'ope' quid significares mecum ipse quaerebam, spe tamen deducebar ad eam cogitationem ut te pro tua admirabili ac singulari sapientia de otio, de pace, de concor-

⁵ in (*Wesenberg*)

⁶ iam nostrum (*SB* : iam t- *Muretus*)

LETTER 178A (IX.11A)

whole Greek set, Theophanes in particular—well! And yet all our hopes of salvation rest on these people, and I keep constantly on the alert without a moment's respite, longing to be with people utterly unlike myself in my desire to escape the horrors here. Do you suppose there are any criminal lengths over there to which Scipio and Faustus and Libo will not go?—their creditors are said to be meeting. What do you suppose they will do to their countrymen when they have won? And our Gnaeus' length of view, what of that? They report him as thinking of Egypt and Arabia Felix and Mesopotamia, as having already given up Spain. They tell of monstrous things. These may not be true, but it is certain that there is no hope from this side and no salvation from the other.

I am now craving for a letter from you. Since we fled Rome there has never been so long a gap in the series. I send you a copy of my letter to Caesar, which I think will do some good.

178A (IX.11A)

Formiae, 19 or 20 March 49

CICERO IMPERATOR TO-CAESAR IMPERATOR

When I read your letter received from our friend Furnius in which you urge me to come to Rome, I was not so much surprised by your wish to 'avail yourself of my advice and standing,' but I did ask myself what you meant by 'influence' and 'help.' However, hope led me towards the notion that, as suits the wisdom which you possess in so admirable and exceptional a degree, you might be desirous of instituting negotiations for peace, tranquillity, and civic har-

dia civium agi velle arbitrarer, et ad eam rationem existimabam satis aptam esse et naturam et personam meam.

2 quod si ita est et si qua de Pompeio nostro tuendo et tibi ac rei publicae reconciliando cura te attingit, magis idoneum quam ego sum ad eam causam profecto reperies neminem, qui et illi semper et senatui cum primum potui pacis auctor fui nec sumptis armis belli ullam partem attingi iudicavique eo bello te violari, contra cuius honorem populi Romani beneficio concessum inimici atque invidi nitentur. sed ut eo tempore non modo ipse fautor¹ dignitatis tuae fui verum etiam ceteris auctor ad te adiuvandum, sic me nunc Pompei dignitas vehementer movet. aliquot enim sunt anni cum vos duo delegi quos praecipue colerem et quibus essem, sicut sum, amicissimus.

3 Quam ob rem a te peto vel potius omnibus te precibus oro et obtestor ut in tuis maximis curis aliquid impertias temporis huic quoque cogitationi, ut tuo beneficio bonus vir, gratus, pius denique esse in maximi benefici memoria possim. quae si tantum ad me ipsum pertinerent, sperarem me a te tamen impetraturum, sed, ut arbitror, et ad tuam fidem et ad rem publicam pertinet me, et pacis et utriusque vestrum <amicum, et ad vestram>² et ad civium concordiam per te quam accommodatissimum conservari.

Ego, cum antea tibi de Lentulo gratias egissem, cum ei saluti qui mihi fuerat fuisses, tum lectis eius litteris quas ad me gratissimo animo de tua liberalitate beneficioque

¹ au(c)tor (*cod. Tornesianus?*)

² *add. Lehmann*

¹ The privilege of standing for the Consulship in absentia.

LETTER 178A (IX.11A)

mony; and I conceived myself to be by nature and public image not ill fitted to help in such an undertaking. If I am correct, and if you are at all concerned to maintain our friend Pompey and win him back to yourself and the Republic, you will surely find no more suitable person than myself for that purpose. I advocated peace to him always, and to the Senate as soon as I had opportunity. When arms were taken up, I had nothing to do with the war, and I judged you therein to be an injured party in that your enemies and those jealous of your success were striving to deprive you of a mark of favour¹ accorded by the Roman people. But as then I not only gave my own support to your position but also urged others to come to your assistance, so now I am deeply concerned for Pompey's. It is some years since I chose you and him as two men to cultivate above all others and as, what you are, my very dear friends.

Accordingly I ask you, or rather I beg and implore you with all my heart, to spare amid your grave preoccupations some time to consider how by your kindness I may meet the claims of honour, gratitude, and loyalty in the remembrance of a signal obligation. Even if my request concerned only myself I should hope that from you I should obtain it; but I believe it affects both your honour and the public welfare that I, as a friend of peace and of you both, should through you be preserved as the most appropriate agent for restoring harmony between yourself and Pompey and between Romans in general.

I have already thanked you concerning Lentulus, for saving as a citizen one who once saved me. But now that I have read the letter which he has sent me full of gratitude for your kindness and generosity * * * that in saving him

CICERO

misit, * * *³ eandem me salutem a te accepisse quam ille. in quem si me intellegis esse gratum, cura, obsecro, ut etiam in Pompeium esse possim.

179 (IX.12)

Scr. in Formiano XIII vel XII Kal. Apr. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL>

- 1 Legebam tuas litteras XIII Kal., cum mihi epistula adfertur a Lepta circumvallatum esse Pompeium, ratibus etiam exitus portus teneri. non me dius fidius prae lacrimis possum reliqua nec cogitare nec scribere. nisi ad te exemplum. miseros nos! cur non omnes fatum illius una exsecuti sumus? ecce autem a Matio et Trebatio eadem, quibus Minturnis obvii Caesaris tabellarii. torqueor infelix, ut iam illum Mucianum exitum exoptem. at quam honesta, at quam expedita tua consilia, quam evigilata tuis cogitationibus, qua itineris, qua navigationis, qua congressus sermonisque cum Caesare! omnia cum honesta tum cauta. in Epirum vero invitatio quam suavis, quam liberalis, quam fraternal
- 2 De Dionysio sum admiratus, qui apud me honoratior fuit quam apud Scipionem Panaetius; a quo impurissime haec nostra fortuna despecta est. odi hominem et odero; utinam ulcisci possem! sed illum ulciscentur mores sui.
- 3 Tu, quaeso, nunc vel maxime quid agendum nobis sit

³ *lacunam hic ind. SB ita fere supplendam: teneri non potui quin iterum tibi gratias agerem atque hoc ita significarem: putavi vel sim. infra add. alii*

LETTER 179 (IX.12)

you have saved me too. If my gratitude to Lentulus is apparent to you, then I beg you to let me show the like to Pompey.

179 (IX.12)

Formiae, 20 or 21 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I was just reading your letter on 20 March when another came in from Lepta with the news that Pompey is besieged and that even the harbour outlets are blocked by ships. Upon my soul, tears prevent me thinking about the rest or writing it down. I send you a copy. Miserable that we are, why have we not all followed him to his doom? And now comes the same news from Matus and Trebatius, who met Caesar's messengers at Minturnae. I am in such an agony of distress that I actually long for an end like Mucius'.¹ And yet how well your advice sounds, how straightforward, how anxiously you have thought it out, whether as to my route or my time of sailing or my meeting and talk with Caesar! Everything honourable, everything prudent. And your invitation to Epirus, how agreeably put, how generous and brotherly!

As for Dionysius, I was surprised. He was treated with more consideration in my house than Panaetius in Scipio's; now he scorns me in my present plight. It is disgusting. I hate the fellow and always shall. I wish I could punish him. But his own character will do that.

Pray consider now of all times what I ought to do. A

¹ See Letter 153, note 1.

CICERO

- cogita. populi Romani exercitus Cn. Pompeium circum-
sedet, fossa et vallo saeptum tenet, fuga prohibet: nos
vivimus, et stat urbs ista, praetores ius dicunt, aediles ludos
parant, viri boni usuras perscribunt, ego ipse sedeo! coner
illuc ire ut insanus, implorare fidem municipiorum? boni
non sequentur, leves irridebunt, rerum novarum cupidi,
4 victores praesertim et armati, vim et manus adferent. quid
censes igitur? ecquidnam est tui consili ad finem huius
miserrimae vitae? nunc doleo, nunc torqueor, cum quidem
aut sapiens videor quod una non ierim aut felix fuisse. mihi
contra; numquam enim illius victoriae socius esse volui,
calamitatis malletm fuisse. quid ego nunc tuas litteras, quid
tuam prudentiam aut benevolentiam implorem? actum
est. nulla re iam possum iuvari, qui ne quid optem quidem
iam habeo nisi ut aliqua inimici misericordia liberemur.

180 (IX.13)

Scr. in Formiano x Kal. Apr. an. 49 (§ 2)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 'Οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος', ut opinor, ille de ratibus. quid
enim es<se>¹ quod Dolabella iis litteris quas III Id. Mart.
a Brundisio dedit hanc *ἐνήμερίαν* quasi Caesaris scriberet,
Pompeium in fuga esse eumque primo vento navigatu-
rum? quod valde discrepat ab iis epistulis quarum exempla
antea ad te misi. hic quidem mera scelera loquuntur; sed

¹ *add. Wesenberg*

¹ From Stesichorus' 'palinode' addressed to Helen of Troy. It goes on: 'neither did you go on board the decked ships.'

LETTER 180 (IX.13)

Roman army is besieging Cn. Pompeius, investing him with moat and rampart, stopping his escape; and we go on living, Rome stands, the Praetors sit on the bench, the Aediles prepare their games, the honest men book their receipts, I myself sit idle! Shall I make madly for Brundisium, appeal to the loyalty of the municipalities? The honest men will not follow, the triflers will laugh, the revolutionaries, victorious now with weapons in their hands, will use violence. So what do you think? Have you any sort of advice to offer on how to end this miserable existence? *Now* the pain comes home and I am in torment, just when people think me either wise or lucky in not having gone with Pompey. I think the opposite. I never wanted a share in his victory but I would rather I had shared his disaster. What use is it now for me to beg you to write, appeal to your wisdom and good will? All is over. No one can help me now. I have nothing even to pray for except that one of my enemies may take pity on me and put me out of my misery.

180 (IX.13)

Formiae, 23 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

'It is not true, the tale,'¹ I think, about the ships. Why else should Dolabella in a letter dispatched from Brundisium on 13 March write that Pompey is in flight and will sail by the first wind, as though this were a coup for Caesar? That sounds very different from the letters of which I sent you copies the other day. Here the talk is all of horrors; but

CICERO

non erat nec recentior auctor nec huius rei quidem melior Dolabella.

- 2 Tuas XI Kal. accepi litteras quibus omnia consilia differs in id tempus cum scierimus quid actum sit. et certe ita est, nec interim potest quicquam non modo statui sed ne cogitari quidem. quamquam hae me litterae Dolabellae iubent ad pristinas cogitationes reverti. fuit enim prid. Quinquatrus egregia tempestas; qua ego illum usum puto.
- 3 *Συναγωγὴ* consiliorum tuorum non est a me collecta ad querelam sed magis ad consolationem meam. nec enim me tam haec mala angebant quam suspicio culpae ac temeritatis meae. eam nullam puto esse, quoniam cum consiliis tuis mea facta et consilia consentiunt. quod mea praedicatione factum esse scribis magis quam illius merito ut tantum ei debere viderer, est ita. ego illa extuli semper, et eo quidem magis ne quid ille superiorum meminisse me putaret. quae si maxime meminissem, tamen illius temporis similitudinem iam sequi deberem. nihil me adiuvit cum posset; at postea fuit amicus, etiam valde, <n>ec² quam ob causam plane scio. ergo ego quoque illi. quin etiam illud par in utroque nostrum, quod ab eisdem illecti sumus. sed utinam <tan>tum ego ei prodesse potuissem quantum mihi ille potuit! mihi tamen quod fecit gratissimum. nec ego nunc eum iuvare qua re possim scio nec, si possem, cum
- 4 tam pestiferum bellum pararet, adiuvandum putarem; tantum offendere animum eius hic manens nolo, nec mehercule ista videre quae tu potes iam animo providere nec

² et (*Madvig*)

² The optimates.

LETTER 180 (IX.13)

there is no more recent authority than Dolabella and none better, in this matter anyway.

I received a letter from you on the 22nd, in which you put off all plans until the time when we know what has happened. And certainly you are right, nothing can be decided or even considered in the meanwhile—though this letter of Dolabella's sends me back to my earlier ideas. For the weather was excellent on the 18th, and I expect he has taken advantage of it.

My *recueil* of your advice was not made in any spirit of recrimination but rather for my own comfort. The evils of the time distressed me less than the suspicion of fault and thoughtlessness on my own part. Of this I acquit myself, since my actions and plans accord with your counsels. You write that if I appear so greatly indebted to Pompey it is more because of my own public acknowledgements than through his deserts. That is true. I have always made much of them, all the more because he might otherwise have supposed that I had some memory of what went before. However well I remembered that, I ought now to follow the pattern then set. He did not help me when he might; but afterwards he stood my friend, very much so even, I do not quite know why. Very well, I shall stand his. And there is another resemblance between us; we have both been taken in by the same set of people.² But I only wish it had been in my power to help him as much as he could have helped me. Still for what he did I am truly thankful. And yet I don't know how I can help him now, nor even if I could should I feel that he *ought* to be helped in preparing so baleful a war. It is simply that I do not want to hurt his feelings by remaining here, nor, be it added, could I bear to witness all that you can already see coming or be present

interesse istis malis possim.³ sed eo tardior ad discedendum fui quod difficile est de discessu voluntario sine ulla spe reditus cogitare. nam ego hunc ita paratum video peditatu, equitatu, classibus, auxiliis Gallorum, quos Matus ἐλάπιζεν, ut puto, sed certe dicebat peditum * * *, equitum se<x>⁴ polliceri sumptu suo annos decem—sed sit hoc λάπισμα; magnas habet certe copias, et habebit non Asiae⁵ vectigal sed civium bona. adde confidentiam hominis, adde imbecillitatem bonorum virorum, qui quidem, quod illum sibi merito iratum putant, oderunt, ut tu scribis, ludum. ac vellem †scribis quisnam hic significasset.†⁶ sed et iste, quia plus ostenderat quam fecit, et vulgo illum qui amarunt non amant; municipia vero et rustici Romani illum metuunt, hunc adhuc diligunt. qua re ita paratus est ut, etiam si vincere non possit, quo modo tamen vinci ipse possit non videam. ego autem non tam γοητείαν huius timeo quam πειθανάγκην. ‘αἱ γὰρ τῶν τυράννων δεήσεις’ inquit Πλάτων ‘οἶσθ’ ὅτι μεμιγμένοι ἀνάγκαις.’

5 Illa ἀλίμενα video tibi non probari; quae ne mihi quidem placebant, sed habebam in illis et occultationem et ὑπηρεσίαν fidelem. quae si mihi Brundisi suppetant, mallet; sed ibi occultatio nulla est. verum, ut scribis, cum sci<e>mus.

6 Viris bonis me non nimis excuso. quas enim eos cenas et facere et obire scripsit ad me Sextus, quam lautas, quam

³ possem (SB : -sum Orelli)

⁴ add. Bosius

⁵ alie (SB)

⁶ scripsisses q- hoc s- Boot

LETTER 180 (IX.13)

at the mischief here. But I have been the slower to get away because it is difficult to put one's mind to a voluntary departure with no hope of return. For I see Caesar so well provided with infantry, cavalry, ships, and Gaulish auxiliaries, as to which last Matius said (*blague* I dare say, but he did say it) that they are promising * * * infantry and 6,000 cavalry at their own expense for ten years—but grant that was *blague*; he certainly has large forces and he will dispose, not indeed of the revenue of Asia, but of the property of his countrymen. Then consider the confidence of him and the feebleness of the honest men, who thinking that Pompey is justly angry with them, are bored with the game, as you say—I wish you had mentioned the name of the person who told you this (?). Anyhow *he* loves Pompey no longer, because he promised more than he performed, and it is the same with the generality of Pompey's erstwhile admirers; as for the municipalities and the country Romans, they fear Pompey and so far they like Caesar. So his resources are such that even if he cannot win I do not see how he can be beaten. I personally do not fear his beguilements so much as his *force majeure*. 'For the requests of despots' says Plato 'have, you know, an element of compulsion.'³

I see that you don't like those harbourless places. Neither do I, but in them I have the means of hiding and a reliable crew. If the same were available at Brundisium I should prefer it; but there is no hiding there. However, as you say, wait till we know.

I don't make overmuch apology to the honest men. Sextus has written to me about the dinners they are giving

³ Plato's seventh Epistle, 329d (see Letter 177, note 1).

CICERO

tempestivas! sed sint quamvis boni, non sunt meliores quam nos; moverent me,⁷ si essent fortiores.

De Lanuvino Phameae erravi; Troianum somniabam. id ego volui Q., sed pluris est. istuc tamen [me] cuperem emerere, si⁸ ullam spem fruendi viderem.

- 7 Nos quae monstra cottidie legamus intelleges⁹ ex illo libello qui in epistulam coniectus est. Lentulus noster Puteolis est, ἀδημονῶν [is], ut Caecius narrat, quid agat. διατροπήν Corfiniensem reformidat. Pompeio nunc putat satis factum, beneficio Caesaris movetur, sed tamen movetur magis prospecta re.

181 (IX.13a)

Scr. in Formiano IX Kal. Apr. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Mene haec posse ferre? omnia misera, sed hoc nihil miserius: Pompeius N. Magium de pace misit et tamen oppugnatur. quod ego non credebam, sed habeo a Balbo litteras quarum ad te exemplum misi. lege, quaeso, et illud infimum caput ipsius albi optimi, cui Gnaeus noster locum ubi hortos aedificaret dedit, quem cui nostrum non saepe praetulit? itaque miser torquetur. sed ne bis eadem legas, ad ipsam te epistulam reicio. spem autem pacis ha-

⁷ ne (s) : del. con. SB

⁸ me cuperem me mei (vel memor) est (Manutius : te cuperem si con. SB)

⁹ cottidie intelligamus (Wesenberg)

⁴ A district on the coast south of Ostia, where Aeneas was supposed to have landed.

LETTER 181 (IX.13a)

and attending—such elegant, lengthy affairs! Anyway, let them be as honest as you please, they are no more so than I. I should be impressed if they were braver.

I was wrong about Phamea's place at Lanuvium. It was his property at Troy¹ that I had dreamily in mind. I wanted it for 500,000, but it's worth more. Still I should be very glad for you to buy the other if I saw any prospect of enjoying it.

You will see from the enclosed paper what sort of horrors we are reading every day. Our friend Lentulus is at Puteoli, sorely perplexed, so Caecius says, what to do. The memory of the Corfinium *bouleversement* appals him. He thinks he has now done enough for Pompey and is affected by Caesar's generosity; but he is still more affected by foresight of the issue.

181 (IX.13a)

Formiae, 24 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I should never have believed that I could bear this! Misery everywhere, but *this* is saddest of all: Pompey has sent N. Magius to treat for peace¹ and is besieged just the same. I did not believe it, but I have a letter from Balbus of which I send you a copy. And pray read that final paragraph by the worthy Balbus himself, the man to whom our Gnaeus gave a site for his suburban house, whom he often put before any one of us. So the poor fellow is on tenterhooks! But not to make you read the same text twice over, I re-

¹ Caesar tells a different story in *Civil War* 1.26; see Commentary in *CLA*.

CICERO

beo nullam. Dolabella suis litteris III Id. Mart. datis merum bellum loquitur. maneamus ergo in illa eadem sententia misera et desperata, quando hoc miserius esse nihil potest.

181A (IX.13A)

Scr. Romae XI Kal. Apr. an. 49

BALBUS CICERONI IMP. SAL. DIC.

- 1 Caesar nobis litteras perbrevis misit, quarum exemplum subscripsi. brevitatem epistolae scire poteris eum valde esse distentum qui tanta de re tam breviter scripserit. si quid praeterea novi fuerit, statim tibi scribam.

CAESAR OPPIO CORNELIO SAL.

A. d. VII Id. Mart. Brundisium veni; ad murum castra posui. Pompeius est Brundisi. misit ad me N. Magium de pace. quae visa sunt respondi. hoc vos statim scire volui. cum in spem venero de compositione aliquid me conficere,¹ statim vos certiores faciam.

- 2 Quo modo me nunc putas, mi Cicero, torqueri, postquam rursus in spem pacis veni, ne qua res eorum compositionem impediatur? namque quod absens facere possum, opto. quod si una essem, aliquid fortasse proficere posse mihi videretur.² nunc expectatione crucior.

¹ conficere posse *Lambinus*

² possem videri *vel* possum videre (*Madvig*)

LETTER 181A (IX.13A)

fer you to the letter itself. Hope of peace I have none. Dolabella in his letter dispatched 13 March talks nothing but war. So let us stick to the old purpose, miserable and desperate as it is, since nothing can be more lamentable than this.

181A (IX.13A)

Rome, 22 March 49

BALBUS TO CICERO IMPERATOR

Caesar has sent us a very short letter of which I append a copy. You will be able to see by its brevity that he is very busy indeed, to write so briefly about a matter of such importance. If there is any further news I shall write to you at once.

CAESAR TO OPPIUS AND CORNELIUS

On 9 March I reached Brundisium and encamped before the walls. Pompey is in Brundisium. He sent N. Magius to me to treat of peace. I replied as I thought proper. This I wanted you to know at once. As soon as I see any hope of achieving anything in the way of a composition I shall at once inform you.

You can imagine, my dear Cicero, how I am on tenterhooks for fear anything should obstruct a composition between them, now that I see a hope of peace once more. I do indeed what I can, not being on the spot—pray. If I was with him I might perhaps flatter myself that I could be of some use. As it is I am tortured by suspense.

CICERO

182 (IX.14)

Scr. in Formiano IX vel VIII Kal. Apr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Miseram ad te VIII Kal. exemplum epistulae Balbi ad me et Caesaris ad eum. ecce tibi eodem die Capua litteras accepi a Q. Pedio Caesarem ad se prid. Id. Mart. misisse hoc exemplo:

Pompeius se oppido tenet. nos ad portas castra habemus. conamur opus magnum et multorum dierum propter altitudinem maris; sed tamen nihil est quod potius faciamus. ab utroque portus cornu moles iacimus, ut aut illum quam primum traicere quod habet Brundisi copiarum cogamus aut exitum prohibeamus.

- 2 Ubi est illa pax de qua Balbus scripserat torqueri se? ecquid acerbius, ecquid crudelius? atque eum loqui quidam *αὐθεντικῶς* narrabat Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti se poenas persequi omniumque eorum in quos Sulla crudelis hoc socio fuisset; nihil Curionem se duce facere quod non hic Sulla duce fecisset; a <se> dam<natos am>bitus nomine,¹ quibus exsili poena superioribus legibus non fuisset, ab illo patriae proditores de exsilio reductos esse; queri de Milone per vim expulso; neminem tamen se violaturum nisi qui arma contra. haec Barbius² quidam a Curione III Id. pro-

¹ ad ambitionem (SB : a se iam Graevius, damn- ambitus iam Gronovius) ² Baebius s, *edd.*

¹ The former vulgate 'Baebius' was replaced in my Teubner edition.

LETTER 182 (IX.14)

182 (IX.14)

Formiae, 24 or 25 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I sent you on the 24th a copy of Balbus' letter to me and of Caesar's to him. Then on the same day what should come but a letter from Q. Pedius, from Capua, to say that Caesar had written to him on 14 March? Caesar wrote as follows:

Pompey shuts himself up in the town. We have our camp at the gates. We are attempting a formidable task and one which will take us many days because of the depth of the sea; but there is nothing better we can do. We are sinking moles from both ends of the harbour so as either to oblige him to take his force at Brundisium overseas as soon as may be or to stop his way out.

Where is the peace about which Balbus wrote he was on tenterhooks? Could anything be harsher or more ruthless? And according to one firsthand authority he talks of avenging the deaths of Cn. Carbo and M. Brutus and of all the other victims of Sulla's cruelty, in which Pompey, as he says, participated. Curio, he says, is doing nothing as his lieutenant which Pompey did not do as Sulla's. He himself is restoring from exile men convicted on the charge of bribery who under previous laws would not have been liable to that penalty, whereas Sulla restored traitors to their country. He complains of Milo's extrusion by violence; but promises himself to injure no one who does not bear arms against him. All this comes from one Barbius,¹ who left Curio on the 13th, something of a chatterbox it is

CICERO

fectus, homo non infans sed †quis ulli†³ non dicat. plane nescio quid agam. illum equidem Gnaeum profectum puto. quicquid est biduo sciemus. a te nihil ne Anteros quidem Quinti⁴ litterarum, nec mirum; quid enim est quod scribamus? ego tamen nullum diem praetermitto.

- 3 Scripta epistula litterae mihi ante lucem a Lepta Capua redditae sunt Id. Mart. Pompeium a Brundisio conscendisse, Caesarem a. d. VII Kal. Apr. Capuae fore.

183 (IX.15)

Scr. in Formiano VIII Kal. Apr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Cum dedissem ad te litteras ut scires Caesarem Capuae VII Kal. fore, adlatas mihi Capua sunt eum hic¹ VI² et in Albano apud Curionem V Kal. fore. eum cum videro, Arpinum pergam. si mihi veniam quam peto dederit, utar illius condicione; si minus, impetrabo aliquid a me ipso. ille, ut <Lepta>³ ad me scripsit, legiones singulas posuit Brundisi, Tarenti, Siponti. claudere mihi videtur maritimos exitus et tamen ipse Graeciam spectare potius quam
- 2 Hispanias. sed haec longius absunt. me nunc et congressus huius stimulat (is vero adest) et prima eius actionis horreo. volet enim, credo, senatus consultum facere, volet augu-

³ quisquillas conii. SB

⁴ quin te (SB)

¹ et hoc (O. E. Schmidt)

² mihi (Sjögren : VI Kal. Schmidt)

³ hic add. SB, post scripsit Ziehen

LETTER 183 (IX.15)

true, but wouldn't talk rubbish (?). I simply don't know what to do. For my part I think Gnaeus will have left Brundisium. Whatever the truth, we shall know it in a couple of days. Not a word from you, not even by Quintus' boy Anteros. And no wonder. What is there for us to write? However I don't let a day pass.

P.S. A letter from Lepta in Capua has been delivered to me before daybreak saying that Pompey embarked from Brundisium on the Ides of March² and that Caesar will be at Capua on the 26th.

183 (IX.15)

Formiae, 25 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After I had sent off a letter to inform you that Caesar will be at Capua on the 26th, a letter from Capua was brought to me to the effect that he will stay here on the 27th and with Curio at Alba on the 28th. When I have seen him I shall go on to Arpinum. If he gives me the indulgence I ask, I shall accept his terms. If not, I shall get a permission from myself. As Lepta has written to me, he has stationed separate legions at Brundisium, Tarentum, and Sipontum. It looks as if he wants to close the ways out by sea—though he himself seems to be more interested in Greece than in Spain. But this is all some way ahead. What bothers me at the moment is the immediate prospect of meeting him, and also I dread his opening moves. I imagine he will want a decree of the Senate and another from the Augurs (I shall

² Actually it was on the 17th.

CICERO

rum decretum (rapiemur aut absentes vexabimur) vel ut consules roget praetor vel dictatorem dicat; quorum neutrum ius est. sed si Sulla potuit efficere ab interrege ut dictator diceretur et magister equitum, cur hic non possit? nihil expedio nisi ut aut ab hoc tamquam Q. Mucius aut ab illo tamquam L. Scipio.

- 3 Cum tu haec leges, ego illum fortasse convenero. 'τέτλακθι.' 'κύντερον' ne illud quidem nostrum proprium. erat enim spes propinqui reditus, erat hominum querela. nunc exire cupimus, qua spe reditus mihi quidem numquam in mentem venit. non modo autem nulla querela est municipalium hominum ac rusticorum sed contra metuunt ut crudelem, iratum. nec tamen mihi quicquam est miserius quam remansisse nec optatius quam evolare non tam ad belli quam ad fugae societatem. sed tu <quid>,⁴ omnia qui consilia differebas in id tempus cum sciremus quae Brundisi acta essent? scimus nempe; haeremus nihilo minus. vix enim spero mihi hunc veniam daturum, etsi multa adfero iusta ad impetrandum. sed tibi omnem illius meumque sermonem omnibus verbis expressum statim mittam.

- 4 Tu nunc omni amore enitere ut nos cura et prudentia iuves. ita subito accurrit ut ne Trebatium⁵ quidem, ut constitueram, possim videre; omnia nobis imparatis agenda. sed tamen 'ἄλλα μὲν αὐτός,' ut ait ille, 'ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται.' quicquid egero continuo scies.

⁴ add. SB (ante tu Purser, om. qui)

⁵ trabilium (s)

¹ L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, Consul in 83, was proscribed by Sulla and fled to Massilia. ² Odysseus in *Odyssey*, 20.18:

LETTER 183 (IX.15)

be hauled up or harried if I am not there) allowing a Praetor either to hold consular elections or to nominate a Dictator, neither of which is legal. But if Sulla could arrange for a Dictator to be nominated by an Interrex, and a Master of the Horse, why not Caesar? All I can make out of it is a choice between Q. Mucius' fate at Caesar's hands or L. Scipio's¹ at Pompey's.

When you read this I shall perhaps have met him. 'Bear it'—not even that disaster of my own was 'worse.'² There was the hope of an early return, there was public murmuring. Now I am anxious to go, but with what hope of return I for one have not the least idea. And far from any murmuring in the municipalities and the country, they are afraid on the contrary of Pompey's cruelty and anger. And yet nothing makes me more wretched than having stayed behind and there is nothing I desire more than escape, to share not so much in fighting as in running away. But what do *you* say? You used to put off all planning until we knew the outcome at Brundisium. Well, we know; and we are as badly stuck as before. For I scarcely expect that Caesar will give me my request, though I have many good reasons to put forward in its favour. But I shall send you a complete verbatim report of all we say to one another straight away.

Now help me with your care and wisdom, and put all your affection into the effort. He is coming up in such a hurry that I cannot even see Trebatius as I had arranged. All must be without preparation. Never mind, 'some things myself,' as the poet says, 'others a god shall counsel.'³ However I get on, you shall know immediately. As for Caesar's

'Bear it, my heart; you have borne worse in the past.' The 'disaster' is the exile in 58. ³ *Odyssey*, 3.26.

CICERO

mandata Caesaris ad consules et ad Pompeium quae rogas, nulla habeo †et descripta attulit illa est via†⁶ nisi ad te ante; e quibus mandata puto intellegi posse. Philippus Neapoli est, Lentulus Puteolis. de Domitio, ut facis, sciscitare ubi sit, quid cogitet.

- 5 Quod scribis asperius me quam mei patiantur mores de Dionysio scripsisse, vide quam sim antiquorum hominum: te me dius <fidius> hanc rem gravius putavi laturum esse quam me. nam praeter quam quod te moveri arbitror oportere iniuria quae mihi a quoquam facta sit, praeterea te ipsum quodam modo hic violavit cum in me tam improbus fuit. sed tu id quanti aestimes tuum iudicium est; nec tamen in hoc tibi quicquam oneris impono. ego autem illum male sanum semper putavi, nunc etiam impurum et sceleratum puto, nec tamen mihi inimiciorem quam sibi.

Philargyro bene curasti; causam certe habuisti et veram et bonam, relictum me esse potius quam reliquisse.

184 (IX.15a)

Scr. in Formiano VIII Kal. Apr. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- (6) Cum dedissem iam litteras a. d. VIII Kal., pueri quos cum Matio et Trebatio miseram epistulam mihi attulerunt hoc exemplo:

⁶ set rescripta attulit Matius (*vel aliud nom. propr.*); ea *Madvig*

⁴ If he was A. Torquatus' freedman mentioned in *Ad Familiares* 242 (VI.1).6, a loan from Torquatus to Cicero seems to have been overdue.

LETTER 184 (IX.15a)

messages to the Consuls and Pompey which you ask for, I have none, but * brought the replies; I sent them to you earlier (?); from this I think the messages can be gathered. Philippus is at Naples, Lentulus at Puteoli. As for Domitius, please continue your enquiries about his whereabouts and plans.

You say that the harshness of my language about Dionysius is out of character. See now how old-fashioned I am! Upon my word I thought you would be more upset by this affair than I. For to leave aside that I think you ought to take a wrong against me to heart, no matter who commits it, there is the further point that his deplorable behaviour towards me is in a way an offence against yourself. But it is for you to judge how seriously you should take that, and do not think that I wish in any way to embarrass you in the matter. For my part I always thought him half crazy, and now think him a blackguardly scoundrel, but no more my enemy than his own.

You were right to pay Philargyrus.⁴ You certainly had a fair and reasonable plea, that I had been left in the lurch rather than the other way about.

184 (IX.15a)

Formiae, 25 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After I had dispatched my letter on 25 March, the boys whom I had sent with Matius and Trebatius brought me the following:

CICERO

MATIUS ET TREBATIUS CICERONI IMP. SAL.

Cum Capua exissemus, in itinere audivimus Pompeium Brundisio a. d. XVI Kal. Apr. cum omnibus copiis quas habuerit profectum esse; Caesarem postero die in oppidum introisse, contionatum esse, inde Romam contendisse, velle ante Kalendas esse ad urbem et pauculos dies ibi commorari, deinde in Hispanias proficisci. nobis non alienum visum est, quoniam de adventu Caesaris pro certo habebamus, pueros tuos ad te remittere, ut id tu quam primum scires. mandata tua nobis curae sunt eaque ut tempus postularit agemus. Trebatius sedulo facit ut antecedit.

Epistula conscripta nuntiatum est nobis Caesarem a. d. VIII Kal. <Apr. Beneventi mansurum, a. d. VII Kal.> Capuae, a. d. VI Sinuessae. haec pro certo putamus.

185 (IX.16)

Scr. in Formiano VII Kal. Apr. an. 49 (§ 1)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Cum quod scriberem ad te nihil haberem, tamen ne quem diem intermitterem has dedi litteras. a. d. VI Kal. Caesarem Sinuessae mansurum nuntiabant. ab eo mihi litterae redditae sunt a. d. VII Kal., quibus iam 'opes' meas, non ut superioribus litteris 'opem,' exspectat. cum eius clementiam Corfiniensem illam per litteras collaudavissem rescripsit hoc exemplo:

LETTER 185 (IX.16)

MATIUS AND TREBATIUS TO CICERO IMPERATOR

After leaving Capua we heard on the road that Pompey left Brundisium on 17 March with his entire force, and that Caesar entered the town on the following day, made a public speech, and then left for Rome; further that he desires to reach the capital before the Kalends and to stay there only a few days, then to set out for Spain. Since we take the news of Caesar's coming as definite, we thought it as well to send your boys back to you, so that you should know of it at the first possible moment. Your commission is not forgotten and we shall attend to it as occasion requires. Trebatius is doing his best to reach you beforehand.

P.S. We have had word that Caesar is to stay at Beneventum on the 25th, at Capua on the 26th, at Sinuessa on the 27th. We regard this as definite.

185 (IX.16)

Formiae, 26 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Though I have nothing to say to you I am sending this letter in order not to miss a day. They tell me that Caesar will stay the night of the 27th at Sinuessa. A letter from him was delivered to me on the 26th in which he now counts on my 'resources,' not, as in his former letter, on my 'help.' I had written applauding his clemency at Corfinium and he has replied as follows:

CICERO

CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. SAL. DIC.

- 2 Recte auguraris de me (bene enim tibi cognitus sum) nihil a me abesse longius crudelitate. atque ego cum ex ipsa re magnam capio voluptatem tum meum factum probari abs te triumpho gaudio. neque illud me movet quod ii qui a me dimissi sunt discessisse dicuntur ut mihi rursus bellum inferrent; nihil enim malo quam et me mei similem esse et illos sui.
- 3 Tu velim mihi ad urbem praesto sis ut tuis consiliis atque opibus, ut consuevi, in omnibus rebus utar. Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse iucundius. hanc adeo habebō gratiam illi; neque enim aliter facere poterit. tanta eius humanitas, is sensus, ea in me est benevolentia.

186 (IX.17)

Scr. in Formiano VI Kal. Apr. an. 49 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Trebatium VI Kal., quo die has litteras dedi, exspectabam. ex eius nuntio Matique litteris meditabor quo modo cum illo loquar. o tempus miserum! nec dubito quin a me contendant ad urbem veniam; senatum enim Kalendis velle se frequentem adesse etiam Formiis proscribi iussit. ergo ei negandum est. sed quid praeripi<0>? statim ad te perscribam omnia. ex illius sermone statuam Arpinumne mihi

¹ I.e., 'than persuade you to return to Rome.'

LETTER 186 (IX.17)

CAESAR IMPERATOR TO CICERO IMPERATOR

You rightly surmise of me (you know me well) that of all things I abhor cruelty. The incident gives me great pleasure in itself, and your approval of my action elates me beyond words. I am not disturbed by the fact that those whom I have released are said to have left the country in order to make war against me once more. Nothing pleases me better than that I should be true to my nature and they to theirs.

As for yourself, I hope I shall find you at Rome so that I can avail myself as usual of your advice and resources in all things. Let me add that I find your son-in-law Dolabella the most delightful of company. I shall owe him the more on this account—he will not be able to do otherwise;¹ his kindness of heart, his good feeling, and his good will towards me guarantee it.

186 (IX.17)

Formiae, 27 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am expecting Trebatius on the 27th, the date of this letter. In the light of his report and Matius' letter I shall go over in my mind how I am to conduct the interview. It is a wretched time. I don't doubt that he will press me to come to Rome, seeing that he has given orders for notices to be put up at Formiae and elsewhere that he wants a full meeting of the Senate on the Kalends. So I must say no. But why anticipate? I shall send you a full account straight away. In the light of what he says I shall decide whether it

CICERO

- 2 eundum sit an quo alio. volo Ciceroni meo togam puram dare, istic puto. tu, quaeso, cogita quid deinde; nam me hebetem molestiae reddiderunt.

A Curio velim scire ecquid ad te scriptum sit de Tirone. ad me enim ipse Tiro ita scripsit ut verear quid agat; qui autem veniunt in<de, κινδυνώδη> admodum¹ nuntiant. sane in magnis curis etiam haec me sollicitat; in hac enim fortuna perutilis eius et opera et fidelitas esset.

187 (IX.18)

Scr. in Formiano v Kal. Apr. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Utrumque ex tuo consilio; nam et oratio fuit ea nostra ut bene potius ille de nobis existimaret quam gratias ageret, et in eo mansimus, ne ad urbem. illa fefellerunt, facilem quod putaramus; nihil vidi minus. damnari se nostro iudicio, tardiores fore reliquos, si nos non veniremus, dicere. ego dissimilem illorum esse causam. cum multa, 'veni igitur et age de pace.' 'meone' inquam 'arbitratu?' 'an tibi' inquit 'ego praescribam?' 'sic' inquam 'agam, senatui non placere in Hispanias iri nec exercitus in Graeciam transportari, multaque' inquam 'de Gnaeo deplorabo.' tum ille, 'ego vero ista dici nolo.' 'ita putabam' inquam, 'sed ego eo nolo adesse quod aut sic mihi dicendum est aut non veni-

¹ inni admodo *al.* (*SB, ducibus Ernesti et Lambino*)

LETTER 187 (IX.18)

is best for me to go to Arpinum or somewhere else. I want to give my boy his white gown; there, I think. Pray consider what next, for my troubles have dulled my wits.

I should like to know whether you have had any word from Curius about Tiro. Tiro has written to me himself in a way that makes me nervous about his condition, and people who come from over there say it is quite dangerous. Even among all my weighty anxieties this one really disturbs me. In my present plight his services and loyalty would be most useful.

187 (IX.18)

Formiae, 28 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

In both particulars I followed your advice. My language was such as to earn his respect rather than his thanks and I stood firm against going to Rome. But we were wrong in thinking him accommodating; I have never found anybody less so. He said I was passing judgement against him, that the rest would be slower to come if I did not. I replied that their position was different. After a long discussion: 'Come along then and work for peace.' 'At my own discretion?' I asked. 'Naturally' he answered. 'Who am I to lay down rules for you?' 'Well' I said, 'I shall take the line that the Senate does not approve of an expedition to Spain or of the transport of armies into Greece, and' I added 'I shall have much to say in commiseration of Pompey.' At that he protested that this was not the sort of thing he wanted said. 'So I supposed' I rejoined, 'but that is just why I don't want to be present. Either I must speak in that strain or stay

endum, multaque quae nullo modo possem silere si adessem.' summa fuit ut ille, quasi exitum quaerens, ut deliberarem. non fuit negandum. ita discessimus. credo igitur hunc me non amare. at ego me amavi, quod mihi iam pridem usu non venit.

- 2 Reliqua, o di! qui comitatus, quae, ut tu soles dicere, *νέκνια!* in qua erat ἦρως Celer.¹ o rem perditam! o copias desperatas! quid quod Servi filius, quod Titini in iis castris fuerunt quibus Pompeius circumsederetur? sex legiones; multum vigilat, audet. nullum video finem mali. nunc certe promenda tibi sunt consilia. hoc fuerat extremum.

- 3 Illa tamen *κατακλείς* illius est odiosa, quam paene praeterii, si sibi consiliis nostris uti non liceret, usurum quorum posset ad omniaque esse descensurum. vidisti igitur virum, ut scripseras? ingemuisti certe.² 'cedo reliqua.' quid? continuo ipse in Albanum,³ ego Arpinum; inde exspecto <e>quidem *λαλαγεῦσαν* illam tuam. 'tu malim'⁴ inquires 'actum ne agas; etiam illum ipsum quem sequimur multa fefellerunt.'

- 4 Sed ego tuas litteras exspecto. nihil est enim ut antea 'videamus hoc quorsum evadat.' extremum fuit de con-

¹ eros celer *vel sim.* (*Lehmann*) ² *distinxit SB*

³ pel(l)anum (*Beaujeu**, *praeunte TP*)

⁴ mal(l)em *vel malum* (*Boot*)

¹ Like the 'heroes' of *Odyssey*, 11, whose shades were summoned from Hades (see Letter 177, note 5).

² Apparently a quotation from Atticus' letter asking Cicero to describe the interview.

³ The spring swallow, from Leonidas of Tarentum's epigram, which starts: "'Tis the season for sailing; for the twittering swallow is here already, and the delightful Zephyr.' See Letter 174, note 3.

LETTER 187 (IX.18)

away—and much besides which I could not possibly suppress if I were there.’ The upshot was that he asked me to think the matter over, as though seeking a way to end the talk. I could not refuse. On that note we parted. So I imagine Caesar is not pleased with me. But I was pleased with myself, an experience I have not had for quite a long time.

For the rest, gods! What an entourage, what an Underworld, to use your favourite expression! Celer was there, as one of the Heroes.¹ What an unprincipled adventure! What a gang of desperadoes! And then to think that Servius’ son and Titinius’ were in the army beleaguering Pompey! Six legions! He is alert and audacious. I see no end to the mischief. Now is the time for you to produce your advice. This was to have been the end.

But I nearly forgot to mention Caesar’s disagreeable Parthian shot. If, he said, he could not avail himself of my counsels, he would take those he could get and stop at nothing. Well, have you ‘seen the great man’?² At any rate you must have groaned as you read. You ask for the rest of the story. Why, he left straight away for Alba, and I am leaving for Arpinum. From there I await that ‘twitterer’³ of yours. You will say ‘Can’t you let bygones be bygones? Even our leader’s forecasts were not always correct.’⁴

But I am waiting to hear from you. It is no longer possible to say now, as formerly, ‘let’s see how this turns out.’

⁴ Mention of the swallow seems to have recalled to Cicero’s mind Atticus’ optimistic forecast of Caesar’s attitude; Cicero, he may have written, could settle matters comfortably with Caesar and then sit back and wait for the ‘twitterer.’ ‘Our leader’ is Pompey.

CICERO

gressu nostro; quo quidem non dubito quin istum offenderim. eo maturius agendum est. amabo te, epistulam, et πολιτικῆν. valde tuas litteras nunc exspecto.

188 (VIII.9)

Scr. Formiis Arpinum iter faciens IV aut III Kal. Apr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Epistulam meam quod pervulgatam scribis esse non fero moleste, quin etiam ipse multis dedi describendam; ea enim et acciderunt iam et impendent ut testatum esse velim de pace quid senserim. cum autem ad eam hortarer eum praesertim hominem, non videbar ullo modo facilius moturus quam si id quod eum hortarer convenire eius sapientiae dicerem. eam si admirabilem dixi cum eum ad salutem patriae hortabar, non sum veritus ne viderer adsentari, cui tali in re libenter me ad pedes abiecissem. qua autem est 'aliquid impertias temporis,' non est de pace sed de me ipso et de meo officio ut aliquid cogitet. nam quod testificor me expertem belli fuisse, etsi id re perspectum est, tamen eo scripsi quo in suadendo plus auctoritatis haberem; eodemque pertinet quod causam eius probo.
- 2 Sed quid haec nunc? utinam aliquid profectum esset! ne ego istas litteras in contione recitari velim, si quidem ille ipse ad eundem scribens in publico proposuit epistu-

¹ Letter 178A.

LETTER 188 (VIII.9)

Our meeting was to be the end. I don't doubt that it has put him out of humour with me. All the more reason for rapid action. Do let me have a letter, a political letter. I am eagerly waiting to hear from you now.

188 (VIII.9)

Between Formiae and Arpinum, 29 or 30 March 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You write that my letter¹ has been broadcast. I am not sorry to hear it, indeed I have myself let a number of people take copies. In view of what has already happened and of what is coming I want to have my sentiments about peace upon record. In urging this particular person in its favour I saw no readier means of influencing his mind than by representing that the course I was urging upon him befitted his wisdom. If I called the latter 'admirable,' in urging him to the salvation of our country, I had no fear of appearing to flatter; in such a cause I would gladly have thrown myself at his feet. In the passage where I ask him to 'spare some time' I was not referring to peace but requesting him to give some thought to myself and my obligations. As for my statement that I had taken no part in the war, the truth of it is sufficiently evident; but my object in so writing was to lend weight to my persuasions, and similarly with my approval of his cause.

But what does all this matter now? I wish enough that something had been achieved. I should be only too glad to have that letter read out at a public meeting, considering that Pompey himself, writing to the same personage, posted up in public a letter in which he used the phrase

CICERO

lam illam in qua est 'pro tuis rebus gestis amplissimis' (amplioribusne quam suis, quam Africani? ita tempus ferebat), si quidem etiam vos duo tales ad quintum miliarium, quo nunc ipsum unde se recipienti, quid agenti, quid acturo? quanto autem ferocius ille causae suae confidet, cum vos, cum vestri similis non modo frequentis sed laeto vultu gratulantis viderit! 'num igitur peccamus?' minime vos quidem; sed tamen signa conturbantur quibus voluntas a simulatione distingui posset. quae vero senatus consulta video? sed apertius quam proposueram.

- 3 Ego Arpini volo esse prid. Kal., deinde circum villulas nostras errare, quas visurum me postea desperavi.

189 (IX.19)

Scr. Arpini Kal. vel IV Non. Apr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potissimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus nostris fuit gratum. etsi omnis et illos et qua iter feci maestos adflictosque vidi; tam tristis et tam atrox est ἀναθεώρησις huius ingentis mali. dilectus habentur, in hiberna deducuntur. ea quae etiam cum a bonis viris, cum iusto in bello, cum modeste fiunt, tamen ipsa per se molesta sunt, quam censes acerba nunc esse, cum a perditis in civili nefario bello petulantissime fiant? cave autem putes quemquam

² Atticus and Sex. Peducaeus.

LETTER 189 (IX.19)

'in recognition of your most brilliant achievements' (more brilliant than his own or Africanus'? The occasion required such language); considering also that men like you two² are going to meet him five miles out of town, when he is at this very moment on his way from and to we all know where, doing and about to do we all know what. Don't you think he will be twice as bold and confident in his cause when he sees you and people like you in force, and what is more, smiling congratulations? Well, are you wrong? Not at all. Still all this blurs the signs that might distinguish sincerity from pretence. And the Senate's decrees in prospect! But I am writing more frankly than I intended.

I want to be at Arpinum on the 31st, and then to make a round of my little properties, which I never expect to see again.

189 (IX.19)

Arpinum, 1 or 2 April 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Rome being impossible, I have given my son the white gown at Arpinum as the next best place, to the gratification of my fellow townsmen. Not but what I find everyone both at Arpinum and on the road gloomy and downcast; so sad and terrible are the thoughts inspired by this vast mischief. Levies are in progress and men are led off into winter quarters. You can imagine how sorely such proceedings are felt. They are unpleasant enough in themselves, even when carried out with moderation by honest men in legitimate warfare; now they are carried out by ruffians in a wicked civil war with the utmost brutality. You may be sure that

hominem in Italia turpem esse qui hinc absit. vidi ipse Formiis universos neque mehercule [numquam]¹ homines putavi; et noram omnis, sed numquam uno loco videram.

- 2 Pergamus igitur quo placet et nostra omnia relinquamus. proficiscamur ad eum cui gratior noster adventus erit quam si una fu<g>issemus.² tum enim eramus in maxima spe, nunc ego quidem in nulla; nec praeter me quisquam Italia cessit nisi qui hunc inimicum sibi putaret. nec mehercule hoc facio rei publicae causa, quam funditus deletam puto, sed ne quis me putet ingratum in eum qui me levavit iis incommodis quibus idem adfecerat, et simul quod ea quae fiunt aut quae certe futura sunt videre non possum. etiam equidem senatus consulta facta quaedam iam puto, utinam in Volcaci sententiam! sed quid refert? est enim una sententia omnium. sed erit immitissimus Servius, qui filium misit ad effligendum Cn. Pompeium aut certe capiendum cum Pontio Titiniano. etsi hic quidem timoris causa, ille vero—sed stomachari desinamus et aliquando sentiamus nihil nobis³ nisi, id quod minime⁴ vellem, spiritum reliquum esse.

- 3 Nos, quoniam superum mare obsidetur, infero navigabimus et, si Puteolis erit difficile, Crotonem petemus aut Thurios et boni cives amantes patriae mare infestum habebimus. aliam rationem huius belli gerendi nullam video. in Aegyptum nos abdemus. exercitu pares esse non possumus. pacis fides nulla est. sed haec satis deplorata sunt.

¹ *secl. SB*: unquam s ² *add. Gronovius*

³ sententiam ut ni(c)hil novi (*vel non*) (*Gronovius*)

⁴ minimum (*Gronovius*)

¹ Son of Q. Titinius; see Letter 172.6.

LETTER 189 (IX.19)

every disreputable character in Italy is with Caesar. I saw the whole crew at Formiae and upon my word I thought them more like beasts than men; and I knew them all, but I had never seen them all in one place.

So let me go the chosen way and leave all that is mine, let me set out to join one who will welcome my arrival more than if I had fled along with him. For then our hopes ran high, whereas now I for one have no hope at all; and nobody but I has left Italy who did not look upon Caesar as his personal enemy. Believe me I am not doing this for the sake of the commonwealth, which in my view has foundered utterly, but so that nobody shall think me ungrateful towards a man who brought me out of the troubles into which he himself had plunged me, and also because I can't bear to witness what is happening or what is certainly going to happen. I suppose that some senatorial decrees have actually been passed by now, I only hope on Volcarius' motion. But what matter? They are all of one mind. But Servius will be implacable, after sending his son to crush or at any rate capture Cn. Pompeius along with Pontius Titinianus!¹ *He* acted out of fear to be sure, but Servius—however, no more spleen. It is time to face the truth, that nothing is left us except the breath in our bodies, and I only wish I had not been left that much.

Since the Adriatic is blocked we shall sail by the Western Sea, and if Puteoli proves difficult we shall make for Croton or Thurii and as loyal, patriotic citizens take to buccaneering. I see no other way of conducting this war. We shall bury ourselves in Egypt. On land we cannot hold our own. There is no genuine prospect of peace. But I have lamented over it all long enough.

CICERO

- 4 Tu velim litteras Cephalioni des de omnibus rebus actis, denique etiam de sermonibus hominum, nisi plane obmuerunt. ego tuis consiliis usus sum maximeque quod et gravitatem in congressu nostro tenui quam debui et ut ad urbem non accederem perseveravi. quod superest, scribe, quaeso, quam accuratissime (iam enim extrema sunt) quid placeat, quid censeas; etsi iam nulla dubitatio est. tamen si quid vel potius quicquid veniet in mentem scribas velim.

190 (X.1)

Scr. in Laterio III Non. Apr. an. 49 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 III Non., cum in Laterium fratris venissem, accepi litteras et paulum lectis respiravi, quod post has ruinas mihi non acciderat; per enim magni aestimo tibi firmitudinem animi nostri et factum nostrum probari. Sexto etiam¹ nostro quod scribis probari, ita laetor ut me quasi patris eius, cui semper uni plurimum tribui, iudicio comprobari putem; qui mihi, quod saepe soleo recordari, dixit olim Nonis illis ille Decembribus, cum ego 'Sexte, quidnam ergo?',

*μη μάν' <in>quit² ille 'ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς,
ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυνθέσθαι.*

eius igitur mihi vivit auctoritas, et simillimus eius filius eodem est apud me pondere quo fuit ille; quem salvare velim iubeas plurimum.

¹ enim (*SB* : autem *Watt*) ² quid (*Victorius*)

¹ From Hector's soliloquy in the *Iliad* (22.304 f.).

LETTER 190 (X.1)

Please give Cephalio a letter about all proceedings, even down to what people are saying, unless they have lost their tongues. I have followed your advice, especially in maintaining a fitting dignity during our interview and in holding out against going Romewards. For the rest, pray write with all care (we have now reached the final stage) what course you favour, what you advise—not that there is now any doubt. Still I should like you to write anything, or rather everything, that occurs to you.

190 (X.1)

Laterium, 3 April 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I received your letter on the 3rd after I had arrived at my brother's place at Laterium and breathed a little more easily after reading it, for the first time since this collapse set in. I attach very great importance to your approval of my resolution and conduct. And when you tell me that our friend Sextus approves too, I am delighted—I feel as though I stood approved in the judgement of his father, for whom I always had the very highest respect. I often remember how long ago on that famous Nones of December I asked him 'Well, Sextus, what now?' and he replied

No sluggard's fate, ingloriously to die,
But daring that which men to be shall learn.¹

So his influence lives on for me, and his son, who resembles him so much, carries the same weight with me as he did. Please give him my best regards.

2 Tu tuum consilium etsi non in longinquum tempus differs (iam enim illum emptum pacificatorem perorasse puto, iam actum aliquid esse in consessu senatorum; <senatum>³ enim non⁴ puto), tamen suspensum meum detines, sed eo minus quod non dubito quid nobis agendum putes; qui⁵ enim Flavio legionem et Siciliam dari scribas et id iam fieri, quae tu scelera partim parari iam et cogitari, partim ex tempore futura censes? ego vero Solonis, popularis tui (ut puto, <iam>⁶ etiam mei), legem neglegam, qui capite sanxit si qui in seditione non alterius utrius partis fuisset, <et>⁷ nisi si tu aliter censes, et hinc abero et illim.⁸ sed alterum mihi est certius, nec praeripiam tamen; expectabo tuum consilium et eas litteras, nisi alias iam dedisti, quas scripsi ut Cephaliōni dares.

3 Quod scribis, non quo alicunde audieris, sed te ipsum putare me attractum iri si de pace agatur, mihi omnino non venit in mentem quae possit actio esse de pace, cum illi certissimum sit, si possit, exspoliare exercitu et provincia Pompeium; nisi forte iste nummarius⁹ ei potest persuadere ut, dum oratores eant et redeant, quiescat. nihil video quod sperem aut quod iam putem fieri posse. sed tamen hominis hoc ipsum probi est? est magnum et τῶν¹⁰ πολιτικῶτάτων σκεμμάτων, veniendumne sit in consilium tyranni si is aliqua de re bona deliberaturus sit. qua re si quid eius modi

³ add. *Malaespina* (post puto), *Graevius*

⁴ non enim (*Graevius*) ⁵ quid (*Wesenberg*)

⁶ add. *Orelli*

⁷ add. *Boot*

⁸ filii (*Orelli*)

⁹ summarius (*Manutius*)

¹⁰ et m- sit ΩN (*SB, duce Orelli*)

LETTER 190 (X.1)

Although you defer your advice only for a short time (for I suppose that purchased peacemaker² has finished his speech by now and something has already been done in the convention of Senators—I don't regard it as a Senate), still you keep my plans in suspense—the less so, however, because I have no doubt as to what you think I ought to do. When you write that Sicily and a legion are being given to Flavius and that this is actually happening, what crimes do you suppose are either already in preparation and intention or only needing an occasion to be forthcoming? For my part I propose to ignore the law of your compatriot Solon (mine too soon, I imagine), who made it a capital offence to remain neutral in a strife of parties, and unless you think otherwise I shall stay away from either camp. But my resolution is more definite as regards *this* camp—however, I won't anticipate. I shall await your advice and the letter which I asked you to give Cephalio, unless you have already sent another.

You say, not as something that has come to your ears but as your own opinion, that if there are peace negotiations I shall be drawn in. I cannot myself at all imagine how there *can* be any such negotiations, since Caesar is fully determined to deprive Pompey of his army and province if he is able—or can that hireling persuade him to keep quiet while envoys pass to and fro? I can see no ray of hope, no further conceivable chance. But in any case is the job itself one for a man of honour? It is a great question and an eminently political one whether it be right to enter a despot's council if he is going to deliberate something in the public interest. Therefore in case it somehow comes about

² Probably Volcacius Tullus.

CICERO

evenerit ut arcessamur (quod equidem non puto;¹¹ quid enim essem de pace dicturus dixi, ipse valde repudiavit), sed tamen si quid acciderit, quid censeas mihi faciendum utique scribito. nihil enim mihi adhuc accidit quod maioris consili esset.

Trebati, boni viri et civis, verbis te gaudeo delectatum, tuaque ista crebra ἐκφώνησις ὑπέρευ' me sola adhuc delectavit. litteras tuas vehementer exspecto; quas quidem credo iam datas esse.

191 (X.1a)

Scr. in Laterio Quinti fratris prid. Non. Apr. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- (4) Tu cum Sexto servasti gravitatem eandem quam mihi praecipis. Celer tuus disertus magis est quam sapiens. de iuvenibus quae ex Tullia audisti vera sunt. †macum†¹ istuc quod scribis non mihi videtur tam re esse triste quam verbo. haec est ἄλη in qua nunc sumus mortis instar. aut enim mihi libere inter malos πολιτευτέον fuit aut vel periculose cum bonis. aut nos temeritatem bonorum sequamur aut audaciam improborum insectemur. utrumque periculosum est, at hoc quod agimus [nec]² turpe nec tamen tutum.

Istum qui filium Brundisium [de pace] misit de pace (idem³ sentio quod tu, simulationem esse apertam, parari

¹¹ curo (*Koch* : credo *Boot*)

¹ *al. maconi* : Mucianum *Reid*

² *del. Baiter*

³ *secl. Boot* (*altero illo* de pace *intra parenthesin posito*)

LETTER 191 (X.1a)

that I am drafted (which *I* don't believe—I told him what I would have to say about peace, and he himself flatly rejected it)—however, in case anything of the sort happens, do be sure and tell me what you think I ought to do. Nothing has happened to me so far which needed more careful consideration.

I am glad Trebatius' language pleased you. He is a good man and a good citizen. Your often repeated exclamation 'bravissimo' has pleased me like nothing else so far. I am eagerly awaiting a letter from you. I expect it is already dispatched.

191 (X.1a)

Laterium, 4 April 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You and Sextus have preserved your dignity as you recommend me to do. Your relation Celer is more eloquent than wise. What Tullia has told you about the young men is true. I think the * you write of sounds sadder than it really is. This 'wandering' in which I now find myself is as bad as death. I ought to have played a public part, either speaking my mind among the rascals or taking my risks if need were with the honest men. Let me either follow the honest men in their imprudence or denounce the insolence of the villains. There is danger either way, but my present line makes for dishonour without security.

I think the gentleman¹ who sent his son to Brundisium will be the peace envoy (I see eye to eye with you, that it's

¹ Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.

CICERO

autem acerrime bellum), <m>e legatum iri non arbitror, cuius adhuc, ut optavi, mentio facta nulla sit. eo minus habeo necesse scribere aut etiam cogitare quid sim facturus, si acciderit ut leger.

192 (X.2)

Scr. in Arcano Non. aut postridie Non. Apr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Ego cum accepissem tuas litteras Non. Apr. quas Cephalio attulerat essemque Minturnis postridie mansurus et inde protinus, sustinui me in Arcano fratris, ut, dum aliquid certius adferretur, occultiore in loco essemus agerenturque nihilo minus quae sine nobis agi possent.¹ λαλαγεῦσα iam adest et animus ardet, neque stat² quicquam, quo et
- 2 qua. sed haec nostra erit cura et peritorum. tu tamen quod poteris, ut adhuc fecisti, nos consiliis iuvabis. res sunt inexplicabiles. fortunae sunt committenda omnia. sine spe conamur ulla. melius si quid acciderit, mirabimur. Dionysium nollem³ ad me profectum; de quo ad me Tullia mea scripsit. sed et tempus alienum est, et homini non amico nostra incommoda, tanta praesertim, spectaculo esse nolim;⁴ cui te meo nomine inimicum esse nolo.

¹ possint (*SB*)

² est (*Purser*)

³ nolim (*Wesenberg*)

⁴ nollem (*Ernesti*)

LETTER 192 (X.2)

a transparent sham and that preparations for war are in full swing), not I, seeing that, as I hoped, my name has not so far been mentioned in this connexion. So I feel the less bound to write or even think about what I shall do if by any chance I am commissioned.

192 (X.2)

Arcanum, 5 or 6 April 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After receiving your letter by Cephalio on 5 April, though I had intended to stay the next night at Minturnae and proceed thence directly, I stopped at Arcanum, my brother's place, so as to be in a more secluded spot pending more definite news, while such preparations as can proceed in my absence go forward none the less. The 'twitterer' is nearly here now, and I am all impatience, though destination and route have yet to be decided. But that will be my concern and that of the experts. All the same you must help me with your advice as you have done hitherto, so far as you can. There is no working it all out. Everything has to be committed to fortune. I make the venture quite without hope. Any better turn will surprise me. I am sorry Dionysius has set out to visit me. Tullia wrote to me about it, but the time is inconvenient and I would rather not parade our embarrassments, serious as they are, before other than friendly eyes. I have no wish for you to be his enemy on my account.

CICERO

193 (X.3)

Scr. in Arcano VII Id. Apr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Cum quod scriberem plane nihil haberem, haec autem reliqua essent quae scire cuperem, profectusne esset, quo in statu urbem reliquisset, in ipsa Italia quem cuique regioni aut negotio praefecisset, ecqui essent ad Pompeium et ad consules ex senatus consulto de pace legati—cum igitur haec scire <cupere>m,¹ dedita opera has ad te litteras misi. feceris igitur commode mihi que gratum si me de his rebus et si quid erit aliud quod scire opus sit feceris certiore. ego in Arcano opperior dum ista cognosco.

A. d. VII Id.

194 (X.3a)

Scr. in Arcano VII Id. Apr. an. 49 (§ 1)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Alteram tibi eodem die hanc epistulam dictavi et pridie dederam mea manu longiorem. visum te aiunt in Regia, nec reprehendo, quippe cum ipse istam reprehensionem non fugerim. sed exspecto tuas litteras, neque iam sane video quid exspectem, sed tamen, etiam si nihil erit, id ipsum ad me velim scribas.
- 2 Caesar mihi ignoscit per litteras quod non venerim, seseque in optimam partem id accipere dicit; facile patior.

¹ *add. Lambinus*

¹ Caesar.

LETTER 194 (X.3a)

193 (X.3)

Arcanum, 7 April 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have really nothing to write, but there are a few things I should still like to know, namely whether he¹ has set out, in what state he has left Rome, in Italy too whom he has put in charge of the various districts and jobs, whether any peace envoys to Pompey and the Consuls have been appointed under the Senate's decree. Anxious to learn these points I am sending this letter to you by special messenger. So I shall be grateful if you will kindly inform me about them and anything else I ought to know. I am waiting at Arcanum until I get your news.

7 April.

194 (X.3a)

Arcanum, 7 April 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am dictating a second letter to you this same day, having yesterday dispatched a longer one in my own hand. They say you have been seen in the Palace.¹ I don't criticize, not having escaped similar criticism myself. But I am waiting to hear from you, though I don't quite see now *what* I am waiting to hear; but all the same, even if you have nothing to tell me, please write and say so.

Caesar writes in forgiveness of my nonattendance and says he is not in the least offended on that account. No

¹ Caesar's official residence as Pontifex Maximus, called 'Regia.'

CICERO

quod scribit secum Titinium¹ et Servium questos esse quia non idem sibi quod mihi remisisset, homines ridiculos! qui cum filios misissent ad Cn. Pompeium circumsedendum, ipsi in senatum venire dubitarent. sed tamen exemplum misi ad te Caesaris litterarum.

195 (X.4)

Scr. in Cumano xvii Kal. Mai. an. 49 (§ 7)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Multas a te accepi epistulas eodem die, omnis diligenter scriptas, eam vero quae voluminis instar erat saepe legendam, sicuti facio. in qua non frustra laborem suscepisti; mihi quidem pergratum fecisti. qua re ut id, quoad licebit, id est quoad scies ubi simus, quam saepissime facias te vehementer rogo.

- Ac¹ deplorandi quidem, quod cottidie facimus, sit iam nobis aut finis omnino, si potest, aut moderatio quaedam, quod profecto potest. non enim iam quam dignitatem, quos honores, quem vitae statum amiserim cogito, sed quid consecutus sim, quid praestiterim, qua in laude vixerim, his denique in malis quid intersit inter me et istos quos propter omnia amisimus. hi sunt qui, nisi me civitate expulissent, obtinere se non putaverunt posse licentiam cupiditatum suarum; quorum societatis et sceleratae consensionis fides quo eruperit vides. alter ardet furore et scelere nec remittit aliquid sed in dies ingravescit; modo Italia
- 2

¹ tul(l)ium (*Koch* : Tullum *Corradus*)

¹ at (*Ernesti*)

LETTER 195 (X.4)

harm in that. He writes that Titinius and Servius have grumbled to him for not making them the same concession he has made me. Absurd creatures! After sending their sons to lay siege to Cn. Pompeius they boggle at attending the Senate themselves! Anyway I am sending you a copy of Caesar's letter.

195 (X.4)

Cumae, 14 April 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I received a number of letters from you on the same day, all elaborate and one of volume size, to be read and reread, as I do. You have not taken such pains over it for nothing. I am really grateful. And so I do entreat you to do this as often as you can for as long as you can, i.e. as long as you know my whereabouts.

Of my daily lamentations let there be an end for good and all if that is possible, or at least some measure of restraint, which is surely possible. I no longer think of the rank, honours, and position in life that I have lost, but of what I have attained and what I have contributed, the high repute in which I have lived, and the distance which in these evil days separates me from those on whose account we have lost everything; I mean the men who thought that only by driving me out of the community could they gain free scope for their cupidities and whose plighted alliance and confederacy in crime has ended in the results you see. One of the two is aflame with frenzy and wickedness. Far from any abatement the fit grows more violent every day. No sooner has he expelled his rival from Italy than he sets

expulit, nunc alia ex parte persequi, ex alia provincia exspoliare conatur nec iam recusat sed quodam modo postulat ut, quem ad modum est, sic etiam appelletur tyrannus.

3 alter, is qui nos sibi quondam ad pedes stratos ne sublevabat quidem, qui se nihil contra huius voluntatem facere posse, elapsus e soceri manibus ac ferro bellum terra et mari comparat, non iniustum ille quidem sed cum pium tum etiam necessarium, suis tamen civibus exitiabile nisi vicerit, calamitosum etiam si vicerit.

4 Horum ego summorum imperatorum non modo res gestas non antepono meis sed ne fortunam quidem ipsam; qua illi florentissima, nos duriore conflictati videmur. quis enim potest aut deserta per se patria aut oppressa beatus esse¹ et si, ut nos a te admonemur, recte in illis libris diximus nihil esse bonum nisi quod honestum, nihil malum nisi quod turpe sit, certe uterque istorum est miserrimus, quorum utriusque semper patriae salus et dignitas posterior sua dominatione et domesticis commodis fuit.

5 Praeclara igitur <con>scientia sustentor, cum cogito me de re publica aut meruisse optime cum potuerim aut certe numquam nisi pie cogitasse, eaque ipsa tempestate eversum esse rem publicam quam ego XIII annis ante prospexerim. hac igitur conscientia comite proficiscar, magno equidem cum dolore, nec tam id propter me aut propter fratrem meum, quorum est iam acta aetas, quam propter pueros, quibus interdum videmur praestare etiam rem publicam debuisse. quorum quidem alter non tam <quia

¹ The passage must have been in the lost parts of *On the Republic*.

² Cicero claims to have seen Caesar as the great danger to the state even in 63.

about pursuing him from one direction and stripping him of his province from another. He no longer objects, in a sense he demands, to be called what he really is, a despot. The second, who once when I lay at his feet would not so much as ask me to rise, whose plea it was that he could do nothing against the other's wishes, has escaped from his father-in-law's hands and sword to prepare for war by land and sea; not it is true an unjust war, on the contrary a righteous and even necessary war, but one which will bring destruction on his fellow countrymen if he loses and calamity even if he wins.

I do not rate the achievements of these great warlords above my own, nor even their fortune, splendid though it appear, while mine looks hard and stormy. For what happiness is there for a deserter of his country on the one hand or an oppressor on the other? And if, as you remind me, I was right when I said in that book of mine¹ that nothing is good but what is honourable and nothing bad but what is disgraceful, then assuredly they are both most unhappy, for both have always put personal power and private advantages before the safety and honour of their country.

So I have the comfort of an excellent conscience, reflecting that I gave the state good service while I was able, or at any rate that my thoughts were never other than loyal, and that this very storm which has overturned the state was foreseen by me fourteen years ago.² So I shall go with this conscience to keep me company, though not without deep sorrow—not so much for myself or my brother, for we have had our time, but for our boys, who I sometimes feel had a right to expect from us a free constitution as part of their inheritance. For one of them I feel the most poignant

meus quam² quia maiore pietate est me mirabiliter excruciat, alter (o rem miseram! nihil enim mihi accidit in omni vita acerbius) indulgentia videlicet nostra depravatus eo progressus est quo non audeo dicere. et exspecto tuas litteras; scripsisti enim te scripturum esse plura³ cum ipsum vidisses.

- 6 Omne meum obsequium in illum fuit cum multa severitate, neque unum eius nec parvum sed multa <et> magna delicta compressi. patris autem lenitas amanda potius ab illo quam tam crudeliter negligenda. nam litteras eius ad Caesarem missas ita graviter tulimus ut te quidem celaremus sed ipsius vide<re>mur⁴ vitam insuavem reddidisse. hoc vero eius iter simulatioque pietatis qualis fuerit non audeo dicere; tantum scio post Hirtium conventum arcessitum a Caesare, cum eo de meo animo a suis rationibus alienissimo et consilio relinquendi Italiam; et haec ipsa timide. sed nulla nostra culpa est, natura metuenda est. haec Curionem, haec Hortensi filium, non patrum culpa corruptit.

Iacet in maerore meus frater neque tam de sua vita quam de mea metuit. huic tu, huic tu malo adfer consolationes, si ullas potes; maxime quidem illam velim, ea quae ad nos delata sint aut falsa esse aut minora. quae si vera sint, quid futurum sit in hac vita et fuga nescio; nam si haberemus rem publicam, consilium mihi non deesset nec ad severitatem nec ad diligentiam. nunc sive iracundia sive dolore sive metu permotus gravius scripsi quam aut tuus

² *add. SB*

³ *plurima (Orelli)*

⁴ *add. Madvig*

³ Young Quintus seems to have made his mother an excuse for taking off to Rome.

LETTER 195 (X.4)

distress, not so much because he is my son as because he is a better son. The other—it is a deplorable affair, the bitterest blow I have had to bear in all my life. Spoiled no doubt by our indulgence he has gone to I dare not say what lengths. And I await your letter; for you wrote that you would write more when you had seen the boy yourself.

My compliance towards him has always been seasoned with plenty of strictness and I have nipped many serious offences of his in the bud—not just the odd peccadillo. As for his father's mildness, it should have earned his affection rather than such callous disregard. We took so grave a view of his letter to Caesar that, while saying nothing to you, I think we made the boy's life pretty uncomfortable. But this journey of his and his pretence of filial duty³ is something I don't dare to characterize. So much I know, that after an interview with Hirtius he was summoned by Caesar, and spoke to him about my thorough hostility to his interests and my design of leaving Italy. Even this I write with hesitation. But it is no fault of ours, nature is the enemy. This, and not any fault on their fathers' part, was what ruined Curio and Hortensius' son.

My brother is plunged in misery, fearing more for my life than his own. In this calamity bring us, I beseech you, some comfort if you can find any. The best would be that what we have been told is either untrue or less serious than it has been represented. If it be true, then what is to happen in this life of exiles we are leading I don't know. If we had a free country I should know how to act, failing neither in strictness nor in pains. As things are, if anger or sorrow or apprehension have made me write more sternly than

in illum amor aut meus postulabat, si vera sunt, ignosces, sin falsa, me libente eripies mihi hunc errorem. quoquo modo vero se res habebit, nihil adsignabis nec patruo nec patri.

7 Cum haec scripsissem, a Curione mihi nuntiatum est eum ad me venire. venerat enim is in Cumanum vesperi pridie, id est Idibus. si quid igitur eius modi sermo eius attulerit quod ad te scribendum sit, id his⁵ litteris adiungam.

8 Praeteriit villam meam Curio iussitque mihi nuntiarum mox se venturum cucurritque Puteolos ut ibi contionaretur. contionatus est, rediit, fuit ad me sane diu. o rem foedam! nosti hominem; nihil occultabat, in primis nihil esse certius quam ut omnes qui lege Pompeia condemnati essent restituerentur; itaque se in Sicilia eorum opera usurum. de Hispaniis non dubitabat quin Caesaris essent. inde ipsum cum exercitu, ubicumque Pompeius esset. eius interitum finem illi fore. propius factum esse nihil. et⁶ plane iracundia elatum voluisse Caesarem occidi Metellum tribunum pl., quod si esset factum, caedem magnam futuram fuisse. permultos hortatores esse caedis, ipsum autem non voluntate aut natura non esse crudelem, sed quod <putaret> popularem esse clementiam. quod si populi studium amisisset, crudelem fore; eumque perturbatum quod intellegeret se apud ipsam plebem⁷ offensusse de aerario. itaque ei cum certissimum fuisset ante quam proficisceretur contionem habere, ausum non esse vehementerque animo perturbato profectum.

⁵ in (*Schütz*) ⁶ ei (*SB*) ⁷ legem (*Victorius*)

⁴ L. Metellus had tried to stop Caesar from removing the state treasure, planting himself in front of the door of the Treasury.

LETTER 195 (X.4)

suits your affection for him or my own, you must forgive me if the report is true and correct my error to my own rejoicing if it is false. However it turns out to be, I am sure you will not hold either his uncle or his father to blame.

I had written this much when a message arrived from Curio that he is coming to see me. He arrived at his place at Cumae yesterday evening, i.e. on the Ides. If he says anything worth writing to you I shall add it to this letter.

Curio passed my house and left word for me that he would be here shortly. He then rushed off to Puteoli to address a meeting there. He made his speech, returned, and paid me quite a lengthy visit. Horrible! You know what he is like. He kept nothing back. To begin with he says that nothing is more certain than that all persons condemned under the *lex Pompeia* are to be rehabilitated; so he himself would be using their services in Sicily. As for the Spanish provinces, he had no doubt they were Caesar's. From there Caesar and his army would go wherever Pompey was. Pompey's death would constitute his goal. It had been touch and go. He added that Caesar had been quite carried away with rage against the Tribune Metellus and had wanted to have him killed;⁴ in which case there would have been a great massacre. There were any number of people urging him that way, and as for Caesar himself, it was not by inclination or nature that he was not cruel but because he reckoned that clemency was the popular line. If he lost favour with the public he would be cruel. He was upset because he realized that even the populace had not liked his behaviour over the Treasury. So although he had had every intention of holding a public meeting before he left, he had not dared to do so and had set off in a very agitated state of mind.

CICERO

9 Cum autem ex eo quaererem quid videret, quem exitum, quam rem publicam, plane fatebatur nullam spem reliquam. Pompei classem timebat; quae si ~~†~~esset†,⁸ se de Sicilia abiturum. 'quid isti' inquam 'sex tui fasces? si a senatu, cur laureati? si ab ipso, cur sex?' 'cupivi' inquit 'ex senatus consulto surrupto; nam aliter <non> poterat. at ille impendio nunc magis odit senatum. "a me" inquit "omnia proficiscentur."' 'cur autem sex?' 'quia duodecim nolui; nam licebat.' tum ego 'quam vellem' inquam 'petisse ab eo quod audio Philippum impetrasse! sed veritus sum, quia ille a me nihil impetrabat.' 'libenter' inquit 'tibi concessisset. verum puta te impetrasse; ego enim ad eum scribam, ut tu ipse voles, de ea re nos inter nos locutos. quid autem illius interest, quoniam in senatum non venis, ubi sis? quin nunc ipsum minime offendisses eius causam si in Italia non fuisses.' ad quae ego me recessum et solitudinem quaerere, maxime quod lictores haberem. laudabat consilium. 'quid ergo?' inquam. 'nam mihi cursus in Graeciam per tuam provinciam est, quoniam ad mare superum milites sunt.' 'quid mihi' inquit 'optatius?' hoc loco multa perliberaliter. ergo hoc quidem est [verum] profectum,⁹ ut non modo tuto verum etiam palam navigaremus.

⁸ exisset *Weiske* : accessi- *coni.* *SB*

⁹ verum profecto (s)

⁵ As *Propraetor* by Caesar's appointment (*legatus pro praetore*) Curio was entitled to laurels on his lictors' fasces in virtue of his Emperor's victories in Gaul. But as such he ought not to have had six lictors but a smaller number, probably five. On the other hand if appointed by the Senate he had no right to the laurels.

When I asked for his assessment—what way out, what constitution he foresaw—he frankly admitted that the situation is quite hopeless. He is afraid of Pompey's fleet. If it put to sea (?) he said he would leave Sicily. 'What about those six fasces of yours?' I asked. 'If they are from the Senate why the laurels? If from the great man, why six?'⁵ Answer: 'I wanted to get them by a snap decree of the Senate—it was impossible otherwise. But Caesar hates the Senate now far more than ever. "Everything shall come from me" is his motto.' 'But why six?' 'Because I didn't want twelve.⁶ I could have had them.' Then I remarked: 'How I wish I had asked for the permission⁷ which I hear he has given to Philippus! But I did not like to because I was giving nothing to him.' 'He would have let you have it gladly' said Curio. 'But take it as granted. I shall write to him in terms approved by yourself that you and I have discussed the matter between us. After all, since you don't come to the Senate, what does it matter to him where you are? Indeed you would have done his cause least harm just now if you had not been in Italy.' To this I rejoined that I wanted retirement and solitude, especially because I had my lictors. He applauded my plan. 'What about it then?' I said. 'My way to Greece lies through your province, since there are troops stationed on the Adriatic.' 'Nothing I should like better' said he. On this topic he spoke at length and very handsomely. So there is this much gained, that I shall sail not only without risk but without concealment.

⁶ I.e., the old rules no longer mattered. Caesar's word was now law.

⁷ To go abroad.

- 11 Reliqua in posterum diem distulit; ex quibus scribam ad te si quid erit epistula dignum. sunt autem quae praeterii, interregnumne esset expectaturus an quo modo dixerit ille quidem, ad se¹⁰ deferri consulatum sed se nolle in proximum annum. et alia sunt quae exquiram. iurabat ad summam, quod nullo negotio faceret, amicissimum mihi Caesarem esse debere. 'quid enim?' inquam. 'scripsit ad me Dolabella.' 'dic,¹¹ quid?' adfirmabat eum scripsisse, quod me cuperet ad urbem venire, illum quidem gratias agere maximas et non modo probare sed etiam gaudere. quid quaeris? acquievi. levata est enim suspicio illa domestici mali et sermonis Hirtiani. quam cupio illum dignum esse nobis et quam ipse me invito †quae pro illo sit¹² suspicandum†! sed opus fuit Hirtio convento? est profecto nescio quid, sed velim quam minimo.¹³ et tamen eum nondum redisse miramur. sed haec videbimus.
- 12 Tu †optimus†¹⁴ Terentiae dabis. iam enim urbis nullum periculum est. me tamen consilio iuva, pedibusne Regium an hinc statim in navem, et cetera, quoniam commoror. ego ad te [statim]¹⁵ habebō quod scribam simul et videro Curionem. de Tirone, cura, quaeso, quod facis, ut sciam quid is agat.

¹⁰ dixerim i- q- sed (*Ernesti*)

¹¹ dico (*Hand*)

¹² compellor ad tempt. *SB*

¹³ minimum *Lambinus*

¹⁴ *al.* optimos : Oppios *Victorius* : ab Oppiis *coni. SB*

¹⁵ *del. Schütz*

LETTER 195 (X.4)

He put off further talk till next day. I shall write if any of it proves worth a letter. I omitted to raise certain points, as whether Caesar is going to wait for an interregnum or do⁸ as he hinted himself when he said that he was being offered the Consulship but did not want it for next year. And there are other questions I want to ask. To conclude, he took his oath, as he easily might, that Caesar must be very friendly to me. 'What do you mean?' I said. 'I have heard from Dolabella.' 'Tell me, what?' He stated that according to Dolabella's letter Caesar was profusely grateful to him for wishing me to come to Rome, and expressed not only approval but delight. So! It was a relief. My suspicions about our family trouble and that talk with Hirtius were allayed. How anxious I am to find him worthy of us and how much against my will * * *! But what need for that interview with Hirtius? Yes, there must be something, but I hope it will come to as little as may be. And yet I am surprised that he has not yet returned. But we shall see.

You will please give * to Terentia, for there is now no danger in the capital. But help me with your advice, whether to go by land to Regium or to take ship direct from here, and write about other matters seeing that I am staying where I am. I shall have something to write to you about as soon as I have seen Curio. About Tiro, pray continue to make sure that I know how he is getting on.

⁸ I.e., to have Consuls created in some other way, as by elections held under a Praetor.

CICERO

196 (X.5)

Scr. in Cumano xv Kal. Mai. an. 49 (§ 3)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De tota mea cogitatione scripsi ad te antea satis, ut mihi visus sum, diligenter. de die nihil sane potest scribi certi
2 praeter hoc, non ante lunam novam. Curionis sermo postridie eandem habuit fere summam, nisi quod apertius significavit se harum rerum exitum non videre.

- Quod mihi mandas de quodam regendo, 'Ἀρκάδιαν . . .' tamen nihil praetermittam. atque utinam tu—sed molestior non ero. epistolam ad Vestorium statim detuli,
3 ac valde requirere solebat. commodius tecum Vetti<e>nus est locutus quam ad me scripserat. sed mirari satis hominis neglegentiam non queo. cum enim mihi Philotimus dixisset se HS $\bar{\text{L}}$ emere de Canuleio deversorium illud posse, minoris etiam empturum si Vettienum rogassem, rogavi ut, si quid posset, ex ea summa detraheret; promisit. ad me nuper se HS $\overline{\text{XXX}}$ emisse; ut scriberem cui vellem addici; diem pecuniae Id. Nov. esse. rescripsi ei stomachosius, cum ioco tamen familiari. nunc, quoniam agit liberaliter, nihil accuso hominem scripsique ad eum me a te certiore esse factum.

Tu de tuo itinere quid et quando cogites velim me certiore facias.

A. d. xv Kal. Mai.

¹ The young Quintus.

² The first word of the Delphic Oracle's answer to the Spartans in Herodotus, 1.66: 'You ask me for Arcadia; you ask much of me; I shall not give it to you.'

LETTER 196 (X.5)

196 (X.5)

Cumae, 16 April 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

About my plans in general I have already written to you, I think in sufficient detail. About the day nothing really can be said for certain except that it must not be before the new moon. Curio's talk the next day was to much the same general effect, except that he intimated still more plainly that he sees no way out of the present situation.

As for what you enjoin upon me about governing a certain person¹—'Arcady'² . . .! However, I shall leave no stone unturned. If only *you*—but I must not impose. I conveyed your letter to Vestorius at once. He had been wondering a good deal why he had not heard. Vettienus' language to you was more suitable than his letter to me. But I really can't sufficiently wonder at his offhandedness. When Philotimus told me that he could buy that lodge from Canuleius for HS 50,000 and that the price would be even less if I approached Vettienus, I did so, asking him to get it reduced if he could. He promised, then wrote to me the other day that he had bought the place for HS 30,000; I must write to say to whom I wanted it assigned; settlement day, Ides of November. I replied with some irritation, but in the way of friendly joking. Now, since he is behaving handsomely, I have nothing against him and have written to tell him that you have given me the facts.

Please let me know about your journey, what you plan and when.

16 April.

CICERO

197 (X.6)

Scr. in Cumano c. XI Kal. Mai. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Me adhuc nihil praeter tempestatem moratur. astute nihil sum acturus. fiat in Hispania quidlibet—et tamen recte sit.¹ meas cogitationes omnis explicavi tibi superioribus litteris. quocirca hae sunt breves, et quia festinabam eramque occupator.
- 2 De Quinto filio, <f>it a² me quidem sedulo, sed—nosti reliqua. quod †dem†³ me mones, et amice et prudenter me mones, sed erunt omnia facilia si ab uno illo cavero. magnum opus est; mirabilia multa, nihil simplex, nihil sincerum. vellem suscepisses iuvenem regendum; pater enim nimis indulgens quicquid ego adstrinxi relaxat. si sine illo possem, regerem; quod tu potes. sed ignosco; magnum, inquam, opus est.
- 3 Pompeium pro certo habemus per Illyricum proficisci in Galliam. ego nunc qua et quo videbo.

198 (X.7)

Scr. in Cumano fort. IX Kal. Mai. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ego vero Apuliam et Sipontum et tergiversationem istam probo nec tuam rationem eandem esse duco quam meam,

¹ recitet et *vel sim.* (SB)

² ita (*Bostus*) ³ de meo *coni.* SB

LETTER 198 (X.7)

197 (X.6)

Cumae, ca. 20 April 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Up to now nothing holds me up except the weather. I shall not try to be clever. Let the outcome in Spain be what it may—though I wish it may be all right. I have explained all my plans to you in an earlier letter. For that reason this one is brief, and because I am in a hurry and rather busy.

As regards young Quintus, I am sparing no pains but—you know what follows. Your admonition * * * is friendly and wise, but all will be easy if I only safeguard myself on *his* side. It is a great task. There is much in him that is extraordinary, but an utter lack of straightforwardness and sincerity. I wish you had taken the young man in hand. His too indulgent father undoes all my disciplinary measures. Without him, if that were possible, I could govern the lad. For *you* it is possible. But I don't insist. As I say, it is a great task.

We have it for certain that Pompey is on his way through Illyricum to Gaul. I shall now think about my own route and destination.

198 (X.7)

Cumae, 22 April (?) 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Why certainly I approve of Apulia and Sipontum and this fence-sitting of yours,¹ and I look upon your position as

¹ Apparently Atticus intended to go to Sipontum in Apulia, there to wait for a passport to visit Epirus.

non quin in re publica rectum idem sit utrique nostrum, sed ea non agitur. regnandi contentio est, in qua pulsus est modestior rex et probior et integrior et is, qui nisi vincit, nomen populi Romani deleatur necesse est, sin autem vincit, Sullano more exemploque vincet. ergo hac in contentione neutrum tibi palam sentiendum et tempori servendum est. mea causa autem alia est, quod beneficio vinctus ingratus esse non possum, nec tamen in acie <me>¹ sed Melitae aut alio in loco simili <vel>² oppidulo futurum puto. 'nihil' inquires 'iuvas eum in quem ingratus esse non vis?' immo minus fortasse voluisset. sed de hoc videbimus; exeamus modo. quod ut meliore tempore possimus facit Adriano mari Dolabella, Fretensi Curio.

- 2 Iniecta autem mihi spes quaedam est: 'velle mecum Ser. Sulpicium colloqui.' ad eum misi Philotimum libertum cum litteris. si vir esse volet, praeclara *συννοδία*, sin
3 autem—. erimus nos qui solemus. Curio mecum vixit, iacere Caesarem putans offensione populari Siciliaeque diffidens si Pompeius navigare coepisset.

Quintum puerum accepi vehementer. avaritiam video fuisse et spem magni congiari. magnum hoc malum est, sed scelus illud quod timueramus spero nullum fuisse. hoc autem vitium puto te existimare non <a>³ nostra indulgentia sed a natura profectum. quem tamen nos disciplina regimus.

¹ *add. Wesenberg* (post tamen *Lambinus*)

² *add. TP*

³ *add. Lambinus*

² A cryptic remark. Cicero may have been thinking of making a public appeal for peace.

different from mine. Not that right is not right for both of us as citizens of the Republic, but the Republic is not at issue. This is a fight for a throne. The expelled monarch is the more moderate, upright, and clean-handed, and unless he wins the name of the Roman people must inevitably be blotted out; but if he does win, his victory will be after the Sullan fashion and example. Therefore in such a conflict you should support neither side openly and trim your sails to the wind. My case however is different because I am bound by an obligation and cannot be ungrateful. Yet I don't think I shall stand in the line of battle, but rather stay in Malta or some similar place or little town. You may ask me whether I am doing nothing to help the person to whom I don't want to be ungrateful. On the contrary he would perhaps have preferred me to do less.² But we shall see about this later on; only let me get away. I can do that at a better time of year, thanks to Dolabella on the Adriatic and Curio on the Straits.

I have been given a hope of sorts. Ser. Sulpicius is said to want to talk to me. I have sent my freedman Philotimus to him with a letter. If he chooses to be a man, it will be a notable fellow-travelling; if not, not. I shall take my usual line. Curio has been spending his time with me. He thinks Caesar is in bad odour because of the offence given to popular sentiment, and has no confidence in Sicily if Pompey should begin operations at sea.

I gave young Quintus a warm reception. I see it was greed and the hope of a handsome largesse. That is bad enough in all conscience, but I hope there was no such villainy as we feared. I think you will agree that this vice does not proceed from indulgence on our part but from nature. However I govern him with discipline.

CICERO

De Oppiis Veliensibus quid placeat cum Philotimo videbis. Epirum nostram putabimus, sed alios cursus videbamus habituri.

199 (X.8)

Scr. in Cumano VI Non. Mai. an. 49 (§ 10)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Et res ipsa monebat et tu ostenderas et ego videbam de iis rebus quas intercipi periculosum esset finem inter nos scribendi fieri tempus esse. sed cum ad me saepe mea Tullia scribat orans ut quid in Hispania geratur exspectem et semper adscribat idem videri tibi idque ipse etiam ex tuis litteris intellexerim, non puto esse alienum me a<d> te quid de ea re sentiam scribere.
- 2 Consilium istuc tunc esset prudens, ut mihi videtur, si nostras rationes ad Hispaniensem casum accommodaturi essemus; quod fieri * * *. necesse est enim aut, id quod maxime velim, pelli istum ab Hispania aut trahi id bellum aut istum, ut confidere videtur, apprehendere Hispanias. si pelletur, quam gratus aut quam honestus tum erit ad Pompeium noster adventus, cum ipsum Curionem ad eum transiturum putem? si trahitur bellum, quid exspectem aut quam diu? relinquitur ut, si vincimur in Hispania, quiescamus. id ego contra puto. istum enim victorem magis relinquendum puto quam victum, et¹ dubitantem magis quam fidentem suis rebus. nam caedem video si vicerit et

¹ nec Schütz

LETTER 199 (X.8)

Concerning the Oppii of Velia please consult with Philotimus as to the best arrangement. I shall regard Epirus as my own property, but it does not look as if I shall be going that way.

199 (X.8)

Cumae, 2 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As the nature of the case warns us, as you have pointed out, and as I see for myself, it is time for us to give up writing on topics which would be dangerous if intercepted. But since my Tullia often writes begging me to wait and see what happens in Spain and always adds that you agree with her, and since I have gathered the same from your own letters, I think it may be as well for me to give you my views on the matter.

This advice would be sound, as I see it, if I were going to adapt my course to the fortune of war in Spain. But that * * *. For one of three things is bound to happen. Either, as I should most desire, Caesar will be driven from Spain, or the war there will drag on, or he will seize the Spanish provinces as he seems confident of doing. If he is driven out, what sort of welcome shall I get or what sort of figure shall I cut joining Pompey at a time when I imagine Curio himself will go over to him? But if the war drags on, what am I to wait for or how long? There remains the possibility that if we lose in Spain I do nothing. I take just the opposite view. I think there is more reason to leave Caesar in victory than in defeat, and more to leave while he is doubtful of success than when he is sure of it. For I foresee a massacre

CICERO

impetum in privatorum pecunias et exsulum reditum et tabulas novas et turpissimorum honores et regnum non modo Romano homini sed ne Persae quidem cuiquam tolerabile.

- 3 Tacita esse poterit indignitas nostra? pati poterunt oculi me cum Gabinio sententiam dicere, et quidem illum rogari prius? praesto esse clientem tuum Cloelium, †Cateli†² Plaguleium, ceteros? sed cur inimicos colligo, qui meos necessarios a me defensos nec videre in curia sine dolore nec versari inter eos sine dedecore poterō? quid si ne id quidem est exploratum, fore ut mihi liceat? scribunt enim ad me amici eius me illi nullo modo satis fecisse quod in senatum non venerim. tamenne dubitemus an ei nos etiam cum periculo venditemus quicum coniuncti ne cum praemio quidem voluimus esse?
- 4 Deinde hoc vide, non esse iudicium de tota contentione in Hispaniis, nisi forte iis amissis arma Pompeium abiectorum putas; cuius omne consilium Themistocleum est. existimat enim qui mare teneat eum necesse <esse>³ rerum potiri. itaque [qui]⁴ numquam id egit ut Hispaniae per se tenerentur; navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit. navigabit igitur, cum erit tempus, maximis classibus et ad Italiam accedet, in qua nos sedentes quid erimus? nam medios esse iam non licebit. [classibus]⁵ adversabimur igitur? quod maius scelus aut⁶ tantum? denique quid turpius?

² Catuli s : C. Ateii Bosius

³ add. Lambinus

⁴ del. Schütz

⁵ del. Manutius

⁶ scilicet (*Malaespina*)

LETTER 199 (X.8)

if he wins and an onslaught on private property and return of exiles and cancellation of debts and elevation of rascalions to office and despotism worse than any Persian, let alone Roman, could endure.

Shall I be able to keep silence under such humiliation? Shall I be able to bear the sight of Gabinius speaking beside me in the Senate, and even called upon to speak before me? Can I stand the presence of your client¹ Cloelius and *'s client Plaguleius and the rest? But I need not enumerate my enemies. What of my friends whom I have defended in the courts? I shall not be able to see them in the Senate House without distress nor to be in their company without discredit. And after all I cannot be certain that this will be open to me. Caesar's friends write to me that he is by no means satisfied with my conduct in not attending the Senate. Am I really to think of courting when it is dangerous to do so a man whose alliance I refused when it would have brought me profit?

Consider in the second place that the issue of the whole conflict will not be decided in Spain. Or do you think that if Spain goes Pompey will drop his weapons? No, his entire plan is Themistoclean. He reckons that whoever holds the sea is sure to be master. For that reason he was never interested in holding the Spanish provinces for their own sake; his main care was always to fit out a navy. So when the time comes he will put to sea with huge fleets and land in Italy, where I shall be quietly sitting. What will be my position then? Neutrality will no longer be possible. Shall I then take part against him? Could any crime be greater, or as great? What in fine could be more dishonourable?

¹ It is not known why Cloelius is so called.

CICERO

- an qui valde incumbentis⁷ solus tuli scelus, eiusdem cum
- 5 Pompeio et cum reliquis principibus non feram⁹ quod si iam misso officio periculi ratio habenda est, ab illis est periculum si peccaro, ab hoc si recte fecero, nec ullum in his malis consilium periculo vacuum inveniri potest, ut non sit dubium quin turpiter facere cum periculo fugiamus, quod fugeremus etiam cum salute. non simul cum Pompeio mare transi[er]imus.⁸ omnino <non>⁹ potuimus; exstat ratio dierum. sed tamen (fateamur enim quod est) ne con<ten>dimus quidem ut possemus.¹⁰ fefellit ea m<e>¹¹ res quae fortasse non debuit, sed fefellit: pacem putavi fore. quae si esset, iratum mihi Caesarem esse, cum idem amicus esset Pompeio, nolui. senseram enim quam idem essent. hoc verens in hanc tarditatem incidi. sed adsequar omnia si propero: si cunctor, amitto.
- 6 Et tamen, mi Attice, auguria quoque me incitant quaedam spe non dubia nec haec collegi nostri ab Atto¹² sed illa Platonis de tyrannis. nullo enim modo posse video stare istum diutius quin ipse per se etiam languentibus nobis concidat, quippe qui florentis<simus>¹³ ac novus sex, septem diebus ipsi illi egenti ac perditae multitudini in odium acerbissimum venerit, qui duarum rerum simulationem tam cito amiserit, mansuetudinis in Metello, divitiarum in aerario. iam quibus utatur vel sociis vel ministris? ii provin-

⁷ hic in absentis (SB)

⁸ del. Nipperdey

⁹ add. Manutius

¹⁰ condimus q- ut possimus (Nipperdey)

¹¹ add. Bostius

¹² attico (Orelli)

¹³ add. Manutius

² Probably a reference to the recent interview at Formiae.

³ Attus Naevius, legendary Augur. Plato's remarks are in *Republic*, 8 and 9.

LETTER 199 (X.8)

Am I, who have stood up all alone to Caesar's criminality,² hard as he pressed me, not to stand up to it when I have Pompey and our other leaders by my side? But now suppose I am to leave duty out of the question and take account of danger, there will be danger from Pompey's party if I do wrong and from Caesar if I do right, nor in these sorry times can any plan be devised that is free of risk. Therefore it is obviously better to avoid a dishonourable course fraught with danger when I would avoid it even if it carried security. I did not go abroad with Pompey; true, I did not have the opportunity—the dates are there to prove it. Still—I may as well acknowledge what is the fact—I did not try very hard to give myself the opportunity. One thing misled me, perhaps it ought not to have done but it did: I thought there would be peace. If that came about I did not want to have Caesar angry with me while on friendly terms with Pompey. I had learned by experience how hand in glove they were. This fear led me into such procrastination. But I shall gain all if I make haste; if I delay, I lose all.

And yet, my dear Atticus, I am also urged in this direction by a sure hope I have in certain auguries, not those of our College inherited from Attus,³ but Plato's on the subject of tyrants. As I see it, Caesar cannot last very long without falling by his own impulse, even though we are ineffective. Look how with all the advantage of novelty and brilliant success he has in a week become an object of bitter hatred even to the needy and reckless mob which supported him—how in so short a space of time he has lost two masks, the mask of clemency in dealing with Metellus and the mask of riches in the matter of the Treasury. Again, whom is he to take as his partners and assistants? Are the

- 7 cias, ii¹⁴ rem publicam regent quorum nemo duo mensis potuit patrimonium suum gubernare? non sunt omnia colligenda quae tu acutissime perspicias, sed tamen ea pone ante oculos; iam intelleges id regnum vix semenstre esse posse. quod si me fefellerit, feram, sicut multi clarissimi homines in re publica excellentes tulerunt, nisi forte me Sardanapali vicem in suo¹⁵ lectulo mori malle censueris quam <in>¹⁶ exsilio Themistocleo. qui cum fuisset, ut ait Thucydides, τῶν μὲν παρόντων δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κρᾶτιστος γνώμων, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων ἐς πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής, tamen incidit in eos casus quos vitasset si cum nihil fefellisset. etsi is erat, ut ait idem, qui τὸ ἄμεινον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί ἔτι ἑώρα μάλιστα, tamen non vidit nec quo modo Lacedaemoniorum nec quo modo suorum civium invidiam effugeret nec quid Artaxerxi pollice<re>tur. non fuisset illa nox tam acerba Africano, sapientissimo viro, non tam dirus ille dies Sullanus callidissimo viro, C. Mario, si nihil
- 8 utrumque eorum fefellisset. nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio quo diximus, nec nos fallit nec aliter accidet. corruat iste necesse est aut per adversarios aut ipse per se, qui quidem sibi est adversarius unus acerrimus. id spero vivis nobis fore; quamquam tempus est nos de illa perpetua iam, non de hac exigua vita cogitare. sin quid acciderit maturius, haud sane mea multum interfuerit utrum factum

¹⁴ si (vel si ii) pr- ii (*Madvig*)

¹⁵ del. *coni. SB*

¹⁶ *add. Wesenberg*

⁴ According to one story this luxury-loving Assyrian king died in old age after losing his empire.

⁵ 1.138.3 (*Crawley's translation*).

LETTER 199 (X.8)

provinces and the state to be governed by people not one of whom had the capacity to look after his own family property for two months? I need not make a catalogue of points which are already apparent to your perspicacity, but do just call them to mind; you will soon see that this reign can hardly last six months. If I am wrong, I shall take the consequences, as many great men and eminent statesmen have done before me. Or do you think I would rather die in my bed like Sardanapalus⁴ than in exile like Themistocles? He was, Thucydides says, 'at once the best judge in those sudden crises which admit of little or no deliberation and the best prophet of the future, even to its most distant possibilities.'⁵ Yet he fell into misfortunes which he would have avoided if he had never forecast wrong. Although, to quote Thucydides again, 'he could excellently divine the good and evil which lay hidden in the unseen future,' yet he failed to see how to escape the jealousy of the Spartans or that of his own countrymen, or what promises he ought to make Artaxerxes. Africanus was a very wise man, C. Marius a very cunning one; yet if neither had ever forecast awry, there would never have come that cruel night⁶ for the one or that terrible day of Sulla's return for the other. But in the present case I confirm my forecast by the augury aforesaid. I am not wrong and it will not turn out otherwise. He is bound to collapse either through his enemies' agency or his own; indeed he is his own worst enemy. I hope I may live to see it, though it is time for me to be thinking of eternity rather than this brief span. But if anything happens to me earlier, well, it will make little enough differ-

⁶ The younger Scipio Africanus died suddenly at night and was believed to have been murdered.

[fiat] videam an futurum esse multo ante viderim. quae cum ita sint, non est committendum ut iis paream quos contra me senatus, ne quid res publica detrimenti acciperet, armavit.

- 9 Tibi sunt omnia commendata, quae commendationis meae pro tuo in nos amore non indigent. ne hercule ego quidem reperio quid scribam; sedeo enim *πλουδοκῶν*. etsi nihil umquam tam fuit scribendum quam nihil mihi umquam ex plurimis tuis iucunditatibus gratius accidisse quam quod meam Tulliam suavissime diligentissimeque coluisti. valde eo ipsa delectata est, ego autem non minus. cuius quidem virtus mirifica. quo modo illa fert publicam cladem, quo modo domesticas tricas! quantus autem animus in discessu nostro! est *στοργή*, est summa *σύντηξις*;
- 10 tamen nos recte facere et bene audire vult. sed hac super re mi<nu>s,¹⁷ ne meam ipse *συμπάθειαν* iam evocem.

Tu, si quid de Hispaniis certius et si quid aliud, dum adsumus, scribes, et ego fortasse discedens dabo ad te aliquid, eo etiam magis quod Tullia te non putabat hoc tempore ex Italia. cum An<to>nio item est agendum ut cum Curione, Melitae me velle esse, civili bello¹⁸ nolle interesse. eo velim tam facili ut<i> possim et tam bono in me quam Curione. is ad Misenum VI Non. venturus dicebatur, id est hodie. sed praemisit mihi odiosas litteras hoc exemplo:

¹⁷ *add. SB*

¹⁸ huic libello *vel* huic bello (*SB* : huic c- b- *Wesenberg*)

⁷ Traditional wording from the Senate's 'Ultimate Decree,'

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ence to me whether I see it come to pass or only saw long beforehand that it would come to pass one day. Therefore I must not stoop to yield obedience to men against whom the Senate placed arms in my hands 'lest harm come to the state.'⁷

I have commended to you all my concerns, and your affection for me makes commendation on my part unnecessary. I too find nothing to write about—I am just sitting waiting to sail. And yet nothing ever needed writing more than this, that of all your many kindnesses there is none I have valued more than your tender and punctilious attention to my Tullia. It has given her the greatest pleasure, and me no less. Her courage and patience in face of public disaster and domestic worries is really wonderful. How brave she was when we parted! She combines natural affection with the most delicate sympathy. Yet she wishes me to do the right thing and to stand well in men's eyes. But I say less than I might on this subject for fear I end by becoming my own sympathizer.

If you hear anything definite about Spain or anything else, please write as long as I am here, and perhaps I'll send you a line as I leave, especially as Tullia thinks you won't be going out of Italy for the time being. I must take the same line with Antony as with Curio, that I want to settle in Malta and keep out of civil war. I only hope I find him as amenable and well disposed towards me as Curio. He is said to be coming to Misenum on the 2nd, i.e. today. But he has sent me the following disagreeable epistle in advance:

corresponding to a declaration of martial law. It was used in the Catilinarian crisis of 63.

CICERO

199A (X.8A)

Scr. fort. Kal. Mai. an. 49

ANTONIUS TR. PL. PRO PR. CICERONI IMP. SAL.

- 1 Nisi te valde amarem et multo quidem plus quam tu putas, non extimuissem rumorem qui de te prolatus est, cum praesertim falsum esse existimarem. sed quia te nimio plus diligo, non possum dissimulare mihi famam quoque, quamvis sit falsa, falsam agnoscere¹ magni esse. trans mare <te iturum esse>² credere non possum, cum tanti facias Dolabellam <et> Tulliam tuam, feminam lectissimam, tantique ab omnibus nobis fias; quibus mehercule dignitas amplitudoque tua paene carior est quam tibi ipsi. sed tamen non sum arbitratus esse amici non commoveri etiam improborum sermone, atque eo feci studiosius quod iudicabam duriores partis mihi impositas esse ab offensione nostra, quae magis a ζηλοτυπία mea quam ab iniuria tua nata est. sic enim volo te tibi persuadere, mihi neminem esse cariorem te excepto Caesare meo, meque illud una
- 2 iudicare, Caesarem maxime in suis M. Ciceronem reponere. qua re, mi Cicero, te rogo ut tibi omnia integra serves, eius fidem improbes qui tibi ut beneficium daret prius iniuriam fecit, contra ne profugias qui te, etsi non amabit, quod accidere non potest, tamen salvum amplissimumque esse cupiet.

Dedita opera ad te Calpurnium, familiarissimum

¹ falsam agnosce vel falsa codd. *superstites*

² *add. Baiter* (esse te it- s)

¹ Why Antony was jealous of Cicero is not clear.

² Probably an unknown.

LETTER 199A (X.8A)

199A (X.8A)

Place uncertain, 1 May (?) 49

ANTONIUS TRIBUNE, PROPRAETOR
TO CICERO IMPERATOR

If I did not have a great affection for you, much more indeed than you suppose, I should not have been so alarmed at a report which has been put about concerning you, especially as I did not believe it. But because I have a quite peculiar regard for you, I cannot conceal my anxiety to be assured of the falsity of the rumour, rumour and false though it be. I cannot believe that you mean to go abroad, considering how fond you are of Dolabella and that most admirable young lady your daughter, and how fond we all are of you. I assure you that we care about your prestige and position more almost than you do yourself. However, I did not think it right as a friend to disregard even malicious talk, and I have been the more exercised because I considered that the coolness which has arisen between us, more from jealousy¹ on my part than from any injury on yours, made my part harder. For I wish you to persuade yourself that no one means more to me than you except my friend Caesar, and that at the same time I believe Caesar gives the name of M. Cicero a place among his most particular friends. Therefore, my dear Cicero, I beg you not to compromise yourself in any way, not to trust a man who to do you a service first did you an injury, and on the other hand not to shun one who, even if he ceases to love you (which cannot happen), will still desire your well-being and dignity.

I have specially sent Calpurnius,² my intimate friend,

CICERO

meum, misi, ut mihi magnae curae tuam vitam ac dignitatem esse scires.

Eodem die a Caesare Philotimus attulit hoc exemplo:

199B (X.8B)

Scr. Massiliam iter faciens xv Kal. Mai. an. 49 (§ 2)

CAESAR IMP. SAL. D. CICERONI IMP.

- 1 Etsi te nihil temere, nihil imprudenter facturum iudicaram, tamen permotus hominum fama scribendum ad te existimavi et pro nostra benevolentia petendum ne quo progredereis proclinata iam re quo integra etiam progrediendum tibi non existimasses. namque et amicitiae graviolem iniuriam feceris et tibi minus commode consulueris, si non fortunae obsecutus videberis (omnia enim secundissima nobis, adversissima illis accidisse videntur), nec causam secutus (eadem enim tum fuit cum ab eorum
- 2 consiliis abesse iudicasti), sed meum aliquod factum condemnasse; quo mihi gravius abs te nihil accidere potest. quod ne facias pro iure nostrae amicitiae a te peto. postremo quid viro bono et quieto et bono civi magis convenit quam abesse a civilibus controversiis? quod non nulli cum probarent, periculi causa sequi non potuerunt; tu explorato et vitae meae testimonio et amicitiae iudicio neque tutius neque honestius reperies quicquam quam ab omni contentione abesse.

xv Kal. Mai. ex itinere.

¹ See Commentary in *CLA* and add Ovid *Tristia* 5.6.16 *me pariter serva iudiciumque tuum*.

LETTER 199B (X.8B)

to you so that you may know how deeply I care for your personal safety and position.

The same day Philotimus brought the following letter from Caesar:

199B (X.8B)

En route to Massilia, 16 April 49

CAESAR IMPERATOR TO CICERO IMPERATOR

Persuaded as I am that you will do nothing hasty or imprudent, I am none the less troubled by current reports, and I therefore feel I ought to write and appeal to you in the name of our mutual good will not to take a step now that the scales have turned which you did not think fit to take even when they were level. You will be committing a graver offence against friendship and acting less advisedly from your own point of view if it appears that you have not bowed to fortune (since everything seems to have gone excellently for us and disastrously for our adversaries) nor yet followed a cause (since it was the same cause when you decided to keep aloof from their counsels), but that you have disapproved some action of mine, which is the worst blow you could deal me. I appeal to you in the name of our friendship not to do this. Finally, to hold aloof from civil quarrels is surely the most fitting course for a good, peace-loving man and a good citizen. Some who favoured that course were prevented from following it by fear for their safety. But you have the witness of my career and the judgement implied in our friendship.¹ Weigh them well, and you will find no safer and no more honourable way than to keep aloof from all conflict.

16 April, en route.

CICERO

200 (X.9)

Scr. in Cumano v Non. Mai. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Adventus Philotimi (at cuius hominis, quam insulsi et quam saepe pro Pompeio mentientis!) exanimavit omnis qui mecum erant; nam ipse obdurui. dubitabat nostrum nemo quin Caesar itinera repressisset—volare dicitur; Petreius cum Afranio coniunxisse<t se>—nihil adfert eius modi. quid quaeris? etiam illud erat persuasum, Pompeium cum magnis copiis iter in Germaniam per Illyricum fecisse; id enim ἀνδρευτικῶς nuntiabatur. Melitam igitur, opinor, capessamus, dum quid in Hispania. quod quidem prope modum videor ex Caesaris litteris ipsius voluntate facere posse, qui negat neque honestius neque tutius mihi quicquam esse quam ab omni contentione abesse.
- 2 Dices 'ubi ergo tuus ille animus quem proximis litteris?' adest et idem est; sed utinam meo solum capite decernerem! lacrimae meorum me interdum molliunt precantium ut de Hispaniis exspectemus. M. Caeli quidem epistulam scriptam miserabiliter, cum hoc idem obsecraret, ut exspectarem, ne fortunas meas, ne unicum filium,¹ ne meos omnis tam temere proderem, non sine magno fletu legerunt pueri nostri; etsi meus quidem est fortior eoque ipso vehementius commovet, nec quicquam nisi de dignatione laborat.
- 3 Melitam igitur, deinde quo videbitur. tu tamen etiam nunc mihi aliquid litterarum, et maxime si quid ab Afranio. ego si cum Antonio locutus ero, scribam ad te quid actum

¹ unicam filiam (*Corradus*)

LETTER 200 (X.9)

200 (X.9)

Cumae, 3 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Philotimus' arrival (what an ass he is, and how many lies he tells on Pompey's behalf!) has thrown all my companions into consternation—I myself am hardened. None of us doubted that Caesar had checked speed—now he is said to be on wings; or that Petreius had joined Afranius—Philotimus brings nothing of the kind. Why, it was even believed that Pompey had marched through Illyricum into Germany with a large army; we had it on unimpeachable authority. Well then, best go to Malta till we know what happens in Spain. From Caesar's letter it almost looks as though I can do that with his blessing, since he says there is no more honourable or safer way for me than to hold aloof from all conflict.

You will ask what has become of the spirit I showed in my last letter. It is still here, the same as ever. But if only it was just my own life I was staking! The tears of those I love, who entreat me to wait for the outcome in Spain, sometimes sap my resolution. Our boys wept bitterly when they read a pathetic letter from M. Caelius in which he made the same plea, that I should wait and not so recklessly sacrifice my fortunes, my only son, and all who are dear to me. My own son, it is true, is braver and for that very reason moves me more strongly. He thinks of nothing but my good name.

To Malta therefore, and then wherever seems best. Please send me a line or two even now, especially if you have any news from Afranius' quarter. If I talk to Antony, I shall let you know the result. But I shall follow your

CICERO

sit. ero tamen in credendo, ut mones, cautus; nam occul-
tandi ratio cum difficilis tum etiam periculosa est. Servium
exspecto ad Nonas †et adicit a†² Postumia et Servius filius.
quartanam leviozem esse gaudeo. nisi ad te Caeli etiam
litterarum exemplum.

200A (X.9A)

Scr. in Liguria (P) c. XV Kal. Mai. an. 49

CAELIUS CICERONI SAL.

- 1 Exanimatus tuis litteris, quibus te nihil nisi triste cogitare ostendisti neque id quid esset perscripsisti neque non tamen quale esset quod cogitares aperuisti, has ad te ilico litteras scripsi.

Per fortunas tuas, Cicero, per liberos te oro et obsecro ne quid gravius de salute et incolumitate tua consulas. nam deos hominesque amicitiamque nostram testificor me tibi praedixisse neque temere monuisse sed, postquam Caesarem convenerim sententiamque eius qualis futura esset parta victoria cognorim, te certiozem fecisse. si existimas eandem rationem fore Caesaris in dimittendis adversariis et condicionibus ferendis, erras. nihil nisi atrox et saevum cogitat atque etiam loquitur. iratus senatui exiit, his intercessionibus plane incitatus est; non mehercules erit deprecationi locus.

- 2 Qua re si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus, si spes tuae reliquae tibi carae sunt, si aliquid apud te nos, si vir opti-

² adigit ita *Bostus* : et ita dicit *Beaujeu*

LETTER 200A (X.9A)

advice and be cautious in trusting him. As for a secret departure, it would be dangerous as well as difficult. I expect Servius for the Nones, as requested by (?) Postumia and Servius junior. I am glad your fever is easier. I am sending you a copy of Caelius' letter too.

200A (X.9A)

Liguria (?), ca. 16 April 49

CAELIUS TO CICERO

Much agitated as I am by your letter, in which you make it plain that you have none but gloomy ideas in mind but do not say in detail what they are, and yet do not conceal the general nature of your intentions, I am writing this letter to you straight away.

I beg and implore you, Cicero, in the name of your fortunes and your children, to take no step which will jeopardize your well-being and safety. I call gods and men and our friendship to witness that I have told you how it will be, and that it is no casual warning I give; having met Caesar and found what his disposition is likely to be once victory is won, I am telling you what I know. If you suppose that Caesar will continue his policy of letting opponents go free and offering terms, you are making a mistake. He thinks and even talks of nothing but ruthless severity. He left Rome angry with the Senate, he is thoroughly incensed by these vetoes. Believe me the time for intercession will be past.

Accordingly, if you care for yourself, for your only son, for your household, for your remaining hopes, if I and your excellent son-in-law have any influence with you, whose

CICERO

mus, gener tuus, valemus, quorum fortunam non debes velle conturbare, ut eam causam in cuius victoria salus nostra est odisse aut relinquere cogamur aut impiam cupiditatem contra salutem tuam habeamus * * *¹ denique illud cogita, quod offensae fuerit in ista cunctatione te subisse. nunc te contra victorem Caesarem facere quem dubiis rebus laedere noluisti et ad eos fugatos accedere quos resistentis sequi nolueris summae stultitiae est. vide

3 ne, dum pudet te parum optimatem esse, parum diligenter quid optimum sit eligas. quod si totum tibi persuadere non possum, saltem dum quid de Hispaniis agamus scitur expecta; quas tibi nuntio adventu Caesaris fore nostras. quam isti spem habeant amissis Hispaniis nescio; quod porro tuum consilium sit ad desperatos accedere non me dius fidius reperio.

4 Hoc quod tu non dicendo mihi significasti Caesar audierat ac, simul atque 'have' mihi dixit, statim quid de te audisset exposuit. negavi me scire, sed tamen ab eo petii ut ad te litteras mitteret, quibus maxime ad remanendum commoveri posses. me secum in Hispaniam ducit; nam nisi ita faceret, ego, prius quam ad urbem accederem, ubicumque esses, ad te percurrissem et hoc a te praesens contendissem atque omni vi te retinuissem.

5 Etiam atque etiam, Cicero, cogita ne te tuosque omnis funditus evertas, ne te sciens prudensque eo demittas unde exitum vides nullum esse. quod si te aut voces optimatum commovent aut non nullorum hominum insolentiam et iactationem ferre non potes, eligas censeo aliquid

¹ haec omnia etiam atque etiam cogitabis *add. coni. SB*

LETTER 200A (X.9A)

careers you surely do not wish to ruin by forcing us to hate or abandon the cause with which our welfare is bound up or else to harbour an undutiful wish contrary to *your* welfare * * *. Finally consider that any odium which may attach to your hesitancy has already been incurred. When Caesar's prospects were doubtful you were unwilling to harm him; to go against him now, in the hour of victory, and to join a routed party which you did not choose to follow when they were fighting back, is the acme of folly. Don't be so much ashamed of failing the 'right' side as to think too little about making the right choice. But if I cannot persuade you altogether, do at least wait until it is known how things go with us in Spain. You may take my word for it that these provinces will be ours as soon as Caesar arrives. What hope your friends have with Spain lost I do not know, and what sense it makes for you to join a hopeless party on my honour I cannot imagine.

What you conveyed to me without putting it into words Caesar had heard already. He scarcely said good day to me before he told me what he had heard about you. I professed ignorance, but asked him all the same to write to you in terms best adapted to induce you not to leave. He is taking me with him to Spain. Otherwise before returning to Rome I should have hurried to you wherever you were and urged my plea in person and held you back with all my might.

Think, Cicero, again and yet again before you bring utter ruin on yourself and your family, before you plunge with your eyes wide open into a situation from which you see there is no escape. If however you are worried by what the optimates may be saying or if you find the arrogance and bounce of certain people too much for you, my advice

CICERO

oppidum vacuum a bello dum haec decernuntur; quae iam erunt confecta. id si feceris, et ego te sapienter fecisse iudicabo et Caesarem non offendes.

201 (X.10)

Scr. in Cumano v Non. Mai. an. 49 (§ 3)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Me caecum qui haec ante non viderim! misi ad te epistulam Antoni. ei cum ego †saepissime†¹ scripsissem nihil me contra Caesaris rationes cogitare, meminisse me generi mei, meminisse amicitiae, potuisse, si aliter sentirem, esse cum Pompeio, me autem, quia cum lictoribus invitus cur saream, abesse velle nec id ipsum certum etiam nunc habere, vide quam ad haec παραυ<ετ>ικῶς:²
- 2 Tu<or>um³ consilium †quia†⁴ verum est. nam qui se medium esse vult, in patria manet; qui proficiscitur, aliquid de altera utra parte iudicare videtur. sed ego is non sum qui statuere debeam iure quis proficiscatur necne; partis mihi Caesar has imposuit ne quem omnino discedere ex Italia paterer. qua re parvi refert me probare cogitationem tuam, si nihil tamen tibi remittere possum. ad Caesarem mittas censeo et ab eo hoc petas. non dubito quin impetraturus sis,

¹ *delendum vel statim rescr- substituendum coni. SB*

² *παρηυικῶς vel sim. (Lambinus)*

³ *tuum (coni. SB*)*

⁴ *quam s*

LETTER 201 (X.10)

is to choose some town well away from the war while these issues are deciding. It will not be long before they are settled. If you do that I shall judge you to have acted wisely and you will not offend Caesar.

201 (X.10)

Cumae, 3 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Blind that I was not to have foreseen this! I sent you Antony's letter. I wrote to him to the effect that I had no thought of acting against Caesar's interests, that I bore my son-in-law in mind and also the claims of friendship, that if I had felt otherwise I might have been with Pompey now, but that finding it irksome to wander to and fro with my lictors I wished to stay at a distance, though even that I had still not definitely decided. This is his wiseacre reply:

Your friends¹ advice is very sound (?) For a man who wishes to take neither side stays in his country; to leave it suggests that he is passing judgement on one side or the other. However it is not my responsibility to decide whether any person is entitled to leave or not. My instructions from Caesar are to allow nobody whosoever to go out of Italy. Therefore it matters little that I should approve your intention since even so I cannot grant you any concession. I advise you to send to Caesar and make your request of him. I do not doubt that he will accede to

¹ As perhaps Dolabella (see Commentary in *CLA*). The conjecture *tuorum* is adopted in Beaujeu's text.

CICERO

cum praesertim te amicitiae vestrae⁵ rationem habiturum esse pollicearis.

- 3 Habes σκυτάλην Λακωνικήν. omnino excipiam hominem. erat autem v Non. venturus vesperi, id est hodie; cras igitur ad me fortasse veniet. temptabo, audiam:⁶ nihil properare, missurum ad Caesarem. clam agam,⁷ cum paucissimis alicubi occultabor; certe hinc istis invitissimis evolabo, atque utinam ad Curionem! σύνες ὁ τοι⁸ λέγω. magnus dolor accessit. efficietur aliquid dignum nobis.
- 4 Δυσουρία tua mihi valde molesta; medere, amabo, dum est ἀρχή. de Massiliensibus gratiae mihi tuae litterae; quaeso ut sciam quicquid audieris. Ocellam cuperem, si
- 5 possem palam, quod a Curione effeceram. hic ego Servium exspecto; rogor enim ab eius uxore et filio, et puto opus esse. hic tamen Cytherida secum lectica aperta portat, alteram uxorem. septem praeterea coniunctae lecticae amicarum; et sunt⁹ amicorum. <vi>de quam turpi leto pereamus, et dubita, si potes, quin ille, seu victus seu victor redierit, caedem facturus sit. ego vero vel luntriculo, si
- 6 navis non erit, eripiam me ex istorum parricidio. sed plura scribam cum illum convenero.

⁵ nostrae (coni. SB*)

⁶ audeam (Moser)

⁷ clamabam (O. E. Schmidt)

⁸ ΩΤΘΙ (Cobet)

⁹ e(a)ae sunt vel s- (SB)

² Actually a quotation from Pindar, also used by Plato and Strabo.

³ Again, perhaps the idea of a peace appeal is in mind (see CLA, Vol. IV, Appendix VI).

LETTER 201 (X.10)

it, especially as you promise to take the friendship between you into consideration.

There's a Laconian dispatch for you! To be sure I shall lie in wait for him—he is coming on the evening of the 3rd, i.e. today, so perhaps he will call on me tomorrow. I shall sound him, listen to him. I shall say that I am in no hurry, that I shall send to Caesar. I shall act by stealth and conceal myself somewhere with a very few companions. At all events I shall escape from here, however much they want to stop me, and I only hope it will be to Curio. Mark my words.² Intense vexation has been added to my other motives. I shall bring off something worthy of myself.³

I am much concerned about your strangury. Do, I beg of you, treat it while it is in the early stages. I am glad to hear from you about Massilia.⁴ Pray let me know whatever news comes your way. I should much like to take Ocella if I could travel openly, as I had arranged with Curio. I am waiting for Servius here; his wife and son ask me, and I think I ought. But this worthy here⁵ is carrying Cytheris around with him in an open litter, a second wife. Seven other litters are attached, containing mistresses; and there are some containing *friends*. Look at the shame of the death we are dying and doubt if you can that Caesar will institute a massacre when he returns, victor or vanquished. I shall snatch myself from the clutches of these criminals in a rowing boat if I cannot get a ship. But I'll write more when I have met him.

⁴ The Greek town of Massilia (Marseilles), wishing to keep neutral, had refused admittance to Caesar.

⁵ Mark Antony.

CICERO

Iuvenem nostrum non possum non amare, sed ab eo nos non amari plane intellego. nihil ego vidi tam ἀνηθο-
ποίητον, tam aversum a suis, tam nescio quid cogitans. vim
incredibilem molestiarum! sed erit curae et est ut regatur.
mirum est enim ingenium, ἤθους ἐπιμελητέον.

202 (X.11)

Scr. in Cumano IV Non. Mai. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Obsignata iam epistula superiore non placuit ei dari cui
constitueram quod erat alienus; itaque eo die data non est.
interim venit Philotimus et mihi a te litteras reddidit.
quibus quae de fratre meo scribis, sunt ea quidem parum
firma sed habent nihil ὑπουλον, nihil fallax, nihil non
flexibile ad bonitatem, nihil quod non quo velis uno ser-
mone possis perducere; ne multa, omnis suos, etiam
quibus irascitur crebrius, tamen caros habet, me quidem
se ipso cariorem. quod de puero aliter ad te scripsit et
ad matrem de filio, non reprehendo. de itinere et de sorore
quae scribis molesta sunt eoque magis quod ea tempora
nostra sunt ut ego iis mederi non possim. nam certe mede-
rer; sed quibus in malis et qua in desperatione rerum simus
vides.
- 2 Illa de ratione nummaria non sunt eius modi (saepe
enim audio ex ipso) ut non cupiat tibi praestare et in eo

LETTER 202 (X.11)

As for our young man, I cannot help feeling affection for him, but I plainly see that he has none for us. I have never met with such a lack of moral constitution, such estrangement towards his family, such secretiveness. What an incredible spate of annoyances! But I shall take care that he gets some direction, and am already doing so. His abilities are extraordinary, it is his character that needs attention.

202 (X.11)

Cumae, 4 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

After I had sealed my last letter I decided not to give it to the man I had intended because he was not one of our own people, so it was not dispatched that day. Meanwhile Philotimus arrived and handed me a letter from you. What you say about my brother no doubt argues a certain infirmity, but nothing treacherous or *fourbe*, nothing that may not be bent over to good, nothing you could not lead where you liked in a single talk. In short, he is fond of all his own people, even those with whom he most often falls out of humour, and fonder of me than of himself. I do not think he is to be blamed for writing to you in terms different from those he used to the lad's mother about her son. What you say about the journey and your sister is tiresome, all the more so as our present circumstances do not allow me to put things right, as otherwise I certainly should. But you see what troubles we are in and how hopeless our fortunes.

As regards the money business, it is not (I often hear him talk about it) that he does not *want* to pay you and is

laboret. sed si mihi Q. Axius in hac mea fuga HS $\overline{\text{XII}}$ ¹ non reddit quae dedi eius filio mutua et utitur excusatione temporis, si Lepta, si ceteri, soleo mirari de nescio quis HS $\overline{\text{XX}}$ cum audio ex illo se urgeri. vides enim profecto angustias. curari tamen ea tibi utique iubet. an existimas illum in isto genere lentulum aut restrictum? nemo est minus. de fratre satis.

3 De eius filio, indulisit illi quidem suus pater semper, sed non facit indulgentia mendacem aut avarum aut non amantem suorum, ferocem fortasse atque adrogantem et infestum facit. itaque habet haec quoque quae nascuntur ex indulgentia, sed ea sunt tolerabilia (quid enim dicam?) hac iuventute; ea vero, quae mihi quidem qui illum amo sunt his ipsis malis in quis sumus miseriora, non sunt ab obsequio nostro; nam suas radices habent, quas tamen evellerem profecto, si liceret. sed ea tempora sunt ut omnia mihi sint patienda. ego meum facile teneo; nihil est enim eo tractabilius. cuius quidem misericordia languidiora adhuc consilia cepi et quo ille me certiolem vult esse eo magis timeo ne in eum existam crudelior.

4 Sed Antonius venit heri vesperi. iam fortasse ad me veniet aut ne id quidem, quoniam scripsit quid fieri vellet. sed scies continuo quid actum sit. nos iam nihil nisi occulte. de pueris quid agam? parvone navigio committam? quid mihi animi in navigando censes fore? recordor enim aes-

¹ XIII vel $\overline{\text{XXIII}}$ (*Purser*)

LETTER 202 (X.11)

unconcerned about it. But when Q. Axius does not repay me in this exile of mine the HS 12,000 I lent his son and pleads hard times, when Lepta and the rest do the like, I cannot help feeling surprised when I hear him say that he is being pressed about a matter of HS 20,000. You must see how tight things are. None the less he is giving categorical instructions to have you paid. Do you think him sticky or close about this sort of thing? No one could be less so. Well, that's enough about my brother.

As for his son, he has always been indulged by his father, but indulgence does not make a boy untruthful or grasping or wanting in natural affection, though it may make him headstrong, overbearing, and aggressive. Accordingly he has these faults too, the products of over-indulgence, but they are tolerable, at least I suppose I may call them so, young people being what they are nowadays. But the qualities that cause me, fond of him as I am, more pain even than the miseries of our present condition do not arise from any compliance on our part. They have their own roots. No doubt I should tear them up if I had the opportunity. But the times are such that I must put up with all. I have no difficulty with my own boy, who is the most tractable of beings. It is out of pity for him that I have hitherto taken a weaker line, and the more positive he wants me to be the more I am afraid of proving an unkind father.

However Antony arrived yesterday evening. Presently perhaps he will call on me, or perhaps not even that as he has notified his wishes in writing. But you shall know the upshot at once. I shall now do nothing except by stealth. What am I to do about the boys? If I trust their lives to a small boat, how do you think I shall feel during the voyage?

CICERO

tate cum <illis>² illo Rhodiorum ἀφράκτῳ navigans quam fuerim sollicitus; quid duro tempore anni actuariola fore censes? o rem undique miseram!

Trebatius erat mecum, vir plane et civis bonus. quae ille monstra, di immortales! etiamne Balbus in senatum venire cogitet? sed ei ipsi cras ad te litteras dabo.

- 5 Vettienum mihi amicum, ut scribis, ita puto esse. cum eo, quod ἀποτόμως ad me scripserat de nummis curandis, θυμικώτερον eram iocatus. id tu, si ille aliter acceperit ac debuit, lenies. 'monetali' autem adscripsi, quod ille ad me 'pro cos.' sed quoniam est homo et nos diligit, ipse quoque a nobis diligatur. vale.

203 (X.12)

Scr. in Cumano III Non. Mai. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Quidnam mihi futurum est aut quis me non solum infelicius sed iam etiam turpius? nominatim de me sibi imperatum dicit Antonius, nec me tamen ipse adhuc viderat sed hoc Trebatius narravit. quid agam nunc, cui nihil procedit caduntque ea quae diligentissime sunt cogitata taeterime? ego enim Curionem nactu(s) omnia me consecutum putavi. <i>s¹ de me ad Hortensium scripserat. Reginus

² *add. Lehmann*

¹ *putabis (Victorius)*

¹ The three Moneyers (*monetales*) were Directors of the Roman Mint. But the word seems to have had another sense (perhaps 'moneychanger') appropriate to Vestorius' actual business and associated with sharp practice (see Letter 417.1). In heading his letter to Cicero he should have called him 'Imperator.'

LETTER 203 (X.12)

I remember how anxious I was last summer, sailing with them in that Rhodian open craft. What do you think it will be like at a bad season in a small dispatch boat? It's a wretched business, whichever way you look at it.

Trebatius is with me, a thoroughly good man and citizen. Ye gods, what monstrosities he has to tell! Can it really be that even Balbus is thinking of getting into the Senate? But I shall be giving Trebatius himself a letter for you tomorrow.

Yes, I think Vettienus is my good friend, as you say. As he had written to me brusquely about paying the cash, I put a touch of acerbity into my jests with him. If he has taken it amiss, please smooth him down. I put 'Moneyer' after his name because he put 'Proconsul' after mine.¹ But since he is a good fellow and has a regard for me I am quite willing to reciprocate. Good-bye.

203 (X.12)

Cumae, 5 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

What is to become of me? Who is in a more unhappy, and not only that but by now in a more discreditable position than I? Antony says he has received specific orders about me—he has not yet seen me himself however, but so informed Trebatius. What am I to do now? Nothing goes right for me, and the most carefully laid plans turn out abominably. I thought that having gained Curio I had won the whole battle. He had written about me to Hortensius,

erat totus noster. huic nihil suspicabamur cum hoc mari negoti fore. quo me nunc vertam? undique custodior.

- 2 Sed satis lacrimis. παραποπλευτέον² igitur et occulte in aliquam onerariam correndum, non committendum ut etiam compacto prohibiti videamur. Sicilia petenda; quam si erimus nacti, maiora quaedam consequemur. sit modo recte in Hispaniis! quamquam de ipsa Sicilia utinam sit verum! sed adhuc nihil secundi. concursus Siculorum ad Catonem dicitur factus, orasse ut resisteret, omnia pollicitos; commotum illum dilectum habere coepisse. non credo; at³ est luculentus auctor. potuisse certe teneri illam provinciam scio. ab Hispaniis autem iam audietur.

- 3 Hic nos C. Marcellum habemus eadem <f>ere⁴ cogitantem aut bene simulantem; quamquam ipsum non videram sed ex familiarissimo eius audiebam. tu, quaeso, si quid habebis novi; ego, si quid moliti erimus, ad te statim scribam. Quintum filium severius adhibebo. utinam proficere possem! tu tamen eas epistulas quibus asperius de eo scripsi aliquando concerpito, ne quando quid emanet; ego item tuas.

- 4 Servium exspecto nec ab eo quicquam ὑγιές. scies quicquid erit.

² ΠΑΡΑΠΟΠΛΕΥΤΕΙΟΝ- *vel sim.* (E. Thomas)

³ ut (*Purser*)

⁴ e re (ς : vere *Madvig*)

LETTER 203 (X.12)

and I can depend upon Reginus absolutely. I had no idea that this fellow would have anything to do with this sea. Where shall I turn now? I am watched on all sides.

But that's enough moaning. I must sail off on the sly then, and creep secretly on board some freighter. I must not let it appear that the prohibition is collusive. I must make for Sicily. Once I make Sicily bigger things will be in my grasp. If only things go right in Spain! Though as regards Sicily too I only hope it may be true, but so far we have had no luck—there's a report that the people have rallied to Cato, begged him to put up a fight, promised everything, and that he was sufficiently impressed to start raising troops. I don't believe it. Still the source is respectable. I know the province *could* have been held. From Spain we shall soon have news.

We have C. Marcellus¹ here, who intends, or makes a good show of intending, pretty much the same as myself. Not that I have seen him in person, but I hear this from a close friend of his. Write, pray, if you have any news, and I shall write to you immediately if I put anything in hand. I shall handle young Quintus pretty strictly. I wish I was in a position to do good. But please tear up sometime the letters in which I have written sharply about him for fear something may some day leak out.² I'll do the same with yours.

I am awaiting Servius, but don't expect anything good from him. You shall know whatever there may be to know.

¹ Consul in 50.

² The letters survive, nonetheless.

CICERO

204 (X.12a)

Scr. in Cumano prid. Non. Mai. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Sine dubio errasse nos confitendum est. 'at semel, at una in re.' immo omnia quo diligentius cogitata eo facta sunt imprudentius. 'ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι εἴσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ,' in reliquis modo ne ruamus. iubes enim de protectione me¹ providere. quid provideam? ita patent omnia quae accidere possunt ut, ea si vitem, sedendum sit cum dedecore et dolore, si neglegam, periculum sit ne in manus incidam perditorum. sed vide quantis in miseriis simus: optandum interdum videtur ut aliquam accipiamus
- 2 ab istis quamvis acerbam iniuriam, ut tyranno in odio fuisse videamur. quod si nobis is cursus quem speraram pateret, effecissem aliquid profecto, ut tu optas et hortaris, dignum nostra mora. sed mirificae sunt custodiae et quidem ille ipse Curio suspectus. qua re vi aut clam agendum est, et si vi †forte ne cum tempestate clam autem istis†. in quo si quod σφάλμα, vides quam turpe sit. trahimur, nec fugiendum si quid violentius.
- 3 De Caelio saepe mecum agito nec, si quid habuero tale, dimittam. Hispanias spero firmas esse. Massiliensium factum cum ipsum per se luculentum est tum mihi argumento

¹ mea (*Gronovius*)

¹ From *Iliad*, 18.112.

² 'Caelius' is a kind of code word referring to a mysterious project which Cicero had in view just at this time. According to my conjecture (in *CLA* Vol. IV, Appendix VI) it was to take over

LETTER 204 (X.12a)

204 (X.12a)

Cumae, 6 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

It must be admitted that I have been wrong, no doubt about it; and not on one occasion nor in one matter only. No, in everything alike, the more carefully I have planned the less wisely I have acted. 'But bygones, though in sadness, we'll let lie,'¹ and try only not to come to grief in what remains. You advise me to have a care about my departure. A care for what? Everything that can happen is obvious. If I avoid these risks I must accept an ignominious and painful inactivity, if I disregard them, I am in danger of falling into the hands of desperadoes. But you can see what a miserable predicament I am in when I say that I sometimes feel inclined to *wish* for some injury, however grievous, at the hands of these people, so that I may appear to have been in bad odour with the tyrant. If the route on which I had counted had been open to me, I should doubtless have achieved something to make my delay seem worth while, as you hope and urge. But the watch is marvellously close, and even Curio himself is suspect. So I must use force or stealth and if force * * * stealth. You will appreciate how ignominious any miscarriage in such an attempt would be. I am swept on by the stream, and I must not shrink from some violence if need be.

I often think about Caelius,² and if I have any opportunity of that sort I shall not let it slip. I hope Spain is solid. The action of the Massilians is both valuable in itself and

the province of Africa as a base from which to launch an appeal for peace. The relevance of the name remains untraceable.

CICERO

est recte esse in Hispaniis. minus enim auderent si aliter esset, et scirent; nam et vicini² et diligentes sunt. odium autem recte animadvertis significatum <in> theatro.³ legiones etiam has quas in Italia adsumpsit alienissimas esse video. sed tamen nihil inimicius quam sibi ipse. illud recte times ne ruat. si desperarit, certe ruet; quo magis efficiendum aliquid est, fortuna velim meliore, animo Caeliano. sed primum quidque; quod, qualecumque erit, continuo scies.

- 4 Nos iuveni, ut rogas, suppeditabimus et Peloponnesum ipsam sustinebimus. est enim indoles, modo aliquid †hoc sit ἡθὸς ἀκίμολον†.⁴ quod si adhuc nullum est, esse tamen potest, aut ἀρετὴ non est διδασκτόν, quod mihi persuaderi non potest.

205 (X.13)

Scr. in Cumano Non. Mai. an. 49 (§ 2)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Epistula tua gratissima fuit meae Tulliae et mehercule mihi. semper s<p>ecu<la>m¹ aliquam adferunt tuae litterae. scribes igitur, ac si quid² ad spem poteris ne dimiseris. tu Antoni leones pertimescas cave. nihil est illo homine iucundius. attende πρᾶξι πολιτικοῦ. evocavit lit-

² victi (*Victorius*) ³ theatrum (*Boot*)

⁴ huic adsit ἡθὸς ἄκακον καὶ ἄδολον coni. *SB*

¹ *add. Boot* ² igitur aliquid (*Manuttius*)

³ And not only Arcadia (see Letter 196, note 2).

¹ There is a story in Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*, 8.55)

LETTER 205 (X.13)

evidence to my mind that things are all right in Spain. Otherwise they would not be so bold, and they would know, being near at hand and painstaking folk. You rightly note the hostile demonstrations in the theatre. Even the legions, these that he recruited in Italy, are evidently very disaffected. But the man himself is his own worst enemy. You are right to be afraid of his plunging. He certainly will, if he gets desperate. That is a further reason for doing something in the Caelian spirit, though I hope with better fortune. But one step at a time. The first, whatever it is, you shall know immediately.

I shall give the young man what he needs, as you ask, and shoulder the entire Peloponnesus.³ He has good parts, if only they were supported by an innocent and straightforward nature (?). If that is altogether lacking now, still it can be acquired, or virtue is not teachable. And of that I cannot be persuaded.

205 (X.13)

Cumae, 7 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Your letter gave great pleasure to my Tullia and for that matter to me. Your letters always bring some glimmer of hope. So please go on writing, and if you can say anything tending to hope, don't let it slip. Mind you don't let Antony's lions frighten you.¹ He is really the most agreeable fellow. What do you think of the following act of states-

and Plutarch (*Antony*, 9) that Antony had his carriage drawn by lions in 48-47.

CICERO

teris e municipiis denos et III viros. venerunt ad villam eius mane. primum dormi<i>t ad H. III, deinde, cum esset nuntiatum venisse Neapolitanos et Cumanos (his enim est Caesar iratus), postridie redire iussit; lavari se velle et *περὶ κοιλολυσίαν γίνεσθαι*. hoc here effecit. hodie autem in Aenariam transire constituit <ut> exsulibus reditum polliceretur. sed haec omittamus, de nobis aliquid agamus.

2 Ab Axio accepi litteras. de Tirone gratum. Vettienum diligo. Vestorio reddidi. Servius prid. Non. Mai. Minturnis mansisse dicitur, hodie in Liternino mansurus apud C. Marcellum. cras igitur nos mature videbit mihiq̄ue dabit argumentum ad te epistulae. iam enim non reperio quod tibi scribam. illud admiror quod Antonius ad me ne nuntium quidem, cum praesertim me valde observarit. videlicet aut aliquid atrocius de me imperatum est <aut>³ coram negare mihi non vult quod ego nec rogaturus eram nec, si impetrassem, crediturus. nos tamen aliquid excogitabimus.

3 Tu, quaeso, si quid in Hispaniis; iam enim poterit audiri et omnes ita exspectant ut, si recte fuerit, nihil negoti futurum putent. ego autem nec retentis iis confectam rem puto neque amissis desperatam. Silium et Ocellam et ceteros credo retardatos. te quoque a †curto† impediri video; etsi, ut opinor, habes †εκιταουον†.⁴

³ *add. Schütz*

⁴ *εκπλον Baiter*

² I.e., the chief senators and magistrates.

LETTER 205 (X.13)

manship? He summoned by letter the Boards of Ten and Four from the towns.² They arrived at his country house early in the morning. First he slept till 9 o'clock. Then, being informed that the bodies from Naples and Cumae (with whom Caesar is annoyed) had arrived, he told them to come back next day, as he wanted to take a bath and *satisfaire à ses besoins*. This was yesterday's achievement. Today he has arranged to cross over to Aenaria to promise the exiles their recall. But enough of all this, and to our own concerns!

I have had a letter from Axius. Thanks about Tiro. I am Vettienus' good friend. I have given Vestorius your letter. Servius is said to have spent the night of 6 May at Minturnae and to be staying this evening with C. Marcellus near Liternum. So he will see me in good time tomorrow and will provide me with material for a letter to you—I have now quite run out of topics. I am surprised that Antony has not so much as sent me a message, particularly as he has been most attentive to me in the past. I suppose he has either received some drastic orders concerning me or else does not want to refuse to my face what I had no intention of asking and would not have trusted if I had obtained it. I shall think of something or other none the less.

Pray let me know if anything happens in Spain. The news may soon be out, and everyone is waiting for it under the impression that if things go right the job is as good as done. I myself do not think that all will be over if Spain is held or that everything is lost if Spain goes. I imagine that Silius and Ocella and the rest have been delayed. I see that you too are held up by *, though I believe you have a passport (?).

CICERO

206 (X.14)

Scr. in Cumano VIII Id. Mai. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 O vitam miseram maiusque malum tam diu timere quam est illud ipsum quod timetur! Servius, ut antea scripsi, cum venisset Non. Mai., postridie ad me mane venit. ne diutius te teneam, nullius consili exitum invenimus. numquam vidi hominem perturbatiorem metu; neque hercule quicquam timebat quod non esset timendum: illum sibi iratum, hunc non amicum; horribilem utriusque victoriam cum propter alterius crudelitatem, alterius audaciam, tum propter utriusque difficultatem pecuni<ari>am; quae erui¹ nusquam nisi ex privatorum bonis posset. atque haec ita multis cum lacrimis loquebatur ut ego mirarer eas tam diuturna miseria non exaruisse. mihi quidem etiam lippitudo haec, propter quam non ipse ad te scribo, sine ulla
- 2 lacrima est, sed saepius odiosa est propter vigilias. quam ob rem quicquid habes ad consolandum collige et illa scribe, non ex doctrina neque ex libris (nam id quidem domi est, sed nescio quo modo imbecillior est medicina quam morbus)—haec potius conquire, de Hispaniis, de Massilia; quae quidem satis bella Servius adfert, qui etiam de duabus legionibus luculentos auctores esse dicebat. haec igitur si habebis et talia. et quidem paucis diebus aliquid audiri necesse est.
- 3 Sed redeo ad Servium. distulimus omnino sermonem

¹ frui (*Gronovius*)¹ Pompey.

LETTER 206 (X.14)

206 (X.14)

Cumae, 8 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

A wretched life we lead! To be so long prey to fear is surely worse than the actuality we are afraid of. Servius, having arrived on the Nones of May (see my earlier letter), came to my house early next morning. Not to keep you in suspense, we found no future in any plan. Never have I seen a man in such a quaver! Yet I must admit that none of his bogies was imaginary. 'Pompey was angry with him, Caesar no friend. The victory of either was a dreadful prospect, not only because one was cruel¹ and the other unscrupulous, but because of the straits both were in for money, which could only be extracted from private property.' As he said all this he shed so many tears that I wondered such length of misery had not dried them up! As for me, even this ophthalmia which prevents me writing to you in my own hand doesn't bring tears, but it annoys me the oftener because I am so much awake. So please collect anything you have to offer in the way of comfort and send it, I don't mean from philosophy and books (that I have at home, but somehow the medicine is not strong enough for the malady)—no, but scrape up the news about Spain and Massilia, that sort of thing. As brought by Servius it sounds pretty satisfactory, and he says there is respectable authority for the report about the two legions.² That's what I want then if you have it, and more of the same order. You are bound to hear something in the next few days.

To go back to Servius; we adjourned our talk till tomor-

² I.e., their disaffection. See Letters 204.3 and 207.1.

CICERO

in posterum, sed tardus ad exeundum; multo se in suo lectulo malle, quicquid foret. odiosus scrupulus de fili militi>a Brundisina. unum illud firmissime adseverabat, si damnati restituerentur, in exsilium se iturum. nos autem ad haec et <id>² ipsum certo fore et quae iam fiebant non esse leviora, multaque colligebamus. verum ea non animum eius augebant sed timorem, ut iam celandus magis de nostro consilio quam adhiben<du>³ videretur. qua re in hoc non multum est. nos a te admoniti de Caelio cogitabamus.

207 (X.15)

Scr. in Cumano fort. VI Id. Mai. an. 49

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Servius cum esset apud me, Cephalio cum tuis litteris VI Id. venit; quae nobis magnam spem attulerunt meliorum rerum de octo cohortibus. etenim haec quoque quae in his locis sunt labare dicuntur. eodem die Funisulanus a te attulit litteras in quibus erat confirmatius idem illud. ei de suo negotio respondi cumulate cum omni tua gratia. adhuc non satis faciebat; debet autem mihi multos nummos nec habetur locuples. nunc ait se daturum; cui expensum tulerit morari; tabellariis, si apud te esset qua satis †fecisses†,¹ dares. quantum sit Eros Philotimi tibi dicet.
- 2 Sed ad maiora redeamus. quod optas, Caelianum illud

² *add. Lambinus*

³ *ad idem (Ursinus)*

¹ *facere posses coni. SB*

LETTER 207 (X.15)

row, but he is reluctant about leaving; says he would much prefer to die in his own bed, whatever betide. His son's service at Brundisium is an awkward snag. One thing he declared very firmly, that if condemned persons were restored he would go into exile. To that I said that this would certainly happen and that what was already going on was no less deplorable, giving many examples. But instead of giving him courage this only made him more timorous, so that I now think he must be kept in the dark about my plan rather than called into partnership. So there's not much to hope for in that quarter. Following your admonition I am not forgetting Caelius.

207 (X.15)

Cumae, 10 (?) May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

While Servius was at my house Cephalio arrived with your letter, on the 10th. This brought us great hope of better things, in connexion with the eight cohorts. And those in this area too are said to be wavering. The same day Funisulanus brought me a letter from you in which the same report is repeated more positively. I made him a more than liberal answer about his own affair, giving you all credit. So far he has not been meeting his obligations—he owes me a tidy sum and is not considered well off. Now he says he will pay; that a debtor of his is behind time; that, if you have funds of his with which to meet the debt (?), you may hand the amount over to the couriers. Philotimus' man Eros will tell you the figure.

But to return to more important matters, you will be

maturescit; itaque torqueor utrum ventum exspectem. vexillo opus est; convolabunt. quod suades ut †palam†,² prorsus adsentior itaque me profecturum puto. tuas tamen interim litteras exspecto. Servi consilio nihil expeditur; omnes captiones in omni sententia occurrunt. unum C. Marcello³ cognovi timidiorem, quem consulem fuisse pœnitet. ὦ πολλῆς ἀγεννείας! qui etiam Antonium confirmasse dicitur ut me impediret, quo ipse, credo, honestus.

3 Antonius autem VI Id. Capuam profectus est. ad me misit se pudore deterritum ad me non venisse quod me sibi suscensere putaret. ibitur igitur, et ita quidem ut censes, nisi cuius gravioris personae suscipiendae spes erit ante oblata; sed vix erit tam cito. Allienus autem praetor putabat aliquem, si ego non, ex collegis suis. quivis licet dum modo aliquis.

4 De sorore, laudo. de Quinto puero, datur opera; spero esse meliora. de Quinto fratre, scito eum non mediocriter laborare de <er>sura,⁴ sed adhuc nihil a L. Egnatio expressit. Axius de duodecim milibus pudens! saepe enim ad <me> scripsit ut Gallio quantum is vellet darem. quod si non scripsisset, possemne aliter? et quidem saepe sum pollicitus, sed tantum voluit cito. me vero adiuvent his in angustiis. sed di istos! verum alias. te a quartana liberatum

² clam *coni.* SB

³ Marcellum *Schütz*

⁴ *add. Ursinus*

¹ Move for peace?

² Axius' son.

LETTER 207 (X.15)

delighted to hear that the Caelian business is ripening. For that reason I am in a torment of indecision whether I ought to wait for a wind. A standard is all they need; they will flock to join it. I quite agree with you about secrecy (?), and that is how I think I shall set off. But in the meanwhile I await a letter from you. Servius' views take me no further. All manner of quibbles arise against every proposal. He is the only man I have met more timid than C. Marcellus, who is sorry he was ever Consul. *Quelle bassesse!* He (Marcellus) is actually said to have encouraged Antony to stop me leaving, I suppose to give his own conduct a better complexion. Antony left for Capua on the 10th. He sent word to me that he had been deterred from calling on me by a feeling of embarrassment because he fancied I was annoyed with him. I shall be off then, and in the manner you recommend, unless some hope of assuming a more important role offers itself beforehand. But it scarcely will so soon. Praetor Allienus thinks that if I don't one of his colleagues will.¹ Anyone may for aught I care so long as somebody does.

About your sister, I quite approve. About young Quintus, I am doing what I can and I hope there is some improvement. About my brother, I can tell you that he is very much concerned to raise money to pay you, but he has not yet squeezed anything out of L. Egnatius. As for Axius and the 12,000, he has his nerve! He wrote to me repeatedly asking me to give Gallius² as much as he wanted. Even if he had not written, could I have acted differently? I did make promises more than once, but he wanted that much and wanted it quickly. The money would have come in useful to me in these hard times. Confound them! However, another time. I am glad you are rid of your fever and

CICERO

gaudeo itemque Piliam. ego, dum panes et cetera in navem parantur, excurro in Pompeianum. Vettieno velim gratias quod studiosus, et, si⁵ quemquam nactus eris qui perferat, litteras des ante quam discedimus.

208 (X.16)

Scr. in Cumano prid. Id. Mai. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Commodum ad te dederam litteras de pluribus rebus cum ad me bene mane Dionysius venit;¹ cui quidem ego non modo placabilem me praebuissem sed totum remissem, si venisset qua mente tu ad me scripseras. erat enim sic in tuis litteris quas Arpini acceperam, eum venturum facturumque quod ego vellem. ego volebam autem vel cupiebam potius esse eum nobiscum. quod quia plane, cum in Formianum venisset, praeciderat, asperius ad te de eo scribere solebam. at ille perpauca locutus hanc summam habuit orationis ut sibi ignoscerem; se rebus suis impeditum nobiscum ire non posse. pauca respondi, magnum accepi dolorem, intellexi fortunam ab eo nostram despectam esse. quid quaeris? fortasse miraberis: in maximis horum temporum doloribus hunc mihi scito esse. velim ut tibi amicus sit; hoc cum tibi opto, opto ut beatus sis; erit enim tam diu.
- 2 Consilium nostrum spero vacuum periculo fore; nam et dissimulavimus nec,² ut opinor, acerrime adservabimur.

⁵ studiosus sit *vel* -sus sit si (SB)

¹ fuit (Mueller) ² et (SB)

³ Or biscuit (*panis nauticus*). See Beaujeu VI, p. 269.

LETTER 208 (X.16)

Pilia too. While the bread,³ etc., is getting ready for the ship I am running over to my place at Pompeii. Please thank Vettienus for his zeal. If you find anyone to carry a letter, please send one before we leave.

208 (X.16)

Cumae, 14 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I had just sent off a letter to you on various matters when Dionysius arrived at my place bright and early. I should not only have shown a placable spirit towards him, I should have forgiven the whole episode if he had come in the frame of mind you had led me to expect. You said in the letter which I received at Arpinum that he would come and do what I wanted. Now I wanted or rather earnestly desired him to stay with us; and because when he visited Formiae he categorically refused to do that I used to write to you about him rather harshly. However he had very little to say, and the gist of it was that I must excuse him; he was involved in business of his own and could not go with us. I did not say much in answer, but I was bitterly hurt. Clearly he scorned us in our present plight. Well, there it is. Perhaps you will be surprised when I tell you that among the distresses of this present time I count this as one of the greatest. I hope you may keep his friendship, and in expressing that wish I am wishing you prosperity; the one will last just so long as the other.

I hope my plan won't involve any risk. I have concealed my intention and I don't think I shall be very closely

CICERO

navigatio modo sit qualem opto, cetera, quae quidem consilio provideri poterunt, cavebuntur. tu, dum adsumus, non modo quae scieris audierisve sed etiam quae futura providebis scribas velim.

- 3 Cato, qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit et, si tenuisset, omnes boni se ad eum contulissent, Syracusis profectus est ante diem VIII Kal. Mai., ut ad me Curio scripsit. utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat! est enim rumor. o, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem!
- 4 Ego, ut minuerem suspicionem profectionis aut cogitationis meae, profectus sum in Pompeianum a. d. III Id. ut ibi essem dum quae ad navigandum opus essent pararentur. cum ad villam venissem, ventum est ad me: centuriones trium cohortium, quae Pompei<s> sunt, me velle postridie convenire. haec mecum Ninnius noster; velle eos mihi se et oppidum tradere. at ego tibi postridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi ne viderent. quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? quid si plures? quo apparatu? cogitavi eadem illa Caeliana quae legi in epistula tua quam accepi simul et in Cumanum veni eodem die; et simul fieri poterat ut temptaremur. omnem igitur suspicionem sustuli.
- 5 Sed, cum redeo, Hortensius venerat et ad Terentiam salutatum deverterat. sermone erat usus honorifico erga me. iam³ eum, ut puto, videbo; misit enim puerum se ad me venire. hoc quidem melius quam collega noster Antonius; cuius inter lictores lectica mima portatur.

³ tam (*Wesenberg*)

¹ In the event Cotta was expelled from Sardinia by the inhabitants (Caesar, *Civil War* 1.30.3). ² No doubt the matter of the Supplication still rankled. ³ As Augur.

watched. If only sailing conditions are satisfactory, all other contingencies that can be rationally foreseen will be provided for. So long as I am here please write not only what you get to know or hear but what you see ahead.

Cato, who could have held Sicily without any difficulty (and if he had, all the honest men would have joined him), left Syracuse on 23 April, so Curio has written to me. Let us hope Cotta holds Sardinia, as they say he will¹—there is a rumour. A sorry figure Cato will cut if he does!²

In order to draw off suspicion as to my departure or intentions I left for Pompeii on the 12th, meaning to stay there while the necessaries for the voyage were got ready. On my arrival at the house I had a visit to inform me that the Centurions of the three cohorts stationed at Pompeii desired to meet me next day. Our friend Ninnius discussed this with me, told me they wanted to put themselves and the town in my hands. As for me, I was off and away from the house next morning before daybreak, so that they should not get so much as a sight of me. For what was the use of three cohorts, or even more, supposing there had been more? What equipment had they? I thought of those same Caelian ideas which I read in the letter of yours that I received as soon as I got back to Cumae later in the day; and besides, it could have been a trap. So I removed all suspicion.

Back again, I found that Hortensius had arrived and turned out of his road in order to call on Terentia and pay his respects. He had spoken of me very politely. I expect I shall be seeing him presently as he has sent a boy to tell me he is coming. That's an improvement anyway on my colleague³ Antony—who has an actress carried in a litter among his lictors.

CICERO

- 6 Tu, quoniam quartana cares et novum morbum removisti sed etiam gravedinem, te vegetum nobis in Graecia siste et litterarum aliquid interea.

209 (X.17)

Scr. Cumano XVII Kal. Iun. an. 49 (§ 4)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Prid. Id. Hortensius ad me venit scripta epistula. vellem cetera eius.¹ quam in me incredibilem ἐκτένειαν! qua quidem cogito uti. deinde Serapion cum epistula tua; quam prius quam aperuissem, dixi ei te ad me de eo scripisse antea, ut feceras. deinde epistula lecta² cumulatissime cetera. et hercule hominem probo; nam et doctum et probum existimo. quin etiam navi eius me et ipso convectore usurum puto.
- 2 Crebro refricat lippitudo, non illa quidem perodiosa sed tamen quae impediatur scriptionem meam. valetudinem tuam iam confirmatam esse et a vetere morbo et a novis temptationibus gaudeo.
- 3 <O>cellam³ vellem haberemus; videntur enim esse haec paulo facilia. nunc quidem aequinotium nos moratur, quod valde perturbatum erat. id si traxerit,⁴ utinam idem maneat Hortensius! si quidem, <ut> adhuc erat, liberalius esse nihil potest.
- 4 De diplomate admiraris quasi nescio cuius te flagiti

¹ eius modi *coni. SB*

² scripta (*Manutius*)

³ *add. Victorius*

⁴ cras erit (*SB : transierit Ziehen*)

LETTER 209 (X.17)

Now that you are free of your fever and have shaken off your recent complaint and your cold too, see that we find you hale and hearty in Greece and send a line or two in the meanwhile.

209 (X.17)

Cumae, 16 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Hortensius called on the 14th after my letter was written. I could wish the rest of him¹ were to match. Quite extraordinary *empressement* towards me! I mean to make use of it. Then came Serapion with your letter. Before I opened it I told him that you had already written to me about him, as was the fact. Then, after reading the letter, I said what else there was to say in terms as handsome as I could make them. I really do like him. He seems a cultured person and an honest one. In fact I think I shall avail myself of his ship and of his company on board her.

My ophthalmia often irritates me, not that it is so very bad, but it's bad enough to interfere with my writing. I am glad to hear that your health is now fully restored, both from the old complaint and the recent attacks.

I wish we had Ocella with us, now that things seem to be a little easier than I had expected. It is just the unusually rough equinox that is holding us up now. If that lasts, I only hope Hortensius stays of the same mind, for so far nothing could be more forthcoming.

You express surprise about the passport,² as though I

¹ I.e. of his conduct, he being a notorious *mauvais sujet*.

² See Letter 205.3.

CICERO

insimularim; negas enim te reperire qui mihi id in mentem venerit. ego autem, quia scripseras te proficisci cogitare (etenim audieram nemini aliter licere), eo te habere censebam et quia pueris diploma sumpseras. habes causam opinionis meae. et tamen velim scire quid cogites in primisque si quid etiam nunc novi est.

XVII Kal. Iun.

210 (X.18)

Scr. in Cumano XIV Kal. Iun. an. 49 (§ 1)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Tullia mea peperit XIII Kal. Iun. puerum *ἑπταμηνιάδων*. quod *ἠὺτόκησεν* gaudeam;¹ quod quidem est natum perimbecillum est. me mirificae tranquillitates adhuc tenuerunt atque maiori impedimento fuerunt quam custodiae quibus adservor. nam illa Hortensi<a>na omnia †fuere infantia² ita fiet†³ homo nequissimus a Salvio liberto depravatus est. itaque posthac non scribam ad te quid facturus sim sed quid fecerim; omnes enim *Κωρυκαῖοι* videntur subauscultare quae loquor. tu tamen si quid de Hispaniis sive quid aliud perge, quaeso, scribere nec meas litteras exspectaris, nisi cum quo opto pervenerimus aut si quid ex cursu. sed hoc quoque timide scribo; ita omnia
- 2

¹ gaudeo *Ursinus* : -ebam *Manutius* : -eamus *coni. SB*

² fuerunt inania *Wesenberg et Orelli*

³ itast *Kasten*

¹ No more is heard of this child.

LETTER 210 (X.18)

had accused you of some misdemeanour, and say you can't imagine how I got such an idea. Well, since you had written that you were planning to leave and since I had heard that no one was allowed to do so otherwise, that was why I thought you had one, and also because you had taken out a passport for your boys. So now you know why I thought what I did. Anyhow I should like to know your plans, and also more especially any news there may yet be.

16 May.

210 (X.18)

Cumae, 19 May 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

My Tullia has given birth to a seven months' child,¹ a boy, on 19 May. For her safe delivery let me be thankful. As for the baby, it is very weakly. I have been held up until now by some extraordinary calms which have been a greater hindrance than the watch set over me—that stuff of Hortensius' was just words (?). You will find it so (?): the scoundrel has been perverted by the freedman Salvius. So henceforward I won't write to you what I am going to do, only what I have actually done. Every spy² in the country seems to have an ear cocked to catch what I say. However, on your side pray go on sending me news about Spain or anything else you have, but don't expect to hear from me until we arrive where I hope we shall—or perhaps I may send something on the voyage. But I hesitate to write even

² Lit. 'Corycean,' from Mt Corycus in Ionia, where pirates spied out their prey; hence proverbial for spy or eavesdropper.

CICERO

tarda adhuc et spissa. ut male posuimus initia sic cetera sequuntur.

- Formias nunc sequimur; eaedem nos fortasse furiae persequuntur. ex Balbi autem sermone quem tecum habuit non probamus de Melita. dubitas igitur quin nos in hostium numero habeat?² scripsi equidem Balbo te ad me <et>⁴ de benevolentia scripsisse et de suspicione. egi gratias; de altero ei me purgavi. ecquem tu hominem infelicior?³ non loquor plura, ne te quoque excruciem. ipse conficior venisse tempus cum iam nec fortiter nec prudenter quicquam facere possim.

211 (XI.1)

Scr. in Epiro inter Non. et Id. Ian., ut vid., an. 48

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Accepi a te signatum libellum quem Anteros attulerat; ex quo nihil scire potui de nostris domesticis rebus. de quibus acerbissime afflictor quod qui eas dispensavit neque adest istic neque ubi terrarum sit scio. omnem autem spem habeo existimationis privatarumque rerum in tua erga me mihi perspectissima benevolentia. quam si his temporibus miseris et extremis praestiteris, haec pericula quae mihi communia sunt cum ceteris fortius feram; idque ut facias te obtestor atque obsecro.
- 2 Ego in cistophoro in Asia habeo ad sestertium bis et viciens. huius pecuniae permutatione fidem nostram facile tuebere, quam quidem ego nisi expeditam relinquere

⁴ *add. Orelli*

¹ Philotimus.

LETTER 211 (XI.1)

this much, everything has so far been so slow and sticky. We started badly and the sequel corresponds.

Now I am for Formiae. Perhaps the same avenging powers will follow me there. To judge from Balbus' talk with you, my idea about Malta does not find favour. Can you any longer doubt that Caesar regards me as an enemy? I have written to Balbus saying that I had heard from you both about his good will and about his suspicions, and offering him my thanks and, on the second point, my exculpations. Is there an unluckier fellow in the world? I won't run on, for fear of distressing you too. For myself it is more than I can bear to find that a time has come when I can no longer act either boldly or wisely.

211 (XI.1)

Epirus, second (?) week in January 48

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have received your sealed communication, conveyed by Anteros, from which I could learn nothing about my private affairs. I am acutely unhappy about them, because the person¹ who looked after them is not in Rome and I don't know where on earth he is. All my hope for my good name and estate rests upon your kindness towards me, of which I have had so many proofs. If you show it in these sad and critical days, I shall have more courage to face the dangers which I share with others; and I most earnestly beg you to do so.

I have about 2,200,000 sesterces in Asia, in cistophori. By a bill of exchange for this sum you will easily be able to protect my credit. If I had not thought that I was leaving

CICERO

m(e) putassem credens ei cui tu scis iam pridem nimi<um> me¹ credere, commoratus essem paulisper nec domesticas res impeditas reliquissem; ob eamque causam serius ad te scribo quod sero intellexi quid timendum esset. te etiam atque etiam oro ut me totum tuendum suscipias, ut, si ii salvi erunt quibuscum sum, una cum iis possim incolumis esse salutemque meam benevolentiae tuae acceptam referre.

212 (XI.2)

Scr. in Epiro fort. med. m. Mart. an. 48

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Litteras tuas accepi prid. Non. Febr. eoque ipso die ex testamento crevi hereditatem. ex multis meis et miserrimis curis est una levata si, ut scribis, ista hereditas fidem et famam meam tueri potest; quam quidem te intellego etiam sine hereditate tuis opibus defensurum fuisse.
- 2 De dote quod scribis, per omnis deos te obtestor ut totam rem suscipias et illam miseram mea cul<pa> et negligentia tueare, meis opibus, si quae sunt, tuis, quibus¹ tibi molestum non erit, facultatibus. cui quidem deesse omnia, quod scribis, obsecro te, noli pati. in quos enim sumptus abeunt fructus praediorum? iam illa HS $\bar{\text{LX}}$ quae

¹ minime (SB : minime me *Lünemann*)

¹ quod *Sedgwick*

LETTER 212 (XI.2)

it unembarrassed, trusting to the person² whom you know I have trusted too far this long time past, I should have stayed on a little longer and not left my private affairs in a state of embarrassment; and the reason why I have written to you rather late in the day is that I was late in realizing the danger. I entreat you again to take me wholly under your protection, so that if my associates here come safely through, I too may keep my head above water with them and owe my preservation to your kindness.

212 (XI.2)

Epirus, middle of March (?) 48

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I received your letter on 4 February, and the same day I formally accepted inheritance under the will. One of my many painful anxieties is relieved, if, as you tell me, this inheritance suffices to protect my credit and good name; though I realize that even without the inheritance you would have defended them with your own resources.

You refer to the dowry.¹ For God's sake take the whole matter into your hands and protect that poor girl, poor through my fault and negligence, with my resources if I have any, and with your own funds so far as you can without inconveniencing yourself. You tell me she is in want of everything; I beg you not to let this continue. What expenses are absorbing the income from my properties? And then the HS 60,000 which you mention, no one ever told

² Again Philotimus, or possibly Terentia.

¹ Tullia's, to be paid to Dolabella in three instalments.

CICERO

scribis nemo mihi umquam dixit ex dote esse detracta; numquam enim essem passus. sed haec minima est ex iis iniuriis quas accepi; de quibus ad te dolore et lacrimis
3 scribere prohibeor. ex ea pecunia quae fuit in Asia partem dimidiam fere exegi. tutius videbatur fore ibi ubi est quam apud publicanos.

Quod me hortaris ut firmo sim animo, vellem posses aliquid adferre quam ob rem id facere possem. sed si ad ceteras miserias accessit etiam id quod mihi Chrysippus dixit parari (tu nihil significasti) de domo, quis me miserior umquam² fuit? oro, obsecro, ignosce. non possum plura scribere. quanto maerore urgear profecto vides. quod si mihi commune cum ceteris esset qui videntur in eadem causa esse, minor mea culpa videretur et eo tolerabilior³ esset. nunc nihil est quod consoletur, nisi quid tu efficis, si modo etiam nunc effici potest, ut ne qua singulari adficiar calamitate et iniuria.

4 Tardius ad te remisi tabellarium quod potestas mittendi non fuit. a tuis et nummorum accepi HS $\overline{\text{xx}}$ et vestimentorum quod opus fuit. quibus tibi videbitur velim des litteras meo nomine. nosti meos familiaris. <si> signum requirant aut manum, dices iis me propter custodias ea vitasse.

² uno iam (*H. Schwarz*)

³ -bilis coni. *SB*

LETTER 212 (XI.2)

me that this had been deducted from the dowry. I should never have allowed it. But this is the least of the injuries I have suffered. Tears of vexation prevent me from writing to you about them. I have drawn about half the money I had in Asia. I think it will be safer where it is² than with the tax farmers.

You urge me to keep my courage up. I wish you could have given some reason why I should be able to do so. But if there has been added to my other misfortunes what Chrysippus told me was in preparation (you give no hint of it) against me, about my town house,³ was there ever a more unhappy wretch than I? I beg and beseech you to forgive me. I cannot write more. You realize, I'm sure, the distress that weighs upon me. If this were common to me with all the others who seem to be in the same case, my fault would seem less and it would be so much the more endurable. As it is there is nothing to comfort, unless you so manage, if only that is still possible, that no *peculiar* calamity or injury befalls me.

I have been slow in sending back your messenger because I did not have the opportunity to do so. Your people have given me HS 20,000 in cash and the clothes I needed. Please send letters in my name to such persons as you think proper—you know my friends. If they wonder about the seal or handwriting, you will tell them that I avoided these on account of the watch.

² In Pompey's hands.

³ The nature of the threat is uncertain.

CICERO

213 (XI.3)

Scr. in castris Pompei Id. Iun. an. 48 (§ 3)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quid hic agatur scire poteris ex eo qui litteras attulit; quem diutius tenui quia cottidie aliquid novi expectabamus, neque nunc mittendi tamen ulla causa fuit praeter eam de qua tibi rescribi voluisti, quod ad Kal. Quint. pertinet, quid vellem. utrumque grave est, et tam gravi tempore periculum tantae pecuniae et dubio rerum exitu ista quam scribis abruptio. qua re ut alia sic hoc vel maxime tuae amicitiae benevolentiaeque permitto et illius consilio et voluntati; cui miserae consulissem melius, si tecum olim coram potius quam per litteras de salute nostra fortunisque deliberavissem.
- 2 Quod negas praecipuum mihi ullum <in communibus>¹ incommodis impendere, etsi ista res nihil² habet consolationis, tamen etiam praecipua multa sunt quae tu profecto vides et gravissima esse et me facillime vitare potuisse. ea tamen erunt minora si, ut adhuc factum est, administratione diligentiaque tua levabuntur.
- 3 Pecunia apud Egnatium est. sit per³ me ut est. neque enim hoc quod agitur videtur diuturnum esse posse, ut scire iam possim quid maxime opus sit: etsi eg<e>o rebus omnibus, quod⁴ is quoque in angustiis est quicum sumus;⁵

¹ *add. Lehmann* ² non nihil *anon. ap. Corradum*

³ a (SB) ⁴ quin *coni. SB*

⁵ suis mus *vel* suis minus *vel* fuimus (s : fugimus *coni. SB*)

¹ When a second instalment of Tullia's dowry fell due.

² Apparently a sum belonging to Cicero in Rome.

³ Pompey.

LETTER 213 (XI.3)

213 (XI.3)

Pompey's camp at Dyrrachium, 13 June 48

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You will be able to learn what is going on here from the bearer of this letter. I kept him longer than I otherwise should because I was expecting some new development every day. And the only reason I have for sending him now is the point to which you asked for a reply, what my wishes were as regards the Kalends of July.¹ Both alternatives are unpleasant, on the one hand the risk of losing so large a sum at this difficult time, on the other the severance of which you write while everything hangs in the balance. Therefore as in other matters so most especially in this I leave the decision to your friendship and good will, and to her judgement and inclination. Poor girl, I should have done better for her if in the past I had consulted with you in person instead of by letter about my position and fortunes.

You say that amidst the general troubles no special one hangs over me. That is no consolation, but as a matter of fact there *are* many special troubles as well, and you must surely see both how heavily they weigh and how easily I could have avoided them. However, they will be lighter if, as has been the case hitherto, they are relieved by your management and care.

The money² is with Egnatius. So far as I am concerned let it be as it is. This business here does not look as if it can last long, so that I shall soon be able to tell what is the best thing to do. Not but that I am short of everything, because the person³ whose company I keep is also very

CICERO

cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinante^s nobis constitutis rebus eam rem etiam honori fore.

Tu, ut antea fecisti, velim, si qui erunt ad quos aliquid scribendum a me existimes, ipse conficias. tuis salutem dic. cura ut valeas. in primis, id quod scribis, omnibus rebus cura et provide, ne quid ei desit de qua scis me miserimum esse.

Id. Iun. ex castris.

214 (XI.4a)

Scr. Dyrrachii med. m. Iun. an. 48

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Quid sit gestum novi quaeris. ex Isidoro scire poteris. reliqua non videntur esse difficiliora. tu id velim quod scis me maxime velle cures, ut scribis et facis. me conficit sollicitudo, ex qua etiam summa infirmitas corporis. qua levatus ero una cum eo qui negotium gerit estque in spe magna. Brutus amicus; in causa versatur acriter. hactenus fuit quod caute a me scribi posset. vale.

De pensione altera, oro te, omni cura considera quid faciendum sit, ut scripsi iis litteris quas Pollex tulit.

⁶ *add. Victorius*

LETTER 214 (XI.4a)

hard pressed. I have made him a large loan in the expectation that when things settle down it will be creditable (apart from anything else) to have done so.

If there is anyone you think ought to get a letter from me, please do it yourself, as you have before. Remember me to your people. Take care of yourself. Above all, take care by every means (as you say you will) and see to it that she on whose account you know I am most unhappy does not want for anything.

Ides of June, from camp.

214 (XI.4a)

Dyrrachium, mid-June 48

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You ask me about the war news. You will be able to learn it from Isidorus. It looks as if what remains won't be too difficult. Do please see to what you know I have most at heart,¹ as you say you will do and as you are doing. I am eaten up with anxiety, which has made me seriously ill. When I am better I shall join the man in charge, who is full of optimism. Brutus is my friend; he is zealous in the cause. That is as much as I can prudently put on paper. Good-bye.

About the second instalment, I beg you consider with all care what ought to be done, as I wrote in the letter I sent by Pollex.

¹ Tullia's financial predicament.

CICERO

215 (XI.4)

Scr. in castris Pompei Id. Quint. an. 48

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Accepi ab Isidoro litteras et postea datas binas. ex proximis cognovi praedia non venisse. videbis ergo ut sustentetur per te. de Frusinati, si modo futur¹ sumus, erit mihi res opportuna. meas litteras quod requiris, impedior inopia rerum, quas nullas habeo litteris dignas, quippe cui nec quae accidunt nec quae aguntur ullo modo probentur. utinam coram tecum olim potius quam per epistulas! hic tua, ut possum, tueor apud hos. cetera Celer. ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis quod ita nihil poterat agi ut mihi et meis rebus aptum esset.

216 (XI.5)

Scr. Brundisii prid. Non. Nov. an. 48

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quae me causae moverint, quam acerbae, quam graves, quam novae, coegerintque impetu magis quodam animi uti quam cogitatione, non possum ad te sine maximo dolore scribere. fuerunt quidem tantae ut id quod vides effecerint. itaque nec quid ad te scribam de meis rebus nec quid a te petam reperio; rem et summam negoti vides.

Equidem ex tuis litteris intellexi et iis quas communiter cum aliis scripsisti et iis quas tuo nomine, quod etiam mea

¹ futur(a)e (*Lehmann*)

LETTER 216 (XI.5)

215 (XI.4)

Pompey's camp, 15 July 48

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have received your letter from Isidorus and two others dispatched subsequently. From the most recent I learned that the properties have not sold. So please arrange for her needs to be met through you. I shall find the Frusino place a convenient acquisition, if it is given me to enjoy it. You wonder why I do not write. I am deterred by lack of matter; I have nothing worth a letter, finding as I do no sort of satisfaction either in the happenings or the doings here. If only I had *talked* to you in days gone by instead of writing! I am looking after your interests with those here as best I can. Celer will tell you the rest. I myself have so far avoided any responsibility, the more so as nothing could be done in a manner appropriate to me and my past career.

216 (XI.5)

Brundisium, 4 November 48

CICERO TO ATTICUS

It would be intensely painful for me to tell you in writing of the causes—bitter, grave, and strange as they are—which have influenced me, driving me to follow impulse rather than reflection. They were powerful enough at any rate to bring about the result you see. So what I am to write to you about my situation or what I should ask of you I cannot tell. The facts, the main state of the case, are before you.

For my part I perceive from your letters, both those you have written jointly with other people and those in your own name, what I had already guessed would be the case,

CICERO

sponte videbam, te subita re quasi debilitatum novas rationes tuendi mei quaerere.

- 2 Quod scribis placere ut propius accedam iterque per oppida noctu faciam, non sane video quem ad modum id fieri possit. neque enim ita apta habeo deversoria ut tota tempora diurna in iis possim consumere neque ad id quod quaeris multum interest utrum me homines in oppido videant an in via. sed tamen hoc ipsum sicut alia considerabo quem ad modum commodissime fieri posse videatur.
- 3 Ego propter incredibilem et animi et corporis molestiam conficere plures litteras non potui; iis tantum rescripti a quibus acceperam. tu velim et Basilo et quibus praeterea videbitur, etiam Servilio, conscribas, ut tibi videbitur, meo nomine. quod tanto intervallo nihil omnino ad vos scripsi, his¹ litteris profecto intellegis rem mihi deesse de qua scribam, non voluntatem.
- 4 Quod de Vatino quaeris, neque illius neque cuiusquam mihi praeterea officium deest, si reperire possent qua in re me iuarent. Quintus aversissimo a me animo Patris fuit. eodem Corcyra filius venit. inde profectos eos una cum ceteris arbitror.

217 (XI.6)

Scr. Brundisii IV Kal. Dec. an. 48 (§ 7)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Sollicitum esse te cum de tuis communibusque fortunis tum maxime de me ac de dolore meo sentio; qui quidem

¹ scriptis (*Wesenberg* : -ti, his *coni. SB*)

¹ Secrecy.

LETTER 217 (XI.6)

that you are as it were unnerved by the unexpectedness of what has happened and are casting around for new ways of protecting me.

You say you think I ought to draw nearer, travelling through the towns at night. I don't quite see how that is to be done. I don't have stopping places so suitably spaced that I can spend all the daylight hours in them; and so far as your object¹ is concerned, it doesn't make much difference whether people see me in a town or on the road. However I shall think over this point, like others, and try to see how it can best be managed.

Mental and physical discomfort passing belief have made it impossible for me to compose many letters. I have only answered people from whom I have received them. I should be glad if you would write to Basilus and anyone else you think fit, including Servilius, as you think fit, in my name. I know it is a long while since I sent so much as a line to you people, but you will understand from this present letter that it is matter I lack, not will.

You ask about Vatinius. Neither he nor anyone else is lacking in friendly offices, if they could find any way to help me. Quintus was most unamiably disposed towards me at Patrae. His son joined him there from Corcyra. I imagine they left with the rest.

217 (XI.6)

Brundisium, 27 November 48

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I see you are anxious about your own and the common fortunes, but above all about me and my distress. This

CICERO

meus dolor non modo non minuitur cum socium sibi adiungit dolorem tuum sed etiam augetur. omnino pro tua prudentia sentis qua consolatione levari maxime possim. probas enim consilium negasque mihi quicquam tali tempore potius faciendum fuisse. addis etiam (quod etsi mihi levius est quam tuum iudicium, tamen non est leve) ceteris quoque, id est qui pondus habeant, factum nostrum probari. id si ita putarem, levius dolerem. 'crede' inquis 'mihi.' 2 credo equidem, sed scio quam cupias minui dolorem meum. me discessisse ab armis numquam paenituit; tanta erat in illis crudelitas, tanta cum barbaris gentibus coniunctio, ut non nominatim sed generatim proscriptio esset informata, ut¹ iam omnium iudicio constitutum esset omnium vestrum bona praedam esse illius victoriae. 'vestrum' plane dico; numquam enim de te ipso nisi crudelissime cogitatum est.² qua re voluntatis me meae numquam paenitebit, consili paenitet. in oppido aliquo malletm resedissem quoad accerserer. minus sermonis subissem, minus accepissem doloris, ipsum hoc me non angeret: Brundisi iacere in omnis partis est molestum; propius accedere, ut suades, quo modo sine lictoribus quos populus dedit possum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non possunt. quos ego tnon†³ paulisper cum bacillis in turbam conieci ad oppidum accedens, ne quis impetus militum fieret. reliquo tempore me domo tenui.⁴

¹ et conī. *SB* ² si vel sensi (*Victorius*)

³ nuper conī. *SB* : modo anon. ap. *Corradum*

⁴ recipio t- me domo te nunc (*Hofmann, sed domi*)

¹ As carried by municipal lictors. Cicero's lictors normally carried laurelled fasces.

LETTER 217 (XI.6)

distress of mine, so far from being lessened by taking yours into partnership, is actually increased. True, you perceive with your usual sagacity the kind of comfort that can best relieve me. You approve my course of action and say that none better was open to me in such circumstances. You add, what weighs lighter with me than your opinion but has some weight none the less, that my action has the approval of others also, that is of those that count. If I thought this was so, my distress would be lighter. 'Believe me,' you say. So I do, but I know how much you wish to alleviate my unhappiness. I have never regretted quitting the war. There was so much cruelty involved in it, such association with barbarian races; so that a proscription, not by individuals but by whole classes had been sketched out, and it was already agreed by universal consent that the possessions of all of you should be the plunder of the victors. I mean 'you' literally; for with respect to you personally there were never any but the most ferocious intentions. So I shall never regret my attitude, but I do regret the course I adopted. I wish I had stayed quietly in some town or other until I was sent for. I should have incurred less talk, suffered less distress. I should not be on the horns of my present dilemma. On the one hand, to be stuck in Brundisium is in every way disagreeable: on the other, how is it possible for me to draw nearer, as you advise, without the lictors which the people gave me and which cannot be taken away so long as I retain my rights as a citizen? I lately (?) made them mix with the crowd, with staves,¹ for a short time when I was approaching the town, for fear of an attack by the soldiery. Ever since I have kept indoors.

- 3 Ad <Balbum haec scripsi et ad>⁵ Oppium; et quoniam iis placeret me propius accedere, ut hac de re considerent. credo fore auctores. sic enim recipiunt, Caesari non modo de conservanda sed etiam de augenda mea dignitate curae fore, meque hortantur ut magno animo sim, ut omnia summa sperem. ea spondent, confirmant. quae quidem mihi exploratiora essent si remansissem. sed ingero praeterita. vide, quaeso, igitur ea quae restant et explora cum istis et, si putabis opus esse et si istis placebit, quo magis factum nostrum Caesar probet quasi de suorum sententia factum, adhibeantur Trebonius, Pansa, si qui alii, scribantque ad Caesarem me quicquid fecerim de sua sententia fecisse.
- 4 Tulliae meae morbus et imbecillitas corporis me exanimat. quam tibi intellego magnae curae esse, quod est mihi gratissimum.
- 5 De Pompei exitu mihi dubium numquam fuit. tanta enim desperatio rerum eius omnium regum et populorum animos occuparat ut quocumque venisset hoc putarem futurum. non possum eius casum non dolere; hominem enim
- 6 integrum et castum et gravem cognovi. de Fannio consoler te? perniciose loquebatur de mansione tua. L. vero Lentulus Hortensi domum sibi et Caesaris hortos et Baias desponderat. omnino haec eodem modo ex hac parte fiunt, nisi quod illud erat infinitum. omnes enim qui in Italia manserant hostium numero habebantur. sed velim haec aliquando solutiore animo.
- 7 Quintum fratrem audio profectum in Asiam ut depre-

⁵ *add. SB* (Balbum scripsi *post* Oppium et *Lehmann*)

² The report of his death seems to have been false.

LETTER 217 (XI.6)

I have written all this to Balbus and Oppius and asked them, since they think I should come nearer, to consider the matter. I think they will give their backing, for they guarantee that Caesar will be concerned not only to preserve my standing but even to enhance it, and they urge me to keep a lofty spirit and set my hopes high. On this they give their pledged assurance. I should have more confidence in it all if I had stayed behind. But this is crying over spilt milk. So I beg you to look to the future and explore the position with them; and if you think proper and they agree, have Trebatius, Pansa, anyone else available called in, get them to write to Caesar that whatever I do has been on their advice, so that he will be more likely to approve my action as having been undertaken on the advice of his friends.

I am shocked to hear of my Tullia's illness and physical weakness. I can see that you are taking great care of her, and am most grateful.

As to Pompey's end I never had any doubt, for all rulers and peoples had become so thoroughly persuaded of the hopelessness of his case that wherever he went I expected this to happen. I cannot but grieve for his fate. I knew him for a man of good character, clean life, and serious principle. Ought I to offer you my condolences about Fannius?²² He used to talk mischievously about your staying behind. As for L. Lentulus, he had earmarked Hortensius' town house and Caesar's place in the suburbs and at Baiae. Of course the same sort of thing is being done on this side, only with them there was no limit to it. Everyone who had stayed in Italy was counted as an enemy. But I should like to talk about this some day when I have less on my mind.

I hear my brother Quintus has left for Asia to make his

CICERO

caretur. de filio nihil audivi; sed quaere ex Diochare, Caesaris liberto, quem ego non vidi, qui istas Alexandria litteras attulit. is dicitur vidisse Quintum [an]⁶ euntem an iam in Asia. tuas litteras prout res postulat exspecto, quas velim cures quam primum ad me perferendas.

III Kal. Dec.

218 (XI.7)

Scr. Brundisii XIV Kal. Ian. an. 48 (§ 8)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Gratae tuae mihi litterae sunt, quibus accurate perscripsisti omnia quae ad me pertinere arbitratus es. ita faciam¹ igitur ut scribis istis placere, isdem istis lictoribus me uti, quod concessum Sestio sit; cui non puto suos esse concessos sed ab ipso datos. audio enim eum ea senatus consulta improbare quae post discessum tribunorum facta sunt. quare poterit, si volet sibi constare, nostros lictores comprobare.
- 2 Quamquam quid ego de lictoribus, qui paene ex Italia decedere sim iussus? nam ad me misit Antonius exemplum Caesaris ad se litterarum in quibus erat se audisse Caetonem et L. Metellum in Italiam venisse, Romae ut essent palam. id sibi non placere, ne qui motus ex eo fierent; prohiberique Italia nisi quorum ipse causam cognovisset; deque eo vehementius erat scriptum. itaque Antonius petebat a me per litteras ut sibi ignoscerem: facere se non

⁶ *secl. Ernesti* ¹ *factum (Madvig)*

¹ Cilicia had been assigned by the Senate to Sestius in the days following 7 January 49.

LETTER 218 (XI.7)

peace. About the son I have heard nothing; but enquire of Diochares, Caesar's freedman, whom I have not seen, the bearer of that letter from Alexandria. He is said to have seen Quintus on his way or may be already in Asia. I expect a letter from you, as the occasion requires. Please have one brought through to me here as soon as possible.

27 November.

218 (XI.7)

Brundisium, 17 December 48

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Many thanks for your letter, in which you have set down in detail everything you thought concerned me. Very well, I shall do as you say they think best, i.e. that I should keep the same lictors I now have, a concession made, you say, to Sestius. I suppose he was not *allowed* to keep his own lictors but *given* them by Caesar. For I hear that Caesar does not recognize senatorial decrees passed after the departure of the Tribunes.¹ Therefore if he wants to be consistent he will be able to authorize *my* lictors.

But what am I doing to be writing about lictors, when I have almost been ordered out of Italy? Antony has sent me a copy of a letter from Caesar to himself, in which Caesar says that he has heard that Cato and L. Metellus have returned to Italy intending to live openly in Rome, that he does not approve of this in view of the risk of disturbances resulting, and that all persons are barred from Italy except those whose cases he has personally reviewed. He expressed himself pretty strongly on that point. So Antony wrote asking me to excuse him: he had no choice but

CICERO

posse quin iis litteris pareret. tum ad eum misi L. Lamiam qui demonstraret illum Dolabellae dixisse ut ad me scriberet ut in Italiam quam primum venirem; eius me litteris venisse. tum ille edixit ita ut me exciperet et Laelium nominatim. quod sane nollem; poterat enim sine nomine res ipsa excipi.

- 3 O multas et gravis offensiones! quas quidem tu das operam ut lenias, nec tamen nihil proficis; quin hoc ipso minuis dolorem meum quod ut minuas tam valde laboras, idque velim ne gravere quam saepissime facere. maxime autem adsequere quod vis, si me adduxeris ut existimem me bonorum iudicium non funditus perdidisse. quamquam quid tu in eo potes? nihil scilicet. sed si quid res dabit tibi facultatis, id me maxime consolari poterit; quod nunc quidem video non esse, sed si quid ex eventis, ut hoc nunc accidit: dicebar debuisse cum Pompeio proficisci; exitus illius minuit eius officii praetermissi reprehensionem. sed ex omnibus nihil †malim tamen†² desideratur quod in Africam non ierim. iudicio hoc sum usus, non esse barbaris auxiliis fallacissimae gentis rem publicam defendendam, praesertim contra exercitum saepe victorem. non probant fortasse; multos enim viros bonos in Africam venisse audio et scio fuisse antea. valde hoc loco urgeor. hic quoque opus est casu, <ut>³ aliqui sint ex eis, aut, si potest, omnes, qui salutem anteponant. nam si perseverant et obtinent, quid nobis futurum sit vides. dices: 'quid illis, si victi erunt?'

² nihil malim quam hoc : des- *coni.* SB

³ *add. Lambinus*

² The Numidians, whose king, Juba, allied himself with the Republicans.

LETTER 218 (XI.7)

to obey the letter. I then sent L. Lamia to him to explain that Caesar had told Dolabella to write to me and ask me to come to Italy as soon as possible, and that I had come in consequence of Dolabella's letter. Antony then published an edict, exempting me and Laelius by name. I must say I wish he had not done that—the *case* could have been exempted without mentioning names.

What a multitude of galling vexations! You try to soften them, and I do not say without success. Indeed you lighten my distress by the very fact that you are at such pains to lighten it, and I hope you will not find it too much trouble to do this as often as possible. You will best achieve your aim if you bring me to believe that I have not utterly forfeited the good opinion of the honest men. And yet what can you do there? Obviously, nothing. But if the facts give you opportunity, that will be the best comfort I can have. At present I can see this is not so, but I mean if something turned up, like what has just happened. It used to be said that I ought to have left with Pompey. His death has blunted the edge of the criticism that I neglected my obligations to him. Even so, the most unsatisfactory point in the whole record (?) is felt to be my failure to go to Africa. My reason was that I did not consider it right to defend the state with the barbarian auxiliaries of a treacherous nation,² especially against an army accustomed to victory. Perhaps they do not accept my argument, for I hear that many honest men have gone to Africa and I know that many were already there. In this quarter I am hard pressed. Here too I need the help of chance—that there should be some of them or, if possible, all, who put survival first. For if they persevere and prevail, you can see what will become of me. You may ask what will become of *them*

CICERO

- 4 honestior est plaga. haec me excruciant. Sulpici autem consilium non scripsisti cur me<o> non anteponeres. quod etsi non tam gloriosum est quam Catonis, tamen et periculo vacuum est et dolore. extremum est eorum qui in Achaia sunt. ii tamen ipsi se hoc melius habent quam nos quod et multi sunt uno in loco et, cum <in> Italiam venerint, domum statim venerint. haec tu perge, ut facis, mitigare et probare quam plurimis.
- 5 Quod te excusas, ego vero et tuas causas nosco et mea interesse puto te istic esse, vel ut cum iis quibus oportebit agas quae erunt agenda de nobis, ut ea quae egisti. in primisque hoc velim animadvertas: multos esse arbitror qui ad Caesarem detulerint delaturive sint me aut paenitere consili mei aut non probare quae fiant. quorum etsi utrumque verum est, tamen ab illis dicitur animo a me alienato, non quo ita esse perspexerint. sed totum <in eo est positum>⁴ ut hoc Balbus sustineat et Oppius et eorum
- 6 crebris litteris illius voluntas erga me confirmetur; et hoc plane ut fiat diligentiam adhibebis. alterum est cur te nolim discedere quod scribis te flagitari. o rem miseram! quid scribam aut quid velim³ breve faciam; lacrimae enim se subito profuderunt. tibi permitto, tu consule; tantum vide ne hoc tempor<e> isti⁵ obesse aliquid possit. ignosce, obsecro te. non possum prae fletu et dolore diutius in hoc loco commorari. tantum dicam, nihil mihi gratius esse quam quod eam diligis.

⁴ *add. SB* : in eo est *Mueller, duce Madvig*

⁵ temporis te *vel* t- tibi (*Koch*)

³ After Pharsalia Sulpicius retired to the island of Samos.

⁴ By Tullia's creditors, apparently.

LETTER 218 (XI.7)

if they are defeated. Theirs is the more honourable calamity. These thoughts torment me. You don't say why you do not prefer Sulpicius' course of action³ to mine. True, there is not so much glory in it as in Cato's, but at any rate it is free both of risk and of suffering. At the bottom comes that of the people in Achaea. But even they are better off than I in that there are many of them in one place and when they do come back to Italy they will go straight to their own homes. Well, do continue to put a better face on my position, as you are doing, and to get as many people as you can to approve it.

You excuse yourself; but I am fully aware of your reasons and think it is in my own interest that you should be in Rome, if only to say what needs saying to the right people on my behalf, as you have already done. One thing I would ask you to note particularly. I think there are many who have informed Caesar, or will do, that I regret my action or that I do not approve of what goes on. Both are true, but these people say it out of spite against me, not because they have seen it is so. But everything depends on Balbus and Oppius standing up against such insinuations and confirming Caesar's disposition towards me with frequent letters. Please use your endeavours to get them to do just that. Another reason why I don't want you to leave Rome is that you say you are being pressed.⁴ Oh dear, what am I to write or wish? I'll cut short, the tears have come pouring from my eyes. I leave it to you. You decide for the best. Only don't let anything harm *her* at this time. Forgive me, I beg. Tears and grief stop me from dwelling on this topic longer. I shall only say this much, that nothing is more grateful to me than your affection for her.

CICERO

- 7 Quod litteras quibus putas opus esse curas dandas, facis commode. Quintum filium vidi qui Sami vidisset, patrem Sicyone: quorum deprecatio est facilis. utinam illi qui prius illum viderint me apud eum velint adiutum tantum quantum ego illos vellem si quid possem!
- 8 Quod rogas ut in bonam partem accipiam si qua sint in tuis litteris quae me mordeant, ego vero in optimam, teque rogo ut aperte, quem ad modum facis, scribas ad me omnia idque facias quam saepissime. vale.

XIII Kal. Ian.

219 (XI.8)

Scr. Brundisii fort. VIII Kal. Ian. an. 48

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quantis curis conficiat etsi profecto vides, tamen cognosces ex Lepta et Trebatio. maximas poenas pendo temeritatis meae, quam tu prudentiam mihi videri vis; neque te deterreo quo minus id disputes scribasque ad me quam saepissime. non nihil enim me levant tuae litterae hoc tempore. per eos qui nostra causa volunt valentque apud illum diligentissime contendas opus est, per Balbum et Oppium maxime, ut de me scribant quam diligentissime. oppugnatur enim, ut audio, et a praesentibus quibusdam et per
- 2 litteras. iis ita est occurrendum ut rei magnitudo postulat. †Furnius†¹ est illic, mihi inimicissimus. Quintus misit

¹ Fufius *Manutius*

¹ The manuscripts read 'Furnius,' which can hardly be right since both before and afterwards Cicero and C. Furnius were on very friendly terms.

LETTER 219 (XI.8)

It is kind of you to see that letters are sent to those whom you think proper. I have seen a person who saw young Quintus at Samos and his father at Sicyon. They will have no trouble in making their peace. I only wish that seeing Caesar first as they will they may be as anxious to help me with him as I should be to help them if I had any power.

You ask me to take anything in your letters which hurts my feelings in good part. I assure you I do, very much so, and I ask you to write everything to me quite frankly, as you are doing, and as often as you can. Good-bye.

17 December.

219 (XI.8)

Brundisium, 23 (?) December 48

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Of the worries which harass me you will learn from Lepta and Trebatius, though no doubt you see them for yourself. I am paying a heavy penalty for my rashness, which you would have me think prudence. Not that I want to discourage you from arguing in that strain and writing to me as often as you can. Your letters do bring me some relief at this time. Your most zealous endeavours are needed with those who wish me well and have influence with Caesar, especially Balbus and Oppius, to get them to write on my behalf as zealously as may be. I am being attacked, so I hear, both by certain persons on the spot and in letters. These must be counteracted, as the importance of the matter requires. *¹ is there, my bitter enemy. Quintus has sent

CICERO

filium non solum sui deprecatorem sed etiam accusatorem mei. dicitat se a me apud Caesarem oppugnari, quod refellit Caesar ipse omnesque eius amici. neque vero desistit, ubicumque est, omnia in me maledicta conferre. nihil mihi umquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum. qui ex ipso audissent, cum Sicyone palam multis audientibus loqueretur nefaria quaedam, ad me pertulerunt. nosti genus, etiam expertus es fortasse. in me id est omne conversum. sed augeo commemorando dolorem et facio etiam tibi. qua re ad illud redeo: cura ut huius rei causa dedita opera mittat aliquem Balbus. ad quos videbitur velim cures litteras meo nomine. vale.

†xvi†² Kal. Ian.

220 (XI.9)

Scr. Brundisii III Non. Ian. an. 47 (§ 3)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Ego vero et incaute, ut scribis, et celerius quam oportuit feci nec in ulla sum spe, quippe qui exceptionibus edictorum retinear. quae si non essent sedulitate effectae et †benivolentia tua†,¹ liceret mihi abire in solitudines aliquas. nunc ne id quidem licet. quid autem me iuvat quod ante initum tribunatum veni, si ipsum quod veni nihil iuvat? iam quid sperem ab eo qui mihi amicus numquam fuit,

² VIII *coni. SB, prob. Beaujeu* ¹ -tie ua vel -tiae qua al. :
-tia vestra vel -tiae v- (*om. et*) *coni. SB*

¹ I.e., 10 December, when the Tribunes entered office. There may be a reference to Dolabella, now Tribune-Designate, but the point is obscure. ² Probably Antony.

LETTER 220 (XI.9)

his son not only to make his own peace but to accuse me as well. He is going about saying that I am traducing him to Caesar, which Caesar himself and all his friends contradict. And wherever he is he never stops heaping all manner of abuse upon me. It is the most unbelievable thing that has ever happened to me, and the bitterest of my present woes. Persons who professed to have heard him at Sicyon with their own ears using scandalous language about me before a large company have repeated it to me. You know the style, you may even have experienced it. It has all been turned on me. But I make the pain worse by dwelling on it, and give you pain also. So I return to my point: see to it that Balbus sends someone especially for this purpose. Please send letters in my name to those to whom you think proper. Good-bye.

23 December (?).

220 (XI.9)

Brundisium, 3 January 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Yes indeed, I acted both incautiously, as you say, and over-hastily; and I have no hope left, now that I am kept back by the exemptions in the edicts. If these had not been obtained by the assiduity and good will of you and your friends (?), it would be open to me to withdraw to some place of retirement. As things are, even that is precluded. And why should I be glad to have come before the start of the Tribunate¹ if I am sorry to have come at all? And what am I to hope from a man who was never my friend,² now

CICERO

cum iam lege etiam sim confectus et oppressus? cottidie iam Balbi ad me litterae languidiores multaeque multorum ad illum fortasse contra me. meo vitio pereo; nihil mihi mali casus attulit, omnia culpa contracta sunt. ego enim cum genus belli viderem, imparata et infirma omnia contra paratissimos, statueram² quid facerem ceperamque consilium non tam forte quam mihi praeter ceteros concedendum. cessi meis vel potius parui; ex quibus unus quamente fuerit, is quem tu mihi commendas, cognosces ex ipsius litteris quas ad te et ad alios misit. quas ego nunquam aperuissem nisi res acta sic esset. delatus est ad me fasciculus. solvi, si quid ad me esset litterarum. nihil erat; epistula Vatinius et Ligurius altera. iussi ad eos deferri. illi ad me statim ardentes dolore venerunt scelus hominis clamantes; epistulas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me proborum. hic Ligurius furere: se enim scire summo illum in odio fuisse Caesari; illum tamen non modo f<a>visse sed etiam tantam illi pecuniam dedisse honoris mei causa. hoc ego dolore accepto volui scire quid scripsisset ad ceteros; ipsi enim illi putavi perniciosum fore si eius hoc tantum scelus percrebruisset. cognovi eiusdem generis. ad te misi: quas si putabis illi ipsi utile esse reddi, reddes. nil me laedet. nam quod resignatae sunt, habet, opinor, eius signum Pomponia. hac ille acerbitate initio navigationis cum

² sit veram (*Madvig*)

³ Quintus senior.

legally destroyed and overwhelmed as I am? Balbus' letters grow more lukewarm every day, and who knows how many, and from how many writers, are going against me to Caesar? My ruin is my own work. Nothing in my adversity is due to chance, I am to blame for all. When I saw the kind of war it was, nothing but weakness and improvisation against excellently prepared enemies, I made up my mind what to do and resolved upon a course which may not have been courageous but was particularly allowable in my case. Then I yielded to my family, or rather I obeyed them. What one of them³ really felt, the one for whom you put in your good word, you will see from his own letters to yourself and others. I would never have opened them but for an accident. It was like this. A package was brought to me. I undid it to see if there was any letter for me. There was nothing, but there was a letter to Vatinius and another to Ligurius. I gave instructions for these to be forwarded to the addressees. They promptly arrived on my doorstep, burning with indignation, clamorous against 'the damned scoundrel,' and read me the letters, which were full of all manner of slanders against me. At this Ligurius lost his temper completely, exclaiming that he knew Caesar detested the person concerned, but had not only shown him favour but given him all that money in compliment to me. After this painful discovery I wanted to know what he had written to the others, for I thought it would be highly damaging to himself if this infamous behaviour of his were to become public property. I found it was in the same strain. I am sending the letters to you. If you think their delivery will be in his own interest, then deliver them. It does me no harm. As for the broken seals, I think Pomponia has his seal. He took the same bitter tone with me at the start of

CICERO

usus esset, tanto me dolore adfecit ut postea iacuerim; neque nunc tam pro se quam contra me laborare dicitur.

- 3 Ita omnibus rebus urgeor; quas sustinere vix possum vel plane nullo modo possum. quibus in miseris una est pro omnibus quod istam miseram patre, patrimonio,³ fortuna omni spoliata relinquam. qua re te, ut polliceris, videre plane velim. alium enim cui illam commendem habeo neminem, quoniam matri quoque eadem intellexi esse parata quae mihi. sed si me non offendes, satis tamen habeto commendatam patruumque in eam quantum poteris mitigato.

Haec ad te die natali meo scripsi; quo utinam susceptus non essem, aut ne quid ex eadem matre postea natum esset! plura scribere fletu prohibeor.

221 (XI.10)

Scr. Brundisii XII Kal. Febr. an. 47 (§ 2)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Ad meas incredibilis aegritudines aliquid novi accedit ex iis quae de Quintis ad me adferuntur. P. Terentius, meus necessarius, operas in portu et scriptura Asiae pro magistro dedit. is Quintum filium Ephesi vidit VI Id. Dec. eumque studiose propter amicitiam nostram invitavit; cumque ex eo de me percontaretur, eum sibi ita dixisse narrabat, se mihi esse inimicissimum, volumenque sibi ostendisse ora-

³ parte(m) matr- vel partem tr- (*Gronovius* : patre, matrimonio
O. E. Schmidt)

LETTER 221 (XI.10)

our voyage and so upset me that I was laid up afterwards. And at the present time he is said to be working not so much for himself as against me.

So I am beset on all sides. I can hardly stand it; or rather I just *cannot* stand it. Worse than all the rest of my afflictions put together is the thought that I shall leave that poor girl despoiled of father, inheritance, all that was hers. On that account I should indeed like to see you, as you promise. I have no one else to whom I can commend her since I perceive that the same fate⁴ is in store for her mother as for me. But if you don't find me here, take this as commendation enough, and soften her uncle towards her as far as you can.

I write this on my birthday. I wish I had never been let live that day, or else that my mother had never borne another child! Tears prevent me from writing more.

221 (XI.10)

Brundisium, 19 January 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Reports reaching me about the Quinti have dropped new bitterness into my overflowing cup. My friend P. Terentius had a job as managing director of the customs and pasture rents company in Asia. He saw Quintus junior at Ephesus on 8 December, and was at pains to be hospitable because of his friendship with me. He says that when he asked about me Quintus told him that he was my bitter enemy and showed him a roll containing a speech which he was

⁴ Confiscation of property.

tionis quam apud Caesarem contra me esset habiturus. multa <a> se dicta contra eius amentiam. multa postea Patris [eius]¹ simili scelere secum Quintum patrem locutum; cuius furorem ex iis epistulis quas ad te misi perspicere potuisti. haec tibi dolori esse certo scio; me quidem excruciant, et eo magis quod mihi cum illis ne querendi quidem locum futurum puto.

- 2 De Africanis rebus longe alia nobis ac tu scripseras nuntiantur. nihil enim firmitus esse dicunt, nihil paratius. accedit Hispania et alienata Italia, legionum nec vis eadem nec voluntas, urbanae res perditae. quid est ubi acquiescam, nisi quam diu tuas litteras lego? quae essent profecto crebriores, si quid haberes quo putares meam molestiam minui posse. sed tamen te rogo ut ne intermittas scribere ad me quicquid erit eosque qui mihi tam crudeliter inimici sunt, si odisse non potes, accuses tamen, non ut aliquid proficias sed ut tibi me carum esse sentiant. plura ad te scribam, si mihi ad eas litteras quas proxime ad te dedi rescripseris. vale.

XII Kal. Febr.

222 (XI.11)

Scr. Brundisii VIII Id. Mart. an. 47 (§ 2)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Confectus iam cruciatu maximorum dolorum ne si sit quidem quod ad te debeam scribere facile id exsequi pos-

¹ patris eius (*Orelli*)

LETTER 222 (XI.11)

going to make against me in Caesar's presence. Terentius says he tried to talk him out of his folly. He adds that later on at Patrae Quintus senior spoke much to him in similarly outrageous fashion. The letters which I sent you will have enabled you to judge of his unbalanced state of mind. I am sure that all this gives you pain. It tortures me, all the more because I do not expect even to have the opportunity of remonstrating with them.

On Africa the reports I get present a very different picture from your letter. They speak of a most impressive degree of strength and organization. Then there is Spain, and the alienation of public feeling in Italy, the diminished vigour and loyalty of the troops, the desperate state of affairs in the capital. Where am I to look for solace, except while I am reading your letters—which would no doubt come more frequently if you had anything to write that you thought would lighten my load? Nevertheless I beg you not to fail to send me any news there may be, and if you cannot hate those who are so cruelly hostile to me, at any rate to reproach them, not for any good it will do but to let them see that you care for me. I shall write more when you reply to my last. Good-bye.

19 January.

222 (XI.11)

Brundisium, 8 March 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Exhausted as I am by the pain of my heavy sorrows, even if there were anything which required me to write to you I should not find it easy to make the effort. It is all the

CICERO

sim; hoc minus quod res nulla est quae scribenda sit, cum praesertim ne spes quidem ulla ostendatur fore melius. ita iam ne tuas quidem litteras exspecto, quamquam semper aliquid adferunt quod velim. qua re tu quidem scribito, cum erit cui des. ego tuis proximis, quas tamen iam pridem accepi, nihil habeo quod rescribam. longo enim intervallo video mutata esse omnia; illa esse firma quae debeant, nos stultitiae nostrae gravissimas poenas pendere.

- 2 P. Sallustio curanda sunt HS $\overline{\text{XXX}}$, quae accepi a Cn. Sallustio. velim videas ut sine mora curentur. de ea re scripsi ad Terentiam. atque hoc ipsum iam prope consumptum est. qua re id quoque velim cum illa videas, ut sit qui utamur. hic fortasse potero sumere si sciam istic paratum fore; sed prius quam id scirem nihil sum ausus sumere. quid sit omnium rerum status noster vides. nihil est mali quod non et sustineam et exspectem. quarum rerum eo gravior est dolor quo culpa maior. ille in Achaia non cessat de nobis detrahere. nihil videlicet tuae litterae profecerunt. vale.

VIII Id. Mart.

223 (XI.12)

Scr. Brundisii VIII Id. Mart. an. 47 (§ 4)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Cephalio mihi a te litteras reddidit a. d. VIII Id. Mart. vespere. eo autem die mane tabellarios miseram, quibus ad te dederam litteras. tuis tamen lectis litteris putavi ali-

¹ Quintus senior.

LETTER 223 (XI.12)

harder since there is nothing to write about, especially as not even a glimmer of better things is apparent. So I now no longer expect to hear from you either, though your letters never fail to bring me something agreeable. So I hope *you* will write, when you have somebody to take a letter. To your last, which however reached me quite a time ago, I have nothing to reply, for in the long interval I see that everything has changed. The better cause is strong, and I am paying the heaviest of penalties for my stupidity.

The HS 30,000 which I had from Cn. Sallustius must be paid to P. Sallustius. Please see it is done without delay. I have written about it to Terentia. Moreover this sum too is almost used up, so I should be glad if you would also arrange with her for me to have something to live on. I shall perhaps be able to borrow here, if I knew I was covered in Rome; but before knowing it I have not dared to borrow anything. You see the general state of my affairs. There is no evil that I do not both endure and expect, and the pain of it all is hard to bear in proportion to the fault. The man in Greece¹ carps at me tirelessly. Evidently your letter did no good. Good-bye.

8 March.

223 (XI.12)

Brundisium, 8 March 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Cephalio has brought me a letter from you this evening (8 March). I had already sent off couriers this morning with a letter for you, but after reading yours I thought I ought to write something back, more especially because

quid rescribendum esse, ea re maxime quod ostendis te pendere animi quamnam rationem sim Caesari adlaturus profectionis meae tum cum ex Italia discesserim. nihil opus est mihi nova ratione. saepe enim ad eum scripsi multisque mandavi me non potuisse, cum cupissem, sermones hominum sustinere, multaque in eam sententiam. nihil enim erat quod minus eum vellem existimare quam me tanta de re non meo consilio usum esse. posteaque, cum mihi litterae a Balbo Cornelio minore missae essent, illum existimare Quintum fratrem lituum meae profectionis fuisse (ita enim scripsit), qui nondum cognossem quae de me Quintus scripsisset ad multos, etsi multa praesens in praesentem acerbe dixerat et fecerat, tamen nilo minus his¹ verbis ad Caesarem scripsi:

- 2 'De Quinto fratre meo non minus laboro quam de me ipso, sed eum tibi commendare hoc meo tempore non audeo. illud dumtaxat tamen audebo petere abs te, quod te oro, ne quid existimes ab illo factum esse quo minus mea in te officia constarent minusve te diligerem, potiusque semper illum auctorem nostrae coniunctionis fuisse meique itineris comitem, non ducem. qua re ceteris in rebus tantum ei tribues quantum humanitas tua amicitiaeque vestra postulat. ego ei ne quid apud te obsim, id te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.'

- 3 Qua re si quis congressus fuerit mihi cum Caesare, etsi non dubito quin is lenis in illum futurus sit idque iam declaraverit,² ego tamen is ero qui semper fui. sed, ut video, multo magis est nobis laborandum de Africa; quam

¹ I. *lomeous vel sim.* (R. Klotz, duce Graevio)

² *declaravit coni. SB*

LETTER 223 (XI.12)

you make it plain that you are exercised to know what reason I am going to give Caesar for leaving Italy when I did. I don't need any new reason. I have written to him repeatedly and sent word by others that I was unable to hold out, much as I should have wished, against the general talk, and so on and so forth. The last thing I wanted him to think was that in such a matter I had followed anybody's judgement but my own. Subsequently Cornelius Balbus junior wrote to me that Caesar thought my brother Quintus had 'sounded the clarion for my departure' (that was his phrase). Not yet knowing what Quintus had written about me to all and sundry, though I had had many harsh words and actions from him face to face, I wrote to Caesar as follows notwithstanding:

'For my brother Quintus I am no less anxious than for myself, but in my present situation I do not venture to intercede for him with you. This much however and no more I shall venture to ask you (and I beg it of you), not to hold him responsible for any shortcomings of mine in respect to yourself or for any want of regard for you, and on the contrary to believe that he was always in favour of our connexion, and that he was the companion of my journey, not the guide. Accordingly in other respects you will doubtless grant him such indulgence as your natural kindness and the friendship between you make appropriate. All I ask, as I do again most earnestly, is that *I* may not count against him with you.'

Accordingly, at any interview I may have with Caesar I shall take the line I have always taken, though I don't doubt that he will be lenient towards Quintus and has already declared this to be his intention. But as I see it, we have much more reason to concern ourselves about Africa,

CICERO

quidem tu scribis confirmari cottidie magis ad condicionis spem quam victoriae. quod utinam ita esset! sed longe aliter esse intellego teque ipsum ita existimare arbitror, aliter autem scribere non fallendi sed confirmandi mei causa, praesertim cum adiungatur ad Africam etiam Hispania.

- 4 Quod me admones ut scribam ad Antonium et ad ceteros, si quid videbitur tibi opus esse, velim facias id quod saepe fecisti. nihil enim mihi venit in mentem quod scribendum putem. quod me audis fractionem esse animo, quid putas cum videas accessisse ad superiores aegritudines praeclaras generi actiones? tu tamen velim ne intermittas, quod eius facere poteris, scribere ad me, etiam si rem de qua scribas non habebis. semper enim adferunt aliquid mihi tuae litterae.

Galeonis hereditatem crevi. puto enim cretionem simplicem fuisse, quoniam ad me nulla missa est.

VIII Id. Mart.

224 (XI.13)

Scr. Brundisii fort. med. m. Mart. an. 47

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 A Murenæ liberto nihil adhuc acceperam litterarum. P. Siser reddiderat eas quibus rescribo. de Servi patris litteris quod scribis, itemque in Syriam venisse quod ais esse qui nuntiant, ne id quidem verum est. quod certiore te vis fieri quo quisque in me animo sit aut fuerit eorum qui huc

¹ I.e., 'written yourself as though from me.'

LETTER 224 (XI.13)

where you say the position grows stronger every day, with the prospect of negotiations rather than of victory. I wish enough it were so, but I understand it to be far otherwise and I think you yourself are of that opinion, though you write otherwise to comfort (not deceive) me, especially now that Spain too is joining Africa.

You advise me to write to Antony, etc. If you think it needful, please do what you have often done before.¹ I can't think of anything I ought to write. You say you have heard that I am rather down in the mouth. What do you suppose, when you see how on top of my previous chagrins there are now my son-in-law's distinguished activities?² But do not stop writing to me as much as you can, even if you have nothing to write about. Your letters always bring me something.

I have declared my acceptance of Galeo's estate. I suppose it is a simple acceptance, since no form was sent me.
8 March.

224 (XI.13)

Brundisium, mid-March (?) 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have not yet received any letter from Murena's freedman. P. Siser gave me the one to which I now reply. You write of Servius senior's letter and also say that there are reports of his having gone to Syria; that too is untrue. You ask to be informed how the various people who have come to this town are or have been disposed towards me. I have not

² As Tribune Dolabella had begun a campaign for the cancellation of debts.

venerunt, neminem alieno intellexi. sed quantum id mea intersit existimare te posse certo scio. mihi cum omnia sint intolerabilia ad dolorem, tum maxime quod in eam causam venisse me video ut sola utilia mihi esse videantur quae semper nolui.

P. Lentulum patrem Rhodi esse aiunt, Alexandriae filium, Rhodoque Alexandriam C. Cassium profectum esse constat.

2 Quintus mihi per litteras satis facit multo asperioribus verbis quam cum gravissime accusabat. ait enim se ex litteris tuis intellegere tibi non placere quod ad multos de me asperius scripsit, itaque se paenitere quod animum tuum offenderit; sed se iure fecisse. deinde perscribit spurcissime quas ob causas fecerit. sed neque hoc tempore nec antea patefecisset odium suum in me, nisi omnibus rebus me esse oppressum videret. atque utinam vel nocturnis, quem ad modum tu scripseras, itineribus propius te accessissem! nunc nec ubi nec quando te sim visurus possum suspicari.

3 De coheredibus Fufidianis, nihil fuit quod ad me scriberes; nam et aequum postulant et quicquid egisses recte esse actum putarem.

4 De fundo Frusinati redimendo iam pridem intellexisti voluntatem meam. etsi tum meliore loco res erant nostrae neque tam mihi desperatum iri videbantur, tamen in eadem sum voluntate. id quem ad modum fiat tu videbis. et velim, quod poteris, consideres ut sit unde nobis suppeditentur sumptus necessarii. si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum cum id videbamur sapienter facere

¹ Because Caesar appeared to be losing the war.

LETTER 224 (XI.13)

noticed any unfriendliness, but I am sure you can judge how little this matters to me.¹ Unbearably painful as my circumstances are, the worst cross of all is to find myself in a situation where my advantage lies only in what I have always wished would never happen.²

They say that P. Lentulus senior is at Rhodes and his son at Alexandria; and all agree that C. Cassius has left Rhodes for Alexandria.

Quintus excuses himself to me by letter in terms much more offensive than those he used in his bitterest attacks. He says he gathers from your letter that you do not approve of his writing harshly about me to all and sundry; therefore he is sorry to have vexed you, but considers that what he did was justified. Then he enumerates in the most indecent language his reasons for doing it. But he would not have flaunted his hatred of me either now or previously were it not that he sees I am totally ruined. I only wish I had come nearer you, even by night travel as you suggested. As it is I cannot imagine where or when I am going to see you.

About my coheirs to Fufidius' estate, there was no need for you to write to me. What they ask is fair, and whatever you had done would have been right in my eyes.

About buying the farm at Frusino you learned my wishes some time ago. Though my affairs were in a better state then and I did not think they would become so desperate, my wish remains the same. How it is to be done is for you to judge. And please, as far as you can, consider how to provide me with a sum I can draw upon for necessary expenses. Such funds as I had available I made over to Pompey at a time when this seemed the prudent thing

² I.e., Caesar's victory.

CICERO

detulimus. itaque tum et a tuo vilico sumpsimus et aliunde mutuati sumus cum Quintus queritur¹ per litteras sibi nos nihil dedisse, qui neque ab illo rogati sumus neque ipsi eam pecuniam aspeximus. sed velim videas quid sit quod confici possit quidque mihi de omnibus des consili; et causam nosti.

- 5 Plura ne scribam dolore impediior. si quid erit quod ad quos scribendum meo nomine putes, velim, ut soles, facias, quotiensque habebis cui des ad me litteras nolim praetermittas. vale.

225 (XI.14)

Scr. Brundisii m. Apr. an. 47

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Non me offendit veritas litterarum tuarum quod me cum communibus tum praecipuis malis oppressum ne incipis quidem, ut solebas, consolari faterisque id fieri iam non posse. nec enim ea sunt quae erant antea cum, ut nihil aliud, comites me et socios habere putabam. omnes enim Achaici deprecatores itemque in Asia quibus non erat ignotum, etiam quibus erat, in Africam dicuntur navigaturi. ita praeter Laelium neminem habeo culpae socium; qui tamen hoc meliore in causa est quod iam est receptus.
- 2 De me autem non dubito quin ad Balbum et ad Oppium scripserit; a quibus, si quid esset laetius, certior fac-

¹ quereretur (*Madvig*)

³ The 2,200,000 sesterces left at Ephesus, half of which had been loaned to Pompey.

LETTER 225 (XI.14)

to do. So it was that I was taking money from your bailiff and borrowing elsewhere at the very time when Quintus complains in his letter that I gave him nothing—though he never asked me and I never saw the colour of that money myself.³ But please see what can be raised and what advice you have to give me on all points. You know the position.

Grief prevents me from writing more. If there is anything you think ought to be written to anybody in my name, please do it as usual, and whenever you have anyone to whom you can give a letter for me, please don't fail. Good-bye.

225 (XI.14)

Brundisium, April 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I do not take your candour amiss, when in your last letter you do not even attempt to comfort me according to your old habit, overwhelmed as I am by public and private sorrows, and when you admit that this is no longer possible. It is not now as in the days when I thought that at any rate I had companions and partners. All the petitioners in Achaëa and those in Asia too who have not already received their pardons, and even those who have, are said to intend taking ship for Africa. So except for Laelius I have no one to share my blame, and he is this much better off than I in that he has already been admitted to grace.

Concerning myself I do not doubt that he¹ has already written to Balbus and to Oppius. If there had been any-

¹ Caesar.

CICERO

tus essem, tecum etiam essent locuti. quibuscum tu de hoc ipso colloquere velim et ad me quid tibi responderint scribas, non <quo>¹ ab isto salus data quicquam habitura sit firmitudinis, sed tamen aliquid consuli et prospici poterit. etsi omnium conspectum horreo, praesertim hoc genero, tamen in tantis malis quid aliud velim non reperio.

- 3 Quintus pergit, ut ad me et Pansa scripsit et Hirtius, isque item Africam petere cum ceteris dicitur.

Ad Minucium Tarentum scribam et tuas litteras mitam; ad te scribam [nam]² quid egerim. HS $\overline{\text{xxx}}$ potuisse mirarer, nisi multa de Fufidianis praediis. ad * * *³ video et tamen exspecto; quem videre, si ullo modo potest (<posit>⁴ enim res), pervelim.⁵ iam extremum concluditur; quod ibi facile est quale sit,⁶ hic gravius existimare. vale.

226 (XI.15)

Scr. Brundisii prid. Id. Mai. an. 47 (§ 4)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quoniam iustas causas adfers cur te hoc tempore videre non possim, <vide>,¹ quaeso, quid sit mihi faciendum. ille enim ita videtur Alexandria teneri² ut eum scribere etiam pudeat de illis rebus, hi autem ex Africa iam adfuturi vi-

¹ *add. Batter** : quod s

² *secl. SB* : num s

³ (ad)huc in urbe te impediri video *add. conl. SB*

⁴ *add. Graevius*

⁵ pervellem (*Ernesti*)

⁶ ibi f- est quod quale sit (*SB, duce Purser*)

¹ *add. Koch* : tu vel iam *conl. SB*

² Alexandriam tenere (*SB*)

LETTER 226 (XI.15)

thing at all cheerful, they would certainly have let me know, and they would have spoken to you too. I should be grateful if you would have a word with them on this very point and let me know how they answer you; not that safety granted by Caesar will be anything to rely on, but still it will enable me to make some sort of plans and provision. Though I dread the sight of everyone, especially with such a son-in-law, I find nothing else to hope for in such a deplorable situation. Quintus is going ahead, as both Pansa and Hirtius have written to me, and he too is said to be making for Africa with the rest.

I shall write to Minucius at Tarentum and send your letter; I shall let you know what I do. I should be surprised that you could go as far as HS 30,000,² unless a good deal has come in from the Fufidius properties. * * * I see that you are still held up in Rome (?), and yet I expect you. If it is at all possible, I should very much like to see you—the case calls for it. This is the denouement. There its nature can easily be judged, here it is more difficult. Good-bye.

226 (XI.15)

Brundisium, 14 May 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Since you give good reasons why I cannot see you at the present time, pray consider what I ought to do. Caesar seems to be so stuck in Alexandria that he is ashamed even to write about the situation there, while these others look to be arriving from Africa any minute now, and the

² To be remitted to the banker Minucius at Tarentum and credited to Cicero.

dentur, Ach<ai>ci,³ ex Asia redituri ad eos aut libero aliquo loco commoraturi. quid mihi igitur putas agendum? video difficile esse consilium. sum enim solus aut cum altero cui neque ad illos reditus sit neque ab his ipsis quicquam ad spem ostendatur. sed tamen scire velim quid censeas; idque erat cum aliis cur te, si fieri posset, cuperem videre.

- 2 Minucium XII sola curasse scripsi ad te antea. quod superest velim videas ut curetur. Quintus non modo non cum magna prece ad me sed acerbissime scripsit, filius vero mirifico odio. nihil fingi potest mali quo non urgear. omnia tamen sunt facilia quam peccati dolor, qui et maximus est et aeternus. cuius peccati si socios essem habiturus ego quos putavi, tamen esset ea consolatio tenuis. sed habet aliorum omnium ratio exitum, mea nullum. alii capti, alii interclusi non veniunt in dubium de voluntate, eo minus scilicet cum se expedierint et una esse coeperint. ii autem ipsi qui sua voluntate ad Fufium venerunt nihil possunt nisi timidi existimari. multi autem sunt qui, quocumque [sunt] modo ad illos se recipere volent, recipiuntur. quo minus debes mirari non posse me tanto dolori resistere. solius enim meum peccatum corrigi non potest et fortasse Laeli. sed quid me id levat? nam C. quidem Cassium aiunt consilium Alexandriam eundi mutavisse.

- 3 Haec ad te scribo non ut queas tu demere sollicitudi-

³ achei (s)

¹ Left by Caesar in charge of Achaëa.

Achaean contingent and those in Asia look to be rejoining them or waiting in some place of freedom. So what line do you think I ought to take? I can see it is no easy problem. My case is unique, or unique but for one other, in that I can neither go back to my former party nor on the other hand do these people here give me any sign of encouragement. Still I should like to know what you advise, and that among other things was why I was anxious to see you, if possible.

I have already written to you that Minucius remitted only HS 12,000. I should be glad if you would see that the rest is forthcoming. So far from making a 'strong appeal' to me, Quintus wrote to me most offensively and his son with extraordinary malignity. There is no conceivable sort of trouble that does not beset me. But everything is easier to bear than my heartfelt, never-to-be-abated remorse for the error I have committed. Even if I were going to have the partners in that error whom I expected, it would be a poor enough consolation. But all the others have a loophole, I only have none. Some were taken prisoner, others cut off. Their loyalty is not in question, and will of course be all the less so when they have extricated themselves and effected a junction with the rest. Even those who went to Fufius¹ of their own volition cannot be accused of anything worse than pusillanimity. And there are many who will be welcomed back no matter how they return to the fold. You must not therefore be surprised if I cannot support such a burden of self-reproach. I alone have erred irretrievably—and perhaps Laelius, but what good is that to me? As for C. Cassius, they say he has changed his mind about going to Alexandria.

I write to you thus not as though you could remove my

CICERO

nem sed ut cognoscam ecquid tu ad ea adferas quae me conficiunt; ad quae gener accedit et cetera quae fletu reprimor ne scribam. quin etiam Aesopi filius me excruciat. prorsus nihil abest quin sim miserrimus. sed ad primum revertor, quid putes faciendum, occultene aliquo propius veniendum an mare transeundum. nam hic maneri diutius non potest.

- 4 De Fufidianis, qua re nihil potuit confici? genus enim condicionis eius modi fuit in quo non solet esse controversia, cum ea pars quae videtur esse minor licitatione expleri posset. hoc ego non sine causa quaero. suspicor enim coheredes dubiam nostram causam putare et eo rem in integro esse malle.⁴ vale.

Prid. Id. Mai.

227 (XI.16)

Scr. Brundisii III Non. Iun. an. 47 (§ 5)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Non meo vitio fit¹ hoc quidem tempore (ante enim est peccatum) ut me ista epistula nihil consoletur. nam et exigue scripta est et suspiciones magnas habet non esse ab illo; quas animadvertisse te existimo. de obviam itione ita faciam ut suades. neque enim ulla de² adventu eius opinio est neque si qui ex Asia veniunt quicquam auditum esse

⁴ *om. codd. plerique* : velle *Madvig* (*pro vale Corradus*)

¹ fuit (*Victorius*) ² valde (*Lambinus*)

² This son of the famous actor was a notorious profligate, but how he was tormenting Cicero is not revealed.

LETTER 227 (XI.16)

anxiety but to find out whether you have anything to say to the matters which are preying on my mind. On top of these comes my son-in-law, and other things which tears prevent me from writing down. Even Aesopus' son² is a sore trial. There is really nothing wanting to make me the most miserable of mankind. But I come back to my point, namely what you think ought to be done, whether I should come somewhere closer by stealth or go abroad. For stay here much longer I cannot.

About the Fufidian properties, why could nothing be raised? The terms were of a kind on which there is normally no dispute, since the share which seems the smaller could have been made up by auction. I have a reason for enquiring, for I suspect that my coheirs take a dubious view of my prospects and on that account prefer to leave the matter open. Good-bye.

14 May.

227 (XI.16)

Brundisium, 3 June 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

It is no fault of mine (now, I mean; in the past I have been to blame) that this letter of yours¹ brings me no comfort. It is meagrely written and arouses a strong suspicion that he did not send it, as I think you will have observed. About going to meet him I shall do as you recommend, since there is no expectation of his arrival and travellers from

¹ A letter from Caesar (to Antony?), of which Atticus had sent Cicero a copy.

dicunt de pace; cuius ego spe in hanc fraudem incidi. nihil video quod sperandum putem, nunc praesertim cum ea plaga in Asia sit accepta, <alia>³ in Illyrico, in Cassiano negotio, in ipsa Alexandria, in urbe, <in> Italia. ego vero, etiam si rediturus ille est qui adhuc bellum gerere dicitur, tamen ante reditum eius negotium confectum iri puto.

- 2 Quod autem scribis quandam laetitiam bonorum esse commotam ut sit auditum de litteris, tu quidem nihil praetermittis in quo putes aliquid solaci esse, sed ego non adducor quemquam bonum ullam salutem putare mihi tanti fuisse ut eam peterem ab illo, et eo minus quod huius consili iam ne socium quidem habeo quemquam. qui in Asia sunt rerum exitum exspectant, Achaici etiam Fufio spem deprecationis adferunt. horum et timor idem fuit primo qui meus et constitutum; mora Alexandrina causam illorum correxerit, meam evertit. quam ob rem idem a te nunc peto quod superioribus litteris, ut, si quid in perditis rebus dispiceres quod mihi putares faciendum, me mone- res. si recipior ab his, quod vides non fieri, tamen quoad bellum erit quid agam aut ubi sim non reperio; sin iactor, eo minus. itaque tuas litteras exspecto, easque ut ad me sine dubitatione scribas rogo.

- 4 Quod suades ut ad Quintum scribam de his litteris, facerem, si me quicumque istae litterae delectarent. etsi quidam scripsit ad me his verbis: 'ego, ut in his malis, Patris

³ *add. SB*

² Pharnaces of Pontus had defeated the Roman commander Domitius Calvinus at Nicopolis. ³ Caesar's lieutenant Gabinius had met with a defeat there. ⁴ Caesarian troops in Spain had mutinied against the governor, Q. Cassius.

LETTER 227 (XI.16)

Asia say there is no word of peace—the hope which led me into my present trap. I see no grounds for hoping, especially now that he has taken that knock in Asia,² another in Illyria,³ in the Cassius affair,⁴ in Alexandria itself, in Rome, in Italy. For my part I think that even if he is going to return (and he is said to be still fighting), the business will be settled before he gets back.

You write that the news about the letter has caused a certain amount of elation among the honest men. You overlook nothing which you think may contain a crumb of comfort, but I cannot believe any honest man could possibly think I was not paying too dearly for safety by begging it at his hands, especially as I no longer have a single companion in this course. Those who are in Asia are waiting to see how matters turn out, the Achaean party are holding out hopes of intercession to Fufius! Their fears were originally the same as mine and so was their decision. The delay at Alexandria has been their salvation and my undoing. Therefore I make the same request of you now as in my previous letter, that if in a desperate situation you could perceive any course you thought I ought to follow, you should advise me of it. If I am admitted to grace here, which you see is not happening, I still don't see what to do or where to stay for the duration of the war; if I am spurned, all the less. So I expect a letter, and ask you to write it to me without hesitation.

You suggest that I should write to Quintus about this letter. I would, if I got any pleasure out of the thing; though one of my acquaintance has written to me as follows: 'In these bad times I am not sorry to be at Patrae. I should like

CICERO

sum non invitus; essem libentius si frater tuus ea de te loqueretur quae ego audire vellem.' quod ais illum ad te scribere me sibi nullas litteras remittere, semel ab ipso accepi; ad eas Cephalioni dedi, qui multos mensis tempetatibus retentus est. Quintum filium ad me acerbissime scripsisse iam ante ad te scripsi.

- 5 Extremum est quod te orem, si putas rectum esse et a te suscipi posse, cum Camillo communices ut Terentiam moneatis de testamento. tempora monent ut videat ut satis faciat quibus debeat. auditum ex Philotimo est eam scelerate quaedam facere. credibile vix est, sed certe, si quid est quod fieri possit, providendum est. de omnibus rebus velim ad me scribas et maxime quid sentias⁴ de ea in qua⁵ tuo consilio eg^eo, etiam si nihil excogitas. id enim mihi erit pro desperato.

III Non. Iun.

228 (XI.17)

Scr. Brundisii prid. Id. aut Id. Iun. an. 47

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Properantibus tabellariis alienis hanc epistulam dedi. eo brevior est, et quod eram missurus nostros. Tullia mea venit ad me prid. Id. Iun. deque tua erga se observantia benevolentiaque mihi plurima exposuit litterasque reddidit trinas. ego autem ex ipsius virtute, humanitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi quam capere ex singulari filia debui sed etiam incredibili sum dolore ad-

⁴ scribas (*Manutius*)

⁵ quo (*Wesenberg*)

LETTER 228 (XI.17)

it better if your brother spoke about you in terms such as I should wish to hear.' You say he tells you that I do not answer his letters. I have received only one from himself, and I gave an answer to that to Cephalius, who was held up for many months by bad weather. I have already told you that Quintus junior wrote to me most offensively.

The last thing I have to beg you is, if you think it right and it is something you feel you can undertake, to talk to Camillus with a view to your both admonishing Terentia about her will. The times warn her to see that she does justice where it is due. One has heard from Philotimus that she is doing some wicked things. It is hardly credible; but certainly, if there is anything that can be done, steps should be taken in time. Please write to me on all points, and especially what you feel about the one on which I need your advice, even if you can find no answer. For I shall take that as proof that the case is hopeless.

3 June.

228 (XI.17)

Brundisium, 12 or 13 June 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

The couriers to whom I am giving this letter are not my own and they are in a hurry. That is why it is so short, and also because I am going to send my own men. My Tullia joined me on 12 June. She told me a great deal about your attentiveness and kindness to her, and gave me three letters. Her own courage, thoughtfulness, and affection, far from giving me the pleasure I ought to take in such a paragon of daughters, grieve me beyond measure when I

CICERO

fectus tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari idque accidere nullo ipsius delicto, summa culpa mea. itaque a te neque consolationem iam, qua cupere te uti video, nec consilium, quod capi nullum potest, exspecto teque omnia cum superioribus saepe litteris tum proximis temptasse intellego.

229 (XI.17a)

Scr. Brundisii xvii Kal. Quint. an. 47 (§ 3)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ego cum Sallustio Ciceronem ad Caesarem mittere cogitabam; Tulliam autem non videbam esse causam cur diutius mecum tanto in communi maerore retinerem. itaque matri eam,¹ cum primum per ipsam liceret, e<r>am remisurus. †pro ea quem ad² modum consolandis†³ scripsisti putato ea me scripsisse quae tu ipse intellegis responderi potuisse.
- 2 Quod Oppium tecum scribis locutum, non abhorret a mea suspicione eius oratio. sed non dubito quin istis persuaderi nullo modo possit ea quae faciant mihi probari posse, quoquo modo loquar. ego tamen utar moderatione qua potero; quamquam quid mea intersit ut eorum odium subeam non intellego.
- 3 Te iusta causa impediri quo minus ad nos venias video, idque mihi valde molestum est. illum ab Alexandria discessisse nemo nuntiat constatque ne profectum quidem illum quemquam post Id. Mart. nec post Id. Dec. ab illo datas

¹ emat(h)iam (*Bosius*)

² ad ea quae in *Goodyear*

³ consolantis *Bosius*

LETTER 229 (XI.17a)

consider the unhappy lot in which so admirable a nature is cast, not through any misconduct of hers but by grave fault on my part. Therefore I do not expect consolation from you any longer, though I see you are anxious to supply it, nor advice, for the case does not admit of it, and I realize that you have tried everything, both in your many previous letters and in those I have just received.

229 (XI.17a)

Brundisium, 14 June 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am thinking of sending Marcus with Sallustius to Caesar. As for Tullia, I see no reason why I should keep her with me for long when we are both so heavily afflicted. I therefore propose to send her back to her mother as soon as she herself is willing. To what you have written in consolatory vein (?) imagine that I have made on her behalf (?) such a reply as you yourself can see the case admits.

The language which you say Oppius used in his talk with you chimes with my own suspicion. But I feel sure that it is quite impossible to persuade these people that I approve of their doings, however I may talk. Still I shall exercise all the restraint I can, though why I should be concerned about incurring their dislike I fail to see.¹

I realize that you are prevented from visiting us by good and sufficient cause, and I am very sorry for it. There is no news of *his* having left Alexandria, and it is agreed that no one at all has left there since the Ides of March and that

¹ The attitude of the Caesarians was not important because they were likely to lose the war.

CICERO

ullas litteras. ex quo intellegis illud de litteris a. d. v Id. Febr. datis, quod inane esset etiam si verum esset, non verum esse. L. Terentium discessisse ex Africa scimus Paestumque venisse. quid is adferat aut quo modo exierit aut quid in Africa fiat scire velim. dicitur enim per Nasidium emissus esse. id quale sit velim, si inveneris, ad me scribas. de HS \bar{x} , ut scribis, faciam, vale.

xvii[I]⁴ Kal. Quint.

230 (XI.18)

Scr. Brundisii XII Kal. Quint. an. 47 (§ 2)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 De illius Alexandria discessu nihil adhuc rumoris, contraque opinio valde esse impeditum. itaque nec mitto, ut constitueram, Ciceronem et te rogo ut me hinc expedias. quodvis enim supplicium levius est hac permansione. hac de re et ad Antonium scripsi et ad Balbum et ad Oppium. sive enim bellum in Italia futurum est sive classibus utentur,¹ hic esse me minime convenit; quorum fortasse utrum-
- 2 que erit, alterum certe. intellexi omnino ex Oppi sermone quem tu mihi scripsisti quae istorum ira² esset, sed ut eam flectas te rogo. nihil omnino iam exspecto nisi miserum, sed hoc perditius in quo nunc sum fieri nihil potest. qua re

⁴ *del. Manutius*

¹ *utetur (SB)*

² *via (C. E. Hermann)*

LETTER 230 (XI.18)

he has sent no dispatches since the Ides of December. From that you will see that the tale of the letter dispatched on 9 February, which would have been of no consequence even if it had been true, is in fact untrue. I know that L. Terentius has left Africa and arrived at Paestum. I should like to know what news he brings or how he got out or what is going on in Africa. He is said to have been let go by Nasidius. Tell me about it if you find out. I shall do as you say about the HS 10,000. Good-bye.

14 June.

230 (XI.18)

Brundisium, 19 June 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

There is as yet no rumour of the man's having left Alexandria, on the contrary he is thought to be deeply entangled. So I am not sending Marcus as I had decided, and I must ask *you* to get me out of here. Any punishment is lighter than staying on in this place. I have written about this to Antony and Balbus and Oppius. Whether there is going to be fighting in Italy or whether they use naval forces it is highly undesirable that I should be here. Both of these contingencies *may* happen, one of them certainly will. I realized of course from Oppius' talk of which you wrote to me how angry your friends¹ were, but you must mollify them. While I now expect only misery, nothing could be more desperate than the predicament I am in at present.

¹ Balbus and Oppius, who seem to have been annoyed by reports of indiscreet talk on Cicero's part.

CICERO

et cum Antonio loquere velim et cum istis et rem, <ut> poteris, expedias et mihi quam primum de omnibus rebus rescribas. vale.

XII Kal. Quint.

231 (XI.25)

Scr. Brundisii III Non. Quint. an. 47 (§ 3)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Facile adsentior tuis litteris quibus exponis pluribus verbis nullum <esse>¹ consilium quo a te possim iuari. consolatio certe nulla est quae levare possit dolorem meum. nihil est enim contractum casu (nam id esset ferendum), sed omnia fecimus iis erroribus et miseriis et animi et corporis quibus proximi utinam mederi maluissent! quam ob rem, quoniam neque consili tui neque consolationis cuiusquam spes ulla mihi ostenditur, non quaeram haec a te posthac; tantum velim ne intermittas, scribas ad me quicquid veniet tibi in mentem cum habebis cui des et dum erit ad quem des; quod longum non erit.
- 2 Illum <d>iscessisse² Alexandria rumor est non firmus ortus ex Sulpici litteris; quas cuncti postea nuntii confirmarunt. quod verum an falsum sit, quoniam mea nihil interest, utrum malim <ne>scio.
- 3 Quod ad te iam pridem de testamento scripsi †apud epistolas velim ut possim adversas.†³ ego huius miserimae⁴ facilitate⁵ confectus confictor. nihil umquam <si>mi-

¹ *add. Wesenberg*

² *add. Victorius*

³ velim tu potissimum animadvertas *Kasten* (apud ep- *del.*)

⁴ miserima (*Ernesti*)

⁵ facultate (*Schiche*)

LETTER 231 (XI.25)

So I shall be grateful if you will speak both to Antony and to them, and arrange the matter as best you can. And please write to me on all points as soon as possible. Good-bye.

19 June.

231 (XI.25)

Brundisium, 5 July 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I readily agree with your letter in which you demonstrate at some length that there is no advice by which you could help me. Comfort assuredly there is none which could alleviate my distress. Nothing has come about by chance (that would be bearable), it is all my own doing, through errors and sufferings of mind and body which the persons nearest to me unfortunately did not choose to counteract. Therefore, since no hope is offered me either of your advice or of any comfort whatsoever, I shall not look for these things from you henceforth. I only ask you not to make any break, to write to me whatever comes to your mind whenever you have a bearer and as long as there is a recipient. That will be no long time.

There is an unauthoritative report that Caesar has left Alexandria. It arose from a letter of Sulpicius', which all subsequent advices have gone to confirm. As its truth or falsity does not make any personal difference to me, I cannot say which I should prefer.

I wrote to you some time back about the will. I wish * * *. This poor child's long-suffering affects me quite beyond bearing. I believe her like on earth has never been

CICERO

le natum puto. cui si qua re consulere aliquid possum, cupio a te admo<ne>ri. video eandem esse difficultatem †quam in consilio date† ante.⁶ tamen hoc me magis sollicitat quam omnia. in pensione secunda caeci fuimus. aliud mallet; sed praeteriit. te oro, ut in perditis rebus si quid cogi, confici potest quod sit in tuto, ex argento, <ves>te (quae⁷ satis multa est), supellectile, des operam. iam enim mihi videtur adesse extremum nec ulla fore condicio pacis eaque quae sunt etiam sine adversario peritura. haec etiam, si videbitur, cum Terentia loquere[tur] opportune. non que<o> omnia scribere. vale.

III Non. Quint.

232 (XI.23)

Scr. Brundisii: VII Id. Quint. an. 47

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quod ad te scripseram ut cum Camillo communicares, de eo Camillus mihi scripsit <te> secum locutum. tuas litteras exspectabam; nisi illud quidem mutari, si aliter est et oportet, non video posse. sed cum ab illo accepissem litteras, desideravi tuas (etsi putabam te certiore factum non esse), modo valeres; scripseras enim te quodam valetudinis genere temptari.
- 2 Agusius quidam Rhodo venerat VIII Id. Quint. is nuntiabat Quintum filium ad Caesarem profectum IIII Kal.

⁶ diff- in c- quam ante *coni.* SB

⁷ te qu(a)e (SB)

¹ Terentia's will.

LETTER 232 (XI.23)

seen. If there is any step in my power which might protect her in any way, I earnestly desire you to suggest it. I realize that there is the same difficulty as formerly in giving advice (?). Still, this causes me more anxiety than everything else put together. We were blind about the second instalment. I wish I had acted differently, but it's too late now. I beg you, if anything in my desperate situation can be scraped together, any sum raised and put away in safety, from plate or fabrics (I have plenty of them) or furniture, you will attend to it. The final crisis seems to me to be upon us. There is no likelihood of peace terms, and the present regime seems ready to collapse even without external pressure. This too, if you think fit, please discuss with Terentia at a suitable moment. I cannot write all that is in my mind. Good-bye.

5 July.

232 (XI.23)

Brundisium, 9 July 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Camillus has written to me that you have spoken to him about the matter¹ on which I asked you to get in touch with him. I am waiting to hear from you, though I don't see how it can be changed if it is not as it should be. But having had a letter from him, I felt I ought to get one from you (though I suppose you have not been informed), provided you were well—you did write of having an attack of a certain ailment.

One Agusius arrived from Rhodes on 8 July. He reports that young Quintus left to join Caesar on 29 May and that

Iun., Philotimum Rhodum pridie eum diem venisse, habere ad me litteras. ipsum Agusium audies. sed tardius iter faciebat. eo feci ut [eo]¹ celeriter eunti darem. quid sit in his litteris nescio, sed mihi valde Quintus frater gratulatur. equidem in meo tanto peccato nihil ne cogitatione quidem adsequi possum quod mihi tolerabile possit esse.

- 3 Te oro ut de hac misera cogites, et illud de quo ad te proxime scripsi, ut aliquid conficiatur ad inopiam propulsandam, et etiam de ipso testamento. illud quoque vellem antea, sed omnia timuimus. melius quidem in pessimis nihil fuit discidio. aliquid fecissemus ut viri, vel tabularum novarum nomine vel² nocturnarum expugnationum vel Metellae vel omnium malorum; nec res perisset et videremur aliquid doloris virilis habuisse. memini omnino tuas litteras, sed et tempus illud; etsi quidvis praestitit. nunc quidem ipse videtur denuntiare; audimus enim de statua³ Clodi. generumne nostrum potissimum vel hoc vel⁴ tabulas novas? placet mihi igitur (et idem⁵ tibi) nuntium remitti. petet fortasse tertiam pensionem. considera igitur tumne cum ab ipso nascetur an prius. ego, si ullo modo potuero, vel nocturnis itineribus experiar ut te videam. tu et haec et si quid erit quod intersit me⁶ scire scribas velim. vale.

¹ *del. Corradus* ² *vel in sive velim cod. Tornesianus : vel iam coni. SB* ³ *destaturi vel tes- (Purser)* ⁴ *ut (Purser)*

⁵ *est idem (Victorius : et item Orelli : si idem coni. SB)*

⁶ *mea Ernesti : mea me coni. SB*

² Tullia's relations with her husband.

³ Alluding to Dolabella's amatory escapades. Metella, perhaps daughter of Clodia ('Lady Ox Eyes'), was married to the younger Lentulus Spinther and notorious for her affairs with other men.

LETTER 232 (XI.23)

Philotimus arrived at Rhodes the previous day bringing a letter for me. You will hear what Agusius himself has to say, but as he is making a rather leisurely journey I thought it best to give this to a fast traveller. What is in that letter I don't know, but my brother offers me hearty congratulations. For my part, after the blunder I have committed, I cannot even imagine anything that could be tolerable to me.

I implore you to think about this poor girl, both as to the matter on which I wrote to you in my last letter, how to raise something to keep the wolf from her door, and also as to the will itself. I wish the other thing² too had been taken in hand sooner, but I was afraid of everything. Certainly there was no better choice among evils than divorce. That would have been doing something like a man—whether on the score of the debt cancellation or his nocturnal housebreakings³ or Metella or the whole chapter of delinquencies. I should have saved the money and given some evidence of manly resentment. I remember your letters—but also the situation at the time; though anything would have been preferable. Now he seems to be threatening it on *his* side—I have heard about Clodius' statue. To think that my son-in-law of all people should be advocating this or debt cancellation either! Accordingly I am in favour, and so are you, of sending notice of divorce. He may ask for the third instalment, so consider whether we should send the notice when he himself takes the initiative or before. If I possibly can, even if it means travelling at night, I shall try to see you. Please write to me about these matters and anything which it may be desirable for me to know. Good-bye.

CICERO

233 (XI.19)

Scr. Brundisii XI Kal. Sext. an. 47 (§ 2)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Cum tuis dare possem litteras non praetermisi, etsi quid scriberem non habebam. tu ad nos et rarius scribis quam solebas et brevius, credo quia nihil habes quod me putes libenter legere aut audire posse. verum tamen velim <quic>quid¹ erit, qualecumque erit, scribas. est autem unum quod mihi sit optandum si quid agi de pace possit; quod nulla equidem habeo in spe, sed quia tu leviter interdum significas, cogis² me sperare quod optandum vix est.
- 2 Philotimus dicitur Id. Sext. nihil habeo de illo amplius. tu velim ad ea mihi rescribas quae ad te antea scripsi. mihi tantum temporis satis est dum, ut in pessimis rebus, aliquid caveam, qui nihil umquam cavi. vale.
- XI Kal. Sext.

234 (XI.24)

Scr. Brundisii VIII Id. Sext. an. 47 (§ 5)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Quae[dam]¹ ad me et, quae etiam ad me vis, ad Tulliam de me scripsisti, ea sentio esse vera. eo sum miserior, etsi nihil videbatur addi posse, quod mihi non modo irasci gravissima iniuria accepta sed ne dolere quidem impune licet.²

¹ *add. R. Klotz* ² *coges (s)*¹ *secl. SB* ² *liceat (Ernesti)*¹ On the part of Dolabella.

LETTER 234 (XI.24)

233 (XI.19)

Brundisium, 22 July 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Since I have the chance of giving a letter to your people, I won't neglect it, though I have nothing to write about. You write to us more rarely than you used and more briefly, which I take to be because you have nothing to say that you think could be agreeable for me to read or hear. But I should like you to write anything at all, no matter what. The only thing I have to pray for is some peace move, if that were possible. Not that I am in any hope of this, but you sometimes throw out faint hints, and so make me hope what is almost past praying for.

Philotimus is said to be coming on the Ides of August. I have no other news of him. I should be grateful for a reply to what I wrote to you earlier. I only need enough time to make some provision, the best I can in these deplorable circumstances, I who have never made provision for anything. Good-bye.

22 July.

234 (XI.24)

Brundisium, 6 August 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

What you have written to me and (also intended for me) to Tullia about me, I feel to be true. My wretchedness is the greater, though no accession seemed possible, because I cannot indulge my anger at so deadly an injury¹ or even my bitterness with impunity. Ah well, I must put up with

qua re istuc feramus. quod cum tulerimus, tamen eadem erunt perpetienda quae tu ne accidant ut caveamus mones. ea enim est a nobis contracta culpa ut omni statu omnique populo eundem exitum habitura videatur.

- 2 Sed ad meam manum redeo; erunt³ enim haec occultius agenda. vide, quaeso, etiam nunc de testamento; quod tum factum <mallem>⁴ cum illa quaerere coeperat. non, credo, te commovit; neque enim rogavit,⁵ ne me quidem, sed quasi ita sit, quoniam in sermonem iam venisti, poteris eam monere ut alicui committat cuius extra periculum huius belli fortuna <i>t. equidem⁶ tibi potissimum velim, si idem illa vellet; quam quidem celo miseram me hoc timere. de illo altero, scio equidem venire nunc nil posse, sed seponi et occultari possunt ut extra ruinam sint eam
- 3 quae impendet. nam quod scribis nobis nostra et tua⁷ <et>⁸ Terentiae fore parata, tua credo, nostra quae poterunt esse? de Terentia autem (mitto cetera quae sunt innumeralia), quid ad hoc addi potest? scripseras ut HS $\overline{\text{XII}}$ permutaret; tantum esse reliquum de argento. misit illa CCCC mihi et adscripsit tantum esse reliquum. cum hoc tam parvum de parvo detraxerit, perspicias quid in maxima re fecerit.
- 4 Philotimus non modo nullus venit sed ne per litteras quidem <a>ut per nuntium certiozem facit me quid egerit. Epheso qui veniunt ibi se eum de suis controversiis in ius adeuntem vidisse nuntiant; quae quidem (ita enim veri

³ reddiderint (*Wesenberg, duce Lambino*)

⁴ *add. SB (vellem olim)*

⁵ et commoti neque eum rogavi (*Gronovius*)

⁶ fortunas te quidem (*Manutius*)

⁷ nostr(a)e et tu(a)e (*Victorius*) ⁸ *add. O. E. Schmidt*

it. And having put up with it, I shall still have to bear those same blows of which you tell me to beware. I have done so much amiss that in any condition of people and affairs the consequences are likely to be the same.

But here I go back to my own hand, for what follows is confidential. Even at this stage, do pray see about the will. I wish it had been done when she² began to ask questions. I suppose you didn't take what she said much to heart—after all, she made no request of you, nor of me either for that matter. But as though it were so, as the subject has already been broached between you, you will be able to advise her to trust someone whose fortune lies out of danger in this war. For my part I should like no one better than yourself, if that were *her*³ wish too. Poor girl, I am hiding my fears from her. On the other matter, of course I know that nothing can be sold at present, but things *can* be set aside and concealed out of the way of the impending *débâcle*. You write to us that my resources and yours and Terentia's will be available. Yours no doubt; but what resources of mine can there be? As for Terentia, to say nothing of innumerable other incidents, doesn't this cap all? You asked her to change HS 12,000, that being the balance of the money. She sent me 10,000, with a note that this was the amount outstanding. When she nibbles such a trifle from a trifle, you can see what she will have been doing where a really big amount is involved.

Not only has Philotimus failed to appear, he does not even inform me by letter or messenger what he has been doing. Arrivals from Ephesus report having seen him going to court there over some disputes of his own. Perhaps these

² Terentia.

³ Tullia's.

CICERO

simile est) in adventum Caesaris fortasse reiciuntur. ita aut nihil puto eum habere quod putet ad me celerius perferendum <a>ut <ad>eo⁹ me magis esse despectum ut, etiam si quid habet, id nisi omnibus suis negotiis confectis ad me referre non curet. ex quo magnum equidem capio dolorem sed non tantum quantum videor debere. nihil enim mea minus interesse puto quam quid illinc adferatur. id quam ob rem te intellegere certo scio.

- 5 Quod me mones de vultu et oratione ad tempus accommodanda, etsi difficile est, tamen imperarem mihi, si mea quicquam interesse putarem. quod scribis <te binis>¹⁰ litteris putare Africanum negotium confici posse, vellem¹¹ scriberes cur ita putares; mihi quidem nihil in mentem venit qua re id putem fieri posse. tu tamen velim, si quid erit quod consolationis aliquid habeat, scribas ad me; sin, ut perspicio, nihil erit, scribas id ipsum. ego ad te, si quid audiero citius, scribam. vale.

VIII Id. Sext.

235 (XI.20)

Scr. Brundisii XVI Kal. Sept. an. 47 (§ 2)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 XVII Kal. Sept. venerat die XXVIII Seleucia Pieria C. Treboni libertus¹ qui se Antiochiae diceret apud Caesarem vidisse Quintum filium cum Hirtio; eos de Quinto quae

⁹ eo (*Madvig*) ¹⁰ add. SB ¹¹ vel(l)im (*Ernesti*)

¹ treboni u (*vel ii*) (*O.E. Schmidt*)

⁴ Philotimus was supposed to be bringing a letter from Caesar,

LETTER 235 (XI.20)

are being deferred until Caesar's arrival—that seems likely on the face of it; so I suppose that either he has nothing he thinks worth transmitting to me quickly or else, more likely, that I have fallen so low that even if he has anything he does not trouble to refer it to me until all his own affairs are disposed of. I am naturally much vexed at this, but not so much as might seem proper. For news from that quarter is of the smallest possible concern to me, for a reason which I am sure you understand.⁴

You tell me to suit my looks and language to present conditions. Hard as that is, I should force myself to do it if I thought it made any kind of difference to my situation. You write that you think the African business can be settled by a couple of letters. I wish you had told me why you thought so; myself I cannot imagine any reason for thinking this possible. But if anything does crop up that might yield a morsel of comfort, I should be grateful if you would tell me; if nothing (as I well perceive will be the case), then tell me just that. If I hear anything first, I shall write to you. Good-bye.

6 August.

235 (XI.20)

Brundisium, 15 August 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On 14 August a freedman of C. Trebonius arrived from Seleucia Pieria, having started twenty-seven days previously. He says he saw Quintus junior with Hirtius at Cae-

but Caesar's prospects were now in Cicero's opinion so poor that it did not matter.

CICERO

voluissent impetrasse nullo quidem negotio. quod ego magis gauderem si ista nobis impetrata quicquam ad spem explorati haberent. sed et alia timenda sunt ab aliisque et ab hoc ipso quae dantur, ut a domino, rursus in eiusdem sunt potestate.

- 2 Etiam Sallustio ignovit. omnino dicitur nemini negare; quod ipsum est suspectum, notionem eius differri. M. Gallius Q. f. mancipia Sallustio reddidit. is venit² ut legiones in Siciliam traduceret. eo protinus iturum Caesarem Patris. quod si faciet, ego, quod ante mallet, aliquo propius accedam. tuas litteras ad eas quibus a te proxime consilium petivi vehementer exspecto. vale.

xvi Kal. Sept.

236 (XI.21)

Scr. Brundisii vi Kal. Sept. an. 47 (§ 1)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Accepi vi Kal. Sept. litteras a te datas xii Kal. doloremque quem ex Quinti scelere iam pridem acceptum iam abieceram, lecta eius epistula gravissimum cepi. tu etsi non potuisti ullo modo facere ut mihi illam epistulam non mitteres, tamen mallet non esse missam. ad ea autem quae scribis de testamento, videbis quid et quo modo. de nummis, et illa sic scripsit ut ego ad te antea, et nos, si quid opus erit, utemur ex eo de quo scribis.

² venisse P. Sullam ait ut *vel sim. coni. SB*

¹ Perhaps something has dropped out of the Latin, e.g.: 'he says that Sulla is coming to take' (see Letter 236.2).

LETTER 236 (XI.21)

sar's headquarters in Antioch, and that they gained their point about Quintus without any difficulty. I should rejoice more at this news if points thus gained gave us any assurance for the future. But there are other dangers from other sources, and Caesar's concessions, from a master to slaves, are his to revoke at will.

He has pardoned Sallustius too. He is said to be denying nobody whomsoever, and that in itself has aroused suspicion, as suggesting that his investigation is only deferred. M. Gallius, son of Quintus, has handed back Sallustius his slaves. He has come¹ to take the legions over to Sicily. Caesar is supposed to be going there direct from Patrae. If he does that, I shall come somewhere closer, as I wish I had done sooner. I am eagerly awaiting your reply to the letter in which I recently asked your advice. Good-bye.

15 August.

236 (XI.21)

Brundisium, 25 August 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

On 25 August I received a letter from you dispatched on the 19th. The distress which Quintus' wicked behaviour caused me long ago and which I had by this time thrown off revived most grievously when I read his letter. You could not possibly avoid sending it to me, and yet I wish it had not been sent. In answer to what you say about the will, you must judge what to do and how. As to the money, she wrote as I told you before; and I shall draw upon the fund you write of, if I have need.

2 Ille ad Kal. Sept. Athenis non videtur fore. multa eum in Asia dicuntur morari, maxime Pharnaces. legio XII, ad quam primam¹ Sulla venit, lapidibus egisse hominem dicitur. nullam putant se commoturam. illum arbitrabantur protinus Patris in Siciliam. sed si hoc ita est, huc veniat necesse est. ac mallem illud;² aliquo enim modo hinc evasissem. nunc metuo ne sit exspectandum et cum reliquis etiam loci gravitas huic miserrimae perferenda.

3 Quod me mones ut ea quae <agam>³ ad tempus accommodem, facerem, si res pateretur et si ullo modo fieri posset. sed in tantis nostris peccatis tantisque nostrorum iniuriis nihil est quod aut facere dignum nobis aut simulare possim. Sullana confers; in quibus omnia genere ipso praeclarissima fuerunt, moderatione paulo minus temperata. haec autem eius modi sunt ut obliviscar <mei>⁴ multoque malim quod omnibus sit melius <quam quod iis ad>⁵ quorum utilitatem meam iunxi. tu ad me tamen velim quam saepissime scribas, eoque magis quod praeterea nemo scribit; ac si omnes, tuas tamen maxime exspectarem. quod scribis illum per me Quinto fore placatiorem, scripsi ad te antea eum statim Quinto filio omnia tribuisse, nostri nullam mentionem. vale.

¹ primum (*Gronovius*)

² illum (*Boet*)

³ *add. R. Klotz* : agam et dicam *coni. SB*

⁴ *add. Manutius*

⁵ *add. Mueller* (quam iam *Madvig*)

¹ I.e., a Republican victory.

LETTER 236 (XI.21)

It does not look as though Caesar will be at Athens by the Kalends of September. Many things are said to be holding him up in Asia, Pharnaces especially. The Twelfth legion, the first approached by Sulla, is said to have driven that worthy off with volleys of stones. It's thought that none of them will move. Caesar was expected to go from Patrae direct to Sicily, but if this is true he will have to come this way. I should have preferred the other, for I should then have found some way of escaping from here. As it is, I am afraid I shall have to wait, and my poor girl will have to put up with the unhealthiness of the locality along with her other troubles.

You advise me to suit my behaviour to the time. I should, if the case allowed it and it was by any means practicable. But what with my own errors and the grave injuries done me by my own family, I can neither do nor feign anything worthy of myself. You compare the Sullan regime. In that all was basically admirable, though temper and moderation were somewhat lacking. The present government on the other hand is such that I find myself forgetting my own case and far preferring an outcome beneficial to the world¹ rather than to those with whose interests I have associated my own. All the same I should be grateful if you would write to me as often as you can, all the more so as nobody else writes; and even if they all did, yours are the letters to which I should most look forward. You write that Caesar will be readier to pardon Quintus on my account. I have already told you that he gave young Quintus everything he asked straight away, and that there was no mention of myself. Good-bye.

CICERO

237 (XI.22)

Scr. Brundisii fort. Kal. Sept. an. 47

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Diligenter mihi fasciculum reddidit Balbi tabellarius. accepi enim a te litteras quibus videris vereri ut epistulas illas acceperim. quas quidem vellem mihi numquam redditas; auxerunt enim mihi dolorem <nec>,¹ si in aliquem incidissent, quicquam novi attulissent. quid enim tam pervulgatum quam illius in me odium et genus hoc litterarum? †quod†² ne Caesar quidem ad istos videtur misisse quasi quo illius improbitate offenderetur, sed, credo, uti notiora nostra mala essent. nam quod te vereri scribis ne illi obsint eique rei <me vis>³ mederi, ne <ro>gari⁴ quidem se passus est de illo. quod quidem mihi molestum non est; illud molestius, istas impetrationes nostras nihil valere.
- 2 Sulla, ut opinor, cras erit hic cum Messalla. currunt ad illum pulsi a militibus, qui se negant usquam, nisi acceperint. ergo ille huc veniet, quod non putabant, tarde quidem. itinera enim ita facit ut multos dies in †oppidum†⁵ ponat. Pharnaces autem, quoquo modo aget, adferet moram. quid mihi igitur censes? iam enim corpore vix sustineo gravitatem huius caeli, quae mihi laborem adfert in dolore. an his illuc euntibus mandem ut me excusent, ipse accedam propius? quaeso, attende et me, quod adhuc saepe rogatus

¹ *add. Manutius*² *quas Kayser: quid quod Goodyear*³ *add. Madvig* ⁴ *add. Victortus*⁵ *oppido uno O. E. Schmidt (uno o- Perrlkamp)*¹ See Letter 235.1.

LETTER 237 (XI.22)

237 (XI.22)

Brundisium, 1 (?) September 47

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Balbus' courier duly delivered the packet—I have had a letter from you in which you seem to be afraid that I may not have got those letters. I could wish they never *had* been delivered to me. They increased my distress, and if they had fallen into someone else's hands they would have told him nothing new. Quintus' hate of me and his style of letter writing is the commonest of knowledge. Caesar himself does not seem to have sent it to your friends as being annoyed by Quintus' scandalous conduct, but, I imagine, to give greater publicity to my misfortunes. As for the fear you express that the letter may do him injury and your wish that I should counteract such an effect, Caesar did not even wait to be asked on his behalf. That certainly does not vex me; what does rather vex me is that these concessions we get are of no value.¹

Sulla, I believe, will be here tomorrow with Messalla. They are hurrying off to Caesar, having been sent packing by the troops, who refuse to go anywhere until they get their pay. So, contrary to expectation, Caesar will be coming here; though the way he is travelling, stopping a number of days at every town (?), it won't be soon. And Pharnaces, whatever he does, will take up time. So how do you advise me? Already my health hardly supports this oppressive climate, which adds physical discomfort to my distress of mind. Or should I ask these people who are on their way to him to make my excuses, and come nearer of my own volition? Do, pray, put your mind to the problem and help me with your advice, as you have not done hith-

CICERO

non fecisti, consilio iuva. scio rem difficilem esse, sed ut
 <in> malis etiam illud mea magni interest te ut videam.
 profecto aliquid profecero, si id acciderit. de testamento,
 ut scribis, animadvertes.

238 (XII.2)

Scr. Romae fort. in. m. Apr. an. 46

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Hic rumores tantum:¹ Murcum perisse naufragio, Asinium delatum vivum in manus militum, L navis delatas Uticam reflatu hoc, Pompeium non comparere nec in Balearibus omnino fuisse, ut Paciaecus adfirmat. sed auctor nullius rei quisquam. habes quae, dum tu abes, locuti sint.
- 2 Ludi interea Praeneste. ibi Hirtius et isti omnes. et quidem ludi dies VIII. quae cenae, quae deliciae! res interea fortasse transacta est. o miros homines! at Balbus aedificat; τί γὰρ αὐτῷ μέλει; verum si quaeris, homini non recta sed voluptaria quaerenti nonne βεβίωται? tu interea dormis. iam explicandum est πρόβλημα, si quid acturus es. si quaeris quid putem, ego fructum² puto. sed quid multa? iam te videbo et quidem, ut spero, de via recta ad me. simul enim et diem Tyrannioni constituemus et si quid aliud.

¹ tamen (*F. Schmidt*)

² *suspectum*

¹ Gnaeus, Pompey's elder son.

² The war in Africa.

³ Balbus, like Caesar, was an Epicurean.

LETTER 238 (XII.2)

erto despite repeated requests. I know it isn't an easy matter, but it is of great importance to me (if I can speak so in these evil days) to see you, besides the other considerations. I feel sure I shall have gained something if that takes place. Yes, about the will, please keep an eye open.

238 (XII.2)

Rome, early April (?) 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Nothing here but rumours: Murcus lost in a shipwreck, Asinius carried alive into the hands of the soldiers, fifty ships carried to Utica by this contrary wind, Pompeius¹ disappeared—was never in the Balearic Isles at all as Paciaecus declares. But no one to vouch for any of it. So now you know what they've been talking about during your absence.

Meanwhile games at Praeneste. Hirtius and all the set are there, and the games are to last eight days! You can imagine the parties and fine doings! Meanwhile perhaps the business² is completed. Extraordinary creatures! Balbus, now, is building—*il s'en fiche*. If one comes down to it, can't he say, as a man seeking pleasure not virtue,³ *vixi*? Meanwhile you are asleep. The 'problem'⁴ has to be sorted out if you are going to do anything. If you ask my opinion, I * * *. But I won't run on, as I shall be seeing you very soon—and I hope you will come to my house straight from the road. Together we'll fix a day for Tyrannio and anything else required.

⁴ What it was is uncertain.

Scr. in Tusculano fort. prid. Kal. Mai. an. 45 (?)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Unum te puto minus blandum esse quam me aut, si uterque nostrum est aliquando adversus aliquem, inter nos certe numquam sumus. audi igitur me hoc ἀγοητεύτως dicentem. ne vivam, mi Attice, si mihi non modo Tusculanum, ubi ceteroqui sum libenter, sed μακάρων νήσοι tanti sunt ut sine te sim totos dies. qua re obduretur hoc triduum, ut te quoque ponam in eodem πάθει; quod ita est profecto. sed velim scire hodiene statim de auctione, et quo die venias. ego me interea cum libellis; ac moleste fero Vennoni historiam me non habere.
- 2 Sed tamen ne nihil de re, nomen illud, quod a Caesare, tris habet condiciones, aut emptionem ab hasta (perdere malo, etsi praeter [ipsam]¹ turpitudinem hoc ipsum puto esse perdere), aut delegationem a mancipe annua die (quis erit cui credam, aut quando iste Metonis annus veniet²), aut Vettieni condicione semissem. σκέψαι igitur. ac vereor ne iste iam auctionem nullam faciat, sed ludis factis Atyo²

¹ *secl. SB*

² *clypo vel sim. (Ρορμα (ἀτύπω))*

¹ See Commentary in *CLA*. Beaujeu accepts the dating there proposed, but I leave the letter in its former place to avoid disrupting reference numbers.

² A difficult paragraph, which I have tried to elucidate in *CLA*, Vol. V, Appendix I.

³ The year of this ancient Athenian astronomer was nineteen ordinary years. Hence the saying 'put off to Meto's year' (as 'to the Greek Kalends').

LETTER 239 (XII.3)

239 (XII.3)

Tusculum, 30 May 45¹

CICERO TO ATTICUS

If there is one person in the world less prone to blarney than I, I think it is you; or if either of us ever flatters a third party, at least we never flatter one another. So listen to what I tell you *sans blague*. May I die, my dear Atticus, if I consider—I won't say Tusculum, where otherwise I find things pleasant enough, but the Islands of the Blest worth separation from you all day long. Well, for these three days we must grin and bear it—to assume that you are similarly affected, as of course you are. But I should like to know whether you are leaving today, immediately after the auction, and what day you are coming. Meanwhile I employ myself with my books. It's a nuisance that I don't have Vennonius' History.

However,² not to omit business altogether, that debt assigned me by Caesar can be handled in three ways: (a) purchase at the sale. I would rather lose the money, though in fact, apart from the discredit involved, I think that's just what this would amount to. (b) Transfer of the debt to me for payment by the purchaser a year hence. Whom could I trust, and when will that Meto's year³ arrive? (c) A half-payment on Vettienus' terms. Think it over then. But I'm afraid your friend⁴ won't now hold the auction after all and that when his games are over he'll hurry to the assistance of our Mumbler,⁵ in case so distinguished a personage should

⁴ Perhaps a certain Secretary Cornelius, who was City Quaestor under Caesar's Dictatorship.

⁵ Balbus, whose name meant 'stutterer.' He was Caesar's chief financial expert.

CICERO

subsidio currat ne talis vir ἀλογηθῆ. sed μελήσει. tu Atticam, quaeso, cura, et ei salutem et Piliae, Tulliae quoque verbis, plurimam.

240 (XII.4)

Scr. in Tusculano fort. m. Mai. an. 46

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 O gratas tuas mihi iucundasque litteras! quid quaeris? restitutus est mihi dies festus. angebar enim quod Tiro ἐνερευθέστερον te sibi esse visum dixerat. addam igitur, ut censes, unum diem.
- 2 Sed de 'Catone,' πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον est. non adsequor ut scribam quod tui convivae non modo libenter sed etiam aequo animo legere possint; quin etiam si a sententiis eius dictis, si ab omni voluntate consiliisque quae de re publica habuit recedam ψιλῶςque velim gravitatem constantiamque eius laudare, hoc ipsum tamen istis odiosum ἄκουσμα sit. sed vere laudari ille vir non potest nisi haec ornata sint, quod ille ea quae nunc sunt et futura viderit et ne fierent contenderit et facta ne videret vitam reliquerit. horum quid est quod Aledio¹ probare possimus?
Sed cura, obsecro, ut valeas eamque quam ad omnis res adhibes in primis ad convalescendum adhibe prudentiam.

¹ atedio s (fort. recte)

LETTER 240 (XII.4)

be out in his reckoning. But we'll think about it. Pray look after Attica and give her and Pilia my best love, Tullia's also.

240 (XII.4)

Tusculum, May (?) 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Many thanks for your most welcome and agreeable letter. The fact is that you have given me back my holiday—Tiro's saying that he thought you looked *échauffé* had made me acutely uneasy. So I'll add one more day, as you advise.

Now about the *Cato*:¹ it's a problem for an Archimedes. I cannot work anything out which your boon companions² would read with equanimity, let alone enjoyment. Even if I were to keep clear of his speeches in the Senate and his whole political outlook and opinions and choose simply to praise his seriousness of purpose and steadfastness, even this would grate upon their ears. But no genuine eulogy of that remarkable man is possible without paying tribute to the way he foresaw our present situation and strove to avert it and abandoned his life rather than witness it in actuality. Can any of that be made acceptable to Aledius?

Now do, I beg you, take care of your health and apply the sagacity which you bring to all matters first and foremost to regaining your strength.

¹ Cicero was considering writing, and actually wrote, a eulogy of Cato, who had just committed suicide in Africa.

² Caesarians, like Hirtius and Balbus.

CICERO

241 (XII.5c)

Scr. in Tusculano prid. Id. Iun., ut vid., an. 46

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Ego misi Tironem Dolabellae obviam. is ad me Idibus revertetur. te exspectabo postridie. <de> Tullia mea, tibi antiquissimum esse video idque ita ut sit te vehementer rogo. ergo ei¹ in integro omnia; sic enim scribis. mihi etsi Kalendae vitandae fuerunt Nicasionumque ἀρχέτυπα fugienda conficiendaeque tabulae, nihil tamen tanti ut a te abessem fuit. cum Romae essem et te iam iamque visurum me putarem cottidie, tamen horae quibus exspectabam longae videbantur. scis me minime esse blandum; itaque minus aliquanto dico quam sentio.

242 (XII.5)

Scr. in Tusculano m. Quint. vel Sext. an. 46

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 'Quintus pater quartum' vel potius millesimum nihil sapit qui laetetur Luperco filio et Statio, 'ut cernat duplici core cumulatam domum.' addo etiam Philotimum tertium. o stultitiam, nisi mea maior esset, singularem! quod autem

¹ et (*Orelli*)

¹ Probably the matter of her divorce, which took place in November.

² Apparently = 'moneylenders.'

¹ From a verse of Ennius (*Annals*, 295): 'Quintus senior' (literally 'father') 'becomes Consul for the fourth time.'

LETTER 242 (XII.5)

241 (XII.5c)

Tusculum, 12 June (?) 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have sent Tiro to meet Dolabella. He will return to me on the Ides. I shall expect you the following day. About my Tullia,¹ I see that you are giving the matter the highest priority and I earnestly desire you so to do. So then she is quite uncommitted—so you say in your letter. As for me, although I needed to avoid the Kalends and escape the Nicasios² ledgers and make up my accounts, still, nothing was worth the sacrifice of your company. Even when I was in Rome, every day expecting to see you presently, the hours of waiting seemed long. You know there is not a scrap of blarney about me, and so I say rather less than I feel.

242 (XII.5)

Tusculum, July or August 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

'For the fourth time Father Quintus,¹ or rather for the thousandth, is making an ass of himself with his complacency about his son's becoming a Lupercus,² and Statius too—'sees double lustre showered upon his house!'³ I will add Philotimus for a third. Unparalleled folly—if mine⁴ were not greater! And the impudence, to ask you for a

² See Glossary: Lupercalia. Whether Statius and Philotimus also became Luperci or are mentioned in some other connection is doubtful.

³ Apparently from a lost Latin play.

⁴ The nature of Cicero's folly is not clear.

CICERO

os in hanc rem ἔρανον a tel fac non ad διαψῶσαν κρήνην sed ad Πειρήνην eum venisse <aut> 'ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἄλφειοῦ,' τὴν κρήνην,¹ ut scribis, haurire<t>,² in tantis suis praesertim angustiis. ποῖ ταῦτα ἄρα ἀποσκήψει; sed ipse viderit.

- 2 'Cato' me quidem delectat, sed etiam Bassum Lucilium sua.

243 (XII.6a)

Scr. fort. in Tusculano m. interc. priore an. 46

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 'Chreme, tantumne ab re tua est oti tibi,' ut etiam 'Ora-
torem' legas? macte virtute! mihi quidem gratum, et erit
gratius si non modo in tuis libris sed etiam in aliorum per
librarios tuos Aristophanem reposueris pro Eupoli.
- 2 Caesar autem mihi irridere visus est 'quaeso' illud
tuum, quod erat et εὐπινές et urbanum. ita porro te sine
cura esse iussit ut mihi quidem dubitationem omnem tol-
leret. Atticam doleo tam diu; sed quoniam iam sine horrore
est, spero esse ut volumus.

¹ INTEPHNHN (SB : ὄλην κρήνην Beaujeu)

² *add. SB*

⁵ Greek; so, no doubt, Atticus had referred to himself.

⁶ A Corinthian spring, sacred to the Muses.

⁷ Arethusa, the famous spring at Syracuse, was supposed to derive from the River Alpheus in western Greece. The quotation is from Pindar (*Nemeans*, 1.1).

LETTER 243 (XII.6a)

subscription for such a purpose! Suppose he had come not to a 'thirsty fount'⁵ but to Pirene⁶ or 'the holy place whence Alpheus took breath,'⁷ he would drain the fount, as you say, especially when he needs money so badly himself. Where will it all end? However, it's his affair.

I am pleased with my *Cato*, but then Lucilius Bassus⁸ is pleased with *his* productions too.

243 (XII.6a)

Tusculum (?), *October* (?) (*by the sun*) 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

'Chremes, so little of your own to do'¹ that you are actually reading the *Orator*?² Bravo! I am pleased to hear it, and shall be still better pleased if you will get your clerks to substitute Aristophanes for Eupolis both in your own copies and in other people's.³

I thought Caesar was making fun of your 'pray'—a classical expression in excellent taste. The way he went on to tell you to have no further anxiety⁴ removed all misgivings so far as I was concerned. I am sorry Attica has had such a long attack; but since the shivering has gone, I hope all is well.

⁸ Otherwise unknown.

¹ From Terence's comedy *The Self-Tormentor*; 75.

² Extant treatise on rhetoric which Cicero had recently finished (to be distinguished from his earlier work *On the Orator*).

³ This was done.

⁴ About the confiscation of land at Buthrotum; see Letter 407.

CICERO

244 (XII.7)

Scr. fort. in Tusculano m. interc. priore an. 46

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Quae desideras omnia scripsi in codicillis eosque Eroti dedi, breviter, sed etiam plura quam quaeris, in iis de Cicerone; cuius quidem cogitationis initium tu mihi attulisti. locutus sum cum eo liberalissime; quod ex ipso velim, si modo¹ tibi erit commodum, sciscitare. sed quid differo? exposui te ad me detulisse et quid vellet et quid requireret: velle Hispaniam, requirere liberalitatem. de liberalitate dixi, quantum Publius,² quantum flamen Lentulus filio. de Hispania duo attuli, primum idem quod tibi, me vereri vituperationem. non satis esse si haec arma reliquissemus? etiam contraria? deinde fore ut angeretur cum a fratre familiaritate et omni gratia vinceretur. vel nimia <malim>³ liberalitate uti mea quam sua libertate. sed tamen permisi; tibi enim intellexeram non nimis displicere. ego etiam atque etiam cogitabo teque ut idem facias rogo. magna res; et simplex est manere, illud anceps. verum videbimus.
- 2 De Balbo et in codicillis scripseram et ita cogito, simul ac redierit. sin ille tardius, ego tamen triduo,⁴ et, quod praeterii, Dolabella etiam mecum.

¹ modo velim si (*Victorius*)

² *publius cod. Tornesianus (?)*, vulg. *ante SB*

³ *add. SB* ⁴ *triduum (SB)*

¹ Cicero had it in mind to send him to study in Athens (and finally did).

² Marcus would have preferred service under Caesar in the reviving Civil War.

LETTER 244 (XII.7)

244 (XII.7)

Tusculum (?), *October* (?) (*by the sun*) 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have put down all the items you desire on tablets and given them to Eros—briefly, but more in fact than you ask, including something about Marcus.¹ You started me thinking about this. I spoke to him in a very liberal way—you might ask the boy himself about this, that is if you conveniently can. Still, why put it off? I explained that you had brought to my notice both his wishes and his wants: that he wished to go to Spain² and wanted a handsome allowance. As to the latter I said I would give him as much as P. Lentulus or Flamen Lentulus gave their sons. On Spain I made two comments. The first I had already made to you, that I was afraid of public censure. People might ask whether it was not enough that we had abandoned the struggle, without enlisting on the other side. Then I urged that it would be mortifying for him to find himself outdone by his cousin in friendly contacts and general consideration. I would rather he availed himself even to excess of *my* liberality than of his own liberty. However I gave my leave, as I had gathered that you were not too much opposed to the idea. I shall think about it further and would be glad if you would do likewise. It is no light matter, and the straightforward thing is for him to stay; the other has both pros and cons. However, we shall see.

I wrote about Balbus in the tablets, and I propose so to do, as soon as he gets back. But if he delays, I shall come all the same in three days' time and, as I forgot to mention, Dolabella with me.

CICERO

245 (XII.8)

Scr. fort. in Tusculano ex. m. interc. priore an. 46

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

De Cicerone, multis res placet. comes est idoneus. sed de prima pensione ante videamus. adest enim dies, et ille currit. scribe, quaeso, quid referat Celer egisse Caesarem cum candidatis, utrum ipse in Fenicularium an in Martium campum cogitet. et scire sane velim numquid necesse sit comitiis esse Romae. nam et Piliae satis faciendum est et utique Atticae.

246 (XII.9)

Scr. Asturae VI Id. Mart. an. 45 post 253 (XII.16)

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Ne ego essem hic libenter atque id cottidie magis, ni esset ea causa quam tibi superioribus litteris scripsi. nihil hac solitudine iucundius, nisi paulum interpellasset Amyntae filius. ὦ ἀπεραντολογίας ἀηδοῦς! cetera noli putare amabiliora fieri posse v<i>lla, litore, prospectu maris, tum

¹ To Spain rather than to Athens. The person may have been L. Tullius Montanus (see Letter 294.1). ² Of Tullia's dowry, which had to be repaid by Dolabella after their divorce.

³ Probably Celer, possibly Caesar. ⁴ The Field of Fennel was in Spain, near Tarraco (Tarragona). Cicero's alternative means: 'Will Celer be elected to his office in the usual way by voting in the Campus Martius or nominated by Caesar in Spain?'

⁵ A pleasantry. Attica at six is supposed to be taking a keen interest in her uncle's (?) candidacy.

LETTER 246 (XII.9)

245 (XII.8)

Tusculum (?), *late October* (?) (*by the sun*) 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

About Marcus, many people approve the plan. I have a suitable person to go with him.¹ But let us first see to instalment number one.² It will be due presently and he is in a hurry. Please tell me what Celer reports of Caesar's arrangements with the candidates, and whether he means to appear himself³ on the Field of Fennel or the Field of Mars.⁴ I should be very glad to know whether I shall have to be in Rome for the elections. Pilia must not be disappointed, still less Attica.⁵

246 (XII.9)

Astura, 10 March 45 after 253 (XII.16)¹

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I should really like this place and like it better every day, but for the reason I mentioned in my earlier letter. Nothing could be more agreeable than this solitude, apart from a temporary interruption by the son of Amyntas,² tiresome proser that he is. All else is truly quite charming—the house, the shore, the view of the sea, indeed everything

¹ Following O. E. Schmidt, Beaujeu argues convincingly that Letters 253, 246, and 254 belong to Cicero's residence at Astura in March 45, thus placing the three references to Philippus in logical sequence. 246 is commonly assigned to November (by the sun) 46.

² I.e., (L. Marcius) Philippus. The famous Philip(pus) II of Macedon's father was named Amyntas.

CICERO

his rebus omnibus. sed neque haec digna longioribus literis nec erat quid scriberem, et somnus urgebat.

247 (XII.10)

Scr. fort. in Tusculano an. 46 aestate vel autumnno

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Male mehercule de Athamante. tuus autem dolor humanus is quidem, sed magno opere moderandus. consolationum autem multae viae, sed illa rectissima: impetret ratio quod dies impetratura est. Alexim vero curemus, imaginem Tironis, quem aegrum Romam remisi, et, si quid habet collis ἐπιδήμιον, ad me cum Tisameno transferamus. tota domus superior vacat, ut scis. hoc puto valde ad rem pertinere.

248 (XII.1)

Scr. in Arpinati VIII Kal. Dec. an. 46

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Undecimo die postquam a te discesseram hoc litterarum exaravi egrediens e villa ante lucem, atque eo die cogitabam in <An>agnino, postero autem in Tusculano, ibi unum diem: v Kal. igitur ad constitutum. atque utinam continuo ad complexum meae Tulliae, ad osculum Atticae possem¹ currere! quod quidem ipsum scribe, quaeso, ad me ut, dum

¹ possim (SB)

LETTER 248 (XII.1)

here. But this is no matter for a long letter, and I have nothing to write about, and I am half asleep.

247 (XII.10)

Tusculum (^p), *summer or autumn* 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

How very sorry I am to hear about Athamas!¹ Your grief does credit to your heart, but you must try your best to keep it in bounds. There are many ways of consolation, but the most direct is this: allow to reason what you will in any case allow to time. But let us take care of Tiro's counterpart (Tiro is unwell, and I am sending him back to Rome) Alexis, and if the hill is unhealthy, let us bring him and Tisamenus over to my house. The whole upper storey is empty, as you know. This really seems to me a useful suggestion.

248 (XII.1)

Arpinum, 27 November (*by the sun*) 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Ten days after saying good-bye to you I am scribbling this note as I leave the villa before daybreak. I expect to be at Anagnia this evening, at Tusculum tomorrow, and to stay there one day. On 30 November then I keep my appointment. I wish enough I could hurry straight to my Tullia's embrace and Attica's kisses. Do pray write to me about her

¹ No doubt a member of Atticus' household on the Quirinal Hill.

CICERO

consisto in Tusculano, sciam quid garriat, sin rusticatur, quid scribat ad te; eique interea aut scribes salutem aut nuntiabis itemque Piliae. et tamen etsi continuo congressuri sumus, scribes ad me si quid habebis.

- 2 Cum complicarem hanc epistulam, †noctuabundus†² ad me venit cum epistula tua tabellarius; qua lecta de Atticae febricula scilicet valde dolui. reliqua quae expectabam ex tuis litteris cognovi omnia; sed quod scribis ‘igniculum matutinum <γεροντικόν>,’ γεροντικώτερον est memoriola vacillare. ego enim IIII Kal. Axio dederam, tibi III, Quinto quo die venissem, id est V Kal. hoc igitur habebis, novi nihil. quid ergo opus erat epistula? quid cum coram sumus et garrimus quicquid in buccam? est profecto quiddam λέσχη, quae habet, etiam si nihil subest, collo- cutione ipsa suavitatem.

249 (XII.11)

Scr. fort. in Tusculano VI Kal. Dec. an. 46

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Male de Seio. Sed omnia humana tolerabilia ducenda. ipsi enim quid sumus aut quam diu haec curaturi sumus? ea videamus quae ad nos magis pertinent, nec tamen multo. quid agamus de senatu? et ut ne quid praetermittam, Caesonius ad me litteras misit Postumiam Sulpici domum

² noctu vagab- *Reid* : nocturnab- *tempt. SB*

LETTER 249 (XII.11)

so that while I am at Tusculum I shall know what she is chattering about, or if she is in the country what she says in her letters to you. In the meanwhile give her my love by letter or word of mouth, and Pilia likewise. And please, even though we shall be meeting presently, write to me any news you have.

Just as I was folding up this letter, a night-bird courier arrived with a letter from you. Having read it I am naturally very sorry about Attica's touch of fever. On all the other items of which I was expecting news your letter put me up to date. But when you say that 'a little fire in the morning suggests old age,' a little lapse of memory suggests it even more. I had assigned 1 December to Axius, the 2nd to you, and the day of my arrival, i.e. 30 November, to Quintus. This then is all I have for you, nothing new. 'Why bother then to write?' And when we are together, and chatter away with whatever comes into our heads? Surely there is *some* value in *causerie*, in which the mere interchange of talk is agreeable, even if there is nothing behind it.

249 (XII.11)

Tusculum (?), 29 November (?) (by the sun) 46

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am so sorry about Seius. But we must resign ourselves to the lot of mankind and all that is part of it. What after all are we, and how long shall we be taking these things to heart? Let us look at matters which concern us more directly, though not much more. What am I to do about the Senate? And, not to leave anything out, Caesonius has sent me a letter to say that Postumia, Sulpicius' wife, has been

CICERO

ad se venisse. de Pompei¹ Magni filia <tibi> rescripsi me nihil hoc tempore cogitare; alteram vero illam quam tu scribis, puto, nosti: nihil vidi foedius. sed adsum. coram igitur.

Obsignata epistula accepi tuas. Atticae hilaritatem libenter audio. commotiunculis *συμπάσχω*.

250 (XII.13)

Scr. Asturae Non. Mart. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Commovet me Attica; etsi adsentior Cratero. Bruti litterae scriptae et prudenter et amice multas mihi tamen lacrimas attulerunt. me haec solitudo minus stimulat quam ista celebritas. te unum desidero; sed litteris non difficilius utor quam si domi essem. ardor tamen ille idem urget et manet, non mehercule indulgente me sed tamen repugnante.
- 2 Quod scribis de Appuleio, nihil puto opus esse tua contentione nec Balbo et Oppio; quibus quidem ille receperat mihi que etiam iusserat nuntiari se molestum omnino non

¹ Pompeia *Bonnet*

¹ I.e., of a new wife for Cicero, who had divorced Terentia earlier in the year. The 'other lady' may have been Hirtius' sister, whom according to St. Jerome (*Adversus Iovinianum*, 1.48) Cicero declined to marry on the ground that he could not devote himself equally to a wife and to philosophy. ¹ Tullia died at her father's Tusculan villa in mid-February 45, a month after giving birth to a son. The grief-stricken father could not stay in this once favoured domain. He took refuge in his friend Atticus' house

LETTER 250 (XII.13)

to see him at his house. I wrote to you in answer to your remark about Pompeius Magnus' daughter that I had no such thought at present. As for the other lady you mention, I think you know her. She is quite remarkably ugly. However I am nearly home, and we shall talk of it¹ together.

After sealing my letter I received yours. Glad to hear of Attica's good spirits. I sympathize with her little upsets.

250 (XII.13)

Astura, 7 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I am much concerned about Attica, though I agree with Craterus. Brutus' letter, sensible and friendly though it was, cost me many tears. The loneliness here irks me less than the bustle of the city. You are the only one I miss. But my studies go on as easily here as if I were at home. None the less the old agony goads me as before and persists, not with my indulgence I do assure you but despite all efforts to resist.¹

With regard to what you say about Appuleius,² I don't think there is any need for you to exert yourself, nor for Balbus and Oppius. He gave them his word and further sent me a message that he would not give me the least

in Rome. He left Rome on 6 March, no doubt for Lanuvium, arriving on the 7th at Astura, the lonely place surrounded by the sea; and from there on the 7th resumed his daily exchange of letters with his old friend' (O. E. Schmidt, *Briefwechsel*, p. 276).

² A newly appointed Augur. Cicero was bound to attend his inauguration (which in his grief at Tullia's death he was unwilling to do) or to make him a sworn deposition of ill-health.

CICERO

futurum. sed cura ut excuser morbi causa in dies singulos. Laenas hoc receperat. prende C. Septimium, L. Statilium. denique nemo negabit se iuraturum quem rogaris. quod si erit durius, veniam et ipse perpetuum morbum iurabo. cum enim mihi carendum sit conviviis, malo id lege videri facere quam dolore. Cocceium velim appelles. quod enim dixerat non facit. ego autem volo aliquod emere latibulum et perfugium doloris mei.

251 (XII.14)

Scr. Asturae VIII Id. Mart. an. 45 post ep. 253.

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De me excusando apud Appuleium dederam ad te pridie litteras. nihil esse negoti arbitror. quemcumque appellaris, nemo negabit. sed Septi<mi>um vide et Laenatem et Statilium; tribus enim opus est. sed mihi Laenas totum receperat.
- 2 Quod scribis a Iunio te appellatum, omnino Cornificius locuples est; sed tamen scire velim quando dicar spondisse, et pro patre anne pro filio. neque eo minus, ut scribis, procuratores Cornifici et Appuleium praediatores videbis.
- 3 Quod me ab hoc maerore recreari vis, facis ut omnia; sed me mihi non defuisse tu testis es. nihil enim de maerore minuendo scriptum ab ullo est quod ego non domi tuae legerim. sed omnem consolationem vincit dolor. quin

³ As prospective witnesses. What qualified them as such is uncertain. They were not Augurs.

¹ To be distinguished from the Augur.

LETTER 251 (XII.14)

trouble. But see that I am excused on grounds of health from day to day. Laenas promised to do this. Get hold of C. Septimius and L. Statilius.³ Indeed nobody you ask is likely to refuse an affidavit. But if it is going to be difficult I shall come and swear chronic ill-health in person. Since I must avoid social occasions I would rather appear to do so on legal grounds than because of grief. Please ask Cocceius for payment—he is not keeping his word. I want to buy some hiding place as a refuge for my sorrow.

251 (XII.14)

Astura, 8 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I wrote to you yesterday about making my excuses to Appuleius. I don't think there is any difficulty. Whomever you ask, nobody will refuse. But see Septimius and Laenas and Statilius, three being the required number. But Laenas had promised me to put the whole thing through.

You tell me that Junius has called upon you for payment. Cornificius is a wealthy man of course, but even so I should like to know when I am supposed to have stood surety, and whether it was for the father or the son. Just the same, please see Cornificius' agents and the estate-dealer Appuleius,¹ as you say.

It is like you to want me to recover from my grief, but you are my witness that I have not been remiss on my own behalf. Nothing has been written by any author on the alleviation of grief which I did not read in your house. But my sorrow is stronger than any consolation. I have even

etiam feci, quod profecto ante me nemo, ut ipse me per litteras consolaret. quem librum ad te mittam, si descripserint librarii. adfirmo tibi nullam consolationem esse talem. totos dies scribo, non quo proficiam quid sed tantisper impediatur — non equidem satis (vis enim urget), sed relaxor tamen, omniaque nitor non ad animum sed ad vultum ipsum, si queam, reficiendum, idque faciens interdum mihi peccare videor, interdum peccaturus esse nisi faciam. solitudo aliquid adiuvat, sed multo plus proficeret si tu tamen interesses. quae mihi una causa est hinc discedendi; nam pro malis recte habebat. quamquam <id>¹ ipsum doleo. non enim iam in me idem esse poteris. perierunt illa quae amabas.

- 4 De Bruti ad me litteris scripsi ad te antea. prudenter scriptae, sed nihil quod me adlevaret.² quod ad te scripsit id vellem, ut ipse adesset. certe aliquid, quoniam me tam valde amat, adiu<va>re<t>. quod si quid scies, scribas ad me velim, maxime autem Pansa quando. de Attica doleo, credo tamen Cratero. Piliam angi veta. satis est <me>³ maerere pro omnibus.

¹ *add. Lambinus*

² *adiuvarent (-et s) (coni. SB*)*

³ *add. Corradus et Lambinus, hic fort. ex Tornesiano*

LETTER 251 (XII.14)

done something which I imagine no one has ever done before, consoled myself in a literary composition.² I shall send you the piece as soon as the copyists have finished it. I can assure you there is no consolation as effective as this. I write all day long, not that I do myself any real good, but just for the time being it distracts me—not indeed enough, for grief is powerful and importunate; still it brings a respite. And I try all I know to bring my face if not my heart back to composure, if I can. While I do this I sometimes feel I am committing a sin, at others that I should be sinning if I failed to do it. Solitude helps, but it would be far more efficacious, paradoxically, if you were there to share it. That is my only reason for leaving this spot, which is well enough in the circumstances. And yet this too is a source of distress, for you will not be able to feel towards me as in the past. The things you liked in me are gone for good.

I have already written to you about Brutus' letter. There was much good sense in it, but nothing that could help me. I wish he were here himself as he wrote to you he would be. He would certainly have done me some good, so fond of me as he is. But if you get any news please let me know, especially when Pansa is leaving.³ I am sorry about Attica, but I trust Craterus. Tell Pilia not to distress herself. It is enough that I should grieve for all.

² This 'Consolation' was a famous work, now lost except for fragments. The Latin would most naturally mean 'in a letter,' and it seems not impossible that Cicero actually wrote it in the form of a letter addressed to himself.

³ Pansa was succeeding M. Brutus as governor of Cisalpine Gaul.

CICERO

252 (XII.15)

Scr. Asturae VII Id. Mart. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Apud Appuleium, quoniam in perpetuum non placet, in dies ut excuser videbis. in hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane me in silvam abstrusi densam et asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperum. secundum te nihil est mihi amicus solitudine. in ea mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris. eum tamen interpellat fletus; cui repugno quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus. Bruto, ut suades, rescribam. eas litteras cras habebis. cum erit cui des, dabis.

253 (XII.16)

Scr. Asturae VI Id. Mart. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Te tuis negotiis relictis nolo ad me venire; ego potius accedam, si diutius impediere. etsi ne discessissem quidem e conspectu tuo, nisi me plane nihil ulla res adiuuaret. quod si esset aliquod levamen, id esset in te uno, et cum primum ab aliquo poterit esse, a te erit. nunc tamen ipsum sine te esse non possum. sed nec tuae domi probabatur nec meae poteram nec, si propius essem uspiam, tecum tamen essem. idem enim te impediret quo minus mecum esses quod nunc etiam impedit. mihi nihil adhuc aptius fuit hac

LETTER 253 (XII.16)

252 (XII.15)

Astura, 9 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Please see that my excuses are made to Appuleius from day to day, since a once for all excuse does not seem advisable. In this lonely place I do not talk to a soul. Early in the day I hide myself in a thick, thorny wood, and don't emerge till evening. Next to yourself solitude is my best friend. When I am alone all my conversation is with books, but it is interrupted by fits of weeping, against which I struggle as best I can. But so far it is an unequal fight. I shall answer Brutus as you recommend. You shall have the letter tomorrow. Forward it when you have the opportunity.

253 (XII.16)

Astura, 10 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I wouldn't have you leave your own affairs to visit me; better for me to come to you if you are going to be held up for some considerable time. I would never have gone out of your sight if it had not been that nothing, *nothing* was any use to me. But if any relief were possible it would be in you and you only; and as soon as anyone can give it, that person will be you. And yet at this moment I cannot bear to be away from you. But we agreed that your house was not suitable, and I cannot stay in mine; and even if I were somewhere closer by, I should still not be in your company. The same thing that is holding you up now would still hold you up and prevent you from spending much time with me.

CICERO

solitudine; quam vereor ne Philippus tollat. heri enim vesperi venerat. me scriptio et litterae non leniunt sed obturbant.

254 (XII.18)

Scr. Asturae v Id. Mart. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Dum recordationes fugio quae quasi morsu quodam dolorem efficiunt, refugio a<d>¹ te admonendum;² quod velim mihi ignoscas, cuiusmodi est. etenim habeo non nullos ex iis quos nunc lectito auctores qui dicant fieri id oportere quod saepe tecum egi et quod a te approbari volo: de fano illo dico, de quo tantum quantum me amas velim cogites. equidem neque de genere dubito (placet enim mihi Cluati) neque de re (statutum est enim), de loco non numquam. velim igitur cogites. ego, quantum his temporibus tam eruditus fieri potuerit, profecto illam consecrabo omni genere monumentorum ab omnium³ ingeniis sump-torum et Graecorum et Latinorum. quae res forsitan sit refricatura vulnus meum. sed iam quasi voto quodam et promisso me teneri puto, longumque illud tempus cum non ero magis me movet quam hoc exiguum, quod mihi tamen nimium longum videtur. habeo enim nihil temptatis rebus omnibus in quo acquiescam. nam dum illud trac-

¹ *add. s*

² *admonendo (Madvig)*

³ *omnibus coni. SB*

¹ Cicero now entertained a strange plan to deify Tullia and build her a temple. His attempts to buy property near Rome in which to do this, and incidentally live himself, are a recurrent

LETTER 254 (XII.18)

Thus far the loneliness here suits me as well as anything. I am afraid Philippus may break it. He arrived yesterday evening. Reading and writing bring me, not solace indeed, but distraction.

254 (XII.18)

Astura, 11 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

In trying to escape the memories which pain me like fangs in my flesh, I have recourse to sending you a reminder. Please forgive my doing so, whatever you think of the project. I can indeed cite several of the authors whom I am constantly reading just now as recommending the plan about which I have often talked to you and for which I want to gain your approval. I refer to that shrine.¹ Please give it an amount of thought proportionate to the affection in which you hold me. I myself have no hesitation about the form of shrine (I like Cluatius² proposal), nor about the idea itself (my mind is made up); about the site I do sometimes waver. So please think it over. As far as practicable in this age of culture, I shall naturally hallow her with every kind of memorial which Greek and Latin genius can supply. Perhaps that will gall my wound. But I consider myself as virtually bound by a vow and pledge, and the long expanse of time after I shall cease to be is of more account to me than this little span, which yet seems to me too long. I have tried everything and found no comfort. While I was

topic in his letters to Atticus during the next four months. The attendant complications are set out in Appendix III, Vol. V of *CLA*.² An architect; cf. Letter 275.2.

CICERO

tabam de quo ad te ante scripsi, quasi fovebam dolores meos; nunc omnia respuo, nec quicquam habeo tolerabilius quam solitudinem; nam,⁴ quod eram veritus, non obturbavit Philippus. nam ut heri me salutavit, statim Romam profectus est.

- 2 Epistulam quam ad Brutum, ut tibi placuerat, scripsi misi ad te. curabis cum tua perferendam. eius tamen misi ad te exemplum, ut, si minus placeret, ne mitteres.
- 3 Domestica quod ais ordine administrari, scribes quae sint ea. quaedam enim exspecto. Cocceius vide ne frustretur. nam Libo quod pollicetur, ut Eros scribit, non incertum puto. de sorte mea Sulpicio confido, et <E>gnatio scilicet. de Appuleio quid est quod labores, cum sit excusatio facilis?
- 4 Tibi ad me venire, ut ostendis, vide ne non sit facile. est enim longum iter discedentemque te, quod celeriter tibi erit fortasse faciendum, non sine magno dolore dimittam. sed omnia ut voles. ego enim quicquid feceris id cum recte tum etiam mea causa factum putabo.

255 (XII.17)

Scr. Asturae IV Id. Mart. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Marcianus ad me scripsit me excusatum esse apud Appu-

⁴ quam s, *fort. recte*

³ Probably L. Scribonius Libo, Consul in 34. Apparently he owed Cicero money. Sulpicius (Rufus?) and Egnatius may have been his sureties.

LETTER 255 (XII.17)

engaged on the work of which I wrote to you in an earlier letter, I was as it were laying a fomentation on my pains. Now I reject all aids, and find nothing easier to bear than solitude—Philippus did not intrude as I feared he might. After paying me a call yesterday he left immediately for Rome.

I am sending you the letter which I have written to Brutus as you recommended. You will see that it is forwarded along with your own. However I am sending you a copy so that if you don't quite like it you need not send it on.

You say my private affairs are in good train. You might let me know what these are. I am waiting for news on certain points. See that Cocceius does not lead us up the garden. As for Libo,³ I think his promise, of which Eros informs me, is to be relied upon. For my principal I rely on Sulpicius and of course Egnatius. I don't understand why you are worried about Appuleius, when the excuse presents no difficulty.

Are you sure it won't be awkward for you to pay me a visit as you propose? It's a long way, and when you leave, as you will perhaps have to do quickly, I shall feel much distress at letting you go. But all as you wish. Whatever you do I shall think it not only rightly done but done for my sake.

255 (XII.17)

Astura, 12 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Marcianus has written to tell me that my excuses have

CICERO

leium a Laterensi, Nasone, Laenate, Torquato, Strabone. iis velim meo nomine reddendas litteras cures gratum mihi eos fecisse. quod pro Cornificio me abhinc amplius annis xxv spondisse dicit Flavius, etsi reus locuples est et Appuleius praediator liberalis, tamen velim des operam ut investiges ex consponsorum tabulis sitne ita (mihi enim ante aedilitatem meam nihil erat cum Cornificio; potest tamen fieri, sed scire certum velim), et appelles procuratores, si tibi videtur. quamquam quid ad me? verum tamen. Pansae profectionem scribes cum scies. Atticam salvere iube et eam cura, obsecro, diligenter. Piliae salutem.

256 (XII.18a)

Scr. Asturae III Id. Mart. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Heri cum ex aliorum litteris cognossem de Antoni adventu, admiratus sum nihil esse in tuis. sed erant pridie fortasse scriptae quam datae. neque ista quidem curo; sed tamen opinor propter p<r>aedes suos accucurrisse.
- 2 Quod scribis Terentiam de obsignatoribus mei testamenti loqui, primum tibi persuade me istaec non curare neque esse quicquam aut parvae curae aut novae loci. sed tamen quid simile? illa eos non adhibuit quos existimavit quaesituros nisi scissent quid esset. num id etiam mihi

¹ To Rome. Antony had been on his way to join Caesar in Spain, but turned back.

LETTER 256 (XII.18a)

been made to Appuleius by Laterensis, Naso, Laenas, Torquatus, and Strabo. Please see that they are sent letters of thanks in my name. Since Flavius says that I went surety for Cornificius more than twenty-five years ago—even though the debtor is a wealthy man and Appuleius the estate dealer is a gentleman—please give yourself the trouble of checking this in the documents of the co-sureties (I had no contact with Cornificius before I was Aedile. Still it may be as they say, but I should like to know for certain) and call on the agents for payment if you think proper. And yet what is it to me? However—. Notify me of the date of Pansa's departure when you know. Give my love to Attica and take good care of her I beg. My love to Pilia.

256 (XII.18a)

Astura, 13 March 43

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Having learned yesterday from other people's letters about Antony's coming¹ I was surprised to find nothing in yours. But perhaps it was written the day before it was dispatched. Not that I trouble about such things, but I imagine he has hurried up to save his sureties.

You say that Terentia is talking about the witnesses to my will. To begin with, take my word for it that I don't trouble about these things and that my mind has no longer any room for a petty trouble or a new one. But still, where is the analogy? *She* avoided inviting persons who she thought would be likely to ask questions unless they knew the contents. Did *I* have anything of the sort to fear? How-

CICERO

periculi fuit? sed tamen faciat illa quod ego. dabo meum testamentum legendum cui voluerit; intellet non potuisse honorificentius a me fieri de nepote quam fecerim. nam quod non advocavi ad obsignandum, primum mihi non venit in mentem, deinde ea re non venit quia nihil attinuit. tute scis, si modo meministi, me tibi tum dixisse ut de tuis aliquos adduceres. quid enim opus erat multis? equidem domesticos iusseram. tum tibi placuit ut mitterem ad Silium. inde est natum ut ad Publium. sed necesse neutrum fuit. hoc tu tractabis ut tibi videbitur.

257 (XII.19)

Scr. Asturae prid. Id. Mart. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Est hic quidem locus amoenus et in mari ipso, qui et Antio et Circeis aspici possit; sed ineunda nobis ratio est quem ad modum in omni mutatione dominorum, quae innumera- biles fieri possunt in infinita posteritate, si modo haec stabunt, illud quasi consecratum remanere possit. equi- dem iam nihil egeo vectigalibus et parvo contentus esse possum. cogito interdum trans Tiberim hortos aliquos parare et quidem ob hanc causam maxime. nihil enim video quod tam celebre esse possit. sed quos, coram vide- bimus, ita tamen ut hac aestate fanum absolutum sit. tu tamen cum Apella Chio confice de columnis.
- 2 De Cocceio et Libone quae scribis approbo, maxime

² Tullia's child by Dolabella, born in January (called 'little Len- tulus' after Dolabella's adoptive name). He lived only a few months.

LETTER 257 (XII.19)

ever, let her do as I do. I shall give my will to read to anybody she likes to name. He will find that I could not have done more handsomely by my grandson² than I have. As for my not asking her to the sealing, (a) I did not think of it, and (b) I did not think of it because there was no reason why I should. You know yourself, if you happen to remember, that I asked you at the time to bring some of your people. Where was the need for a large number? On my side I had told the members of my household to be present. Then you suggested I should send to ask Silius. Publilius' invitation arose from that. But neither was necessary. Handle this as you think best.

257 (XII.19)

Astura, 14 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Certainly this is a pleasant spot, right *in* the sea—it can be seen both from Antium and from Circeii. But I have to consider how to ensure that the place remains as it were consecrated ground under the innumerable changes of ownership which may occur in the infinite future, provided our society survives. For myself I no longer need revenues, and I can make do with little. I sometimes think of buying a suburban property on the other side of the Tiber, chiefly with this in mind—I can't think of any location which could be so much in the public eye. But *what* property is a question we must discuss together—only the shrine must be completed this summer. Anyhow please arrange about the pillars with Apella of Chios.

I agree with what you write about Cocceius and Libo,

CICERO

quae de iudicatu meo. de sponsu, si quid perspexeris; et tamen quid procuratores Cornifici dicant velim scire, ita ut in ea re te, cum tam occupatus sis, non multum operae velim ponere. de Antonio Balbus quoque ad me cum Oppio conscripsit idque tibi placuisse ne perturbarer. illis egi gratias. te tamen, ut iam ante ad te scripsi, scire volo me neque isto nuntio esse perturbatum nec iam ullo perturbatum iri.

- 3 Pansa si hodie, ut putabas, profectus est, posthac iam incipit scribere ad me de Bruti adventu quid expectes, id est quos ad dies. id, si scies ubi iam sit, facile coniectura adsequere.
- 4 Quod ad Tironem de Terentia scribis, obsecro te, mi Attice, suscipe totum negotium. vides et officium agi meum quoddam, cui tu es conscius, et, ut non nulli putant, Ciceronis rem. me quidem id multo magis movet, quod mihi est et sanctius et antiquius, praesertim cum hoc alterum neque sincerum neque firmum putem fore.

258 (XII.20)

Scr. Asturae Id. Mart. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Nondum videris perspicere quam me nec Antonius commoverit nec quicquam iam eius modi possit commovere. de Terentia autem scripsi ad te eis litteris quas dederam

¹ *add. Manutius*

¹ Why Antony's return should alarm Cicero is not clear.

² The repayment of Terentia's dowry.

LETTER 258 (XII.20)

and particularly with what you say about my jury service (?). Let me know about the surety business if you discover anything—though I should like to know what Cornificius' agents say, only I shouldn't wish you to spend much time on it when you are so busy. Balbus too has written to me jointly with Oppius about Antony, and says you wished this in case I should be alarmed.¹ I have thanked them, but, as I have already told you, I want you to realize that this news did not alarm me and that no news ever will alarm me any more.

If Pansa left today, as you thought he would, please start from now on telling me your expectations as to Brutus' return, I mean roughly what day he will be back. You will easily be able to guess if you find out his present whereabouts.

As regards your letter to Tiro about Terentia, I beg of you, my dear Atticus, take the whole matter² into your hands. You see that a certain obligation on my part is involved, of which you are aware, and also, as some think, Marcus' interests. I am much more concerned about the former aspect, which is to me the higher and more important, particularly as the other will not in my opinion prove either genuine or trustworthy.

258 (XII.20)

Astura, 15 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You still don't seem to appreciate that Antony has not disturbed me at all and that nothing of the kind can any longer disturb me in the least. I wrote to you about Terentia in

CICERO

pridie. quod me hortaris idque a ceteris desiderari scribis ut dissimulem me tam graviter dolere, possumne magis quam quod totos dies consumo in litteris? quod etsi non dissimulationis [causa] sed potius leniendi et sanandi animi causa facio, tamen, si mihi minus proficio, simulationi certe facio satis.

- 2 Minus multa ad te scripsi, quod exspectabam tuas litteras ad eas quas ad te pridie dederam. exspectabam autem maxime de fano, non nihil etiam de Terentia. velim me facias certiore proximis litteris Cn. Caepio, Serviliae Claudi pater, vivone patre suo naufragio perierit an mortuo, item Rutilia vivone C. Cotta filio suo mortua sit an mortuo. pertinent ad eum librum quem de luctu minundo scripsimus.

259 (XII.12)

Scr. Asturae xvii Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De dote tanto magis perpurga. Balbi regia condicio est delegandi. quoquo modo confice. turpe est rem impeditam iacere. insula Arpinas habere potest germanam ἀποθέωσιν, sed vereor ne minorem τιμὴν habere videatur ἐκτοπι(σ)μός. est igitur animus in hortis; quos tamen inspiciam cum venero.

¹ I.e., the *Consolation*.

¹ The most natural interpretation of the words themselves is that they refer to the assignment by Balbus (acting on Caesar's behalf; cf. Letter 239.2 and *CLA*, Appendix 1) of *nomina* (debts) to Cicero, who might use the money to settle Terentia's claim. Cf. Letter 413.5.

LETTER 259 (XII.12)

the letter I dispatched yesterday. You urge me to disguise the intensity of my grief and say that others think I do not do so sufficiently. Can I do it more effectively than by spending my entire time in literary work? True, I do this not for the sake of disguise but rather to ease and heal my mind; but even if I myself get little good out of it, at least I cannot be accused of failing to disguise my feelings.

This letter is briefer than it would have been because I am expecting your reply to mine of yesterday. I am particularly looking forward to your comments concerning the shrine, also to some extent about Terentia. Would you please inform me when next you write whether Cn. Caepio, father of Claudius' wife Servilia, died at sea during his father's lifetime or after his death, and also whether Rutilia died in the lifetime of her son C. Cotta or subsequently? They are relevant to my treatise on the alleviation of mourning.¹

259 (XII.12)

Astura, 16 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As for the dowry, all the more reason for clearing it up. Balbus' terms for transferring the debt¹ are despotic. Settle it one way or another. It is unseemly to have the thing lying bogged down in difficulties. The Isle of Arpinum allows of a real deification, but I am afraid that its out of the way situation might seem to detract from the dignity of the tribute. So my mind is fixed on suburban properties, which however I shall inspect when I get back.

CICERO

- 2 De Epicuro, ut voles; etsi *μεταρμόσομαι* in posterum genus hoc personarum. incredibile est quam ea quidam requirant. ad antiquos igitur; *ἀνεμέσητον γάρ*. nihil habeo ad te quod scribam, sed tamen institui cottidie mittere ut eliciam tuas litteras, non quo aliquid ex iis exspectem—sed nescio quo modo tamen exspecto. qua re sive habes quid sive nil habes, scribe tamen aliquid teque cura.

260 (XII.21)

Scr. Asturae XVI Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Legi Bruti epistulam eamque tibi remisi, sane non prudenter rescriptam ad ea quae requisieras. sed ipse viderit. quamquam illud turpiter ignorat: Catonem primum sententiam putat de animadversione dixisse, quam omnes ante dixerant praeter Caesarem, et, cum ipsius Caesaris tam severa fuerit qui tum praetorio loco dixerit, consularium putat leniores fuisse, Catuli, Servili, Lucullorum, Curionis, Torquati, Lepidi, Gelli, Volcaci, Figuli, Cottae, L. Caesaris, C. Pisonis, M'. Glabrionis, etiam¹ Silani, Murenae, designatorum consulum. cur ergo in sententiam Catonis? quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem

¹ *ante* M'. Glabrionis *codd.*, *transp. Boot*

² Atticus seems to have wanted Cicero to give one of his Epicurean friends a role in his next philosophical dialogue, *De Finibus* (*On the Limits of Good and Bad*).

¹ About Brutus' book on Cato. What follows concerns Brutus'

LETTER 260 (XII.21)

As to Epicurus, it shall be as you wish;² but in future I intend to change my system with regard to this category of characters. It is incredible how anxious some people are to get in. Back to the ancients therefore; that will be *sans ressentiment*. I have nothing to write to you, but I have started the practice of sending a daily letter to evoke yours, not that I expect anything from them—and yet somehow or other I do expect something. So whether you have anything to say or nothing, write something all the same, and take good care of yourself.

260 (XII.21)

Astura, 17 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have read Brutus' letter and am returning it to you; not a very knowledgeable answer to your queries.¹ However that's his affair; though his ignorance on one point is really disgraceful—he thinks that Cato was the first to put forward the proposal for punishment (it had in fact been advocated by every previous speaker except Caesar), and though the speech made by Caesar, speaking at that time in the praetorian group, was so severe, Brutus supposes that those of the Consulars were more lenient, i.e. Catulus, Servilius, the Luculli, Curio, Torquatus, Lepidus, Gellius, Volcaci, Figulus, Cotta, L. Caesar, C. Piso, M'. Glabrio, also Silanus and Murena the Consuls Designate. Why then on Cato's motion?

Because this comprised the same sub-account of Cato's role in the debate on the fate of the arrested Catilinarians on 5 December 63.

comprehenderat. me autem hic laudat quod rettulerim, non quod patefecerim, cohortatus sim, quod denique ante quam consulerem ipse iudicaverim. quae omnia quia Cato laudibus extulerat in caelum perscribendaque censuerat, idcirco in eius sententiam est facta discessio. hic autem se etiam tribuere multum mi putat quod scripserit optimum consulem. quis enim ieiunius dixit inimicus? ad cetera vero tibi quem ad modum rescripsit! tantum rogat de senatus consulto ut corrigas. hoc quidem fecisset etiam si <a lib>rario² admonitus esset. sed haec iterum ipse viderit.

2 Ad hortos, quoniam probas, effice aliquid. rationes meas nosti. si vero etiam a Faberio aliquid recedit, nihil negoti est. sed etiam sine eo posse videor contendere. venales certe sunt Drusi, fortasse et Lamiani et Cassiani. sed coram.

3 De Terentia, non possum commodius scribere quam tu scribis. officium sit nobis antiquissimum. si quid nos fefellerit, illius malo me quam mei paenitere.

4 Oviae Lolli³ curanda sunt HS \bar{c} . negat Eros posse sine me, credo, quod accipienda aliqua sit et danda aestimatio. vellem tibi dixisset. si enim res est ut mihi scribit parata nec in eo ipso mentitur, per te confici potui<t>. id cognoscas et conficias velim.

5 Quod me in forum vocas, eo vocas unde etiam bonis meis rebus fugiebam. quid enim mihi foro sine iudicii,

² *add. Koch*

³ *oviae lolli vel sim. (SB : Oviae C. Lollii Lambinus)*

² On this affair see Commentary in *CLA*.

LETTER 260 (XII.21)

stance in more impressive and ample wording. And then he praises me for bringing the question before the Senate—not for exposing the plot, or for urging them on, or for passing my own judgement before I asked their opinion. It was just because Cato praised all this to the skies and asked for it to be officially recorded that the vote was called on his motion. And then he thinks he is giving me a fine tribute when he calls me 'an excellent Consul.' Why, which of my enemies has spoken fainter? And his answers to your other comments! He merely asks you to make a correction about the decree. He would have done that much if his attention had been drawn to it by a copyist. But again, it's his affair.

Please raise some money for the suburban property, since you approve. You know my finances. But if something comes back from Faberius as well, there's no difficulty. Even without him however I think I can press on with it. Drusus' property is certainly for sale, perhaps Lamia's and Cassius'. But we'll talk about it.

About Terentia I cannot improve on the wording of your letter. Obligation must come first. If I meet with disappointment, I prefer to deplore her conduct rather than my own.

HS 100,000 are to be paid to Lollius' wife Ovia. Eros says it can't be done in my absence, I suppose because some valuation must be accepted and offered.² I wish he had told you, since if the matter is ready for settlement, as he writes, and he is not telling a falsehood on that very point, it could have been dealt with by you. Please look into it and deal with it.

You summon me to the Forum. That is a place I avoided even in my happy days. What is the Forum to me without

CICERO

sine curia, in oculos incurrentibus iis quos animo aequo videre non possum? quod autem a me homines postulare scribis <ut Romae sim neque mihi ut absim concedere> aut <ali>quatenus eos mihi concedere, iam pridem scito esse cum unum te pluris quam omnis illos putem. ne me quidem contemno meoque iudicio multo stare malo quam omnium reliquorum. neque tamen progredior longius quam mihi doctissimi homines concedunt; quorum scripta omnia quaecumque sunt in eam sententiam non legi solum, quod ipsum erat fortis aegroti, accipere medicinam, sed in mea etiam scripta transtuli, quod certe adfficti et fracti animi non fuit. ab his me remediis noli in istam turbam vocare, ne recidam.

261 (XII.22)

Scr. Asturae xv Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Terentia, quod mihi omne onus imponis, non cognosco tuam in me indulgentiam. ista enim sunt ipsa vulnera quae non possum tractare sine maximo gemitu. moderare igitur, quaeso, ut potes. neque enim a te plus quam potes postulo. potes autem quid veri sit perspicere tu unus.
- 2 De Rutilia quoniam videris dubitare, scribes ad me cum scies, sed quam primum, et num Clodia D. Bruto consulari, filio suo, mortuo vixerit. id de Marcello aut certe de Postumia sciri potest, illud autem de M. Cotta aut de Syro aut de Satyro.

¹ See my second thoughts in *American Journal of Ancient History* 7 (1982): 40f. ² Literary slaves of Atticus?

LETTER 261 (XII.22)

the courts and the Senate House, with people crossing my path whom I can't see without discomposure? You say people demand of me that I be present in Rome and are not willing to let me be absent or only allow it up to a certain point. I can assure you that for long enough I have thought more of your single self than of them all. Nor do I despise *myself*; I had much rather stand by my own judgement than by that of all the rest of the world. Still I go no farther than the best philosophical authorities allow me. Not content with reading all their writings to that purpose (which in itself was the behaviour of a brave invalid, to take one's medicine), I have conveyed them into my own, which at any rate was not like a despondent, broken mind. Don't call me away from these remedies back to your city hurly-burly, or I may relapse.

261 (XII.22)

Astura, 18 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

With regard to Terentia, it is not like your usual indulgence towards me to place the whole load on my shoulders. These are just the sore spots I can't handle without crying aloud for pain. So do pray adjust it as best you can. I don't ask you to do more than you are able, which is (and only you can do it) to ascertain what is fair.

Since you seem to be in doubt about Rutilia, you will tell me when you find out (but please as soon as possible), and whether Clodia¹ survived the death of her son, the Consular D. Brutus. That point can be ascertained from Marcellus, or at all events from Postumia, the other from M. Cotta—or from Syrus or Satyrus.²

CICERO

- 3 De hortis etiam atque etiam te rogo. omnibus meis eorumque quos scio mihi non defuturos facultatibus (sed potero meis) enitendum mihi est. sunt etiam quae vendere facile possim. sed ut non vendam eique usuram pendam a quo emero non plus annum, possum adsequi quod volo, si tu me adiuvas. paratissimi sunt Drusi; cupit enim vendere. proximos puto Lamiae; [est] sed abest. tu tamen, si quid potes, odorare. ne Silius quidem quicquam utitur, et is¹ usuris facillime sustentabitur. habe tuum negotium, nec quid res mea familiaris postulet, quam ego non curo, sed quid velim et cur velim existima.

262 (XII.23)

Scr. Asturae XIV Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Putaram te aliquid novi, quod eius modi fuerat initium litterarum, quamvis non curarem quid in Hispania fieret, tamen te scripturum; sed videlicet meis litteris respondisti, ut de foro et de curia. sed domus est, ut ais, forum. quid ipsa domo mihi opus est carenti foro? occidimus, occidimus, Attice, iam pridem nos quidem, sed nunc fatemur, postea quam unum quo tenebamur amisimus. itaque solitudines sequor, et tamen, si qua me res isto adduxerit, enitar, si quo modo potero (potero autem), ut praeter te nemo dolorem meum sentiat, si ullo modo poterit, ne tu quidem. atque etiam illa causa est non veniendi: meministi

¹ et iis *vel* et hi(i)s (*Lipstius* : suis et is *Wesenberg*)

LETTER 262 (XII.23)

About the suburban properties, I repeat my request yet again. This effort must be backed with all my available resources and those of others who I know will not fail me (but I shall manage with my own). Also I have possessions which I can easily sell. But without any sales and with payment of interest to the vendor for no more than one year I can gain my object, if you give me your help. Drusus' place is the most readily available, as he is anxious to sell. Next I put Lamia's, but he is away. But get wind of anything you can. Silius too makes no use of his, and he will be the easiest to hold off with interest payments. Make it your business, and don't consider my purse, which I don't care about, but what I want and why I want it.

262 (XII.23)

Astura, 19 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I thought your letter was going to give me some news, since you began by saying that although I was indifferent to events in Spain you would none the less let me know. But I find you have simply answered mine, as with regard to the Forum and the Senate House. But my house, you say, is the Forum. What do I want with a town house at all if I can't go to the Forum? Atticus, everything is over with me, everything, and has been for long enough, but now I admit it, having lost the one link that held me. So I seek the lonely places; though if anything happens to bring me back to Rome I shall do my utmost, if it lies in my power (and it will), to make my grief imperceptible to everyone but you, and if by any means possible even to you. And there is

CICERO

quid ex te Aledius¹ quaesierit. qui² etiam nunc molesti sunt, quid existimas, si venero?

2 De Terentia ita cura ut scribis, meque hac ad maximas aegritudines accessione non minima³ libera. et ut scias me ita dolere ut non iaceam: quibus consulibus Carneades et ea legatio Romam venerit scriptum est in tuo annali. haec nunc quaero, quae causa fuerit—de Oropo, opinor, sed certum nescio; et, si ita est, quae controversiae. praeterea, qui eo tempore nobilis Epicureus fuerit Athenisque praefuerit hortis, qui etiam Athenis πολιτικοὶ fuerint illustres. quae te etiam ex Apollodori puto posse invenire.

3 De Attica molestum, sed quoniam leviter, recte esse confido. de Gamala dubium non mihi erat. unde enim tam felix Ligus pater? * * *⁴ nam quid de me dicam, cui ut omnia contingant quae volo, levari non possum?

De Drusi hortis, quanti licuisse tu scribis, id ego quoque audieram et, ut opinor, heri ad te scripseram; sed quanti quanti bene emitur quod necesse est. mihi, quoquo modo tu existimas (scio enim ego ipse quid de me existimem), levatio quaedam est, si minus doloris at officii debiti. ad Siccam scripsi, quod utitur L. Cotta. si nihil conficietur de Transtiberinis, habet in Ostiensi Cotta celeberrimo loco sed pusillum loci, ad hanc rem tamen plus etiam quam satis. id velim cogites. nec tamen ista pretia

¹ atedius (s) ² quin (Wesenberg)

³ non maxima (s) ⁴ lacunam ind. SB

¹ Publilia's family. ² A historical work by Atticus.

³ 155. ⁴ This border town was in dispute between Athens and Thebes. ⁵ Probably son of P. Aelius Ligus, Consul in 172, who presumably did *not* die in his father's lifetime.

another reason for not coming; you remember the question Aledius put to you. If they¹ are troublesome even now, what will they be like if I come back?

About Terentia, please look after the matter as you say, and free me from a not insignificant addition to my heavy afflictions. Now to let you see that grieve as I may I am not prostrate with grief—your Annals² give the year³ in which Carneades and that embassy came to Rome. What I now want to know is their business—Oropus⁴ I think it was, but I don't know for certain; and if that is it, what were the points at issue. Furthermore, tell me of a notable Epicurean of the period, head of the Garden at Athens; also who were the leading Athenian politicians of the period. I think you can get the information from Apollodorus' book among others.

I am sorry to hear about Attica, but since it's a slight attack I trust all is well. As to Gamala,⁵ I had no doubt. How otherwise could his father Ligus be reckoned so lucky? * * * I need not speak of my own case, which is past relief even though my every wish were to come true.

I had heard that the price bid for Drusus' property was as you state, and I think I mentioned it in my letter yesterday. But what one can't do without is a bargain at any price. Whatever you think (and I know what I think of myself), this project does in some degree alleviate my feeling of duty and obligation if not my sorrow. I have written to Sicca because he is on friendly terms with L. Cotta. If the properties beyond Tiber prove impracticable, Cotta has something near Ostia in a very well frequented locality, but with very little ground—enough however and more than enough for this purpose. Still don't let these prices of sub-

CICERO

hortorum pertimueris. nec mihi argento iam nec veste opus est nec quibus <quon>dam⁵ amoenis locis; hoc opus est. video etiam a quibus adiuvari possim. sed loquere cum Silio; nihil enim est melius. mandavi etiam Siccae. rescriptum constitutum se cum eo habere. scribet igitur ad me quid egerit, et tu videbis.

263 (XII.24)

Scr. Asturae XIII Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

1 Bene facit †asyllius†¹ qui transegerit. neque enim ei deesse volebam et quid possem timebam. de Ovia, confice, ut scribis. de Cicerone, tempus esse iam videtur; sed quaero, quod illi opus erit Athenis permutarine possit an ipsi ferendum sit, de totaque re quem ad modum et quando placeat velim consideres.

2 Publius iturusne sit in Africam et quando ex Aledio² scire poteris. quaeras et ad me scribas velim. et ut ad meas ineptias redeam, velim me certiolem facias P. Crassus, Venuleiae filius, vivone P. Crasso consulari, patre suo, mortuus sit, ut ego meminisse videor, an postea. item quaero de Regillo, Lepidi filio, rectene meminerim patre vivo mortuum.

⁵ *add. SB* : gaudebam *Castiglioni*

¹ *al. asilius* : A. Silius s, *vulg.* (*sed cum nota interrog. Beaujeu*)

² aiedio (ale- et ate- s)

¹ Consul in 97, father of the 'Triumvir.'

² No doubt son of M. Lepidus, Consul in 78. Like his brother

LETTER 263 (XII.24)

urban estates frighten you off. I don't want plate any more or fabrics or the pleasant places I used to care for; this is what I want. I see too who can help me. But have a word with Silius—there's no better solution. I have given Sicca a commission too, and he replies that he has made an appointment with him. So he will write to me how he gets on and you will see to it.

263 (XII.24)

Astura, 20 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

* has done well to settle. I did not want to fail him and at the same time I was afraid I could not do much for him. About Ovia, please arrange the business, as you promise. About Marcus, the time seems to have come. But I am wondering whether his allowance can be paid in Athens by bill of exchange or whether he must take it with him, and I should be glad if you would give the whole thing your consideration, both as to method and as to timing.

Whether Publilius is going to Africa, and when, you can find out from Aledius. Would you kindly ask and let me know? And to come back to my own foolishness, could you inform me whether P. Crassus, Venuleia's son, died during the lifetime of his father, the Consular P. Crassus,¹ as I seem to recollect, or afterwards? The same question arises about Regillus,² son of Lepidus; am I right in my recollection that he died in his father's lifetime?

Paulus (Consul in 50), he was given the cognomen of a long extinct branch of the gens Aemilia.

CICERO

- 3 Cispiana explicabis itemque Preciana. de Attica optime. et ei salutem dices et Piliae.

264 (XII.25)

Scr. Asturae XII Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Scripsit ad me diligenter Sicca de Silio, seque ad te rem detulisse; quod tu idem scribis. mihi et res et condicio placet, sed ita ut numerato malim quam aestimatione. voluptarias enim possessiones nolet Silius; vectigalibus autem ut his possum esse contentus quae habeo, sic vix minoribus. unde ergo numerato? HS \overline{DC} exprimes ab Hermogene, cum praesertim necesse erit; et domi video esse HS \overline{DC} . reliquae pecuniae vel usuram Silio pendemus, dum a Faberio vel [cum]¹ aliquo qui Faberio debet repraesentabimus. erit etiam aliquid alicunde. sed totam rem tu gubernabis. Dru(s)i(anis) vero hortis multo antepono neque sunt umquam comparati. mihi crede, una me causa movet, in qua scio me *τετυφῶσθαι*. sed, ut facis, obsequere huic errori meo. nam quod scribis *ἔγγήραμα*, actum iam de isto est; alia magis quaero.
- 2

¹ *secl. SB* : ab *Pius*

LETTER 264 (XII.25)

Please sort out the Cispius business and the Precius business³ likewise. Excellent news about Attica! Give her and Pilia my love.

264 (XII.25)

Astura, 21 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Sicca has written to me fully about Silius and says he has put you in the picture, which your letter confirms. Both the purchase itself and the terms suit me, only I should prefer to pay in cash rather than by valuation. Silius will not want luxury properties, and while I can make do with my present revenues I can hardly manage with less. Where then is the cash to come from? Well, you will squeeze HS 600,000 out of Hermogenes,¹ especially as the money will be needed; and I see I have HS 600,000 in hand. For the remainder we mustn't mind paying interest to Silius until we pay cash with what comes from Faberius or some debtor of Faberius.' And there will be the odd windfall. But you will handle the whole affair. I certainly put the property far above Drusus'; they have never been regarded as comparable. Believe me I have only one motive, and I know that I am *entêté* over it. But indulge this aberration of mine, as you are doing. As to your talk of a retreat *pour ma vieillesse*, that's all over and done with. I have other objects in mind.

³ Nothing is known for certain about these items.

¹ A debtor, probably the Clodius Hermogenes of Letter 332 and the Clodius of Letter 270.1.

CICERO

265 (XII.26)

Scr. Asturae XI Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Sicca, ut scribit, etiam si nihil confecerit cum Silio,¹ tamen se scribit x Kal. esse venturum. tuis occupationibus ignosco, eaeque mihi sunt notae. de voluntate tua ut simul
- 2 simus, vel studio potius et cupiditate, non dubito. de Nicia quod scribis, si ita me haberem ut eius humanitate frui possem, in primis vellem mecum illum habere. sed mihi solitudo et recessus provincia est. quod quia facile ferebat Sicca eo magis illum desidero. praeterea nosti Niciae nostri imbecillitatem, mollitiam, consuetudinem victus. cur ego illi molestus esse velim, cum mihi ille iucundus esse non possit? voluntas tamen eius mihi grata est. unam rem ad me scripsisti de qua decrevi nihil tibi rescribere. spero enim me a te impetrasse ut privares me ista molestia. Piliae et Atticae salutem.

266 (XII.27)

Scr. Asturae x Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Siliano negotio, etsi mihi non est ignota condicio, tamen hodie me ex Sicca arbitror omnia cogniturum. Cottae quod negas te nosse, ultra Silianam villam est, quam

¹ agidio (SB : A. Silio *Victorius*, *vulg. olim*)

LETTER 266 (XII.27)

265 (XII.26)

Astura, 22 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

According to Sicca's letter, even if he comes to no arrangement with Silius, he writes that he will come over on the 23rd all the same. I accept your plea of business and I know how busy you are. Of your desire for us to be together, or rather your eagerness and anxiety, I have no doubt. With regard to what you say about Nicias, if I were in any state to enjoy his agreeable society, there are few people I should so much like to have with me. But solitude and retirement are my concern. I miss Sicca the more because he did not mind this. Besides you know how delicate and easily upset our friend Nicias is, and how wedded to his regime. Why should I wish to give him trouble when he can give me no pleasure? But I am grateful for his kind thought. There is one thing in your letter which I have made up my mind not to answer, hoping that you have granted my request to rid me of this particular bother.¹ My love to Pilia and Attica.

266 (XII.27)

Astura, 23 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

About the Silius business, the terms are not unknown to me but I expect to learn everything from Sicca today. You say you don't know Cotta's place. It lies beyond Silius'

¹ Concerning Terentia's dowry.

CICERO

puto tibi notam esse, villula sordida et valde pusilla, nil agri, ad nullam rem loci satis nisi¹ ad eam quam quaero. sequor celebritatem. sed si perficitur de hortis Sili, hoc est, si perficis (est enim totum positum in te), nihil est scilicet quod de Cotta cogitemus.

- 2 De Cicerone, ut scribis ita faciam; ipsi permittam de tempore. nummorum quantum opus erit ut permutetur tu videbis. ex Aledio quod scribas² si quid inveneris, scribes. et ego ex tuis animadverto litteris et profecto tu ex meis nihil habere nos quod scribamus; eadem cottidie, quae iam iamque ipsa contrita sunt. tamen facere non possum quin cottidie ad te mittam ut tuas accipiam. de Bruto tamen, si quid habebis. sciri³ enim iam puto ubi Pansam exspectet.
- 3 si, ut consuetudo est, in prima provincia, circiter Kalendas adfuturus videtur. vellem tardius; valde enim urbem fugio multas ob causas. itaque id ipsum dubito an excusationem aliquam ad illum⁴ parem; quod quidem <v>ideo facile esse. sed habemus satis temporis ad cogitandum. Piliae et Atticae salutem.

267 (XII.28)

Scr. Asturae IX Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 De Silio nilo plura cognovi ex praesente Sicca quam ex litteris eius; scripserat enim diligenter. si igitur tu illum

¹ nihil (*Wesenberg*) ² scribis (*Wesenberg*)

³ scire (*Baiter*) ⁴ silium (*Victorius*)

¹ The property which Cicero wanted to buy (*contra* Beaujeu; see *Gnomon* 56 [1984]: 371).

LETTER 267 (XII.28)

house,¹ which I think you do know—a mean little house, quite diminutive, no land, not enough space for any purpose except mine. It is the position in the public way that attracts me. But if a bargain is struck about Silius' property, that is if you strike one (the whole thing depends on you), there is of course no need for us to think about Cotta.

I shall do as you suggest about Marcus, leaving the time to his own choice. Please see that a bill of exchange is drawn for the sum needed. If you get any information from Aledius worth passing on, please do so. I see from your letters as you no doubt see from mine that we have nothing to say; the same topics every day, and *they* are just about threadbare. Still I can't resist sending you a daily letter so as to get your replies. However tell me about Brutus, if you have any news. I imagine his *rendezvous* with Pansa is known by now. If, as is customary, it is on the border of the province, he should be here around the Kalends. I would rather it was later, as I have a strong aversion to Rome for many reasons. Indeed I am just wondering whether to prepare some excuse to him, which would clearly be quite easy. But there's time enough to think about that. Love to Pilia and Attica.

267 (XII.28)

Astura, 24 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As to Silius I learned no more from Sicca in person than from his letters—he had sent a full statement. So if you

CICERO

conveneris, scribes ad me si quid videbitur. de quo putas ad me missum esse, sit missum necne nescio; dictum quidem mihi certe nihil est. tu igitur, ut coepisti; et si quid ita conficies, quod quidem non arbitror fieri posse, ut illi probetur, Ciceronem, si tibi placebit, adhibebis. eius aliquid interest videri illius causa voluisse, mea quidem nihil nisi quod tu scis, quod ego magni aestimo.

2 Quod <me ad> meam consuetudinem revocas, fuit meum quidem iam pridem rem publicam lugere, quod faciebam, sed mitius;¹ erat enim ubi acquiescerem. nunc plane non ego victum nec vitam illam colere possum, nec in ea re quid <aliis>² videatur mihi puto curandum; mea mihi conscientia pluris est quam omnium sermo. quod me ipse per litteras consolatus sum, non paenitet me quantum profecerim. maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui nec, si possem, vellem.

3 De <T>riario, bene interpretaris voluntatem meam. tu vero nihil nisi ut illi volent. amo illum mortuum, tutor sum liberis, totam domum diligo. de Castriciano negotio, si Castricius pro mancipiis pecuniam accipere volet eamque ei solvi ut nunc solvitur, certe nihil est commodius. sin autem ita³ actum est ut ipsa mancipia abduceret, non mihi videtur esse aequum (rogas enim me ut tibi scribam quid mihi videatur; nolo enim negoti Quintum fratrem quicquam habere); quod videor mihi intellexisse tibi videri idem.

¹ intus (*Bostius*)

² *add. s* (cui *coni. SB*)

³ *id coni. SB*

¹ Terentia's affair.

² I.e., the moral obligation; see Letter 257.4.

³ On this obscure matter see Commentary in *CLA*.

LETTER 267 (XII.28)

meet Silius, you'll write and tell me anything you think worth while. On the subject¹ concerning which you think a message has been sent to me, whether such a message has been sent or not I don't know; certainly nothing has been *said* to me. So please carry on as you have begun, and if you fix up something that meets with her approval (which I don't think feasible), take Marcus along if you see fit. He has an interest in showing a desire to please her, I have none except what you know,² a point to which I attach great importance.

You tell me to go back to my old ways. For a long time it has been my part to mourn our liberties and I did so, but less intensely because I had a source of comfort. Now I simply cannot follow that way of life, and on this matter I do not feel obliged to pay any attention to other people's opinions. My own conscience counts for more with me than all the world's talk. As to my literary consolation of myself, I am not dissatisfied with what it achieved. I reduced the outward show of grief; grief itself I could not reduce, and would not if I could.

With regard to Triarius, you interpret my wishes correctly. Yes, do nothing that is not in accord with their wishes. I feel an affection for the dead, am guardian to his children, and have a regard for the whole family. About the Castrician business,³ if Castricius is willing to take money for the slaves and to have it paid to him as it is being paid at present, nothing certainly could be more convenient. But if the object was to take the slaves themselves away, that does not seem equitable to me, since you ask me to tell you my opinion—don't think I want my brother to have any trouble. I rather gathered that yours was the same.

CICERO

Publius, si aequinoctium expectat, ut scribis Aledium⁴ dicere, navigaturus videtur. mihi autem dixerat per Siciliam. utrum et quando velim scire. et velim aliquando, cum erit tuum commodum, Lentulum puerum visas eique de mancipiis quae tibi videbitur attribuas. Piliae <et> Atticae salutem.

268 (XII.29)

Scr. Asturae VIII Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Silius, ut scribis, hodie. cras igitur eum vel potius cum poteris; scribes, si quid erit, cum videris. nec ego Brutum vito nec tamen ab eo levationem ullam exspecto; sed erant causae cur hoc tempore istic esse nollem. quae si manebunt, quaerenda erit excusatio ad Brutum; et, ut nunc est, mansurae videntur.
- 2 De hortis, quaeso, explica. caput illud est quod scis. sequitur ut etiam mihi ipsi quiddam opus sit; nec enim esse in turba possum nec a vobis abesse. huic meo consilio nihil reperio isto loco aptius. et de hac re quid tui consili sit: mihi persuasum est, et eo magis quod idem tibi intellexi videri, me ab Oppio et Balbo valde diligere. <quid>¹ si cum iis communices quanto opere et qua re velim hortos, sed

⁴ atedium (*Lambinus*)

¹ *add. SB*

LETTER 268 (XII.29)

If Publilius is waiting for the equinox, as you tell me Aledius says, it looks as though he means to go by sea. He told me he would be going through Sicily. I should like to know which, and when. Also I should be grateful if you would visit little Lentulus at your convenience and assign him such of the slaves as you think proper. Love to Pilia and Attica.

268 (XII.29)

Astura, 25 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Silius, you say, arrives today. So you will be seeing him tomorrow, or rather when you can, and you'll write if anything comes of it. I am not keeping out of Brutus' way, though I don't expect any alleviation from him either; but there were reasons why I did not want to be in Rome at present. If they remain in force, I shall have to think of some excuse to make to Brutus. And by the present look of things they probably will.

About the property question, do pray find a solution. The principal consideration is the one you know of. There is the further point that I do need something myself, since I can't bear to live in the crowd nor yet to be away from you all. For this plan of mine I find nothing more suitable than the place we have in mind. And please give me your advice about the following: I am persuaded, all the more because I have gathered that you are of the same opinion, that Oppius and Balbus think a lot of me. Supposing you were to take them into our confidence about how badly I want a place near Rome, and why, and then explain that

CICERO

id ita posse, si expediatur illud Faberianum; sintne igitur auctores futuri? si qua etiam iactura facienda sit in repraesentando, quoad possunt adduci<to>;² totum enim illud desperatum. denique intelleges ecquid inclinent ad hoc meum consilium adiuvandum. si quid erit, magnum est adiumentum; si minus, quacumque ratione contendamus. vel tu³ illud ἐγγήραμα, quem ad modum scripsisti, vel ἐντάφιον putato. de illo Ostiensi nihil est cogitandum. si hoc non adsequimur (a Lamia non puto posse), Damasippi experiendum est.

269 (XII.33)

Scr. Asturae VII Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ego, ut heri ad te scripsi, si et Silius is fuerit quem tu putas nec Drusus facilem se praebuerit, Damasippum velim adgrediare. is, opinor, ita partis fecit in ripa nescio quotenorum iugerum ut certa pretia constitueret; quae mihi nota non sunt. scribes ad me igitur quicquid egeris.
- 2 Vehementer me sollicitat Atticae nostrae valetudo, ut verear etiam ne quae culpa sit. sed et paedagogi probitas et medici adsiduitas et tota domus in omni genere diligens me rursus id suspicari vetat. cura igitur; plura enim non possum.

² *add Schütz*

³ *vetus (Schütz)*

LETTER 269 (XII.33)

this is possible only if that Faberius matter is cleared up, and ask them whether they will give their support? If furthermore some discount for ready money is unavoidable, get them to agree to the best figure you can—the whole lot is past praying for. At all events you will see whether they are disposed to forward my plan. If anything comes of it, it will be a great help; if not, let us push on any way we can. Call it a retreat *pour ma vieillesse*, as you did in your letter, or a *linceul*, as you please. We must not think about that place near Ostia. If we don't get this one (I don't think there's anything doing with Lamia), we must try Damasippus'.

269 (XII.33)

Astura, 26 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

As I wrote to you yesterday, if Silius turns out as you expect and Drusus shows himself unaccommodating, I should like you to have a go at Damasippus. I think he has divided his property on the river into parcels of so many acres at fixed prices, but what the prices are I don't know. So please send me word of whatever you do.

I am extremely concerned about dear Attica's health, even to the extent of wondering whether there may have been some negligence. But the good character of her tutor, the doctor's assiduity, and the general conscientiousness of the whole household make me dismiss the suspicion. So take care of her. I can't say more.

CICERO

270 (XII.30)

Scr. Asturae VI Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Quaero quid ad te scribam, sed nihil est: eadem cottidie. quod Lentulum invisis valde gratum. pueros attribue ei quot et quos videbitur. de Sili voluntate vendendi et de eo quanti, tu vereri videris, primum ne nolit, deinde ne tanti. Sicca aliter; sed tibi adsentior. qua re, ut ei placuit, scripsi ad Egnatium. quod Salas¹ te cum Clodio loqui vult, potes id mea voluntate facere commodiusque est quam quod ille
- 2 a me petit, me ipsum scribere ad Clodium. de Mancipiiis Castricianis commodissimum esse credo transigere Egnatium, quod scribis te ita futurum putare. cum Ovia, quaeso, vide ut conficiatur. quoniam, ut scribis, nox erat, in hodierna epistula plura exspecto.

271 (XII.32)

Scr. Asturae V Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Haec ad te mea manu. vide, quaeso, quid agendum sit. Publilia ad me scripsit matrem suam cum Publilio <locutam et ut mecum>¹ loqueretur ad me cum illo venturam et se una, si ego paterer. orat multis et supplicibus verbis ut liceat et ut sibi rescribam. res quam molesta sit vides. re-

¹ *vix sanum* : Silius s, vulg. ¹ *add. SB*¹ In touch with Drusus ('Brutus' in *CLA* note is an error); cf. Letter 272.2-3.² Probably corrupt, but the vulgate *Silius* from inferior manuscripts is an unlikely conjecture.

LETTER 271 (XII.32)

270 (XII.30)

Astura, 27 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I try to think of something to write to you, but there is nothing. The same topics every day. I am very much obliged to you for visiting Lentulus. Give him such servants and as many of them as you think right. As regards Silius' willingness to sell and the matter of price, you seem to be afraid (*a*) that he won't sell and (*b*) that he will want more than our figure. Sicca thinks otherwise, but I agree with you. Accordingly I have written to Egnatius,¹ as he advised. As Salas (?)² wants you to have a talk with Clodius, you can do so with my blessing, in fact that is more convenient than what he asks of me, i.e. that I should write to Clodius myself. About Castricius' slaves I believe the most convenient thing will be for Egnatius to settle it, as you say you think will happen. Pray see that an arrangement is made with Ovia. Since you say you wrote at night I expect more in today's letter.

271 (XII.32)

Astura, 28 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I write this in my own hand. Pray see what is to be done. Publilia wrote to me that her mother had talked to Publilius and would come over with him for a talk with me, and that she would accompany them if I would allow it. She begs me beseechingly and at some length to permit this and to send her a reply. You see what a tiresome business

CICERO

scripsi me etiam gravius esse adfectum quam tum cum illi dixissem me solum esse velle; qua re nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire. putabam si nihil rescripsissem illam cum matre venturam; nunc non puto. apparebat enim illas litteras non esse ipsius. illud autem quod fore video ipsum volo vitare ne illi ad me veniant, et una est vitatio ut ego <evolem>.² nollem, sed necesse est. te hoc nunc rogo ut explores ad quam diem hic ita possim esse ut ne opprimar. ages, ut scribis, temperate.

- 2 Ciceroni velim hoc proponas, ita tamen si tibi non iniquum videbitur, ut sumptus huius peregrinationis, quibus, si Romae esset domumque conductorer, quod facere cogitabat, facile contentus futurus erat, accommodet ad mercedes Argileti et Aventini; et cum ei³ proposueris, ipse velim reliqua moderere, quem ad modum ex iis mercedibus suppeditemus ei quod opus sit. praestabo nec Bibulum nec Acidinum nec Messallam, quos Athenis futuros audio, maiores sumptus facturos quam quod ex eis mercedibus recipietur. itaque velim videas primum conductores qui sint et quanti, deinde ut sint qui ad diem solvant, et quid viatici, quid instrumenti satis sit. iumento certe Athenis nihil opus sit. quibus autem in via⁴ utatur domi sunt plura quam opus erit, quod etiam tu animadvertis.

² *add. SB (av- Madvig)*

³ *cum id ei con. SB*

⁴ *villa vel i- (Pius)*

LETTER 271 (XII.32)

this is. I wrote back that I was in an even poorer way than when I told her I wanted to be alone, so I should prefer her not to come at present. I thought that if I did not reply at all she would come with her mama. Now I don't think she will, as the letter was obviously not her own composition. But I also want to avoid what clearly *is* impending, a visit from the other two;¹ and the only way to avoid it is to make myself scarce. A nuisance, but it has to be. Now I want you to find out just how long I can stay here without getting caught. You'll go about it, to use your own word, gently.

Would you please propose to Marcus, that is if you think it not unreasonable, that he should balance his expenses abroad with my rents from the Argiletum and the Aventine, which would easily have been enough to content him if he had taken a house in Rome, as he had in mind; and having made that proposal, would you please yourself make all necessary arrangements as to how we are to supply him with the money he needs from these rents. I'll guarantee that Bibulus or Acidinus or Messalla,² who I hear are going to be in Athens, will not spend more than the proceeds of these rents. So would you kindly see who are the tenants and what they pay, and further that they are the kind of people to pay punctually, and what should be allowed in the way of travel expenses and outfit. There would certainly be no need for a pack animal in Athens, while for his use on the journey there are more in my stables than will be needed, as you too observe.

¹ Publilia's mother and her brother (?) Publilius.

² All three were young men of noble family.

CICERO

272 (XII.31)

Scr. Asturae IV Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Silium mutasse sententiam Sicca mirabatur. equidem magis miror quod, cum in filium causam conferret, quae mihi non iniusta videtur (habet enim qualem vult), ais te putare, si addiderimus aliud, a quo refugit¹ cum ab ipso id fuerit
- 2 destinatum, venditurum. quaeris a me quod summum pretium constituam et quantum anteire istos hortos Drusi. accessi numquam; Coponianam villam et veterem <et> non magnam novi, silvam nobilem, fructum autem neutrius, quod tamen puto nos scire oportere. sed mihi utrivis istorum tempore magis meo quam ratione aestimandi sunt. possim autem adsequi necne tu velim cogites. si enim Fab<e>rianum venderem, explicare vel repraesentatione non dubitarem de Silianis, si modo adduceretur ut venderet. si venalis non haberet, transirem ad Drusum vel tanti quanti Egnatius illum velle tibi dixit. magno etiam adiumento nobis Hermogenes potest esse in repraesentando. at tu concede mihi, quaeso, ut eo animo sim quo is debeat esse qui emere cupiat; et tamen ita servio cupiditati et dolori meo ut a te regi velim.
- 3 Egnatius mihi scripsit. is si quid tecum locutus erit (commodissime enim per eum agi potest) ad me scribes,

¹ refugiat (SB)

¹ Doubtless P. Silius Nerva, Consul in 29.

² Clearly the Siliana villa of Letter 266.1. Coponius was a Pompeian whose confiscated property will have been bought by Silius.

LETTER 272 (XII.31)

272 (XII.31)

Astura, 29 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Sicca was surprised to hear of Silius' change of mind. For my part it surprises me more that, since he gave his son¹ as a reason (not a bad one, as it seems to me, considering what a satisfactory son he has), you say you think he *will* sell if we throw in an extra item, one which he turned down after having himself previously agreed to take it. You ask me what limit I fix, and how much higher I rate this property than that of Drusus. I have never visited it. I know that the villa Coponiana² is old and not large and that there is a fine plantation, but I don't know what either brings in; though I suppose we ought to know. But both these places are to be valued in terms of my present need rather than by any ordinary reckoning. Whether I can get them or not is for you to consider. If I discounted the Faberius claim I should not hesitate to settle for Silius' place even on a cash down basis, provided he could be induced to sell. If he refused, I'd turn to Drusus even at the price which Egnatius told you he is asking. Hermogenes³ too can be of great help to us in making cash payment. But do pray allow me to take the attitude of an eager buyer. And yet, yield as I may to my eagerness and my grief, I still want to be guided by you.⁴

I have had a letter from Egnatius. If he says anything to you (it is easiest to negotiate through him) please write to me. I think this ought to be followed up, as I don't see

³ See Letter 264, note 1. ⁴ The following paragraph was evidently added after receipt of Egnatius' reply.

CICERO

et id agendum puto. nam cum Silio non video confici posse.
Piliae et Atticae salutem.

273 (XII.34)

Scr. Asturae III Kal. Apr. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Ego hic vel sine Sicca (Tironi enim melius est) facillime possem esse, ut in malis, sed, cum scribas videndum mihi esse ne opprimar, ex quo intellegam te certum diem illius profectionis non habere, putavi esse commodius me istuc venire; quod idem video tibi placere. cras igitur in Siccae suburbano. inde, quem ad modum suades, puto me in
- 2 Ficulensi fore. quibus de rebus ad me scripsisti, quoniam ipse venio, coram videbimus. tuam quidem et <in> agendis nostris rebus et in consiliis ineundis mihiq̄ue dandis <et>¹ in ipsis litteris quas mittis benevolentiam, diligentiam, prudentiam mirifice diligo.
- 3 Tu tamen si quid cum Silio, vel <il>lo ipso die quo ad
(35.1) Siccam venturus ero, certio rem me velim facias, et maxime cuius loci detractionem fieri velit. quod enim scribis 'extremi', vide ne is ipse locus sit cuius causa de tota re, ut scis, est a nobis cogitatum. Hirti epistulam tibi misi et recentem et benevole scriptam.

¹ *add. Reid*

LETTER 273 (XII.34)

any prospect of doing business with Silius. My love to Pilia and Attica.

273 (XII.34)

Astura, 30 March 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I could stay here very comfortably (relatively speaking) even without Sicca now that Tiro is better, but since you write that I had better take care not to get caught, leaving me to understand that you cannot put a definite date to that expedition I wrote of, I have thought best to come your way. You too are evidently in favour of my doing so. So I shall spend tomorrow night at Sicca's place near Rome. After that, I think I shall stay at Ficulea,¹ as you recommend. The points in your letter can be discussed between us since I am coming in person. I cannot tell you how much I appreciate your kindness, care, and discretion in handling my affairs and in framing and giving me your advice and in the actual letters you send me.

None the less, please inform me, even on the day I shall be arriving at Sicca's, if you have any contact with Silius, in particular which piece of ground he wants to take out. You say 'on the perimeter'; are you sure it isn't the very piece which, as you know, put the whole idea into my mind? I enclose a kindly expressed letter from Hirtius of recent date.

¹ In Atticus' villa between Ficulea and Nomentum, sometimes called Nomentanum.

CICERO

274 (XII.35)

*Scr. Asturam ex praedio Attici iter faciens VI Non. Mai., ut
vid., an. 45*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Ante quam a te proxime discessi, numquam mihi venit in mentem, quo plus insumptum in monumentum esset quam nescio quid quod lege conceditur, tantundem populo dandum esse. quod non magno opere moveret, nisi nescio quo modo, ἀλόγως fortasse, nollem illud ullo nomine nisi fani appellari. quod si volumus, vereor ne adsequi non possimus nisi mutato loco. hoc quale sit, quaeso, considera. nam etsi minus urgeor meque ipse prope modum collegi, tamen indigeo tui consili. itaque te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo, magis quam a me vis aut pateris te rogari, ut hanc cogitationem toto pectore amplectare.

275 (XII.36)

Scr. Asturae v Non. Mai. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Fanum fieri volo, neque hoc mihi <dis>suaderi¹ potest. sepulcri similitudinem effugere non tam propter poenam legis studeo quam ut maxime adsequar ἀποδέωσιν. quod poteram, si in ipsa villa facerem; sed, ut saepe locuti sumus, commutationes dominorum reformido. in agro ubicumque fecero, mihi videor adsequi posse ut posteritas habeat religionem. hae meae tibi ineptiae (fateor enim) ferendae

¹ suaderi vel eri vel erui (*Lambinus*)

LETTER 275 (XII.36)

274 (XII.35)

En route from Ficulea to Astura 2 May (P) 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Before I left your house a little while ago it never occurred to me that a fine has to be paid on a monument¹ equal to the excess of the expenditure over the legal maximum, whatever that is. This would not matter to me much were it not that somehow, perhaps unreasonably, I should not wish what I put up to be called by any other name except a shrine. If that is what we want, I am afraid we cannot get it without changing the locality. Pray think the question over. It is true that the pressure is relaxed and I am almost my own man again, but still I need your advice. So once again I ask you earnestly, more so than you wish or tolerate in a request from me to you, to give your whole mind to this question.

275 (XII.36)

Astura, 3 May 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I want it to be a shrine and from that there's no budging me. I am anxious to avoid the appearance of a tomb, not so much because of the fine as in order to achieve apotheosis, as far as may be. That I could do if I built within the actual precincts of the house, but, as we have often said, I am afraid of changes of ownership. On open land, wherever I put it up, I think I can make sure that its sanctity is respected by posterity. You must bear with this foolishness

¹ I.e. tomb.

CICERO

sunt; nam habeo ne me quidem ipsum quicum tam audacter communicem quam te. sin tibi res, si locus, si institutum placet, lege, quaeso, legem mihi que eam mitte. si quid in mentem veniet quo modo eam effugere possimus, utemur.

- 2 Ad Brutum si quid scribes, nisi alienum putabis, obiurgato eum quod in Cumano esse noluerit propter eam causam quam tibi dixi. cogitanti enim mihi nihil tam videtur potuisse facere rustice. et si tibi placebit sic agere de fano ut coepimus, velim cohortere et exacuas Cluatium. nam etiam si alio loco placebit, illius nobis opera consilioque utendum puto. tu ad villam fortasse cras.

276 (XII.37)

Scr. Asturae IV Non. Mai. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 A te heri duas epistulas accepi, alteram pridie datam Hilaro, alteram eodem die [a] tabellario, accepique ab Aegypta liberto eodem die Piliam et Atticam plane belle se habere; quae litterae mihi redditae sunt tertio de Cum<an>o¹ die. quod mihi Bruti litteras, gratum. ad me quoque misit. eam ipsam ad te epistulam misi et ad eam exemplum mearum litterarum.
- 2 De fano, si nihil mihi hortorum invenis, <qui> quidem tibi inveniendi sunt si me tanti facis quanti certe facis,

¹ decimo (*Schiche*)

LETTER 276 (XII.37)

of mine (yes, I admit it), for there's no one, not even myself, to whom I can talk so unrestrainedly as to you. But if you approve of the project, the locality,¹ and the building plan, pray read the statute and send me a copy. If any way of getting round it occurs to us, we'll make use of it.

If you are writing to Brutus and don't think it out of place, scold him for declining to stay in my house at Cumae for the reason I told you. As I think of it his behaviour seems to me the acme of *gaucherie*. And if you think we ought to carry on as we have begun as to the shrine, please encourage and stimulate Cluatius. Even if we decide in favour of a different locality I think we ought to make use of his services and advice. Perhaps you will be leaving for your country house tomorrow.

276 (XII.37)

Astura, 4 May 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I received two letters from you yesterday, one dispatched the day before by Hilarus, the other by courier on the same day, and I also heard yesterday by my freedman Aegyptia that Pilia and Attica are doing very nicely—the letter arrived on the third day from Cumae. Thank you for sending me Brutus' letter. He wrote to me also. I am sending the letter itself to you and a copy of my answer.

As to the shrine, if you fail to find me anything in the way of a suburban property (but you *should* find one, if you are as fond of me as you assuredly are), I highly approve of

¹ Cicero now had in mind the Scapula estate in the Campus Vaticanus, first mentioned in the next letter.

CICERO

valde probo rationem tuam de Tusculano. quamvis prudens ad cogitandum sis, sicut es, tamen, nisi magnae curae tibi esset ut ego consequerer id quod magno opere vellem, numquam ea res tibi tam belle in mentem venire potuisset. sed nescio quo pacto celebritatem requiro; itaque hortos mihi conficias necesse est. maxima est in Scapulae celebritas, propinquitas praeterea urbis,² ne totum diem in villa. qua re ante quam discedis, Othonem, si Romae est, convenias pervelim. si nihil erit, etsi tu meam stultitiam consuesti ferre, eo tamen progrediar ut stomachere. Drusus enim certe vendere vult. si ergo aliud <de>erit,³ non mea erit culpa [ni]si⁴ emerit. qua in re ne labar, quaeso, provide. providendi autem una ratio est si quid de Scapulanis possumus. et velim me certiozem facias quam diu in suburbano sis futurus.

- 3 Apud Terentiam <tam>⁵ gratia opus est nobis tua quam auctoritate. sed facies ut videbitur. scio enim si quid mea intersit tibi maiori curae solere esse quam mihi.

277 (XII.37a)

Scr. Asturae III Non. Mai. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

Hirtius ad me scripsit Sex. Pompeium Corduba exisse et fugisse in Hispaniam citeriorem, Gnaeum fugisse nescio quo; neque enim curo. nihil praeterea novi. litteras Nar-

² ubi sis (*F. Schmidt*) ³ *add. SB* ⁴ nisi (*SB*)
⁵ *add. Boot* (non tam *coni. SB*)

¹ The Scapula property in the Campus Vaticanus was much closer to the city than the *horti* of Silius or Drusus.

LETTER 277 (XII.37a)

your suggestion about Tusculum. However resourceful you may be (and are), this idea could not have occurred to you so pat unless you had been really anxious for me to attain my heart's wish. But somehow I want it to be in the public way; so you *must* get me a place in the suburbs. Scapula's is very much in the public way, and furthermore has the advantage of being close to town so that one would not have to spend the whole day in a country house.¹ So before you leave I should be very grateful if you would have a meeting with Otho if he is in Rome. If nothing comes of it, I shall go to lengths which will make you angry, used though you are to bearing with my folly. Drusus certainly wants to sell. So if no alternative is available it won't be my fault if I buy. Pray don't let me make a fool of myself over it. And the only way you can prevent that is if we can manage something as to the Scapula estate. And I should be glad if you would let me know how long you are going to be at your place near Rome.

I need your influence with Terentia as a friend no less than as an adviser. But you will do as you think best. I know that you are wont to care more for anything that concerns me than I do myself.

277 (XII.37a)

Astura, 5 May 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Hirtius writes to me that Sex. Pompeius has left Corduba and fled into Hither Spain and that Gnaeus has fled I don't know where; for that matter I don't care. No other news.

CICERO

bone dedit XIII Kal. Mai. tu mihi de Canini naufragio quasi dubia misisti. scribes¹ igitur si quid erit certius. quod me a maestitia <a>vocas,² multum levaris si locum fano dederis. multa mihi εἰς ἀποθέωσιν in mentem veniunt, sed loco valde opus est. qua re etiam <atque etiam>³ Ot-honem vide.

278 (XII.38)

Scr. Asturæ prid. Non. Mai. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Non dubito quin occupatissimus fueris qui ad me nihil litterarum; sed homo nequam, qui tuum commodum non exspectarit, cum ob eam unam causam missus esset. nunc quidem, nisi quid te tenuit, suspicor te esse in suburbano. at ego hic scribendo dies totos nihil equidem levor, sed tamen aberro.
- 2 Asinius Pollio ad me scripsit de impuro nostro cognato. quod Balbus minor nuper satis plane, Dolabella obscure, hic apertissime. ferrem graviter si novae aegrimoniae locus esset. sed tamen ecquid impurius? o hominem cavendum! quamquam mihi quidem—sed tenendus dolor est. tu, quoniam necesse nihil est, sic scribes aliquid si vacabis.

¹ scribis *vel*-bas (Orelli)

² *add. Victorious*

³ *add. Koch*

LETTER 278 (XII.38)

He dispatched the letter from Narbo on 18 April. You send me the report of Caninius' shipwreck as though it were doubtful. Let me know if anything more definite comes in. You urge me not to abandon myself to grief; you will bring much relief if you give me a site for the shrine. I have many ideas for deification, but *must* have a site. So again, please see Otho.

278 (XII.38)

Astura, 6 May 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

No doubt you have been very busy, since you haven't sent me a line. But the fellow was a rascal not to wait for your convenience when he had been sent for that sole purpose. Now, unless something has detained you, I fancy you are in your place out of town. As for me here, I write all day long, which brings no comfort but still it gives me something else to think of.

Asinius Pollio has written to me¹ about our blackguard of a nephew. He puts in the plainest possible language what Balbus junior recently intimated with sufficient clarity and Dolabella hinted at. I should be upset, if there were any room in my heart for a new vexation. All the same, could anything be more blackguardly? A fellow to beware of! Though to me—but I must not let myself go. Send me a line, but only if you have the time, since there's no necessity.

¹ From Spain.

CICERO

279 (XII.38a)

Scr. Asturae Non. Mai. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Quod putas oportere pervideri iam animi mei firmitatem graviusque quosdam scribis de me loqui quam aut te scribere aut Brutum, si qui me fractum esse animo et debilitatum putant sciant quid litterarum et cuius generis conficiam, credo, si modo homines sint, existiment me, sive ita levatus sim ut animum vacuum ad res difficilis scribendas adferam, reprehendum non esse, sive hanc aberrationem a dolore delegerim quae maxime liberalis sit doctoque homine dignissima, laudari me etiam oportere. sed cum ego faciam omnia quae facere possim ad me adiuvandum, tu effice id quod video te non minus quam me laborare. hoc mihi debere videor neque levari posse nisi solvero aut videro me posse solvere, id est locum qualem volo invenero. heredes Scapulae si istos hortos, ut scribis tibi Othonem dixisse, partibus quattuor factis liceri cogitant, nihil est scilicet emptori loci; sin venibunt, quid fieri possit videbimus. nam ille locus Publicianus qui est Treboni et Cusini erat ad me adlatus. sed scis aream esse. nullo pacto probo. Clodiae sane placent, sed non puto esse venalis. de Drusi hortis, quamvis ab iis abhorreas, ut scribis, tamen eo confugiam nisi quid inveneris. aedificatio me non
- 2

¹ Cicero was working on his *Academic Questions*.

LETTER 279 (XII.38a)

279 (XII.38a)

Astura, 7 May 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

You say you think it time that my strength of mind should be made clearly apparent, and that certain people are talking about me in more censorious terms than either you or Brutus use in your letters. Well, if those who think me broken-spirited or enfeebled only knew the amount and the character of my literary output, I believe that in common decency they would either spare their criticisms or even admit that I deserve some praise; for they would have to allow either that I have so far recovered as to bring an untrammelled mind to writing on these difficult subjects¹ or else that I have chosen the most elevated means of distraction from my sorrow and the most fitting for a man of culture. But since I am doing all I can do to help myself, it is for you to bring about the object of our joint and equal concern, as I see it to be. I feel that this is a debt I owe, and that I cannot find relief until I have paid it or see myself in a position to do so, i.e. until I find the sort of site I want. If Scapula's heirs propose to divide the property into four portions and auction it among themselves, as you write that Otho has told you, there is obviously no place for a buyer; but if it is put up for sale, we shall see what can be done. That piece of land of Publicius', now belonging to Trebonius and Cusinius, had been brought to my notice. But you know it is just a bare site. It won't do at all. Clodia's place would be admirable, but I don't think it's for sale. Although you say you are strongly averse from Drusus' property, that's what I shall come to in the last resort if you don't find something else. The building doesn't

CICERO

movet. nihil enim aliud aedificabo nisi id quod etiam si illos non habuero.

*Kûpos β'*¹ mihi sic placuit ut cetera Antisthenis, hominis acuti magis quam eruditi.

280 (XII.39)

Scr. Asturae VIII Id. Mai. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Tabellarius ad me cum sine litteris tuis venisset, existimavi tibi eam causam non scribendi fuisse quod pridie scripsisses ea ipsa ad quae rescripsi hac epistula. expectaram tamen aliquid de litteris Asini Pollionis. sed nimium ex meo otio tuum specto.¹ quamquam tibi remitto, nisi quid necesse erit, nec<esse>² ne habeas scribere, nisi eris valde otiosus.
- 2 De tabellariis facerem quod suades, si essent ullae necessariae litterae, ut erant olim, cum tamen brevioribus diebus cottidie respondebant tempori tabellarii. at³ erat aliquid, Silius, Drusus, alia quaedam. nunc, nisi Otho extitisset, quid scriberemus non erat; <et id>⁴ ipsum dilatum est. tamen adlevor cum loquor tecum absens, multo etiam magis cum tuas litteras lego. sed quoniam et abes (sic enim arbitror) et scribendi necessitas nulla est, conquiescent litterae nisi quid novi exstiterit.

¹ KYPCAC vel κύρβας (SB : Kûpos Beaujeu)

¹ otium exspecto (Manutius)

² add. Victortus

³ et (SB)

⁴ add. SB (id s)

LETTER 280 (XII.39)

worry me, as it is only what I shall be doing in any case, even if I don't get this property.

'Cyrus' II² impressed me like Antisthenes' other work—he has more intelligence than learning.

280 (XII.39)

Astura, 8 May 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

When the courier arrived without any letter from you I concluded that your reason for not writing was that you had written the letter which I am now answering the day before. I had however expected something about Asinius Pollio's letter—but I am too much inclined to judge of your leisure by my own. However, I give you leave not to feel you have to write unless in fact you have to—or unless you are really disengaged.

As to the couriers, I should do what you suggest if there were any necessary letters, as there used to be when even though the days were shorter the couriers used to keep to time every day. But then we had business in hand—Silius, Drusus, etc. Now we should have nothing to write about if Otho had not cropped up; and even that has been put off. Still it is a comfort to talk to you in absence, and a much greater one to read your letters. But since you are away (or so I suppose) and there is no necessity to write, our correspondence shall lapse unless something fresh crops up.

² The second of two dialogues entitled 'Cyrus'; it was also entitled 'On Kingship.' Cicero needed it for a projected 'Letter of Advice' to Caesar (cf. Letter 281.2).

CICERO

281 (XII.40)

Scr. Asturae VII Id. Mai. an. 45

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Qualis futura sit Caesaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam perspexi ex eo libro quem Hirtius ad me misit; in quo colligit vitia Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis. itaque misi librum ad Muscam ut tuis librariis daret. volo enim eum divulgari, quoque facilius fiat imperabis tuis.
- 2 Συμβουλευτικὸν saepe conor. nihil reperio, et quidem mecum habeo et Ἀριστοτέλους et Θεοπόμπου πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον. sed quid simile? illi et quae ipsis honesta essent scribebant et grata Alexandro. ecquid tu eius modi reperis? mihi quidem nihil in mentem venit.

Quod scribis te vereri ne et gratia et auctoritas nostra hoc meo maerore minuatur, ego quid homines aut reprehendant aut postulent nescio. ne doleam? qui potest? ne iaceam? quis umquam minus? dum tua me domus levabat, quis a me exclusus? quis venit qui offenderet? Asturam sum a te profectus. legere isti laeti qui me reprehendunt tam multa non possunt quam ego scripsi. quam bene, nihil ad rem; sed genus scribendi id fuit quod nemo abiecto animo facere posset. triginta dies in horto¹ fui. quis aut congressum meum aut facilitatem sermonis desideravit? nunc ipsum ea lego, ea scribo ut hi qui mecum sunt difficilius otium ferant quam ego laborem. si quis requirit cur

- 3

¹ (h)ortis *codd. superstites*

¹ Caesar wrote an 'Anti-Cato.'

² To Caesar.

³ Atticus' villa.

LETTER 281 (XII.40)

281 (XII.40)

Astura, 9 May 45

CICERO TO ATTICUS

From the pamphlet which Hirtius has sent me I perceive what Caesar's denunciation¹ in answer to my eulogy is going to be like. Hirtius makes a collection of Cato's faults, but sings my praises loudly at the same time. So I have sent the piece to Musca for him to give your clerks. I want it to have a wide circulation, and to facilitate that please give instructions to your people.

I make repeated attempts at a 'Letter of Advice.'² I can think of nothing, though I have Aristotle's and Theopompus' Letters to Alexander beside me. But where is the similarity? What *they* wrote was calculated both to do credit to the writers and to please Alexander. Can you think of anything analogous? *I* can't.

You say you are afraid my popularity and prestige may suffer by my present mourning. I don't know what people find to criticize or what they expect. Do they want me to stop grieving? How can I? Or not to be prostrate with grief? Was anyone ever less so? While I had the comfort of staying in your house in Rome, whom did I keep out? What visitor had cause to complain? From there I went to Astura. These happy folk who take me to task cannot read as many pages as I have written—how well is immaterial; but the kind of composition was such as nobody sunk in dejection could have managed. I spent a month at the 'homestead.'³ Did anyone complain that I refused to meet him or to converse with him easily? At this very time I am reading and writing; and my companions find it harder to do nothing than I to work. If anyone wants to know why I

Romae non sim: quia discessus est; cur non sim in iis meis praediolis quae sunt huius temporis: quia frequentiam illam non facile ferrem. ibi sum igitur ubi is qui optimas Baias habebat quotannis hoc tempus consumere solebat. cum Romam venero, nec vultu nec oratione reprehendar. hilaritatem illam qua hanc tristitiam temporum condiebamus in perpetuum amisi, constantia et firmitas nec animi nec orationis requiretur.

- 4 De hortis Scapul^{an}is hoc videtur effici posse, aliud tua gratia, aliud nostra, ut praeconi subiciantur. id nisi fit, excludemur. sin ad tabulam venimus, vincemus facultates Othonis nostra cupiditate. nam quod ad me de Lentulo scribis, non est in eo. Faberiana modo res certa sit tuque enitare, quod facis, quod volumus consequemur.
- 5 Quod quaeris quam diu hic: paucos dies, sed certum non habeo. simul ac constituero, ad te scribam, et tu ad me quam diu in suburbano sis futurus. quo die ego ad te haec misi de Pilia et Attica mihi quoque eadem quae scribis et scribuntur et nuntiantur.

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am not in Rome, the answer is that it is the vacation. If they ask why I don't stay in those of my little properties which would be seasonable just now, it is because I would find the crowds disagreeable. So I stay where the owner of a fine property at Baiae⁴ used regularly to pass this time of year. When I come back to Rome neither my looks nor my words will give any occasion for censure. The gaiety with which I used to season the sadness of these times of ours is gone for ever, but resolution and fortitude in mind and word will not be wanting.

About the Scapula property, it seems possible what with your influence and mine to get it put up for auction. Otherwise I shall be shut out. But if I get into the sale room my eagerness will win against Otho's purse. As to what you say about Lentulus,⁵ it doesn't lie with him. If only we make sure of the Faberius business and you do your best, as you are doing, we shall get what we want.

You ask how long I shall be here. A few days, but I have nothing definitely fixed. As soon as I have made up my mind I shall write to you, and please write to me how long you are going to be out of town. The day I send you this I have received news both by letter and by word of mouth about Pilia and Attica to the same effect as in your letter.

⁴ Who this was is unknown.

⁵ Lentulus Spinther the Younger was married to Metella. According to my hypothesis, her mother Clodia ('Ox Eyes,' wife of Metellus Celer) was the owner of an estate which Cicero wanted to buy; see next letter.