

Cambridge University Press

0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV

Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey

Excerpt

[More information](#)

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

133–210 (BOOKS VII. 10–X)

49 B.C.

Cambridge University Press

0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV

Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey

Excerpt

[More information](#)

INDEX SIGLORVM

- E* = Ambrosianus E 14 inf. (saec. XIV).
H = Landianus 8 (saec. XIV–XV).
N = Laurentianus (ex Conv. Suppr.) 49 (saec. XIV–XV).
V = Palatinus Lat. 1510 (saec. XV).
O = Taurinensis Lat. 495 (saec. XV).
R = Parisinus Lat. 8538 (anno 1419 scriptus).
P = Parisinus Lat. 8536 (saec. XV).
Ant. = Antonianus a Malaespina citatus.
F = Faërne codex a Malaespina vel Vrsino citatus.
codd. Mal. = Malaespinæ codices ab ipso generatim citati.
 Σ = consensus codicis E cum codicibus HNV (vel O deficiente V) R aut omnibus aut eis qui quoquo loco praesto sunt
M = Mediceus 49. 18 (anno 1393 scriptus).
b = Berolinensis (ex bibl. Hamiltoniana) 168 (saec. XV).
d = Laurentianus (ex bibl. aedilium) 217 (saec. XV).
m = Berolinensis (ex bibl. Hamiltoniana) 166 (anno 1408 scriptus).
s = Vrbinas 322 (saec. XV).
 δ = consensus codicum *bdms*.
 Δ = consensus codicis M cum codicibus *bdms*, aut omnibus aut tribus.
 Ω = consensus codicum Σ (quotquot praesto sunt) et M = archetypum omnium quos supra nominavi codicum.
C = lectiones margini editionis Cratandrinae (an. 1528) adscriptae.
c = lectiones in textu eiusdem editionis primum prolatae.
Z = Tornesianus (de *Z*¹, *Z*⁽¹⁾, *Z*^b, *Z*^(b), *Z* ^{β} , *Z*^(β), vide tom. I, p. 93).
 λ = lectiones in margine alterius editionis Lambinianae (an. 1572–3) veteri codici (v.c.) adtributae.
Lamb. (marg.) = lectiones ibidem quibus littera 'L.' praefixa est.
 ζ = lectiones ex codicibus deterioribus, ut videntur, hic illic citatae vel in editionibus ante Cratandrinam primum inventae.
*M*², *O*², etc. = codicum M, O, etc. secundae manus.

Cambridge University Press
 0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV
 Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey
 Excerpt
[More information](#)

133 (VII. 10)

TEXT

133 (VII. 10)

Scr. ad urbem xiii Kal. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Subito consilium cepi ut ante quam luceret exirem, ne qui conspectus fieret aut sermo, lictoribus praesertim laureatis. de reliquo neque hercule quid agam neque quid acturus sim scio; ita sum perturbatus temeritate nostri amentissimi consili. tibi vero quid suadeam, cuius ipse consilium exspecto? s Gnaeus noster quid consili ceperit capiatve nescio adhuc, in oppidis coartatus et stupens. omnes, si in Italia consistet, erimus una; sin cedit, consili res est. adhuc certe, nisi ego insanio, stulte omnia et incaute. tu, quaeso, crebro ad me scribe vel quod in buccam venerit. 10

134 (VII. 11)

Scr., ut vid., in Formiano x Kal. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

I Quaeso, quid est hoc? aut quid agitur? mihi enim tenebrae sunt. 'Cingulum' inquit 'nos tenemus, Anconem amisimus; Labienus discessit a Caesare.' utrum de imperatore populi Romani an de Hannibale loquimur? o hominem amentem et miserum, qui ne umbram quidem umquam τοῦ κολοῦ s viderit! atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa. ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas? honestum igitur habere exercitum nullo publico consilio, occupare urbis civium quo facilius sit aditus ad patriam, χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς, φυγάδων

Ep. 133] 3 neque (*alt.*) O: ne *RMdm*: nec *Hbs* 4 amentissimi s: aman- *HRδ*: om. O 7 et *M corr.*: sed Ω omnes] omnino *Watt* consistet *Pius*: -tat Ω 8 certe *Victorius*: -ta *M*: incerta O: -ti *Rδ*

Ep. 134] I, I est hoc Σ: hoc est Δ 2 cingulum *OPδ*: si- *EHRM* inquis *PF* anconam s 7 honestum Σ: nisi h- *M*: num h- δ igitur *ED*: est i- *OR*

Cambridge University Press

0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV

Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey

Excerpt

[More information](#)

TRANSLATION 133 (VII. IO)

133 (VII. IO)

Near Rome, 18 January 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

I have decided on the spur of the moment to leave before daybreak so as to avoid looks or talk, especially with these laurelled lictors. As for what is to follow, I really don't know what I am doing or going to do, I am so confounded by the rashness of this crazy proceeding of ours. As for yourself, what can I recommend—I am expecting advice from *you*. What our Gnaeus has decided or is deciding I don't yet know, cooped up there in the country towns in a daze. If he makes a stand in Italy we shall all be with him, but if he leaves, it's a matter for consideration. So far anyhow, unless I am out of my mind, there has been nothing but folly and recklessness. Pray write to me often, if only just what comes into your head.

134 (VII. II)

Formiae (?), 21 January (?) 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

- I Pray, what's all this? What is going on? I am in the dark. 'We hold Cingulum, we've lost Ancona, Labienus has deserted Caesar.' Is it a Roman general or Hannibal we are talking of? Deluded wretch, with never in his life a glimpse of even the shadow of Good! And he says he is doing all this for his honour's sake! Where is honour without moral good? And is it good to have an army without public authority, to seize Roman towns by way of opening the road to the mother city, to plan debt cancellations, recall of exiles, and

Cambridge University Press

0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV

Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey

Excerpt

[More information](#)

134 (VII. 11)

TEXT

- καθόδους, sescenta alia scelera moliri, 'τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' 10
 ἔχειν τυραννίδα'? sibi habeat suam fortunam! unam mehercule
 tecum aplicationem in illo lucrativo tuo sole malim quam
 omnia illius modi regna, vel potius mori miliens quam semel
 2 illius modi quicquam cogitare. 'quid si tu velis?' inquis. age,
 quis est cui velle non liceat? sed ego hoc ipsum velle miserius
 esse duco quam in crucem tolli. una res est ea miserior, adipisci
 quod ita volueris. sed haec hactenus; libenter enim in his
 molestiis ἐνσχολάζω σοι. 5
- 3 Redeamus ad nostrum. per fortunas, quale tibi consilium
 Pompei videtur? hoc quaero, quid urbem reliquerit; ego enim
 ἀπορῶ. tum nihil absurdius. urbem tu relinquant? ergo
 idem, si Galli venirent. 'non est' inquit 'in parietibus res
 publica.' at in aris et focus. 'fecit Themistocles.' fluctum 5
 enim totius barbariae ferre urbs una non poterat. at idem
 Pericles non fecit anno fere post quinquagesimo, cum praeter
 moenia nihil teneret; nostri olim urbe reliqua capta arcem
 tamen retinuerunt. 'οὕτως που τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα
 4 ἀνδρῶν'. rursus autem ex dolore municipali sermonibusque 10
 eorum quos convenio videtur hoc consilium exitum habiturum.
 mira hominum querela est (nescio istic, sed facies ut sciam)
 sine magistratibus urbem esse, sine senatu. fugiens denique
 Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet. quid quaeris? alia causa 5
 facta est. nihil iam concedendum putant Caesari. haec tu mihi
 explicata qualia sint.

14 illius EORAC: istius Hc 2, 5 σοι Victorijs: COCON RMm 3, 1 re-
 deamus s: debe- Ω 2 quid scripsi: quod Ω reliquit Watt 3 tum] tamen 5
 7 anno EOR: annum HΔ quinquagesimo E: -mum HORA 8 et nostri
 Buecheler 4, 3 nescio 5: -is Ω isticine Wesenberg 6 facta est Victorijs:
 -a si H: -as EORM: -a δ

Cambridge University Press

0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV

Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey

Excerpt

[More information](#)

TRANSLATION 134 (VII. 11)

- a hundred other villainies 'all for that first of deities, Sole Power'? He is welcome to his greatness. I would rather a single hour with you, warming myself in that 'bonus' sunshine of yours, than all such autocracies, or rather I had sooner
- 2 die a thousand deaths than entertain one such thought. You may say 'But supposing you *did* wish for it?' Come! Anyone is allowed to *wish*. But I reckon the mere wish a sorrier thing than crucifixion. There is only one thing sorrier still, and that is for a man in such a case to get what he wishes for. But there's enough. In the midst of these disquietudes I like to make you my lecture class.
- 3 To come back to our friend. What *do* you think, for heaven's sake, of Pompey's line—I mean, why has he abandoned Rome? *I don't* know what to make of it. At the time it looked the most senseless thing. Abandon Rome? I suppose you would have done the same if the Gauls were coming? 'House walls' he might answer 'don't make the Republic.' But altars and hearthstones do. 'Themistocles did it.' Yes, because one city could not stand against the tide of the whole barbarian world. But Pericles did not half a century later, though he held nothing except the town walls. Our own forebears still held the citadel after the rest of Rome was in enemy hands. 'Such the brave tales we've heard of
- 4 men of old.' And yet again, to judge from the indignation in the towns and the talk of the people who come my way, it looks as though this proceeding may achieve something after all. The public outcry is astonishing (whether so in Rome I do not know, but you will inform me) at the thought of the capital without magistrates or Senate. Finally the picture of Pompey on the run affects people marvellously. In a word, the case is altered. They are now against any concessions to Caesar. You must explain to me what all this adds up to.

Cambridge University Press

0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV

Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey

Excerpt

[More information](#)

134 (VII. 11)

TEXT

- 5 Ego negotio praesum non turbulento; vult enim me Pompeius esse quem tota haec Campania et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem dilectus et negoti summa referatur; itaque vagus esse cogitabam. te puto iam videre quae sit ὄρμη Caesaris, qui populus, qui totius negoti status. ea velim scribas ad me, et quidem, quoniam mutabilia sunt, quam saepissime; acquiesco enim et scribens ad te et legens tua.

135 (VII. 12)

Scr. in Formiano ix Kal. Febr. an. 49

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 Vnam adhuc a te epistulam acceperam datam XII Kal. [Iun.], in qua significabatur aliam te ante dedisse, quam non acceperam. sed quaeso ut scribas quam saepissime, non modo si quid scies aut audieris sed etiam si quid suspicabere, maximeque quid nobis faciendum aut non faciendum putes. 5
- Nam quod rogas cures ut scias quid Pompeius agat, ne
2 ipsum quidem scire puto; nostrum quidem nemo. vidi Lentulum consulem Formiis x Kal., vidi Libonem; plena timoris et erroris omnia. ille iter Larinum; ibi enim cohortes et Luceriae et Teani reliquaque in Apulia. inde utrum consistere uspiam velit an mare transire nescitur. si manet, vereor 5 ne exercitum firmum habere non possit; sin discedit, quo aut qua, aut quid nobis agendum sit nescio. nam istum quidem cuius Φαλαρισμὸν times omnia taeterrime facturum puto; nec eum rerum prolatio nec senatus magistratuumque discessus

5, 2 campania et Hδ: -na et EORM: et Campana *Sternkopf* habeat ms: -ent HRMBd: -eant E 4 quae] anne qua? 5 ὄρμη *Victorius*: hora me EORM: hora mei H: (h)ora vi(a)e δ

Ep. 135] 1, 1 kl'. (sequ. spat.) E: Kal. iun. vel sim. HORA: Kal. Febr. *Corradus* 5 putes *Lambinus*: putas Ω 2, 7 sit ς: est Ω 9 senatus Pδ: senectus Ω

Cambridge University Press

0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV

Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey

Excerpt

[More information](#)

TRANSLATION 134 (VII. 11)

- 5 I have a fairly quiet job to look after. Pompey wants me to exercise supervision over all this part of Campania and the sea coast, with general authority over recruiting, etc. I therefore expect to be moving about from place to place. I imagine that by now you see the direction of Caesar's drive, the popular reaction, the state of the whole business. I hope you will write to me about these matters and as often as possible, since they won't stand still. Both when writing to you and when reading what you write I feel calmer.

135 (VII. 12)

Formiae, 22 January 49

CICERO TO ATTICUS

- 1 I have so far received one letter from you dispatched the 19th, in which you indicate that you had sent another earlier which I have not received. But I do beg you to write as often as you can, anything you know or hear or even just suspect; above all what you think I ought to do or not to do.

- As for your request that I should let you know what Pompey is about, I don't think he knows himself; certainly none of us knows. I saw Consul Lentulus at Formiae on the 21st and Libo also. No sign of anything but panic and bewilderment. Pompey is making for Larinum, where there are some cohorts, as also at Luceria and Teanum and in the rest of Apulia. Once there, whether he wants to make a stand at any point or to go overseas is unknown. If he stays, I am afraid it may be impossible for him to have a strong army. If he goes, I don't know his route or destination or what I am to do. As for the man whose Phalarism you dread, I expect nothing but atrocities from him. Neither the suspension of business nor the departure of Senate and magistrates nor the closure of the Treasury

Cambridge University Press

0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV

Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey

Excerpt

[More information](#)

135 (VII. 12)

TEXT

- 3 nec aerarium clausum tardabit. sed haec, ut scribis, cito sciemus.

Interim velim mihi ignoscas quod ad te scribo tam multa totiens; acquiesco enim et tuas volo elicere litteras maximeque consilium quid agam aut quo me pacto geram. demittamne me penitus in causam? non deterreor periculo sed dirumpor dolore: tamne nullo consilio aut tam contra meum consilium gesta esse omnia! an cuncter et tergiverser et iis me dem qui tenent, qui potiuntur? 'αἰδέομαι Τρωῶς', nec solum civis sed etiam amici officio revocor, etsi frangor saepe misericordia puerorum.

- 4 Vt igitur ita perturbato, etsi te eadem sollicitant, scribe aliquid, et maxime, si Pompeius Italia cedit, quid nobis agendum putes. M' quidem Lepidus (nam fuimus una) eum finem statuit, L. Torquatus eundem. me cum multa tum etiam lictores impediunt. nihil vidi umquam quod minus explicari posset. itaque a te nihildum certi exquiro sed quid videatur, denique ipsam ἀπορίαν tuam cupio cognoscere.

- 5 Labienum ab illo discessisse prope modum constat. si ita factum esset ut ille Romam veniens magistratus et senatum Romae offenderet, magno usui causae nostrae fuisset. damnasse enim sceleris hominem amicum rei publicae causa videretur, quod nunc quoque videtur, sed minus prodest; non enim habet cui prosit, eumque arbitror paenitere, nisi forte id ipsum est falsum, discessisse illum. nos quidem pro certo habebamus.

- 6 Et velim, quamquam, ut scribis, domesticis te finibus tenes, formam mihi urbis exponas, ecquod Pompei desiderium,

3, 5 demittamne *Pius*: dim- Ω 7 tamne *HRMZ*¹: tam *EOP codd. Mal.* 8
4, 3 *M'*. *Aldus nepos*: m. Ω 5, 2 magistratus *Wesenberg*: -um Ω 3 Romae
del. Manutius 6, 1 ut *HA*: ut tu *EOR* 2 ecquod et ecquae (v. 3) *Victorius*:
et q- *more suo* Ω

Cambridge University Press

0521606926 - Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Volume IV

Edited by D. R. Shackleton Bailey

Excerpt

[More information](#)

TRANSLATION 135 (VII. 12)

- 3 will put a brake on him. But as you say, we shall know shortly.

Meanwhile I hope you will forgive me for writing to you so much and so often. It calms me, and I want to elicit letters from you, above all advice on what to do or how to behave. Shall I fling myself whole-hearted into the cause? I am not deterred by the risk, but I *am* bursting with indignation at the utter lack of judgement, or shall I say the flouting of *my* judgement, in the whole proceedings. Or shall I temporize and sit on the fence and offer myself to those in actual possession of power? 'I fear the Trojans', and my obligations not only as a citizen but as a friend call me back. And yet pity for the boys often makes me waver.

- 4 You see my perplexity. You have similar anxieties, but write something, and above all tell me what you think I ought to do if Pompey leaves Italy. M'. Lepidus (we have been together) has fixed that as his limit, L. Torquatus likewise. I am hampered by my lictors among many other embarrassments. It is the most intractable problem I ever met. So I do not ask anything definite from you yet, merely your opinion. Failing that, I want to hear of your puzzlement.

- 5 It is pretty well established that Labienus has left Caesar. If it had worked out so that he came to Rome and found the magistrates and Senate there, he would have been of great use to our cause. He would have appeared as having pronounced the guilt of a friend for country's sake, as indeed he does even now, but he renders less service because he has nobody to render it to. I imagine he regrets his action, unless by any chance the report is untrue and he has not left at all. *We* have it for certain.

- 6 Although you say you are keeping inside your own gates, I should be grateful if you would make me a sketch of things