

20TH LATIN SUMMER SCHOOL

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Education Building, University of Sydney

LEVEL 4.3

Instructor: PAUL ROCHE



**Coping with Caesar in charge:
Five of Cicero's *Letters to Friends* from 46.**



Coping with Caesar in charge: five of Cicero's *Letters to Friends* from 46.

What's eating the great orator in 46? That triumph he was hoping for in 50 is long gone. The civil war is over (for now) and his side lost. Pompey and Cato are dead; the courts have been shut down, and Caesar is coming home.

Here is a different Cicero from the swaggering vainglory of earlier speeches: fresh from divorce, fending off the black dog, fretting about diarrhoea, reduced to a life of letters, eating too much peacock, keeping low company at dinner, swallowing pride, groveling before the dictator and teaching his henchmen how to declaim; even the calendar won't work! Thank god for good friends. These are now variously bankrupt, in self-imposed exile or on trial for treason. These five letters offer fragmented glimpses into a private world in which Cicero's hopes for a moderate Caesar turned to ashes. They give us the briefest taste of Cicero's emotional and psychological complexity as revealed in one of the most astonishing *corpora* of texts to have survived from antiquity.

For help with the letters:

Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (ed.) *Cicero: Select Letters* (Cambridge University Press 1980)

- we are reading nos 45–49 of SB's edition; his comments (pp. 184–91) are included at the end of this document.

Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (trans.) *Cicero: Select Letters* (Harmondsworth 1986) (Penguin Classics)

Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (trans.) *Cicero: Letters to his Friends* volume 1 (Harmondsworth 1978) (Penguin Classics)

Walsh, P. G. (trans.) *Cicero: Selected Letters* (Oxford 2008) (Oxford World's Classics)

For Cicero:

Mitchell, T. N. *Cicero, the Senior Statesman* (New Haven 1991).

Rawson, E. *Cicero: a Portrait* (London 1975).

Shackleton Bailey, D. R. *Cicero* (London 1971).

Stockton, D. *Cicero. A Political Biography* (London 1971).

For Caesar:

Meier, C. *Caesar* (London 1996)

Syme, R. *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) chapter IV

Crook, J. A., Lintott, A. and Rawson E. (eds.) *Cambridge Ancient History* volume 9 (*The last age of the republic*) 2nd edition

I look forward to meeting or catching up with you in January, and to reading these letters with you!

Paul

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Monday: *Fam.* 9.18 to Paetus (at the beginning of August)

Scr. in Tusculano Paulo ante vii Kal. Sext. an. 46

CICERO S. D. PAETO

Cum essem otiosus in Tusculano propterea quod discipulos obviam miseram, ut eadem me quam maxime conciliarent familiari suo, accepi tuas litteras plenissimas suavitatis; ex quibus intellexi probari tibi meum consilium, quod, ut Dionysius tyrannus, cum Syracusis pulsus esset, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuisse, sic ego sublatis iudiciis, amisso regno forensi ludum quasi habere coeperim. quid quaeris? me quoque delectat consilium. multa enim consequor: primum, id quod maxime nunc opus est, munio me ad haec tempora. id cuius modi sit nescio; tantum video, nullius adhuc consilium me huic antepone, nisi forte mori melius fuit. in lectulo, fateor, sed non accidit; in acie non fui. ceteri quidem, Pompeius, Lentulus tuus, Scipio, Afranius foede perierunt. at Cato praeclare. iam istuc quidem cum volumus licebit; demus modo operam ne tam necesse nobis sit quam illi fuit, id quod agimus. ergo hoc primum.

Sequitur illud: ipse melior fio, primum valetudine, quam intermissis exercitationibus amiseram; deinde ipsa illa, si qua fuit in me, facultas orationis, nisi me ad has exercitationes rettulissem, exaruisset. extremum illud est, quod tu nescio an primum putes: pluris iam pavones confeci quam tu pullos columbinos. tu istic te Hateriano iure delectas, ego me hic Hirtiano. veni igitur, si vir es, et disce a me *προλεγομένας* quas quaeris; etsi sus Minervam. sed, quo modo video, si aestimationes tuas vendere non potes neque ollam denariorum implere, Romam tibi remigrandum est; satius est hic cruditate quam istic fame. video te bona perdisse; spero idem istuc familiaris tuos. actum igitur de te est nisi provides. potes mulo isto, quem tibi reliquum dicis esse, quoniam cantherium comedisti, Romam pervehi. sella tibi erit in ludo, tamquam hypodidascalo, proxima; eam pulvinus sequetur.

Tuesday: *Fam.* 7.28 to Curius (August)

Scr. Romae m. Sext., ut vid, an. 46

M. CICERO S. D. CURIO

Memini cum mihi desipere videbare quod cum istis potius viveres quam nobiscum. erat enim multo domicilium huius urbis, cum quidem haec urbs, aptius humanitati et suavitati tuae quam tota Peloponnesus, nedum Patrae. nunc contra et vidisse mihi multum tum videris cum prope desperatis his rebus te in Graeciam contulisti et hoc tempore non solum sapiens qui hinc absis sed etiam beatus. quamquam quis qui aliquid sapiat nunc esse beatus potest?

Sed quod tu, cui licebat, pedibus es consecutus, ut ibi esses ‘ubi nec Pelopidarum’ (nosti cetera), nos idem prope modum consequimur alia ratione. cum enim salutationi nos dedimus amicorum, quae fit hoc etiam frequentius quam solebat quod quasi avem albam videntur bene sentientem civem videre, abdo me in bibliothecam. itaque opera efficio tanta quanta fortasse tu senties; intellexi enim ex tuo sermone quodam, cum meam maestitiam et desperationem accusares domi tuae, dicere te ex meis libris animum meum desiderare.

Sed mehercule et tum rem publicam lugebam, quae non solum a suis <erga> me sed etiam a meis erga se beneficiis erat mihi vita mea carior, et hoc tempore, quamquam me non ratio solum consolatur, quae plurimum debet valere, sed etiam dies, quae stultis quoque mederi solet, tamen doleo ita rem communem esse dilapsam ut ne spes quidem melius aliquando fore relinquatur. nec vero nunc quidem culpa in eo est in cuius potestate omnia sunt, nisi forte id ipsum esse non debuit; sed alia casu, alia etiam [in] nostra culpa sic acciderunt ut de praeteritis non sit querendum. reliquam spem nullam video. qua re ad prima redeo: sapienter haec reliquisti si consilio, feliciter si casu.

Wednesday: *Fam.* 6.14 to Ligarius (November)

Scr. Romae ex. m. Nov. an. 46

CICERO LIGARIO

Me scito omnem meum laborem, omnem operam, curam, studium in tua salute consumere. nam cum te semper maxime dilexi tum fratrum tuorum, quos aequae atque te summa benevolentia sum complexus, singularis pietas amorque fraternus nullum me patitur officii erga te studique munus aut tempus praetermittere. sed quae faciam fecerimque pro te ex illorum te litteris quam ex meis malo cognoscere. quid autem sperem, aut confidam et exploratum habeam, de salute tua, id tibi a me declarari volo.

Nam si quisquam est timidus in magnis periculosisque rebus semperque magis adversos rerum exitus metuens quam sperans secundos, is ego sum et, si hoc vitium est, eo me non carere confiteor. ego idem tamen, cum a. d. V Kal. intercalaris priores rogatu fratrum tuorum venissem mane ad Caesarem atque omnem adeundi et conveniendi illius indignitatem et molestiam pertulisset, cum fratres et propinqui tui iacerent ad pedes et ego essem locutus quae causa, quae tuum tempus postulabat, non solum ex oratione Caesaris, quae sane mollis et liberalis fuit, sed etiam ex oculis et vultu, ex multis praeterea signis, quae facilius perspicere potui quam scribere, hac opinione discessi ut mihi tua salus dubia non esset.

Quam ob rem fac animo magno fortique sis et, si turbidissima sapienter ferebas, tranquilliora laete feras. ego tamen tuis rebus sic adero ut difficillimis neque Caesari solum sed etiam amicis eius omnibus, quos mihi amicissimos esse cognovi, pro te, sicut adhuc feci, libentissime supplicabo. Vale.

Thursday: *Fam.* 9.26 to Paetus (in the second of Caesar's intercalary months)

Scr. Romae med. m. interc. post., ut vid., an. 46

CICERO PAETO S. D.

Accubueram hora nona cum ad te harum exemplum in codicillis exaravi. dices 'ubi?' apud Volumnium Eutrapelum, et quidem supra me Atticus, infra Verrius, familiares tui. miraris tam exhilaratam esse servitatem nostram? quid ergo faciam? te consulo, qui philosophum audis. an gar, excruciem me? quid adsequar? deinde, quem ad finem? 'vivas' inquis 'in litteris.' an quicquam me aliud agere censes aut posse vivere nisi in litteris viverem? sed est earum etiam non satietas sed quidam modus; a quibus cum discessi, etsi minimum mihi est in cena, quod tu unum ζήτημα Dioni philosopho posuisti, tamen quid potius faciam prius quam me dormitum conferam non reperio.

Audi reliqua. infra Eutrapelum Cytheris accubuit. 'in eo igitur' inquis 'convivio Cicero ille

“quem aspectabant, cuius ob os Grai ora obvertebant sua?”“

non mehercule suspicatus sum illam adfore. sed tamen ne Aristippus quidem ille Socraticus erubuit cum esset obiectum habere eum Laida. 'habeo' inquit, 'non habeor a Laide' (Graece hoc melius; tu, si voles, interpretabere). me vero nihil istorum ne iuvenem quidem movit umquam, ne nunc senem. convivio delector; ibi loquor quod in solum, ut dicitur, et gemitum [et] in risus maximos transfero. an tu id melius qui etiam [in] philosophum irriseris, cum ille si quis quid quaereret dixisset, cenam te quaerere a mane dixeris? ille baro te putabat quaesiturum unum caelum esset an innumerabilia. quid ad te? at hercule cena numquid ad te, ibi praesertim?

Sic igitur vivitur. cottidie aliquid legitur aut scribitur. dein, ne amicis nihil tribuamus, epulamur una non modo non contra legem, si ulla nunc lex est, sed etiam intra legem, et quidem aliquanto. qua re nihil est quod adventum nostrum extimescas. non multi cibi hospitem accipies, multi ioci.

Friday: *Fam.* 7.26 to Gallus (after October)

Scr. in Cumano xiii Kal. Dec., ut vid., an 46

CICERO S. D. GALLO

Cum decimum iam diem graviter ex intestinis laborarem neque iis qui mea opera uti volebant me probarem non valere quia febrim non haberem, fugi in Tusculanum, cum quidem biduum ita ieiunus fuisset ut ne aquam quidem gustarem. itaque confectus languore et fame magis tuum officium desideravi quam a te requiri putavi meum. ego autem cum omnis morbos reformido tum eum in quo Epicurum tuum Stoici male accipiunt quia dicat *στραγγουρικὰ καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη* sibi molesta esse; quorum alterum morbum edacitatis esse putant, alterum etiam turpioris intemperantiae. sane *δυσεντερίαν* pertimueram; sed visa est mihi vel loci mutatio vel animi etiam relaxatio vel ipsa fortasse iam senescentis morbi remissio profuisse.

Ac tamen, ne mirere unde hoc acciderit quo modove commiserim, lex sumptuaria, quae videtur *λιτότητα* attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit. nam dum volunt isti lauti terra nata, quae lege excepta sunt, in honorem adducere, fungos, helvellas, herbas omnis ita condiunt ut nihil possit esse suavius. in eas cum incidissem in cena augurali apud Lentulum, tanta me *διάρροια* arripuit ut hodie primum videatur coepisse consistere. ita ego, qui me ostreis et murenis facile abstinebam, a beta et a malva deceptus sum. posthac igitur erimus cautiores.

Tu tamen, cum audisses ab Anicio (vidit enim me nauseantem), non modo mittendi causam iustam habuisti sed etiam visendi. ego hic cogito commorari quoad me reficiam. nam et viris et corpus amisi; sed si morbum depulero, facile, ut spero, illa revocabo.

LETTER 43 (*Fam.* 14.20)

Cicero's last extant letter to his wife, written from the district of Venusia in south Italy on his way back to Rome.

ut sint. . . ut sit A form of command mainly found in Plautus and Cato.

labrum Contracted form of *lavabrum*, a round tub for washing or sluicing after the sweat-bath. Specimens have been found at Pompeii and elsewhere.

ad victum et ad valetudinem 'for subsistence and health'. An anonymous epigram in the *Latin Anthology* (ed. Riese, 179) has *hinc capitur victus, sumitur inde salus, where hinc* refers to a fruit and vegetable garden, *inde* to baths.

LETTER 44 (*Fam.* 9.1)

The great antiquarian and polymath M. Terentius Varro of Reate had been a lieutenant of Pompey in politics and war and had governed southern Spain (Baetica) as his Legate. He surrendered there to Caesar in 48 and subsequently made his way to Greece, for at the time of the battle of Pharsalia he was in Dyrrachium with Cicero and Cato (*Divin.* 1.68, 2.114). He was a friend of Atticus and Cicero, but the latter stood in some awe of him, quoting on one occasion from the *Iliad*, 'One to be feared. E'en blameless folk he'd blame.'

Apparently he had been pardoned by Caesar a second time and given permission to return to Italy, where he was expected in the near future.

2 me. . . demississem In joining Pompey in 48.

sive ad te Varro too had villas in both areas. Cicero could not in common courtesy assume that Varro would be the host. Hence the addition to the text.

perfectam. . . videatur i.e. 'what suits you best will suit me too'.

LETTER 45 (*Fam.* 9.18)

On Papirius Pactus see Letter 28.

1 discipulos Hirtius and Dolabella, who were taking lessons in declamation from Cicero.

obviam To meet Caesar on his return from the African campaign. He landed in Italy on 26 July 46. Cicero must be joking when he says he 'sent' the two Caesarians. They would have gone anyway, and it is not clear why he did not go himself.

eadem sc. *via* or *opera*. So in comedy.

Dionysius The legend that Dionysius II, after his final expulsion from Syracuse in 345, became a schoolmaster in Corinth (*usque eo imperio carere non poterat, Tusc.* 3.27) passed into a Greek proverb ('Dionysius at Corinth').

sublatis iudiciis The great standing courts *de vi, de ambitu* etc., in which Cicero used to plead his *causes cëlèbres*, were no longer active under Caesar.

regno forensi cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.112 *regnare in iudicis dictus est*. In the Verres Cicero uses expressions like *dominatio regnumque iudiciorum* of Hortensius.

2 munio By keeping on good terms with leading Caesarians. Dolabella and Tullia were now divorced, but Cicero's relations with him remained cordial.

in lectulo The diminutive is regularly used in this expression (in *lectulo* (*suo*) *moritur*).

Pompeius. . . Afranius Pompey and Lentulus Crus (Cos. 49) were separately murdered in Egypt. Metellus Scipio and L. Afranius (Cos. 60) perished in Africa, the former killing himself to avoid capture, the latter killed by Caesar's soldiery.

neesse According to Plutarch (*Vit. Cat. min.* 72) Caesar said he would have liked to spare Cato's life. Evidently Cicero did not know this or did not believe it.

3 valetudine 'The Romans at times practised declamation to supply the place of physical exercise' (Tyrrell and Purser, quoting *Phil.* 2.42 *uni exlalandi, non ingeni acuedi causa declamatis*).

nescio an 'I rather think that. . .'. See Letter 11.2.

pavones A fashionable dish, believed to have been first served by Hortensius at an Augurs' dinner. Horace thought it tasted like ordinary fowl (*Sat.* 2.2.29).

tu. . . Hirtiano 'While you are enjoying Haterius' legal gravity in Naples, I regale myself here with Hirtius' gravity'. Haterius was presumably a lawyer, and a neighbour or guest of Pactus. Hirtius,

a noted epicure, prided himself on his sauces. For the pun cf. the famous *ius Verrinum* in *Verr.* 2.1.121.

πρωλειγουένως 'first principles' (sc. *θεοεσις*). This is the usual explanation, but the expression does not occur elsewhere and its meaning is not certain.

sus Minervam sc. *docet*. A well-known proverb in Greek and Latin. Since Minerva was the goddess of wisdom and intellect and the pig was considered the most stupid of animals (Plin. *Nat. hist.* 8.207, Enn. *Ann.* 105 *nam vi depugnare sues stolidi soliti sunt*), there is no necessity to suppose that it originated in a lost fable. Cicero means that Paetus knew more about oratory than he did himself.

4 **quo modo video** 'as I see it'.

aestimationes Under Caesar's debt regulations creditors had been obliged to take over the property of their debtors at pre-war prices. Such properties were now a drug in the market.

neque...implere 'and you have not sixpences enough to fill a pot'. The denarius was a silver coin worth four sesterces or ten asses. **cruditate** sc. *mori*.

idem istuc sc. *fecisse spero* means 'I expect' rather than 'I hope'. Paetus had complained of his losses in his letter, hence *istuc*.

cantherium 'gelding'; but sometimes colloquially for 'horse'; from *καυθήλιος* = 'donkey', a sense not found in the Latin. *comedere* often means 'spend' or 'squander', here perhaps 'spend (the proceeds of the sale) on food'; cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.15.39 '*non hercule miror*' | *aibat* 'si qui comedunt bona, cum sit obeso | nil melius turdo, nil usula pulchrius ambla'.

eam pulvinus sequetur 'a cushion will accompany the chair'. Or perhaps the cushion was to follow later, if Paetus gave satisfaction.

LETTER 46 (*Fam.* 7.28)

On *M'*. Curius see Letter 31.1.

1 **istis** 'the people where you are', i.e. 'Greeks'.
cum...urbis sc. *erat*.

2 **ubi nec Pelopidarum** Pelops was the father of Atreus and Thyestes. This line from an unknown play may have run: *ubi nec*

Pelopidarum nomen nec facta aut famam audivam. Cicero quotes pieces of it elsewhere.

avem albam White was a lucky colour; cf. *Juv.* 13.141 *gallinae flius albae*, *Ov. Am.* 3.12.1-2 *tristia... | omnia non albae concinvisis aues*. But Cicero also seems to have had the idea of rarity in mind, perhaps unconsciously mixing up *rara avis* and *corvus albus*.

opera After returning to Rome in 47 Cicero filled his now abundant leisure with literary composition. Earlier in 46 he had produced his *Brutus*, *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, *Cato* (lost), and perhaps *Partitiones oratoriae*. He was now working on the *Orator*.

dicere As though *memini* (instead of *intellexi*) had preceded - careless writing, but tolerable in a familiar letter. The reference is probably to conversations at Patrae in 48.

te...desiderare 'You wondered what had become of the spirit you saw in my writings.' *ex* = 'using as criterion', as in phrases like *ex meo otio tuum spectro. libris* refers to the *De re publica*.

3 **haec** 'things here', i.e. Rome.

LETTER 47 (*Fam.* 6.14)

Twenty-six letters of 46-45 are written to or from or concerning former republican partisans who were hoping for Caesar's pardon and permission to return to Italy. Friends in this situation knew that they could rely on all possible help from Cicero. One of them was Q. Ligarius, who had been taken prisoner after the battle of Thapsus. His life was spared, and after an extant speech delivered by Cicero before Caesar in October (true calendar) not long after this letter, he was allowed to come back. He repaid Caesar's clemency by joining the conspiracy against his life in 44.

2 **a. d. V Kal. intercalares priores** i.e. 24 September (true calendar); see Appendix I.
facient ad pedes As supplicants.

3 **fac...sis fac(it)e** with the subjunctive, with or without *ut*, emphasizes a command: 'be sure to...'.
ut difficillimis 'I shall give my support to your cause as though it were one of the utmost difficulty.'

amicissimos Cicero often refers to the friendly attitude towards himself of leading Caesarians like Balbus, Oppius, and Hirtius, with whom he had been on good terms before the war.

LETTER 48 (*Fam.* 9.26)

Written in early or mid November (true calendar) 46, soon after Caesar's departure for Spain, during a dinner-party at the house of P. Volturnius Eutrapelus, whose cognomen means 'witty'. He was one of Cicero's Caesarian friends and the recipient of two extant letters from Cicero, which pay compliments to his wit and learning. The famous actress (*mima*) Cytheris (sec. 2), Mark Antony's mistress and the 'Lycoris' of Cornelius Gallus' lost love-elegies, was Volturnius' freedwoman. By Roman social standards association with *mimae* was not fitting for respectable persons like Cicero.

1 hora nona About 2.30 p.m. The ninth hour (i.e. the end of it) was the usual dinner time in summer. For November it was rather early, as befitted a smart Roman dinner-party (*tempestuum convivium*). **harum exemplum** sc. *litterarum. exemplum*, like 'text', can refer to an original or a copy, but usually means the latter.

codicillis Note that at a Roman dinner-party a guest apparently felt free to take out his tablets and write a longish letter (cf. Letters 68.4, 72.3). But it is possible that Cicero and others had been talking about Pactus and that this gave rise to the letter; see on sec. 3.

supra, . . . *infra* Three couches, with three diners to a couch, made up the usual Roman dinner-party (*triclinium*). If Cicero's was the middle couch, Verrius (of whom little otherwise is known) was in the place of honour, *inuis in medio*, next the host, who reclined *summus in imo*. **servitutem** Cicero had earlier thought that Caesar intended to 'restore the republic' in some shape or form, but had now become disillusioned.

qui philosophum audis 'who attend lectures in philosophy'; see below.

quem ad finem? 'for how long?' lit. 'up to what limit?'

minimum . . . *cena* 'I set very little store by my dinner' (Tyrrell-Purser).

ἤτηνα 'problem'. This is explained in sec. 3. Dio, evidently an Epicurean, is otherwise unknown.

2 accubuit The two places 'below' the host on the *inuis lectus* were generally occupied by members of his family or freedmen. According to earlier Roman custom women sat at dinner while men reclined, but this had probably been relaxed by Cicero's time; see Letter 23.4. **quem** . . . *sua* The source is doubtful, but the preceding line is quoted in *Tusc.* 3.39 *hicine est ille Telamon modo quem gloria ad caelum extulit?*

Aristippus Of Cyrene, a pupil of Socrates and precursor of Epicurus in that he pronounced pleasure to be the highest good. Two of his books were dedicated to the famous Corinthian courtesan Lais.

Graece hoc melius The saying is quoted in Greek sources in slightly varying forms, one being ἔγω ἄριστος, ἔγω ἔχομαι, in which ἔχομαι (= *habeor*) has the double sense 'I am owned' and 'I cling to'. Hence the difficulty of translating into Latin. For the antithesis *habeo* . . . *habeor* cf. e.g. Sall. *Iug.* 2.3 *animus* . . . *habet cuncta neque ipse habetur. habeo* (ἔγω) also has an erotic sense, as in Plaut. *Bacch.* 1080 *duxit, habui scortum*.

istorum Relations with actresses and the like.

ne = nedum, 'much less'.

in solura sc. *venit. solura* probably means 'sole of the foot', not 'ground', but the origin of the expression is doubtful. *quidquid in buccam venit* is similarly used, as in Letter 33.1.

3 melius sc. *facis*, i.e. *rides*. 'Do you manage it better, actually making game of a philosopher? When he put his question whether anybody had anything to ask, you called out "Who's going to ask me to dinner?"' The poor dunderhead thought you would be enquiring whether there is one sky or an infinite number. What business is that of yours? Well, but, confound it, is a dinner any business of yours, especially one in this house?' Following traditional sophistic practice Dio asked *num quis quid quaerit*, offering to hold forth on any given topic. Pactus called out *ego cenam a mane quaero*. A fragment of Pomponius, a writer of farces, runs: *cenam quaerit: | si eum nemo vocat, reuertit maestas ad maenam miser*. Cicero writes as though he had just heard the story. Clearly he did not get it from Pactus.

baro Cicero was fond of applying this term to the Epicureans, who made a boast of their indifference to literary culture. Cf. Letter 24.5 (*politissimus*).

unum Epicurus, like some earlier thinkers, held that there are innumerable worlds. After Aristotle 'world' (*κόσμος, mundus*) and 'sky' (*οὐρανός, caelum*) became confused.

ibi praesertim Pactus' ignorance of the art of dining and stinginess as a host is a stock joke in Cicero's letters to him. Luxurious banquets, such as this one doubtless was, were not his province.

4 scribitur Cicero was at this time working on his lost *Hortensius*, the book which drew St Augustine to philosophy.

si ulla nunc lex est Under Caesar's despotism; see on *servitium* in sec. 1.

intra legem i.e. at a cost below the minimum fixed by Caesar's sumptuary law.

adventum Cicero was about to leave Rome on a brief tour of his villas; see the next letter.

LETTER 49 (*Fam.* 9.23)

On 17 November (true calendar) Cicero set out on his tour. He probably wrote this and the following letter at the same time, i.e. on 21 November, the day after his arrival at Cumae.

heri Both spellings, *heri* and *here*, seem to have been current in Cicero's time, but the former was the older. According to Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.4.8) the final vowel was pronounced indeterminately (*neque E plane neque I auditur*).

certum sciam 'know for certain'; see on Letter 5.7.

M. Caeparius Unknown. A Catilinarian conspirator of the same name came from Tarracina (*Sall. Cat.* 46.3).

silva Gallinaria Between Cumae and the river Volturnus; described by Strabo as a dense, sandy wood, stretching for many stadia. It later became a haunt of brigands.

viserem Sometimes used of visiting the sick.

LETTER 50 (*Fam.* 7.4)

XIII Kal. sc. Dec., 21 November by the true calendar.

Libone L. Scribonius Libo, a former intimate of Pompey, whose younger son Sextus married Libo's daughter. His sister Scribonia was Octavian's wife before he married Livia.

quanto post...simus 'after how long (lit. by how much) we shall be together', i.e. 'what a long time it is since we were last together'. *quanto post* is used as in *Virg. Georg.* 3.476 *nunc quoque post tanto* and elsewhere. Cicero and Marius had last met in the spring of 49.

hoc biduo aut triduo 'within two or three days'.

LETTER 51 (*Fam.* 7.26)

This letter has been variously dated, but doubtless belongs to the autumn or winter of 46-45, between the enactment of Caesar's sumptuary law in October (?) and Tullia's death the following February. On M. Fabius Gallus see Letter 28.2.

1 mea opera Cicero was no longer in forensic practice as before the war, but he may have taken some civil cases and might be called upon by his friends in other capacities, e.g. as supporter in court (*advocatus*), witness, or arbiter (*iudex* or *arbiter*) in civil suits.

male accipiunt 'handle roughly'.
σπαγγουριὰ...πτόη 'sufferings from strangury and dysentery'.
The words come from a letter written by Epicurus on his deathbed.

alterum...alterum 'the latter...the former', as often.

2 quo modove commiserim 'what I did to deserve it'.
ἀνόστρα 'plain living'.
excepta 'exempted'.

cena augurali The College of Augurs, to which Cicero had been elected in 53 or 52, met periodically for sumptuous banquets.

Lentulum P. Lentulus Spinther, son of the Consul of 57, who had perished in the war. He entered the augural College in 57.
a beta et a malva The prepositions imply personification. Reid translates 'entrapped by Mr Beet and Mr Mallow'. But why 'Mr'?

Anicio See Letter 17.3.

visendi See Letter 49, *viserem*.

corpus 'flesh' or 'weight'.

si...depulero 'once I shake off the malady'. *si* with the future perfect sometimes has a temporal force, equivalent to *simul atque*.