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The History Of The Life Of M. Tullius Cicero

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Notes to Section XI.

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NOTES

TO SECTION XI.

¹ **H**irtium quidem & Panfam — in consulatu Reip. salutare, alieno sane tempore amissum. Ep. Fam. 12. 25.

Pansa amisso, quantum detrimenti Respub. acceperit, non te præterit. Ep. Fam. 11. 9. Quanto sit in periculo Respub. quam potero brevissime exponam. Primum omnium, quantam perturbationem rerum urbanarum afferat obitus Consulum, &c. Ib. 10.

² Neminem Pompeianum qui vivat tenere lege Hirtia dignitates. Phil. 13. 16.

³ Dio. l. 45. 278.

⁴ Pansa, gravis homo & certus — Ep. Fam. 6. 12.

Quod multos miseriis levavit, & quod se in his malis hominem præbuit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia profecuta est. Ep. Fam. 15. 17.

⁵ Itaque & Pansa, qui *ἡδονὴν* sequitur, virtutem retinet, &c. Ib. 19.

⁶ Quos ego penitus novi libidinum & languoris effeminatissimi animi plenos: qui nisi a gubernaculis recesserint, maximum ab universo naufragio periculum est, &c. Ep. fam. 16. 27.

⁷ Quales tibi sæpe scripti Consules, tales extiterunt. Ad Brut. 3. Erat in Senatu satis vehemens & acer Panfa; cum in cæteros hujus generis, tum maxime in Socerum: cui Consuli non animus ab initio, non fides ad extremum defuit. Bellum ad Mutinam gerebatur; nihil ut in Cæsare reprehenderes, nonnulla in Hirtio—ib. 10.

N. B. Several Medals were struck by the Senate on the occasion of this victory, particularly one in honor of Panfa, exhibiting the head of the Goddess of Liberty, crowned with laurel, and the inscription, Libertatis: and on the reverse, Rome sitting upon the spoils of enemies, holding a Spear in her right hand, and a Dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and victory flying towards her, to crown her with laurel; and the inscription, C. Panfa. C. F. C. N. See Morel. Fam. Rom.

⁸ Rumor increbuit, ambos opera ejus occisos: ut Antonio fugato, Repub. Consulibus orbata, solus victores exercitus occuparet. Panfæ quidem adeo suspecta mors fuit, ut Glyco Medicus custoditus sit, quasi venenum vulneri incidisset. Suet. Aug. 11. Dio. l. 46. 317. App. p. 572.

⁹ Tibi Glycona Medicum Panfæ—diligentissime commendo; audimus eum venisse in suspicionem Torquato de morte Panfæ, custodiri ut Parricidam. Nihil minus credendum, &c. Rogo te & quidem valde rogo, eripias eum ex custodia.—Ad Brut. 6.

¹⁰ Cæsaris vero pueri mirifica indoles virtutis. Utinam tam facile eum florentem & honoribus & gratia regere ac tenere possimus, ut adhuc tenuimus! est omnino illud dif-

facilius: sed non diffidimus. Persuasum est enim adolescenti, & maxime per me, ejus opera nos esse salvos: & certe, nisi is Antonium ab urbe avertisset, periissent omnia. Ad Brut. 3.

¹¹ Te, cognita Senatus auctoritate, in Italiam adducere exercitum: quod ut faceres, idque maturares, magnopere desiderabat Respublica. Ad Brut. 10.

¹² A. d. v. Kalend. Maias cum de iis, qui hostes judicati sunt, bello persequendis, sententiæ dicerentur, dixit Servilius etiam de Ventidio, & ut Cassius persequeretur Dolabellam. Cui cum essem assensus, decrevi hoc amplius, ut tu, si arbitrare utile—persequerere bello Dolabellam, &c. Ad Brut. 5. it. 15.

¹³ Suspisor illud minus tibi probari, quod a tuis familiaribus—non probatur, quod ut Ovanti introire Cæsari liceret, decreverim. Ad Brut. 15.

¹⁴ Ep. fam. 10. 34.

¹⁵ Ibid. 33.

¹⁶ Ib. 11.

¹⁷ Mihi enim si contigisset, ut prior occurrerem Antonio, non mehercule horam constitisset: tantum ego & mihi confido, & sic percussus illius copias, Ventidique Mulionis castra despicio. Ib. 18.

¹⁸ Cum & Lepido omnes Imperatores forent meliores, & multis Antonius, dum erat sobrius. Vell. Pat. 2. 63.

¹⁹ Ep. fam. 11. 12.

²⁰ Ibid. 13.

²¹ Quod si me Cæsar audiisset, atque Apenninum transisset, in tantas angustias Antonium compulisset, ut inopia potius quam ferro conficeretur. Sed neque Cæsari imperari potest, nec Cæsar exercitui suo: quod utrumque pessimum est.—ib. 10.

²² Vid. Appian. l. 3. p. 573. it. Hist. Rom. par Ca-
tron & Rouillé. T. 17. l. 4. p. 433, &c.

²³ There is an original Medal still remaining, that gives
no small confirmation to this notion; and was struck pro-
bably at Rome, either by Panfa himself, upon his marching
out towards Modena, or by the Senate soon after Panfa's
death, in testimony of the strict union, that subsisted be-
tween him and D. Brutus Albinus. For, on the one side,
there is the Head of a Silenus, as it is called, or rather
of Pan, which is frequent on Panfa's coins, with the in-
scription also of his name, C. Panfa: and on the other,
Albinus Bruti. F. with two right hands joined, holding
a Caduceus, as an emblem of the strictest amity and con-
cord. — See Famil. Vibia, in Vaillant, or Morel. —

²⁴ Dio. l. 47. p. 340.

²⁵ Ad Brut. 2.

²⁶ App. l. 4. 699. Dio. l. 47. 356. Val. Max. 4. 6.

²⁷ Valetudinem Porciæ meæ tibi curæ esse, non miror.
Ad Brut. 17.

²⁸ Ibid. 9.

²⁹ Sed quamvis liceat absentis rationem haberi, tamen
omnia sunt præsentibus faciliora—ad Brut. 5.

³⁰ Ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discessu
scripsisses, statim extrusi tabellarios, litterasque ad Cicero-
nem ut etiam si in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret. Nihil
enim mihi jucundius, illi honestius. Quamquam aliquoties
ei scripseram, sacerdotum comitia, mea summa contentione
in alterum annum esse rejecta. &c. Ad Brut. 14. vid. iq.
5, 6, 7.

³¹ Ep. fam. 12, 13. 15. App. l. 4. 625. Dio. l. 47.
344.

³² In primis rogo te, ad hominem ventosissimum Lepi-

dum mittas, ne bellum nobis redintegrare possit. Antonio sibi conjuncto. — Mihi persuasissimum est, Lepidum recte factum nunquam — Plancum quoque confirmetis, oro; quem spero, pulso Antonio, Reipub. non defuturum. — Ep. fam. 11. 9.

³² Antonius ad Lepidum proficiscitur, ne de Planco quidem spem adhuc abiecit, ut ex libellis suis animadverti, qui in me inciderunt. Ib. 11.

³³ Cum sim cum tironibus egentissimis. Ib. 19.

³⁴ Alere jam milites non possum. Cum ad Rempub. liberandam accessi, H. S. mihi fuit pecuniæ c c c c amplius. Tantum abest ut meæ rei familiaris liberum sit quidquam, ut omnes jam meos amicos ære alieno obstrinxerim. — Septenum numerum nunc legionum alo, qua difficultate, tu arbitrare. Non, si Varronis thesauros haberem, subsistere sumptui possem. Ib. 10.

³⁵ Ep. fam. 11. 19.

³⁶ Legionem Martiani & quartam negant, qui illas norunt, ulla conditione ad te posse perducī. Pecuniæ, quam desideras, ratio potest haberi, eaque habebitur — ego plus quam feci, facere non possum. Te tamen, id quod spero, omnium maximum & clarissimum videre cupio. Ib. 14.

³⁷ Ep. fam. 10. 15.

³⁸ At Laterensis, vir sanctissimus, suo chirographo mittit mihi litteras, in eisque desperans de se, de exercitu, de Lepidi fide, querensque se destitutum: in quibus aperte denunciat, videam ne fallar: suam fidem solutam esse; Reipub. ne desim. — Ib. 21.

³⁹ Ep. fam. 10. 23.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 35.

⁴¹ Ibid. 10. 24.

⁴² Lepidus tuus affinis, meus familiaris prid. Kal. Quint.

sententiis omnibus hostis a Senatu judicatus est; ceterique qui una cum illo a Repub. defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante Kal. Sept. potestas facta est, Ep. fam. 12. 10.

⁴³ Ad Brut. 12.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 13.

⁴⁵ Sororis tuæ filiis quam diligenter consulam, spero te ex matris & ex fororis litteris cogniturum, &c. ib. 15. it. 18.

⁴⁶ His litteris scriptis te Consulem factum audivimus; tum vero incipiam proponere mihi Rempub. justam & jam suis nitentem viribus, si isthuc videro. Ad Brut. 4.

⁴⁷ Illudimur, Brute, cum militum deliciis, tum Imperatoris insolentia. Ib. 10.

⁴⁸ Plutar. in Cic.

⁴⁹ Ad Brut. 10.

⁵⁰ Consulatum vigesimo ætatis anno invasit, admotis hostiliter ad urbem legionibus, missisque, qui sibi exercitus nomine deposcerent. Cum quidem cunctante Senatu, Cornelius Centurio, princeps legationis, rejecto sagulo, ostendens gladii capulum, non dubitasset in curia dicere; hic faciet, si vos non feceritis. Sueton. Aug. c. 26.

⁵¹ Sextilem mensẽ à suo cognomine nominavit, magis quam Septembrem, in quo erat natus, quia hoc sibi & primus Consulatus, &c. Suet. Aug. 31.

⁵² Appian. 3. 581.

⁵³ Cum ego sensissem, de iis qui exercitus haberent, sententiam ferri oportere, iidem illi, qui solent, reclamant. Itaque excepti etiam estis, me vehementer repugnante — itaque cum quidam de Collegis nostris agrariam curationem ligurent, disturbavi rem, totamque integram vobis reservavi. Ep. fam. 11. 21. it. 20. 23.

⁵⁴ Dio. l. 46. 318. Suet. Aug. 12.

⁵⁵ Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum. Which last word signifies, either to raise to honors, or take away life.

⁵⁶ Ep. fam. 11. 20.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 21.

⁵⁸ Vell. Pat. 2. 62. Sueton. Aug. c. 12.

⁵⁹ Vell. Pat. 2. 64. App. l. 3. 581. Max. 9. 13.

⁶⁰ Senec. Ep. 82. 543. Dio. l. 46. 325. Val.

⁶¹ App. l. 3. 586. Dio. 46. 322.

⁶² Quamobrem advola, obsecro — hortare idem per litteras Cassium. Spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est. Ad Brut. 10.

⁶³ Subveni igitur, per Deos idque quam primum; tibi-que persuade, non te Idibus Martiis, quibus servitutem a tuis civibus repulisti, plus profuisse patriæ, quam, si mature veneris, profuturum. Ib. 14.

⁶⁴ Ad Brut. 18.

⁶⁵ Ep. Fam. 12. 10.

⁶⁶ Tuum consilium vehementer laudo, quod non prius exercitum Apollonia Dyrrhachioque movisti, quam de Antonii fuga audisti, Bruti eruptione, populi Romani victoria. Ad Brut. 2.

⁶⁷ De Bruto autem nihil adhuc certi. Quem ego, quem-admodum præcipis, privatis litteris ad bellum commune vocare non desino. Ep. Fam. 11. 25. it. 26.

⁶⁸ De sumtu, quem te in rem militarem facere & fecisse dicis, nihil sane possum tibi opitulari, propterea quod & orbus Senatus, Consulibus amissis, & incredibiles angustiae pecuniæ publicæ, &c. Ep. Fam. 12. 30.

⁶⁹ At Perseo Rege devicto Paullus, cum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam Urbis nostræ paupertatem

eo usque fatiaffet, ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus
tributi præstandi onere se liberaret. — Val. Max. 4. 3.
it. Plin. Hist. N. 33. 3.

70 Pro Sextio. 47.

71 Ὁ μὲν Κισσιὸς ἀμετασχεπὶς, καθάπερ ἐς τὴν ἀγωνιστὴν οἱ
μονομαχεῖντες, ἐς μόνον τὸν πόλεμον ἀφώρρα. App. l. 4. 667.

72 Ὁ δὲ Βεῖτις ὅππῃ γίγνεται, καὶ Φίλοδεσμῶν ἦν καὶ Φιλήκος, αἵτε
καὶ Φιλοσοφίας ἐκ ἀγενῶς. Ibid.

73 Plutarch. in Bruto.

74 Mirabiliter, mi Brute, lætor, mea consilia, measque
sententias a te probari, de Decemviris, de ornando adoles-
cente. Ep. Fam. 11. 14. it. 20.

75 — Non concefferim, quod in illo non tuli, sed ne
patri quidem meo, si reviviscat, ut, patiente me, plus
legibus ac Senatu possit, ad Brut. 16. sed dominum, ne
parentem quidem, majores nostri voluerunt esse. Ib. 17.

76 Ego certe — cum ipsa re bellum geram, hoc est cum
regno, & imperiis extraordinariis & dominatione & potentia,
— ad Brut. 17.

77 Ad Att. 6. 1. 3.

78 Publius Valerius Messala Corvinus, of whom Cicero here
gives so fine a character, was one of the noblest as well as
the most accomplished persons of his age, who lived long
afterwards the general favorite of all parties, and a principal
ornament of Augustus's court. Being in arms with Brutus,
he was proscribed of course by the Triumvirate, yet was
excepted soon after by a special edict; but refused the
benefit of that grace, and adhered to the cause of liberty,
till he saw it expire with his friend. After the battle of
Philippi, the troops that remained, freely offered them-
selves to his command; but he chose to accept peace, to
which he was invited by the Conquerors, and surrendered

himself to Antony, with whom he had a particular acquaintance. When Cæsar was defeated not long after by S. Pompey on the coast of Sicily, being in the utmost distress and danger of life, he committed himself with one domestic to the fidelity of Messala; who instead of revenging himself on one, who had so lately proscribed and set a price upon his head, generously protected and preserved him. He continued still in the friendship of Antony, till the scandal of Antony's life, and slavish obsequiousness to Cleopatra, threw him wholly into the interests of Cæsar, by whom he was declared Consul in Antony's place, greatly intrusted in the battle of Actium, and honored at last with a triumph, for reducing the rebellious Gauls to their obedience. He is celebrated by all writers, as one of the first orators of Rome; and having been the disciple of Cicero, was thought by some to excel even his master, in the sweetness and correctness of his style, preserving always a dignity, and demonstrating his nobility, by the very manner of his speaking. To the perfection of his eloquence he had added all the accomplishments of the other liberal arts; was a great admirer of Socrates, and the severer studies of Philosophy, yet an eminent patron of all the Wits and Poets of those times. Tibullus was the constant companion of all his foreign expeditions, which he celebrates in his Elegies; and Horace in one of his odes, calls for his choicest wines, for the entertainment of so noble a guest. Yet this polite and amiable man, impaired by sickness, and worn out at last by age, is said to have outlived his senses and memory, till he had forgotten even his very name. See App. p. 611. 736. Tacit. Dial. 18. Quintil. 10. 1 Tibul. Eleg. lib. 1. 7. Hor. Carm. 3. 21. Plin. Hist. N. 7. 24.

⁷⁹ Ad Brut. 15.

** Ad Brut. 16.

N. B. There is a passage indeed in Brutus's Letter to Atticus, where he intimates a reason for his complaint against Cicero, which was certainly a just one, if the fact of which he complains had been true; that Cicero had reproached Casca with the murder of Cæsar, and called him an assassin. I do not know, says he, what I can write to you but this, that the ambition and licentiousness of the boy has been inflamed, rather than restrained by Cicero, who carries his indulgence of him to such a length, as not to refrain from abuses upon Casca, and such, as must return doubly upon himself, who has put to death more Citizens, than one, and must first own himself to be an Assassin, before he can reproach Casca, with what he objects to him.

Ep. ad Brut. 17. Manutius professes himself unable to conceive, how Cicero should ever call Casca a murderer; yet cannot collect any thing less from Brutus's words. But the thing is impossible, and inconsistent with every word, that Cicero had been saying, and every act, that he had been doing from the time of Cæsar's death: and in relation particularly to Casca, we have seen above, how he refused to enter into any measures with Octavius, but upon the express condition of his suffering Casca to take quiet possession of the Tribunate: it is certain therefore, that Brutus had either been misinformed, or was charging Cicero with the consequential meaning of some saying, which was never intended by him; in advising Casca perhaps to manage Octavius, in that height of his power, with more temper and moderation, lest he should otherwise be provoked to consider him as an Assassin, and treat him as such: for an intimation of that kind would have been sufficient to the fierce spirit of Brutus, for taking it as a direct condemnation

of Casca's act of stabbing Cæsar, to which Cicero had always given the highest applause.

³¹ Vid. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. 1. c. 28. p. 187.

³² App. l. 4. init. Dio. p. 326. Plut. in Anton. & Cicero. Vell. Pat. 2. 65.

³³ Reipub. vicem delebo, quæ immortalis esse debet; mihi quidem quantum reliqui est? ad Brut. 10. *Irée* ergo in castra? millies mori melius, huic præsertim ætati: ad Att. 14. 22. sed abesse hanc ætatem longe a sepulchro negant oportere. Ib. 16. 7.

³⁴ Plutar. in. Cicer. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

³⁵ Restitit aliquandiu Collegis, ne qua fieret proscripcio, sed inceptam utroque acerbius exercuit, &c. Suet. Aug. 27.

³⁶ Nihil tam indignum illo tempore fuit, quam quod aut Cæsar aliquem proscribere coactus est, aut ab illo Cicero proscripcus est. Vell. Pat. 2. 66.

³⁷ Appian. l. 4. 610. Dio. l. 47. 330.

³⁸ Spoliata, quam tueri non poterat, dignitas. Vell. Pat. 2. 8.

³⁹ Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni, cum cogitasset, numne Brutum an Cassium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia displicuisse præter mortem. Senec. Suafor. 6.

⁴⁰ Tædium tandem eum & fugæ & vitæ cepit; regressusque ad superiorem villam, quæ paullo plus mille passibus a mari abest, moriar inquit in patria, sæpe servata. Liv. Fragn. apud Senec. Suafor. 1. vid. it. Plutar. Cic.

⁴¹ Satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum: ipsum deponi lecticam, & quietos pati, quod fors iniqua cogeret, iussisse. Liv. Fragment. Ibid.

⁴² Ea sarcina, tanquam opimis spoliis alacer in urbem reversus est. Neque ei scelestum portanti onus succurrit,

illud se caput ferre, quod pro capite ejus quondam peroraverat. Val. Max. 5. 3.

⁹³ Cæterorumque cædes privatos luctus excitaverunt; illa una communem — Cremutius Cordus, apud Senec. Civitas lacrymas tenere non potuit, quum recifum Ciceronis caput in illis suis Roftris videretur. L. Flor. 4. 6.

⁹⁴ Vid. Plutar. in Cic. Vell. Pat. 2. 64. Liv. Fragn. apud Senec. Appian. l. 4. 601. Dio, l. 47. p. 330. Pighii Annal. ad A. U. 710.