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The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Dublin, 1904

Part III - letters written during his exile, epp. 56-89

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PART III.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO: LETTERS WRITTEN
DURING HIS EXILE.

EPP. 56-89.

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|----------------------|---------|
| A. U. C., | 696-697 |
| B. C., | 58-57 |
| AET. CIC., | 48-49 |



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PART III.

THE Letters of Cicero's exile begin in April, 696 (58), and end in August, 697 (57). The first is a letter written to Atticus on Cicero's journey to the estate of his friend Sicca, near Vibo, in Bruttium. The enactment forbidding him to live within 500 miles of Italy forced him to leave Vibo. He would have preferred to spend his exile in Athens; but Autronius and other Catilinarian conspirators were there, and he feared their hostility. Athens was also rendered ineligible by the fact that there was some doubt whether it was not less than 500 miles from Italy. This consideration, however, cannot have had much weight with him, for he spent a considerable part of his exile at Thessalonica, which is not so far as Athens from Italy. He was at Thessalonica from June 1 to the beginning of November. He was invited by Atticus to stay at his house at Buthrotum; but he rejected the offer, feeling (among other motives) that the associations of the place would be too painful in the absence of Atticus. It was through the kindness of his friend Plancius, whom he afterwards defended so well, that he was enabled to live in security in Thessalonica. Cicero went to Dyrrachium in the end of November, 696 (58), so that he might be nearer to Italy, and might avoid meeting Piso, who was appointed governor of Macedonia. Cicero appears to have apprehended molestation from him and his soldiery. He left Dyrrachium on the 4th of August, 697 (57), on the day on which the bill for his recall had passed the *comitia centuriata* (1, 4), arriving at Brundisium on the next day. There he was met by Tullia. It happened to be Tullia's birthday (*ibid.*). On

the 8th he heard of the success of the bill for his restoration; and at once set out for Rome, where he arrived on September 4, 697 (57). Cicero's letters from exile are full of complaints about the perfidy of Hortensius and Pompey and the supineness of Atticus; and indeed all his friends do not seem to have stood very staunchly by him (Dio Cass. xxxviii. 17, 6). Again and again he declares that he should never have left Rome, as he did, before he was assailed by name; but should have appealed to force against Clodius, in which case, he says, *aut occubuissem honeste, aut victores hodie viveremus*, 73, 4. His leaving Rome he calls *turpissimum consilium*, and, somewhat weakly, upbraids Atticus and his other friends for not dissuading him from such a step. Dio Cassius tells us that Cicero actually endeavoured to raise the mob, but was dissuaded by Cato and Hortensius, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ὄπλα ἄρασθαι . . . κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ Κάτωνος καὶ τοῦ Ὀρτησίου, μὴ καὶ ἐμφύλιος ἐκ τούτου πόλεμος γένηται, τότε δὴ καὶ ἄκων μετὰ τε αἰσχύνῃς καὶ μετὰ κακοδοξίας, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνειδότης ἐθελοντῆς πεφευγῶς, μετέστη (xxxviii. 17, 4). But the whole tone of this extract shows the *animus* of Dio Cassius against Cicero. There is no evidence that Cicero ever seriously sought to appeal to violence before his banishment; though during his absence he often says that it would have been better to have lost his life in opposing Clodius than to languish in exile. His boast in the *Orat. pro Sest.*, § 45, that he was deterred by patriotism from resisting Clodius by arms, *me propter salutem meorum civium, quae mihi semper fuit mea carior vita, dimicationem caedemque fugisse*, must be looked on as an afterthought; for the whole tenor of his letters in exile shows equally clearly that he never contemplated an appeal to force before his exile; and that after his exile he never ceased to regret that he had not made such an appeal. Indeed, a passage in 83, 5, when rightly understood, seems to show that he suggested, to bring about his restoration, the use of that violence which he might have used to avert his exile; the

multitudo comparata there spoken of is probably the band of bravoës with which Milo did such good service, when *μονομάχους τινὰς . . . ἀθροίσας ἐς χεῖρας τῷ Κλωδίῳ συνεχῶς ἦει, καὶ σφαγαὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐγίγνοντο* (Dio Cass. xxxix. 8, 1). But there can be little doubt that, if he had really sought to raise the mob in his behalf and to bring to the city his numerous supporters among the rural populations, he would have found less difficulty in averting his banishment than he afterwards found in effecting his restoration. This he saw clearly when too late, as may be gathered from two letters to Terentia, 82, 2 *intellego quanto fuerit facilius manere domi quam redire*; and 84, 2 *elicere nos magnum fuit, excludere facile est*. Next to his *turpissimum consilium* in leaving Rome, he regrets his want of resolution in not having at once destroyed himself when he saw that his exile was an accomplished fact; and he hints that, if the attempts made in the beginning of 697 (57) should fail, no course will remain for him but to take his own life.

Plutarch (Cic. 32) speaks with grave censure of Cicero's faint-heartedness during his exile as unworthy of a man so well educated and cultured. He says *ἀθυμῶν καὶ περιλυπὸς διῆγε τὰ πολλά, πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες, ἀφορῶν καὶ τῷ φρονήματι μικρὸς ἄγαν καὶ ταπεινὸς ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς γεγρονὼς καὶ συνεσταλμένος, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τις ἄνδρα παιδείᾳ συμβεβιωκότα τοσαύτη προσεδόκησε*.

We meet a remarkable statement in 63, 3 *ego et saepius ad te et plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnis partis mentis, tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset*; and we do find in the letters from exile a carelessness and inaccuracy of expression which contrast strongly with the style of his happier days. See *Introd.* II., § 2.

Of the letters in exile, twenty-seven are addressed to Atticus, two to his brother Quintus, four to Terentia and the other members of his family at Rome, and one to the consul Metellus Nepos,

begging him to forget their former misunderstanding and to aid in his restoration. The period of Cicero's exile is (as might be expected) destitute of literary and oratorical remains.

Atticus left Rome in the end of 696 (58), and did not return till the beginning of 698 (56), when he married Pilia, February 5th, 698 (56), at the age of 53. Of this marriage the only issue was a daughter, born 703 (51), who was married to M. Agrippa. Their daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, was the wife of Tiberius before he was Emperor.

LETTERS OF THE ELEVENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S
CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 56-86.

A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

COSS. L. CALPURNIUS PISO, A. GABINIUS.

CLODIUS, after carrying several measures framed to win the support of the various classes at Rome, and having secured the assistance of the consuls by agreeing to assign Syria to Gabinius and Macedonia to Piso, brought in a bill that *qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset ei aqua et igni interdiceretur*. Cicero afterwards saw that his proper course would have been to ignore this bill, or even to support it, for it had in it many elements of popularity. He appealed to Pompey for advice. The triumvirs were all unwilling to oppose Clodius; for his great influence as a tribune might have been exerted to impede their legislation of the preceding year. Caesar, at a meeting held by Clodius outside the walls, condemned Cicero's illegal conduct in executing the conspirators, but deprecated the punishment with which Clodius threatened Cicero for the illegality (Dio Cass. xxxviii. 17, 2). Pompey replied *se contra armatum tribunum pl. sine consilio publico decertare nolle, consulibus ex senatus consulto rem publicam defendentibus se arma sumpturum* (Pis. 77); cp. Sest. 41. This ungenerous reply—or perhaps another reply of Pompey, recorded in Att. x. 4, 3 (382) *se nihil contra Caesaris voluntatem facere posse*—in addition to his adopting every kind of device so as to avoid an interview with Cicero, alarmed Cicero so much that he left Rome at the end of March. On the very day on which Cicero left Rome, Clodius brought in his second bill directed against Cicero expressly. It was brought before the *comitia tributa*, and ran *velitis iubeatis ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit*. On its passing, his villas at Tusculum and Formiae and his house on the Palatine were destroyed, and the site of his house was dedicated to Liberty.

For his movements during his exile, see *Introd. to Part III.*; and for a discussion on the laws concerned with Cicero's banishment, and his movements until he left Italy, see *Addenda to the Commentary Note vi.*

Shortly after the departure of Cicero, ill-feeling broke out between Clodius and Pompey. Clodius had connived at the escape of an Eastern prince, Tigranes, who was a hostage at Rome, and, further, proposed measures which assailed some of Pompey's arrangements in the East. Gabinius and Clodius came into actual conflict. The friends of Cicero took heart; and on the 1st of June, 696 (58), L. Ninnius Quadratus brought before the Senate a bill for his recall, which was unanimously accepted by the Senate, but was vetoed by the tribune Aelius Ligus. The Senate, according to Plutarch (*Cic. 33*), resolved to ratify nothing and to do no public business until Cicero was restored. Quintus Cicero, on his return from Asia about this time, appears to have been enthusiastically received by the optimates (*Cic. Sest. 68*). Pompey regarded with favour the measures taken for Cicero's recall, and spoke of the introduction of a bill after the elections; and appears to have written to Caesar on the subject (*Ep. 76, 1*). The elections turned out unfavourably for Clodius; and in August he actually planned an attack on Pompey's life. This was detected; and in consequence the power of Clodius was virtually broken. Sestius and Fadius, who had been quaestors in the year of Cicero's consulship, prepared bills; and Sestius went to Caesar in North Italy to solicit his consent for Cicero's recall (*Cic. Sest. 71*). Again, on October 29, eight of the tribunes brought in a bill with a similar aim, which Cicero severely criticises in *Ep. 83*. In *Ep. 85*, Cicero bitterly regrets the blunder made by his friends in Rome, in allowing the estimates for the provinces to be passed before the new tribunes came into office. He feared that this step would alienate the new tribunes, eight of whom were favourable to his cause. This apprehension, however, proved groundless (see *Ep. 85, notes*). At the end of this year Atticus left Rome. He had, towards the close of the year, been adopted, and left heir to a large fortune by the will of his uncle, Q. Caecilius, who died at this time.

One of the new tribunes, C. Messius, proposed himself (*separatim*) a bill for the recall of Cicero (*Post red. in Sen. 21*); and later in December eight of the new tribunes conjointly brought in a bill of the same tenor; and, as the issue of the debates on these measures, some kind of a decree of the Senate favourable to Cicero was passed (*cp. Ep. 87*).

56. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 3).

BETWEEN SOME VILLA (PERHAPS ARPINUM) AND NARES LUCANAE;
BEFORE APRIL 8; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se Vibonem iter suum convertisse et vehementissime Attici eo adventum exspectare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Utinam illum diem videam, cum tibi agam gratias, quod me vivere coëgisti! Adhuc equidem valde me paenitet. Sed te oro ut ad me Vibonem statim venias, quo ego multis de causis converti iter meum. Sed eo si veneris, de toto itinere ac fuga mea consilium capere potero. Si id non feceris, mirabor, sed confido te esse facturum.

For a discussion on the dates of Epp. 56-61, see Addenda to the Commentary, Note vi. The order of time in which these letters were written is 59, 56, 57, 60, 58, 61.

[*Adhuc equidem*] In reading *equidem*, with all the mss (see Adn. Crit.), I follow Hofmann, who points out that again in Att. xiii. 26, 1 (591) the Med. gives *equidem id erit primum* (though C gives *et quidem*); again, in the same letter, § 2, we have *equidem credibile non est quantum scribam*, where it is very harsh to join *equidem* with *scribam*. But the most important argument in favour of *equidem* is not mentioned by its defenders. It is the usage of the comic stage, between which and the letters we have already found so many parallels. Ritschl has in vain endeavoured to expunge it from Plautus. Ussing, on Amph. 757, mentions at least five places where *equidem* with the third person is right. He adds a list of the other passages in which *equidem* is found with 2nd or 3rd pers. sing., or with the plural: viz., Sall. Cat. 52, 11, 16; 58, 4; Varro, R. R. i. 5, 1; Liv. v. 51, 4; and in poetry, Verg. Aen. x. 29; Prop. ii. 31, 5; Pers. v. 45;

Lucan viii. 824. So that Priscian seems to have been right when he said, 'potest *equidem* et ad primam et ad secundam et ad tertiam transferri personam'; and Bentley was misled by an erroneous theory that *equidem* was compounded of *ego* and *quidem*, when he said that *equidem* was never used but with the first person before the time of Nero. [But the trifling nature of the change, and the fact that in some cases—e.g. Att. viii. 14, 2 fin. (349), xi. 15, 2 fin. (430)—*equidem* of M can hardly be right, justify the alteration to *quidem* here.—L. C. P.]

[*Vibonem*] A town in Bruttii called Hippo by the Greeks, but Vibo after its colonization by the Romans; now Monte Leone.

[*multis de causis*] The chief reason was his intention to cross from hence to Sicily, as appears from Plane. 95.

[*Sed*] Wesenberg (Em. Alt., p. 95) alters to *scilicet*; but, as Lehmann (Quaest. p. 75) points out, there is an opposition between the sentences, 'I have already decided, and for good reasons, to go to Vibo: but if you come there, we shall be able to discuss my whole journey.'

57. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 2).

NARES LUCANAE; APRIL 8; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se in fundo Siccae prope Nares Lucanas versari et Attici adventum expectare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Itineris nostri causa fuit, quod non habebam locum ubi pro meo iure diutius esse possem quam in fundo Siccae, praesertim nondum rogatione correctata, et simul intellegebam ex eo loco, si te haberem, posse me Brundisium referre, sine te autem non esse nobis illas partis tenendas propter Autronium. Nunc, ut ad te antea scripsi, si ad nos veneris, consilium totius rei capiemus. Iter esse molestum scio, sed tota calamitas omnis molestias habet. Plura scribere non possum, ita sum animo perculso et abiecto. Cura ut valeas. Data VI. Id. Apr. Narib. Luc.

pro meo iure] 'independent,' 'unmolested.

nondum rogatione correctata] 'since the bill is not yet finally amended.' Clodius having passed the law interdicting from fire and water anyone who should have compassed the death of Roman citizens uncondemned, afterwards carried a law in the *comitia tributa* banishing Cicero by name (Sest. 65). This bill had to be posted for three market-days before it passed; in the meantime it could be amended. The nature of the amendment seems to have been the fixing of a limit of distance beyond which Cicero might live unmolested. We see from the next letter that the bill was actually amended. Plutarch (Cic. 32, 1) tells us that this limit of distance from Italy beyond which Cicero was to live was 500 miles. Dio Cass. (xxxviii. 17, 7) gives the distance as 3750 stadia from Rome. If $7\frac{1}{2}$ stadia be reckoned to the mile, that gives exactly 500 miles. See Addenda to the Commentary, Note vi.

si te haberem] sc. *meum*: cp. Att. xiii. 9, 1 (623) *cum haberem Dolabellam*.

illas partis] 'those districts': cp. Fam. xii. 7, 2 (823) *omnes quae in istis partibus essent opes*; and Mur. 89 *ad Orientis partis*.

Autronium] P. Autronius Paetus, one of the Catilinarian conspirators, who would naturally seek to injure Cicero.

tota calamitas] Wesenberg corrects *tota* to *tanta*; but it seems to us that *tota* of the mss is very much better. It is most pertinent to say, 'there is no part of this miserable business that is not full of annoyances,' one of which is the necessity of being troublesome to one's friends.

Narib. Luc.] Between the rivers Silarus and Crataeis is a piece of land called *Nares Lucanae*. *Naris Luc.* is the reading of M. The town on this piece of land is now called Monte Nero. Sall. Hist. 3 (Frag. 301), p. 263, ed. Kritz.

Drum. V. 631

58. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 4).

LEAVING VIBO; APRIL 13 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se a Vibone discessisse et Brundisium contendere, quo ut veniat Atticum hortatur.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Miseriae nostrae potius velim quam inconstantiae tribuas quod a Vibone, quo te arcessebamus, subito discessimus. Adlata est enim nobis rogatio de pernicie mea, in qua quod correctum esse audieramus erat eius modi ut mihi ultra quingenta milia liceret esse. Illo cum pervenire mihi non liceret, statim iter Brundisium versus contuli ante diem rogationis, ne et Sicca, apud quem eram, periret et quod Melitae esse non licebat. Nunc tu propera ut nos consequare, si modo recipiemur. Adhuc invitamur benigne. Sed quod superest timemus. Me, mi Pomponi, valde paenitet vivere: qua in re apud me tu plurimum valuisti. Sed haec coram. Fac modo ut venias.

inconstantiae] 'fickleness,' 'changeableness.'

quingenta] So we read with Boot (Obs. Crit., pp. 45, 46) for *quadringenta*. See Addenda to Commentary, Note vi.

Illo] What is the meaning of *illo*? It means, says Boot (Obs. Crit. 46), 'in Siciliam quae rogatione Clodii erat excepta ut tradit Dio l. c. καὶ ἡ ἐν Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴ ἀπερρήθη.' Mr. Clement Smith thinks it strange that Cicero should not have mentioned that Vergilius refused to allow him to enter his province, and conjectures (p. 83) that a clause has dropped out before *illo*, something of this nature, <simul litterae a Vergilio nostro quibus significabat se nolle me in Sicilia esse>. *Illo cum pervenire non liceret*, &c. But M² and s are the only mss which give *illo cum*. The others read *illoc*, *illuc*, or *illec*. The forms *illoc* or *illuc* are not Ciceronian; but we find *istoc* three times in Caelius, Fam. viii. 4, 1; 8, 10; 9, 4; so perhaps, if we refuse to adopt *illo*, the less elegant form may be tolerated in a letter of

Cicero's, composed hurriedly, when he was in distress of mind. Then *illoc* or *illuc* will mean 'to Epirus': cp. 57 *sine te autem non esse nobis illas partis tenendas propter Autronium* (cp. 63, 1). If that view is rejected, we would suggest for *illoc* something like *alio quo*. If *illo* be taken, with Manutius, to mean 'the limit of distance prescribed by the bill,' we must, with Boot, insert *navi* before *pervenire*, comparing *Plan. 96 nam maritimos cursus praecludebat hiemis magnitudo*, 'it being impossible to go to the required distance by sea on account of the stormy weather.' Perhaps for *pervenire* should be read *per ventum ire*.

ne et Sicca] *Et ne Sicca* would be the more natural order, but cp. 61, where *et ut in Epiro* stands for *ut et*. The natural order of these particles seems to have been sometimes departed from, perhaps through carelessness.

periret] So Dio Cass. xxxviii. 17, 7 καὶ προσεπεκνήρυχθη ἰν' εἰ δὴ ποτε ἐντὸς αὐτῶν φανείη, καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ὄπο- δεξάμενοι αὐτὸν ἀνατὶ διόλωνται.

quadringenta
cp. 57

59. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 1).

SOME VILLA (PERHAPS ARPINUM); ^{also von Nr. 56-58} END OF MARCH; A. U. C. 696;
B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero rogatione P. Clodii lecta Italia profugit et Epirum petens ut se consequatur Atticum hac epistula vehementer rogat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Cum antea maxime nostra interesse arbitrabar te esse nobiscum, tum vero, ut legi rogationem, intellexi ad iter id quod constitui nihil mihi optatius cadere posse quam ut tu me quam primum consequerere, ut, cum ex Italia profecti essemus, sive per Epirum iter esset faciendum, tuo tuorumque praesidio uteremur, sive aliud quid agendum esset, certum consilium de tua sententia capere possemus. Quam ob rem te oro des operam ut me statim consequare, quod eo facilius potes quoniam de provincia Macedonia perlata lex est. Pluribus verbis tecum agerem, nisi pro me apud te res ipsa loqueretur.

of April-6

also Piso
sic fin
57 bekam

60. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 5).

THURII; APRIL 10; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit sibi gratum esse, quod Terentia Attico gratias egerit, se in summa miseria sibi constare et amorem ab Attico exspectare et ipsum praestare.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Terentia tibi et saepe et maximas agit gratias. Id est mihi gratissimum. Ego vivo miserrimus et maximo dolore conficior.

de provincia Macedonia perlata lex] Atticus had business transactions in Macedonia, so it would be for his interest to be in Rome at the appointment of the governor of Macedonia, to bespeak his good offices. The bill had just passed assigning Macedonia to Piso, so Atticus

was free to leave Rome.

vivo] another echo of the comic drama, where *vivere* often nearly stands for *esse*, in phrases like *ecquis me vivit fortunatior*, Ter. Eun. 1031, and in Plautus *passim*.

Ad te quid scribam nescio. Si enim es Romae, iam me adsequi non potes: sin es in via, cum eris me adsecutus, coram agemus quae erunt agenda. Tantum te oro ut, quoniam me ipsum semper amasti, ut eodem amore sis. Ego enim idem sum: inimici mei mea mihi, non me ipsum ademerunt. Cura ut valeas. Data III Id. Apr. Thuri.

61. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 6).

NEAR TARENTUM; APRIL 17; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

Dolet M. Cicero Atticum ad se nondum venisse, sibi iter esse in Asiam, maxime Cyzicum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Non fuerat mihi dubium quin te Tarenti aut Brundisi visurus

ut, quoniam . . . ut] So the mss. This repetition of *ut*, common when several words intervene, is seldom found after such a short parenthesis as this. But we must not desert M needlessly; and Hofmann adduces a parallel from Liv. xxii. 11, 4 *edicto proposito ut quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent ut ii commigrarent in loca tuta*. So also, but with a somewhat longer parenthesis, in 30, 38. See many more examples in Dr. Reid's note to Acad. ii. 139.

me ipsum] 'since you have loved me for myself' (not for my position, &c.).

Thuri] The mss have *Thuri* or *Thurii*, which Hofmann defends as the genitive of the old form *Thurium* (cp. Mela ii. 4, 68). So M has *Brundisi*, 63, *fin.*, and *Dyrrachii*, 81, *fin.*, which are rashly changed by Klotz to *Brundusio*, *Dyrrachio*; for though the address of the writer is usually put in the ablative, yet sometimes the genitive (or more properly speaking, the locative) is used. *Thessalonicae* is given by the Med. six times in the next few letters, i. e. in last words of 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 78. It is very bold of Klotz to correct all these passages. There is no absolute uniformity of practice as to the address of Cicero's letters. In Att. xvi. 10, *fin.* (801) we have in *Sinuessano*; in Att. v. 3 (186) a *Pontio ex Trebulano*; in 61

de Tarentino. Klotz again rashly corrects *Thessalonicae* in 66, *fin.*, and gives *Placentia* for *Placentiae* in Q. Fr. ii. 13 (15a), 1 (141). Dr. Reid, however, in a most learned discussion on the subject (*Hermathena*, xii. 275-7, No. xxix. 1903), seems to regard the locative in such cases as doubtful. He says, "Of locatives the mss give us *thuri*, *turri*, *Thurii* in Att. iii. 5 (60), *Brundisi* in iii. 7 (63), *Dyrrachi* in iii. 22 (81), *Pergae* in Fam. xii. 14 (883) and 15 (891); while there are seven letters in which *Thessalonicae* occurs, six in Att. iii., and one in Q. Fr. i. 3 (66) (written about the same time). It is not a little curious that the locatives in letters written by Cicero himself all occur in epistles despatched during his exile; while Fam. xii. 14 (883) and 15 (891) are not his. It cannot be said that these locatives are above suspicion. The letters which contain *Thessalonicae* needed no note of origin, and the word may have been attached by copyists. If so, there only remain *Thurii* and *Brundisi* and *Dyrrachi*, for which I should not hesitate to write *Thuriis* and *Brundisio* [cp. 62 *fin.*] and *Dyrrachio*."

Nissen proposes to read *Eburi* for *Thuri*, as *Eburum* is a town not far from Nares Lucanae; but see Addenda to Commentary, Note vi.

essem idque ad multa pertinuit: in eis et ut in Epiro consistere-
mus et de reliquis rebus tuo consilio uteremur. Quoniam id non
contigit, erit hoc quoque in magno numero nostrorum malorum.
Nobis iter est in Asiam, maxime Cyzicum. Tibi meos commendo.
Me vix misereque sustento. Data XIII Kal. Maias de Tarentino.

62. TO HIS FAMILY, IN ROME (FAM. XIV. 4.) *Boeck. 16*

BRUNDISIUM; APRIL 29; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Tullius uxori Terentiae scribit se Brundisio per Macedoniam Cyzicum proficisci
et sollicitum esse de ipsa et liberis: de servis manu mittendis, de doloris sui solacio, de
libertorum fide.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS.

1. Ego minus saepe do ad vos litteras quam possum, propterea
quod cum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera tum vero, cum aut
scribo ad vos aut vestras lego, conficior lacrimis sic ut ferre non
possim. Quod utinam minus vitae cupidi fuisset! certe nihil
aut non multum in vita mali vidissemus. Quod si nos ad aliquam
alicuius commodi aliquando recipiendi spem fortuna reservavit,
minus est erratum a nobis: si haec mala fixa sunt, ego vero te

ad multa pertinuit] 'was important to me for many reasons,' 'had many bearings on my case.' There is a difference between *pertinuit* and *pertinebat*. The latter would mean that when Cicero wrote the letter it was important; *pertinuit* means that at the time when Cicero felt certain that he would meet Atticus, it was highly important for his interests that that meeting should take place; but now he has learned that such a meeting is impossible. It was inattention to the modification which the tenses undergo in letter-writing that induced some copyist to suggest *pertinuisset* in the margin for *pertinuit*. For *ad multa* compare *ad multa quadrare*, 'to fall in with my plans in many respects,' Att. iv. 19, 2 (158).

in eis et ut] 'among other things, it affected my being able to make a stay in Epirus'; *et ut* for *ut et*: see note on *ne et Sicca*, 58.

1. *Ego*] 'Yes, I did send'; the *ego* points to the fact that the clause in which it stands is an answer to a question. Terentia must have asked him why he wrote so seldom, and here we have the answer. *Vero* is generally added, but not always. Frey compares *Ego vero, Servi, vellem ut scribis*, Fam. iv. 6, 1 (574); *ego vero Quinto epistulam ad sororem misi*, Att. xiii. 41, 1 (661); *de Q. fratre nihil ego te accusavi*, 82, 4; *quod de domo scribis . . . ego vero*, 79, 3: so 79, 4 *ego ad quos scribam nescio* is an answer to a suggestion of Terentia that he should approach his friends by letter.

Quod utinam] 'Would that I had not clung so to life. I should then have seen no sorrow, or at least but little, in my life.' Cicero often regrets that he had not destroyed himself, e.g. in 56. This use of *quod* is the connective use, as in *quod si*.

quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre et in tuo complexu emori, quando neque di quos tu castissime coluisti neque homines quibus ego semper servivi nobis gratiam rettulerunt. 2. Nos Brundisi apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies XIII fuimus, virum optimum, qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit neque legis improbissimae poena deductus est quo minus hospiti et amicitiae ius officiumque praestaret. Huic utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus! habebimus quidem semper. 3. Brundisio profecti sumus a. d. II Kalendas Maias: per Macedoniam Cyzicum petebamus. O me perditum! o ad afflictum!

si] 'if my present bitter fate is unalterably fixed.' Some edd. would read *sin*; but the opposition is not strong enough to require such a change.

neque di neque homines] Cicero often betrays how lightly he wears his religious beliefs; here, for instance, he shows much of the spirit of the modern Parisian: his business was with men; his wife's department was religion. See I², § 1. The *di* are probably here the *Lares*, whose service was largely performed by the women of the household.

2. *M. Laenium Flaccum*] In Att. v. 21, 10 (250), vi. 1, 6 (252), we meet a M. Laenius Flaccus, to whom Cicero, when governor of Cilicia, refused an appointment as praefect, on the ground that he carried on a banking business in the province. But this can hardly be the same man (though identified by Klotz in his Index, and Orelli in his *Onomasticon Tullianum*), for he is invariably mentioned as *Laenius tuus*, as the friend of Atticus, not of Cicero. Now, we must arraign Cicero of great forgetfulness of past favours, if we suppose the Laenius of whom he speaks so coldly afterwards to have been the man of whose kindness he here says he will ever have a grateful recollection. Cicero speaks again most warmly of this Laenius in Fam. xiii. 63 (251), Plane. 97, and Sest. 131. [It seems unlikely that there should be two men in the East in 704 (50) called M. Laenius who made requests of Cicero; and the M. Laenius, recommended to Silius in 251, 1, is certainly Cicero's friend. That he was a friend of Cicero does not preclude his having been a still closer friend of Atticus; and Cicero would hardly have taken such credit to himself for refusing a post to a friend of his own as he would for refusing it to friends of

Atticus or Pompey. To a man of Cicero's temperament, the latter kind of refusal would be the more difficult; hence, in 250, 10, he accentuates the fact that Laenius was a friend of Atticus.—L. C. P.] *periculum fortunarum et capitis*] cp. 58 *ne et Sicca periret*.

prae] 'in comparison with.' II and F read *pro*; but this is not a Ciceronian usage, though found in Vatinius, Fam. v. 9, 1 (639).

3. *profecti sumus*] = *proficiscor*, 'I am setting out,' and *petebamus* = *petiturus sum*. Both are epistolary tenses, and look forward to the time when Terentia will read this letter; so in Att. viii. 3, 7 (333), *reverti Formias*, though he had not yet left Caes, but would have returned to Formiae before Atticus received the letter. So *mihi*, in Att. iv. 2, 5 (92), means 'I send herewith'; in Att. v. 15, 3 (207) *faciebam* = *facturus sum*; in v. 17, 1 (209) *habebam* = *habiturus sum*, and in vii. 23, 2 (321) *remittebam* = *remissurus sum*.

II *Kalendas*] So Rutilius. This is a rare form for *pridie*, but occasionally found: cp. C. I. L. I², 902, 979, and Att. ix. 8, 1 (363). Cicero says explicitly that he arrived at Brundisium on xiv Kal. Maias (63, 1), and remained there thirteen days (§ 2 above): so that *ii* is the most probable correction for *v* of the mss. It has been argued that we should retain *v* of the mss and alter *xiii* above to *x*; for Plutarch (Cic. 32, 2) says that Cicero attempted to pass over to Dyrachium with a fair wind; but, as it began to blow against him when he was out at sea, he came back the day after, and again set sail on some subsequent day. But it is much more likely that *v* is a mistake for *ii* than that *x* was altered to *xiii*; and it is inconceivable that, if Cicero had been compelled to return to

Quid nunc rogem te ut venias, mulierem aegram et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem? Sine te igitur sim? Opinor, sic agam: si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves: sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes ad me fac venias. Unum hoc scito: si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid Tulliola mea fiet? Iam id vos videte: mihi deest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et famae serviendum est. Quid, Cicero meus quid aget? Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo. Non queo plura iam scribere: impedit maeror. Tu quid egeris nescio: utrum aliquid teneas an, quod metuo, plane sis spoliata.

4. Pisonem, ut scribis, spero fore semper nostrum. De familia liberata nihil est quod te moveat. Primum tuis ita promissum est, te facturam esse ut quisque esset meritus. Est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus: praeterea magno opere nemo. Ceterorum servorum ea causa est ut, si res a nobis abisset, liberti nostri essent, si

Brundisium by stress of weather, he would not have mentioned the fact to Atticus in 63.

confirmes] 'promote,' governed by *agam*.

sin] the opposition here is considerably more pointed than above.

quid Tulliola mea fiet?] 'what will become of my dear Tullia?': cp. Att. vi. 1, 14 (252); *quid illo fiet?* 'what will become of him?': 82, 5 *quid puero fiet?*

illius misellae] 'we must devote ourselves to the maintenance of the poor girl's conjugal happiness and of her good name.' For *serviendum*, cp. Att. v. 11, 5 (200). Tullia was married to Calpurnius Piso, of whom Cicero always speaks in the highest terms, especially in Brut. 272. Piso refused to go to Pontus and Bithynia as quaestor, so that he might attend to the affairs of his exiled father-in-law in Rome, and incurred on Cicero's behalf the enmity of his kinsman, the consul (Post. Red. in Sen. 38). He died probably shortly before Cicero's restoration. Cicero says (Sest. 68) *Piso ille gener meus cui fructum pietatis suae neque ex me neque a pop. Romano ferre licuit*. Tullia's dowry seems not to have been yet paid; and from this Cicero apprehends danger 'to her married happiness and good name.'

complexu meo] 'I would have him ever in my embrace and arms.' Possibly

we should read *tuo* for *meo*, or *est* for *sit*. For the phrase *in sinu* cp. *in sinu est neque ego discingor*, Q. Fr. ii. 11 (13), 1 (135). Terentia was to bring young Marcus with her when she came to Cicero.

teneas] 'whether you hold in your hands (still retain) any of my property': cp. Off. ii. 81 *multa dotibus tenebantur*.

4. *De familia liberata*] Terentia had heard that all their slaves had been given their freedom by Cicero. He assures her that she need not be uneasy. 'To your slaves,' he says, 'no promise was made at all, but that you would treat every one as he deserved. Now, Orpheus is so far very well behaved; besides him no one has shown himself particularly deserving. In the case of the others (my own), the arrangement made is this—that if the property is sold by public auction, and goes out of my hands (*a nobis abisset*), they should have the position of freedmen of mine, if they could make good their title to that position (against those who might urge that the penalties of confiscation were being thus evaded); but if the property is left in my hands, i.e. if I am allowed to buy it in (*si ad nos pertineret*), they should be still my slaves, except a very few (whom I have promised to manumit).' For *abire ab* in this sense the commentators refer to 2 Verr. i. 141; iii. 148.

ea causa est] is followed by past tenses,

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obtinere potuissent: sin ad nos pertineret, servirent, praeterquam oppido pauci. Sed haec minora sunt. 5. Tu quod me hortaris ut animo sim magno et spem habeam reciperae salutis, id velim sit eius modi ut recte sperare possimus. Nunc miser quando tuas iam litteras accipiam? quis ad me perferet? quas ego exspectassem Brundisi, si esset licitum per nautas qui tempestatem praetermittere noluerunt. Quod reliquum est, sustenta te, mea Terentia, ut potes honestissime. Viximus: floruimus: non vitium nostrum sed virtus nostra nos adflixit. Peccatum est nullum, nisi quod non una animam cum ornamentis amisimus. Sed si hoc fuit liberis nostris gratius, nos vivere, cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atque ego qui te confirmo ipse me non possum. 6. Clodium Philhetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediabatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Sallustius officio vincit omnis. Pescennius est perbenevolus nobis: quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sicca dixerat se mecum fore sed Brundisio discessit. Cura, quod potes, ut valeas et sic existima, me vehementius tua miseria quam mea commoveri. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola et spes reliqua nostra, Cicero, valete. Pridie Kalendas Maias Brundisio.

63. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 7.)

BRUNDISIUM; APRIL 29; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit se Brundisium venisse, de causis quam ob rem in Epirum nolit accedere, de miseriis suis, de exigua spe libertatis publicae, de incerto itineris sui cursu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Brundisium veni a. d. xiv Kal. Maias. Eo die pueri tui mihi a te litteras reddiderunt et alii pueri post diem tertium eius diei alias litteras attulerunt. Quod me rogas et hortaris ut apud

essent, servirent, &c., because in *sense* it refers to past time in referring to the result of an agreement already made.

5. *tempestatem*] 'a favourable wind,' usually *tranquillitas*.

ornamentis] 'my dignities.'

6. *Clodium*] He, as well as Pescennius and Sallustius, was probably a freedman of Cicero.

mecum fore] *sc.* in Graecia.

quod potes] Some edd. would here read *quoad potes*; but *quod potes* is used in quite the same sense. In proof of this, Hofmann quotes *quod poteris*, Att. x. 2, 2 (379); *quod eius facere poteris*, Fam. iii. 2, 2 (183); *quod eius facere poteris*, Att. xi. 12, 4 (427). Also Fam. v. 8. 5 (131); Ep. 12, 36: *cp.* Ovid Trist. iv. 3, 18 *quod potest*.

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te in Epiro sim, voluntas tua mihi valde grata est et minime nova. Esset consilium mihi quidem optatum si liceret ibi omne tempus consumere—odi enim celebritatem, fugio homines, lucem aspicere vix possum, esset mihi ista solitudo, praesertim tam familiari in loco, non amara—sed itineris causa ut devorterer, primum est devium, deinde ab Autronio et ceteris quadridui, deinde sine te. Nam castellum munitum habitanti mihi prodesset, transeunti non est necessarium. Quod si auderem, Athenas peterem: sane ita cadebat ut vellem. Nunc et nostri hostes ibi sunt et te non habe-

1. in Epiro] i.e. in Atticus' property at Buthrotum.

Esset consilium] See Adn. Crit.

si liceret] 'if the prescribed distance did not forbid.'

sed itineris causa] 'but to go to Epirus, merely to suit my journey by making it a halting-place, would, firstly, be out of my way: secondly, it would place me only four days' journey from Autronius and my other enemies; lastly, I should miss you. A fortified place, like your property there, would be useful if I were living there, but is not necessary for one who is merely passing through.' On the careless construction of this and the next clause, see Introd. II. § 2, note.

Quod si auderem] 'If I dared I would go to Athens: ah, that is the plan which I should really have liked; but my open enemies (such as Autronius) are there, and I have not you to help me; and I fear they might construe even that town (as well as Buthrotum) as not being at the required distance from Italy.' A difficulty has been raised because Cicero is said not elsewhere to speak of Athens as an *oppidum*, and because Cicero here expresses a doubt as to whether Athens was within the required distance, though he afterwards stayed at Thessalonica, which was nearer to Italy. To the latter objection Hofmann replies that it was through the connivance of his friend Plancius, the *quaestor* to the governor of Macedonia, that he was allowed to remain at Thessalonica (Planc. 99). Cicero did not at this time intend to remain at Thessalonica, but to go on to Cyzicus. To the former his answer is, that Cornelius Nepos (Milt. 42 and elsewhere) calls Athens, and Livy (xlii. 20, 36) calls even Rome, an *oppidum*. But the strongest defence of the text is not mentioned by Hofmann. It is this: Cicero elsewhere uses *urbs* and *oppidum* as absolutely synonymous: see De Div. i. 53, where he describes Pherae as *urbs*

in Thessalia tum admodum nobilis, and then, after a short parenthesis, resumes his narration with the words *in eo igitur oppido*. So in the passage above (27, 2) *curabis ut Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae*, we may perhaps hold that Cicero means to include Athens among *oppida*, though of course this passage is susceptible of another explanation, as an instance of a well-known classicism, of which we have an example in the Greek use of ἄλλος = 'besides': e.g. *χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδέν*, Xen. Anab. i. 5, 5. Hence Schütz is wrong in reading here *Achaïam* for *Athenas* (see next letter, § 1), and in understanding *illud oppidum* to refer to Buthrotum.

sane ita cadebat] This can only be translated, 'indeed, the matter was turning out as I should wish.' (Now I cannot go to Athens.) In *vellem* we have, as often, the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the protasis of which is not expressed 'as I should wish if I had the choice.' For *cadere* = 'to fall out,' 'happen,' cp. 85, 1. Observe that the *ut* is 'as,' and does not govern *vellem*. But it is doubtful if *cadere* can be used impersonally in this way. The only place in which it appears to be used impersonally is Att. xiii. 33, 4 (636), where the reading is very doubtful, and a plausible correction is *Cecidit* (or *ceciditque*) *belle res*. *Casu*, &c. There should be some subject to it, such as *res*, or a neuter pronoun or adjective. Possibly, then, before *sane* we should supply *Res*, which might have fallen out after *peterē*; or for *cadebat* read *decebat*, 'it was so eminently fitting for me (aman of culture) to go to Athens, that I should have wished to do so'; or, 'the fitting course coincided exactly with my wishes' (lit. 'it was fitting in just the way I should have wished').

hostes] For *hostes* = 'overt enemies,' see note on 46.

mus et veremur ne interpretentur illud quoque oppidum ab Italia non satis abesse, nec scribis quam ad diem te expectemus. 2. Quod me ad vitam vocas, unum efficis ut a me manus abstineream, alterum non potes ut me non nostri consili vitaeque paeniteat. Quid enim est quod me retineat, praesertim si spes ea non est quae nos proficiscentis prosequatur? Non faciam ut enumerem miseras omnis in quas incidi per summam iniuriam et scelus non tam inimicorum meorum quam invidorum, ne et meum maerorem exagitem et te in eundem luctum vocem. Hoc adfirmo, neminem umquam tanta calamitate esse adfectum, nemini mortem magis optandam fuisse; cuius oppetendae tempus honestissimum praetermissum est. Reliqua tempora sunt non tam ad medicinam quam ad finem doloris. 3. De re publica video te colligere omnia quae putes aliquam spem mihi posse adferre mutandarum rerum, quae quamquam exigua sunt, tamen, quoniam placet, expectemus. Tu nihilo minus, si properaris, nos consequere. Nam aut accedemus in Epirum aut tarde per Candaviam ibimus. Dubitationem autem de Epiro non inconstantia nostra adferebat, sed quod de fratre, ubi eum visuri essemus, nesciebamus. Quem quidem ego nec ubi visurus nec quo modo dimissurus sim scio. Id est maxi-

ab Italia] See notes on 57 and 58.

2. *ad vitam vocas*] It is plain, from this and other passages, that Cicero really had thought of destroying himself, and was deterred by the advice of Atticus, which he afterwards regretted that he had followed.

spes ea] The nature of this hope is mentioned in 72, 4 *saepe triduo summa cum gloria dicebar esse rediturus*.

invidorum] probably Hortensius: see 65, 2; 67, 8. So also in 64, 4.

exagitem] 'rouse afresh,' metaphor from stirring up grounds or dregs: cp. Col. xii. 19, 4 *ut quidquid facis subsederit exagitet et in summum reducat*.

sunt . . . ad] 'are calculated to produce': cp. Att. vi. 1, 14 (252) *erit ad sustentandum*, 'will serve to keep the enemy at bay.' The meaning here is, 'I ought to have met an honourable death in resisting Clodius: that would have healed my heart-ache (wounded honour). All the subsequent opportunities (i. e. if I killed myself after my exile began) serve only to end my pain, not to heal it.' A noble death before he humiliated himself would have set him right in the eyes of the world, and

so healed his pain; death now can only end it.

3. *nihilo minus*] that is, 'though you are still at Rome.'

Candaviam] A wild district of Illyria, lying in the road from Dyrrachium to Thessalonica, and mentioned by Lucan vi. 331 *qua vastos aperit Candavia saltus*.

nec ubi visurus] The best commentary on this passage is 65, 1, read with 66, 4. In both passages Cicero expresses his fear that, if he and his brother meet, they will find it very hard to part. Therefore the reading usually adopted by editors, namely, *nec quo modo visurus nec ubi dimissurus sim*, which is that of the best mss with the addition of *quo*, can hardly be right. The question is not *where*, but *how*, he will be liable to part with his brother. I have transposed *quo modo* and *ubi*, a transposition which I find had also occurred to Junius. The sentence then runs, 'not only do I not know where I shall meet him [as is mentioned in the preceding sentence], but I do not know how I can part from him' (if I do meet him). *Quo modo* perhaps should stand *both* before *visurus* and before *dimissurus*; but my theory accounts better for the

num et miserrimum mearum omnium miseriarum. Ego et saepius ad te et plura scriberem, nisi mihi dolor meus cum omnis partis mentis tum maxime huius generis facultatem ademisset. Videre te cupio. Cura ut valeas. Data prid. Kal. Mai. Brundisi.

64. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 8).

THESSALONICA ; MAY 29 ; A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit sibi praeter causas quas superiore epistula exposuisset, non placere in Epirum ire propterea quod incertis nuntiis fratrem Athenas proficisci audisset. De miseris suis, de sollicitudine propter iter fratris sibi prorsus incertum : dein respondet ad ea quae Atticus scripserat, de inconstantia epistularum suarum, de culpa sua, de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. *Brundisio* proficiscens scripseram ad te quas ob causas in Epirum non essemus profecti, quod et Achaia prope esset plena audacissimorum inimicorum et exitus difficilis haberet, cum inde proficisceremur. Accessit, cum Dyrrachi essemus, ut duo nuntii adferrentur : unus classe fratrem Epheso Athenas, alter pedibus per Macedoniam venire. Itaque illi ob viam misimus Athenas ut inde Thessalonicam veniret. Ipsi processimus et Thessalonicam a. d. x Kal. Iun. venimus neque de illius

corruption. See Adn. Crit. I do not deny that the ordinary reading can be explained, for Cicero often speaks of an unwillingness *even to look upon* those who had known him in brighter days : see 66, 1 ; 67, 2. But I hold that my reading is certainly more suitable to the context here, and virtually as near to the ms tradition. [I confess to approving of the reading of Bosius, which substitutes *ut* for *ui* or *ubi* of mss. For *ut* in this sense, cp. 22, 4 : Fin. v. 48.—L. C. P.]

Ego] See last letter, § 1.
huius generis facultatem] 'my aptitude for this kind of mental exercise' (i. e. letter-writing). This is no mere *façon de parler*. We miss in the letters of Cicero's exile much not only of the interest, but even of the power and accuracy of expression, which we find in the letters of his happier years. *Sane ita cadebat ut vellem* (above, § 1) is an

example of a sentence which it would be difficult to parallel, except in the letters of his exile : so in next letter, § 4, *mentis motum . . . qui est commotus*. See Introd. II., § 2, note.

Brundisi] cp. note to 60.

1. *Achaia*] Relying on this passage, Schütz reads *Achaiam* for *Athenas* in the last letter, as if Cicero could not say in one letter that he had enemies in Athens, and in another, more broadly, that all Achaia was full of his enemies.

Accessit . . . ut] This merely means 'further, two messages came' ; *accessit quod adlati sunt* would mean 'another reason for not going to Epirus was the arrival of two messages.' If a new thought is to be added, it is expressed by *acc. quod*, when it implies a *logical reason*, but by *acc. ut* when it implies a *historical fact*, Zumpt, 621, 626.

itinere quidquam certi habebamus nisi eum ab Epheso ante aliquanto profectum. 2. Nunc istic quid agatur magno opere timeo. Quamquam tu altera epistula scribis Id. Mai. audiri fore ut acrius postularetur, altera iam esse mitiora. Sed haec est pridie data quam illa, quo conturber magis. Itaque, cum meus me maeror cotidianus lacerat et conficit, tum vero haec addita cura vix mihi vitam reliquam facit. Sed et navigatio perdifficilis fuit et ille incertus ubi ego essem fortasse alium cursum petivit. Nam Phaëtho libertus eum non vidit: vento reiectus ab illo in Macedoniam Pellae mihi praesto fuit. Reliqua quam mihi timenda sint video nec quid scribam habeo et omnia timeo, nec tam miserum est quidquam quod non in nostram fortunam cadere videatur. Equidem adhuc miser in maximis meis aerumnis et luctibus, hoc metu adiecto, maneo Thessalonicae suspensus nec audeo quidquam. 3. Nunc ad ea quae scripsisti. Tryphonem Caecilium non vidi. Sermonem tuum et Pompei cognovi ex tuis litteris. Motum in

2. *istic*] sc. at Rome.

Quamquam tu altera] 'it is true that in one letter, dated May 15th, you say you hear that the trial of Quintus for extortion will be vigorously prosecuted, and in another, that the feeling against him is less strong; yet the latter is dated a day earlier than the former, so that my perplexity is increased.'

haec addita] 'this additional anxiety about my brother hardly leaves me my life.' Another careless expression.

alium cursum petivit] 'went by a different route.'

Phaëtho] a freedman of Cicero.

ab illo] This has been explained as referring to Quintus; and *reiectus ab illo* (sc. Quinto) in *Macedoniam* has been rendered 'being separated from Quintus and driven back by foul weather to Macedonia.' But surely such an expression is impossible. Madvig has proposed *Ilio* for *illo*—a most attractive and brilliant suggestion (cp. Verg. Aen. i. 268 for a similar corruption); and this was the reading of the codex Faerni (F.). It may possibly be right; but there is a difficulty about *Ilio* of a geographical nature pointed out to us by Dr. Reid. Cicero wished to have an interview with Quintus before the latter returned to Rome. He had heard that Quintus intended to return either by the land route up to the Hellespont, and then along the Egnatian road through Thessalonica

to Dyrrachium; or the sea route, from Ephesus across to Athens, thence to Patrae, and then along the west coast of Greece to Cassiope and Brundisium. It was by the sea route that Marcus himself went and returned from his province seven years later. If Quintus took the land route, Cicero would be sure to meet him, as he himself was about to proceed along the Via Egnatia to Thessalonica. So it was necessary to send a messenger by the sea route to meet Quintus, and ask him to join his brother at Thessalonica. He accordingly sent Phaëtho along that route. This being so, how possibly could Phaëtho have got to Ilium? We fancy he went to Athens, and, finding that Quintus had not arrived, took boat for Ephesus, but, meeting with a strong south or south-east wind somewhere in the course, had to run for Macedonia. So we are reluctantly compelled to obelize *illo*. What place is concealed under *illo* it is impossible to say: perhaps *Delo*: allow that D was corrupted to B and joined to a, *elo* would soon become *illo*. Dr. Reid suggests *Atho*.

3. *Tryphonem Caecilium*] a freedman of Caecilius. In early times a freedman took the *nomen* of his patron, but an arbitrary *praenomen*; later he took the *nomen* and *praenomen* of his patron, taking his own name as *cognomen*.

Motum] a rupture between the triumvirs.

re publica non tantum ego impendere video quantum tu aut vides aut ad me consolandum adfers. Tigrane enim neglecto sublata sunt omnia. Varroni me iubes agere gratias: faciam, item Hypsaeo. Quod suades ne longius discedamus, dum acta mensis Mai ad nos perferantur, puto me ita esse facturum; sed ubi nondum statui. Atque ita perturbato sum animo de Quinto ut nihil queam statuere; sed tamen statim te faciam certiozem. 4. Ex epistularum mearum inconstantia puto te mentis meae motum videre: qui, etsi incredibili et singulari calamitate adflictus sum, tamen non tam est ex miseria quam ex culpae nostrae recodatione commotus. Cuius enim scelere impulsus ac proditus iam profecto vides, atque utinam iam ante vidisses neque totum animum tuum maerori mecum simul dedisses! Qua re, cum me adflictum et confectum luctu audies, existimato me stultitiae meae poenam ferre gravius quam eventui, quod ei crediderim quem esse nefarium non putarim. Me et meorum malorum memoria et metus de fratre in scribendo impedit. Tu ista omnia vide et gubernata. Terentia tibi maximas gratias agit. Litterarum exemplum quas ad Pompeium scripsi misi tibi. Data III Kal. Iunias Thessalonicae.

Hortensius

Tigrane enim neglecto] Tigranes the younger, the son of king Tigranes, was brought home by Pompey, and left in safe keeping with Flavius, a senator. Clodius, after a struggle in which many lives were lost, rescued the boy from Flavius, with the design of restoring him to his father, who had bribed Clodius. It was supposed that this daring act would have caused a rupture between the triumvirs, for Clodius was supposed to be supported by Caesar. So Cicero says, 'now that they have overlooked this case, all chance of a rupture is gone.' Of course if Pompey had openly quarrelled with Caesar (and through him with Clodius), there would have been good hopes of Cicero's restoration.

Varroni] M. Terentius, the antiquarian mentioned above, 52, 1, as a friend of Pompey.

Hypsaeo] P. Plautius Hypsaeus, quaesitor of Pompey in the Mithridatic War.

sed ubi nondum] 'But as to where (I shall go to) I have not yet made up my mind.'

4. *motum . . . commotus*] See on last letter, *fin*.

Cuius enim scelere] Hortensius, as appears from next letter, § 2, and 66, 8.

maerori] Madvig (A. C. iii. 169) says that before Cicero's exile there was no reason for *maeror*, but for caution and watchfulness: and accordingly suggests *errori*. But Cicero did show pusillanimity before his exile, and even states that he threw himself at Pompey's feet: cp. Att. x. 4, 3 (382): cp. also 71, 2 *pauillum inclinari timore*. So that there is no imperative necessity to abandon the mss.

existimato . . . putarim] 'be assured that I am more galled by the punishment arising from the sense of my own folly in believing one whose treachery I never suspected, than by the punishment consisting in the results which followed my foolish credulity.' 'I feel more punishment in the sense of my folly in believing, &c., than in the consequences which followed that credulousness.' Another very un-Ciceronian sentence.

65. TO ATTICUS, ON HIS WAY TO GREECE (ATT. III. 9.)

THESSALONICA, JUNE 13; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit quas ob causas Q. fratrem ex Asia reducem maluisset Romam properare quam ad se venire, de incerta spe sua, de Terentia, de fratris negotio, de mansione sua Thessalonicae, de aliis rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quintus frater cum ex Asia discessisset ante Kal. Mai. et Athenas venisset Idib., valde fuit ei properandum, ne quid absens acciperet calamitatis, si quis forte fuisset qui contentus nostris malis non esset. Itaque eum malui properare Romam quam ad me venire, et simul—dicam enim quod verum est, ex quo magnitudinem miseriarum mearum perspicere possis—animum inducere non potui ut aut illum, amantissimum mei, mollissimo animo, tanto in maerore aspicerem aut meas miseras luctu afflictas et perditam fortunam illi offerrem aut ab illo aspici paterer. Atque etiam illud timebam, quod profecto accidisset, ne a me digredi non posset. Versabatur mihi tempus illud ante oculos, cum ille aut lictores dimitteret aut vi evelleretur ex complexu meo. Huius acerbitalis eventum altera acerbitate non videndi fratris vitavi. In hunc me casum vos vivendi auctores impulistis. Itaque mei peccati luo poenas. 2. Quamquam me tuae litterae sustentant: ex quibus quantum tu ipse speres facile perspicio. Quae quidem

1. *ne quid absens acciperet calamitatis*] sc. *ne acrius postularetur*: cp. 64, 2.

mollissimo] 'of so impressionable a nature': see 23, 2.

meas miseras luctu afflictas] This is, perhaps, a careless expression, meaning 'the miseries of my afflicted position,' *miserias* being an abstract substantive put for a concrete. Or perhaps we should read *afflicti*, comparing *tuum pectus hominis simplicis*, Phil. ii. 111; and *mea scripta timentis*, Hor. Sat. i. 4, 22: see especially note on 16, 1, and a very similar construction in Att. xi. 15, 2 (430) *solius enim meum peccatum corrigi non potest, et fortasse Laeli*. Boot explains *luctu afflictas* as *quas luctus reddit graviore*, but I do not see how *afflictas* could bear that meaning. I find, in the posthumous notes of Puygers, published

in *Mnemosyne*, that he takes the same view as I do of this passage. [I think Dr. Reid is right in altering to *afflictus*: cp. 64, 4; 67, 2. The open a often leads to such variants.—L. C. P.]

digredi non posset] cp. 66, 4.

lictores dimitteret] A provincial governor retained his lictors and fasces till he returned to Rome. But he was bound to go straight from his province to Rome, using no unreasonable delay on the journey. If Quintus wished, therefore, to make any considerable sojourn with his brother, he would be obliged to dismiss his lictors, and lay down his *imperium*.

vivendi auctores] 'who are responsible for my survival.' See next letter, § 2.

2. *quantum*] 'how little': Boot, who compares Att. viii. 12, D. *fm.* (330); xi. 13, 1 (428). But in these cases 'the

tamen aliquid habebant solaci ante quam eo venisti a Pompeio: 'Nunc Hortensium adlice et eius modi viros.' Obsecro, mi Pomponi, nondum perspicias quorum opera, quorum insidiis, quorum scelere perierimus? Sed tecum haec omnia coram agemus. Tantum dico, quod scire te puto: nos non inimici sed invidi perdiderunt. Nunc si ista sunt quae speras, sustinebimus nos et spe qua iubes nitemur. Sin, ut mihi videntur, infirma sunt, quod optimo tempore facere non licuit minus idoneo fiet. 3. Terentia tibi saepe agit gratias. Mihi etiam unum de malis in metu est, fratris miseri negotium: quod si sciam cuius modi sit, sciam quid agendum mihi sit. Me etiam nunc istorum beneficiorum et litterarum expectatio, ut tibi placet, Thessalonicae tenet. Si quid erit novi adlatum, sciam de reliquo quid agendum sit. Tu si, ut scribis, Kal. Iun. Roma profectus es, propediem nos videbis. Litteras quas ad Pompeium scripsi tibi misi. Data Id. Iun. Thessalonicae.

66. TO QUINTUS, IN ROME (Q. FR. I. 3.)

THESSALONICA; JUNE 13; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de pueris sine epistula missis se excusat, de exsillii calamitate queritur, pro oblati facultatibus gratias agit, monet de quorundam fide suosque commendat.

MARCUS Q. FRATRI S.

1. Mi frater, mi frater, mi frater, tunc id veritus es ne ego

extent of' is a better rendering; for this expression, like the Latin, depends on the context for its meaning.

a Pompeio] 'from (your mention of) P., to the place (in your letter) where (you say) *nunc Hortensium*,' &c.

non inimici] Here, as often, the plural is used to give a vagueness to a dangerous assertion, or to take some of the force from a violent expression. Hortensius *only* is referred to; Cicero hints that Hortensius was jealous of his forensic success.

si ista sunt] 'if these sources of hope really exist': cp. Tusc. i. 10 *adeone me delirare censes, ut ista esse credam?*

infirma sunt] This is the reading of Ed. Iens., 'if your expectations have no sound basis'; M has *firma sunt*, which can hardly mean, 'if the course of events

which I think probable is sure to come to pass.' No omission is more frequent in our mss than that of *in*. Pluygers and Cobet quite needlessly wish to reject the words. We doubt if *sin ut mihi videntur* can mean, 'if your hopes are as I think they are, i.e. 'if there is no hope at all': we should at least require the verb substantive.

fiet] sc. *mortem oppetam*.

3. *beneficiorum*] Certain advantages or services likely to accrue from friends in Rome, which Atticus had pointed out to him, but the nature of which we cannot guess. But we are not therefore justified in changing the text to *comitorum*, as Gronovius does, comparing 69, 1 *spem ostendit secundum comitia*.

iracundia aliqua adductus pueros ad te sine litteris miserim? aut etiam ne te videre noluerim? Ego tibi irascerer? tibi ego possem irasci? Scilicet, tu enim me adflixisti: tui me inimici, tua me invidia ac non ego te misere perdidit. Meus ille laudatus consularatus mihi te, liberos, patriam, fortunas, tibi velim ne quid eriperit praeter unum me. Sed certe a te mihi omnia semper honesta et iucunda ceciderunt, a me tibi luctus meae calamitatis, metus tuae, desiderium, maeror, solitudo. Ego te videre noluerim? Immo vero me a te videri nolui. Non enim vidisses fratrem tuum, non eum quem reliqueras, non eum quem noras, non eum quem flens flentem, prosequentem proficiscens dimiseras: ne vestigium quidem eius nec simulacrum, sed quamdam effigiem spirantis mortui. Atque utinam me mortuum prius vidisses aut audisses! utinam te non solum vitae sed etiam dignitatis meae superstitem reliquisset! 2. Sed testor omnis deos me hac una voce a morte esse revocatum, quod omnes in mea vita partem aliquam tuae vitae repositam esse dicebant. Qua in re peccavi scelerateque feci. Nam

1. *Ego tibi irascerer*] 'I to be angry with you.' The subjunctive is virtually the same as that discussed on 37, 1; cp. *noluerim* below.

Scilicet] 'Yes, of course, it was you who crushed me. It was your enemies and envy of you that ruined me—and not I who utterly ruined you!' Ironical, of course, as Ter. And. 185 *id populus curat scilicet*. The sentence is redeemed from a certain degree of bad taste by the tenderness of *mi frater, mi frater, mi frater*. The *invidia* referred to is the envy of Hortensius.

fortunas] sc. *eripuit*.

ceciderunt] 'I have met with.' So M. For *cedere* used of good fortune befalling a person, cp. Caes. B.C. iii. 73-4 *Si non omnia caderent secunda, fortunam esse industria sublevandam*. Lambinus and Madvig prefer *acciderunt*: cp. 1, 1 *michi omnia quae iucunda . . . homini accidere possunt, ex illo accidebant*.

solitudo] 'the want of my services as an advocate': see § 2.

utinam . . . audisses] *Prius* is 'before your departure for Asia.' The words *aut audisses* are so feeble that Dr. Reid thinks that they may be the marginal comment of a scribe who was not sure whether to read *vidisses* or *audisses*.

utinam te non solum vitae] 'Would that I had left you behind me to look

back on my life, not only finished, but finished with honour.' The meaning is clear, but the sentence is difficult to render precisely. Cicero recurs to his oft-expressed wish that he had perished nobly before his humiliation, so that Quintus would have survived his brother, but would not have had his present indignities to look back on. See 63, 2. The thought is, 'If I had destroyed myself before I left Rome, you would have been able to look back on my life as a finished drama without a single dishonourable episode.' Ernesti would transpose *vitae* and *dignitatis*. At first sight this seems plausible: 'would that I had in you a survivor not only of my honour, but of my existence'; but had Cicero died before he left Rome, his honour would have been (as he often says) intact; so if Quintus had been *vitae superstes*, he would not have been *dignitatis superstes* in the sense which Ernesti gives to the words. If Cicero had written *utinam te non dignitatis sed vitae superstitem reliquisset*, then we should have the meaning which Ernesti looks for, 'would that you had survived, not my honour [as is now the case], but my life' (as you would have done if I had perished in Rome).

2. *scelerateque feci*] 'and I acted with wretched, culpable imprudence.' *Scelus*

si occidissem, mors ipsa meam pietatem amoremque in te facile defenderet. Nunc commisi ut me vivo careres, vivo me aliis indigeres, mea vox in domesticis periculis potissimum occideret quae saepe alienissimis praesidio fuisset. Nam quod ad te pueri sine litteris venerunt, quoniam vides non fuisse iracundiam causam, certe pigritia fuit et quaedam infinita vis lacrimarum et dolorum.

3. Haec ipsa me quo fletu putas scripsisse? Eodem quo te legere certo scio. An ego possum aut non cogitare aliquando de te aut umquam sine lacrimis cogitare? Cum enim te desidero, fratrem solum desidero? Ego vero suavitate fratrem prope aequalem, obsequio filium, consilio parentem. Quid mihi sine te umquam aut tibi sine me iucundum fuit? Quid, quod eodem tempore desidero filiam? qua pietate, qua modestia, quo ingenio! effigiem oris, sermonis, animi mei! Quod filium venustissimum mihi que dulcissimum? quem ego ferus ac ferreus e complexu dimisi meo, sapien-

has often in these letters this mitigated signification; cp. 73, 4 *meo non tuo scelere praetermissum est*.

defenderet] This means 'my very death itself would clearly prove and maintain my affection for you,' as in Fin. iii. 71.

mea vox] 'that my voice should fail to be uplifted when peril threatened my own family—that voice which so often was the saving of the merest strangers'; or perhaps *alienissimis* means 'enemies,' e.g. Vatinius and (possibly) Catiline.

Nam quod] The last six sentences from *Non enim vidisses . . . praesidio fuisset* must be looked on as parenthetical. *Nam quod ad te pueri* resumes the train of thought broken off at *immo vero me a te videri nolui*, 'The reason I did not meet you was not that I did not care to see you; no, but I did not wish to be seen by you. The fact that my servants arrived without any letters for you is not to be taken to discredit what I have said. No, it was my helpless, unstrung condition (I have already shown that it was not any feeling of irritation), and the weight of woe that oppressed me.' *Pigritia* is 'listlessness': cp. Tusc. iv. 18.

3. *scripsisse*] 'am writing'; epistolary perf. = English present.

Cum enim te desidero] 'When I am parted from you, do I feel the loss only of a brother in you? In losing you, I

lose a brother indeed (and one of well-nigh my own years) in charm of manner—a son in compliance with me—a parent in judgment.' The reading of M is *suavitate prope fratrem prope aequalem*, which Ernesti corrected as in the text. Orelli accepts the reading which Petrarch says he found in his text, *suavitate prope aequalem*; and certainly the mention of *fratrem* (in the reply to *fratrem solum desidero*?) is to be accounted for only on the principle put forward in note on 63, *fin.* The *aequalis* (δμήλιξ, comrade) might well be placed above even a brother as regards *suavitas*, 'charm of manner,' and the word *fratrem* might have been inserted by some copyist who knew that Quintus was *prope aequalis* with his brother, and misunderstood *aequalis*. To read *suavitate aequalem* would give a still better sense, and *prope* might have been inserted by a copyist who thought that *aequalem* implied that Marcus and Quintus were of the same age, and did not perceive that *aequalis* here is simply δμήλιξ, 'a comrade.' It is possible then that *fratrem* and *prope* are both corrupt, and that the sentence means, 'In you I lose one who is in charm of social intercourse as a comrade, in compliance with my wishes as a son, in the soundness of his advice as a father.'

ferus] cp. *quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit*. Tibull. i. 10, 2.

tiorem puerum quam vellem; sentiebat enim miser iam quid ageretur. Quod vero tuum filium, imaginem tuam, quem meus Cicero et amabat ut fratrem et iam ut maiorem fratrem verebatur? Quid, quod mulierem miserrimam, fidelissimam coniugem, me prosequi non sum passus, ut esset quae reliquias communis calamitatis, communis liberos tueretur? 4. Sed tamen, quoquo modo potui, scripsi et dedi litteras ad te Philogono, liberto tuo, quas credo tibi postea redditas esse: in quibus idem te hortor et rogo, quod pueri tibi verbis meis nuntiarunt, ut Romam protinus pergas et properes. Primum enim te *in praesidio* esse volui, si qui essent inimici quorum crudelitas nondum esset nostra calamitate satiata; deinde congressus nostri lamentationem pertimui; digressum vero non tulissem atque etiam id ipsum quod tu scribis metuebam, ne a me distrahi non posses. His de causis hoc maximum malum quod te non vidi, quo nihil amantissimis et coniunctissimis fratribus acerbius, miserius videtur accidere potuisse, minus acerbum, minus miserum fuit quam fuisset cum congressio tum vero digressio nostra. 5. Nunc, si potes, id quod ego, qui tibi semper fortis videbar, non possum, erige te et confirma, si qua subeunda dimicatio erit. Spero, si quid mea spes habet auctoritatis, tibi et integritatem tuam et amorem in te civitatis et aliquid etiam misericordiam nostri praesidi laturam. Sin eris ab isto periculo vacuus, ages scilicet si quid agi posse de nobis putabis. De quo scribunt ad me quidem multi multa et se sperare demonstrant, sed ego quid sperem non dispicio, cum inimici plurimum valeant, amici partim deseruerint me, partim etiam prodiderint, qui in meo reditu fortasse reprehensionem sui sceleris pertimescunt. Sed ista qualia sint tu velim perspicias

reliquias communis calamitatis] 'all that is spared to us by the blow that has prostrated us both': so *reliquias Danaum*, Verg. Aen. i. 30. Cicero uses *reliquias* in a slightly different sense in De Sen. 19, *reliquias avi*, 'the heirloom of a grandfather,' i.e. the war with Carthage.

4. *praesidio*] Schütz adheres to the reading of the mss, and supposes that *tibi* can be understood; but *praesidio* implies action on behalf of another; so we have added *in* with Madvig (A.C. iii. 194). Cicero would wish Quintus to be on his guard against any further hostile

acts against himself or his family on the part of those whose malice was not yet sated by his present abject state.

5. *si potes*] sc. *facere*. See note on 62, 6.

auctoritatis] 'basis,' 'grounds,' 'foundation.'

et aliquid etiam] The order is *et etiam misericordiam nostri aliquid praesidi (tibi) laturam*.

periculo] The prosecution for malversation in his province with which he was threatened by Appius Claudius, nephew of Clodius.

mihique declares. Ego tamen quam diu tibi opus erit, si quid ^{anglicis} periculi subeundum videbis, vivam: diutius in hac vita esse non possum. Neque enim tantum virium habet ulla aut prudentia aut doctrina ut tantum dolorem possit sustinere. 6. Scio fuisse et honestius moriendi tempus et utilius; sed non hoc solum, multa alia praetermisi, quae si queri velim praeterita, nihil agam nisi ut augeam dolorem tuum, indicem stultitiam meam. Illud quidem nec faciendum est nec fieri potest, me diutius quam aut tuum tempus aut firma spes postulabit in tam misera tamque turpi vita commorari, ut, qui modo fratre fuerim, liberis, coniuge, copiis, genere ipso pecuniae beatissimus, dignitate, auctoritate, existimatione, gratia non inferior quam qui umquam fuerunt amplissimi, is nunc in hac tam afflicta perditaque fortuna neque me neque meos lugere diutius possim. 7. Qua re quid ad me scripsisti de permutatione? quasi vero nunc me non tuae facultates sustineant, qua in re ipsa video miser et sentio quid sceleris admiserim, cum

quam diu tibi opus erit.] Cicero seems to have thought of writing a speech for his brother, in defence of his administration. *sustinere*] 'to bear up against': cp. 30, 19.

6. *genere ipso pecuniae*] 'blest in brother, children, wife, fortune—aye, even in the very nature of my wealth,' which was won by honourable means, so that he had an unblemished character and unassailable position in society. His wealth seems to have been derived chiefly from the large legacies left by grateful clients; and he did not dissipate his property like many rich men of his day. See *Introd. I. § 2.* Manutius ingeniously conjectured *genero*, supposing a reference to Piso; but the order of the words should then be changed, and *pecunia* could hardly be retained. The whole sentence, *ut qui modo . . . diutius possim*, is very loosely constructed: 'it is impossible for me to linger longer than your needs or some trustworthy hope may warrant, in a life so miserable and ignominious, that I (who was once so blest in family, &c., and in rank, character, and reputation as high as ever was anyone, be he never so distinguished), even I, can no longer go on in my crushed and ruined state lamenting the fall of myself and my family.' This, surely, is a sentence which Cicero would never have written in his happier days.

7. *de permutatione*] Quintus had offered to negotiate a bill of exchange for Cicero in Rome, on his arrival there. The money would be paid to Cicero at Thessalonica.

quid sceleris] 'I see what a crime I committed when I squandered, to no purpose (probably on bribes to save himself from exile), the money which I got from the treasury on your account, while you are coining your blood and your son's blood to pay your creditors.' This is the money already referred to in 33 *fn.*, and 43 *fn.* There is a difficulty in this sentence which seems not to be noticed by most commentators. After *admiserim* should stand some word to be the subject of (or to qualify) *dissiparim*. *Qui* would naturally be the word, *sentio quid sceleris admiserim, qui, cum satis facturus sis quibus debes, dissiparim*; but then *ego* should be omitted. To read *cum, cum satis facturus sis quibus debes, dissiparim* would account for the disappearance of the first *cum*, but would be very cacophonous: cp. Lehmann, 'Quaest.', p. 107; *quod, cum* might be the true reading; but we have followed Wesenberg, who to some extent removes the difficulty by suggesting an emphatic *tu* before *de visceribus*; the same *cum* then governs both *satis facturus sis* and *dissiparim*; but it is difficult to believe that this is what Cicero wrote. For *ex visceribus*, cp. Dom. 124 *cur ille gurgis, holluatus tecum simul*

tu de visceribus tuis et fili tui satis facturus sis quibus debes, ego acceptam ex aerario pecuniam tuo nomine frustra dissiparim. Sed tamen et M. Antonio, quantum tu scripseras, et Caepioni tantumdem solutum est: mihi ad id quod cogito hoc quod habeo satis est. Sive enim restituimur sive desperamur, nihil amplius opus est. Tu, si forte quid erit molestiae, te ad Crassum et ad Calidium conferas censeo. 8. Quantum Hortensio credendum sit nescio. Me summa simulatione amoris summaque adsiduitate cotidiana sceleratissime insidiosissimeque tractavit, adiuncto Q. Arrio: quorum ego consiliis, promissis, praeceptis destitutus in hanc calamitatem incidi. Sed haec occultabis, ne quid obsint. Illud caveo—et eo puto per Pomponium fovendum tibi esse ipsum Hortensium—ne ille versus, qui in te erat collatus cum aedilitatem petebas de lege Aurelia, falso testimonio confirmetur. Nihil enim tam timeo quam ne, cum intellegant homines quantum misericordiae nobis tuae preces et tua salus adlatura sit, oppugnent te vehementius. 9. Messallam tui studiosum esse arbitror: Pompeium etiam simulatorem puto. Sed haec utinam ne experire! quod precarer deos, nisi meas preces audire desissent. Verum tamen precor ut his infinitis nostris malis contenti sint: in quibus non modo tamen nullius inest peccati infamia, sed

rei publicae sanguinem, ad caelum tamen exstruit villam in Tusculano visceribus aerari: cp. also Ov. Heroid i. 90 *viscera nostra, tuae dilacerantur opes.*

M. Antonio] Antonius and Caepio were creditors of Quintus. Cicero had paid them some money before he left Rome.

quantum tu scripseras] 'the amount you mentioned in your letter,' probably; but, possibly, 'the amount to which you drew on them': cp. Plaut. Asin. 440 *scribit nummos.*

desperamur] sc. *ab amicis.* *Desperare aliquem,* 'to despair of a person,' is a very rare construction, but is found in Cic. Cat. ii. 10.

molestiae] 'a prosecution': cp. 72, 2, *2 si te satis innocentia tua et misericordia hominum vindicat a molestia.* He advises Quintus to apply for aid to Crassus (the triumvir) and M. Calidius, if prosecuted. M. Calidius, as praetor, next year brought in the bill for Cicero's restoration.

8. *Pomponium]* Hortensius was a friend of Atticus.

ne ille versus] 'lest by some false tes-

timony your authorship of that epigram be confirmed—that epigram about the Aurelian Law which was attributed to you when you were a candidate for the aedileship.' Some epigram on the Aurelian Law, which gave the *iudicia* to the senate, knights, and *tribuni aerarii*, was attributed to Quintus. We do not know what it was; but we may infer that it was in some way offensive to Hortensius or some of the leading men of the time. Ernesti wrongly understands *collatus* as 'applied to,' but cp. 18, 2 *quod abs te aiunt falso in me conferri*; and Fam. vii. 32, 1 (329) *omnia omnium dicta in me conferri.* Hence Cicero was called *securus consularis.*

tuae preces et tua salus] 'your intercession on my behalf consequent on your acquittal; for if Quintus was himself under an adverse sentence, he could not, with any effect, plead his brother's cause.'

9. *Messallam]* Consul with M. Piso in 693 (61).

etiam] 'still,' as before in my case.
tamen] 'after all.'

omnis dolor est, quod optime factis poena maxima est constituta. 10. Filiam meam et tuam Ciceronemque nostrum quid ego, mi frater, tibi commendem? quin illud maereo quod tibi non minorem dolorem illorum orbitas adferet quam mihi. Sed te incolumi orbi non erunt. Reliqua, ita mihi salus aliqua detur potestasque in patria moriendi ut me lacrimae non sinunt scribere! Etiam Terentiam velim tueare mihi que de omnibus rebus rescribas. Sis fortis, quoad rei natura patiat. Idibus Iunii, Thessalonicae.

67. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 10).

THESSALONICA; JUNE 17; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit litteris eius se certiore factum quae usque ad a. d. VIII Kal. Iun. acta essent, reliqua se Thessalonicae exspectare, tum se statuere posse ubi sit, de exigua spe sua recipiendae salutis et de animo non sine idonea causa adflicto.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Acta quae essent usque ad a. d. VIII Kalend. Iun. cognovi ex tuis litteris. Reliqua exspectabam, ut tibi placebat, Thessalonicae: quibus adlatis facilius statuere potero ubi sim. Nam, si erit causa, si quid agetur, si spem videro, aut ibidem opperiar aut me ad te conferam: sin, ut tu scribis, ista evanuerint, aliquid aliud videbimus. Omnino adhuc nihil mihi significatis nisi discordiam istorum, quae tamen inter eos de omnibus potius rebus est quam de me. Itaque quid ea mihi prosit nescio. Sed tamen, quoad me vos sperare vultis, vobis obtemperabo. 2. Nam quod me tam saepe et tam vehementer obiurgas et animo infirmo esse dicis, quaeso, equod tantum malum est quod in mea calamitate non sit? equis umquam tam ex amplo statu, tam in bona causa, tantis

Got in Epi-
rus, of 3, 15,
6 in. hours ag-
nos

10. *Reliqua*] 'More—I swear by my hopes of restoration and of a grave in my fatherland—more my tears do not let me write!': ep. Att. v. 15, 2 (207) *ita vivam ut maximos sumptus facio*, 'by my life I am drawing enormously on my own resources.'

1. *ad te*] 'to your estate in Epirus.' *sin, ut tu scribis*] Schütz gives me *ad te conferam, ut tu scribis*; *sin ista evanuerint*, on the grounds that Atticus would be more

prone to put the hopeful view of the case before Cicero. But the change is quite wrong; Atticus did *not* write him reassuring letters: see especially 70, 1; cp. 71, 1.

istorum] 'those friends of yours'; sc. Pompey, Clodius, and Gabinius.

vos] Atticus and the others who had advised Cicero's flight.

2. *tam ex amplo*] cp. *quam in optimo* = *in quam optimo*, 'the best possible,' Fin. v. 26, and the note of Madvig there.

facultatibus ingeni, consili, gratiae, tantis praesidiis bonorum omnium concidit? Possum oblivisci qui fuerim? non sentire qui sim? quo caream honore, qua gloria, quibus liberis, quibus fortunis, quo fratre? quem ego, ut novum calamitatis genus attendas, cum pluris facerem quam me ipsum semperque fecissem, vitavi ne viderem, ne aut illius luctum squaloremque aspicerem aut me, quem ille florentissimum reliquerat, perditum illi adfictumque offerrem. Mitto cetera intolerabilia; etenim fletu impediior. Hic utrum tandem sum accusandus quod doleo, an quod commisi ut haec aut non retinerem (quod facile fuisset nisi intra parietes meos de mea pernicie consilia inirentur), aut certe vivus [non] amitterem? 3. Haec eo scripsi ut potius relevares me, quod facis, quam ut castigatione aut obiurgatione dignum putares, eoque ad te minus multa scribo quod et maerore impediior

Mitto] 'I pass over': cp. Att. iv. 3, 5 (92), and note on 46, 1.

Hic] i.e., in hac re.

utrum] Retaining the *non* which we have bracketed, we cannot import any meaning into the sentence. Here is the only meaning it could bear: 'Am I to be blamed for feeling this grief, or rather for having acted in such a manner as to forfeit these blessings, or at least not to forfeit them but by death?' It will be at once seen how utterly devoid of logical consecution are the words in italics. Omitting *non*, the words give an excellent sense, and convey a sentiment which Cicero has frequently expressed in his letters from exile: 'am I to be blamed for feeling such grief? or am I to be blamed rather for having acted in such a manner as to forfeit these blessings, or at least for having acted in such a manner as to forfeit them while still retaining my life' (*aut certe quod commisi ut vivus amitterem*, 'as to forfeit them while still retaining my life')? This sentiment recurs repeatedly in Cicero's letters from exile. His first error was 'his having incurred the loss of all his blessings and glories,' *quod commisi ut haec non retinerem*; but his second and worse error was 'his having incurred these losses, and allowed himself to survive,' *quod commisi ut haec vivus amitterem*. Madvig saw the complete want of connexion in the ordinary reading, and proposed to get the meaning which we have given to the sentence by reading *non aut* for *aut non*

before *retinerem*; but it seems to us that *non aut* almost immediately succeeded by *aut . . . non* would be somewhat confusing. His conjecture is certainly far from improbable, and it may with some reason be urged that *aut certe* demands that an expressed negative should follow. However, the arrangement of the sentence given involves a very slight change, and supposes on the part of the copyist a very likely blunder. One might thus convey the meaning of the sentence as we understand it:—'Am I to be blamed for feeling this grief or for having acted in such a way as to miss either (on the one hand) the retaining of these good things, or (on the other) the satisfaction of not losing them but by death?' The two alternatives are—(1) to keep the good things; (2) to lose them, but to lose life at the same time.

quod facile fuisset] sc. *retinere*. In the 'plots against him within his own walls,' he refers to the treachery of Hortensius and Arrius.

3. *quod et maerore*] 'I write the less because I am let and hindered by my distress of mind, and (because) I have more to expect from you than to tell you myself.' The ellipse of *quod* = 'because' before *quod expectem* (where *quod* is of course the relative) is very harsh. To supply the *quod* (conjunction) before *quod* (relative) would be cacophonous, though Cicero is not very sensitive about such matters, as has been shown above on 20, 2. As the sentence stands it can

et quod exspectem istine magis habeo quam quod ipse scribam. Quae si erunt adlata, faciam te consili nostri certiozem. Tu, ut adhuc fecisti, quam plurimis de rebus ad me velim scribas, ut prorsus ne quid ignorem. Data XIII Kal. Quinct. Thessalonicae.

68. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 11).

THESSALONICA; JUNE 27; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit quae se res adhuc Thessalonicae tenuerint, cupit se iuvari ab Attico, nec tamen obiurgari propter aerumnas suas, Q. fratrem sustentandum commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Me et tuae litterae et quidam boni nuntii non optimis tamen auctoribus et exspectatio vestrarum litterarum et quod tibi ita placuerat adhuc Thessalonicae tenebat. Si accepero litteras quas exspecto, si spes erit ea quae rumoribus adferebatur, ad te me conferam: si non erit, faciam te certiozem quid egerim.

2. Tu me, ut facis, opera, consilio, gratia iuva: consolari iam desine, obiurgare vero noli; quod cum facis, ut ego tuum amorem et dolorem desidero! quem ita adfectum mea aerumna esse arbitror ut te ipsum consolari nemo possit. Quintum fratrem optimum humanissimumque sustenta. Ad me obsecro te ut omnia certa perscribas. Data III Kal. Quinct.

auf die
sinn in
Pisus. 47
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hardly be right. Perhaps we should read *quod et maerore impediō et quod exspecto istine magis quam habeo quod ipse scribam*: cp. 70, *fin.*

ut . . . ne quid] cp. 30, 38 *ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur.*

1. *tenebat*] This is the reading of M¹. The singular is often found with more than one subject when the subject nearest to the verb is in the singular: cp. 7, 1 *quod neque epistulae tuae neque nostra adlegatio tam potest facile delere*; Mil. 14 *cum inesset in re vis et insidiae.*

ad te me conferam] That is, 'I shall go to your property in Epirus' (see 70, 2; 77, 1). Atticus was himself in Rome, but *ad te* means 'to your house': see note on 28, 2, *fin.* In Att. iv. 5, 3 (108), *ad te* is used to designate the town-house of Atticus in contradistinction to his *horti*, or 'suburban villa.' We may suppose that Cicero would not have used here an expression that might more properly mean 'to your town-house,' but that the circumstances of the case rendered it impossible that he should here be taken as referring to Atticus' house in Rome: cp. 75, 2; 77, 1; 81, 4.

69. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 12.)

THESSALONICA; JULY 17; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero scribit de spe quam ostenderit Atticus exigua, de oratione in Curionem perinopportune prolata, de condicione sua, de rebus familiaribus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Tu quidem sedulo argumentaris quid sit sperandum et maxime per senatum, idemque caput rogationis proponi scribis qua re in senatu dici nihil liceat; itaque siletur. Hic tu me accusas quod me afflictum, cum ita sim afflictus ut nemo umquam, quod tute intellegis. Spem ostendis secundum comitia.

Quae ista est, eodem tribuno pl. et inimico consule designato? 2. Percussisti autem me etiam de oratione prolata. Cui vulnere, ut scribis, medere, si quid potes. Scripsi equidem olim ei iratus quod ille prior scripserat, sed ita compresseram ut numquam emanaturam putarem. Quo modo exciderit nescio. Sed quia numquam accidit ut cum eo verbo uno concertarem et quia scripta mihi videtur neglegentius quam ceterae, puto posse probari non esse meam. Id, si putas me posse sanari, cures velim: sin plane perii, minus laboro. 3. Ego etiam nunc eodem in loco iaceo, sine sermone ullo, sine cogitatione ulla. Scilicet tibi, ut scribis, signifi-

1. *Tu quidem sedulo*] 'You argue earnestly about what hope I may entertain, and especially through the action of the Senate; and yet you tell me that the clause of the Clodian bill forbidding any reference to my restoration is actually being posted up. Therefore not a word is said about my case': see 73, 6. Malaspina conjectured *sileri*, which would certainly give a better sense; but it is rash to make an alteration in such cases; *siletur* gives a good sense.

eodem tribuno] 'What hope have I with Clodius re-elected as tribune, and the consul elect my enemy?' In both these vaticinations Cicero proved wrong. Clodius was not re-elected as tribune, and Metellus Nepos, who had been hostile to Cicero in his tribunate, befriended him as consul.

2. *oratione*] sc. in *Curionem*: see 73, 3. *compresseram*] 'suppressed it,' 'kept it out of circulation.'

exciderit] 'got out.' See Att. iv. 17, 1 (149), where probably *lepidum quid ne quo EXCIDAT* should be read.

posse probari non esse meam] The modern detractors of Cicero make this the ground of some very violent denunciations of Cicero. It seems to us that even at the present day if a public man wrote something which, on reflection, seemed likely to injure him, and also seemed unworthy of him in style, he would wish to conceal his authorship, though he would probably not avow such a desire even in a letter to an intimate friend. See for similar charges against the character of Cicero, Att. vi. 6, 4 (276); and Att. xi. 9, 2 (423): see also *Introd. I*, § 2, on this whole subject.

3. *Scilicet tibi, ut scribis, significaram*] The mss give *Licet*; but we must read *Scilicet*, as Cicero does not use *licet* in the sense of 'although' (*Madvig, A. C. iii. 169*); as a consequence we must alter

Metell. Nepos

in Clod. et

Cur., cf. o. p.

214, u. p.

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Wielshänt

Labora ya

lesen

caram ut ad me venires; † si donatam ut † intellego te istic prodesse, hic ne verbo quidem levare me posse. Non queo plura scribere, nec est quod scribam: vestra magis exspecto. Data XVI Kal. Sext. Thessalonicae.

70. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 14).

THESSALONICA; JULY 21; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero ab Attico requirit quid Cn. Pompeius actis nunc iam comitiis de se agi velit, de spe sua, Thessalonicae se nolle amplius commorari propter viae celebritatem, in Epirum se nolle proficisci, fortasse in Asiam iturum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ex tuis litteris plenus sum expectatione de Pompeio quidnam de nobis velit aut ostendat. Comitia enim credo esse habita: quibus absolutis scribis illi placuisse agi de nobis. Si tibi stultus esse videor qui sperem, facio tuo iussu, et scio te me iis epistulis potius et meas spes solitum esse remorari. Nunc velim mihi plane perscribas quid videas. Scio nos nostris multis peccatis in hanc aerumnam incidisse. Ea si qui casus aliqua ex parte correxerit, minus moleste feremus nos vixisse et adhuc vivere. 2. Ego propter viae celebritatem et cotidianam expectationem rerum

significarem to significaram. Schütz transposes *ut scribis* to follow *intellego te*; but it is right where it stands. Atticus had used the word *significare* in his letter in a somewhat unusual sense. Cicero replies, 'of course I did intimate to you (*make you a sign—beckon* you, to use your own expression) to come to me, yet I have for some time been aware that you are useful to me at Rome, but that here you could not relieve me even by a word of comfort': see 67, 1. We have rendered the sentence as emended by Koch, *ut ad me venires; dudum tamen intellego.* Many other attempts have been made to emend the corrupt words *si donatam*: see Adn. Crit. Perhaps the best is that of Madvig, *id omitteremus: intellego*, &c. Munro conjectured *res si idonea tamen, nunc intellego* (*nunc* was written *ne*, hence *ut*).

Non queo] This is in favour of our view of 67, 3.

1. *quidnam . . . ostendat*] 'what view of my case he takes, or puts forward.'

Si tibi stultus] 'If I seem to you to be foolish in indulging a hope, it is you that prompt me to it; and I mind me that it is rather your wont in your correspondence with me to check and discourage me and my hopes (therefore I attach the more significance to the hopeful tone of your recent letters).' Such is the meaning of this passage. It would perhaps be simpler if we adopted *etsi* of the Codex Faerni with Malaspina and Lambinus; but as *et* is the reading of all the other mss (the 'Scidae' of Bosius may be disregarded), it is possibly better to retain it. There is some difficulty about *iis*: how could Atticus 'be accustomed' (*solitum esse*) to check Cicero's hopes in definite letters (*iis epistulis*) which appear to have been of a hopeful character? We should probably read *tuis* or *istis* for *iis*.

novarum non commovi me adhuc Thessalonica. Sed iam extrudimur, non a Plancio—nam is quidem retinet—verum ab ipso loco minime apposito ad tolerandam in tanto luctu calamitatem. In Epirum ideo, ut scripseram, non ii, quod subito mihi universi nuntii venerant et litterae qua re nihil esset necesse quam proxime Italiam esse. Hinc si aliquid a comitiis audierimus, nos in Asiam convertemus neque adhuc stabat quo potissimum, sed scies. Data XII Kal. Sext. Thessalonicae.

71. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 13).

THESSALONICA; AUGUST 5; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico significat se propter imminutam spem salutis suae non fore in Epiro, habitis comitiis quod nihil ad se de salute sua scriptum sit, magis etiam desperat, non vult tamen eo accusari quod afflictus sit in summa desperatione rerum omnium: Cyclicum se proficisci: denique Q. fratrem Attico commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quod ad te scripseram me in Epiro futurum, postea quam extenuari spem nostram et evanescere vidi, mutavi consilium nec me Thessalonica commovi, ubi esse statueram, quoad aliquid ad me de eo scriberes quod proximis litteris scripseras, fore uti secundum comitia aliquid de nobis in senatu ageretur: id tibi Pompeium

2. *commovi me*] Meyer (De Ciceronis in epp. ad Att. sermone, p. 33) notices that the use of *commovere* or *movere* applied to individuals belongs to colloquial style: cp. 71, 1; Att. xiv. 17, 6 (724); Fam. vi. 20, 3 (645); Att. v. 12, 1 (202) *nec me Delo movere*; vii. 16, 3 (313) with Lucilius, 560 (Bährens) *Commovet se nusquam neque committit ut pereat sibi*, and Plaut. Trin. 802 *quin tu hinc te amoves et te moves*.

Plancio] cp. note to 81, 1.

ab ipso loco] sc. *extrudimur*: 'it is the nature of the place which is driving me away.'

In Epirum] 'I did not go to Epirus, as I had said I would, for this reason, that of late all the intelligence I have received and all my letters have told me with one accord that there was no occasion for me to remain so near Italy.' For *universi*, Koch suggests *adversi*, comparing *boni nuntii* (68, 1). This emendation

was made before the time of Malaspina, but was rejected by him on the ground that *adversi* is not the word to apply to *nuntii*, but *graves*, or *tristes*, or *mali*, or such like.

aliquid a comitiis] 'anything of importance from the scene of the elections.'

A is sometimes taken to mean *after*, as in Att. v. 21, 4 (250) *a Lentuli triumpho = post Lentuli tr.*; cp. also 65, 2 *a Pompeio*. This use is very frequent with adverbs, e.g. *confestim a praelio*; and in such phrases as *a puero*. For *aliquid* = 'something of importance,' cp. 73, 5, 8; Att. iv. 2, 2 (91); Tusc. i. 45; v. 104.

stabat] 'is it yet fixed': cp. Fam. ix. 2, 5 (461).

1. *postea quam*] 'When I saw my gleam of hope growing less and less, and finally vanishing.'

secundum comitia] 'immediately after the election of the magistrates in July.'

dixisse. Qua de re, quoniam comitia habita sunt tuque nihil ad me scribis, proinde habebō ac si scripsisses nihil esse, meque temporis non longinqui spe ductum esse *non* moleste feram. Quem autem motum te videre scripseras qui nobis utilis fore videretur, eum nuntiant qui veniunt nullum fore. In tribunis pl. designatis reliqua spes est: quam si exspectaro, non erit quod putes me causae meae, voluntati meorum defuisse. 2. Quod me saepe accusas cur hunc meum casum tam graviter feram, debes ignoscere, cum ita me ad afflictum videas ut neminem umquam nec videris nec audieris. Nam quod scribis te audire me etiam mentis errore ex dolore adfici, mihi vero mens integra est. Atque utinam tam in periculo fuisset! cum ego iis quibus meam salutem carissimam esse arbitrabar inimicissimis crudelissimisque usus sum,

secundum is also used of space: cp. *secundum aurem*, Fam. iv. 12, 2 (613), 'behind the ear.'

nihil esse] sc. *actum de nobis*.

meque temporis] 'And I shall not regret that the hope by which I have been lured had not to await any distant time for its fulfilment or non-fulfilment.' This is clearly the meaning. Cicero is glad that he is put out of pain at once. It would have been worse had he been kept longer in suspense before he found how baseless were his hopes. M, Rom, I, have *meque*; Bosius (of course claiming the authority of X and Y) reads *neque*; and Ernesti *neque me*. We prefer to read *meque* with the mss, and supply *non* before *moleste feram*; and Otto holds the same view. The *non* might have fallen out owing to the almost immediate precedence of another *non*. In his note Müller adds a vast number of cases in which *non* has been omitted by the codices. On the same principle we thought a *non* should be supplied immediately after another *non* at Att. vi. 6, 4 (276) *non dico equidem non quid egerit, sed tamen multo minus, laboro*, 'I don't say I care not, but I care much less, what he has done': but see Lehmann ('Att.', pp. 197-199).

motum] See 64, 3.

quam si exspectaro] 'if I await its issue': cp. above, *temporis longinqui spe*, 'hope destined to find its issue in no long time.'

causae meae, voluntati meorum] This asyndeton between two words is very common in Cic. Epp. Cp. *patrimonio*

fortuna, Att. xi. 9, 3 (423); *officiis liberalitate*, Fam. xiii. 24, 3 (519); *studiis beneficiis*, Fam. vii. 5, 1 (134). See Lehmann, 'Quaest. Tull.', p. 23. This defends the conjecture, *pipulo convicio* for *populi convicio*, in Q. Fr. ii. 10 (12), 1 (133).

2. *accusas cur . . . feram*] This use of *cur* for *propterea quod* is taken from the direct question *cur tam graviter fers*: cp. *illud reprehendo et accuso cur feceris*, Verr. iii. 16; *irascas amicis Cur me funesto propter arceere veterno*, Hor. Ep. i. 8, 10; *corruptum . . . cur ambularem*, Plin. Epp. iii. 5, 16; *consules invasit cur silerent*, Tac. Ann. vi. 4.

audieris] Wesenberg, after *audieris*, supplies *magis*. But this is a needless violation of the ms authority. *ITA afflictum ut neminem umquam nec videris nec audieris* is very like *haec TAM esse QUAM audio non puto*, 53, 9. But the latter passage finds its closest parallel in the next clause but one, where *tam* stands for *tam integra*.

Nam quod] 'You write that you hear my brain is affected by my affliction—no, my brain is quite sound. Would it had been as sound (*tam* sc. *integra*) in the time of my peril.' He refers to the mistake he made in leaving the city before he was assailed by name. The matter is fully dwelt on in 73, 4, 5.

mihi vero] For this use of *vero* in answer to a question see note on *ego vero*, 73, 2 and Index; a good example of this idiom occurs in Planc. 59.

iis quibus meam salutem] See 65, 2

qui, ut me paullum inclinari timore viderunt, sic impulerunt ut
 omni suo scelere et perfidia abuterentur ad exitium meum. Nunc,
 quoniam est Cyzicum nobis eundum, quo rarius ad me litterae
 perferentur, hoc velim diligentius omnia quae putaris me scire
 opus esse perscribas. Quintum fratrem meum fac diligas, quem
 ego miser si incolumem relinquo, non me totum perisse arbitrabor.
 Data Nonis Sextilibus.

72. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. FR. I. 4.)

THESSALONICA; AUGUST (FIRST HALF); A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58;
 AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero dolet sibi amicorum fidem et consilium defuisse. Rogat ut quam reditus
 spem in novis tribunis pl. habere possit frater sibi aperiat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Amabo te, mi frater, ne, si uno meo facto et tu et omnes
 mei corruistis, improbitati et sceleri meo potius quam imprudentiae
 miseriaeque adsignes. Nullum est meum peccatum nisi quod iis
 credidi a quibus nefas putaram esse me decipi, aut etiam quibus
 ne id expedire quidem arbitrabar. Intimus, proximus, familiaris-
 simus quisque aut sibi pertimuit aut mihi invidit: ita mihi nihil
 misero praeter fidem amicorum, cautum meum consilium defuit.
 2. Quod si te satis innocentia tua et misericordia hominum vindi-

nos non inimici sed invidi perdidierunt;
 82, 2 *aut stultorum amicorum aut impro-*
borum.

inclinari] 'to waver.'
abuterentur] *abuti* means 'to consume
 in the use,' 'use up': cp. Att. xvi. 6, 4
 (775); and *usus non abusus legatur*, Top.
 17. It is used in a good sense, Nat.
 Deor. ii. 151; in a bad sense, Rosc. Am.
 54, the sense being generally (but not
 always) fixed by a qualifying adverb.
 It is often, 'to misuse,' 'abuse': cp.
 ἀποχρησθαί.

1. *imprudentiae miseriaeque]* 'my piti-
 able shortsightedness': for the *hendiadys*,
 see 1, 1, and *inertiae nequitiaeque*, Catil.
 i. 4.

putaram] 'I had made up my mind
 (that they could not be so wicked as to
 play me false).'

arbitrabar] 'it never entered my head
 (that it could be for their interest to de-
 sert me).'

Intimus] The allusion is to Hortensius
 and Pompey. Pompey *sibi pertimuit*,
 Hortensius *mihi invidit*. For the asyn-
 deton, cp. *consiliis promissis praeceptis*,
 66, 8.

ita mihi nihil] Klotz believes that
defuit fell out after *amicorum*. But this
 would make Cicero say that there was no
 want of judgment on his part—that the
 only thing wanting was the honest sup-
 port of his friends. Now he has just
 asked Quintus to attribute their common

cat hoc tempore a molestia, perspicis profecto equaenam nobis spes salutis relinquatur. Nam me Pomponius et Sestius et Piso noster adhuc Thessalonicae retinuerunt, cum longius discedere propter nescio quos motus vetarent. Verum ego magis exitum illorum litteris quam spe certa exspectabam. Nam quid sperem potentissimo inimico, dominatione obtrectatorum, infidelibus amicis, plurimis invidis? 3. De novis autem tribunis plebis est ille quidem in me officiosissimus Sestius et, spero, Curius, Milo, Fadius, Fabricius, sed valde adversante Clodio, qui etiam privatus eadem manu poterit contiones concitare, deinde etiam intercessor parabitur. 4. Haec mihi proficiscenti non proponebantur, sed saepe triduo summa cum gloria dicebar esse rediturus. Quid tu igitur? inquires. Quid? multa convenerunt quae mentem exturbarent meam: subita defectio Pompei, alienatio consulum, etiam praetorum, timor publicanorum, arma. Lacrimae meorum me ad mortem ire prohibuerunt, quod certe et ad honestatem et ad effugiendos intolerabilis

fall to his want of judgment. Therefore, we incline to adopt the conjecture of Malaspina, who marks no lacuna, and reads *defuit* for *fuit*: 'there was nothing wanting in my case but good faith in my friends, and good judgment in myself.' There was no *improbitas* or *scelus*, but there was *imprudentia*. See also the last words of this letter.

2. *molestia*] 'a prosecution.'

Pomponius] Atticus. Sestius, tribune elect, took an active part in the restoration of Cicero, and was subsequently defended by him successfully. Piso was Cicero's son-in-law.

motus] 64, 3. There were certain prospects of a rupture between the triumvirs, which Cicero's friends hoped would issue in his restoration.

Verum] 'It was rather the letters of these friends than any definite hopes of my own that made me await the issue of these commotions.'

potentissimo inimico] Clodius.

obtrectatorum] the triumvirs.

3. *Curius*] Probably M. Curius, to whom is addressed Fam. xiii. 49 (163). He was *quaestor* in 693 (61), and trib. pl. in 697 (57). Cicero had been *quaestor* to his father, post Red. in Sen. 21.

Fadius] See 83, 4. To him is addressed Fam. v. 18 (180).

Fabricius] The conjecture of Manutius for *Gratidius*, which is perhaps

possible to defend; cp. 30, 10, Flacc. 49, where *Gratidius* is mentioned as a legate of Quintus. He appears to have been second cousin of Quintus. Fabricius was one of the tribunes who brought in the bill for Cicero's recall: post Red. in Sen. 22; Mil. 38; Sest. 75.

manu] 'gang.'

4. *consulum*] Most probably the consuls of this year, Piso and Gabinius, not the consuls elect, though he did apprehend opposition from Metellus Nepos (69, 1), who, with Lentulus Spinther, was consul elect for 697 (57). Cicero says (53, 2, fin.), *consules se optime ostendunt*; but we know from Dio Cass. xxxviii. 15, fin., compared with *ibid.* 16, 17, that Piso and Gabinius at first seemed likely to defend Cicero, but afterwards proved hostile. See also Pis. 29. As he refers to the consuls of this year, so also he refers to the praetors, not to the praetors elect. He had spoken (53, fin.) of the praetors in the same terms as the consuls: how or why they changed in feeling towards Cicero we do not know.

timor publicanorum] (1) 'fear lest they should become hostile,' for hitherto they were well disposed to Cicero: see 30, 6; (2) or, better, 'the timid support given me by the publicani,' 'the hesitating attitude of the publicani.'

arma] 'the Clodian gangs of roughs.' Bücheler wishes to add *Clodi* or *inimi-*

So bei Wiel.

dolores fuit aptissimum. Sed de hoc scripsi ad te in ea epistula quam Phaëthonti dedi. Nunc tu, quoniam in tantum luctum laboremque detrusus es quantum nemo umquam, si levare potest communem casum misericordia hominum, scilicet incredibile quiddam adsequeris: sin plane occidimus—me miserum!—ego omnibus meis exitio fuero quibus ante dedecori non eram. 5. Sed tu, ut ante ad te scripsi, perspice rem et pertempta et ad me, ut tempora nostra non ut amor tuus fert, vere perscribe. Ego vitam, quoad putabo tua interesse aut ad spem servandam esse, retinebo. Tu nobis amicissimum Sestium cognosces: credo tua causa velle Lentulum, qui erit consul. Quamquam sunt facta verbis difficiliora. Tu et quid opus sit et quid sit videbis. Omnino, si tuam solitudinem communemque calamitatem nemo dispexerit, aut per te

corum. Perhaps *latronum*; the word dropped out owing to the virtual identity of the first four letters of *lacrimae*.

quantum nemo umquam] The preposition is not repeated: cp. 77, 2 in *tantam spem . . . quantam*; Att. viii. 11 D, 3 (343) in *eadem opinione qua reliqui*; De Legibus iii. 33 in *ista sententia qua*. When the verb in both clauses is the same, and the same prep. governs antecedent and relative, the prep. need not be repeated, Mayor on Phil. ii. § 26.

5. *quoad . . . interesse*] Cicero thought his services as an advocate might be available for his brother even while he was in exile. He might, if Quintus were hard pressed, write a speech which would be delivered by some friend on his behalf.

ad spem servandam] This may be rendered—(1), 'as long as I think it ought to be preserved for the hope of better things': cp. *Planc. 13 tempora . . . ad quae tu te ipse servaras*; or (2) *servandam* may agree with *spem*, not with *vitam*, and then *ad* will have the same sense as in *ad medicinam*, 63, 2; *ad sustentandum*, Att. vi. 1, 14 (252). We should then render, 'As long as I think it (my life) is calculated to afford grounds for the maintenance of hope.'

tua causa velle] Cp. *Fam. i. 1, 1* (95) *regis causa si qui sunt qui velint*. So *Div. in Caec. 21*.

Quamquam sunt] 'it is easier to say soft words than to do kind deeds,' which implies that Lentulus had spoken kindly, but perhaps would not be so ready to act; or (perhaps), 'but it is easier for me to talk than for you to act.' But it

seems that we might extract a very fair meaning from the ms reading, *quamquam sed non sunt facta verbis difficiliora*, by marking an aposiopesis after *quamquam*. Cicero was about to discuss further the reality of the friendship of Lentulus; but he suddenly breaks off, remembering that it will be easier for Quintus on the spot to take the necessary steps to conciliate or improve the good feeling of Lentulus, than for him in his absence to weigh the *pros* and *cons* of the question; for in the meantime some act of Lentulus might give a quite different complexion to the whole case. It would then be rendered, 'Yet—but enough of this; this is a case where it is not more difficult for you to act than for me to discuss the question. You, who are on the spot, will see what is going on and what is to be done.' This explanation should not be rejected without some attempt to account for the supposed corruption of the *Med.* in this passage.

nemo dispexerit] 'It comes to this: if no one shows his sense of, sees into (*dispexerit*), your unprotected condition (in my absence) and of our common ruin (i.e. by prosecuting you), then you will be able to do something to effect my return, or else it will be proved impossible.' The mss appear to read *despexerit*, and not *dispexerit*. But the change is slight; and ms authority on such a point is of small weight. Lachmann lays it down that *dispicere aliquid* or *despicere in aliquid* means 'to look upon a thing,' while *despicere aliquid* is 'to despise a thing': cp. Munro's crit. note on *Lucret. iv. 418*. Perhaps, however, Cicero wrote *respex-*

Grunt? s.
Boeckel zu
Att. 3, 13 extra
cf. p. 395

mir wohl-
wollen

aliquid confici aut nullo modo poterit: sin te quoque inimici vexare coeperint, ne cessaris: non enim gladiis tecum sed litibus agetur. Verum haec absint velim. Te oro ut ad me de omnibus rebus rescribas et in me animi aut potius consili minus putes esse quam antea, amoris vero et officii non minus.

Wiel. Ep. 72

73. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 15).

THESSALONICA; AUGUST 17; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico ad quattuor quas acceperat epistulas respondet: ad primam, qua obiurgatus erat quod tanto opere adfigeretur, de misera condicione sua exponit et de hominibus a quibus Atticus se salutem sperare iubeat subdubitat, se accusans propter sua peccata, de sermone ab Attico cum Culleone habito de privilegio, et quaerit quid agere de se Romae velint amici: se acta Kal. Sext. Thessalonicae expectare, donec statuatur utrum in Epirum in agros Attici an Cyzicum se conferat, ab Attico vult effici ut restituatur aut, si id fieri non possit, certior fieri vult sibi nihil esse sperandum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Accepi Id. Sext. quattuor epistulas a te missas: unam, qua me obiurgas et rogas ut sim firmior, alteram, qua Crassi libertum ais tibi de mea sollicitudine macieque narraſſe, tertiam, qua demonstras acta in senatu, quartam de eo quod a Varrone scribis tibi esse confirmatum de voluntate Pompei. 2. Ad primam tibi hoc scribo, me ita dolere ut non modo a mente non deserar sed id ipsum doleam, me tam firma mente ubi utar et quibuscum non habere. Nam si tu me uno non sine maerore cares, quid me censes

erit: cp. *nisi quis nos deus respexerit*, 22, 6. The sense would then be, 'On the whole, if no one regards (turns a pitying glance on) your unprotected state (that is, 'if nobody will lend you a helping hand'), you must either do something yourself, or we are completely lost.'

tecum] Cicero implies that Quintus was better in the field than in the law courts, and that he would have to use all his energies to defend himself in this unwanted arena. We read *tecum* with Rom. for *mecum* of M. A defence, however, may possibly be made for the latter. The meaning (retaining *mecum*) would be, 'but if you are prosecuted, you will have to bestir yourself; for then all the animosity of my enemies, abandon-

ing open hostility, will take the form of proceedings in the law courts (against you).' Possibly we should read *non enim gladiis <tecum ut> mecum sed litibus agetur*. This would give a fair sense, and account in some measure for the corruption of the ms.

1. *quod a Varrone*] 'the assurances about the view of Pompey which you say Varro gave you.'

2. *me ita dolere ut*] 'that my distress is of such a nature as not in the least to affect my mental faculties—nay, of such a nature as to make me feel distressed that I have no sphere or society in which to display the vigour of my mental powers.'

qui et te et omnibus? Et, si tu incolumis me requiris, quo modo a me ipsam incolumitatem desiderari putas? Nolo commemorare quibus rebus sim spoliatus, non solum quia non ignoras, sed etiam ne rescindam ipse dolorem meum. Hoc confirmo, neque tantis bonis esse privatum quemquam neque in tantas miserias incidisse. Dies autem non modo non levat luctum hunc sed etiam auget. Nam ceteri dolores mitigantur vetustate, hic non potest non et sensu praesentis miserae et recordatione praeteritae vitae cotidie augeri. Desidero enim non mea solum neque meos sed me ipsum. Quid enim sum? Sed non faciam ut aut tuum animum angam querelis aut meis vulneribus saepius manus adferam. Nam quod purgas eos quos ego mihi scripsi invidisse et in eis Catonem, ego vero tantum illum puto ab isto scelere afuisse ut maxime doleam plus apud me simulationem aliorum quam istius fidem valuisse. Ceteros quod purgas, debent mihi probati esse, tibi si sunt. 3. Sed haec sero agimus. Crassi libertum nihil puto sincere locutum. In senatu rem probe scribis actam. Sed quid Curio? an illam orationem non legit? quae unde sit prolata nescio. Sed Axius eiusdem diei scribens ad me acta non ita laudat Curionem. At potest ille aliquid praetermittere, tu, nisi

incolumis] 'in the enjoyment of all your civil rights.' *Incolunitas* is opposed to *calamitas*.

rescindam] 'to open a wound': cp. *Fam.* v. 17, 4 (179) *ne refricem . . . dolorem tuum*, which is just the same as *vulneribus manus adferam* below. Also, *Ovid Met.* xii. 542 *Quid me meminisse malorum cogis, et obdutos annis rescindere luctus.*

vetustate] See on 12, 16. Cp. *multa vetustas lenit*, *Ovid, Ars Am.* ii. 647.

cotidie augeri] See note on 26, 7.

ego vero . . . puto] 'why, I hold him to have been so far from any such baseness that it makes my chief grief to think that the treachery of others had more weight with me than his loyalty.' *Ego vero* is constantly used in this corroborative sense, in answer to a question or statement, 'Yes, I hold him guiltless.'

Ceteros quod purgas] 'As to your defence of the conduct of the others, if you think their hands are clean, they must be approved by me.' For the reading see *Adn. Crit.* The sentence is a querulous and grudging lip-assent to excuses Atticus made on behalf of certain public men at Rome.

3. *Crassi libertum*] He here refers to the contents of the *second* letter spoken of in § 1. The freedman of Crassus had said that Cicero was looking ill. Cicero says his sympathy was simulated; or else he refers to something else in the letter not mentioned above.

In senatu] The contents of the third letter, § 1.

illam orationem] The speech of which he says above (69, 2) that *in Clodium et Curionem*, of which he thinks its authorship might be disowned. Some of the fragments of it which are still preserved are quoted on 22, 10. Curio spoke in Cicero's behalf, wherefore Cicero asks 'is it possible that he has not read my invective against him?' Curio the elder is referred to, the younger being always spoken of by Cicero as *Curio meus*, or *adulescens*, or *filius*.

ita laudat] perhaps, 'does not quote Curio to that effect,' which seems to agree better with *at potest ille aliquid praetermittere*. But of course it may mean, 'does not give so favourable an account of Curio's conduct'; though the latter use of *ita* is not so normal as the former.

cf. p. 214.
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quod erat, profecto non scripsisti. Varronis sermo facit expectationem Caesaris, atque utinam ipse Varro incumbat in causam! quod profecto cum sua sponte tum te instante faciet. 4. Ego, si me aliquando vestri et patriae compotem fortuna fecerit, certe efficiam ut maxime laetere unus ex omnibus amicis, meaque officia et studia quae parum antea luxerunt—fatendum est enim—sic exsequar, ut me aequae tibi ac fratri et liberis nostris restitutum putes. Si quid in te peccavi ac potius quoniam peccavi ignosce; in me enim ipsum peccavi vehementius. Neque haec eo scribo quo te non meo casu maximo dolore esse adfectum sciam, sed profecto, si quantum me amas et amasti tantum amare deberes ac debuisses, numquam esses passus me quo tu abundabas egere consilio, nec esses passus mihi persuaderi utile nobis esse legem de collegiis perferri. Sed tu tantum lacrimas praebuisti dolori meo, quod erat amoris, tamquam ipse ego: quod meritis meis

Varronis sermo] he here passes to the fourth letter mentioned in § 1.

facit expectationem Caesaris] 'gives me hope of Caesar's support.' The objective gen., like *timor publicanorum* (according to one explanation) in 72, 4; and *expectationem convivi istius*, 37, 2.

4. luxerunt] 'were conspicuous': cp. Sest. 60 *virtus . . . quae lucet in tenebris*.

Neque haec eo scribo quo] cp. Ter. Heaut. 554 *neque eo nunc dico quo quisquam illum senserim*. Often *non quo* with *eo* omitted: e. g. 52, 1; 77, 1; Fam. xi. 21, 2 (893); Att. xv. 22 (755).

tantum amare deberes ac debuisses] This is to be taken in close connexion with *in me ipsum peccavi vehementius*. 'In failing in my duty to you, I really failed still more in my duty to myself (not that you did not deeply feel my affliction, but) if all the love you bear me and have borne to me were earned by services on my part all along (if in loving me you were now, and had been all along, discharging a debt, repaying an obligation), you would never have suffered me to stand in need of that judgment of which you have so much; you would never have allowed me to be persuaded that it was for my interest that the Clodian bill for restoring and multiplying the clubs should pass. You gave to my distress, as I did myself, only tears—which showed your affection; but what might (if I had any obligation to

urge) have been brought about, namely, that day and night you should think over what course I should take—that was neglected through my own fault, not yours.' Cicero considers that Atticus did all that could be expected from a friend, but that if he himself had taken care to lay Atticus under obligations when he had the power to do so, the zeal of Atticus would have led him to devote such considerations to the case of his friend and benefactor as might have prevented Cicero from taking the false step he did in leaving the city before he was attacked by name. The ingenious conjecture of Pius, who, for *tantum amare deberes et debuisses*, reads *tantum amorem re exhibuisses*, is by no means to be accepted. So violent a remedy should be applied only in desperate cases. Besides, the conjecture of Pius does not harmonise with the succeeding context. Cp. *debemus*, Fam. i. 1, 4 (95). Boot (*Obs. Critt.* p. 46) explains the passage as we do. Madvig wishes to bracket *amare*.

collegiis] cp. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 13 τὰ ἑταιρικά κολλήγια ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, ὄντα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, καταλυθέντα δὲ χρόνον τινα (in 690, b. c. 64), ἀνευρώσατο. These 'clubs,' 'companies,' 'chapters' were for social, mercantile, or religious purposes, but might easily be made political engines, as they had been previously.

Lex Clodia, Cic. cl. Orat. VIII p. 154

perfectum potuit ut dies et noctes quid mihi faciendum esset cogitares, id abs te meo, non tuo scelere praetermissum est. Quod si non modo tu sed quisquam fuisset qui me Pompei minus liberali responso perterritum a turpissimo consilio revocaret, quod unus tu facere maxime potuisti, aut occubuissem honeste aut victores hodie viveremus. Hic mihi ignosces. Me enim ipsum multo magis accuso, deinde te quasi me alterum et simul meae culpae socium quaero, ac si restitutor, etiam minus videbimur deliquisse, abs teque certe, quoniam nullo nostro, tuo ipsius beneficio diligemur. 5. Quod te cum Culleone scribis de privilegio locutum, est aliquid, sed multo est melius abrogari. Si enim nemo impedit, sic est firmitus? Sin erit qui ferri non sinat, idem senatus consulto intercedet. Nec quidquam aliud opus est [quam] abrogari. Nam prior lex nos nihil laeдебat. Quam si, ut est promulgata, laudare voluissemus aut, ut erat neglegenda, neglegere, nocere omnino nobis non potuisset. Hic mihi primum meum consilium defuit,

potuit] This is the ms reading. Orelli conjectured *oportuit*, which Klotz accepts; but for a full defence of *potuit* as a characteristic usage of the letters of Cicero, see note on 36, 1 *citius quam potuit*. The ellipse of *esse* is also characteristic.

scelere] 'culpable imprudence,' 'neglect': see on 66, 2.

Quod si] 'If you, or no matter who, had dissuaded me from my ignominious resolve (to fly from the city), when alarmed by the ungenerous reply of Pompey—and you were certainly the proper person to dissuade me—I should have died honourably, or I should have been this day the conqueror of Clodius.'

minus liberali responso] cp. Att. x. 4, 3 (382) *se nihil contra huius* (Caesaris) *voluntatem facere posse*. See also Pis. 77, and Introd. to the letters of this year.

Hic] 'in this matter,' that is, 'when I condemn your conduct.'

si restitutor] 'If I am restored, our common error will be still further diminished in my eyes; and to you at least I shall be endeared by your services to me, since I can lay claim to no services done by me to you.' This passage is a further confirmation of the needlessness of the conjecture of Pius, quoted above.

5. *Quod te cum Culleone*] We think Cicero probably wrote *tecum Culleonem*. Why would Atticus mention Culleo at all if the suggestion had not emanated from

Culleo? The meaning of the whole passage is this: Q. Terentius Culleo, one of the tribunes (cp. Plut. Pomp. 49), had suggested to Atticus that the law interdicting Cicero from fire and water could be attacked as a *privilegium*, or law directed against an individual, which was forbidden by the Twelve Tables. It could therefore be set aside by a decree of the Senate. But, argues Cicero, it is better that it should be abrogated directly in the regular manner by the passing of a new bill rescinding it. For this is the most secure method in the absence of any opposition; and, supposing opposition were offered, the decree of the Senate would be quite as difficult to carry, for it would be as easy to *veto* the decree of the Senate as the bill.

sic est firmitus] So the Italian mss, except that *nor* have *firmus*. See Adn. Crit. The German family has *quid est firmitus*. Madvig wishes to read *s. c.* (i.e. *senatus consulto*), which is certainly ingenious, and is adopted by Lehmann.

Nec quidquam aliud] 'nor is there any need to have anything else abrogated (but the bill of interdiction, passed against Cicero by name, *ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit*). For the former bill (*qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset ei aqua et igni interdiceretur*) did not touch me' (not being aimed at me by name). Schütz has rightly bracketed *quam*.

expecta-
causam!
Ego, si
rit, certe
e officia
nim—sic
restitutum
ignosce;
eo scribo
nam, sed
e deberes
bas egere
se legem
sti dolori
tis meis

at, namely,
think over
at was neg-
not yours.
t all that
but that
lay Atticus
the power
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nufactor as
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g the city
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ases, reads
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xxviii. 13
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ll. VIII p. 154

sed etiam obfuit. Caeci, caeci, inquam, fuimus in vestitu mutando, in populo rogando, quod, nisi nominatim mecum agi coeptum esset, fieri perniciosum fuit. Sed pergo praeterita, verum tamen ob hanc causam ut, si quid agetur, legem illam in qua popularia multa sunt ne tangatis. 6. Verum est stultum me praecipere quid agatis aut quo modo. Utinam modo agatur aliquid! In quo ipso multa. *Multa* occultant tuae litterae, credo, ne vehementius desperatione perturber. Quid enim vides agi posse aut quo modo? Per senatumne? At tute scripsisti ad me quoddam caput legis Clodium in curiae poste fixisse, NE REFERRI NEVE DICI LICERET. Quo modo igitur Domitius se dixit relaturum? Quo modo autem, iis quos tu scribis et de re dicentibus et ut referretur postulanti- bus, Clodius tacuit? Ac, si per populum, poteritne nisi de omnium tribunorum pl. sententia? Quid de bonis? quid de domo? poteritne restitui? Aut, si non poterit, egomet quo modo potero? Haec nisi vides expediri, quam in spem me vocas? Sin autem spei nihil est, quae est mihi vita? Itaque exspecto Thessalonicae acta Kal. Sext., ex quibus statuam in tuosne agros

sed etiam] Boot has shown quite satisfactorily that *sed etiam* may stand in a subsequent clause without any such expression as *non solum* in the foregoing part of the sentence. For what can be more uncritical than to insert *non solum* or to mark a lacuna (as Klotz does here) when Boot has produced such an array of passages in which the mss agree in giving *sed etiam*, as here, without any precedent *non solum*? The passages are these: Att. iv. 18, 2 (154); v. 21, 6 (252); x. 16, 6 (402); Fam. xiii. 64, 2 (235); xvi. 16, 2 (927); Q. Fr. i. 1, 44 (30). Surely the copyists did not err in all these cases. And be it observed that if we suppose them to have erred, we must suppose them to have found an easy, unmistakable phrase, and written a rare and doubtful one—to have found *non solum . . . sed etiam*, and to have written *sed etiam* alone.

vestitu mutando] cp. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 14, 7 τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀπορρίψας ἐν τῇ ἱππᾷ περιερόσσει.

pergo praeterita] sc. *explicare*, 'I still dwell on the past. But it is to prevent you from meddling with the first law, in which there are many elements of popularity.' That is the law, *qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset ei igni*

et aqua interdiceretur. So Att. iv. 11, 1 (124) *perge reliqua*; and Legg. ii. 69 *perge cetera*.

6. *In quo ipso multa*] 'On which much depends' (it is important that we should be seen to be up and doing).

Multa occultant] We have supplied a second *multa*, as in 49, 1 *utinam mansisses*; *MANSISSES profecto*; and in next letter in the final words, *quae putabis, ut putabis*.

At] M has *Ast*, but see Adn. Crit.

in curiae poste fixisse] See 69, 1.

Domitius] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was praetor this year, Piso and Gabinius consuls. Consuls, praetors, and tribunes could put a question; but the consuls took precedence. They refused to put the question of Cicero's recall, though the other senators appealed to them to do so (*ut referretur postulanti- bus*), and declined to hear Piso and Gabinius on any other question.

poteritne] 'will it be possible?' See above, § 4, and note on 36, 1.

quo modo potero] sc. *restitui*, 'how can I be restored to my former state?'

acta Kal. Sext.] 'The Gazette of the 1st of August.' This contained the proceedings in the Senate, and was first regularly published every day in the first consulship of Caesar in 695 (59) (Suet.

f. Dr. II 2191

videlicet:
Dr. II 208, 9

confugiam, ut neque videam homines quos nolim et te, ut scribis, videam et propius sim, si quid agatur—idque intellexi cum tibi, tum Quinto fratri placere,—an abeam Cyzicum. 7. Nunc, Pomponi, quoniam nihil impertisti tuae prudentiae ad salutem meam, quod aut in me ipso satis esse consili decreras aut te nihil plus mihi debere quam ut praesto esses, quoniamque ego proditus, inductus, coniectus in fraudem, omnia mea praesidia neglexi, totam Italiam iam erectam ad me defendendum destitui et reliqui, me meos meis tradidi inimicis inspectante et tacente te, qui, si non plus ingenio valebas quam ego, certe timebas minus: si potes, erige adflictos et in eo nos iuva: sin omnia sunt obstructa, id ipsum fac ut sciamus, et nos aliquando aut obiurgare aut communiter consolari desine. Ego si tuam fidem accusarem, non me potissimum tuis tectis crederem: meam amentiam accuso, quod *me* a te tantum amari quantum ego vellem putavi: quod si fuisset, fidem eandem, curam maiorem adhibuisses, me certe ad exitium praecipitantem retinuisses, istos labores quos nunc in naufragiis nostris suscipis non subisses. 8. Qua re fac ut omnia ad me perspecta et explorata perscribas meque, ut facis, velis esse aliquem, quoniam qui fui et qui esse potui iam esse non

Jul. 20), though previously such a gazette had occasionally been published by private individuals, e.g. the debate on the Catilinarian conspiracy by Cicero (Sall. Catil. 41-44). The *acta diurna* were somewhat like our newspaper, containing a list of births and deaths, and 'occasional notes,' recording prodigies, conflagrations, a list of the games, and interesting events in private life, in which the names were not suppressed: cp. Fam. ii. 15, 5 (273). This gazette was compiled by certain *actuarii* assisted by *notarii* (shorthand writers), edited by some government official (probably the censors under the republic), and then posted in public. Certain scribes (*operarii*) made copies of these *acta*, and sold them to the wealthy, especially in the provinces: cp. Caelius in Fam. viii. 1, 2 (192).

7. *inductus*] 'taken in,' 'deceived.' Plautus uses *perductus* in the same sense. *iam*] So we read with Orelli for the corrupt *in me* of the mss. Otto suggests *nire*.

me meos meis] So Bosius conjectured. For the mss readings see Adn. Crit.

sin omnia sunt obstructa] 'if every path is closed against me.'

communiter consolari] 'to offer me the commonplace kind of consolations.' Lehmann quotes Pis. 96 *quis denique communi salutatione dignum putet*: Att. ix. 9, 3 (364) *age, esto; hoc commune est*. Analogous is the ordinary *communes loci*. To translate 'to console me and my family in common' gives an inappropriate and feeble sense, though *communiter consolari* is susceptible of that meaning: cp. Fam. xiii. 12, 1 (453), *communiter commendavi legatos*. The reading *comiter* has probably arisen from the abbreviated form of *communiter*. See Adn. Crit.

naufragiis] For the same metaphor, pushed to a far greater length, see Att. iv. 19, 2 (158) *haec enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat*.

non subisses] 'you would have escaped all the trouble which you are now taking to procure my restoration' (for you would have prevented my banishment).

8. *aliquem*] 'somebody,' 'of some importance.' See on 70, 2.

Plautus

!!

possum, et ut his litteris non te, sed me ipsum a me esse accusatum putes. Si qui erunt quibus putes opus esse meo nomine litteras dari, velim conscribas curesque dandas. Data XIV Kal. Sept.

74. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 16).

THESSALONICA; AUGUST 19; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De incerto itinere propter expectationem litterarum et de parva spe sua Attici litteris iterum lectis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Totum iter mihi incertum facit expectatio litterarum vestrarum Kal. Sext. datarum. Nam si spes erit, Epirum: si minus, Cyzicum, aut aliud aliquid sequemur. Tuae quidem litterae, quo saepius a me leguntur, hoc spem faciunt mihi minorem, quae cum . . . lectae sunt, tum id quod attulerunt ad spem infrimant, ut facile appareat te et consolationi servire et veritati, itaque te rogo plane ut ad me quae scies ut erunt, quae putabis *ut putabis*, ita scribas. Data XII Kal.

meo nomine] 'in my name.' Letters were so generally written by the *amanuensis* that Atticus could easily write a letter purporting to come from Cicero. In Att. vi. 6, 4 (276), Cicero tells us that he did such a service for Atticus. Cicero dictated to an *amanuensis* a letter speaking highly of Caelius, and then read it to the latter, as a letter received by him from Atticus. *Meo nomine* is not, therefore, to be taken to mean, 'on my account.'

aliud aliquid sequemur] 'take some other direction.'

quae cum . . .] Klotz marks a lacuna here, which Boot makes a good attempt to supply by the words *quae cum <leguntur spem faciunt; cum> lectae sunt*

tum id, &c. Z has *laetae* for *lectae*, which had suggested itself as a very probable conjecture before we knew it had no authority. Then there would be no lacuna; and the meaning would be, 'which (letters) are cheerful in tone, but also are careful not to excite too much hope, so that it is plain that you are devoted at the same time to the task of consoling me and the cause of truth.' Wesenberg gives *laetae* in his text. Lehmann fills up the lacuna in this way, *quae cum <laetae sint dum leguntur, cum> lectae sunt tum*, &c.

ut putabis] is well inserted by Bosius from 2: cp. last letter, § 6, 'when you have news of which you are certain, give it as it is; and in cases where you can only surmise, give me your real surmises.'

75. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 17.).

THESSALONICA; SEPTEMBER 4; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De variis nuntiis et sollicitudine de itinere Q. fratris, de exigua spe sua, de summo suo erga Atticum amore.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Quinto fratre nuntii nobis tristes nec varii venerant ex ante diem III Non. Iun. usque ad prid. Kal. Sept. Eo autem die Livineius, L. Reguli libertus, ad me a Regulo missus venit. Is omnino mentionem nullam factam esse nuntiavit, sed fuisse tamen sermonem de C. Clodi filio isque mihi $\dagger\bar{q}\bar{m}\dagger$ fratre litteras attulit. Sed postridie Sesti pueri venerunt, qui a te litteras attulerunt non tam exploratas a timore quam sermo Livinei fuerat. Sane sum in meo infinito maerore sollicitus et eo magis quod Appi quaestio est. 2. Cetera quae ad me eisdem litteris scribis de nostra spe intellego esse languidiora quam alii ostendunt. Ego autem, quoniam non longe ab eo tempore absumus in quo res diiudicabitur, aut ad te conferam me aut etiam nunc circum haec loca commorabor. 3. Scribit ad me frater omnia sua per te unum sustineri. Quid te aut hortet, quod facis, aut agam gratias, quod non exspectas? Tantum velim fortuna det nobis potestatem ut incolumes amore nostro perfruamur. Tuas litteras semper maxime exspecto, in quibus cave vereare ne aut diligentia tua mihi molesta aut veritas acerba sit. Data prid. Non. Septembr.

1. *Is omnino*] 'He says there was no notice whatever lodged with the praetor of an intended prosecution of Quintus, but that there was a rumour that the prosecutor would be Appius, the son of C. Clodius' (and therefore nephew of P. Clodius). *cf. p. 387*

qm fratre] The reading a Q. fratre (that of Klotz) is not satisfactory, for if Cicero had received a letter from Quintus, he would hardly have spoken so doubtfully. The letter spoken of in § 3 arrived after Sept. 1.

non tam exploratas a timore] 'not so positive (satisfactory) as regards the degree of apprehension I ought to feel': a is, 'on the score of': cp. 10, 2 *inopes ab existimatione*; Att. v. 18, 2 (218) (loco) *copioso a frumento*; vii. 15, 3 (311) *imparati cum a militibus tum a pecunia*; viii.

14, 1 (349) *tempus mutum a litteris*.

Appi] This was the brother of P. Clodius (and uncle of the Appius, son of C. Clodius, mentioned above). The case of Quintus was to come before him as praetor. He was consul in 700 (54); and it is to him that Cicero addressed the letters of Fam. iii.

2. *languidiora*] 'less sanguine.'

3. *quod facis*] sc. *facere*: 'why should I exhort you to do what you are already doing, or offer my thanks which you do not expect?' For *quod*, in the words *quod non exspectas*, where we should rather have expected *quas*, see note on 12, 13, where this usage is shown to be characteristic of the letters and the comic stage. Cp. also 30, §§ 13, 23, 36.

vereare] The correction of Wesenberg for *vereri*; *cave* with the infin. does not

76. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 18).

THESSALONICA ; SEPTEMBER (MIDDLE) ; A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ;
AET. CIC. 48.

Expectatione non parva excitata eo quod scripserat Atticus Varronem confirmasse Pompeium suam causam suscepturum, vult certior fieri quid Romae in sua causa agatur ; de Q. fratris litteris itemque de Attici.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Expectationem nobis non parvam attuleras, cum scripseras Varronem tibi pro amicitia confirmasse causam nostram Pompeium certe suscepturum et, simul a Caesare ei litterae quas expectaret remissae essent, actorem etiam daturum. Utrum id nihil fuit, an ^{adversatae} sunt Caesaris litterae? an est aliquid in spe? Etiam illud scripseras, eundem 'secundum comitia' dixisse. 2. Fac, si vides quantis in malis iaceam et si putas esse humanitatis tuae, me fac de tota causa nostra certiozem. Nam Quintus frater, homo mirus, qui me tam valde amat, omnia mittit spei plena, metuens, credo, defectionem animi mei. Tuae autem litterae sunt variae: neque enim me desperare vis nec temere sperare. Fac, obsecro te, ut omnia quae perspicere a te possunt sciamus.

occur in Cicero, though found in Sallust, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, and Pliny.

1. *pro amicitia*] 'as a friend.'

simul] = simul ac.

actorem] 'an agent.' Pompey was himself Cicero's *auctor salutis*; but the instrument whom Pompey chose to carry out his plan was Lentulus the consul.

Utrum id] 'did it come to nothing, or did Caesar's letter prove unfavourable? or is there still room for hope?'

2. *homo mirus*] Boot lays down that *homo mirus* means, 'a strange fellow' (one whom you cannot make out); *homo mirificus*, cp. Att. iv. 11, 2 (124), 'an admirable man.' Perhaps the distinction is rather this, that *mirificus* is generally used of men, and *mirus* very rarely. For

another example Mr. Goligher refers us to Att. xv. 29, 2 (768). *Mirabilis* is also applied to men (28, 1). But *mirus*, if applied to men, seems to have the same meaning as *mirificus* and *mirabilis*. Surely here Cicero calls Quintus 'an admirable' brother, who, through fraternal affection, sends far too sanguine reports. There is nothing 'strange, inexplicable' in his conduct. In fact, Cicero explains it here. In the next letter he calls Quintus *optimi atque unici fratris*. Perhaps, however, we should read *amet*, and render 'whose affection for me is really inexplicable' (when one considers how much I have injured him). He often dwells on the injuries he has done to his brother. Dr. Reid conjectures *miser*, referring to 83, 5. The word we should wish to find is *unicus*.

77. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 19).

THESSALONICA; SEPTEMBER 15; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

* Significat M. Cicero quas ob causas iam in Epirum se conferre cogitet, se nolle, quamvis tenui spe ad huc sustentetur, causam suam suorumque deserere: T. Pomponium maximo opere orat et obsecrat ut se suosque tueatur sibi que pueros cum litteris mittat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Quoad eius modi mihi litterae a vobis adferebantur ut aliquid ex iis esset exspectandum, spe et cupiditate Thessalonicae retentus sum: postea quam omnis actio huius anni confecta nobis videbatur, in Asiam ire nolui, quod et celebritas mihi odio est et, si fieret aliquid a novis magistratibus, abesse longe nolebam. Itaque in Epirum ad te statui me conferre, non quo mea interesset quae esset loci natura qui lucem omnino fugerem, sed et ad salutem libentissime ex tuo portu proficiscar et, si ea praecisa erit, nusquam facilius hanc miserrimam vitam vel sustentabo vel, quod

1. in Asiam] i.e. to Cyzicus.
celebritas] 'company,' 'society,' 'the madding crowd.'

ad te] 'to your property in Epirus.' Atticus was himself in Rome: see note on *apud nos* in 28, 3, where a slightly different usage of *ad te* is noticed.

quae esset loci natura] 'not that it is of any consequence to me what the character of the place may be.' See Adn. Crit. *Quae esset* was inserted by Müller. The words *quae esset* immediately succeeding the word *INTERESSET* would, very probably, be omitted. This is the commonest case of ἀβαρῆσια. Yet many editors here adopt the ms reading, and make *natura* the nominative to *interesset*. It is very rash to ascribe to Cicero such a usage as *loci natura interest*, 'the nature of the place is of consequence.' Cicero never has such a construction except with pronouns, nor indeed any other writer with *interest*; though *refert* has a personal construction in Plaut., Lucr., and Plin. Müller, in his Teubner ed., does not add *quae esset*; and as would appear from the many instances he gives of a personal use of *refert*, he supposes a similar construction possible with *interest*. But we

think that impossible. If *quae esset* is not added, we must take *loci natura* as ablative, 'not that I have any particular interest in the place derived from the nature of the spot.' Such corrections as *loci natura frui* (Kayser) and *locum mutare* (Boeckel) are unnecessary and improbable: better is *e loci natura* (E. Hoffmann).

qui lucem omnino fugerem] 'since I completely avoid appearing in public': cp. in *luce Asiae*, 30, 9, and De Sen. 12 *nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior*. These words are sometimes translated 'since I loathe the very light.' Cicero says above, 63, 1, *odi enim celebritatem, fugio homines, lucem aspicere vix possum*, where *lucem* of course means 'the light of day'; but *lucem fugerem* here is parallel to *fugio homines*, not to the italicised words in 63.

sustentabo . . . abiecero] For the fut. perf. used in much the same sense as the simple future: cp. Roby, 1485; Mayor on Phil. ii. 118; Madv. Latin Grammar, 340, note 4. In Fam. xiii. 65, 2 (236), we have *ornaris . . . feceris . . . capies . . . adfeceris*.

multo est melius, abiecero. *Ero cum paucis: multitudinem dimittam.* 2. Me tuae litterae numquam in tantam spem adduxerunt quantam aliorum. Ac tamen mea spes etiam tenuior semper fuit quam tuae litterae. Sed tamen, quoniam coeptum est agi, quoquo modo coeptum est et quacumque de causa, non deseram neque optimi atque unici fratris miseras ac luctuosas preces nec Sesti ceterorumque promissa nec spem aerumnosissimae mulieris Terentiae nec miserrimae [mulieris] Tulliolae obsecrationem et fidelis litteras tuas. Mihi Epirus aut iter ad salutem dabit aut quod scripsi supra. 3. Te oro et obsecro, T. Pomponi, si me omnibus amplissimis, carissimis iucundissimisque rebus perfidia hominum spoliatum, si me a meis consiliariis proditum et proiectum vides, si intellegis me coactum ut ipse me et meos perderem, ut me tua misericordia iuves et Quintum fratrem, qui potest esse salvus, sustentens; Terentiam liberosque meos tueare; me, si putas te istuc visurum, exspectes, si minus, invisas, si potes, mihi que ex agro tuo tantum adsignes quantum meo corpore occupari potest: et pueros ad me cum litteris quam primum et quam saepissime mittas. Data XVI Kal. Octobr.

2. *in tantam spem . . . quantam*] For the omission of the preposition *in* before *quantam*, see note on 72, 4. This passage shows clearly that the tone of the letters of Atticus was *not* hopeful.

deseram] 'be wanting to,' 'disappoint': cp. *salus deseratur*, Fam. i. 7, 8 (114); *an tu me cum in summam expectationem adduxeris, deseris?* Tusc. i. 39.

Sesti] tribune elect for the following year. See 78, 3.

quod scripsi supra] sc. *mortem*. He refers to the words above, *vitam . . . abiecero*.

3. *T.*] For this we should probably read the usual *mi*.

proiectum] 'cast away,' a *vox propria* for exiles: cp. Ovid Pont. ii. 3, 30,

vix duo proiecto tresve tulistis opem.

istuc] in Rome. 'If you think there is any chance of seeing me in Rome, wait for me there; if not, come to me in Epirus if possible, and let me have of your land there—enough for a grave.'

78. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 20).

THESSALONICA; OCTOBER 4; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero gratulatur Attico de eius adoptione per Q. Caecilium avunculum iam mortuum facta, de condicione et spe sua, de domo sua et ceteris rebus suis, quas universas Attico commendat, de humanitate Attici, de rogatione Sesti.

CICERO S. D. Q. CAECILIO Q. F. POMPONIANO ATTICO.

1. Quod quidem ita esse et avunculum tuum functum esse officio vehementissime probo, gaudere me tum dicam, si mihi hoc verbo licebit uti. Me miserum! quam omnia essent ex sententia, si nobis animus, si consilium, si fides eorum quibus credidimus non defuisset! quae colligere nolo, ne augeam maerorem. Sed tibi venire in mentem certo scio quae vita esset nostra, quae suavitas, quae dignitas. Ad quae recuperanda, per fortunas! incumbe, ut facis, diemque natalem reditus mei cura ut in tuis aedibus amoenissimis agam tecum et cum meis. Ego huic spei et

[Cicero S. D., &c.] Cicero salutem dicit Q. Caecilio Quinti filio Pomponiano Attico.

1. *Quod quidem ita esse*] The words refer to the superscription of the letter, in which Cicero conveys his knowledge of the fact that the uncle of Atticus had died, adopting Atticus in his will, and leaving him a large fortune (10,000,000 sesterces, according to Nepos Att. 5, 2). T. Pomponius Atticus now became Q. Caecilius Pomponianus Atticus, his uncle's name having been Q. Caecilius. In Att. iv. 15, 1 (143), Cicero, in thanking Atticus for manumitting a slave, Euty-chides, at his request, observed that the new freedman's name will be T. Caecilius, by a combination of Atticus' old *praenomen*, Titus, and his (Atticus') new *nomen* by adoption, Caecilius. Boot points out that, in two other letters, Fam. i. 10 (162) and vii. 29 (677), the meaning of the first sentence of the letter depends on the superscribed address. So also in Fam. xvi. 18 (692).

animus] 'courage and judgment (on my part); honesty on the part of my friends.' See 72, 1.

colligere] 'to review in the mind,' 'think over': cp. De Inv. i. 1 *cum . . . maximarum civitatum veteres animo calamitates colligo*.

esset] 'what my life was, how charming and how dignified' (what a position).

per fortunas] 'in the name of fortune.' It is strange that this should be in the plural, in which number *fortuna* means 'circumstances,' whether good or bad. So *per fortunas* should mean 'I adjure you in the name of our weal or woe.' He uses the same phrase afterwards: e.g. Att. v. 11, 1 (200), v. 13, 3 (203), when not in affliction, but merely as a strong adjuration. See also 82, 5, where he says *per miseram fortunam*.

diemque natalem] 'the day of my restoration,' 'my second birthday.' So he speaks of his restoration as *παλιγγενεσία*, or 'second birth': cp. Att. vi. 6, 4 (276). The actual day on which Cicero returned to Italy, August 5, was also his daughter's birthday, and the anniversary of the foundation of the colony of Brundisium, and of the building of the Temple of Salus: cp. Sest. 131.

reuerent
(Sest. Sic
Adoption)

expectationi, quae nobis proponitur maxima, tamen volui ^{erwarten} praestolari apud te in Epiro, sed ita ad me scribitur ut putem esse commodius non eisdem in locis esse. 2. De domo et Curionis oratione, ut scribis, ita est. In universa salute, si ea modo nobis restitueretur, inerunt omnia, ex quibus nihil malo quam domum. Sed tibi nihil mando nominatim, totum me tuo amori fideique commendo. Quod te in tanta hereditate ab omni occupatione expedisti valde mihi gratum est. Quod facultates tuas ad meam salutem polliceris, ut omnibus rebus a te praeter ceteros iuver, id quantum sit praesidium video intellegoque te multas partis meae salutis et suscipere et posse sustinere neque ut ita facias rogandum esse. 3. Quod me vetas quidquam suspicari accidisse ad animum tuum quod secus a me erga te commissum aut praetermissum videretur, geram tibi morem et liberabor ista cura, tibi tamen eo plus debebo quo tua in me humanitas fuerit excelsior quam in te mea. Velim quid videas, quid intellegas, quid agatur ad me scribas tuosque omnis ad nostram salutem adhortere. Rogatio Sesti neque dignitatis satis habet nec cautionis. Nam et nominatim ferri oportet et de bonis diligentius scribi, et id animadvertas velim. Data III Non. Octobr. Thessalonicae.

praestolari] *praestolari* is always followed by the dative in Cicero, though in the comic poets it takes the accusative, and once even the genitive.

2. *ea . . . restitueretur*] sc. *salus*.

multas partis] 'have a large share in my restoration.'

3. *accidisse ad animum*] 'that it had ever entered your mind that I was guilty of any sin of commission or omission against you.' *Humanitas*, 'consideration,' 'generosity.'

tamen] 'indeed on the contrary.' In a fine discussion on the word *tamen* (*De epp. ad Att. recensendis*, pp. 194-5), Lehmann says: 'haud paucis locis non eam vim habet ut aliquid introducatur quod plane contrarium sit eis quae antecedunt, sed ut altera aut nova res adferatur: itaque *tamen* non nunquam idem atque *praeterea* sonat.' Among the passages which he adduces in support of that view he might well have mentioned this one. But we think the statement that

tamen is virtually equivalent to *praeterea* requires the qualification, that there is always some note of opposition to the previous clause. Thus here the meaning is—'I shall be far from entertaining the unpleasant feeling of suspicion that you were displeased with me; indeed I shall entertain the pleasant feeling of heightened obligation to you for showing greater consideration to me than I showed to you.' For good remarks on the *humanitas* of the last century of the Roman Republic, see § 3 of O. E. Schmidt's Introduction to 'Briefe Ciceros und seiner Zeitgenossen,' Heft i. He finds, in Cicero's life and writings, our most important source from which to learn the *humanitas* of the ancients.

Rogatio Sesti] 'The bill of Sestius (for my restoration) is not drawn up respectfully enough nor carefully enough. The bill brought in ought expressly to name me, and there should be a carefully constructed clause about my effects.'

79. TO TERENTIA AND HIS FAMILY, IN ROME
(FAM. XIV. 2).

THESSALONICA ; OCTOBER 5 ; A. U. C. 696 ; B. C. 58 ; AET. CIC. 48.

Cicero Terentiae brevitatem litterarum excusat, C. Pisonis generi officia laudat, dolet Terentiae vicem, rogat ut doti parcat et valetudini suae operam det.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS.

1. Noli putare me ad quemquam longiores epistulas scribere, nisi si quis ad me plura scripsit cui puto rescribi oportere. Nec enim habeo quid scribam nec hoc tempore quidquam difficilius facio. Ad te vero et ad nostram Tulliolam non queo sine plurimis lacrimis scribere. Vos enim video esse miserimas, quas ego beatissimas semper esse volui idque praestare debui et, nisi tam timidi fuissetis, praestitisset. 2. Pisonem nostrum merito eius amo plurimum. Eum, ut potui, per litteras cohortatus sum gratiasque egi, ut debui. In novis tribunis pl. intellego spem te habere. Id erit firmum, si Pompei voluntas erit, sed Crassum tamen metuo. A te quidem omnia fieri fortissime et amantissime video nec miror, sed maereo casum eius modi ut tantis tuis miseriis meae miseriae sublevantur. Nam ad me P. Valerius, homo officiosus, scripsit, id quod ego maximo cum fletu legi, quem ad modum a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam ducta esses. Hem, mea

1. *praestitisset*] 'I should have secured,' 'should have been able to guarantee' (your happiness).

2. *novis tribunis*] Of the tribunes of 697 (57), the most active in Cicero's behalf were T. Annius Milo, P. Sestius, and Q. Fadius.

si Pompei voluntas erit] sc. *firma*.
casum eius modi] 'I grieve for circumstances which cause.' But probably we should insert *esse*, with Ernesti.

P. Valerius, homo officiosus] my kind friend, P. Valerius.

a Vestae ad tabulam Valeriam] Terentia had probably taken refuge in the temple of Vesta, where her half-sister was one of the Vestals. *Tabula Valeria* is 'the Bank of Valerius.' It seems to have been customary in Rome for a person about to make a solemn statement as to

his solvency or such like matters to repair to a banker's, and there make the statement in presence of witnesses. It was to make such a solemn declaration that Naevius summoned his friends *ad tabulam Sestiam* (pro Quinct. 25). Terentia was probably forced by Clodius to repair to the bank of Valerius, there to make some declaration about her husband's estate, probably that no effects had been made away with, or that she was not keeping his property under the pretence that it was hers. See § 3, note. We see from a previous letter that Cicero had resorted to some means to evade the full rigour of the confiscation. See his last letter to Terentia (62, 4). Compare also Att. v. 8, 2 (193), where Cicero shows how he can save part of Milo's *familia* from the confiscation, and secure her dower to Fausta,

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VI 615, 3

lux, meum desiderium, unde omnes opem petere solebant! te nunc, mea Terentia, sic vexari, sic iacere in lacrimis et sordibus! idque fieri mea culpa, qui ceteros servavi, ut nos periremus!

3. Quod de domo scribis, hoc est, de area, ego vero tum denique mihi videbor restitutus, si illa nobis erit restituta. Verum haec non sunt in nostra manu. Illud doleo, quae impensa facienda

d. H. 4, 17.
4, 27 domus
auctificator,
in beneficiis
Terentianum

Milo's wife. It cannot have been merely to borrow money that Terentia was taken to the *tabula Valeria*. There would have been no humiliation if she had had credit enough to borrow from the bank; and no object in taking her there if she had not. The idea of Manutius that the *tabula Valeria* was a sort of tribune's court, whither Terentia was conducted to give security for some payments, is quite baseless, resting only on an obscure passage (Vat. 21), which implies no more than that some tribunes happened to be at the *tabula Valeria*, perhaps in the discharge of their private affairs. *Tabula* is doubtless to be explained as above; but it might possibly here mean 'an auction-room' or 'counter' (strictly, 'auction-bill,' Off. iii. 68), as in Att. xii. 40, 4 (584); xiii. 33, 4 (636). There would be then a reference to some public sale of Cicero's goods; however, this had probably been long since effected. The origin of the name of this *tabula Valeria* is given by the author of the *Schol. Bobiensis*, p. 318 (Orelli), on the words (Vat. 21) *Et a tabula Valeria collegae tui mitti iuberent*. The schol. is this: 'Hi collegae intercesserant P. Vatinio furenti M. Bibulum in invidiam ducit [iubenti M. Bibulum in vincula duci, Orelli]. Quod vero ad tabulam Valeriam pertinere videatur, loci nomen sic ferebatur quemadmodum ad tabulam Sestiam, cuius meminit pro Quinctio; ita et ad tabulam Valeriam dicebatur, ubi Valerius Maximus tabulam rerum ab se in Gallia [Sicilia, Mai] prospere gestarum proposuerat ostentui vulgo.' There is also a passage in Pliny, xxxv. 22, which apparently bears on the *tabula Valeria*, and tells us its topographical position in Rome; it is this: (*picturae*) *dignatio praecipua Romae increvit, ut existimo, a M. Valerio Maximo Messala, qui princeps tabulam picturae proeli, quo Carthaginiensis et Hieronem in Sicilia vicerat, proposuit in latere Curiae Hostiliae anno ab urbe condita ccccxx.* It would follow then that the *tabula Sestia* was so called from being the place where once hung

a picture commemorating the victories of some (what?) Sestius, and the phrase *ad tabulam Sestiam* would merely indicate a certain definite spot in Rome. But it is plain that the *tabula Sestia* spoken of in the *or. pro Quinctio*, § 25, as well as the *tabula Valeria* here, was a place at which it was customary to make some formal declaration; and it seems rash to infer that the *tabula Sestia* was named from the exploits of some unknown Sestius, even though we accept the account of the Scholiast as to the origin of the designation of the *tabula Valeria*.

open petere] that is, they used to entreat her good offices to gain the advocacy of her husband.

te . . . vexari] the interjectional infin. *servavi . . . periremus*] His action in the matter of Lentulus and his accomplices had saved the Senate and wrought his own ruin. See post Red. in Sen. 4 *ille annus quem ego mihi quam patriae malueram esse fatalem*.

3. *tum . . . si*] cp. Catull. xvi. 7, 8:

Qui tum denique habent salem ac leporem
Si sunt molliculi ac parum pudici.

Illud doleo] 'What distresses me is that you, in your miserable and impoverished condition, should incur any part of the necessary expenses. Of course, if my restoration be effected, we gain everything; but should the same disastrous fortune again pursue me, will you be so foolish as to throw away the scanty remains of your fortune? Pray allow others who can, if they will, to bear the expenses requisite, and do not, for my sake, tax your already impaired strength.' Cicero wishes that, while the matter is yet uncertain, Terentia should leave the necessary expenses to his wealthy friends. If his restoration were certain, it would be no matter how much she spent. He wishes that Terentia should reserve her own property (which seems to have been spared) for the support of herself and son if the attempt to restore him should fail: see 82, 5, where the argument here hinted at

est, in eius partem te miseram et despoliatam venire. Quod si conficitur negotium, omnia consequemur: sin eadem nos fortuna premet, etiamne reliquias tuas misera proicies? Obsecro te, mea vita, quod ad sumptum attinet, sine alios qui possunt, si modo volunt, sustinere, et valetudinem istam infirmam, si me amas, noli vexare. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris: omnis labores te excipere video: timeo ut sustineas. Sed video in te esse omnia. Qua re, ut id quod speras et quod agis consequamur, servi valetudini. 4. Ego ad quos scribam nescio, nisi ad eos qui ad me scribunt, aut ad eos de quibus ad me vos aliquid scribitis. Longius, quoniam ita vobis placet, non discedam, sed velim quam saepissime litteras mittatis, praesertim si quid est firmitus quod speremus. Valete, mea desideria, valete. D. a. d. III Nonas Octobris, Thessalonicae.

80. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 21.)

THESSALONICA; OCTOBER 28; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero Attico scribit se velle ire in Epirum, et rogat ut se de omnibus rebus certiore faciat et quibus opus putet suo nomine litteras scribat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Triginta dies erant ipsi, cum has dabam litteras, per quos nullas a vobis acceperam. Mihi autem erat in animo iam, ut antea ad te scripsi, ire in Epirum et ibi omnem casum potissimum exspectare. Te oro ut, si quid erit quod perspicias, quaecumque in partem quam planissime ad me scribas, et meo nomine, ut scribis, litteras quibus putabis esse opus ut des. Data v Kal. Novembris.

is plainly put. It may, perhaps, be inferred from 84, 5, that if the attempt to restore him had failed, Cicero would have destroyed himself.

4. *ad quos scribam*] Terentia had probably urged him to write more to influential persons in his own behalf; the emphatic *ego* shows that the words are the answer to some suggestion of Terentia.

D] = *data*.

ipsi] 'exactly 30 days': ep. *detraxit xx ipsos dies etiam apfractus Rhodiorum*, Att. vi. 8, 4 (281). So also *nunc ipsum*, &c.

quaecumque in partem] 'whether for good or evil.' Compare the phrase *in bonam partem accipere*. So *magnam vim esse fortunae in utramque partem*, Off. ii. 19; *mitiorem in partem interpretarere*, Mur. 64.

81. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 22).

THESSALONICA AND DYRRACHIUM; NOVEMBER 25; A. U. C. 696;

B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De litteris Q. fratris et Pisonis acceptis, Attici exspectatis, se etiam nunc a Plancio retineri, de Lentuli studio et Pompeii voluntate, de Metello, de desiderio suorum. Haec scripsit Thessalonicae; dedit autem Dyrrachi.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Etsi diligenter ad me Quintus frater et Piso quae essent acta scripserant, tamen vellem tua te occupatio non impedisset quo minus, ut consuesti, ad me quid ageretur et quid intellegeres perscriberes. Me adhuc Plancius liberalitate sua retinet iam aliquotiens conatum ire in Epirum. Spes homini est iniecta non eadem quae mihi, posse nos una decedere: quam rem sibi magno honori sperat fore. Sed iam, cum adventare militēs dicentur, faciendum nobis erit ut ab eo discedamus. Quod cum faciemus, ad te statim mittemus, ut scias ubi simus. 2. Lentulus suo in nos officio, quod et re et promissis et litteris declarat, spem nobis non nullam adfert Pompei voluntatis. Saepe enim tu ad me scripsisti eum totum esse in illius potestate. De Metello scripsit ad me frater quantum speraret profectum esse per te. 3. Mi Pomponi, pugna ut tecum et cum meis mihi liceat vivere et scribe ad me omnia. Premor luctu, desiderio cum omnium rerum *tum meorum*, qui mihi me cariores semper fuerunt. Cura ut valeas.

4. Ego quod, per Thessaliam si irem in Epirum, perdiu nihil eram auditorus et quod mei studiosos habeo Dyrrachinos, ad eos

1. *Plancius*] Cn. Plancius was now quaestor in Macedonia. He had been *trib. mil.* in the same province, and was after *trib. pl.*; he was defended by Cicero in 700 (54).

una decedere] 'to leave for Italy together.'

militēs] of Piso, the consul of this year, who was coming to his province of Macedonia.

mittemus] 'send word to you,' as 52, 1.
2. *eum*] 'that he (Pompey) would do anything for him,' i.e. for Lentulus, the consul for 697 (57).

De Metello] 'With regard to Metellus Nepos [the other consul for 697 (57)], my brother tells me you have done for me all that he hoped.' Wesenberg reads *sperasset*, because Quintus would have said in his letter *quantum speravi* (or *speraveram*) *profectum est per T. Pomponium*; but he might also have said *quantum spero*.

3. *luctu, desiderio*] Perhaps the comma should be omitted after *luctu*. 'I am oppressed with grief through regret for,' &c. For the reading, see Adn. Crit.

de Pisonis

cf p. 406

perrexi, cum illa superiora Thessalonicae scripsissem. Inde cum ad te me convertam, faciam ut scias, tuque ad me velim omnia quam diligentissime, cuiusmodi sunt, scribas. Ego iam aut rem aut ne spem quidem exspecto. Data vi Kal. Decembr. Dyrrachi.

82. TO HIS FAMILY, IN ROME (FAM. XIV. 1).

DYRRACHIUM; NOVEMBER 25; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

Cicero Terentiae uxori scribit de calamitatis suae magnitudine, de spe restitutionis, de familia, de Cn. Planci officiis, de C. Pisonis humanitate, de componendis discordiis domesticis, de dote retinenda, de itineris sui rationibus.

TULLIUS TERENTIAE SVAE, TULLIOLAE SVAE, CICERONI
SUO S. D.

1. Et litteris multorum et sermone omnium perfertur ad me incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse teque nec animi neque corporis laboribus defatigari. Me miserum! te ista virtute, fide, probitate, humanitate in tantas aerumnas propter me incidisse! Tulliolamque nostram, ex quo patre tantas voluptates capiebat, ex eo tantos percipere luctus! Nam quid ego de Cicero dicam? qui cum primum sapere coepit, acerbissimos dolores miseriasque percepit. Quae si, tu ut scribis, fato facta putarem, ferrem paullo facilius, sed omnia sunt mea culpa commissa, qui ab iis me amari putabam qui invidabant, eos non sequebar qui petebant. 2. Quod si nostris consiliis usi essemus neque apud nos tantum valuisset sermo aut stultorum amicorum aut improbo-

4. *ad te*] 'to your property in Epirus.' *cuiusmodi*] for *cuiuscuiusmodi*; in Old Latin the *s* would be elided, and then we should have *cuiu'cuiu'modi*, which would soon become *cuiusmodi* (Boot). Kennedy, *Public School Grammar*, p. 144, looks on *cuiusmodi* as a gen. for *cuiuscuiusmodi*, *cuius* (*quois*) being scanned as a monosyllable (*cuis*) in the scenic poets; cp. Prof. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 445. Roby thinks *cuiusmodi* may be a locative, § 1311.

aut rem aut ne spem quidem] 'I look forward to some definite step (towards my restoration), or else utter despair.'

1. *qui ab iis*] Cicero, though always an Optimate at heart, was at first disposed

to adopt an attitude independent of the Optimates, as Pompey did. But after he had been raised by the Optimates to the consulate, he stood forth as their champion. He now sees that he was mistaken in supposing that they really regarded him as their champion. He was envied by men like Hortensius: looked down on by men like Lucullus.

qui petebant] 'who wanted me'; referring to the overtures originally made by the anti-Optimate party: or perhaps it is to be understood as referring to Caesar's offer of a post as his legate.

2. *stultorum . . . aut improborum*] 'misguided' (like Atticus, and perhaps Cato); or 'treacherous' (like Hortensius and Arrius); cp. 66, 8.

rum, beatissimi viveremus. Nunc, quoniam sperare nos amici iubent, dabo operam ne mea valetudo tuo labori desit. Res quanta sit intellego quantoque fuerit facilius manere domi quam redire. Sed tamen, si omnis tribunos pl. habemus, si Lentulum tam studiosum quam videtur, si vero etiam Pompeium et Caesarem, non est desperandum. 3. De familia, quo modo placuisse scribis amicis, faciemus. De loco, nunc quidem iam abiit pestilentia, sed quam diu fuit, me non attigit. Plancius, homo officiosissimus, me cupit esse secum et adhuc retinet. Ego volebam loco magis deserto esse in Epiro, quo neque ^{Plancius} Piso veniret nec milites, sed adhuc Plancius me retinet: sperat posse fieri ut mecum in Italiam decedat. Quem ego diem si videro et si in vestrum complexum venero ac si et vos et me ipsum reciperaro, satis magnum mihi fructum videbor percepisse et vestrae pietatis et meae. 4. Pisonis humanitas, virtus, amor in omnis nos tantus est ut nihil supra possit. Utinam ea res ei voluptati sit! gloriae quidem video fore. De Q. fratre nihil ego te accusavi, sed vos, cum praesertim tam pauci sitis, volui esse quam coniunctissimos. 5. Quibus me voluisti agere gratias, egi, et me a te certiore factum esse scripsi. Quod ad me, mea Terentia, scribis te vicum vendituram, quid, obsecro te—me miserum!—quid futurum est? Et, si nos premet eadem fortuna, quid puero misero fiet? Non queo reliqua scribere—tanta vis lacrimarum est—neque te in eundem fletum adducam. Tantum scribo: si erunt in officio amici, pecunia non derit: si non erunt, tu efficere tua pecunia non poteris. Per fortunas mise-

cf. p. 404
cf. p. 364

cf. p. 404

ipso frat.

no doubt, belonged to Terentia's marriage portion. Cicero is strongly opposed to her selling the property, for the reasons laid down in 79, 3, which see, with note. M here reads vendituram, which construction it would appear was by some of the ancients regarded as possible: see the discussion in Aulus Gellius (i. 7). But as the other mss read vendituram, we should regard the reading of M simply as a mistake.

Tantum scribo] 'This is all I have to say: if my friends do their part, there will be abundance of money; if they do not, you will not be able to effect my restoration with yours.'

Per fortunas miseram nostras] See 78, 1.

tuo labori desit] 'fail to second your exertions.'

3. familia] See 62, 4.

loco] i.e. the place where I now am, viz. Thessalonica. Terentia had been told that Thessalonica was visited by an epidemic.

Piso] This is doubtless the right reading: see Adn. Crit. Piso was the proconsul of Macedonia, and he would come with a large body of soldiers. Cicero and he were never on really friendly terms.

4. possit] For the ellipse of *esse*, cp. 73, 4; also 36, 1; 53, 14; and notes thereon.

5. vicum vendituram] 'that you will sell your village,' Marquardt, i. 8. This,

Tantum scribo] 'This is all I have to say: if my friends do their part, there will be abundance of money; if they do not, you will not be able to effect my restoration with yours.'

Per fortunas miseram nostras] See 78, 1.

Tantum scribo] 'This is all I have to say: if my friends do their part, there will be abundance of money; if they do not, you will not be able to effect my restoration with yours.'

Per fortunas miseram nostras] See 78, 1.

ras nostras, vide ne puerum perditum perdamus. Cui si aliquid erit ne egeat, mediocri virtute opus est et medioeri fortuna, ut cetera consequatur. 6. Fac valeas et ad me tabellarios mittas, ut sciam quid agatur et vos quid agatis. Mihi omnino iam brevis expectatio est. Tulliolae et Ciceroni salutem dic. Valete. D. a. d. vi Kalendas Decembris Dyrrachi.

glaube mir
noch an eine
kurze Warte-
zeit

7. Dyrrachium veni, quod et libera civitas est et in me officiosa et proxima Italiae. Sed si offendet me loci celebritas, alio me conferam: ad te scribam.

83. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 23).

DYRRACHIUM; NOVEMBER 29; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

M. Cicero ad tris epistulas Attici respondet et maxime de lege ea conscribenda praecipit qua ipse revocetur. In extrema epistula Atticum rogat ut uno impetu rem suam conficiat, sin id minus perfici possit, suos eius fidei commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. A. d. v Kal. Decembr. tris epistulas a te accepi, unam datam a. d. viii Kal. Novembr., in qua me hortaris ut forti animo mensem Ianuarium expectem eaque quae ad spem putas pertinere de Lentuli studio, de Metelli voluntate, de tota Pompei ratione perscribis. In altera epistula praeter consuetudinem tuam diem non adscribis, sed satis significas tempus. Lege enim ab octo tribunis pl. promulgata scribis te eas litteras eo ipso die dedisse,

perditum perdamus] cp. *nota noscere*, Plaut. Mil. 636; *inventum inveni*, Capt. 441 (where, however, see Prof. Lindsay's note); *actum agere*, Ter. Phorm. 419.

Cui si] 'If he has enough to keep him from want, but little excellence on his part or good fortune will be requisite to completely reinstate him.

6. *brevis expectatio*] 'my suspense cannot now last long.'

7. *libera*] an independent state; and accordingly a Roman exile would there be *sui iuris*: cp. Att. iii. 2 (57) *pro meo iure*.

ad te] Starker and Schmalz propose to read *ante ad te*, and Wesenberg *quo ad te* or *atque ad te*.

pertinuit, 61, 1; *ad multa quadrare*, Att. iv. 19, 2 (158); *quicquam ad spem* = 'any hopeful sign,' Att. xi. 15, 1 (430); 20, 1 (444).

Lege enim] This was the bill for Cicero's recall, which was brought forward by eight tribunes, Oct. 29, and is not to be confounded with the bill of Ninnius, brought in on the Kalends of June, and vetoed by Aelius Ligus (who is doubtless the person referred to in the words *ut etiam Ligurino modo satisfaciam*, Att. v. 20, 6 (228); cp. Sest. 68). Even though vetoed, it might have a good effect on the new tribunes, as showing a change of feeling. Hence *quid putes utilitatis . . . attulisse*.

1. *ad spem . . . pertinere*] Cp. *ad multa*

id est, a. d. IIII Kalend. Novembr., et quid putes utilitatis eam promulgationem attulisse perscribis. In quo si iam nostra salus cum hac lege desperata erit, velim pro tuo in me amore hanc inanem meam diligentiam miserabilem potius quam ineptam putes: sin est aliquid spei, des operam ut maiore diligentia posthac a novis magistratibus defendamur. 2. Nam ea veterum tribunorum pl. rogatio tria capita habuit, unum de redivit meo scriptum incaute. Nihil enim restituitur praeter civitatem et ordinem: quod mihi pro meo casu satis est, sed quae cavenda fuerint et quo modo te non fugit. Alterum caput est tralaticium de impunitate, SI QUID CONTRA ALIAS LEGES EIUS LEGIS ERGO FACTUM SIT. Tertium caput, mi Pomponi, quo consilio et a quo sit inculcatum vide. Scis enim Clodium sanxisse ut vix aut ut omnino non posset nec per senatum nec per populum infirmari sua lex. Sed vides numquam esse observatas sanctiones earum legum quae abrogarentur. Nam si id esset, nulla fere abrogari posset—neque enim ulla est quae non ipsa se saepiat difficultate abrogationis—sed, cum lex abrogatur, illud ipsum abrogatur quo minus eam abrogari oporteat. 3. Hoc quom et re vera ita sit,

In quo si iam] ‘And I shall take this opportunity of saying, if by this time all chance of my restoration has been lost with the bill, I hope you will think the trouble I am about to take (in examining the bill) a subject for pity rather than contempt.’

novis] The mss give *nostris*, ‘who are in my favour’: cp. *nostris trib.*, § 3. However, Corradus’ conjecture, *novis*, seems more probable owing to the antithesis in *veterum*, § 2.

2. *veterum*] i.e. the tribunes of 695, 696 (59, 58), colleagues of Clodius, the *octo tribuni* referred to above. Cicero did not yet know whether the bill had passed or not.

ordinem] ‘my place in the Senate.’
pro meo casu] ‘under my sad circumstances.’

quae cavenda] especially his house and property, as we gather from previous letters.

Alterum caput] ‘The second clause is the traditional one providing indemnity for the proposers, if in carrying out the law any other law be infringed.’ *Ergo* = *causa*.

sanxisse] ‘has provided sanctions such

as to make it almost or altogether impossible to repeal his law.’

sed, cum lex abrogatur] ‘when a law is abrogated, with it is abrogated the sanction forbidding its abrogation.’ *Quo modo* is the reading of M. Baier keeps *quo modo*; and Watson renders, ‘when a law is repealed, the very sanction against repeal (*illud ipsum*) is repealed in the way in which the law itself must be repealed.’ But surely this would require *oportet* instead of *oporteat*. Klotz reads *quo minus*, supposing the corruption to have arisen from the compendious way of writing *minus*. Dr. Reid suggests *quom*.

3. *Hoc quom*] See Adn. Crit. ‘Though this theory (that the clause forbidding the repeal is repealed with the law) is the true one, and has always been observed and acted on, yet my eight tribunes have inserted this clause: *If there be any proposal in this bill which, by the laws or the decrees of the people (which, mark you, include the Clodian bill), it be not lawful to propose now (at the rogatio), or was not lawful (at the promulgatio), without thereby incurring a penalty; whether that proposal be an enactment, a repeal, a partial repeal, or a modification of an old*

et quom semper ita habitum observatumque sit, octo nostri tribuni pl. caput posuerunt hoc: SI QUID IN HAC ROGATIONE SCRIPTUM EST, QUOD PER LEGES PLEBISVE SCITA, hoc est, quod per legem Clodium, PROMULGARE, ABROGARE, DEROGARE, OBROGARE, S. F. SUA NON LICEAT, NON LICUERIT, QUODVE EI QUI PROMULGAVIT, ABROGAVIT, DEROGAVIT, OBROGAVIT OB EAM REM POENAE MULTAEVE SIT, E. H. L. N. R. 4. Atque hoc in illis tribunis pl. non laedebat: lege enim collegi sui non tenebantur. Quo maior est suspicio malitiae alicuius, cum id, quod ad ipsos nihil pertinebat, erat autem contra me, scripserunt, ut novi tribuni pl., si essent timidiores, multo magis sibi eo capite utendum putarent. Neque id a Clodio praetermissum est. Dixit enim in contione a. d. III Non. Nov. hoc capite designatis tribunis pl. praescriptum esse quid liceret, tamen in lege nulla esse eius modi caput te non fallit; quod si opus esset, omnes in abrogando *uterentur*. Ut Ninnium aut ceteros fugerit investiges velim et quis attulerit et qua re octo tribuni pl. ad senatum de me referre non dubitarint—scilicet quod observandum

law; or if there be anything which to him who has proposed such enactment, repeal, partial repeal, or modification may involve penalty or fine—by this bill nothing of the above nature is proposed.' The letters *s. f.* stand for *sine fraude*; the verb *obrogare* is explained by Ulpian as above; Paulus Diaconus explains, 'to pass a new law in opposition to an old one.' The explanation of Ulpian, *lex obrogatur, id est mutatur aliquid ex prima lege*, makes *obrogare* more co-ordinate with the other terms.

[E. H. L. N. R.] *eius hac lege nihil rogatur*. For *nihil eius (generis)*, cp. *quod eius (rei)*, often in these letters.

4. *Atque hoc in illis*] This clause did not touch them (the *tribuni veteres, octo tribuni nostri*), for the only law contravened by their bill was the Clodian, by which they were not bound, as being a law not emanating from their own college. It is fairly certain that a tribune could not thus bind his colleagues: see Mommsen, *St. R. i.* (ed. 2) 278, and note. The theory of Hofmann is that Clodius only provided against any attempt at repeal coming from subsequent tribunes, but not from his own colleagues, as against them he could use his *veto*. Perhaps, as they did not use their *veto* against Clodius' bill of interdiction, Clodius did not suppose that they would make any attempt to repeal his law.

ad ipsos nihil pertinebat] 'since they have added a clause unnecessary for their own protection, injurious to me, and likely to result in making the new tribunes (if somewhat timid) suppose that they, *a fortiori*, are bound to introduce that clause into any bill they might bring forward in my favour.'

Neque id a Clodio] 'nor did Clodius fail to see the significance of their action; for he laid it down that this clause defines the powers of the tribunes elect; now, you know very well that such a clause (binding the tribunes elect) is never inserted in any law. Yet, if it were requisite, everyone would employ it in repealing a law.' We have retained *quod* of the ms, as does Orelli. Madvig conjectured *quo si opus esset, omnes uterentur*. He has been followed by many edd.; yet his conjecture to some extent weakens the point of the argument.

Ut] 'how this point happened to escape Ninnius.' See Adn. Crit.

quis attulerit] 'who it was who added the saving clause.'

scilicet quod] *Sive quod* is virtually the reading of the mss. See Adn. Crit. Klotz follows M, marking a lacuna, in which he supposes the other alternative to be put; but even granting this hypothesis, the required meaning does not emerge. We have given the conjecture of Lalle-

illud caput non putabant,—iidem in abrogando tam cauti fuerint ut id metuerent, soluti cum essent, quod ne iis quidem qui lege tenentur est curandum. Id caput sane nolim novos tribunos pl. ferre, sed perferant modo quidlibet: uno capite quo revocabor, modo res conficiatur, ero contentus. Iam dudum pudet tam multa scribere. Vereor enim ne re iam desperata legas, ut haec mea diligentia miserabilis tibi, aliis irridenda videatur. Sed si est aliquid in spe, vide legem quam T. Fadio scripsit Visellius: ea mihi perplacet. Nam Sesti nostri, quam tu tibi probari scribis, mihi non placet. 5. Tertia est epistula prid. Id. Novembr. data, in qua exponis prudenter et diligenter quae sint quae rem distingere videantur, de Crasso, de Pompeio, de ceteris. Qua re oro te ut, si qua spes erit posse studiis bonorum, auctoritate, ^{Vollkommenheit des abtrich} multitudinē comparata rem confici, des operam ut uno impetu perfringatur, in eam rem incumbas ceterosque excites: sin, ut ego perspicio cum tua coniectura tum etiam mea, spei nihil est, oro obtestorque te ut Quintum fratrem ames quem ego miserum misere perdidit, neve quid eum patiari gravius consulere de se quam expediat sororis tuae filio: meum Ciceronem, quoi nihil misello relinquo praeter invidiam et ignominiam nominis mei, tueare quoad poteris: Terentiam, unam

mand, accepted by Baier and Hofmann. Translate, 'and why it was that the eight tribunes did not hesitate to bring my case before the Senate—which of course showed that they disregarded the Clodian clause against the repeal of his law—and yet have been so cautious in proposing the repeal of that law, as to show the greatest respect for a sanction by which they were not bound—a sanction which need not be regarded even by those who come under its terms?' He has said above that when a law is repealed, so also is repealed the clause forbidding its repeal; therefore such a clause is habitually disregarded even by those who come under its terms. But these eight tribunes did not come under its terms, for a tribune could not bind his colleagues, and Clodius may have only provided against the repeal of his law by subsequent tribunes; yet these tribunes, in the wording of the bill for Cicero's recall, show the greatest respect for this clause—though, on the other hand, their whole action in bringing the case of Cicero before the Senate was a virtual ignoring of the clause providing

against the repeal of the Clodian law. Cicero therefore adds, 'I hope the new tribunes will not introduce this clause.' Possibly we might suggest *sane quod* for *sive quod*: cp. Ter. Eun. 89.

Visellius] C. Visellius Varro was a learned jurisconsult who had drawn up for Fadius (one of the new tribunes) a form for a bill for Cicero's recall. Visellius was a cousin of Cicero.

5. *rem distingere*] 'keep the measure for my recall in abeyance.'

auctoritate] 'influence,' generally 'moral influence,' *gratia* being 'social influence.' There is no reference here to *auctoritas senatus*, mentioned in 87.

multitudinē comparata] probably the 'band of bravoos' hired by Milo, referred to in Dio Cass. xxxix. 8, quoted above on 79, 3; but possibly, also, 'the influx of supporters from the country towns,' where Cicero was very popular. *Comparare* is, 'to procure,' 'suborn.'

perfringatur] 'the barrier be broken through.'

perdidit] See 66, 7.

omnium aerumnosissimam, sustentens tuis officiis. Ego in Epirum proficiscar, cum primorum dierum nuntios excepero. Tu ad me velim proximis litteris ut se initia dederint perscribas. Data prid. Kal. Decembr.

84. TO HIS FAMILY, IN ROME (FAM. XIV. 3.)

DYRRACHIUM; NOVEMBER 29; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

Cicero sua culpa factum esse dolet ut cum suis in tantas miseras devenerit: Dyrrachi se recte et posse et velle eorum, quae de salute sua agantur, exitum expectare scribit: uxorem Romae manere iubet.

TULLIUS S. D. TERENTIAE SUAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI.

1. Accepi ab Aristocrito tris epistulas quas ego lacrimis prope delevi. Conficio enim maerore, mea Terentia, nec meae me miseriae magis excruciant quam tuae vestraeque. Ego autem hoc miserius sum quam tu, quae es miserrima, quod ipsa calamitas communis est utriusque nostrum, sed culpa mea propria est. Meum fuit officium vel legatione vitare periculum vel diligentia et copiis resistere vel cadere fortiter. Hoc miserius, turpius, indignius nobis nihil fuit. 2. Qua re cum dolore conficio tur etiam pudore. Pudet enim me uxori meae optimaе, suavissimis liberis virtutem et diligentiam non praestitisse. Nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versatur squalor vester et maeror et infirmitas valetudinis tuae, spes autem salutis pertenuis ostenditur. Inimici sunt multi, invidi paene omnes. Eicere nos magnum fuit, excludere facile est. Sed tamen quam diu vos eritis in spe, non deficiam ne omnia mea culpa cecidisse videantur. 3. Ut tuto

primorum dierum] The first days after the entrance of the tribunes into office, which would take place Dec. 10.

se . . . dederint] Cp. Ter. Hec. 380 *ut res dant sese ita magni atque humiles sumus*. Dr. Reid, on Balb. 3, proposes to read here *ut initia ceciderint*, comparing *haec res quemadmodum ceciderit*, 85, 2.

1. *legatione*] offered by Caesar.

Hoc] sc. *consilio*, the step which he took in leaving Rome, which he calls above *turpissimum consilium*, 73, 4.

2. *Eicere . . . excludere*] Cp. 82, 2 *intellego quanto fuerit facilis manere domi quam redire*.

ne omnia] 'lest everything should appear to have happened through my own fault' (i.e. not only my banishment, but the failure of the means employed to bring about my restoration). This is the best explanation of *cecidisse*, which is very frequently used by Cicero = 'to happen.' Possibly, however, *cecidisse* means 'to have failed'; but in this sense it is generally applied to persons: cp., however, Off. ii. 45 *tua laus pariter cum Rep. cecidit*; but *cadere* applied to things in this sense is rare, and *laus* is almost a personification in this sentence.

3. *Ut tuto sim*] Wesenberg inserts *in* before *tuto*, but there is no reason to

sim quod laboras, id mihi nunc facillimum est, quem etiam inimici volunt vivere in tantis miseriis. Ego tamen faciam quae praecipis. Amicis quibus voluisti egi gratias, et eas litteras Dexippo dedi, meque de eorum officio scripsi a te certiore esse factum. Pisonem nostrum mirifico esse studio in nos et officio et ego perspicio et omnes praedicant. Di faxint ut tali genero mihi praesenti tecum simul et cum liberis nostris frui liceat! Nunc spes reliqua est in novis tribunis pl. et in primis quidem diebus: nam, si inveterarit, actum est. 4. Ea re ad te statim Aristocritum misi, ut ad me continuo initia rerum et rationem totius negotii posses scribere, etsi Dexippo quoque ita imperavi statim ut recurreret, et ad fratrem misi ut crebro tabellarios mitteret. Nam ego eo nomine sum Dyrrachi hoc tempore, ut quam celerrime quid agatur audiam, et sum tuto, civitas enim haec semper a me defensa est. Cum inimici nostri venire dicentur, tum in Epirum ibo. 5. Quod scribis te, si velim, ad me venturam, ego vero, cum sciam magnam partem istius oneris abs te sustineri, te istic esse volo. Si perficitis quod agitis, me ad vos venire oportet: sin autem—Sed nihil opus est reliqua scribere. Ex primis aut summum secundis litteris tuis constituere poterimus quid nobis faciendum sit. Tu modo ad me velim omnia diligentissime perscribas, etsi magis iam rem quam litteras debeo exspectare. Cura ut valeas et ita tibi persuadeas, mihi te carius nihil esse nec umquam fuisse. Vale, mea Terentia, quam ego videre videor, itaque debilitor lacrimis. Vale. Pridie Kalendas Decembris.

depart from the mss. We have already frequently met *esse* with such adverbs as *tam*, *ita*, *recte*: see 53, 9; 71, 2; and notes thereon. We have another case of *tuto esse* in § 4: cp. *Introd.* ii, § D fin.; and in *Att.* xiv. 20, 3 (727) *cui si esse in urbe tuto licebit*; and a similar usage with other adverbs in *Fam.* xvi. 10, 2 (926) *Pompeius erat apud me, cum haec scribebam, hilare et libenter*.

primis . . . diebus] See last letter, fin.
inveterarit] 'if it be allowed to languish,' 'to hang fire.' *Refrigerit* is more

often used by Cicero in this sense.

5. *oneris*] called *labores* above, 73, 7, 'the labour of bringing about his restoration.' *Istic*, in Rome.

sin autem] he hints that he will destroy himself if the attempts to restore him fail.
rem] 'some definite action' in my favour.

quam ego videre videor] Cp. 39, 3 *mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris*.

debilitor lacrimis] Cp. *conficior lacrimis*, 62, 1.

85. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. III. 24).

DYRRACHIUM; DECEMBER 10; A. U. C. 696; B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De exigua spe reditus sui post ornatas consulum provincias cum propter offensivonem tribunorum pl., tum propterea quod illa opinio amissa esset, senatum ante quam de se actum esset nihil decernere.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Antea, quom ad me scripsissetis, vestro consensu consulum provincias ornatas esse, etsi verebar quorsum id casurum esset, tamen sperabam vos aliquid aliquando vidisse prudentius: postea quam mihi et dictum est et scriptum vehementer consilium vestrum reprehendi, sum graviter commotus, quod illa ipsa spes exigua quae erat videretur esse sublata. Nam, si tribuni pl. nobis suscensent, quae potest spes esse? Ac videntur iure suscensere

1. *scripsissetis*] 'You,' that is my friends at Rome.

provincias ornatas] 'that the estimates for the consular provinces were passed.' *Decernere provincias* means to determine what provinces should be assigned to the consuls on the expiration of their office. This was done before the *comitia consularia*; but *ornare provincias* (also expressed *ornare consules*: see below) was to arrange points of detail, such as the force to be sent to each province, the staff to be assigned to each governor, and the amount of money for the carrying on of the government of each province. The latter (*ornare provincias*) was always deferred till after the consuls entered on office, Jan. 1; but on this occasion, for some reason or other, it had been done before Dec. 1. Consequently the new tribunes, who entered on their office Dec. 10, could take no part in it—a matter which they resented both for their own sake, and because they thereby lost an opportunity of befriending Cicero, for whom they could have secured the good offices of the consuls by meeting their views in the arrangement of the estimates; for the tribunes were, as we know, friendly to Cicero.

aliquid . . . vidisse prudentius] 'I hoped you had some sound reason for the step you took.'

reprehendi] 'was severely criticised' ('strongly resented'), i.e. by the tribunes.

videntur iure suscensere] 'and I think

they naturally resent the step you have taken, since they were not made cognizant of your design, though supporters of me, and (since) now, by your concession, they have lost the power of exercising their just right (i.e. of taking part in *ornandis provinciis*), especially as they say that they desired to be able to exercise their powers in this matter, not for the purpose of opposing the consuls, but that they might attach them to my cause. Whereas now (the tribunes say), if the consuls choose to oppose me, they can do so without any restraint; but if they choose to support me, they can do nothing against the will of them, the tribunes.' The *consilium* is the step which the friends of Cicero took in supporting the innovation whereby the estimates for the provinces were passed before the consuls entered upon office. The actual provinces to be held by the consuls of 697 (57) on the expiry of their consulship, viz. Cilicia and Spain, had been fixed in the middle of 696 (58) before the consular elections had taken place. But, in accordance with custom, the settlement of the estimates for the provinces should have been deferred until after the consuls had actually entered upon office, i.e. until after January 1, 697 (57). To pass the estimates for the provinces of consuls while those consuls were only consuls elect (*designati*) was contrary to precedent. This custom provided a most effective

cum et expertes consili fuerint ii qui causam nostram suscep-
rant, et vestra concessione omnem vim sui iuris amiserint, prae-
sertim cum ita dicant, se nostra causa voluisse suam potestatem
esse de consulibus ornandis, non ut eos impedirent sed ut ad
nostram causam adiungerent; nunc, si consules a nobis alieniores
esse velint, posse id libere facere, sin velint nostra causa, nihil
posse se invitis. Nam quod scribis, ni ita vobis placuisset, illos
hoc idem per populum adsecuturos fuisse, invitis tribunis pl. fieri
nullo modo potuit. Ita vereor ne et studia tribunorum amiserimus
et, si studia maneant, vinclum illud adiungendorum consulum
amissum sit. 2. Accedit aliud non parvum incommodum, quod
gravis illa opinio, ut quidem ad nos perferebatur, senatum nihil
decernere ante quam de nobis actum esset, amissa est, praesertim

means of controlling the consuls. For some reason the estimates seem in the present case to have been passed before December 696 (58); and accordingly Cicero fears that the new tribunes, who would enter the magistracy on December 10, may resent their being deprived of this control of the consuls. For *velint nostra causa*, see on 72, 5. In the words *nihil posse se invitis*, if *se* be retained, *posse* and *nihil posse* must depend on *ita dicant*. We must then render as above, and suppose the tribunes to have in these words uttered language almost amounting to a menace against Cicero 'in case we should oppose them.' But this is inconsistent with their subsequent conduct. We have in this passage the expression of an apprehension on Cicero's part which the sequel proved to be groundless. We have many such groundless apprehensions in the letters from exile. The *Ed. Iensoniana* has possibly the true reading, *eis* for *se*; then *posse* and *nihil posse* depend on *videntur* above (*videntur iure suscipere*), and we have an expression of Cicero's forebodings: 'now it seems to me that if the consuls choose to hold aloof from me, they can do so unfettered; and if they desire to support me, they can do nothing if opposed by the tribunes.' *Se* may have arisen from a dittography, *posse se*. But this reference of *posse* and *nihil posse* back to *videntur*, passing over *dicant*, seems harsh, and would not be readily grasped; and I is full of conjectures.

Nam quod scribis] 'For as to your remark that if you had opposed the step (of passing the estimates earlier than

usual), they would have gained their end by means of the people—this could not have been effected against the will of the tribunes.' Atticus possibly thought of the action of the people in assigning his province to Caesar, when the Senate had to acquiesce, and even to add Gallia Comata, *veritis patribus ne si ipsi negassent populus et hanc daret*, Suet. Iul. 22: but Cicero replies that the tribunes might have vetoed the proposal when brought before the people.

2. *Accedit aliud*] 'Moreover, there is another great disadvantage in the step you have taken. I have now lost the benefit of that opinion so strongly expressed—at least so it was reported to me—that the Senate would pass no act until my case was settled—lost it, moreover, under circumstances which not only did not demand its sacrifice, but were unusual and even unprecedented; for I remember no case in which the provincial estimates were made while the future consuls were still only consuls elect; so that the whole result is, that now any act may be passed by the Senate (before my case), since by this one act the firm front has been broken which the Senate had shown in my cause.' *Gravis opinio* is explained by Boot to mean, 'so important for my cause': but the words *ut quidem ad nos perferebatur*, as well as the usage of Cicero, are strongly in favour of our rendering.

decernere] The tense must be accounted for thus: if the *opinio* were expressed in the direct form, it would run *senatus nihil decernebat nisi (antequam) de Cicerone ac-*

in ea causa quae non modo necessaria non fuit sed etiam inusitata ac nova. Neque enim umquam arbitror ornatas esse provincias designatorum, ut, cum in hoc illa constantia quae erat mea causa suscepta imminuta sit, nihil iam possit non decerni. Iis ad quos relatum est amicis placuisse non mirum est. Erat enim difficile reperire qui contra tanta commoda duorum consulum palam sententiam diceret. Fuit omnino difficile non obsequi vel amicissimo homini Lentulo vel Metello, qui similitatem humanissime deponeret. Sed vereor ne, hos cum tamen tenere poterimus, tribunos pl. amiserimus. Haec res quem ad modum ceciderit et tota res quo loco sit velim ad me scribas et ita ut instituisti. Nam ista veritas, etiam si iucunda non est, mihi tamen grata est. Dat. III Id. Decembr.

86. TO ATTICUS (ATT. III. 25.)

DYRRACHIUM; BETWEEN DECEMBER 17 AND 25; A. U. C. 696;

B. C. 58; AET. CIC. 48.

De Attici ab urbe discessu queritur et rogat ut ante Kal. Ian. ad se veniat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Post tuum † a me † discessum litterae mihi Roma adlatae sunt,

tum esset, where *decernebat* = *decreturum se dicebat*, with which compare Att. ix. 2, 3 *Curtius venit nihil nisi classes loquens et exercitus; eripiebat Hispaniam, tenebat Asiam, . . . persequabatur*, 'he talked of the seizure of Spain, the occupation of Asia, the pursuit,' &c., i.e. 'he said how Caesar would wrest Spain from Pompey,' &c. So, *omnia senatus reiciebat nisi de me primum consules retulissent*, Sest. 68. Cp. Eur. Herc. Fur. 467 *σὺ δ' ἦσθα . . . Ἐπιβῶν ἄναξ*, 'you (he used to say) are to be king of Thebes.' To these may be added, Liv. ii. 29, 7; ii. 41, 4; xxvi. 8, 2.

quae erat mea causa suscepta] Müller shows that *quae*, the reading of M, should be retained, and not altered to *qua*. He says that *constantia suscipitur* is as correct an expression as *voluntas suscipitur*, ad Brut. i. 7, 1 (868); *hanc mentem voluntatenque suscepi*, Catil. iii. 22.

ad quos relatum est] 'who were consulted on the question' (whether the *oratio* should be allowed to be settled

before the consuls entered on their office, Jan. 1). Cicero says he is not surprised that the opinions were in favour of the step taken, as few would care openly to speak against a plan so highly advantageous to both consuls.

Fuit omnino] 'it would have been very difficult to refuse to oblige Lentulus, who is so kind to me, or Metellus (as a return) for his great goodness in laying aside his resentment against me.' Such is the force of the subjunctive.

hos cum tamen tenere] 'I fear that, while we might have retained the good will of the consuls in any case (even though we did not take this step), we have forfeited the support of the tribunes' (by it).

veritas] 'your candour, though it does not give me pleasure, is yet acceptable to me.' That is, 'though I do not enjoy the candour which hides from me no news, however disagreeable, yet I approve of it—it is what I require.'

Post tuum † a me † discessum] It is

ex quibus perspicio nobis in hac calamitate tabescendum esse; neque enim—sed bonam in partem accipies—si ulla spes salutis nostrae subesset, tu pro tuo amore in me hoc tempore discessisses. Sed ne ingrati aut ne omnia velle nobiscum una interire videamur, hoc omitto: illud abs te peto, des operam, id quod mihi adfirmasti, ut te ante Kal. Ian., ubicumque erimus, sistas. *mit mir ja. konst*

certain from the rest of this letter that Atticus had left the city; and it is equally clear that he cannot in the meantime have joined Cicero, and then left him; for in this and the next letter Cicero begs Atticus to join him. *A me* of the ms must therefore be wrong; for it is too harsh to explain *tuum a me discessum*, 'your desertion of my cause' (in leaving Rome at this critical time). Kahnt conjectures *a meis*, Wesenberg *a Roma*, Gurlitt *iam*, and Klotz *ab urbe*. The latter may possibly have been corrupted into *a me* by *o* having been written *u* and the intervening letters omitted. But perhaps *post tuum ad me discessum*, 'since your leaving Rome to join me,' is the simplest alteration, though we cannot adduce an exact parallel for such a pregnant construction. It is to be noted that

discessisses below stands absolutely for 'you would have left Rome.' Atticus was obliged to leave Rome on business; but he might have proposed to himself to meet Cicero after its transaction.

omnia velle nobiscum una interire] Atticus had left Rome to attend to some business which called him away. Cicero says he must not complain—he must not expect Atticus to sacrifice real interests for his sake; that would seem as if he wished all his friend's affairs to be involved in the ruin which had overtaken himself.

te . . . sistas] This is a legal phrase, meaning to 'present oneself,' 'appear' (before a court), 'report oneself,' 'put in an appearance.' Cicero uses it to show his sense of the absolute obligation under which Atticus was bound not to fail to meet him.

LETTERS OF THE TWELFTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE
(FIRST EIGHT MONTHS).

EPP. 87-89.

A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

COSS. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CAECILIUS
METELLUS NEPOS.

THE only letters of the first eight months of 697 (57) are three letters, Att. iii. 26, 27, and Fam. v. 4. The last is addressed to the consul Metellus Nepos, begging for his aid, which Metellus heartily accorded, generously laying aside all recollection of the misunderstanding disclosed above in the letter from Metellus Celer to Cicero (Ep. 14). Lentulus brought in a bill for Cicero's recall on January 1, which drew so favourable an expression of opinion from the Senate that Cicero (Ep. 87) speaks of an intention on his part to return on the strength of that *auctoritas senatus*, even though the actual bill for his recall was prevented from passing by Serranus, one of the unfriendly tribunes. Again on January 23, a bill was brought before the popular assembly, but was foiled by the violence of Clodius. This is the occasion of the second letter of this year (Ep. 88). During the spring of the year, constant street riots took place, in one of which Sestius was severely handled; and when Milo accused Clodius *de vi*, some of the magistrates who were favourable to Clodius, among them the consul Metellus, by edicts, forbade the praetor to receive the charge. The result was that Milo and Sestius hired gladiators, and prepared to resist force by force, *manum manu, vim vi esse superandam* (post Red. in Sen. 19). In the early summer, Pompey, in his capacity of Duovir at Capua, caused the Senate of that colony to pass a

vote in favour of Cicero (cp. Mil. 39 and Sest. 9), which gave a great stimulus to the movement in Cicero's favour. In June a meeting of the Roman Senate was held in the Temple of Honor and Virtus (the *Monumentum Marii*: cp. Planc. 78; De Div. i. 59), and a resolution passed recommending Cicero to the provincials and the provincial magistrates, and urging the citizens resident in Italy to come to Rome and support the Senate on his behalf (cp. Planc. 78; Pis. 34). In July the consul Lentulus proposed that he should be recommended by the Senate to bring a motion for Cicero's recall before the *comitia centuriata*. In this he was supported by Metellus, the other consul, whose patriotic conduct on this occasion was warmly eulogised by the venerable Servilius Isauricus (Sest. 130), and by Pompey, who read a carefully-prepared speech on the subject; and the resolution was carried by 416 to 1, Clodius being the only dissentient (post Red. in Sen. 26). On August 4 the bill for Cicero's return passed the *comitia centuriata*. It would probably not have been allowed to pass but for the bravoës of Milo. Thus was Cicero at length restored mainly by the same unconstitutional means by which his exile was brought about, and might have been averted; but it is only fair to say that, in the use of violence, the extreme democratic party, with Clodius at their head, were the aggressors in the whole business connected with the exile of Cicero.

During his exile Cicero composed nothing. He appears to have shrunk even from his necessary correspondence (63 fin.; 79. 1, 4); but the last months of 697 (57) were signalized by the delivery of the orations *post Reditum in Senatu*, *post Reditum ad Quirites*, and *pro Domo sua*. These speeches, together with the speech *pro Sestio* (698) and *pro Plancio* (700), should be read with the letters from exile, as giving with them a complete and connected history of this interesting crisis in the life of Cicero.*

* The authenticity of the first-mentioned speeches is now generally recognized; but, however this question may be decided, they are valuable sources of history.

So wenige Briefe aus dieser Zeit des Exils weil Att. von Rom abwesend: Wisl. II p. 129. Att. bei Cies Rückkehr

87. TO ATTICUS (ATT. III. 26).

DYRRACHIUM; JANUARY; A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.^{1,2}

Misso ad se a Q. fratre senatus consulto de se facto legum lationem vult expectare et Atticum ad se accessit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Litterae mihi a Quinto fratre cum senatus consulto, quod de me est factum, adlatae sunt. Mihi in animo est legum lationem expectare et, si obtreclabitur, utar auctoritate senatus et potius vita quam patria carebo. Tu, quaeso, festina ad nos venire.

88. TO ATTICUS (ATT. III. 27).

DYRRACHIUM; FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

Acceptis ab Attico litteris de se desperat et suos Attico commendat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Ex tuis litteris et ex re ipsa nos funditus perisse video. Te oro ut, quibus in rebus tui mei indigebunt, nostris miseris ne desis. Ego te, ut scribis, cito videbo.

senatus consulto] This is the *senatus consultum* of Jan. 1, 697 (57), made on the proposal of Lentulus for the recall of Cicero. The *Scutum* was never vetoed. The unfriendly tribune who was suborned by Clodius to desert Cicero, Sex. Atilius Serranus Gavianus, *non ausus est, cum esset emptus, intercedere; noctem sibi ad deliberandum postulavit* (Sest. 74). The result of this was that no further definite step was taken in Cicero's favour until Jan. 23, when the attempt was foiled by the violence of Clodius (see next letter). Accordingly, this decree of the Senate, thus rendered abortive by the ruse of Serranus, was not strictly a *senatus auctoritas*, or 'decree of the Senate vetoed by a tribune'; it was only an informal expression of opinion on the part of the Senate. Cicero expects that the matter will be resumed in the Senate on the follow-

ing day, and that a bill will be brought before the people for his recall (for as yet there was no bill, but only expressions of opinion in the Senate that his banishment was illegal: see Sest. 74); if then Serranus vetoes this *Scutum* (*si obtreclabitur*), it will be a *senatus auctoritas*; and Cicero says he will return on the strength of it. *Senatus auctoritate* (Sest. 73) is used in a vaguer sense, 'an expression of opinion on the part of the Senate,' when Cotta votes *non restitui lege sed revocari senatus auctoritate oportere*.

nos funditus perisse video] This refers to the bill brought before the people on Jan. 23, which was defeated by the violence of Clodius. Sestius and Q. Cicero were severely injured in the fray.

tui mei indigebunt] He seems to think of destroying himself.

89. TO THE CONSUL, METELLUS NEPOS,
IN ROME (FAM. V. 4).

DYRRACHIUM ; BETWEEN MARCH AND JULY ; A. U. C. 697 ; B. C. 57 ;
AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Q. Metelli consulis opem implorat.

M. CICERO S. D. Q. METELLO COS.

1. Litterae Quinti fratris et T. Pomponi, necessari mei, tantum spei dederant ut in te non minus auxilium quam in tuo collega mihi constitutum fuerit. Itaque ad te litteras statim misi, per quas, ut fortuna postulabat, et gratias tibi egi et de reliquo tempore auxilium petii. Postea mihi non tam meorum litterae quam sermones eorum qui hac iter faciebant animum tuum immutatum significabant: quae res fecit ut tibi litteris obstrepere non auderem. 2. Nunc mihi Quintus frater meus mitissimam tuam orationem quam in senatu habuisses perscripsit, qua inductus ad te scribere sum conatus et abs te, quantum tua fert voluntas, peto quaeoque ut tuos mecum serves potius quam propter adrogantem crudelitatem tuorum me oppugnes. Tu, tuas inimicitias ut rei publicae donares, te vicisti: alienas ut contra rem publicam confirmes adduceres? Quod si mihi tua clementia opem tuleris, omnibus in rebus me fore in tua potestate tibi confirmo: sin mihi neque magistratum neque senatum neque populum auxiliari propter eam vim

1. *immutatum*] 'turned against me.'
obstrepere] 'pester you with letters.'

2. *orationem*] on the motion of Lentulus for Cicero's recall.

quantum tua fert voluntas] This is to be taken, not with *ut serves*, but with *peto*; it means, 'I beseech you as strenuously as I may without offending you.' Otherwise, *fert* must be changed to *ferat*, or *feret*, which Wesenberg reads.

tuos mecum serves] 'by aiding me (I beg you) to secure the safety of your whole family,' referring to his promise below, *omnibus in rebus me fore in tua potestate*.

tuorum] Clodius, whose sister was the widow of the consul's late brother, Metellus Celer.

Tu, tuas inimicitias] 'you have conquered yourself so far as to resign a private (personal) grudge (see above, 14) for the sake of the State. Will you be persuaded to injure the State to satisfy the resentment of another?' (i. e. Clodius).

eam vim] referring especially to the violence with which Clodius foiled the attempt of Jan. 23 in favour of Cicero.

quae me cum re publica vicit licuerit, vide ne, cum velis revo-

vide ne] 'take care lest afterwards, when you would gladly recall the opportunity you now have for restoring all your fellow-citizens to safety and happiness, you may find yourself unable to do so, as there may not then be one whom you can even save from utter ruin.' Such is the explanation of Orelli. The following are his words: *sanissima est ista sententia peracuta propter oppositionem verborum reservandi et servandi, sed varie corrupta a criticis. Hoc dicit: 'vide ne, cum frustra in eo labores, ut revoces nunc tempus illud, quo omnes in republica illaesi atque incolumes reservari etiam tunc poterant, id ipsum efficere non possis, cum nemo iam omnino erit, qui queat vel servari dumtaxat (id quod minus etiam est quam reservari).'*' But this antithesis between *servari* and *reservari* seems to need defence; and, feeling this, most edd. give *servandorum* for *reservandorum*. It is quite possible that this is right, and that *re-* arose from the *re* of *revocare*. Martyni-Laguna alters to *cum velis revocari ipsum omnium conservatorem* (Ciceronem). We cannot find a single passage in Cicero in which *reservare* is used merely as an intensive of *servare*. It is possible that *reip. (reipublicae)* dropped out before *reservandorum*, or should be read for *re-*; and that the sentence means, 'when you wish to recall the opportunity you had of saving the State from the loss of all her best citizens.' The rule of violence will produce universal destruction. In this sense Cicero often uses *reservare*: cp. Flacc. 106 *nomen clarissimum reipublicae reservate*, 'save the State from the loss of one so distinguished'; Sest. 50 *vitam suam ad reipublicae fatum reservavit*. But *reservare* absolutely can only mean in Cicero, 'to hold over,' 'reserve.' We have in Prov. Cons. 47 *inimicitias in aliud tempus reservare*; but it would be too harsh to construe here, 'when you may wish to recall your present opportunity of at least holding in abeyance all your feuds with me.' The general view is that, in this clause, Cicero is referring to himself, and that he uses the plural in order to render the personal application somewhat less marked: cp. above *propter adrogantem crudelitatem tuorum*, which refers to Clodius alone. On this theory, in the words *cum qui servetur non erit*, Cicero hints at his design to destroy himself if the attempts

to restore him should fail. Draeger calls this plural the *pluralis modestiae* (*Historische Syntax*, i., p. 25), and gives as examples, *Moloni dedimus operam*, Brut. 312; *scripsimus . . . tenebamus*, De Div. ii. 3; *vides . . . nos multa conari*, Orat. 105; *adolescentuli diximus*, ib. 107; *imperatores appellati sumus*, Att. v. 20, 3 (228). Cp. *poscimus*, Hor. Carm. i. 32, 1. The singular and plural are often found together, as *video . . . mea voce . . . nobis*, Catil. i. 22; *dissuasimus nos*. *Sed nihil de me*, De Am. 96; *ardeo . . . cupiditate nomen ut nostrum illustretur*, Fam. v. 12, 1 (109). A good example in poetry is, *Et flesti et nostros vidisti flentis ocellos*, Ovid Her. v. 45. But, perhaps, if there is any marked characteristic of this plural in Cicero's Epistles, it is rather a *pluralis dignitatis*, as Professor R. S. Conway has pointed out in his interesting discussion ('On the use of the singular nos in Cicero's Letters,' 1898). He there says (p. 16): "*Nos* had come to be used by a speaker of himself alone when he thought, not of the *ego* he was to his own consciousness, but of the person visible or admirable to his neighbours"; and supports his theory in great detail. So that we cannot think that the allusion in the plural is to Cicero himself: and, if the reference is not quite general ('when you wish to recall the opportunity of saving society, you may not be able to do so, as there will be no one to save,' if this mob-violence continues), we are of opinion that the general tone of the letter and the character of Metellus lend much weight to the view of Mr. Shuckburgh, who thinks the reference is not to Cicero but to Clodius. He says: "This intentionally enigmatical sentence is meant to contain a menace against Clodius, who is hinted at in the word *omnium*, just as he is, earlier in the letter, in the word *tuorum*. Clodius was a connexion by marriage of Metellus; and Cicero assumes that Metellus is restrained from helping him by regard for Clodius. He knows, however, by this time that one of the new tribunes, Milo, is prepared to repel force by force; and he hints to Metellus that, if he countenances Clodius's violence, he may some day find that there is no Clodius to save—if that is his object." For the indirect manner in which Metellus was supporting Clodius at this time, see Dio Cass. xxxix. 7, and Cic. Sest. 89. Mr. H. Everard, of Eton, has

care tempus ^{ndg.} omnium servandorum, cum qui servetur non erit, ^{nicht mehr da le-}
non possis. ^{ben rei}
^{wird}

made an attractive suggestion that we should read *cum cui serventur non erit*, understanding by *cui* the State, 'when that for which they should be preserved (viz. the State) is no longer existent.' But if the reference is to the State, the expression would be needlessly obscure; and we cannot help thinking that if Cicero had intended this meaning, he would have added *respublica* before *cui*. Dr. Reid, in a note which he has kindly sent us, says: "The real and only difficulty of the passage lies in the *re-* of *reservandorum*. It is an *almost*, but not quite, invariable practice with Cicero to express with *re-* *servare* the *purpose* of the act (by *ad* and *acc.* or *dat.*) or the *person* for whose

benefit the act is done (in the *dat.*). There are some passages which show that it is not absolutely necessary to *express* either purpose or person. But, on the whole, I think you are right in supposing a *dat.* to have fallen out: and other passages might be quoted in support of *reip.* But I am inclined to think that *tibi* (often written in mss *ti*) has fallen out after *tempus*. Supplying this, I would render *vide ne . . . possis* thus, 'Take care lest, when you may wish to call back again the opportunity of saving yourself the loss of us all, you may find it beyond your power, at a moment when there will be no one left for you to save.'"