

- 3 Et Balbus hic est multumque mecum. ad quem a Vetere litterae datae prid. Kal. Ian., cum a se Caecilius circumsederetur et iam teneretur, venisse cum maximis copiis Pacorum Parthum; ita sibi esse eum ereptum multis suis amissis. in qua re accusat Volcaciū. ita mihi videtur bellum illud instare. sed Dolabella et Nicias viderint. idem Balbus meliora de Gallia. XXI die litteras habebat Germanos illasque nationes re audita de Caesare legatos misisse ad Aurelium, qui est praepositus ab Hirtio: se quod imperatum esset esse facturos. quid quaeris? omnia plena pacis, aliter ac mihi Calvenna dixerat.

## 364 (XIV.10)

*Scr. in Cumano XIII Kal. Mai. an. 44 (§ 3)*

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Itane vero? hoc meus et tuus Brutus egit ut Lanuvi esset, ut Trebonius itineribus deviis proficisceretur in provinciam, ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Caesaris plus valerent quam si ipse viveret? meministine <me> clamare illo ipso primo Capitolino die senatum in Capitolium a praetoribus vocandum? di immortales, quae tum opera effici potuerunt laetantibus omnibus bonis,

<sup>1</sup> vocari (*Housman* : -ari debere *Mueller*)

<sup>1</sup> C. Antistius Vetus, now in charge of Syria, where a former Pompeian, Q. Caecilius Bassus, had stirred up a mutiny and killed the previous governor.

<sup>2</sup> Son of the Consul of 66, now probably governing Cilicia.

<sup>3</sup> As Consul in succession to Caesar Dolabella had just been

Balbus too is here and I see a lot of him. He has had a letter from Vetus<sup>1</sup> dated 31 December to the effect that when Caecilius was besieged by him and on the point of capture Pacorus of Parthia came up with a very large force. Thus Caecilius was snatched from his clutches with the loss of many of his own men. He blames Volcaciū<sup>2</sup> in the matter. So it looks to me as though war in that quarter is imminent. But let Dolabella and Nicias<sup>3</sup> worry! Balbus also gives better news of Gaul. He has a letter three weeks old announcing that the Germans and the tribes there, hearing what had happened to Caesar, had sent envoys to Hirtius' deputy Aurelius promising to obey orders. All redolent of peace in fact, contrary to what Baldie had said to me.

## 364 (XIV.10)

*Cumae, 19 April 44*

CICERO TO ATTICUS

So? Was *this* what my (and your) dear Brutus intended—that he should stay at Lanuvium, that Trebonius<sup>1</sup> should use byroads to get to his province, that all Caesar's actions, writings, words, promises, and plans should have greater force than if he were himself alive? Do you remember how that first day<sup>2</sup> on the Capitol I cried out that the Senate ought to be summoned to the spot by the Praetors? Great heavens, what might not have been accomplished then amid the rejoicing of all honest men, even the moderately

assigned Syria as his province. His protégé Nicias was going with him.

<sup>1</sup> One of the conspirators against Caesar, he was on his way out to Asia as Proconsul. <sup>2</sup> The Ides of March.

etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus! Liberalia tu accusas. quid fieri tum potuit? iam pridem perieramus. meministine te clamare causam perisse si funere elatus esset? at ille etiam in foro combustus laudatusque miserabiliter servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi. quae deinde? ut audeant dicere 'tunc contra Caesaris nutum?' haec et talia ferre non possum. itaque γῆν πρὸ γῆς cogito; tua tamen ὑπηνέμιος.

2 Nausea iamne plane abiit? mihi quidem ex tuis litteris coniectanti ita videbatur. redeo ad Tebanos, Bassos,<sup>2</sup> Scaevas, Fangones.<sup>3</sup> hos tu existimas confidere se illa habituros stantibus nobis? in quibus plus virtutis putarunt quam experti sunt. pacis isti scilicet amatores et non latrocini auctores. at ego, cum tibi de Curtilio scripsi Sestulianoque<sup>4</sup> fundo, scripsi de Censorino, de Messalla, de Planco, de Postumo, de genere toto. melius fuit perisse illo interfecto, quod numquam accidisset, quam haec videre.

3 Octavius Neapolim venit XIII Kal. ibi eum Balbus mane postridie, eodemque die mecum in Cumano; illum hereditatem aditurum. sed, ut scribis, ἰρίξοδεμν<sup>5</sup> magnam cum Antonio. Buthrotia mihi tua res est, ut debet,

<sup>2</sup> add. Badian (Tebanos iam Münzer)

<sup>3</sup> frangones vel sim. (Ihm)

<sup>4</sup> sestulianoque vel sim. (Badian : Sextilia- Manutius, vulg.)

<sup>5</sup> rixam (TP) : timet coni. SB

<sup>3</sup> I.e., the meeting of the Senate on 17 March, which ratified Caesar's 'acts' and declared an amnesty.

<sup>4</sup> From Aeschylus' (?) *Prometheus Bound*, 682: 'By the divine scourge I am driven on land beyond land.'

<sup>5</sup> Athens, where Cicero was thinking of going to visit his son.

honest, and the discomfiture of the bandits! You blame Bacchus' Day.<sup>3</sup> What could we have done then? By that time we were long sunk. Do you remember how *you* cried out that the cause was lost if he had a public funeral? Well, he was actually cremated in the Forum with a pathetic eulogy, and slaves and beggars were sent with firebrands to attack our homes. And the sequel? They dare to say 'Are *you* opposing Caesar's fiat?' This and the like is intolerable to me, so I plan to go 'land beyond land.'<sup>4</sup> But *your* land<sup>5</sup> is in the lee of the gale.

Has your stomach trouble quite gone? Guessing from your letter I imagine it has. I come back to the Tebani, the Bassi, the Scaevas, the Fangos.<sup>6</sup> Do you suppose they will ever feel secure in possession of their gains so long as we hold our heads up? They thought we had more pluck than they have found us to have. Oh yes, these are peace-loving folk of course—not instigators of robbery! But when I wrote to you about Curtilius and Sestullius' farm, I wrote of Censorinus, Messalla, Plancus, Postumus, the whole species. It would have been better to perish when he was killed, though that would never have happened, than to have these things before our eyes.

Octavius arrived in Naples on the 18th. Balbus met him there early on the following day and was with me later the same day at my house near Cumae; tells me Octavius is going to accept the inheritance. But as you say, he fears (?) a mighty tussle with Antony. Your Buthrotian affair<sup>7</sup> is and

<sup>6</sup> Tebanus is unknown, but the name (a gentilicium) is found in inscriptions. C. Fuficius Fango was one of Caesar's new Senators. (Ventidius) Bassus was Antony's lieutenant in 43; (Cassius) Scaeva, a Caesarian centurion. <sup>7</sup> See Letter 243, note 4.

nor, augures vult<sup>2</sup> habere ad templum effandum. eatur; μή σκόρδου.<sup>3</sup> videmus te igitur.

## 355 (XIV.1)

Scr. in suburbano Matti VII Id. Apr. an. 44

<CICERO ATTICO SAL.>

- 1 Deverti ad illum de quo tecum mane. nihil perdit*<i>*us. explicari rem non posse: 'etenim si ille tali ingenio exitum non reperiebat, quis nunc reperiet?' quid quaeris? perisse omnia aiebat (quod haud scio an ita sit; verum ille gaudens) adfirmabatque minus diebus XX tumultum Gallicum; in sermonem se post Id. Mart. praeterquam Lepido venisse nemini; ad summam, non posse istaec sic abire. o prudentem Oppium! qui nihilo minus illum desiderat, sed loquitur nihil quod quemquam bonum offendat. sed haec hactenus.
- 2 Tu quaeso quicquid novi (multa autem exspecto) scribere ne pigrescere, in his de Sexto satisne certum, maxime autem de Bruto nostro. de quo quidem ille ad quem deverti Caesarem solitum dicere, 'magni refert hic quid velit, sed quicquid vult valde vult';<sup>1</sup> idque eum animadvertisse eum pro Deiotaro Nicaeae dixerit; valde vehementer eum visum et libere dicere; atque etiam (ut enim quidque suc-

<sup>2</sup> nil vel nichil (*Boot*)      <sup>3</sup> MACK-vel sim. (*Tyrrell*)

<sup>1</sup> vult valde vult *cod. Tornestanus teste Bosio* : volet valde volet *codd. superstites*

<sup>5</sup> A technical expression for marking out an area (*templum*) from which auspices might be taken. This will have precluded construction of Lepidus' temple of Felicitas (Dio 44.5.2).

Augurs to mark out the area.<sup>5</sup> I must go—anything for a quiet life. So I shall be seeing you.

## 355 (XIV.1)

Matius' house near Rome, 7 April 44

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have broken my journey at the house of the person<sup>1</sup> of whom we were talking this morning. Utterly deplorable! According to him our problems are insoluble: 'for if a man of Caesar's genius could find no way out, who will find one now?' In short he said Rome was finished—I am inclined to agree, but *he* said it with relish—and declared that the Gauls will be up within three weeks. He told me that since the Ides of March he has talked to nobody except Lepidus. In sum, his opinion is that it cannot all just pass quietly off. Wise Oppius! He regrets Caesar no less, but says nothing which any honest man could take amiss. But enough of this.

Now pray don't grudge the effort of writing any news—and I am expecting many items—including whether the report about Sextus<sup>2</sup> can be taken as established, but especially about our friend Brutus. With reference to him my present host tells me that Caesar used to say 'It's a great question *what* he wants; but whatever he wants, he wants it badly.' This had struck him when Brutus spoke for Deiotarus at Nicaea; he had been impressed by the force and boldness of Brutus' speech. Matius also told me (I may as

<sup>1</sup> C. Matius.

<sup>2</sup> Pompey's younger son, now resurgent in Spain.

currit libet scribere) proxime, cum Sesti rogatu apud eum fuissem exspectaremque sedens quoad vocarer, dixisse eum 'ego dubitem quin summo in odio sim, cum M. Cicero sedeat nec suo commodo me convenire possit? atqui si quisquam est facilis, hic est. tamen non dubito quin me male oderit.' haec et eius modi multa. sed ad propositum: quicquid erit, non modo magnum sed etiam parvum, scribes. equidem nihil intermittam.

## 356 (XIV.2)

Scr. in suburbano Matii(?) VI Id. Apr. an. 44

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Duas a te accepi epistulas heri. ex priore theatrum Publili-umque cognovi, bona signa consentientis multitudinis. plausus vero L. Cassio datus etiam facetus mihi quidem
- 2 visus est. altera epistula de Madaro scripta, apud quem nullum *καλάκωμα*,<sup>1</sup> ut putas. processit enim, sed minus<sup>2</sup>
- 3 diutius sermone enim† sum retentus. quod autem ad te scripseram, obscure fortasse, id eius modi est: aiebat Caesarem secum, quo tempore Sesti rogatu veni ad eum, cum exspectarem sedens, dixisse 'ego nunc tam sim stultus ut hunc ipsum facilem hominem putem mihi esse amicum, qui tam diu sedens meum commodum expectet?' habes igitur *φαλάκρωμα* inimicissimum oti, id est Bruti.

<sup>1</sup> al. ΦΑΛ -    <sup>2</sup> al. sedimus

<sup>1</sup> A demonstration in favour of the 'liberators.' 'Publilius' will refer to the performance of a mime by Publilius Syrus; see Letter 39.3.    <sup>2</sup> The applause was a tribute to L. Cassius' elder

well put things down as they occur to me) that recently, when I called on Caesar at Sestius' behest and was sitting waiting to be summoned, Caesar remarked 'I must be a most unpopular man. There's M. Cicero sitting waiting and can't get to see me at his own convenience. He is the most easygoing of mankind, but I don't doubt he detests me.' This and much else of the same sort. But to return to my point—whatever crops up, great or small never mind, let me know. There shall be no intermission on *my* side.

## 356 (XIV.2)

Matius' house (?), 8 April 44

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I had two letters from you yesterday. The first told me about the theatre and Publilius—good signs of popular accord.<sup>1</sup> The applause for L. Cassius struck me as really rather funny.<sup>2</sup> The other letter was about *Le Chauve*.<sup>3</sup> There was no \* with him, as you suppose. \* \* \* I was detained by the conversation. What I wrote to you, obscurely perhaps, was to the following effect: he said that on the occasion when I called on Caesar at Sestius' behest and was sitting waiting, Caesar remarked to him: 'I should be an idiot to suppose that even so easygoing an individual as Cicero is my friend when he has to sit waiting my convenience all this time.' Well, there you have him—a most peace-hating, which is to say Brutus-hating, *calvitie*!

brother, Caesar's assassin, which was ironical because Lucius himself (Tribune this year) had taken Caesar's side in the Civil War.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero uses a Greek nickname for Matius; see Letter 359, note 1.

*Scr. in Pompeiano v Non. Mai. an. 44*

CICERO CASSIO S.

- 1 Finem nullam facio, mihi crede, Cassi, de te et Bruto nostro, id est de tota re publica, cogitandi, cuius omnis spes in vobis est et in D. Bruto; quam quidem iam habeo ipse meliorem re publica a Dolabella meo praeclarissime gesta. manabat enim illud malum urbanum et ita corroborabatur cottidie ut ego quidem et urbi et otio diffiderem urbano, sed ita compressum est ut mihi videamur omne iam ad tempus ab illo dumtaxat sordidissimo periculo tuti futuri.

Reliqua magna sunt ac multa, sed posita omnia in vobis. quamquam primum quidque explicemus. nam ut adhuc quidem actum est, non regno sed rege liberati videmur. interfecto enim rege regios omnis nutus tuemur, neque vero id solum, sed etiam quae ipse ille, si viveret, non faceret, ea nos quasi cogitata ab illo probamus. nec eius quidem rei finem video. tabulae figuntur, immunitates dantur, pecuniae maximae discribuntur, exsules reducuntur, senatus consulta falsa referuntur, ut tantum modo odium illud hominis impuri et servitutis dolor depulsus esse videatur, res publica iaceat in iis perturbationibus in quas eam ille coniecit.

- 2 Haec omnia vobis sunt expedienda, nec hoc cogitandum, satis iam habere rem publicam a vobis. habet illa

<sup>1</sup> With what follows cf. *Letters to Atticus* 368 (XIV.14).2.

*Pompeii, 3 May 44*

Cicero to Cassius greetings.

Believe me, Cassius, I never stop thinking about you and our friend Brutus, that is to say about the whole country, whose only hope lies in you both and in D. Brutus. I myself now feel more optimistic after the splendid performance of my dear Dolabella. The rot in Rome was spreading and getting more virulent every day, so that I for one was alarmed for the city and for public order inside it. But this has been so effectually suppressed that I think we may now reasonably consider ourselves safe for all time to come from that most squalid of threats at any rate.

The tasks that remain are many and serious, but all depends on you three. However, let us solve each problem as it arises.<sup>1</sup> As things have gone so far, it appears that we are free of the despot, but not of the despotism. Our king has been killed, but we are upholding the validity of his every regal nod. And not only that, but we sanction measures which he himself would not be taking if he were alive on the pretext that he had them in mind. I see no end to the business. Laws are posted up, exemptions granted, large sums of money assigned, exiles brought home, decrees of the Senate forged—it seems we are merely rid of the disgust we felt for an abominable individual and of the mortification of slavery, while the state still lies in the chaotic condition into which he flung it.

You and your friends must straighten out the whole tangle. You must not think that you have done enough for your country already. She has indeed had more from you

quidem tantum quantum numquam mihi in mentem venit optare; sed contenta non est et pro magnitudine et animi et benefici vestri a vobis magna desiderat. adhuc ulta suas iniurias est per vos interitu tyranni, nihil amplius. ornamenta vero sua quae recipavit? an quod ei mortuo paret quem vivum ferre non poterat? cuius aera refigere debemus, eius etiam chirographa defendimus? at enim ita decrevimus. fecimus id quidem temporibus cedentes, quae valent in re publica plurimum; sed immoderate quidam et ingrante nostra facilitate abutuntur.

Verum haec propediem et multa alia coram. interim velim sic tibi persuadeas, mihi cum rei publicae, quam semper habui carissimam, tum amoris nostri causa maxime curae esse tuam dignitatem. da operam ut valeas.

Vale.

328 (XII.16)

*Scr. Athens VIII Kal. Iun. an. 44*

TREBONIUS CICERONI S.

1 S. v. b.

Athenas veni a. d. XI Kal. Iun. atque ibi, quod maxime optabam, vidi filium tuum deditum optimis studiis summaque modestiae fama. qua ex re quantam voluptatem ceperim scire potes etiam me tacente. non enim nescis

<sup>2</sup> In the temple of Tellus on 17 March, when the Senate confirmed Caesar's 'acts.'

<sup>1</sup> Trebonius was on his way to take over the province of Asia.

than it ever entered my mind to hope, but she is not satisfied; she wants great things from you, proportionate to the greatness of your hearts and service. So far she has avenged her injuries by the death of the tyrant at your hands, nothing more. What of her dignities? Which of them has she recovered? The right to obey a dead man, whom she could not tolerate alive? Are we defending the paper memoranda of one whose laws graven on bronze we ought to annul? Oh yes, we have so decreed.<sup>2</sup> When we did that, we bowed to circumstances, which in politics count for a great deal. But some people are abusing our facility without restraint or gratitude.

But of this and much else when we meet, soon. Meanwhile, please believe that I have your public standing very much at heart, both for the sake of the commonwealth, which has always been dearer to me than anything else in the world, and for that of our mutual affection. Take care of your health.

Good-bye.

328 (XII.16)

TREBONIUS TO CICERO

*Athens, 25 May 44*

From Trebonius to Cicero greetings.

I trust you are well.

I arrived in Athens on 22 May,<sup>1</sup> and there saw what I most desired to see, your son devoting himself to liberal studies and bearing an exemplary character. How much pleasure this gave me you can appreciate even without my telling you. You are not unaware how much I think of you