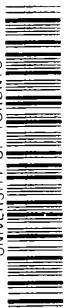


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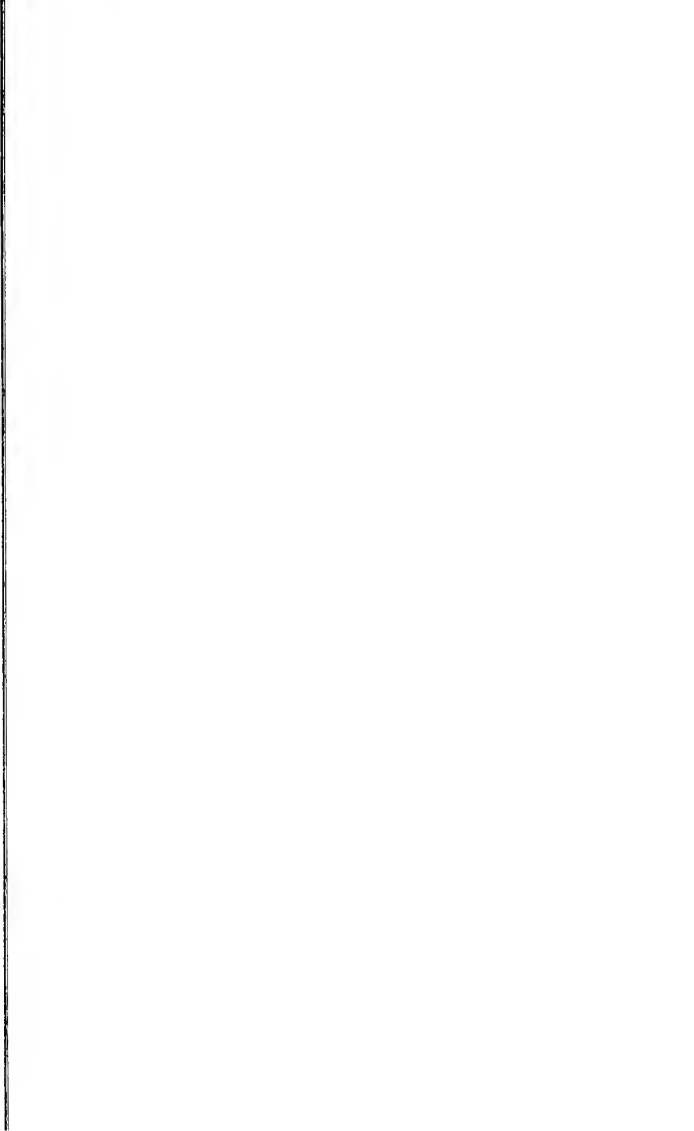
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PLINY

LETTERS

II



# PLINY,

## LETTERS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
WILLIAM MELMOTH

REVISED BY  
W. M. L. HUTCHINSON

IN TWO VOLUMES

II



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THE LETTERS OF PLINY  
BOOK VII

# C. PLINII CAECILII SECUNDI EPISTULARUM

## LIBER SEPTIMUS

### I

C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

TERRET me haec tua tam pertinax valetudo quamquam te temperantissimum noverim, valet tamen, ne quid illi etiam in mores tuos liceat. Proinde moneo, patienter resistas; hoc laudabile salutare. Admittit humana natura, quod superat. Ipse certe sic agere sanus cum meis soleo: 'Sed quidem, si forte in adversam valetudinem incidam, nihil me desideratum vel pudore vel paenitentia dignum; si tamen superaverit morbus, denique ne quid mihi detur, nisi permittentibus meis sciatisque, si dederitis, ita vindicatum, ut sciam alii, quae negantur.'

Quin etiam, cum perustus ardentissima febre tandem remissus unctusque acciperem a meo

# THE LETTERS OF PLINY

## BOOK VII

### I

#### TO RESTITUTUS

↓

THIS obstinate distemper, which hangs upon you, greatly alarms me; and though I know how extremely temperate you are, yet I am afraid your distemper should get the better of your habits. Let me counsel you then to offer a steady resistance; this is the praiseworthy, this is the salutary course. There is nothing beyond the power of human nature in what I recommend. I myself, at least while in ordinary health, make a practice of giving my household the following directions. "I bid you, that should I be attacked with any disorder, I desire nothing of which I either ought to be ashamed, or have reason to repent; however, if the distemper should get the upper hand, give up nothing, I charge you, but by the consent of your physicians; be assured that if you do, I shall punish your compliance, as much as another man would your refusal."

I had once, in fact, a most violent fever; when the fit was a little abated, and I had been anointed

portionem, porrexi manum, utque tangeret, admotumque iam labris poculum reddidi. Postquam cum vicesimo valetudinis die balineo praeparatisque mussantesque medicos repente vidissem, caecum requisivi. Responderunt posse me tuto laborare, non tamen omnino sine aliqua suspitione. ‘Quid inquam ‘necesse est?’ atque ita spe balineorum iam videbar inferri, placide leniterque dimissis abstinentiam rursus non secus ac modo ad balineum animum vultumque composui. Quae tibi scribo primum ut te non sine exemplo monerem, deinceps in posterum ipse ad eandem temperantiam adhiberem, cum me hac epistula quasi pignore obligaverim. Vale.

## II

C. PLINIUS IUSTO SUO S.

QUEM ad modum congruit, ut simul et adfirmem, quod adsiduis occupationibus impediri et scripta non desideres, quae vix ab otiosis impetrare aliter perituri temporis possunt? Patiar ergo aestate inquietam vobis exercitamque transcurrere et hinc demum, cum credibile erit noctibus saltem vacare tibi, te posse, quaeram, quid potissimum ex nugis tibi exhibeam. Interim abunde est, si epistolae sunt molestae; sunt autem et ideo breviores et. Vale.

my physician offered me something to drink ; I put it out my hand, bade him feel my pulse, and returned the cup, though it was just at my lips. Afterwards when I was preparing to go into the bath, two or three days from the first attack of my illness, perceived on a sudden the physicians whispering together, and inquired what they were saying. They replied that I might possibly bathe with safety, however, they would not do so without some suspicion of hazard. "Very well," said I, "of doing it at all?" And they answered with great complacency, I gave up the expectation of the pleasure of bathing, and abstained from the bath with the same inward and outward composure I had when going to enter it. I mention this, not only in order to enforce my advice by example, but also that this letter may be a sort of pledge binding me to persevere in the same abstinence for the future. Farewell.

## II

### TO JUSTUS

ARE you not inconsistent with yourself, when you assure me you have no intermission from business, and yet at the same time express an earnest desire to see my works ; upon which even the idle philosophers scarce bestow some of their useless hours ? I do not then break in upon your affairs during this summer season ; but when the return of winter shall make it reasonable to suppose that your evenings at least, may be disengaged, I will look over your trifles for something worth showing you. In the meanwhile, I shall be well satisfied, if my letters be not troublesome, as I suspect they are, and therefore shorten them. Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS PRAESENTI SUO S.

TANTANE perseverantia tu modo in Lucania, modo in Campania? 'Ipse enim' inquis 'Lucanus, uti Campana.' Iusta causa longioris absentiae, perpetuae tamen. Quin ergo aliquando in urbem redis? ubi dignitas, honor, amicitiae tam superiores quam minores. Quousque regnabis? quousque vigilabis, cum voles? dormies, quamdiu volueris? quousque calcei nusquam, toga feriata, liber tuus dies?

Tempus est te revisere molestias nostras vel hoc solum, ne voluptates istae satietate languescant. Saluta paulisper, quo sit tibi iucundius salutari, te in hac turba, ut te solitudo delectet. Sed est imprudens, quem evocare<sup>1</sup> conor, retardo? Fortassis enim his ipsis admoneris, ut te magis ac magis in te involvas; quod ego non abrumpi, sed intermitteri volo. Ut enim si cenam tibi facerem, dulcibus eibus ac condimentis acutosque miscerem, ut obtusus illis et oblitus staret.

<sup>1</sup> evocare *Bipons*, Müller, revocare *K*.

### III

#### TO PRAESENS

ARE you determined then to pass your winter time between Lucania and Campania? Your answer I suppose, will be, that the former is your native country; and the latter that of your wife. This I admit, may justify a long absence, but I cannot allow it as a reason for a perpetual one. Why then at last return to Rome, that theatre of dignities, preferment, and friendships alike of the superior and lower sort? Are you obstinately bent to sleep despotically, and sleep and rise when you think proper? Will you for ever go unshod, wear a dress only on holy days, and spend your whole life as you please?

It is time, however, you should revisit our troublesome scene, were it only that your rural pleasures do not grow languid from a surfeit. Make your return at one or two levees of the great, that you may enjoy the return of the compliment with more satisfaction; and mix in our crowd, that you may have a stronger relish for the charms of solitude. But am I not inadvertently retarding the friend you would rouse? It is these very circumstances, perhaps, that counsel you every day more and more to wrap yourself up in retirement. All however I mean to persuade you to, is only to intermit, and renounce your repose. As, if I were giving you a dinner, I would blend dishes of a sharper taste with those of a luscious kind, in order to raise the edge of your palate by the one, which had been

chus his excitaretur, ita nunc hortor, ut iucundum genus vitae non nullis interdum quasi acrior condias. Vale.

#### IV

##### C. PLINIUS PONTIO ALLIFANO<sup>1</sup> SUO S.

Ais legisse te hendecasyllabos meos; requiris et quem ad modum coeperim scribere, homo, ut videor, severus, ut ipse fateor, non ineptus. Nonquam a poëtica (altius enim repetam) alienus quin etiam quattuordecim natus annos Graeco tragoediam scripsi. 'Qualem?' inquis. Nescio; goedia vocabatur. Mox, cum e militia rediens Icaria insula ventis detinerer, Latinos elegos in ipsum mare ipsamque insulam feci. Expertus me aliquando et heroo, hendecasyllabis nunc primorum hic natalis, haec causa est.

Legebantur in Laurentino mihi libri Asini Galli comparatione patris et Ciceronis. Incidit epigramma Ciceronis in Tironem suum. Dein, cum meridie (enim aestas) dormiturus me recepissem, nec obrepisset somnus, coepi reputare, maximos oratores hoc st

<sup>1</sup> ALLIFANO *add. Müller.*

<sup>a</sup> See iv. 14, note.

<sup>b</sup> Not Pliny's correspondent (ii. 17, iv. 17, viii. 20), but son of the famous orator Pollio, and possibly the child whose birth Virgil celebrated in his Fourth Eclogue.

<sup>c</sup> Cicero's well-known character makes it certain that the epigram is spurious. Tiro was his freedman and true friend.



flattened and overloaded by the other; so I advise you to season your agreeable mode of life from time to time with some condiments of a sharp relish. Farewell.

#### IV

##### TO PONTIUS ALLIFANUS

You have read, you tell me, my hendecasyllabic poems, and are desirous to know how it happened that a man of my gravity (as you are pleased to call me, as I will say for myself, not a trifler) could get into this way of composition. To take the account then a good way backwards, I must acquaint you that I had always an inclination to poetry, in so much that, when I was fourteen years of age, I composed a Tragedy in Greek. If you should ask me the sort of one, I protest I don't know; all I can say is, that it was called a Tragedy. Some time afterwards, on my return from the army, being detained in the Island of Icaria by contrary winds, I composed some Latin elegiac verses upon that island and the sea. I have sometimes tried my hand at Epic poetry, but these are the first hendecasyllabic poems I composed; to which the following accident attended its birth.

The treatise of Asinius Gallus<sup>b</sup> was read to me one day at my Laurentine villa, wherein he drew a comparison between his father and Cicero; and that I met with an epigram of Tully's on his favorite Tiro.<sup>c</sup> Upon retiring to take my afternoon's sleep, (for it was summer time), and not being visited by sleep, I began to reflect that the greatest orators have been fond of this kind of composition,

genus et in oblectationibus habuisse et in la-  
posuisse. Intendi animum contraque opinio-  
neam post longam desuetudinem perquam exi-  
temporis momento id ipsum, quod me ad scribendū  
sollicitaverat, his versibus exaravi :

Cum libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti  
ausus de Cicerone dare est palmanque decusque  
laseivum inveni lusum Ciceronis et illo  
spectandum ingenio, quo seria condidit et quo  
humanis salibus multo varioque lepore  
magnorum ostendit mentes gaudere virorum.  
Nam queritur, quod fraude mala frustratus aman-  
paucula cenato sibi debita savia Tiro  
tempore nocturno subtraxerit. His ego lectis  
'cur post haec,' inquam, 'nostros celamus amor  
nullumque in medium timidi damus atque fateri  
Tironisque dolos, Tironis nosse fugaces  
blanditias et furta novas addentia flammās?'

Transii ad elegos ; hos quoque non minus celer-  
explicui ; addidi alios facilitate corruptus. Deinde  
in urbem reversus sodalibus legi. Probaverunt.  
Deinde plura metra, si quid otii, maxime in itinere  
temptavi. Postremo placuit exemplo multorum unum  
separatim hendecasyllaborum volumen absolvere,  
paenitet. Legitur, describitur, cantatur etiam



Graecis quoque, quos Latine huius libelli amor doc  
nunc cithara, nunc lyra personatur.

Sed quid ego tam gloriose? Quamquam po  
furere concessum est; et tamen non de meo,  
de aliorum iudicio loquor; qui sive iudicant  
errant, me delectat.<sup>1</sup> Unum precor, ut pos  
quoque aut errent similiter aut iudicent. Vale.

## V

### C. PLINIUS CALPURNIAE SVAE S.

INCREDIBILE est, quanto desiderio tui tenear.  
causa amor primum, deinde quod non consuevi  
abesse. Inde est, quod magnam partem noctium  
immagine tua vigil exigo, inde, quod interdum, qu  
horis te visere solebam, ad diaetam tuam ipsi me  
verissime dicitur, pedes ducunt; quod denique a  
et maestus ac similis excluso, vacuo limine ree  
Unum tempus his tormentis caret, quo in foro  
amicorum litibus conteror. Aestima tu, quae  
mea sit, cui requies in labore, in miseria curis  
solacium. Vale.

## VI

### C. PLINIUS MACRINO SUO S.

RARA et notabilis res Vareno contigit, sit lieet ac  
dubia. Bithyni aceusationem eius ut temere inc

<sup>1</sup> delectat *M*, *Müller*, delectant *rell*.

accompaniments, and by the Greeks, too, who have been learning Latin out of fondness for my little book.

But what will you think of this boasting? I am a member, however, poets have the privilege of raising. Still, I am not giving you my own judgement, but that of others, which, be it just or mistaken I am much pleased with. My one prayer is, that posterity may endorse their judgement, or their mistake, whichever ever it be. Farewell.

## V

### TO CALPURNIA

IT is incredible how I miss you; such is the tenderness of my affection for you, and so much accustomed are we to a separation! I lie awake the greatest part of the night in conjuring up your image, and by day (to use a very common, but true expression) my feet carry me of their own accord to your apartment, at those hours I usually visit you; but not finding you there, I return with as much sorrow and disappointment as an excluded lover. The only intermission my torment knows is when I am engaged at the bar, and in the cause of my friends. Judge how wretched must *his* life be who finds no repose but in toil, no consolation in dealing with distress and anxieties. Farewell.

## VI

### TO MACRINUS

A VERY singular and remarkable accident happened to Varenus,<sup>a</sup> the consequence of which is yet in suspense. The Bithynians, it is reported

<sup>a</sup> v. 20.

tam omisisse narrantur. Narrantur dico? adest pro-  
ciae legatus, attulit decretum concilii ad Caesa-  
attulit ad multos principes viros, attulit etiam ad  
Vareni advocatos. Perstat tamen idem ille Mag-  
quin etiam Nigrinum, optimum virum, pertinacis-  
exercet. Per hunc a consulibus postulabat, ut V-  
nus exhibere rationes cogeretur.

Adsistebam Vareno iam tantum ut amicus et ta-  
decreveram. Nihil enim tam contrarium, quam  
advocatus a senatu datus defenderem ut reum  
opus esset, ne reus videretur. Cum tamen f-  
postulatione Nigrini consules ad me oculos retuliss-  
'Sciatis,' inquam, 'constare nobis silentii n-  
rationem, cum veros legatos provinciae audier-  
Contra Nigrinus: 'Ad quem missi sunt?' Ego:  
me quoque; habeo decretum provinciae.' Rursus  
'Potest tibi liquere.' Ad hoc ego: 'Si tibi  
diverso liquet, potest et mihi, quod est me  
liquere.'<sup>1</sup> Tum legatus Polyaenus causas abol-  
accusationis exposuit postulavitque, ne cognit-

<sup>1</sup> quod est melius liquere *Bipons, K (ex Ma)*, q. e. causa liqueret (loqueretur) legatus *Dpr*, q. e. mel. tō  
liquere *Müller*, (q. e. mei iuris) causa liquere *Kukula*.

have dropped their prosecution of him, as an advised proceeding. *Reported*, I said; but 'tis matter of hearsay. A delegate from that province arrived, who has brought with him a decree of the assembly; copies of which he has delivered to Caesar to several of the principal persons in Rome, and to us the advocates for Varenus. Magnus, however, whom I mentioned in my last letter to you, persists in his prosecution; and, moreover, is incessantly teasing the worthy Nigrinus. This excellent person, acting as his counsel, was making application to the consuls, that Varenus might be compelled to produce his accounts.

As at this stage I attended Varenus merely as a friend, I had determined to be silent. I thought it highly prejudicial for me, who was appointed counsel by the senate, to attempt to defend him as a person accused, when it was his business to make it appear that there was actually no charge subsisting against him. However, when Nigrinus had finished his application, the consuls turning their eyes upon me, I rose up, and, when they should hear, I said what the real delegates from the province had to say, they would be sensible that my silence was without just reason. Upon this Nigrinus asked me to whom these deputies were sent? I replied, "To me, amongst others; the decree of the province is in my hands." "You may be clear on that point," says he. To which I retorted, "If it is clear to you who are our opponent, it may well be clear to us, and so much the better." Then Polyaenus, the delegate from the province, stated their grounds for abandoning the prosecution, and desired it might be done without prejudice to Caesar's holding an inquiry.

Caesaris praeludicium feret. Respondit M  
iterumque Polyaeus. Ipse raro et breviter  
locutus multum me intra silentium tenui. A  
enim non minus interdum oratorium esse tacere  
dicere atque adeo repeto quibusdam me capit  
vel magis silentio quam oratione accurat  
profuisse.

Mater amisso filio (quid enim prohibet, quan  
alia ratio scribendae epistulae fuerit, de studiis  
tare?) libertos eius eosdemque coheredes suc  
et veneficii reos detulerat ad principem iudic  
impetraverat Iulium Servianum. Defenderan  
ingenti quidem coetu. Erat enim causa noti  
praeterea utrimque ingenia clarissima. Finer  
nitioni quaestio imposuit; quae secundum reos  
Postea mater adiit principem, adfirmavit se  
probationes invenisse. Praeceptum est Subura  
vacaret finitam causam retractanti, si quid  
adferret. Aderat matri Iulius Africanus, nepo  
oratoris, quo audito Passienus Crispus dixit:  
mehercule, bene; sed quo tam bene? Huius  
iuvenis ingeniosus, sed parum callidus, cum  
dixisset adsignatumque tempus implesset, ‘  
inquit, ‘Suburane, permittas mihi unum ve

<sup>1</sup> versum *Dpa*, Müller, verbum *Mr*, *Bipons*, *K*



on the case. Magnus answered him; Polyaenus replied; as for myself, I only now and then threw in a word, observing in general a profound silence. From what I have learned, that upon some occasions there is much eloquence in taciturnity, as in speech; nay, remember, in some criminal cases, to have done even more service to my clients by holding my tongue, than I could have by the most artful pleading.

To enter into the subject of eloquence is indeed very foreign to the intent of my letter, yet allow me to give you one instance. A certain lady having lost her son, suspected that his freedmen, whom she had appointed coheirs with her, were guilty of forging the will and poisoning him. Accordingly she charged them with the fact before the Emperor, who directed Julius Servianus to try the cause. Suburanus was counsel for the defendants, and the case being notorious, and the advocates concerned on both sides of high reputation, it drew together a very numerous audience. The event was, the slaves being examined under torture, my clients were acquitted. But the mother applied a second time to the Emperor, asserting she had discovered some new evidence. Suburanus was directed to hear her application for a new trial, and see if she could produce any fresh proof. Her counsel was Julius Africanus, grandson to that famous orator of that name, of whom it is reported that Passienus Crispus hearing him one day pleaded archly said, "Very fine, upon my word, very fine, but what is the point of it?" This Africanus, who is a young man of good parts but not much experience, having harangued a great deal and exhausted the time allotted to him, entreated Suburanus to all

adocere.' Tum ego, cum omnes me ut diu resursum intuerentur, 'Respondissem,' inquam, 'si illud versum<sup>1</sup> Africanus adiecisset, in quo non omnia nova fuisse.' Non facile me repeto tantum consecutum adsensum agendo quantum tunc agendo.

Similiter nunc et probatum et exceptum est, pro Vareno hactenus <tantum><sup>2</sup> non tacui. Consuetudo ut Polyaenus postulabat, omnia integra preservaverunt; cuius cognitionem suspensus exspecto. Nam dies ille nobis pro Vareno aut securitate otium dabit aut intermissum laborem renovata studium iniunget. Vale.

## VI.

### C. PLINIUS SATURNINO SUO S.

Et proxime Prisco nostro et rursus, quia iussisti, gratias egi, libentissime quidem. Est mihi periucundum, quod viri optimi mihique cissimi adeo cohaesistis, ut invicem vos obputetis. Nam ille quoque praecipuam se voluptatem ex amicitia tua capere profitetur certatque tibi honestissimo certamine mutuae caritatis, quam in tempus augebit.

<sup>1</sup> versum *Dpa*, Müller, verbum *Mr*, Bipons, K.

<sup>2</sup> tantum non *Stangl*, hactenus tacui *Sichardus*, hactenus tacui *codd. et edd.* (cum cruce Müller).

him to add one line more. [Suburanus refused. Then, seeing the eyes of the whole assembly fixed upon me in expectation of a lengthy reply, "I should have answered Africanus," said I, "if he had added that one line he begged leave to do, which I do not would have contained all the new proofs we were to hear." I do not remember to have gained so much applause by any speech that I ever made, as I did here upon making none.

On the present occasion the little that I said in Varenus was received with the same general approbation. The consuls, agreeably to the request of Polyaenus, reserved the case for the judgement of the Emperor, whose inquiry I anxiously await; the day it is held will decide whether I may stand down in full security with respect to Varenus, or must again renew all my toil and solicitude upon his account. Farewell.

## VII

### TO SATURNINUS

THOUGH I had very lately made my acknowledgements to our friend Priscus, yet, since it was your desire, I willingly repeated them again. It is with great pleasure I see so much harmony subsist between two such worthy men, whom I tenderly esteem, that you consider your obligations as mutual. For Polyaenus professes also on his part to receive much happiness from your friendship, and, with a very generous contention, endeavours to rival you in that reciprocal affection, which time, I am persuaded, will augment.

<sup>a</sup> *Negarit ille*, or the like, has fallen out after *adicitur* (Mommisen.)

Te negotiis distineri ob hoc moleste fero, deservire studiis non potes; si tamen alteram per iudicem, alteram, ut ais, ipse finieris, in primum istic otio frui, deinde satiatus ad nos redire. Vale.

## VIII

C. PLINIUS PRISCO SUO S.

EXPRIMERE NON POSSUM, quam iucundum sit quod Saturninus noster summas tibi apud me gratias aliis super alias epistulis agit. Perge, ut comes virumque optimum quam familiarissime dilige maxime voluptatem ex amicitia eius percepturus nec ad tempus. Nam cum omnibus virtutibus abundante hac praecipue, quod habet maximam in amore constantiam. Vale.

## IX

C. PLINIUS FUSCO SUO S.

QUAERIS, quem ad modum in secessu, quo in se frueris, putem te studere oportere. Utile in persequendo et multi praecipiant,<sup>1</sup> vel ex Graeco in Latinum, vel ex Latino vertere in Graecum; quo genere elegantiae et rationis proprietates splendorque verborum, copia et varietas, vis explicandi, praeterea imitatione verborum similia inveniendi facultas paratur;

<sup>1</sup> praecipiant *Ma, Bipons*, praeeperunt *D, Müller*

I regret your immersion in business, as it prevents your devoting yourself to letters ; however, when you have settled one of your two law-suits by arbitration and the other out of court (as you say you expect to do), you will begin to enjoy the sweets of leisure down yonder ; and when you are satiated with that, you may hope for your return hither. Farewell.

## VIII

### TO PRISCUS

THE warm acknowledgements of your favours which our friend Saturninus repeatedly makes in his letters to me, afford me inexpressible satisfaction. Do you go on as you began, and cherish intimacy with a worthy man, from whose friendship you will receive a strong and lasting pleasure. For as he is rich in every virtue, so particularly, in that of constancy towards those he loves. Farewell.

## IX

### TO FUSCUS

You desire my sentiments concerning the method of study you should pursue, in that retirement which you have long enjoyed. It is a very advantageous practice (and what many recommend) to translate either from Greek into Latin, or from Latin into Greek. By this sort of exercise one acquires neat and proper expressions, variety of figures, and forcible turn of exposition. Besides, to imitate the most approved authors, gives one aptitude to imitate

quae legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere possunt. Intellegentia ex hoc et iudicium adqui-

Nihil offuerit, quae legeris hactenus, ut argumentumque teneas, quasi aemulum scriptis lectisque conferre ac sedulo pensitare, quid tu, ille commodius. Magna gratulatio, si non nullus magnus pudor, si cuncta ille melius.

Licebit interdum et notissima eligere et cetera cum electis. Audax haec, non tamen improba, secreta contentio; quamquam multos videmus modi certamina sibi cum multa laude sumpsisse, que subsequi satis habebant, dum non desperantes antecessisse.

Poteris, et quae dixeris, post oblivionem retrahere multa retinere, plura transire, alia interscribere rescribere. Laboriosum istud et taedio plenum difficultate ipsa fructuosum (recalescere ex integro resumere impetum fractum omissumque) post nova velut membra peracto corpori intexere tamen priora turbare.

after their manner, and at the same time, the  
which you might have overlooked in reading can  
escape you in translating : and this method will  
your understanding and improve your judgement.

It may not be amiss when you have read only  
much of an author at once, as to carry in your  
his subject and argument, to turn, as it were,  
rival, and write something on the same topic ;  
compare your performance and his, and minutely  
examine in what points either you or he most hap-  
succeeded. It will be a matter of very plea-  
congratulation to yourself, if you shall find that  
some things you have the advantage of him, and  
will be a great mortification if he should rise above  
you in all.

You may sometimes venture to pick out and  
to emulate the most shining passages of an author.  
Such a contest is, indeed, something bold ; but  
passes in secret, it cannot be taxed with presumption.  
Not but that we see many persons enter this sort of  
lists with great applause, and because they do not  
despair of themselves, advance before those who  
they thought it sufficient honour to follow.

Again, after laying aside a composition until  
no longer fresh in your memory, you may revise  
retaining several things but rejecting still many.  
inserting a passage here, and re-writing one there.  
It is a laborious and tedious task, I own, thus  
re-enflame the mind after the first heat is over,  
recover an impulse when its force has been checked  
and spent, in a word, to interweave new parts  
the texture of a composition without disturbing  
confounding the original plan ; but the very difficulty  
of this method renders it a profitable one.

Scio nunc tibi esse praecipuum studium orationis, sed non ideo semper pugnacem hunc et quasi bellatorum stilum suaserim. Ut enim terrae mutatisque seminibus ita ingenia nostra nunc nunc illa meditatione recoluntur. Volo inter aliquem ex historia locum adprehendas, vultum tulam diligentius scribas. Nam saepe in orationibus quoque non historica modo, sed prope per descriptionum necessitas incidit, et pressus sermo purusque ex epistulis petitur. Fas est et carmina remitti, non dico continuo et longo (id enim potest nisi in otio non potest) sed hoc arguto et brevi, apte quantas libet occupationes curasque distinguunt. Lusus vocantur; sed hi lusus non minorem intelligentiam quam seria consecuntur; atque adeo non enim te ad versus non versibus adhorter?)

Ut laus est cerae, mollis cedensque sequatur  
 si doctos digitos iussaue fiat opus  
 et nunc informet Martem castamque Minervam  
 nunc Venerem effingat, nunc Veneris puerum  
 utque sacri fontes non sola incendia sistunt,  
 saepe etiam flores vernaue prata iuvant,<sup>2</sup>  
 sic hominum ingenium flecti ducique per artes  
 non rigidas docta mobilitate decet.

Itaque summi oratores, summi etiam viri sic se exercere aut delectabant, immo delectabantur.

<sup>1</sup> orationes *MDa*, *Bipons*, *KI*, oratione *r*, *KII*.

<sup>2</sup> iuvant *Mr*, *Bipons*, *K*, lavant *Dpa*, *Müller*.



I know your main bent at present is to forensic oratory; but I would not for that advise you always to wield the controversial and to say, militant pen. As land is improved by so it with various crops in rotation so is the mind exercising it with different studies. I would you, therefore, sometimes single out a fine passage of history, and practise epistolary composition. For pleading one has frequently occasion to use not the historical, but an almost poetical style of descriptions; while a succinct and chaste style is cultivated by letter-writing. It is well also to unyoke your mind with poetry; I do not mean of the grand and sustained order (for that can only be achieved by men of leisure), but those little witty pieces which serve as proper reliefs to every degree of study and occupation. They commonly go under the name of *amusements*; but these amusements have sometimes gained as much fame as works of a more serious nature; and indeed (for while I am exhorting you to poetry, why should I not be poetical myself?)

“As wax by pliancy our praise commands,  
Submissive shap'd beneath the Artist's hands  
Now Mars' or chaste Minerva's form puts on,  
Now moulds the charms of Venus, or her son  
As not alone to quench the raging flame  
The sacred fountain pours her friendly stream  
But sweetly gliding through the flow'ry green  
Spreads glad refreshment o'er the smiling scene  
So, wisely ductile, should man's reasoning part  
Receive the impress of each various art.”

In this manner the greatest orators, and the greatest men as well, used either to exercise or amuse themselves.

cebantque. Nam mirum est, ut his opusculis animi  
intendatur remittaturque. Recipiunt enim amor  
odia, iras, misericordiam, urbanitatem, omnia d  
que, quae in vita atque etiam in foro causis  
versantur. Inest his quoque eadem quae  
carminibus utilitas, quod metri necessitate devin  
soluta oratione laetamur et, quod facilius esse c  
paratio ostendit, libentius scribimus.

Habes plura etiam fortasse, quam requirebas, ut  
tamen omisi. Non enim dixi, quae legenda a  
trarer; quamquam dixi, cum dicerem, quae  
benda. Tu memineris sui cuiusque generis auct  
diligenter eligere. Aiunt enim multum legendo  
esse, non multa. Qui sint hi, adeo notum pr  
tumque<sup>2</sup> est, ut demonstratione non egeat; et  
qui tam immodice epistulam extendi, ut, dum  
quem ad modum studere debeas, suadeo, stud  
tempus abstulerim. Quin ergo pugillares resumi  
aliquid ex his vel istud ipsum, quod coeperas, scri  
Vale.

<sup>1</sup> devincti *Dpra*, *Bipons*, *Müller*, devinctis *M*, defuncto  
*II.* (auct. *Barth.*, *Gesner*).

<sup>2</sup> probatumque *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, pervagatumque *Otto*, *M*  
provocatumque *Dpra*, pervulgatumque *Schaefer*.

selves, or rather did both. The mind is surpris-  
entertained and enlivened by these little com-  
tions, for they turn upon subjects of galla  
antipathies, quarrels, pity, politeness, and everyt  
in short, that concerns daily life and even the for  
sphere. Besides, the same advantage attends t  
as every other sort of poems; that we delight  
prose after being fettered by numbers, and  
willingly employ what comparison shows to be  
easier form of composition.

And now, perhaps, I have more than satisfied  
demands; however, there is one thing which I  
omitted: I have not told you what books I t  
you should read, though indeed, that was implic  
my telling you what you should write. Pray rem  
ber to select with care the standard authors on  
subject; for, as the saying is, "though we sh  
read much, we should not read many books."  
those authors are is so clearly settled, and  
generally known, that I need not point them o  
you; besides, I have already extended this lett  
such an immoderate length, that I have curtaile  
time, by recommending the course, of your stu  
Back, then, to your writing-tablets, and either  
something from the hints I have now given  
or continue the composition on which you  
already engaged. Farewell.

## X

## C. PLINIUS MACRINO SUO S.

QUIA ipse, cum prima cognovi, iungere extr  
 quasi avulsa cupio, te quoque existimo velle  
 Vareno et Bithynis reliqua cognoscere. Acta c  
 hinc a Polyaeno, inde a Magno. Finitis action  
 Caesar 'Neutra' inquit, 'pars de mora quere  
 erit mihi curae explorare provinciae voluntat  
 Multum interim Vareno tulit. Etenim quam dub  
 est, an merito accusetur, qui an omnino accus  
 incertum est! Superest, ne rursus provinciae, c  
 damnasse dicitur, placeat, agatque paeniten  
 paenitentiae suae. Vale.

## XI

## C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

MIRARIS, quod Hermes libertus meus, heredita  
 agros, quos ego iusseram proscribi, non exspe  
 auctione pro meo quincunce ex septingentis mil  
 Corelliae addixerit. Adicis posse eos nongentis m  
 bus venire ac tanto magis quaeris, an, quod ge  
 ratum servem. Ego vero servo; quibus ex ca

---

<sup>a</sup> See vii. 6.

## X

### TO MACRINUS

SINCE, for my part, when I have learned beginning of a story I long to join on the sequel if it were a severed fragment, I think you likewise wish to know the event of the cause betwixt the Bithynians and Varenus.<sup>a</sup> Polyænus pleads on one side, and Magnus on the other. When Cæsar had heard both, "Neither party," said he, "have reason to complain of delay; I will undertake to sound the sentiments of the province." In the meanwhile, Varenus has gained a very considerable point; for how doubtful is the justness of an accusation against a person while it remains uncertain whether he is accused at all? We have only to wait that the province may not again approve of what is said she has condemned, and repent of her repentance. Farewell.

## XI

### TO FABATUS, HIS WIFE'S GRANDFATHER

You are surprised, I find, that my recent legacy of five-twelfths of an estate, which I had directed to be sold to the best bidder, should have been disposed of, by my freedman Hermes, to Corellia (without putting it up to auction) at the rate of seven hundred thousand sesterces. And as you think it might have produced nine hundred thousand, you are so much the more desirous to know whether I am inclined to ratify what he has done. I am; and will

accipe. Cupio enim et tibi probatum et coherere  
meis exeusatum esse, quod me ab illis maiore o  
iubente seerno.

Corelliam cum summa reverentia diligo primu  
sororem Corelli Rufi, cuius mihi memoria sacros  
est, deinde ut matri meae familiarissimam. S  
mihi et cum marito eius, Minicio Iusto, optimo  
vetera iura: fuerunt et cum filio maxima, a  
quidem, ut praetore me ludis meis praesed  
Haec, cum proxime istic fui, indicavit mihi cu  
se aliquid circa Larium nostrum possidere. Ego  
ex praediis meis, quod vellet et quanti vellet, ob  
exceptis paternis maternisque; his enim cedere  
Corelliae quidem possum. Igitur cum obven  
mihi hereditas, in qua praedia ista, scripsi ei ven  
futura. Has epistulas Hermes tulit exigentique  
statim portionem meam sibi addiceret, paruit.

Vides, quam ratum habere debeam, quod libe  
meus meis moribus gessit. Superest, ut coher  
aequo animo ferant separatim me vendidisse, c  
mihi licuit omnino non vendere. Nec vero cogu  
imitari meum exemplum; non enim illis ea  
cum Corellia iura. Possunt ergo intueri utilita  
suam, pro qua mihi fuit amicitia. Vale.

state upon what grounds. For I wish not only you may approve, but that my fellow coheirs excuse me, for having in obedience to a higher separated my interest from theirs.

I have the highest esteem for Corellia, both as sister of Corellius Rufus, whose memory is sacred to me, and as she was an intimate friend of my mother's. Besides, I am bound by a long-standing friendship to her husband, the excellent Minus Iustus; as I was by a very close one to her son, much so, that I fixed upon him to preside at the games which I exhibited as Praetor. This Minus when I was last in your vicinity, expressed a wish to possess something upon our lake of Comum; I made her an offer, at her own price, of any part of my estate there, except what came to me from my father and mother; for that I could not resign, I offered to Corellia. So, when the inheritance which comprised farms in that district fell to me, I wrote to acquaint her it was to be sold. This letter I sent to Hermes, who upon her requesting him that he would immediately let her have my proportion of the estate, consented to do so.

You see how fully I ought to confirm what a freedman has done agreeably to my inclinations. It only remains to wish my fellow-coheirs may not take it amiss, that I sold what I was by my liberty not to sell at all. They are under the necessity of following my example, since they have not the same connexions with Corellia that I have. They are free, therefore, to be guided by self-interest, a motive in my own case supplanted by friendship. Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS MINICIO SUO S.

LIBELLUM formatum a me, sicut exegeras amicus tuus, immo noster (quid enim non cor nobis?), si res posceret, uteretur, nisi tibi tardius, ne tempus emendandi eum, id est, dendi, haberes. Habebis tamen, an emendare nescio, utique disperdendi. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ optima quaeque detrahitis. Quod si feceris, consulam. Postea enim illis ex aliqua occasione meis utar et beneficio fastidii tui ipse laudabor eo, quod adnotatum invenies et superscripto explicitum. Nam cum suspicarer futurum tumidius videretur, quod est sonantius et non alienum existimavi, ne te torqueres, statim pressius quiddam et exilius vel potius huius et peius, vestro tamen iudicio rectius. Cur enim usquequaque tenuitatem vestram insequar cogitem? Haec, ut inter istas occupationes aliquando rideres; illud serio; vide, ut mihi reddas, quod impendi data opera cursore curasti. Ne tu, cum hoc legeris, non partes libelli, sed libellum improbabis negabisque ullius pretii cuius pretium reposceris. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> superscripto aliter *Kukula*, suprascr. aliter *cod. Vindob.* superscr. alio *K II*.



## To MINICIUS

I HAVE been so much the longer in sending the petition which I have drawn up at your request for your, or rather I should say *our*, friend (for what is there that we do not possess in common?) to correct, if necessary, in order that you might have no time to correct, that is, to spoil it. You will have time, the same, perhaps not to correct, but at any rate to spoil it; for you hypercritical people throw out the most shining parts of every composition. But you are welcome to do so; for I shall upon some future occasion use these fine passages myself, and reap the applause from what you fastidiously reject; as for instance in the passage you will find interlined with a differently expressed version. For I suspect you would call every thing bombast which is elevated and sounding; I thought proper therefore for your ease, to subjoin a more concise and dry, or rather flatter and inferior, rendering; though you, I know (for why should I not rally your refined taste) will esteem it an improvement. Thus far in order to make you smile in the midst of your serious occupations I have been jocose; but without doubt, I am wondrous serious in what I am going to add: I expect to be reimbursed the charges I have been at in sending a messenger express with this. Now are you not disposed to condemn this petition not only in part, but in the whole, and insist upon that you ought not to pay for a thing which is absolutely of no value? Farewell.

### XIII

#### C. PLINIUS FEROCI SUO S.

EADEM epistula et non studere te et st significat. Aenigmata loquor? Ita plane, distinctius, quod sentio, enuntiem. Negat enim studere, sed est tam polita, quam nisi a student potest scribi; aut es tu super omnes beatus, super desidiam et otium perficis. Vale.

### XIV

#### C. PLINIUS CORELLIAE SUAE S.

TU quidem honestissime, quod tam impensè rogas et exigis, ut accipi iubeam a te pretium agnon non ex septingentis milibus, quanti illos a l meo, sed ex nongentis, quanti a publicanis p vicesimam emisti. Invicem ego et rogo et ut, non solum quid te, verum etiam quid me d aspicias patiarisque me in hoc uno tibi eodem a repugnare, quo in omnibus obsequi soleo. Vale

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<sup>a</sup> Letter 11 of this book.

<sup>b</sup> Augustus imposed a tax of a twentieth on all l and inheritances. It seems that Corellia, on acquiring

### XIII

#### TO FEROX

You inform me in the same letter, that you and do not study. I speak in riddles? Yes, to be sure, till I express my meaning more clearly. Well then, you say that you have bid adieu to study, but such an air of elegance runs through your letter that it is impossible it should have been written by anyone but a student; or else you are blest beyond the rest of mankind, since you can compose such finished work in your hours of idleness. Farewell.

### XIV

#### TO CORELLIA

'Tis extremely noble in you to desire and insist so vehemently that I should fix the price you are to pay for my estate, not at seven hundred thousand sesterces (for which sum you bought your freedman),<sup>a</sup> but at nine hundred thousand, being the rateable value on which you paid the tax-farmers of the revenues for their twentieth part. But I must desire and insist in my turn, that you will consider not only what befits your character but also what befits mine; and will suffer me to oppose your inclination in this single instance, with the same warmth that I obey it in all other things. Farewell.

property, had to pay the legacy-duty; the literal expression is, "you bought the twentieth part from the tax-farmer"

## XV

### C. PLINIUS SATURNINO SUO S.

REQUIRIS, quid agam. Quae nosti; disto officio, amicis deservio, studeo interdum, quod interdum, sed solum semperque facere non alicuius dicere rectius, certe beatius erat. Te alia opinor quam quae velis, agere moleste ferrem, nisi ea, quae agis, essent honestissima. Nam et reipublicae negotia curare et disceptare inter amicos dignissimum est.

Prisci nostri contubernium iucundum tibi futuri sciebam. Noveram simplicitatem eius, novum comitatem; eundem esse, quod minus noram, honestissimum experior, cum tam iucunde officiorum laborumque memoriarum meminisse eum scribas. Vale.

## XVI

### C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

CALESTRIUM Tironem familiarissime diligo et prope mihi et publicis necessitudinibus implicatum. Cum te militavimus, simul quaestores Caesaris fuimus. Quae me in tribunatu liberorum iure praecessit, ego

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<sup>a</sup> The charge of the public treasury.

<sup>b</sup> See vii.

## XV

## TO SATURNINUS

YOU ask me, what I am doing? Just the things you are familiar with. I am immersed in the business of my post;<sup>a</sup> I devote myself to the service of my friends; now and then I study; if the latter were not my occasional, but my sole constant occupation, I should certainly be more happily (I do not venture to say, more virtuously) employed. It would distress me that your activities are the reverse of agreeable to you, were it not that they are extremely noble. For nothing can be more worthy of applause, than to be at the same time administering public business and settling disputes between one's private friends.

I was well persuaded you would find our friend Priscus<sup>b</sup> a congenial companion, for I knew the simplicity and politeness of his manners: but I have yet to learn (what I had the pleasure to be informed of by your letter) that he so obligingly remembers the services I had done him. Farewell.

## XVI

## TO FABATUS

CALESTRIUS TIRO, to whom I am bound alike by private and public ties, is one of my most cherished intimates. We served together in the army, were both Quaestors at the same time to Caesar. He got the start of me, indeed, in the Tribunate by the privilege which the law gives to those

in praetura sum consecutus, cum mihi Caesar an-  
remisisset. Ego in villas eius saepe secessi, illi  
domo mea saepe convaluit.

Hic nunc pro consule provinciam Baeticam  
Ticinum est petiturus. Spero, immo confido f-  
me impetraturum, ut ex itinere deflectat ad t-  
voles vindicta liberare, quos proxime inter an-  
manumisisti. Nihil est, quod verearis, ne sit  
illi molestum, cui orbem terrarum circumire  
erit longum mea causa. Proinde nimiam i-  
verecundiam pone teque, quid velis, consule.  
tam iucundum, quod ego, quam mihi, quoc-  
iubes. Vale.

## XVII

### C. PLINIUS CELERI SUO S.

SUA cuique ratio recitandi; mihi, quod saepe  
dixi, ut, si quid me fugit, ut certe fugit, admo-

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<sup>a</sup> By a law at first proposed by Augustus, but which  
passing with several alterations in 9 A. D. was known as  
*Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea*, it was enacted, amongst  
things, "that any person might stand sooner than ord-  
for an office, if he had as many children as he wanted  
to be capable of bearing such a dignity." (Melm.) See i-  
x. 2.

have children ;<sup>a</sup> but I overtook him in the Prætorship by the indulgence of the Emperor, who compensated with my wanting a year of the legal age that office. I have frequently gone for a holiday to his country villas ; he has often recruited his household under my roof.

Tiro is now setting out for Baetica, having been appointed proconsul of that province, and will go through Ticinum on his way. I hope, nay, I am confident, I can easily prevail with him to turn out of the road to your house, if you should wish to emancipate formally<sup>b</sup> those slaves to whom you have already given their liberty in the presence of your friends. You need be under no apprehension that he will look upon this as a trouble, who would make no account of travelling round the world for my sake. I therefore you would lay aside your excessive delicacy in such matters, and only consider your own convenience. For my commands are as welcome to you as yours are to me. Farewell.

## XVII

### TO CELER

EVERY author has his particular reasons for recommending his works ; mine, I have often said, is, that if I have overlooked any errors (which I am certain to have done) they may be brought to my notice. I am the

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "by the staff" (*vindicta*). The ceremony of striking a slave with a staff in presence of a magistrate was necessary to admit the freedman to full citizenship. (Cicero, *de Officiis*, 32. To pronounce a slave free in the presence of five witnesses was only one of the informal methods of manumission which were only admitted him to the "Latin" franchise. See x.

Quo magis miror, quod scribis fuisse quosdam, reprehenderent, quod orationes omnino recitare nisi vero has solas non putant emendandas. quibus libenter requisierim, cur concedant, si cedant tamen, historiam debere recitari, quae non ostentationi, sed fidei veritatisque componitur, tragoediam, quae non auditorium, sed scaenam actores, cur lyrica, quae non lectorem, sed chorum lyram poscunt.

At horum recitatio usu iam recepta est. Non ergo culpandus est ille, qui coepit? Quamquam orationes quoque et nostri quidam et Graeci lectitaverunt. Supervacuum tamen est recitare, quod dixeris. Etiam, si eadem omnia, si iisdem omnibus si statim recites; si vero multa inseras, multas commutes, si quosdam novos, quosdam eosdem, si post tempus adsumas, cur minus probabilis sit causa recitandi, quae dixeris, quam edendi? Sed difficile est, ut oratio, dum recitatur, satisfaciat. Iam labor ad laborem recitantis pertinet, non ad rationem recitandi.

Nec vero ego, dum recito, laudari, sed dum legere cupio. Itaque nullum emendandi genus omitto. Ac primum, quae scripsi, mecum ipse pertracto.



surprised to find from your letter that there are some who disapprove of my reciting *speeches* at all. I cannot guess why, unless, indeed, they think of speech the one form of composition that ought to be corrected. I would willingly ask them whether they allow (if indeed they do allow) that History may be recited, since it is written in the interest of truth and honesty, not for display? Or Tragedy, when it requires a stage and actors, not an audience-hall? Or Lyric Poetry, which requires a reader, but a chorus and a harp-accompaniment.

They will rejoin that in the instances mentioned recitation has become established by custom. Well, we are not therefore, I suppose, to condemn the person who first introduced the practice? However, I need not labour this point, for certain of our orators, and the Greeks generally, have been in the habit of reciting their speeches. "But it is superfluous," says someone, "to recite a speech which has already been delivered." Yes, if you recite it exactly as delivered, to the very same audience, and immediately; but if you make several additions and alterations; if you collect an audience composed partly of the same, and partly of different persons, and after an interval, why is it less plausible to recite your speech than to publish it? As to the difficulty they may allege of giving satisfaction in the mere recital of a speech, *that* is simply a question of how much trouble the reciter takes, and an argument against reciting in general.

For my part, it is not whilst I am reciting, whilst I am read, that I would be applauded; accordingly I omit no method of correction. In the first place, I revise my composition in private, next

deinde duobus aut tribus lego; mox aliis adnotanda notasque eorum, si dubito, cum rursus aut altero pensito; novissime pluribus ac, si quid mihi credis, tunc acerrime emendo. O tanto diligentius quanto sollicitius intendo. O autem reverentia, pudor, metus iudicant; adeo sic habe: nonne, si locuturus es cum a quamlibet docto, uno tamen, minus commo quam si cum multis vel indoctis? Nonne, surgis ad agendum, tunc maxime tibi ipse d tunc commutata, non dico plurima, sed cupis? Utique si latior scaena et corona diff nam illos quoque sordidos pullatosque rever Nonne, si prima quaeque improbari putas, debi et concidis? Opinor, quia in numero ipso quoddam magnum collatumque consilium, quib singulis iudicii parum, omnibus plurimum.

Itaque Pomponius Secundus, hic scriptor tr diarum, si quid forte familiarior amicus toller ipse retinendum arbitraretur, dicere solebat: populum provoco' atque ita ex populi vel si vel adsensu aut suam aut amici sententiam sequel

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<sup>a</sup> There is a kind of witticism in this expression, will be lost to the mere English reader, unless he be inf that the Romans had a privilege confirmed to the several laws which passed in the earlier ages of the rep of appealing from the decisions of the magistrates to general assembly of the people: and they did so in the of words which Pomponius here applies to a dif purpose. (Melm.)

read it to two or three friends, and then give others to annotate; if I doubt the justness of corrections, I carefully weigh them again with friend or two. Last of all, I recite the piece in a numerous assembly, and this is the time, if you believe me, when I exercise the most rigid criticism; for my attention rises in proportion to my solicitation. Again nothing so much awakens the judgement as that reverence, and modest timidity, which one feels upon those occasions. For do but reflect and tell me whether you would not be infinitely less affected if you were to speak before a single person only, though ever so learned, than before a numerous assembly, even though it were composed of none but illiterate people? Is it not when you rise up to plead, that you are most diffident of yourself, and wish you could alter not merely a great deal, but the whole of your plea? especially if you are to speak in a good court and before a largish attendance of the public, for even the most low and ragamuffin audience inspire one with awe. And if you fancy your exordium meets with disapproval, do you not feel your power weakened and your resolution sink under you? For the reason I imagine to be, that a certain large collection of wisdom resides in a crowd, as such; and men whose individual judgement is defective are excellent judges when grouped together.

Agreeably to this notion, Pomponius Securus (the tragic poet), whenever some particular phrase and he differed about retaining or rejecting any thing in his plays, used to say, "I appeal" to the people; and followed either his own or his friend's judgement in accordance with that expressed by their silence or applause in the theatre. So highly did

Tantum ille populo dabat. Recte an secus, nihil me. Ego enim non populum advocare, sed cer electosque soleo, quos intuear, quibus credam, qu denique et tamquam singulos observem et tamqu non singulos timeam. Nam, quod M. Cicero de st ego de metu sentio. 'Timor est, timor emenda asperrimus.'<sup>1</sup> Hoc ipsum, quod nos recitatu cogitamus, emendat, quod auditorium ingredim emendat, quod pallemus, horrescimus, circumspicim emendat.

Proinde non paenitet me consuetudinis me quam utilissimam experior, adeoque non deterri sermunculis istorum, ut ultro te rogem, monstr aliquid, quod his addam. Nihil enim curae m satis est. Cogito, quam sit magnum dare aliquic manus hominum, nec persuadere mihi possum et cum multis et saepe tractandum, quod placere semper et omnibus cupias. Vale.

## XVIII

C. PLINIUS CANINIO SUO S.

DELIBERAS mecum, quem ad modum pecu quam municipibus nostris in epulum obtulisti, p

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *de Orat.* i. 33, 150.

rate public opinion! Whether rightly or no does not concern me to determine; I do not invite the public to my recitals but only a limited select audience consisting of persons whom I respect and trust, in fine, to whom I pay the attention to each as an individual, while I stand in awe of them as a collective body. What Cicero says of composing, in my opinion, applies to this. "Fear is the most rigid critic imaginable." The mere thought of reciting, the entering an assertion, the fact that we turn pale, shudder, and look at us there—all these are so many aids to emendation.

I cannot, therefore, repent of a practice which I have found exceedingly beneficial; and am sensible that I should not be discouraged by the tittle-tattle of your critics, that I beg you would point out some method of correction, which I may add to the others I have described. For nothing can satisfy my zeal for perfection. I reflect what a serious thing it is to place a work in the hands of the public; and I cannot but be persuaded that you should revise it repeatedly, and in consultation with numerous advisers, a piece that you wish to be universally for ever admired. Farewell.

## XVIII

### TO CANINIUS

You ask my advice in what manner you should settle the sum of money, which you have presented to our fellow townsmen for an annual feast, so as to secure the just application of it after your death.

te quoque salva sit. Honesta consultatio, non  
pedita sententia. Numeres reipublicae summi  
Verendum est, ne dilabatur. Des agros? ut pul  
neglegentur. Equidem nihil commodius inve  
quam quod ipse feci. Nam pro quingentis mi  
nummum, quae in alimenta ingenuorum inge  
rumque promiseram, agrum ex meis longe p  
actori publico mancipavi; eundem vectigali imp  
recepti tricena milia annua daturus. Per hoc e  
et reipublicae sors in tuto nec reditus incertu  
ager ipse propter id, quod vectigal large supercu  
semper dominum, a quo exerceatur, inveniet.

Nec ignoro me plus aliquanto, quam do  
videor, erogavisse, cum pulcherrimi agri pre  
necessitas vectigalis infregerit. Sed oportet pri  
utilitatibus publicas, mortalibus aeternas ante  
multoque diligentius muneri suo consulere q  
facultatibus. Vale.

## XIX

### C. PLINIUS PISCO SUO S

ANGIT me Fanniae valetudo. Contraxit hanc,  
adsidet Iuniae virgini, sponte primum (est e

Your question proceeds from a truly generous principle, but the answer to it is not very easy. Should you pay down the money to the community, there is a risk that it will be squandered away. Should you settle lands for that purpose, they will probably be neglected, as those of the public usually are. On my part, I can think of no better plan than what I adopted myself. Having undertaken to give one hundred thousand sesterces for the maintenance of well-born boys and girls, I sold at that price to a public agent some land of mine which was worth considerably more; he reconveyed it back to me, charged with a yearly rent of 30,000 sesterces. This means the principal was secured to the community, at the same time the interest was certain and the estate itself (as it was of much greater value than the rent charged upon it) was always sure of finding a tenant.

I am well aware that I have disbursed considerably more than the nominal amount of my gift, since the value of this fine estate has been diminished by the encumbrance with which it is charged. But a man must rate public and permanent, above private and fleeting advantages and study how to render his benefaction most useful, rather than how he may bestow it with least expense. Farewell.

## XIX

### TO PRISCUS

I AM deeply afflicted at the ill state of health of my friend Fannia, which she contracted during her attendance on Junia, one of the Vestal virgins.

adfinis), deinde etiam ex auctoritate pontificum. virgines, cum vi morbi atrio Vestae coguntur dederunt, matronarum curae custodiaeque mandata. Quo munere Fannia dum sedulo fungitur, hoc crimine implicata est. Insident febres, tussis incipit, summa macies, summa defectio : animus tamen et spiritus viget Helvidio marito, Thrasea dignissimus, reliqua labuntur meque non tantum, verum etiam dolore conficiunt. Doleo maximam feminam eripi oculis civitatis nescio aliquid simile visuris.

Quae castitas illi, quae sanctitas, quanta gratitudo, quanta constantia ! Bis maritum secuta in exilium est, tertio ipsa propter maritum relegata. Nam Senecio reus esset, quod de vita Helvidi libros composuisset, rogatumque se a Fannia in defensionem dixisset, quaerente minaciter Mettius Caro, an respondit, ‘ Rogavi ’ ; an commentarios scripturus dixisset : ‘ Dedi ’ ; an sciente matre : ‘ Nescio ’. postremo nullam vocem cedentem periculo edidit. Quin etiam illos ipsos libros, quamquam ex nescio

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<sup>a</sup> The house adjoining her temple, where they reside



engaged in this good office at first voluntarily, Julia being her relation; afterwards also by order of the Pontiffs; for these virgins, when severe illness obliges them to remove from the hall of Vesta,<sup>a</sup> are delivered to the care and custody of some matron. It was Fannia's assiduity in the execution of this charge that occasioned her present disorder, which is a continual fever, attended with a cough that increases daily. She is extremely emaciated, and seems in a total decay of everything but spirit; those indeed she preserves in their full vigour; and in a manner worthy the wife of Helvidius and daughter of Thræsea. In all the rest she is greatly impaired, that I am more than apprehensive upon her account; I am deeply afflicted. I grieve for my friend, that so excellent a woman is going to be removed from the eyes of the world, which I shall never, perhaps, again behold her equal.

How consummate is her virtue, her sanctity, her sobriety, her courage! She twice followed her husband into exile, and once was banished herself upon his account. For Senecio, when he was writing the life of Helvidius, having said in his defence that he composed that work at the request of Fannia, Mettius Carus, with a stern and threatening air, asked her whether it was true? She acknowledged it was; and when he further questioned her whether she supplied him likewise with private memoirs for that purpose, and whether her mother was privy to this transaction? she admitted the former, but absolutely denied the latter. In short she uttered not a single word calculated to lessen her peril. She even had the courage when her effects were confiscated, to preserve a copy of the

tate et metu temporum abolitos senatus con-  
publicatis bonis servavit, habuit tulitque in ex-  
celsii causam.

Eadem quam iucunda, quam comis, quam de  
quod paucis datum est, non minus amabilis  
veneranda! Erit sane, quam postea uxoribus  
tare possimus; erit, a qua viri quoque fortitudo  
exempla sumamus, quam sic cernentes audientes  
miramur ut illas, quae leguntur. Ac mihi  
ipsa nutare convulsaque sedibus suis ruitura  
videtur, licet adhuc posteros habeat. Quantis  
virtutibus quantisque factis adsequentur, ut haec  
novissima occiderit?

Me quidem illud etiam adffigit et torquet,  
matrem eius, illam (nihil possum illustrius  
tantae feminae matrem, rursus videor amittere,  
haec, ut reddit ac refert nobis, sic auferet  
meque et novo pariter et rescisso vulnere ac  
Utramque colui, utramque dilexi; utram  
nescio, nec discerni volebant. Habuerunt officium  
in secundis, habuerunt in adversis. Ego so-  
relegatarum, ego ultor reversarum. Non feci  
paria atque eo magis hanc cupio servari, ut

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<sup>a</sup> Pliny's hyperbolical way of saying "We shall meet  
upon her like again." Cf. Tennyson on the death of the  
of Wellington—"The last great Englishman is low."

very memoirs which the Senate, over-awed by tyranny of the times, had ordered to be suppress and took with her as the companion of her exile what had been the cause of it.

How pleasing is her conversation, how polite address, and (which seldom unites in the same character) how venerable is she as well as amiable. She is indeed a woman whom, when she is gone, may hold up as a model to our wives; from whose fortitude even our own sex may take example; whom, while yet we have the pleasure of seeing conversing with her, we may contemplate with the same admiration as those heroines who are celebrated in ancient story. To me, this illustrious house seems shaken to its very foundations, and ready to fall in ruins with her: for though she leaves descendants behind her, yet what must be their virtues and their exploits, if they are to ensure against the fall of an excellent woman dying the last of her race! <sup>a</sup>

It aggravates my affliction that by her death I seem to lose a second time her mother, that woman whose mother (and what can I say higher in her praise?) was so amiable a person! who, as she is restored to us, her daughter, so she will now again be taken from us, and the loss of Fannia will thus pierce my heart at once with a fresh stab, and at the same time open a former wound. I loved and honoured them both, and know not which I loved and honoured most; nor did they wish this point decided. As long as they were in their prosperity and their adversity, my services were at their command; I was their comforter in exile, and their avenger on their return. But I had done less for them, than they for me; and am therefore the more solicitous for the preservation of this last

solvendi tempora supersint. In his eram curi scriberem ad te; quas si deus aliquis in gaverterit, de metu non querar. Vale.

## XX

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

LIBRUM tuum legi et, quam diligentissime adnotavi, quae commutanda, quae eximenda trarer. Nam et ego verum dicere adsuevi libenter audire. Neque enim ulli patientius henduntur, quam qui maxime laudari merentur.

Nunc a te librum meum cum adnotationibus exspecto. O iucundas, o pulchras vices! quae delectat, quod, si qua posteris cura nostri, quaeque narrabitur, qua concordia, simplicitate vixerimus! Erit rarum et insigne duos hoc aetate, dignitate propemodum aequales, non in litteris nominis (cogor enim de te quoque praedicere, quia de me simul dico), alterum a studia fovisse. Equidem adolescentulus, cum tu fama gloriaque floreres, te sequi, tibi sed proximus intervallo<sup>1</sup> et esse et habere cupiscebam.

Et erant multa clarissima ingenia; sed tu (ita similitudo naturae ferebat) maxime imi-

<sup>1</sup> *Aeneid* v. 320.

as it will give me time to repay my obligations. Such is the anxiety under which I write this letter; should some deity transmute it into joy, I shall not complain of the alarms I now suffer. Farewell.

## XX

### TO TACITUS

I HAVE perused your oration, and with all attention I was master of have marked passages where I think alteration or excision advisable. For 'tis my habit to speak truth, and yours to love it gladly—very naturally, since none are more patient of censure than those who have the best claim to applause.

I now expect in return, your observations upon the speech of mine which I sent you. How agreeable how noble is such a commerce! and how am I pleased with the thought, that posterity, if it should all concern itself with us, will not cease to record in what harmony, what openness, what mutual confidence we lived together! It will be an instance as remarkable as it is uncommon, that two persons nearly of the same age and official rank, and of similar literary reputation (for since I join myself with you I am obliged to speak of your merit with respect) should thus foster each other's studies. When I was a very young man, and you already in the prime of your glory and renown, I longed to follow your steps, and to be both really and reputedly "near you" but with many a length between," to yourself.

There were at that time many celebrated geniuses in Rome; but you of all others (owing to a similarity

maxime imitandus videbaris. Quo magis gaudeo quod, si quis de studiis sermo, una non desunt, quod de te loquentibus statim occurro. Sed desunt, qui utrique nostrum praeferantur. Sed nihil interest mea quo loco, iungimur; nam primus, qui a te proximus. Quin etiam in testamento debet adnotasse; nisi quis forte alterutri nostrum amicissimus, eadem legata et quidem pariter amemus. Quae omnia huc spectant, ut invidiam ardentius diligamus, cum tot vinculis nos sumus mores, fama, suprema denique hominum iudicia constringant. Vale.

## XXI

### C. PLINIUS CORNUTO SUO S.

PAREO, collega carissime, et infirmitati oculorum ut iubes, consulo. Nam et huc tecto velum undique inclusus quasi in cubiculo perveni et non stilo modo, verum etiam lectionibus difficilis sed abstineo solisque auribus studeo. Cubiculum obductis velis opaca nec tamen obscura Cryptoporticus quoque adopertis inferioribus fenestris

our dispositions) appeared to me the easiest and most worthy object of my imitation. I am the more rejoiced to find that whenever oratory is the topic of conversation, we are always mentioned together, that my name comes up as soon as anyone talks of me. There are some who prefer you to me, as others, the contrary, give me the advantage; but I do not care not in what order we are placed, so that we are united; for in my estimation, whoever is next to me stands before everybody else. You cannot have remarked that in our wills (unless in the case of particular friendship to either of us), we named side by side, and the legacies bequeathed to us are the same in value. Since therefore we are thus closely linked together by our pursuits, manner of life, reputation, and even by those last instances of human judgment,<sup>a</sup> should all this not tend to enflame us mutually with the most ardent affection? Forgive me, well.

## XXI

TO CORNUTUS.

I OBEY, my dear Colleague, your obliging commands to favour the weakness of my eyes, and accordingly I came hither in a covered litter, in which I was much sheltered as if I had been in my chamber. I forbear too (with difficulty indeed, however, I do forbear) not only writing but reading, and speak only with my ears. By drawing the curtains of my chamber, I make it gloomy, yet not dark, and when in my covered portico, I close the shutters of the lower windows, and by that means enjoy as much

<sup>a</sup> See vii. 31, n. c.

tantum umbrae quantum luminis habet. Sic p  
tim lucem ferre condisco. Balineum adsumo,  
prodest, vinum, quia non nocet, parcissime ta  
Ita adsuevi, et nunc custos adest.

Gallinam ut a te missam libenter accepi; c  
satis acribus oculis, quamquam adhuc lippus, pin  
simam vidi. Vale.

## XXII

### C. PLINIUS FALCONI SUO S.

MINUS miraberis me tam instanter petisse, u  
amicum meum conferres tribunatum, cum scieris,  
ille qualisque. Possum autem iam tibi et no  
indicare et describere ipsum, postquam pollic  
Est Cornelius Minicianus, ornamentum regionis n  
seu dignitate seu moribus. Natus splendide abu  
facultatibus, amat studia, ut solent pauperes. I  
rectissimus iudex, fortissimus advocatus, fideliss  
amicus. Accepisse te beneficium credes, cum  
pius inspexeris hominem omnibus honoribus, om  
titulis (nihil volo elatius de modestissimo viro di  
parem. Vale.



shade as light. Thus I endeavour to accustom myself to the light by degrees. The bath of service in this case, I allow myself the use of as I do of wine, because it is not judged prejudicial but I take it with great moderation. I do so know, at all times, but particularly now that I am one who narrowly observes me.<sup>a</sup>

I received the pullet with great pleasure coming from you; weak as my eyes still are, they are strong enough, however, to discern that it is extremely fat. Farewell.

## XXII

To FALCO

You will not wonder I so strongly pressed you to confer the Tribunate upon my friend, when you shall be informed who and what he is; and as you have complied with my request, I may now acquaint you with his name and character. It is Cornelius Minicianus, who both in rank and character is the ornament of that province to which I owe my birth. His family and fortune are noble, and yet he pursues his profession with all the ardour of a young man. He is a most upright juror, a most strenuous advocate, a most faithful friend. You will look upon the favour as conferred on yourself, when you shall have taken a nearer view of this excellent person who (not to speak in too lofty terms of so moderate a man) is equal to all honours and titles that can be conferred upon him. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> Meaning his wife, perhaps, or his physician. (Melloni)

## C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

GAUDEO quidem esse te tam fortem, ut Medo occurrere Tironi possis, sed ut perseveres esse fortis, rogo, ne tibi contra rationem aetatis tui laboris iniungas. Quin immo denuntio, ut illud domi et intra domum atque etiam intra cubiculi tui exspectes. Etenim, cum a me ut frater diligens non debet ab eo, quem ego parentis loco observare exigere officium, quod parenti suo remisisset.

## C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

UMMIDIA QUADRATILLA paulo minus octoginta aetatis anno decessit usque ad novissimam valetudinem viridis atque etiam ultra matronalem modum compacto corpore et robusto. Decessit honestis testamentis; reliquit heredes ex besse nepotem et tertiam parte neptem.

Neptem parum novi; nepotem familiarissime de adolescentem singularem nec iis tantum, quos sanguine attingit, inter propinquos amandum. Ac prius conspicuus forma omnes sermones malignorum

## XXIII

### TO FABATUS, HIS WIFE'S GRANDFATHER

I GREATLY rejoice that your strength permits your journeying to meet Tiro at Milan; but you may continue to enjoy that vigour, I believe, will spare yourself a fatigue so improper for a man of your years. Nay, I must insist that you stay for him at home, and that you do not stir out of your own house, nor even out of your chamber to receive him. As I love him like a brother, it would be unreasonable he should exact from one I honour as my parent, an attention which would not require from his own. Farewell.

## XXIV

### TO GEMINIUS

UMMIDIA QUADRATILLA is dead, having lived almost to her eightieth year. She enjoyed to her last sickness an uninterrupted state of health, and a strength and firmness of body unusual even in matrons in their prime. She has left a will which does her great credit, having disposed of two-thirds of her estate to her grandson, and the rest to her granddaughter.

The young lady I know little of, but the grandson is one of my most intimate friends. He is a young man of singular worth, for whom others besides his own kin may well feel the affection due to a kinsman. Though he is extremely beautiful, he has escaped every malicious imputation both wh

puer et iuvenis evasit intra quartum et vicesimum annum maritus et, si deus adnuisset, pater.

Vixit in contubernio aviae delicatae severissime tamen obsequentissime. Habebat illa pantomimam, fovebatque effusius, quam principi feminae convenit. Hos Quadratus non in theatro, non domi spectabat nec illa exigebat. Audivi ipsam, cum mihi commendaret nepotis sui studia, solere se ut feminam illo otio sexus laxare animum lusu calculorum, solere spectare pantomimos suos; sed, cum factura esset alterutrum, semper se nepoti suo praecepisse, abestudenterque; quod mihi non amore eius magis factum quam reverentia videbatur.

Miraberis, et ego miratus sum. Proximis sacerdotalibus ludis productis in commissione pantomimae cum simul theatro ego et Quadratus egrederemur, mihi: 'Scis me hodie primum vidisse saltantem aviae meae libertum?' Hoc nepos. At hercule alienissimos homines in honorem Quadratillae (pudet me dixisse honorem) per adulationis officium in theatrum

<sup>1</sup> convenit *M*, *Bipons*, *K*, conveniret *Dpra*, *Otto*, *Müll*

<sup>a</sup> See vi. 11.

<sup>b</sup> The *ludi* (a term which included horse-races, theatrical and athletic games) exhibited at certain religious festivals were severally organised by the various priestly colleges. What especial *ludi* Pliny here refers to, is unknown.

boy and when a youth; he was a husband four and twenty, and would have been a father, if providence had not disappointed his hopes.

He lived in the family of his grandmother, who was exceedingly devoted to the pleasures of the town, with great severity of conduct, yet at the same time with the utmost compliance. She retained a set of pantomimes, whom she encouraged more than becomes a lady of quality. Quadratus never witnessed their performances, either when she exhibited them in the theatre, or in her own house; nor did she exact his attendance. He once heard her say, when she was commending her grandson's oratorical studies to my care,<sup>a</sup> that it was her habit, being a woman and as such debarred an active life, to amuse herself with playing at cards or backgammon, and to look on at the mimicry of her pantomimes; but that before engaging in such a diversion, she constantly sent away her grandson to his studies: a custom, I imagine, which she observed as much out of a certain reverence, as affection for the youth.

I was a good deal surprised, as I am persuaded you will be, at what he told me the last time the Sacerdotal Games<sup>b</sup> were exhibited. As we were coming out of the theatre together, where we had been entertained with a contest of these pantomimes, "Do you know," said he, "this is the first time I ever saw one of my grandmother's freedmen dance?" Such was the conduct of the grandsons, while a set of men of a far different stamp, in order to do honour to Quadratilla (I am ashamed to employ that word to what, in truth, was but the lowest and grossest flattery) used to flock to

cursitabant, exsultabant, plaudebant, mirabantur  
deinde singulos gestus dominae eum canticis red  
bant ; qui nunc exiguissima legata, theatralis ope  
corollarium, accipient ab herede, qui non spectaba

Haec, quia soles, si quid incidit novi, non inv  
audire, deinde quia iucundum est mihi, quod ceper  
gaudium scribendo retractare. Gaudeo enim piet  
defunctae, honore optimi iuvenis ; laetor etiam, q  
domus aliquando C. Cassi, huius qui Cassianae sch  
princeps et parens fuit, serviet domino non min  
Implebit enim illam Quadratus meus et dec  
rursusque ei pristinam dignitatem, celebritat  
gloriam reddet, cum tantus orator inde proce  
quantus iuris ille consultus. Vale

## XXV

### C. PLINIUS RUFO SUO S

O QUANTUM eruditorum aut modestia ipsorum  
quies operit ac subtrahit famae ! At nos eos tant

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<sup>a</sup> This great lawyer, descended from the Cassius

theatre, where they would rise up and elap in excess of admiration at the performances of the pantomimes, slavishly copying all the while, and shrieks of applause, every sign of approbation given by the lady patroness of this *Company*. But all that these *claqueurs* have got in pay is only a few trifling legacies, which they have the mortification to receive from an heir who was never so much as present at Quadratilla's shows.

I send you this account, as knowing it is disagreeable to you to hear the news of the town, and because I love to renew a pleasure by relating it. And indeed this instance of family affection in Quadratilla, and the honour done therein to an excellent youth her grandson, has afforded me a sensible satisfaction; I rejoice also that the house which once belonged to Cassius,<sup>a</sup> the founder and chief of the Cassian school of jurists, is to have a man no wise inferior to him. For be assured, my friend Quadratus will fill and adorn it with his presence, and revive its pristine dignity, fame, and glory, making it the home of as eminent an advocate as Cassius was a juriseonsult. Farewell.

## XXV

### TO RUFUS

WHAT numbers of learned men does their modesty or love of repose conceal and withhold from the notice of the world! And yet when they murdered Julius Caesar, lived under Nero and Vespasian. He was an ancestor of Quadratus.

dicturi aliquid aut lecturi timemus, qui studia proferunt; cum illi, qui tacent, hoc amplius praequod maximum opus silentio reverentur. Exp scribo, quod scribo.

Terentius Iunior equestribus militiis atque procuratione Narbonensis provinciae integre functus recepit se in agros suos paratisque honesto tranquillissimum otium praetulit. Hunc ego in hospitio ut bonum patrem familiae, ut diligenter agricolam intuebar de his locuturus, in quibus versari putabam; et coeperam, cum ille me doctissimo sermone revocavit ad studia. Quam tersa quam Latina, quam Graeca! Nam tantum ut lingua valet, ut ea magis videatur excellere, quam maxime loquitur. Quantum ille legit, quantum tamen Athenis vivere hominem, non in villa putes.

Quid multa? auxit sollicitudinem meam effectum ut illis, quos doctissimos novi, non minus hos secundum et quasi rusticos verear. Idem suadeo tibi. Idem enim, ut in castris sic etiam in litteris nostris per cultu pagano, quos cinctos et armatos et quos ardentissimo ingenio diligentius<sup>1</sup> scrutatus invenit. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> diligentius *Dpa, Bipons, Otto, Müller, diligenter M*

<sup>a</sup> On joining the army, members of the Equestrian entered, without passing through the rank of centurion, what was called the *equestres militiae*, of which the successive grades were (1) *praefectura cohortis*, (2) *praefectura tribunatus legionis*. (Hardy.)



are going to speak or recite in public, it is of the men who parade their studies that we are afraid of; whereas in truth, those who say nothing about them have so much a higher claim to regard, as to pay the homage of silence to the noblest of employments. These observations I give you up to your own experience.

Terentius Junior, having blamelessly passed through the military posts belonging to the Equestrian order<sup>a</sup> and held that of Procurator of Narbonensian Gaul, retired to his estates, preferring an uninterrupted leisure to the offices that awaited him. He invited me lately to his house; looking upon him only as a worthy father of a family and an industrious farmer, I meditated such topics as I imagined him versed in; but I no sooner began than he led me back to professional subjects by a cultured conversation. How pithy his every remark! How pure his Latin and his Greek! He is so perfectly master of both languages that whichever he uses at the moment seems to be the one wherein he particularly excels. How extensive is his reading! how tenacious his memory! You would think the man lived in Athens, instead of a farm-house.

To be short with you, Terentius has augmented my solicitude and taught me to fear these retired and so to speak rustic gentry, no less than the most cultivated men I know. I advise you to do the same, for, believe me, upon a careful observation you will often find in the literary as well as military world, most formidable abilities concealed under a very rustical appearance. Farewell.

## XXVI

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

NUPER me cuiusdam amici languor ad optimos esse nos, dum infirmi sumus. Quod infirmum aut avaritia aut libido sollicitat, amoribus servit, non adpetit honores, opes neque quantulumcunque ut relicturus satis habet. Tum tunc hominem esse se meminit, invidet neminem miratur, neminem despicit ac ne servum quidem malignis aut attendit aut alitur; imaginatur et fontes. Haec summa curarum, votorum, mollemque in posterum et pingue contingat evadere, hoc est innoxiam beatam destinat vitam.

Possum ergo, quod plurimis verbis, plurimorum voluminibus philosophi docere conantur, ipse libere tibi mihi praeicipere, ut tales esse sani veremur, quales nos futuros profiteamur. Vale.

## XXVII

C. PLINIUS SURAE SUO S.

ET mihi discendi et tibi docendi facultatem praebet. Igitur perquam velim scire, esse pl

## XXVI

### TO MAXIMUS

THE lingering disorder of a friend lately reminds me that we are never so virtuous as when we are sick. For where is the invalid who is troubled by the promptings of avarice or of lust? Such one is neither a slave of love, nor covetous of office; he disregards wealth, and is contented with ever so small a portion of it, as being upon the point of leaving even that little. It is then he recollects there are Gods, and that he himself is but a man; no mortal is then the object of envy, his admiration, or his contempt; and slanderous reports neither raise his attention nor feed his curiosity; his imagination dwells upon baths and medicinal springs. These form the sum of his cares and prayers; and he resolves that if he has the luck to recover, his life shall be passed in luxurious ease, that is, in harmless happiness.

I may therefore briefly lay down to you and myself a maxim which philosophers endeavour to inculcate at the expense of many words, and many volumes; namely, that we should be as virtuous in health as we resolve to be in sickness. Farewell.

## XXVII

### TO SURA

THE present recess from business affords me leisure to give, and me to receive, instruction. I am extremely desirous therefore to know your sentiments.

mata et habere propriam figuram numenque ali-  
putes an inania et vana ex metu nostro imagi-  
accipere.

Ego ut esse credam, in primis eo ducor,  
audio accidisse Curtio Rufo. Tenuis adhuc et o-  
rus obtinenti Africam comes haeserat. Inclinat  
spatiabatur in porticu; offertur ei mulieris f-  
humana grandior pulchriorque: perterrito Afri-  
se futurorum praenuntiam dixit; iturum enim Ro-  
honoresque gesturum atque etiam cum su-  
imperio in eandem provinciam reversurum il-  
moriturum. Facta sunt omnia. Praeterea acce-  
Carthaginem egredientique nave eadem figur-  
litore occurrisse narratur. Ipse certe implicitus n-  
futura praeteritis, adversa secundis auguratus  
salutis nullo suorum desperante proiecit.

Iam illud nonne et magis terribile et non m-  
mirum est, quod exponam, ut accepi? Erat Atl-

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<sup>a</sup> This story is likewise related by Tacitus *Ann.* x  
(Melm.)

<sup>b</sup> Lucian (*Philopseud.* 29) ridicules a story pretty  
resembling this, but lays the scene of it in Corinth. (M)

ments concerning spectres, whether you believe actually exist and have their own proper shapes a measure of divinity, or are only the false impressions of a terrified imagination?

What particularly inclines me to give credit to their existence, is a story <sup>a</sup> which I heard of Cæsar Rufus. When he was in low circumstances and little known in the world, he attended the newly-appointed governor of Africa into that province. One afternoon as he was walking in the public portico he was extremely daunted with the figure of a woman which appeared to him, of a size and beauty more than human. She told him she was the tutelary Genius that presided over Africa, and was come to inform him of the future events of his life:— he should go back to Rome, where he should hold office, and return to that province invested with proconsular dignity, and there should die. Every circumstance of this prophecy was actually accomplished. It is said farther, that upon his arrival at Carthage, as he was coming out of the ship, the same figure accosted him upon the shore. I am certain, at least, that being seized with a fit of illness though there were no symptoms in his case that his attendants to despair, he instantly gave up all hopes of recovery; judging, it should seem, of the truth of the future part of the prediction, by that which had already been fulfilled; and of the misfortune which was threatened him, by the success which he had experienced.

To this story, let me add another as remarkable as the former, but attended with circumstances of greater horror; which I will give you exactly as it was related to me.<sup>b</sup> There was at Athens a

spatiosa et capax domus, sed infamis et pestilens.  
Per silentium noctis sonus ferri et, si attendatur,  
acrius, strepitus vineulorum longius primo, deinde  
proximo reddebatur. Mox apparebat idolon, se-  
cundum macie et squalore confectus, promissa barba, horridum  
capillo; cruribus compedes, manibus catenas gerens,  
quaticbatque. Inde inhabitantibus tristes dirae  
noctes per metum vigilabantur; vigiliam morbum  
crescente formidine mors sequebatur. Nam inter  
quoque, quamquam abscesserat imago, memoria  
geniis oculis inerrabat, longiorque causis timoris tunc  
erat. Deserta inde et damnata solitudine domus  
totaque illi monstro relicta; proscribatur tamen,  
quis emere seu quis conducere ignarus tanti  
vellet.

Venit Athenas philosophus Athenodorus, Iulio  
titulum auditoque pretio quia suspecta vilitas,  
cunctatus omnia docetur ac nihilo minus, immo tamen  
magis conducit. Ubi coepit advesperascere, i-

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<sup>a</sup> There were two Stoic philosophers of this name, natives of Tarsus or its vicinity. One was long domiciled with Cato, the other taught Augustus. Which of the two meant here remains unknown.

and spacious, but ill-reputed and pestilential. In the dead of the night a noise, resembling clashing of iron, was frequently heard, which you listened more attentively, sounded like rattling of fetters; at first it seemed at a distance but approached nearer by degrees; immediately afterward a phantom appeared in the form of an old man, extremely meagre and squalid, with a beard and bristling hair, rattling the gyves on his feet and hands. The poor inhabitants consequently passed sleepless nights under the most dreadful terrors imaginable. This, as it broke their hearts, threw them into distempers, which, as their hopes of mind increased, proved in the end fatal to their lives. For even in the day time, though the specter did not appear, yet the remembrance of it made a strong impression upon their imaginations that still seemed before their eyes, and their fears remained when the cause of it was gone. By these means the house was at last deserted, as it was judged by everybody to be absolutely uninhabitable, so that it was now entirely abandoned to the gods. However, in hopes that some tenant might be found who was ignorant of this great calamity which attended it, a bill was put up, giving notice that it was either to be let or sold.

It happened that Athenodorus the philosopher came to Athens at this time, and reading the bill ascertained the price. The extraordinary cheapness raised his suspicion; nevertheless, when he learned the whole story, he was so far from being discouraged, that he was more strongly inclined to buy it, and, in short, actually did so. When it was towards evening, he ordered a couch to be prepared

sterni sibi in <sup>1</sup> prima domus parte, poscit pugillare stilum, lumen; suos omnes in interiora dimittit, ipse ad scribendum animum, oculos, manum intendit, rursus vacua mens audita simulacra et inanes sibi metum fingeret. Initio, quale ubique, silentium noctis; deinde <sup>2</sup> concuti ferrum, vincula moveri; ille non tollere oculos, non remittere stilum, sed obfirmare animum auribusque praetendere. Tum crebrescit fragor, adventare et iam ut in limine, iam ut intra limen audiri; respicit, videt agnoscitque narrata sibi effigiem. Stabat innuebatque digito similis vocanti. Hic contra, ut paulum exspectaret, manus significat rursusque ceris et stilo incumbit. Illi scribentis capiti catenis insonabat. Respicit rursus idem quod prius innuentem nec moratus tollit lumen et sequitur. Ibat illa lento gradu quasi gravata vinculis. Postquam deflexit in aream domus, repente dilapsa deserit comitem. Desertus herbas et folia concerpta signum loco ponit. Postero die adit magistratus, monet, ut illum locum effodi iubeatur. Inveniuntur ossa inserta catenis et implicita, quae corpus aevo terraque putrefactum nuda et exere reliquerat vinculis. Collecta publice sepeliuntur. Domus postea rite conditis manibus caruit.

<sup>1</sup> in *K*, om. *M*, *Bipons*, *K*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> deinde *pra*, *Bipons*, dein *K*.



for him in the fore-part of the house, and calling for a light, together with his pen-tablets, he directed all his people to retire. But that his mind might not, for want of employment, be open to the vain terrors of imaginations and apparitions, he applied himself to writing with all his faculties. The first part of the night passed with usual silence, then began the clanking of iron fetters; however, he neither lifted up his eyes, nor laid down his pen, but closed his ears, concentrating his attention. The noise increased and advanced nearer, till it seemed at the door, and at last in the chamber. He looked round, and saw the apparition exactly as it had been described to him: it stood before him, beckoning with its right finger. Athenodorus made a sign with his left hand that it should wait a little, and bent again to writing, but the ghost rattling its chains overhead as he wrote, he looked round and saw the apparition beckoning as before. Upon this he immediately took up his lamp and followed it. The ghost stalked along, as if encumbered with its chains, and having turned into the courtyard of the house, suddenly vanished. Athenodorus, being deserted, marked the spot with a handful of olive-branches and leaves. The next day he went to the magistrates, and advised them to order that the spot should be dug up. There they found bones commingled and intertwined with chains; for the body had mouldered away by long lying in the ground, leaving them bare, and corroded by the fetters. The bones were collected, and buried at the public expense; and after the ghost was thus duly laid, the house was haunted no more.

Et hæc quidem adfirmantibus credo; illud adfirmari aliis possum. Est libertus mihi Marcus<sup>1</sup> noster illiteratus. Cum hoc minor frater eodem lectulo quiescebat. Is visus est sibi cernere quendam scutulo toro residentem admoventemque capiti suo cultellum atque etiam ex ipso vertice amputantem capillos. Ubi illuxit, ipse circa verticem tonsus, capilli iacentes reperiuntur. Exiguum temporis medium, et rursum simile aliud priori fidem fecit. Puer in paedagogio mixtus pluribus dormiebat; venerunt per fenestram (ita narrat) in tunicis albis duo cubantem detonderunt et, qua venerant, recesserunt. Huius quoque tonsum sparsosque circa capillos dies ostendit. Nihil notabile secutum, nisi forte quod non fui reus futurus, si Domitianus, sub quo hæc acciderunt, diutius vixisset. Nam in scrinio eius datus a Cæsaribus de me libellus inventus est; ex quo coniectari potest quia reis moris est submittere capillum, recisos multorum capillos depulsi, quod imminebat, periculi signum fuisse.

Proinde rogo eruditionem tuam intendas. Digressus res est, quam diu multumque consideres, ne ego quidem indignus, cui copiam scientiæ tuæ facere. Licet etiam utramque in partem, ut soles, disputem.

<sup>1</sup> Marcus Catan., Müller, *inclus. Bipons post illit. Dp, K, Merrill.*

This story I believe upon the affirmation of others; I can myself affirm to others what I relate. I have a freed-man named Marcus, who has some tincture of letters. One night, my younger brother, who was sleeping in the same bed with him, saw, as he thought, somebody sitting by the couch, who put a pair of shears to his head and actually cut off the hair from the very crown of it. When morning came, they found the bed-crown was shorn, and the hair lay scattered about on the floor. After a short interval, a similar occurrence gave credit to the former. A slave of mine was sleeping amidst several others in the quarters, when two persons clad in white came (as he tells the story) through the windows, cut off his hair as he lay, and withdrew the same way they entered. Daylight revealed that this boy too had been shorn, and that his hair was likewise scattered about the room. Nothing remarkable followed, unless it were that I escaped prosecution; prosecuted I should have been, if Domitian (in whose reign these things happened) had lived longer. For an information lodged by Carus<sup>a</sup> against me was found in his serutore. Hence it may be conjectured, since it is customary for accused persons to let their hair grow, that this cutting of my servant's hair was a sign I should defeat the peril that lay over me.

I beg, then, you will apply learning to this question. It merits your prolonged and profound consideration; and I am not myself an unworthy recipient of your abounding knowledge. And though you should, after your manner, argue on both sides,

<sup>a</sup> See i. 5.

ex altera tamen fortius, ne me suspensum incertum  
dimittas, cum mihi consulendi causa fuerit, ut dubi-  
desinerem. Vale.

## XXVIII

### C. PLINIUS SEPTICIO SUO S.

AIS, quosdam apud te reprehendisse, tamquam  
amicos meos ex omni occasione ultra modum laudare.  
Agnosco crimen, amplector etiam. Quid est  
honestius culpa benignitatis? Qui sunt tamen  
qui amicos meos me<sup>1</sup> melius norint? Sed  
norint, quid invident mihi felicissimo errore?  
enim non sint tales, quales a me praedicantur,  
tamen beatus, quod mihi videntur. Igitur ad  
hanc sinistram diligentiam conferant; nec  
parum multi, qui carpere amicos suos iudicium vocant.  
mihi numquam persuadebunt, ut meos amari a  
nimium putem.<sup>2</sup> Vale.

## XXIX

### C. PLINIUS MONTANO SUO S.

RIDEBIS, deinde indignaberis, deinde ridebis  
legeris, quod nisi legeris, non potes credere. Est  
Tiburtina intra primum lapidem (proxime adnotat)

<sup>1</sup> me add. *Bipons, Mommsen, Müller.*

<sup>2</sup> nimium putem a, *Bipons, K*, nimium autem *M*, numquam *Dp, Müller.*

yet I hope you will throw your weightiest reasons into one scale, lest you should dismiss me in suspense and uncertainty, whereas I consult you for purpose to determine my doubts. Farewell.

## XXVIII

### TO SEPTICIUS

THERE are, you say, who have condemned me, you, as being upon all occasions too lavish in commendation of my friends. I own, nay, welcome the impeachment; for can there be a nobler error than an excess of benevolence? Yet, who are they that know my friends better than I do myself? However, grant there are any such, why will they grudge me the happiest of mistakes? For suppose my friends are not what I proclaim them, nevertheless I am happy in believing they are. Then let their critics transfer their inauspicious attentions to other places; there lack not people who call it *sound judgment* to disparage their friends; but never will they persuade *me* into thinking I love mine too well. Farewell.

## XXIX

### TO MONTANUS

IT will raise your laughter first, and then your indignation, and then your laughter again, when you read a fact you could not credit without reading. In the Tiburtine road, before you come to the second mile-stone, stands (as I lately observed) the monument

monumentum Pallantis ita inscriptum: 'Huic senatus  
ob fidem pietatemque erga patronos ornamenta  
praetoria decrevit et sestertium centies quinquaginta  
cuius honore contentus fuit.'

Equidem numquam sum miratus, quae saepius  
fortuna quam a iudicio proficiscerentur; maxime  
tamen hic me titulus admonuit, quam essent mimi  
et inepta, quae interdum in hoc caenum, in<sup>1</sup> h  
sordes abicerentur, quae denique ille furcifer  
recipere ausus est et recusare atque etiam  
moderationis exemplum posteris prodere. Sed quid  
indignor? Ridere satius, ne se magnum aliqui  
adeptos putent, qui huc felicitate perveniunt,  
rideantur. Vale.

### XXX

#### C. PLINIUS GENITORI SUO S.

TORQUEOR, quod discipulum, ut scribis, optimi  
spei amisisti, cuius et valetudine et morte impedita  
studia tua quidni sciam, cum sis omnium officiorum  
observantissimus, cumque omnes, quos probare  
effusissime diligas!

Me huc quoque urbana negotia persecuntur. N

<sup>1</sup> in *add. Dpra, Bipons, Müller, om. M, K.*

<sup>a</sup> Freedman and favourite of the Emperor Claudius. The  
special insignia worn by triumphing generals, consu

ment of Pallas,<sup>a</sup> with the following inscription: “  
Senate decreed to him, as a reward for his fidelity,  
affection to his patrons, the insignia of a praetor,  
together with the sum of fifteen million sesterces;  
he was contented with accepting only the honour

I am not indeed apt to wonder at distinctions  
of this sort, which oftener proceed from Fortune than  
from judgement; but I was forcibly reminded by  
this inscription, how farcical and ridiculous are these  
honours, which are thus sometimes thrown away  
upon dirt and infamy; which such a rascal in shame  
had the assurance both to accept and to refuse,  
then set himself forth to posterity as an example  
of moderation! Yet why should it raise my  
indignation? rather let me laugh at it, that these  
persons may not flatter themselves they have  
obtained any thing very considerable, whose success  
procures them nothing more than ridicule. Fare  
you well.

### XXX

#### TO GENITOR

I AM extremely concerned that, as your letter  
informs me, you have lost a most promising pupil.  
Can I want to be informed that his sickness and  
death must have interrupted your studies, know  
as I do, with what exactness you fill up every day  
of life, and how unlimited your affection is to  
those whom you esteem?

As for myself, the busy cares of town-life follow  
me even hither; for I am not out of the reach  
of honours, and praetors were freely bestowed *honoris causa* under  
the Empire.

desunt enim, qui me iudicem aut arbitrum faciunt. Accedunt querellae rusticorum, qui auribus meis post longum tempus suo iure abutuntur. Insuper et necessitas agrorum locandorum perquam molesta adeo rarum est invenire idoneos conductores.

Quibus ex causis precario studeo, studeo tantum nam et scribo aliquid et lego; sed, cum lego, comparatione sentio, quam male scribam, licet mihi bonum animum facias, qui libellos meos consultatione Helvidi orationi Demosthenis *κατὰ Μετρίου* confers; quam sane, cum componerem illos, habui in manibus, non ut aemularer (improbum enim ac pauperum furiosum), sed tamen imitarer et sequerer, quamquam aut diversitas ingeniorum, maximi et minimi, aut causae dissimilitudo pateretur. Vale.

## XXXI

### C. PLINIUS CORNUTO SUO S.

CLAUDIUS POLLIO amari a te cupit dignus hoc est quod cupit, deinde, quod ipse te diligit. Neque enim fere quisquam exigit istud, nisi qui facit. Vir aliter rectus, integer, quietus ac paene ultra modum, si tamen ultra modum, verecundus.



people who oblige me to act either as their judge, their arbitrator. To this I must add, not only the complaints of the rustics, who claim to weary their ears in virtue of my having been so long absent, but the necessity of letting out my farms; an affair which gives me much trouble, as it is exceedingly difficult to find proper tenants.

For these reasons I can only study by snatches; still, however, I study. For I both read and compose; but my reading teaches me, by comparison with what ill success I attempt to be an author myself. Though indeed you give me great encouragement, when you compare the piece I wrote *on the avenging of Helvidius*,<sup>a</sup> to the oration of Demosthenes against Midias. I confess I had the speech in my hands when I composed mine; not that I pretend to rival it (that would be an excessive and mad attempt indeed), but I endeavoured, I ought to imitate it, as far as the difference of our subjects would admit, and as nearly as a genius of the lowest rank can copy one of the highest. Farewell.

## XXXI

TO CORNUTUS

CLAUDIUS POLLIO is desirous of your affection, and he deserves it not only for that reason, but because he gives you *his*! (few, you know, ever demand the boon without bestowing it). Apart from this, he is an upright, honest, good-natured man, and moderate almost beyond measure; if indeed it is possible to be so.

<sup>a</sup> See ix. 13.

Hunc, cum simul militarem, non solum commilito inspexi. Praeerat alae militari; ego in a legato consulari rationes alarum et cohortum excutere ut magnam quorundam foedamque avaritiam et negligentiam parem ita huius summam integritatem sollicitam diligentiam inveni. Postea promotus amplissimas procuraciones nulla occasione corripuit ab insito abstinentiae amore deflexit; numquam secundis rebus intumuit, numquam officio varietate continuam laudem humanitatis infusa eademque firmitate animi laboribus suffecit, nunc otium patitur. Quod quidem paulisper magna sua laude intermisit et posuit a Corellio nunc ex liberalitate imperatoris Nervae emendis vendendisque agris adiutor adsumptus. Etenim gloria dignum est summo viro in tanta eligenda facultate praecipue placuisse!

Idem quam reverenter, quam fideliter arcolat, multorum supremis iudiciis, in his Bassi, gravissimi civis, credere potes, eam memoriam tam grata praedicatione prorogata extendit, ut librum de vita eius (nam studia quae sicut alias artes bonas venerantur) ediderit. eorum istud et raritate ipsa probandum, plerique hactenus defunctorum meminere, querantur.

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<sup>a</sup> *Alae*, the cavalry divisions (lit. *wings*) of a Roman army; *cohortes*, the auxiliary troops, both horse and foot.

<sup>b</sup> Nerva restored to the Romans all that Domitian had plundered them of, and gave a very large sum to be put out in the purchase of lands for the support of decem families. (Melm.)

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* from their leaving him legacies. Such complimentary bequests are several times cited by Cicero as a testimony to the recipient's character; *cf.* vii. 20.

We served in the army together, and I had nearer view of his character, than merely what being my comrade gave me. He commanded a division of horse, when I was appointed by the consular Legate to examine the accounts of the cavalry and the cohorts;<sup>a</sup> and as I found disgusting rapacity and corresponding neglect in some officers, so I found the highest integrity and exactest care in him. He was afterwards promoted to high administrative offices; yet no temptations could turn aside the innate bias of his soul from honest industry; no prosperity swell his breast; he preserved in the variety of posts through which he passed, an unbroken reputation of humanity; and discharged his toilsome duties in the same resolved spirit as now supports his want of occupation. He once indeed quitted his retirement for a short interval with great applause, being chosen by our friend Corellius as his coadjutor in purchasing and allotting lands under the benefaction of the Emperor Nervus. And could there be a greater honour than to be selected by so eminent a man, who had, moreover, such an extensive range of choice?

You may believe how faithfully he reveres the ties of friendship, from the dying testimony of many persons,<sup>c</sup> including that most respectable citizen Annius Bassus. Pollio (who venerates letters as well as every other valuable art) keeps alive, and spreads, the memory of Bassus by the most grateful eulogy, insomuch that he has published a memoir in his honour. A fine action, and the more commendable from its very uncommonness, since men in general confine their recollection of the dead to what they can complain about.

Hunc hominem adpetentissimum tui, mihi et  
complectere, adprehende, immo et invita ac sic  
tamquam gratiam referas. Neque enim obligari  
sed remunerandus est in amoris officio, qui  
coepit. Vale.

### XXXII

C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

DELECTOR iucundum tibi fuisse Tironis mei  
ventum; quod vero scribis oblata occasione  
consulis plurimos manumissos, unice laetor. Cuius  
enim patriam nostram omnibus quidem rebus au-  
maxime tamen civium numero; id enim opus  
firmissimum ornamentum. Illud etiam me non  
ambitosum, sed tamen iuvat, quod adicis te me  
et gratiarum actione et laude celebratos. Est ceterum  
ut Xenophon ait, ἡδίστον ἄκουσμα ἔπαινος,<sup>1</sup> utique  
te mereri putes. Vale.

### XXXIII

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

AUGUROR nec me fallit augurium historias  
immortales futuras; quo magis illis (ingenue fateor)

<sup>1</sup> Xen. *Mem.* ii. 1, 31.

Receive then this worthy man, greatly desirous (believe me) of your friendship, with the embrace of the warmest affection; nay, court and love him though you were returning a favour; for he makes the first amicable advances, is not too obliged, but repaid. Farewell.

### XXXII

#### TO FABATUS

I AM charmed that the advent of my friend was agreeable to you. But I especially rejoice (as your letter informs me) you took the opportunity of a proconsul's presence to manumit a large number of slaves.<sup>a</sup> For as I wish to see our country improved by every possible method, so particularly an increase of citizens, as that is the strongest ornament her townships can receive. I am pleased too (not out of a spirit of vanity, however, I confess I am pleased) with what you add, that you are extolled both in the speech of thanks and the encomiums which were delivered upon that occasion; for as Xenophon observes "*praise is the sweetest hearing,*" especially when we think we deserve it. Farewell.

### XXXIII

#### TO TACITUS

I STRONGLY presage (and I am persuaded falsely) that your histories will be immortal. I ingenuously own therefore, I so much the more c

<sup>a</sup> See vii. 16.

inseri cupio. Nam si esse nobis curae solet, ut nostra ab optimo quoque artifice exprimatur, debemus optare, ut operibus nostris simili scriptor praedicatorque contingat? Demonstratio quamquam diligentiam tuam fugere non possit sit in publicis actis, demonstro tamen, quod credas, iucundum mihi futurum, si factum me cuius gratia periculo crevit, tuo ingenio, tuo monio ornaveris.

Dederat me senatus cum Herennio Senecio advocatum provinciae Baeticae contra Baetiam Massam damnatoque Massa censuerat, ut bona publice custodirentur. Senecio, cum exprobat consules postulationibus vacaturos, convenit: ‘Qua concordia’ inquit ‘iniunctam nobis actionem exsecuti sumus, hac adaeamus consules vestrumque, ne bona dissipari sinant, quorum custodia debent.’ Respondi: ‘Cum simus ad a senatu dati, dispice, num peractas putes nostras senatus cognitione finita.’ Et ille: ‘quem voles, tibi terminum statues, cui nulla provincia necessitudo nisi ex beneficio tuo est recentis; ipse et natus ibi et quaestor in ea.’ Tum ego: ‘Si fixum tibi istud ac delibe-

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<sup>a</sup> Pending restitution to the provincials of the property extorted by Massa in his governorship.

a place in them. If we are generally careful to have our faces taken by the best artists, ought we not to desire that our actions may be celebrated by an author like yourself? In view to this, I acquaint you with the following affair, which though it could have escaped your attention, as it is mentioned in the journals of the public, still I acquaint you with it, that you may be the more sensible how agreeable it will be to me, that my action, greatly heightened by the hazard which attended it, should receive an additional lustre from the testimony of so brave a genius.

✓ The Senate had appointed Herennius Senecio and myself as counsel for the province of Bœotia in their prosecution of Baebius Massa. He was convicted; and the House ordered his effects to be placed under official custody.<sup>a</sup> Senecio, having learned that the consuls were about to sit to hear complaints, came to me, and proposed that with the same uniformity with which we had conducted the prosecution enjoined us, we should lodge an application with the consuls, that they would not suffer Massa's effects to be dissipated by those whose duty it was to guard them. I answered, "As we were appointed counsel in this cause by the Senate, you had better consider whether we have not done our part, now the Senecian inquiry is over." "You are at liberty," said he, "to prescribe what bounds you please to yourself, I have no particular connections with the province, except what arise from your late services to them; but it is not so with me, who was born there, and enjoyed the post of Quæstor among them." "If such, I told him, was his determined resolution, I was ready to attend him, that whatever resent-

sequar te, ut, si qua ex hoc invidia, non tua tamen sit.'

Venimus ad consules; dicit Senecio, quae ferebat, aliqua subiungo. Vixdum conticueram, Massa questus Senecionem non advocati fidem inimici amaritudinem implere impietatis postulat. Horror omnium; ego autem 'Veni inquam 'clarissimi consules, ne mihi Massa silo suo praevaricationem obiecerit, quod non et me postulat.' Quae vox et statim excepta et per multo sermone celebrata est. Divus quidem Nerva (nam privatus quoque attendebat his, quae reipublico fierent) missis ad me gravissimis litteris mihi solum, verum etiam saeculo est gratulatum exemplum (sic enim scripsit) simile antiquis contigerit.

Haec, utcumque se habent, notiora, clariora, notatu facies; quamquam non exigo, ut excedas actum modum. Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem et honeste factis veritas sufficit. Vale.



should be the consequence of this affair, it might fall singly upon himself.

We went to the consuls; Senecio spoke was proper to the occasion, to which I subjected some remarks. We had scarce ended, when Massa complaining that Senecio had not acted with loyalty to his clients but bitter animosity against himself, desired leave to prosecute him for treason.<sup>a</sup> The whole assembly was struck with consternation. I immediately rose up; "Most honorable consuls," said I, "I am afraid that Massa has charged me with betrayal of my client's interests since he has not asked leave to prosecute me likewise." This speech was instantly caught up and soon afterwards was the talk of the town. The late Emperor Nerva (who while still a senator remarked every worthy action which passed in public) wrote a most impressive letter to me congratulating not only me, but the age, which had been vouchsafed an example so much in the manner (as he was pleased to call it) of the ancients.

But be my action what it may, 'tis yours to heighten and spread the lustre of it; not that I require you to exceed the bounds of reality. For History ought not to depart from the truth, and the truth is always the praise that virtuous actions need. Farewell.

<sup>a</sup> Under Domitian's reign of terror, such a charge was often brought on the most frivolous pretences.



**BOOK VIII**

# LIBER OCTAVUS

## I

C. PLINIUS SEPTICIO SUO S.

ITER commode explieui, excepto quod quidam  
meis adversam valetudinem ferventissimis aest  
contraxerunt. Encolpius quidem lector, ille s  
nostra, ille deliciae, exasperatis faueibus pul  
sanguinem reiecit. Quam triste hoc ipsi, q  
acerbum mihi, si is, cui omnis ex studiis gr  
inhabilis studiis fuerit! Quis deinde libellos n  
sic leget, sic amabit? quem aures meae sic seq  
tur? Sed di laetiora promittunt. Stetit sang  
resedit dolor. Praeterea continens ipse, nos solli  
medici diligentes. Ad hoc salubritas caeli, se  
sus, quies tantum salutis quantum otii pollicen  
Vale.

## II

C. PLINIUS CALVISIO SUO S.

ALII in praedia sua proficiscuntur, ut locuplet  
revertantur, ego, ut pauperior. Vendideram vi

## BOOK VIII

I

### TO SEPTICIUS

I HAD a good journey hither, excepting only some of my servants were disordered by the vic heats. Poor Encolpius, my reader, who is the of my studies and amusements, had his throa much irritated by the dust as to spit blood accident that will prove as grievous to me, a himself, should he be thereby rendered unfit those literary services which are his prime re commendation. Where, in that event, shall I find or read, and love, my works as he does ; or whose will be so grateful to my ears ? But the gods to favour our better hopes, as his bleeding is stop and his pain abated. Moreover, he is a temper man ; no solicitude is wanting on my part ; no on that of his physieians. This, with a wholes air, change to the country, and complete q promises to contribute as much to his health a his repose. Farewell.

II

### TO CALVISIUS

OTHER people visit their estates in order to re their purses ; whilst I go to mine only to retur much the poorer. I had sold my vintage to

mias certatim negotiatoribus ementibus. Invitum pretium, et quod tunc et quod fore videbatur. Neque se fecellit. Erat expeditum omnibus remittere aequiliter, sed non satis aequum. Mihi autem egregium in primis videtur ut foris ita domi, ut in magnis in parvis, ut in alienis ita in suis agitare iustitiam. si paria peccata, pares etiam laudes.

Itaque omnibus quidem, ne quis 'Mihi donatus abiret,'<sup>1</sup> partem octavam pretii, quo emerat, concessi; deinde his, qui amplissimas summas emptionibus occupaverant, separatim concessi. Nam et me magis iuverant et maius ipsi fecerant damnum. Igitur his, qui pluris quam decem milia emerant, ad illam communem et quasi publicam octavam addidi decumam eius summae, qua decem milia excesserant. Vereor, ne parum expressius apertius calculos ostendam. Si qui forte quindecim milibus emerant, hi et quindecim milium octavam et quinque milium decumam tulerunt.

Praeterea, cum reputarem quosdam ex decem milibus aliquantum, quosdam aliquid, quosdam nihil remissumuisse; nequaquam verum arbitrabar, quosdam decem milibus aequasset fides solutionis, hos benignitate remissionis aequare. Rursus ergo iis, qui solverant, eius, octavam

<sup>1</sup> *Aeneid* v. 305.

\* A doctrine maintained by the Stoics.

merchants, who were eager to purchase it, engaged by the price it then bore, and what it probable it would rise to; however they disappointed in their expectations. To have the same abatement to them all, would have been the easy, but not the equitable, course. Now the noblest part, according to my estimate, is to put justice in one's domestic as well as public concerns in minute as in great affairs; and in our own, as in other men's concerns. For if "all sins are equal,"<sup>a</sup> so are all meritorious actions.

Accordingly, I remitted to all in general an eighth part of the price they had agreed to give; that none "without my largesse might depart next, I made separate provision for those who had invested large sums in their purchase; since they had not only contributed more to my profit, but more heavily. To those, therefore, who had bought to the value of more than ten thousand sesteres, I remitted (over and beside the general and, I speak, public eighth) a tenth part of what they had paid above that sum. I don't know whether I express myself clearly enough; so I will set out my reckoning more plainly. Suppose a man had purchased to the value of fifteen thousand sesteres, and got back one-eighth part of that amount, he would have got back one-tenth of five thousand sesteres.

Besides, considering that some had paid either large or small instalments of the purchase money, whilst others had paid nothing; I thought it would be not at all fair to favour with the same remission those who had discharged their debts in varying proportions. To those therefore who had made any payments, I further returned a tenth

solverant, decumam remisit. Per hoc enim aptissimum  
et in praeteritum singulis pro cuiusque merito gratiam  
referri, et in futurum omnes cum ad emendum  
etiam ad solvendum allici videbantur.

Magno mihi seu ratio haec seu facilitas stetit ;  
fuit tanti. Nam regione tota et novitas remissio  
et forma laudatur. Ex ipsis etiam, quos non una  
dicitur, pertica, sed distincte gradatimque tractat  
quanto quis melior et probior, tanto mihi obligatior  
abiit expertus non esse apud me, ἐν δὲ ἰῆ τιμῆ  
κακὸν ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν.<sup>1</sup> Vale.

### III

#### C. PLINIUS SPARSO SUO S.

LIBRUM, quem novissime tibi misi, ex omnibus meis  
vel maxime placere significas. Est eadem opinio  
cuiusdam eruditissimi. Quo magis adducor,  
neutrum falli putem, quia non est credibile utrumque  
falli, et quia tam blandior mihi. Volo enim proximo  
quaeque absolutissima videri et ideo iam nunc coram  
istum librum faveo orationi, quam nuper in publico

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* ix. 319.



upon each of the sums so paid. This was a way of my returning thanks to each of them for their past conduct, according to his respective deserts; and at the same time tempting them a body, not only to deal with me for the future, but to be forward in their payments.

This instance of my good nature or my judgment (call it which you please) was a very considerable expense to me. However, I found my account in it; for all the country-side extols both this noble rebate, and the method in which I conducted it. Even those whom I did not measure (as they say) by the same ell, but distinguished according to their several degrees, thought themselves obliged to me in proportion to the integrity of their disposition, and went away pleased with having experienced that not with me.

“The brave and mean like honour find.”

Farewell.

### III

#### TO SPARSUS

You tell me that of all my works, the last I send you has your decided preference. The same opinion has been expressed by a certain most learned friend, and I am the more persuaded to think you are both in the right, not only as 'tis incredible you should both be in the wrong, but because I am much given to flatter myself. For I always wish my last performance to be thought the most finished; and a speech I have just published is already more

dedi communicaturus tecum, ut primum diligenter tabellarium invenero. Erexì expectationem quam vereor ne destituat oratio in manus suas. Interim tamen tamquam placituram (et fortasse placebit) exspecta. Vale.

#### IV

##### C. PLINIUS CANINIO SUO S.

OPTIME facis, quod bellum Dacicum scribere. Nam quae tam recens, tam copiosa, tam lata, denique tam poëtica et quamquam in veris rebus tam fabulosa materia? Dices immissa nova flumina, novos pontes fluminibus inaccessa castris montium abrupta, pulsum regiam, periclitam vitam vitam regem nihil desperantem; superactos bis triumphos, quorum alter ex invicta primus, alter novissimus fuit.

Una, sed maxima difficultas, quod haec accedendo arduum, immensum etiam tuo ingenio, quam altissime adsurgat et amplissimis operibus increseat. Non nullus et in illo labor, ut barbari

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<sup>a</sup> Trajan fought two campaigns in Dacia, which he annexed 105 A.D.

<sup>b</sup> Trajan diverted from its course the river Sargetis; a report that the treasures of Decebalus, the Dacian king, were concealed under its bed; and he built a great bridge across the Danube.

favourite than the one you have. I will send it as soon as I can meet with a trustworthy post-carrier. And now I have raised your expectations of this piece I fear you will be disappointed when it comes to your hands. In the meanwhile, however, I expect it as something that will please you; and I know not but it may? Farewell.

#### IV

#### TO CANINIUS

I GREATLY approve your design of writing a poem upon the Dacian war,<sup>a</sup> for where could you have chosen a subject so new, so full of events, so extensive, and so poetical? a subject which which has all the marvellous of fiction, has all the solidity of truth. You will sing of rivers turned into channels, and rivers bridged for the first time; of camps pitched upon craggy mountains, and a king<sup>c</sup> superior to adversity, though forced to abandon his capital city and even his life. You will describe too, the victor's double triumph, one of which was the first that was ever gained over that nation,<sup>d</sup> then unsubdued, as the other was the final.

I foresee only one difficulty, but that one is serious to make the style equal to the grandeur of the subject is a vast and arduous undertaking even for *your* genius, though that is capable of the loftiest flights and grows in proportion to the magnitude of its theme. Something, too, there will be of labour in reconciling those barbarous and uncouth names.

<sup>c</sup> Decebalus killed himself to escape falling into the hands of the conqueror.

<sup>d</sup> Domitian celebrated one, 91 A. D., but see iv. 11, note.

fera nomina, in primis regis ipsius, Graecis ve  
non resultent. Sed nihil est, quod non arte cur  
si non potest vinci, mitigetur. Praeterea, si  
Homero et mollia vocabula et Graeca ad leni  
versus contrahere, extendere, inflectere, cur  
similis audentia, praesertim non delicata, sed m  
saria, negetur? Proinde iure vatum, invocatis  
inter deos ipso, cuius res, opera, consilia dictur  
immitte rudentes, pande vela ac, si quando alia  
ingenio vehere. Cur enim non ego quoque pe  
cum poeta?

Illud iam nunc paciscor; prima quaequ  
absolveris, mittito, immo etiam ante quam abs  
sic ut erunt recentia et rudia et adhuc simili  
scentibus. Respondebis non posse perinde carpi  
ut contexta, perinde inchoata placere ut et  
Scio. Itaque et a me aestimabuntur ut co  
spectabuntur ut membra extremamque limam  
opperientur in scrinio nostro. Patere hoc me  
cetera habere amoris tui pignus, ut ea quoque n  
quae nosse neminem velles. In summa p  
fortasse scripta tua magis probare, laudare, q  
illa tardius cautiusque sed ipsum te magis a  
magisque laudabo, quanto celerius et inca  
miseris. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> carptim contexta *Kukula*, carptim <texta> ut co  
*Ernestius*, carptim <coniecta> ut contexta *Leithäuser*

especially that of the king himself, to the harm of Grecian number. There is nothing, however, hard that art and industry cannot at least mitigate if not absolutely subdue. Besides, if Homer allowed to contract or lengthen, or change the Grecian names, and those, too, nothing harsh to the ear, in order to make them run more smoothly in verse; why should the same licence be forbidden you, especially since it springs from necessity, not affectation? Come on then, my friend, and having, in right of your bardship, invoked the gods, and among the rest that divine hero whose deeds, works, and counsels you are going to celebrate, loosen all your cordage, spread every sail, and if ever, give free course to your genius—for I must allow me to be poetical too, when I am talking to a poet!

And now I insist that you send me every paper as soon as it has received your last finishing touch, nay before, while it is in its first rough and embryonic state. You will tell me, that excerpts cannot please like one entire piece, nor a sketch like a complete design. I am very sensible of that and therefore shall judge your work as an essay only, and surely it, as so many disjointed members; and shall faithfully lay it up in my scrutoire, to wait your last hand. Indulge me then with this additional pledge of your affection, that you let me into a secret you would wish kept from everybody. In fine I may possibly admire and applaud your poems the more highly the more tardy and cautious you are in communicating them; but the more quickly and heedlessly you do so, the more I shall love and applaud the poet himself. Farewell.

## V

## C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

GRAVE vulnus Macrinus noster accepit. A uxorem singularis exempli, etiamsi olim fu Vixit cum hac triginta novem annis sine iurgio, offensa. Quam illa reverentiam marito suo prae cum ipsa summam mereretur! quot quanta virtutes ex diversis aetatibus sumptas colleg miscuit!

Habet quidem Macrinus grande solacium, tantum bonum tam diu tenuit; sed hoc n exacerbatur, quod amisit. Nam fruendis volu bus crescit carendi dolor. Ero ergo suspensum homine amicissimo, dum admittere avocamen cicatricem pati possit, quam nihil aequae ac nece ipsa et dies longa et satietas doloris in Vale.

## VI

## C. PLINIUS MONTANO SUO S.

COGNOVISSE iam ex epistula mea debes adno me nuper monumentum Pallantis sub hac in tione: 'Huic senatus ob fidem pietatemque patronos ornamenta praetoria deerevit et seste

## TO GEMINIUS

OUR friend Maerinus is pierced with the severe affliction. He has lost his wife; a lady whose virtues would have made her a pattern even in ancient times. He lived with her thirty-nine years in the most uninterrupted harmony. How respectful was her behaviour to him! and how did she herself deserve the highest respect! How she blended and united in her character all those amiable virtues which distinguish the different periods of female life!

It should, methinks, afford great consolation to Maerinus, that he has thus long enjoyed so exquisite a blessing. Yet that reflection the more embitters his loss; for the pain of parting with our happiness still rises in proportion to the length of its continuance. I shall be in suspense, therefore, for so valuable a friend, until he can bring himself to submit to soothing treatment, and endure having his wound closed—a process best effected by the strength of necessity, by lapse of time, and by satiety of grief. Farewell.

## VI

## TO MONTANUS

MY last letter<sup>a</sup> should by this time have informed you, that I remarked lately a monument to Paullus with this inscription: “The Senate decreed to give to Paullus, for his fidelity and affection to his patrons, the praetorian insignia, together with fifteen mi-

<sup>a</sup> vii. 29.

centies quinquagies cuius honore contentus  
Postea mihi visum est pretium operae ipsum ser-  
consultum quaerere. Inveni tam copiosum et  
sum, ut ille superbissimus titulus modicus a  
etiam demissus videretur. Conferant se non dic  
veteres Africani, Achaici, Numantini, sed hi pro  
Marii, Sullae, Pompeii, nolo progredi longius;  
Pallantis laudes iacebunt.

Urbanos, qui illa censuerunt, putem an mis-  
Dicerem urbanos, si senatum deceret urba-  
miseros sed nemo tam miser est, ut illa cog-  
Ambitio ergo et procedendi libido? Sed quis  
demens, ut per suum, per publicum dedecus  
cedere velit in ea civitate, in qua hic esset  
florentissimae dignitatis, ut primus in senatu la-  
Pallantem posset?

Omitto, quod Pallanti servo praetoria orna-  
offeruntur (quippe offeruntur a servis), mitto,  
censent non exhortandum modo, verum etiam  
pellendum ad usum aureorum anulorum (erat  
contra maiestatem senatus, si ferreis prae-  
uteretur); levia haec et transeunda, illa memor-  
quod 'nomine Pallantis senatus' (nec expiata p-  
curia est), 'Pallantis nomine senatus gratias  
Caesari, quod et ipse cum summo honore menti-  
eius prosecutus esset et senatui facultatem fe-

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<sup>a</sup> The badge of equestrian rank, as an iron one was of  
tude. (Melm.)



sesterces; but he was contented with accepting only the honour." I afterwards thought it worth while to search for this decree, and found it so copious and effusive that this arrogant inscription seemed moderate and actually humble in comparison. national heroes all put together—I do not speak of such ancient worthies as the Scipios and the Mummii; but take the more modern ones, Marii, the Syllas, and the Pompeys, to name a few more—all these could not come up to the character it gives of Pallas.

Was it the wit, shall I suppose, or the miseries of its authors that inspired this decree? I should think the former, were not raillery unbecoming the dignity to the Senate; the latter, but that no wretched man could enforce such baseness. Perhaps then, it was ambition and greed of promotion? But who would be madman enough to dishonour himself and his State for the sake of rising in a commonwealth to the highest office carried with it one function only—to lead the Senate in eulogising Pallas?

I pass by their offering to a slave the Praetorian ornaments (they were slaves themselves who did it). I pass by their voting that Pallas should be not only entreated, but compelled, to wear the golden ring<sup>a</sup> (no doubt it was not consistent with the dignity of the Senate, that a person of Praetorian rank should wear an iron one). These are trifles not worth dwelling upon; but here is a truly memorable clause: "The Senate, on behalf of Pallas" (and the senate-house was not purified after so vile a pollution) "The Senate returns thanks to Caesar on behalf of Pallas, not only for the high honour he was pleased to bestow on him at their recommendation, but

testandi erga eum benevolentiam suam. Quod enim senatui pulehrius, quam ut erga Pallantem satis gratus videretur? Additur: 'Ut Pallas, cui omnes pro virili parte obligatos fatentur, singulari fidei, singularis industriae fructum meritissimo ferat. Prolatos imperii fines, redditos exercitus rei publicae credas.

Adstruitur his: 'Cum senatui populoque Romae liberalitatis gratior repraesentari nulla materia posset, quam si abstinentissimi fidelissimique custodis principum opum facultates adiuvare contigisset.' Eius tunc votum senatus, hoc praecipuum gaudium populi haec liberalitatis materia gratissima, si Pallanti facultates adiuvare publicarum opum egestas contingeret. Iam quae sequuntur, 'voluisse quidem senatum censere dandum ex aerario sestertium centies quinquagies, et quanto ab eiusmodi cupiditate remotior eius animus esset, tanto impensius petere a publico parente, ut eum compelleret cedere senatui.' Id vero deerat, ut cum Pallanti auctoritate publica ageretur, Pallas rogaretur, senatui cederet, ut illi superbissimae abstinentiae Caesar ipse advocatus esset, ne sestertium centies quinquagies sperneret. Sprevit, quod solum potentis opibus publice oblatis adrogantius facere, quod si accepisset.

Senatus tamen id quoque similis querenti laudavit his quidem verbis: 'sed cum princeps opti-

the opportunity afforded the House of testify their good will towards him." Nothing you could more ennoble the Senate, than to appear grateful to Pallas! It goes on: "That Pallas whom we all, as far as in us lies, acknowledge several obligations, may reap the just reward of singular fidelity and diligence." One would think had extended the bounds of the empire, and resigned to the State the command of the legion had led!

The next clause is: "Since the Senate and Roman People could not have a more agreeable occasion for their liberality, than the opportunity enriching so thrifty and honest a guardian of Imperial funds." Such at that time was the aspiration of the Senate; such the highest pleasures of the people; such the most agreeable occasion of exercising their liberality—an opportunity to enrich Pallas depleting the public funds! Now mark the conclusion: "the Senate would have wished to vote him fifty million sesterces out of the treasury; and as he had a soul far above desires of this kind they the more earnestly request the Father of the State to oblige him to comply with their wish." 'Twas indeed the only thing wanting, that public influence should be brought to bear on Pallas that he should be pressed to appear before the Senate; and Caesar himself be called in to oppose this insolent piece of self denial—and to prevent Pallas from rejecting the gift of fifteen million sesterces! He did reject it—the only way in which he could treat the State's offer of so vast a sum more arrogantly than by accepting it.

Yet even this the Senate endured, and while adopting an injured tone, applauded as follows: "But who

parensque publicus rogatus a Pallante eam partem sententiae, quae pertinebat ad dandum ei ex aerario centies quinquagies sestertium, remitti voluissent testari senatum, etsi<sup>1</sup> libenter ac merito hanc summam inter reliquos honores ob fidem diligentiamque Pallanti decernere coepisset,<sup>2</sup> voluntati tamen principis sui, cui in nulla re fas putaret repugnare, in quoque re obsequi.’

Imaginare Pallantem velut intercedentem senatum consulto moderantemque honores suos et sestertium centies quinquagies ut nimium recusantem, et praetoria ornamenta tamquam minus recepisset, imaginare Caesarem liberti precibus vel potestate imperio coram senatu obtemperantem (imperatoris libertus patrono, quem in senatu rogat), imaginare senatum usquequaque testantem merito libenter se hanc summam inter reliquos honores Pallanti coepisse decernere et perseveraturum fuisse, obsequeretur principis voluntati, cui non esset in ulla re repugnare. Ita, ne sestertium centies quinquagies Pallas ex aerario ferret, verecundus ipsius, obsequio senatus opus fuit in hoc praecipio non obsecuturi, si in ulla re putasset fas esse obsequi.

Finem existimas? Mane dum et maiora accipias. ‘Utique, cum sit utile principis benignitatem, promptissimam ad laudem praemiaque merentem

<sup>1</sup> etsi *r*, *K* ii., et se *M*, *a*.

<sup>2</sup> coepisset *Catan.*, coepisse *Ma*.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* assuming the prerogative of a Tribune of the Plebs.

<sup>b</sup> Because the fiction of the Senate’s supreme authority was still kept up.

our excellent prince and father of his country desired, at the instance of Pallas, to have that edict of the decree rescinded which assigns him fifteen million sesterces out of the treasury; the Senate declares that although they had gladly and justly about decreeing that sum to Pallas, amongst other honours, on account of his fidelity and diligence, even in this matter they obey the will of the sovereign, which they think can never be combated without impiety."

Figure to yourself Pallas putting his veto,<sup>a</sup> were, on a decree of the Senate; setting limits to his own honours, and refusing fifteen million sesterces as above his deserts, after accepting the Praetorian insignia as below them. Imagine Caesar obeying the treaties, or rather the commands, of his freedman in the face of the Senate (for a freedman's request to his patron becomes a command when he delivers from a seat in that House<sup>b</sup>). Imagine the Senate declaring all the time that it had willingly and justly designed, among other honours, to vote Pallas this sum: and that it would have persevered but for its obedience to the will of the Emperor, which it was impious to oppose on any point. Do you need then the obsequiousness of the Senate and its own modesty to prevent Pallas from carrying out fifteen millions out of the treasury? And was it in this case, of all others, that the Senate would have been disobedient, if they had thought it lawful to be so in any?

And now, perhaps, you think you are got to the end? But wait a bit; here is something still greater for you: "AND WHEREAS IT IS EXPEDIENT, that the gracious promptitude of the Emperor to comm"

illustrari ubique et maxime his locis, quibus in  
ad imitationem praepositi rerum eius curae pos  
et Pallantis spectatissima fides atque innoc  
exemplo provocare studium tam honestae aemulat  
posset, ea quae IV Kal. Februarias, quae prox  
fuissent, in amplissimo ordine optimus prin  
recitasset, senatusque consulta de iis rebus  
in aere inciderentur, idque aes figeretur ad sta  
loricatam divi Iulii.' Parum visum tantorum  
decorum esse curiam testem, delectus est cel  
rimus locus, in quo legenda praesentibus, leg  
futuris proderentur. Placuit aere signari o  
honores fastidiosissimi mancipii, quosque repudi  
quosque, quantum ad decernentis pertinet, gess  
Incisa et insculpta sunt publicis aeternisque m  
mentis praetoria ornamenta Pallantis sic  
foedera antiqua, sic quasi sacrae leges. T  
principis, tanta senatus, tanta Pallantis ipsius—  
dicam, nescio, ut vellent in oculis omnium figi I  
insolentiam suam, patientiam Caesar, humilit  
senatus.

Nec puduit rationem turpitudini obtendere,  
giam quidem pulchramque rationem, 'ut ex  
Pallantis praemiorum ad studium aemulationis c  
provocarentur.' Ea honorum vilitas erat, ill  
etiam, quos Pallas non dedignabatur. Invenieba

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<sup>a</sup> *loricata*, "wearing a cuirass," seems to have been  
regular designation of this statue, which stood in the F

and reward merit should be everywhere made particularly especially in those places where his departing officers may be excited to an imitation and approved fidelity and integrity of Pallas may forth efforts at so laudable an emulation, THEREFORE RESOLVED, that the memorial which Emperor read to the honourable House on the of January last, together with their decree upon question, shall be engraved on a brazen tablet, the said tablet affixed to the mail-clad statue<sup>a</sup> of divine Julius Caesar." It was not deemed sufficient that the senate-house should be witness to complicated disgrace; the most frequented spot all Rome was chosen to display the inscription that and future ages. It was thought proper that the honours of a most insolent slave, both to which he refused and those which, as much as in authors of the decree lay, he had borne, should be inscribed in bronze. The granting of the Prætorian insignia to Pallas was deeply engraven, like ancient treaties or sacred laws, upon public and everlasting monuments. The Emperor, the Senate, and Pallas himself behaved—I lack a name for such behaviour as if Caesar meant to put up a notice of his weakness the Senate of its servility, and Pallas of his insolence in the face of all the world!

The Senate was not ashamed to palliate its turpitude with the show of reason, and a vastly more one it was, even "that others might be stimulated by the rewards conferred upon Pallas, to try to emulate his example!" Thus cheap were honours rendered, even those which Pallas did disdain! And yet there were found men of

tamen honesto loco nati, qui peterent cuperent quod dari liberto, promitti servis videbant.

Quam iuvat, quod in tempora illa non i quorum sie me, tamquam illis vixerim, pudet! dubito, similiter adfici te. Seio, quam sit tibi et ingenuus animus; ideoque facilius est, u quamquam indignatione quibusdam in locis fo ultra epistolae modum extulerim, parum do quam nimis credas. Vale.

## VII

### C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

NEQUE ut magistro magister neque ut discipulus (sic enim scribis), sed ut discipulo ma (nam tu magister, ego contra; atque adeo scholam revocas, ego adhuc Saturnalia ext librum misisti. Num potui longius hyper facere atque hoc ipso probare eum esse me, qu modo magister tuus, sed ne discipulus quidem de dici? Sumam tamen personam magistri exsera in librum tuum ius, quod dedisti, eo liberius nihil ex meis interim missurus sum tibi, in q ulciscaris. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> *Hyperbaton*, (lit. "transgression") was the grammar



birth, who were humble enough to desire and so those very honours, which they thus saw conferred upon a freedman, and promised to slaves.

Happy for me that my lot was not cast in those times which I blush for as though I actually lived in them. And I doubt not, they raise the same sentiments in you. I know the honest warmth of your temper which, though I may in some passages have been transported into a higher style than the epistolary will easily persuade you that I have expressed little rather than too much indignation. Farewell.

## VII

### TO TACITUS

NOT as one master to another, nor as one scholar to another (as you are pleased to say), but as a master to his scholar—for you are the master of the other party, witness your summoning me back to school, whilst I am prolonging my New Year holiday—have you sent me your oration. Tell me now, could I have stretched out an *hyperbaton*<sup>a</sup> further than in this sentence, or given a stronger proof, far from being called your master, I am not unworthy to be called your pupil? However, I assume the rôle of master and exert the authority you have given me over your piece; the more free as I have nothing of my own to send you at present upon which you may take your revenge. Farewell.

term for “a considerable clause interpolated between connected parts of a sentence.”

VIDISTINE aliquando Clitumnum fontem? S  
dum (et puto nondum; alioqui narrasses mihi  
quem ego (paenitet tarditatis) proxime vidi.

Modicus collis adsurgit antiqua cupressu nem  
et opacis. Hunc subter fons exit et exp  
pluribus venis, sed imparibus, eluctatusque,  
facit, gurgitem lato gremio patescit purus et  
ut numerare iactasstipes et relucentis calculos  
Inde non loci devexitate, sed ipsa sui copia e  
pondere, impellitur fons<sup>1</sup> adhuc et iam ampli  
flumen atque etiam navium patiens, quas  
quoque et contrario nisu in diversa tendentes  
mittit et perfert, adeo validus, ut illa, qua p  
ipse, quamquam per solum planum, remis non  
tur, idem aegerrime remis contisque superetur  
sus. Iucundum utrumque per iocum lud  
fluitantibus, ut flexerint cursum, laborem otio  
labore variare.

Ripae fraxino multa, multa populo vestiunt  
perspicuus annis velut mersas viridi imagine  
merat. Rigor aquae certaverit nivibus, nec  
cedit. Adiacet templum priscum et relig  
Stat Clitumnus ipse amictus ornatusque pra

<sup>1</sup> impellitur fons Müller, impellitur. Fons edo

<sup>a</sup> It was customary to throw coins as votive offerings  
those fountains, lakes, etc., which were accounted  
Suetonius mentions this practice, in the annual vow  
he says the Roman people made for the health of A  
(Melm.)

st

## VIII

### TO ROMANUS

HAVE you at last seen the source of the river Clitumnus? As I never heard you mention it I imagine not; let me therefore advise you to do so immediately. It is but lately indeed I had the pleasure, and I condemn myself for not having seen it sooner.

At the foot of a little hill, covered with venerable and shady cypress trees, the river head is sent up from the ground in several and unequal rills, and bursting forth forms a broad pool so clear and glassy that you may count the shining pebbles, and the little pieces of money which are thrown into it. From thence it is carried off not so much by the declivity of the ground, as by its own volume and as it were, density. As soon as it has quitted its source, it becomes a mighty river, navigable for large vessels, even when they are making up stream and have to contend against the current. This runs so strong, though the ground is level, that boats going with it have no occasion for rowing oars; while it is difficult to advance against it, even with the help of oars and poles. This vicissitude and labour and ease is exceedingly amusing when one sails up and down merely for pleasure.

The banks are thickly clad with ash and poplar trees, whose verdant reflections are as distinctly seen in the translucent stream, as if they were actually sunk in it. The water is cold as snow, and as wholesome too. Near it is a primitive and holy temple, where stands the river-god Clitumnus clothed in a purple

Praesens numen atque etiam fatidicum i  
 sortes. Sparsa sunt circa sacella complura t  
 que di. Sua cuique veneratio, suum nomen,  
 dam vero etiam fontes. Nam praeter illum  
 parentem ceterorum sunt minores capite c  
 sed flumini miscentur, quod ponte transi  
 Is terminus sacri profanique. In superior  
 navigare tantum, infra etiam natare com  
 Balineum Hispellates, quibus illum locum  
 Augustus dono dedit, publice praebent, praec  
 hospitium. Nec desunt villae, quae secutae  
 amoenitatem margini insistunt.

In summa nihil erit, ex quo non capias volu  
 Nam studebis quoque; et leges multa m  
 omnibus columnis, omnibus parietibus inscrip  
 bus fons ille deusque celebratur. Plura lauda  
 nulla ridebis; quamquam tu vero, quae tua hu  
 nulla ridebis. Vale.

## IX

C. PLINIUS URSO SUO S.

OLIM non librum in manus, non stilum  
 olim nescio, quid sit otium, quid quies, quid

bordered robe. The lots kept here for divination sufficiently testify to the presence and oracular power of the deity. Several little chapels scattered round, each containing the statue of a different god. Each of these has his peculiar worship and title; and some of them, too, their own springs. For, beside the principal one, which, as it were, the parent of all the rest, there are several other lesser streams, which, taking their rise from distinct sources, lose themselves in the river over which a bridge is built, that separates the sacred part from that which lies open to common use. Vessels are allowed to come above this bridge but no person is permitted to swim, except below. The Hispellates, to whom Augustus gave this privilege, maintain a bath, and an inn for travellers, at the expense of the corporation. And villas, wherever the river is most beautiful, are situated upon its banks.

In short, every object that presents itself affords you entertainment. For you will also find food for study in the numerous inscriptions, by which hands all over the pillars and walls, in praise of the spring and its tutelary deity. Many of them you will admire, others you will laugh at; but I must correct myself when I say so; you are too generous natured I know, to laugh at any. Farewell.

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## IX

### To URSUS

It is a long time since I have taken either a book or a pen in my hand. It is long since I have known the sweets of leisure and repose; since I have known

illud iners quidem, iucundum tamen nihil  
nihil esse; adco multa me negotia amicorum  
secedere nec studere patiuntur. Nulla enim  
tanti, ut amicitiae officium deseratur, quod  
sissime custodiendum studia ipsa praecipunt.

## X

### C. PLINIUS FABATO PROSOCERO SUO S.

Quo magis cupis ex nobis pronepotes videre  
tristior audies neptem tuam abortum fecisse, et  
praegnantem esse puellariter nescit ac per ho-  
dam custodienda praegnantibus omittit, faci-  
tenda. Quem errorem magnis documentis et  
in summum periculum adducta. Igitur, ut  
est graviter accipias senectutem tuam quasi  
posteris destitutam, sic debes agere dis gratia  
ita tibi in praesentia pronepotes negaverunt  
servarent neptem, illos reddituri, quorum nobis  
certiorem haec ipsa quamquam parum per  
explorata fecunditas facit.

Isdem nunc ego te quibus ipsum me hortor,  
confirmo. Neque enim ardentius tu pro-

in fine, that indolent but agreeable situation of  
nothing, and being nothing : so entirely has  
pressure of business on my friends' account  
stop alike to my going into the country and  
studying. For no studies are of consequence en  
to supersede that duty of friendship which  
themselves teach us most religiously to obs  
Farewell.

## X

### TO FABATUS, HIS WIFE'S GRANDFATHER

YOUR concern to hear of your grand-daught  
miscarriage will be proportionate, I know, to  
earnest desire that we should make you a g  
grandfather. The inexperience of her youth  
dered her ignorant that she was breeding : so  
she not only omitted the proper precautions,  
managed herself in a way extremely unsuitable  
person in her condition. But she has receiv  
severe lesson, paying for her mistake by the ut  
hazard of her life. So, though you cannot  
feel it an affliction to be bereaved at your adva  
age of the immediate prospect of posterity ; y  
deserves your gratitude to the Gods, that  
denying you great-grandchildren for the pre  
they preserved the life of your grand-daughte  
designing yet to bestow them ; a blessing we  
expect with more certainty, as she has given  
proof, though an unhappy one indeed, of her l  
capable of bearing children.

I am offering you the reflections in which I  
exhortation, counsel, and strengthening for m  
You cannot more ardently wish to have g

quam ego liberos cupio, quibus videor a meo tu latere primum ad honores iter et audita latius non et non subitas imagines relicturus, nascantur mo hunc nostrum dolorem gaudio mutant. Vale.

## XI

## C. PLINIUS HISPULLAE SUAE S.

CUM affectum tuum erga fratris filiam cogito materna indulgentia molliorem, intellego prius quod est posterius, nuntiandum, ut praesentis laetitia sollicitudini locum non relinquat. Quam vereor, ne post gratulationem quoque in mare redeas atque ita gaudeas periculo liberatam, ut si quod periclitata sit, perhorrescas. Iam hilaris sibi, iam mihi reddita incipit refici transmissum discrimen convalescendo metiri. Fuit alioquo summo discrimine, impune dixisse liceat, fuit sua culpa, aetatis aliqua. Inde abortus et igitur uteri triste experimentum.

Proinde, etsi non contigit tibi desiderium fratris amissi aut nepote eius aut nepte solari, mentem

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<sup>a</sup> *imagines*, wax portrait masks of ancestors who had curule office (carried in their own and their descendants' funeral processions), were kept in the atrium of the house, "arranged, and connected by coloured lines, in a way as to exhibit the family pedigree" (Seyffert). "to have *imagines*" meant "to be of noble ancestry."



grandchildren, than I do to have children methinks as your offspring and mine they will inherit an easy path to honours, a fairly well-known name, and an ancestral tree of no mushroom growth. May we but see them born, it will turn our present sorrow into joy. Farewell.

## XI

### TO HISPULLA

WHEN I consider that you love your brother's daughter with a more than maternal fondness, I ought to give you my latest news first; that tidings of joy may forestall and preclude any sorrows. Though I fear indeed, even after your transport of gratulation you will feel some renewal of sorrow, and in the midst of your joy for the danger she has escaped, will tremble at the thought of that which she has undergone. She is now, however, in good spirits, and again restored to herself and to her usual activity; already she is making as rapid progress towards recovery, as she did towards her late danger. I will tell you the truth, she was in the utmost danger (as it said without ill omen); for which no blame can be laid on her, but a good deal on her youthfulness. To this must be imputed her miscarriage, and the sad result she has experienced of not knowing her own condition.

But though you have not been vouchsafed the consolation of a nephew or niece, to supply the place of your brother; remember, that comfort is not to be sought in contrast to being *novus homo*, the first of your family to attain curule rank.

tamen dilatum magis istud quam negatum, salva sit, ex qua sperari potest. Simul ex patri tuo casum, cui paratior apud feminas vultus est. Vale.

## XII

## C. PLINIUS MINICIANO SUO S.

HUNC solum diem excuso. Recitaturus est tibi C. Plinius Capito, quem ego audire nescio magis debeat cupiam. Vir est optimus et inter praecepta sapientiae ornamenta numerandus; colit studia, studiosos fovet, provehit, multorumque, qui aliqua componunt, portus, sinus, gremium,<sup>1</sup> omnium exemplum, ipsa denique litterarum iam senescentium reductio reformat. Domum suam recitantibus praeparat auditoria, non apud se tantum benignitate frequentat; mihi certe, si modo in urbe est, dum nunquam.

Porro tanto turpius gratiam non referre, quam honestior causa referendae. An, si litibus terrore obstrictum esse me crederem obeunti vadimonia nunc, quia mihi omne negotium, omnis in studiis cura, minus obligor tanta sedulitate celebrant

<sup>1</sup> gremium *Schaefer*, praemium *vulg.*

<sup>a</sup> Fabatus.

deferred than denied, since her life is preserved whom it is to be expected. I beg also your excuse this accident to your father,<sup>a</sup> whose industry is always more readily forthcoming when solicited by one of your sex. Farewell.

## XII

### TO MINICIANUS

I BEG you would excuse me this one day. Titus Capito is going to recite, and I know not what is most my inclination, or my duty to attend. He is a man of a most amiable disposition, and to be numbered among the brightest ornaments of our age; he cultivates the polite arts himself, and generously admires and encourages them in others. To many authors of merit, he is a haven, a refuge, a resting-place; to all, a model. In a word, he is the restorer and reformer of literature itself, alas! falling into decrepitude. His house is at the disposal of everyone who wishes to give a recreation, and it is not there only that he attends to these assemblies with the most obliging good nature. I am sure at least he never missed one of mine, which happened to be at Rome.

Besides, it were the more unseemly not to attend, as a favour, when I have such honourable cause. Should I not I, if my business lay in lawsuits, think myself obliged to a man who kept the recognizances entered into for his appearance? And am I not indebted because my whole care and business is in the literary kind, for his assiduity on a point v

quo obligari ego, ne dicam solo, certe max  
possum?

Quod si illi nullam vicem, nulla quasi mutua of  
deberem, sollicitarer tamen vel ingenio hom  
pulcherrimo et maximo et in summa severi  
duleissimo vel honestate materiae. Scribit ex  
illustrium virorum, in iis quorundam mihi ear  
morum. Videor ergo fungi pio munere, quorum  
exsequias celebrare non licuit, horum quasi fu  
bribus laudationibus seris quidem, sed tanto m  
veris interesse. Vale.

### XIII

#### C. PLINIUS GENIALI SUO S.

PROBO, quod libellos meos eum patre leg  
Pertinet ad profectum tuum a disertissimo  
discere, quid laudandum, quid reprehendend  
simul ita institui, ut verum dicere adsuescas. Vi  
quem sequi, cuius debeas implere vestigia. C  
beatum, cui contigit vivum atque idem optimu  
coniunctissimum exemplar, qui denique eum pot  
mum imitandum habes, cui natura esse te simillin  
voluit! Vale.

if not the only, is however the principal instance wherein I can be obliged?

But though I owed him no return, nor would I might call reciprocity of good offices; yet not the beauty of his extensive genius, as polite as severely correct, but the dignity of his subject, would forcibly invite my attendance. He has written an account of the deaths of several illustrious persons, some of whom were my dear friends. It is a noble office, methinks, as I could not be present at their obsequies, to attend this (as I may call it) funeral oration; which though a late, is however that reason a more genuine tribute to their memory. Farewell.

### XIII

#### TO GENIALIS

I MUCH approve of your having read my oration with your father. It is important for your profit to learn from a man of his eloquence what to admire and what to condemn, and by the same course of training to acquire the habit of speaking your own sentiments. You see whose steps you ought to follow; and happy are you in having a living model before you, which is at once the nearest and the noblest you can pursue! Happy, in a word, that whom nature designed you should most resemble of all others, the person whom you should most imitate! Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS ARISTONI SUO S.

CUM sis peritissimus et privati iuris et publici, cui pars senatorium est, cupio ex te potissimum audire, si erraverim in senatu proxime necne, non ut in praeteritum (serum enim) verum ut in futurum, si quod simile inciderit, erudiar.

Dices: 'Cur quaeris, quod nosse debebas?' In rebus orum temporum servitus ut aliarum optimarum artium sic etiam iuris senatorii oblivionem quandam et ignorantiam induxit. Quotus enim quisque temporum patiens, ut velit discere, quod in usu non sit habiturus? Adde, quod difficile est tenere, quae non habita ceperis, nisi exerceas. Itaque reducta libertas rudes nos et imperitos deprehendit; cuius dulcedinem accensi cogimur quaedam facere ante quam nosse.

Erat autem antiquitus institutum, ut a maioribus natu non auribus modo, verum etiam oculis disceremus, quae facienda mox ipsi ac per vices quasi tradenda minoribus haberemus. Inde adolescentuli statim castrensibus stipendiis imbuebantur, ut imperare parendo, duces agere, dum sequuntur, adsciscerent, inde honores petaturi adsistebant cur

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<sup>a</sup> That of Domitian.

<sup>b</sup> On the accession of Nerva, 96 A.D.

## TO ARISTO

As you are equally versed in civil and constitutive law, which latter includes the procedure of Senate, I am particularly desirous to have your opinion, whether or no I made a mistake in the House the other day. This I request for my better instruction, not as to what is passed, (for that is now too late,) but as regards questions of the same nature that may hereafter arise.

I can fancy your replying, "Why do you ask, what you ought to have known?" But our servitude under a former reign<sup>a</sup> cast a cloud of oblivion and ignorance over all branches of useful knowledge, not excluding even the usages of the Senate; who is so tame-spirited as to desire to learn anything of which he will be debarred the exercise? Besides it is not easy to retain the knowledge one has acquired without putting it in practice. Thus Liberty at her return<sup>b</sup> found us ignorant and inexperienced; and kindled by her charms, we are sometimes impelled to action, ere we know how to act.

But in the olden time it was an established maxim that Romans should learn from their elders, not only by precept, but by example, the principles on which they themselves should one day act, and which they should in their turn transmit to the younger generation. Hence they were inured from boyhood to service in camp, that by being accustomed to obey, they might learn to command and by following others, be trained to play the leader. And hence on becoming candidates for office, they used to stand

foribus et consilii publici spectatores ante consortes erant. Suus cuique parens pro magno aut cui parens non erat, maximus quisque et fidelissimus pro parente. Quae potestas referenda, quod censentibus ius, quae vis magistratibus, ceteris libertas, ubi cedendum, ubi resistendum, silendi tempus, quis dicendi modus, quae discordantium pugnantium sententiarum, quae exsecutio priorum aliquid addentium, omnem denique senatus morem, quod fidelissimum praecipendi genus, ceteris docebantur.

At nos iuvenes fuimus quidem in castris, sed suspecta virtus, inertia in pretio, cum duce auctoritas nulla, nulla militibus verecundia, nusquam imperium, nusquam obsequium, omnia soluta, turba atque etiam in contrarium versa, postremo obliviola magis quam tenenda. Iidem prospeximus cum sed curiam trepidam et elinguem; cum dicere, velles, periculosum, quod nolles, miserum. Quid tunc disci potuit, quid didicisse iuvat, senatus aut ad otium summum aut ad summum vocaretur, et modo ludibrio, modo dolori retentum numquam seria, tristia saepe censeret? Eadem iam senatores, iam participes malorum multo

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<sup>a</sup> If any motion proposed in the Senate was thought general, and to include several distinct articles, some of which might be approved, and others rejected, it was usual to require that it might be divided. (Melm.)

<sup>b</sup> The fourth satire of Juvenal will serve as a commentary upon this passage, where he acquaints us that a turbot of most enormous size being brought to Domitian, he immediately convened the Senate, in order to consult in what manner it should be dressed. (Melm.)



at the senate-house doors, and were spectators before they were members of the Council of State. The father of each youth served as his instructor, if he had none, some person of years and dignity supplied the place of a father. Thus they were taught by that surest method of instruction, example; how far the right of proposing any law to the Senate extended; what privileges a senator had in delivering his opinion; the powers of senators who were magistrates, and the independence of the rest, where it is proper to yield, and where to stand firm; how long to speak, and when to be silent; how to distinguish conflicting motions,<sup>a</sup> and how to discuss an amendment. In a word, they learnt by the means the whole conduct of a senator.

It is true, indeed, I myself served in the army a young man; but it was at a time when courage was suspected, and cowardice at a premium; when the generals were without authority, and the soldiers without awe; when there was neither command nor obedience; when our whole military system was relaxed, disordered, and actually turned upside down—in short, when it was better to forget than to remember its lessons. I likewise went as a spectator to the Senate, but a Senate that was timid and fearful; since it was dangerous to speak one's real sentiments, and infamous to profess any other. What satisfaction in learning, or indeed what could be learnt, when the Senate was convened either to utter idleness or for business the most criminal when they were kept sitting either for cruel or ridiculous purposes<sup>b</sup>; and when their resolutions were never serious, though often tragical. I became a senator, and a partaker of these miseries.

annos vidimus tulimusque : quibus ingenia non  
posterum quoque hebetata, fracta, contusa.  
Breve tempus (nam tanto brevius omne  
felicius tempus), quo libet scire, quid simus  
exercere, quod scimus.<sup>1</sup>

Quo iustius peto, primum ut errori, si quod  
error, tribuas veniam, deinde medearis scienti  
cui semper fuit curae sic iura publica ut priv  
antiqua ut recentia, sic rara ut adsidua tr  
Atque ego arbitror illis etiam, quibus pluri  
rerum agitatio frequens nihil esse ignotum pati  
genus quaestionis, quod adfero ad te, aut no  
tritum aut etiam inexpertum fuisse. Hoc  
excusator, si forte sum lapsus, et tu dignior  
si potes id quoque docere, quod in obscuro  
didiceris.

Referebatur de libertis Afrani Dextri o  
incertum sua an suorum manu, scelere an o  
peremti. Hos alius ('Quis?' inquis. Ego  
nihil refert) post quaestionem supplicio libe  
alius in insulam relegandos, alius morte pu  
arbitrabatur. Quarum sententiarum tanta di

<sup>1</sup> scimus *Reifferscheid. Mus. Rhen.* 1860, p. 636, sum

I both witnessed and endured them for many years, which so broke and damped my spirits, that they have not even yet been able fully to recover themselves. It is but a short time (for every period is short, the happier it is) since we could take any pleasure in knowing the rights and duties of our station, putting that knowledge into practice.

Upon these grounds I may the more reasonably ask you, in the first place, to condone my error (I have been guilty of one), and in the next, to remedy it by your expert knowledge: for you have been a devoted student of our laws both public and private, ancient and modern, general and exceptive. And I think the point upon which I am going to consult you, is one that even those who by constant and varied practice must have mastered every detail of public business, have seldom or never had to deal with. I shall be more excusable, therefore, if I happen to have been mistaken; as you will deserve so much the higher applause, if you can teach me a lesson which it is not clear that you have learned yourself.

The case before the House concerned the friends of the consul Africanus Dexter, who had been found murdered, it was uncertain whether he fell by his own hands or by those of his people; and if by the latter, whether they acted in obedience to his commands, or were prompted by their own villany. After they had been put to the question, a certain senator (never mind his name, but if you wish to know, it was myself) was for acquitting them; another moved that they should be banished to some island; and a third that they should be put to death. These several verdicts were so extremely oppo-

erat, ut non possent esse nisi singulae. Quid commune habet occidere et relegare? Non hoc magis quam relegare et absolvere; quam propior aliquanto est sententiae relegantis, absolvit, quam quae occidit (utraque enim vitam relinquit, haec adimit) cum interim, e morte puniebant, et qui relegabant, una sed et temporaria simulatione concordiae discordant differebant. Ego postulabam, ut tribus sententiae constaret suus numerus, nec se brevibus in duas iungerent. Exigebam ergo, ut, qui capitali supplicio afficiendos putabant, discederent a relegante, nec interim contra absolventis mox discederent congregarentur, quia parvulum referret, an displiceret, quibus non idem placuisset. Illud mihi permirum videbatur, eum quidem, qui libertos relegandos, servos supplicio afficiendos eensu coactum esse dividere sententiam; hunc autem libertos morte multaret, cum relegante numero. Nam, si oportuisset dividi sententiam unius, res duas comprehendebat, non reperiebam, quem modum posset iungi sententia duorum tam discordantium.

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“ Those in favour of a motion in the Senate signified the same by ranging themselves on that side of the House as the proposer was seated.

that it was impossible to put them to the otherwise than separately. For what is there common between a sentence of banishment, and a sentence of death? Nothing more, heaven knows, than there is between a sentence of banishment and an acquittal. (Albeit acquitting a person comes much nearer to banishing him, than does sentencing him to death; for both the former verdicts spare his life, whereas the latter takes away, his life.) In the meanwhile, those respectively in favour of death, and of banishment, sate together on the same side of the House: and by a temporary appearance of union, suspended their real disagreement. I demanded that the three verdicts should be counted as three, and that two of them should not coalesce by a momentary truce; consequently, I insisted that members who were for capital punishment should move away<sup>a</sup> from the proposer of banishment; that those who would shortly be at variance should not meanwhile group themselves in opposition to the party for acquittal, merely to disunite again; for it was not material that they all opposed the same motion, since they did not support the same. It also seemed to me very extraordinary that whereas he who proposed banishment for freedmen and death for the slaves was obliged to put two distinct motions to the House; the proposer of a death-sentence for the freedmen should be reckoned along with those who proposed to banish them. For if one and the same senator's motion had to be divided, because it comprehended two distinct things, I could not see how the motions of two different persons, whose views were diametrically opposed, could be taken together.

Atque adeo permittite mihi sic apud te tan-  
ibi, sic peracta re tamquam adhuc integra rat-  
iudicii mei reddere, quaeque tunc carptim  
obstreptibus dixi, per otium iungere. Fin-  
tres omnino iudices in hanc causam datos  
horum uni placuisse perire libertos, alteri re-  
tertio absolvi; utrumne sententiae duae o-  
viribus novissimam periment, an separatim  
quaeque tantundem quantum altera valebit  
magis poterit cum secunda prima conec-  
secunda cum tertia? Igitur in senatu q-  
numerari tamquam contrariae debent, quae tan-  
diversae dicuntur. Quodsi unus atque id-  
perdendos censeret et relegandos, num ex sen-  
unius et perire possent et relegari? num de-  
omnino una sententia putaretur, quae tam o-  
coniungeret? Quem ad modum igitur, cum  
puniendos, alter censeat relegandos, videri pote-  
sententia, quia dicitur a duobus, quae non vid-  
una, si ab uno diceretur?

Quid? lex non aperte docet dirimi o-  
sententias occidentis et relegantis, cum ita  
cessionem fieri iubet: 'Qui haec sentitis, in  
partem, qui alia omnia, in illam partem ite, qui  
titis'? Examina singula verba et expende:  
haec sentitis,' hoc est qui relegandos putati  
hanc partem,' id est in eam, in qua sede

Permit me then, notwithstanding the point determined, to go over it again as if it were undecided, and to lay before you those reasons at ease, which I offered to the House in the midst of much interruption and clamour. Let us suppose there had been only three judges appointed to this cause, one of whom was of opinion that freedmen should die; the second that they should be banished; and the third that they ought to be acquitted: should the two former verdicts be of their strength to the destruction of the latter? should not each of them separately be balanced against the first and second be no more combined than the second and third? They ought therefore to be counted in the Senate likewise as contrary, as if they were delivered as conflicting opinions. Suppose the same person had moved, that the freedmen should be banished and put to death as well; could the one individual's motion have suffered both punishments? Or could it possibly have been esteemed as one motion, when it united two such contradictory proposals? How then can one man's vote for death and another's for banishment, which could not be deemed a single motion if proposed by a single person, pass for such because it has two proposers?

Does not the law manifestly teach that we are to separate a capital verdict from one of banishment by the formula employed when the House is ordered to divide? "You who hold such an opinion come to this side; you who hold any other go over to the side of him whose opinion you follow." Let us examine and weigh every clause: "You who are of this opinion": that is, you who would banish the freedmen, "come on this side"; namely, where

censuit relegandos. Ex quo manifestum esse posse in eadem parte remanere eos, qui interfici arbitrantur. ‘Qui alia omnia.’ Animadvertitur non contenta lex dicere ‘alia’ addiderit ‘c’. Num ergo dubium est alia omnia sentire eos, qui occidunt, quam qui relegant? ‘In illam partem eam, quae sentitis.’ Nonne videtur ipsa lex eos, qui dissentiunt, in contrariam partem vocare, eosque impellere? non consul etiam, ubi quisque remanere quo transgredi debeat, non tantum solemnibus sed manu gestuque demonstrat?

At enim futurum est ut, si dividantur sententiae interficientis et relegantis, praevaleat illa, quae absolvit. Quid istud ad censentes? quos censere deceat omnibus artibus, omni ratione pugna fieri fiat, quod est mitius. Oportet tamen eos, qui puniunt capite, et qui relegant, absolvi primum, mox inter se comparari. Scilicet, ut in spectaculis quibusdam sors aliquem seponit ac qui eum victore contendat, sic in senatu sunt certamina prima, sunt secunda certamina, et ex duabus sententiis eam, quae superior exierit, tertia exspectat.

Quid, quod prima sententia comprobata certamina perimantur? Qua ergo ratione potest esse certamen unus atque idem locus sententiarum, quarum una est postea? Planius repetam. Nisi dicentur certamina sententiam eo, qui relegat, illi, qui puniunt capite

<sup>1</sup> nunc *Schaefer*, non *codd.*



proposer of that motion is sitting. From whence is clear that those who would execute the free cannot remain on that side. "You who hold other": observe, the Law is not contented barely saying *another*, but it adds *any*. Now there be a doubt, whether they who declare capital conviction are of *any* other opinion, those who propose exile? "Go over to the side of him whose opinion you follow": does not the speaker himself seem to summon, force and urge those who differ to opposite sides? Does not the Court actually point out, not only by the eustomary form, but by waving his hand, where each man should remain, or to which side he must cross over?

"But," it is objected, "if the House votes separately on the motions for death and for banishment, the motion for acquittal will get a majority." What is that to the parties who vote? Certainly it will become them to fight tooth and nail to defeat a milder verdict. "Still," they say, "those who vote to condemn the accused either capitally or to banishment, should be first matched against those who vote to acquit them, and afterwards against each other." Thus, as in certain public games one competitor is reserved and set apart by lot to engage with the conqueror of the rest; so, it seems, in the Senate there is a first and second combat, and of two motions the prevailing one has still a third to contend with.

How about the rule that when the first motion proposed is carried, all the rest fall to the ground? On what principle then can motions be successively and simultaneously put now, which cannot later be put at all? To repeat this more plainly; unless those in favour of the death-penalty immediately go over to the

statim in aia discedant, frustra postea dissentient  
eo, cui paulo ante consenserint.

Sed quid ego similis docti? cum discere v  
an sententias dividi an iri in singulas oportu  
Obtinui quidem, quod postulabam; nihilo m  
tamen quaero, an postulare debuerim. Quem  
modum obtinui? Is, qui ultimum supplicium  
mendum esse censebat, nescio an iure, certe aequ  
postulationis meae victus omissa sententia sua acc  
releganti veritus scilicet, ne, si dividerentur  
sententiae, quod alioqui fore videbatur, ea,  
absolvendos esse censebat, numero praeval  
Etenim longe plures in hac una quam in du  
singulis erant. Tum illi quoque, qui auctoritate  
trahebantur, transeunte illo destituti relique  
sententiam ab ipso auctore desertam secutique  
quasi transfugam, quem ducem sequebantur. Si  
tribus sententiis duae factae, tenuitque ex du  
altera tertia expulsa, quae cum ambas superare  
posset, elegit, ab utra vinceretur. Vale.

## XV

### C. PLINIUS IUNIORI SUO S.

ONERAVI te tot pariter missis voluminibus,  
oneravi, primum quia exegeras, deinde quia scrips

of the "Noes" when a member proposes banishment, it will be vain for them to oppose him on a future division, whom they have supported just before.

But why do I talk like one giving instructions when I wish to learn whether or no these motions should have been taken separately? My demand was at least successful; nevertheless, I ask, was it justifiable? Would you know how I succeeded in this? The proposer of the death penalty, overcome probably by the legality, certainly by the equity of my demand, dropped his own motion and went over to the proposer of exile. He was afraid, to be sure, that if the motions were taken separately (which I saw would anyhow be the case), those for acquittal would have a majority. And truly, the numbers were far greater on that side than on either of the other two, separately counted. The consequence was, that those who had been influenced by the authority, when they saw themselves forsaken by the first author, going over to the other party, gave up a motion which they found abandoned by the first author, deserted, as it were, with their leader. Thus three motions were resolved into two; and of the two one prevailed; while the rejected third, which could not vanquish both the others, had only to choose to which of the two it would yield. Farewell.

## XV

### TO JUNIOR

I HAVE over-burthened you by sending you so many volumes at once; but I have done so firstly because of your own request; and secondly because you wish

tam graeiles istie vindemias esse, ut plane seire  
vaeaturum, quod vulgo dicitur, librum legere. E  
ex meis agellis nuntiantur. Igitur mihi q  
lieebit scribere, quae legas, sit modo, unde cl  
emi possint ; quae si scabrae bibulaeve sint, au  
seribendum, aut necessario, quidquid scripse  
boni malive, delebimus. Vale.

## XVI



C. PLINIUS PATERNO SUO S.

CONFECERUNT me infirmitates meorum, i  
ctiam, et quidem iuvenum. Solacia duo n  
quam paria tanto dolori, solacia tamen, unu  
cilitas manumittendi (vidcor enim non o  
immaturos perdidisse, quos iam liberos pe  
alterum, quod permitto servis quoque quasi  
menta facere eaque, ut legitima, eustodio. Ma  
rogantque, quod visum ; pareo ut iussus. Div  
donant, relinquunt dumtaxat intra domum ;  
servis res publica quaedam et quasi civitas c  
est. Sed, quamquam his solaciis adquieseam

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<sup>a</sup> Slaves could not hold or bequeath property.

me word that the yield of your vineyards had been so poor, that I might be assured you would have time, as people say, to read a book. I have received the same bad accounts of my own little farms; and am myself therefore at full leisure to write books for you, provided I can but raise money enough to furnish them with good paper. For should I be reduced to a coarse and spongy sort, either I must not write at all, or whatever I compose, whether good or bad, must necessarily undergo one cruel blot. Farewell.

## XVI

### TO PATERNUS

THE sickness which has lately run through my family, and carried off several of my domestics, some of them too in the prime of their years, has deeply afflicted me. I have two consolations, however, which, though they are not equal to so considerable a good, still they are consolations. One is, that I have always very readily manumitted my slaves (for their discharge does not seem altogether immature, if they lived long enough to receive their freedom); the other, that I have allowed them to make a kind of will, which I observe as religiously as if it were good in law. I receive and obey their last requests, as so many authoritative commands, suffering them to dispose of their effects to whom they please; with this single restriction, that they leave them to some in their household, for to persons in their station the household takes the place of city and commonwealth. But though I solace myself with such reflecti-

bilitior et frangor eadem illa humanitate, quae hoc ipsum permetterem, induxit.

Non ideo tamen velim durior fieri. Nec alios huius modi casus nihil amplius vocare damnum eoque sibi magnos homines et salvos videri. Qui an magni sapientesque sint, homines non sunt. Hominis est enim adfici sentire, resistere tamen et solacia admittere solaciis non egere. Verum de his plura feci quam debui, sed pauciora, quam volui. Est quaedam etiam dolendi voluptas, praesertim amici sinu defleas, apud quem lacrimis tuis sit parata vel venia. Vale.

## XVII

C. PLINIUS MACRINO SUO S.

NUM istic quoque immite et turbidum cernitur. Hic adsiduae tempestates et crebra diluvia. alveum excessit et demissioribus ripis altius funditur. Quamquam fossa, quam providentia imperator fecit, exhaustus premit valles, campis, quaque planum solum, pro solo cernitur. Inde, quae solet flumina accipere et permittit vehere, velut obvius sistere cogit atque ita aquis operit agros, quos ipse non tangit.

I am overpowered by those very sentiments of humanity which led me to grant them that indulgence.

However, I do not therefore wish to become callous. Others, I know, describe misfortunes of this kind by no higher term than "a pecuniary loss," and fancy they thereby shew themselves more sense and spirit. Their wisdom and magnanimity shall not dispute, but *men*, I am sure, they are, for it is the very essence of human nature to be affected with those impressions of sorrow, which it yet endeavours to resist, and to admit, not to be above, consolation. But perhaps I have detained you too long upon this subject—though not so long as I would. For there is a certain luxury in grief; especially when we pour out our sorrows in the bosom of a friend, who will approve, or, at least, pardon our tears. Farewe

## XVII

### TO MACRINUS

Is the weather in your parts as rude and boisterous as it is with us? All here is tempest and inundation. The Tiber has overflowed its channel, and deluged its lower banks. Though drained by a dyke, which the Emperor providently had cut, it submerges the valleys, swims along the fields, and entirely overspreads the flats. The streams which it ordinarily receives and carries down commingled to the sea, it now forcibly checks in their course, so to speak, advancing to meet them; and deluges with borrowed waters lands it cannot reach itself. That most delightful of rivers, the

delicatissimus annuum ideoque adiacentibus  
velut invitatus retentusque, magna ex parte  
quibus inumbratur, fregit et rapuit; subruit  
et decidentium mole pluribus locis clausu  
amissum iter quaerit, impulit teeta ac se supe  
eiecit atque extulit.

Viderunt, quos excelsioribus terris illa te  
non deprehendit, alibi divitum apparatus,  
vem supellectilem, alibi instrumenta ruris, ibi  
aratra, rectores, hic soluta et libera armen  
inter haec arborum truncos aut villarum trabes  
culmina varie lateque fluitantia. Ac ne illa  
malo vacaverunt, ad quae non ascendit annu  
pro anne imber adsiduus et deiecti nubibus t  
proruta opera, quibus pretiosa rura cinguntur  
sata atque etiam decussa monumenta. Mu  
modi easibus debilitati, obruti, obtriti; e  
luctibus damna.

Ne quid simile istic pro mensura pericul  
teque rogo, si nihil tale, quam maturissime  
tudini meae consulas, sed, et si tale, id quoque  
Nam parvulum differt, patiaris adversa an ex  
nisi quod tamen est dolendi modus, non est  
Doleas enim, quantum scias accidisse, timea  
tum possit accidere. Vale.



which seems invited and detained by the vi upon its banks, has destroyed and carried av much of the woods that shade its brink. It undermined mountains, and its channel be blocked by the resulting landslides, it has wrec houses in the endeavour to regain its course, a surges high above the ruins.

Dwellers in the uplands, who were out of reach this fearful inundation, have seen, here the houseb gear and heavy furniture of lordly mansions, th instruments of husbandry, elsewhere ploughs a oxen with their drivers, elsewhere again herds cattle let loose and astray, together with trunks trees, or beams and gables of the neighbouring vi—all floating about far and wide. Nor indeed h even these uplands, to which the river did rise, escaped calamity. For long torrential ra and waterspouts hurled down from the clouds, h destroyed all the enclosures on the valuable far and shaken, and even overturned, public buildi Numbers have been maimed, crushed, or buried such accidents, and loss of property has b aggravated by bereavements.

I am extremely uneasy lest this extensive disas should have spread to you; I beg therefore, if it not, you will immediately relieve my anxie And indeed, I desire you would inform me thou it should; for there is little difference betw expecting misfortune and undergoing it; exc that grief has limits, whereas apprehension none. For we grieve only for what we know happened; but we fear all that possibly *may* happ Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS RUFINO SUO S

FALSUM est nimirum, quod creditur vulgus  
 tamenta hominum speculum esse morum.  
 Domitius Tullus longe melior apparuerit morte  
 vita. Nam, cum se captandum praeuisset, et  
 filiam heredem, quae illi cum fratre communi  
 genitam fratre adoptauerat. Prosecutus est non  
 plurimis iucundissimisque legatis, prosecutus  
 proneptem. In summa omnia pietate pleniss  
 tanto magis, quoniam inexpectata sunt.

Ergo varii tota eivitate sermones; alii  
 ingratum, immemorem loquuntur seque ipsos  
 insectantur illum, turpissimis confessionibus pr  
 ut qui de patre, avo, proavo quasi de orbo que  
 alii contra hoc ipsum laudibus ferunt, qu  
 frustratus improbas spes hominum, quos sic de  
 pro moribus temporum prudentia est. Addunt  
 non fuisse ei liberum alio testamento mori;  
 enim reliquisse opes filiae, sed reddidisse,  
 auctus per filiam fuerat. Nam Curtilius M  
 perosus generum suum Domitium Lucanum (fr  
 Tulli) sub ea condicione filiam eius, neptem

## XVIII

### TO RUFINUS

THERE is certainly no truth in the popular belief that a man's will is the mirror of his character. We have an instance to the contrary in Domitius Tullus who appears a much better man in his death than during his life. After having encouraged the attentions of legacy-hunters, he has left his estate to his brother's daughter, whom he had adopted as his own. He has complimented his grandsons, and a his great grand-daughter, by a number of very agreeable bequests. In a word, all the provisions of the will showed the utmost family feeling, and the more as they were unexpected.

All Rome has been discussing this affair; so some people charge Tullus with feigning, ingratitude, and unmindfulness; and while they thus complain of him as if, instead of leaving three generations of descendants, he had died without natural heirs, their invectives betray their own dishonest designs. Others, on the contrary, applaud him precisely for having disappointed the hopes of this infamous tribe of men whom, considering the manners of the age, it is no prudence to deceive in this way. And they are right that he was not at liberty to leave any other will for he did not bequeath, but restore, to his adopted daughter, wealth that accrued to him through her. For Curtilius Mancina, having taken a dislike to her son-in-law Domitius Lucanus (brother to Tullus) devised his estate to this young lady, his grand-daughter, upon condition that Lucanus, her father,

effecerat heredem, si esset manu patris c  
Emiserat pater, adoptaverat patruus, atque i  
eumscripto testamento consors frater in pat  
testatem emancipatam filiam adoptionis frau  
vocaverat et quidem eum opibus amplissimis.

Fuit alioqui fratribus illis quasi fato datu  
divites fierent invitissimis iis,<sup>1</sup> a quibus fact  
Quin etiam Domitius Afer, qui illos in  
adsumpsit, reliquit testamentum ante octo et  
annos nuncupatum adeoque postea improbatu  
ut patris eorum bona proscribenda curaverit.  
illius asperitas, mira felicitas horum, illius asp  
qui numero civium excidit, quem socium ctian  
beris habuit, felicitas horum, quibus successit in  
patris, qui patrem abstulerat.

Sed haec quoque hereditas Afri ut reliqu  
fratre quaesita transmittenda erat filiae fratris  
Tullus ex asse heres institutus praelatusque  
fuerat, ut conciliaretur. Quo laudabilius testam  
est, quod pietas, fides, pudor, scripsit, in qu  
que omnibus adfinitatibus pro cuiusque officio  
relata est, relata et uxori. Accepit amoen  
villas, accepit magnam pecuniam uxor opt  
patientissima ac tanto melius de viro merita,

<sup>1</sup> iis *add. Müller.*

<sup>a</sup> See iv. 2 n.

would renounce his paternal rights over her.<sup>a</sup> did so, but her uncle adopted her. In this way purpose of Mancian's will was defeated, and as brothers held their property in common, Lucian despite the act of emancipation, got his daughter under his dominion again, along with her handsome fortune, by this trick of adoption.

It seems, indeed, to have been the fate of the two brothers, to be enriched by those who had greatest aversion to them. For Domitius Afer, whom they were adopted, left a will in their favour which he had made eighteen years before his death though he afterwards so entirely reversed his intention as to be active in procuring the confiscation of the father's estate. There is something very strange about his harsh conduct, and the good fortune of the other two; strange on the one hand that Domitius should cut off from the citizen order a man with whom he went partner even in children and on the other, that these brothers should find a second father in him who had ruined their first.

But it was highly just in Tullus, after having been appointed sole heir by his brother, in preference to the latter's own daughter, to make her amends by giving her this estate which came to him from Afer, as well as all the rest which he possessed in common with his brother. His will therefore is the more praise-worthy since it follows the dictates of family affection, integrity and honour; since, finally, he has thereby acknowledged his obligations to all his relatives by marriage, according to their respective good offices. He has made a similar acknowledgement to his wife having bequeathed to that excellent and most enduring spouse his delightful villas, besides

magis est reprehensa, quod nupsit. Nam natalibus clara, moribus proba, aetate decliva, vidua, mater olim parum deeore secuta, matrimonium videbatur divitis senis ita perditum, ut esse taedio posset uxori, quam juvenis san- duxisset.

Quippe omnibus membris extortus et fractus opes solis oculis obibat ac ne in lectulo quidem ab aliis movebatur. Quin etiam (foedum mundumque dictu) dentes lavandos fricandosque debebat. Auditum frequenter ex illo, cum querere de contumeliis debilitatis suae, digitos se seniorum quotidie lingere. Vivebat tamen et volebat sustentante maxime uxore, quae culpa choati matrimonii in gloriam perseverantia ver-

Habes omnes fabulas urbis; nam sunt fabulae Tullus. Expectatur auctio. Fuit enim copiosus, ut amplissimos hortos eodem, quo cotidie instruxerit plurimis et antiquissimis Tantum illi pulcherrimorum operum in horreis neglegebantur. Invicem tu, si quid istic e-

large sum of money. And indeed, she deserved much the more at his hands, as she was highly censured for her marriage with him. It was thought indecorous for a woman of her high birth and character, long widowed of a husband by whom she had issue, to marry in her declining years a rich old man, who was so hopelessly diseased that even a wife whom he had wedded in youth and health might well have grown weary of him.

He had so entirely lost the use of all his limbs, that he could not move himself in bed without assistance, and all the enjoyment he had of his riches, was only to contemplate them. He was even reduced to a wretched necessity (which indeed one cannot mention without loathing as well as lamenting) of having his teeth washed and cleansed by others; and he used frequently to say, when he was complaining of indecencies which his infirmities obliged him to suffer, that he was every day forced to lick his servant's fingers. Still, however, he lived, and was willing to accept of life which was mainly preserved to him by his wife, who, whatever censure she might incur for contracting the alliance, turned it to praise by her steadfast loyalty afterwards.

Now I have given you all the gossip of the town where nothing is talked of but Tullus. We are eagerly awaiting the sale of his effects. For he was so large a collector that he adorned a vast pleasure ground with a quantity of antique statuary the value of which he purchased it, so numerous were the exquisite works of art which lay neglected in his granaries. If you have any local news worth communicating in return, I hope you will not refuse the trouble

dignum, ne gravare scribere.<sup>1</sup> Nam cum hominum novitate laetantur, tum ad rationem exemplis erudimur. Vale.

## XIX

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

ET gaudium mihi et solacium in litteris, nihil tam laetum, quod his laetius, tam triste, non per has sit minus triste. Itaque et infirmitas uxoris, et meorum periculo, quorundam vero morte turbatus ad unicum doloris levamentum studia confugi, quae praestant, ut adversa intellegam, sed patientius feram. Est autem timor, quod sum daturus in manus hominum amicorum iudicio examinare, in primis tuo. Possis si quando, nunc intende libro, quem cum epistula accipies, quia vereor, ne ipse ut parum intenderim. Imperare enim dolere scriberem, potui, ut vacuo animo laetoque, non Porro ut ex studiis gaudium sic studia hinc proveniunt. Vale.

## XX

C. PLINIUS GALLO SUO S.

AD quae noscenda iter ingredi, transmittere solemus, ea sub oculis posita neglegimus, se

<sup>1</sup> scribere *add. a.*



writing to me : not only as we all love to hear a new thing, but because our moral education is promoted by examples. Farewell.

## XIX

### TO MAXIMUS

LITERATURE proves both an entertainment and consolation to me ; and as there is no pleasure I prefer to it, so there is no pain it does not alleviate. Accordingly, distracted as I am by my wretched ill-health, the dangerous sickness of some of my servants, and the death of others, I fly to my study, to those sovereign composers of my grief. It is from them they give me a keener perception of misfortunes, and they teach me too how to bear them more patiently. It is an established rule with me, before I put down anything, to take the judgement of my friends, and especially yours. I beg therefore you will examine the speech I here send you with particular care, as I am afraid my dejection may have prevented me from doing so myself. For though I could command my grief so far as to write, I could not master it enough to write with ease and cheerfulness. Moreover, if study promotes a pleasant serenity, so does a cheerful mood promote study. Farewell.

## XX

### TO GALLUS

THOSE works of art or nature which are usually the motives of our travels by land or sea, are commonly overlooked and neglected if they lie within

ita natura comparatum, ut proximorum in-  
longinqua sectemur, seu quod omnium rerum cu-  
languescit, cum facilis occasio, seu quod differ-  
tamquam saepe visuri, quod datur videre, qu-  
velis cernere. Quaecunque de causa permult-  
urbe nostra iuxtaque urbem non oculis modo,  
ne auribus quidem novimus, quae si tulisset Ae-  
Aegyptus, Asia aliave quaelibet miraculorum  
commendatrixque terra, audita, perlecta, lus-  
haberemus.

Ipse certe nuper, quod nec audieram ante  
videram, audivi pariter et vidi. Exegerat pro-  
meus, ut Amerina praedia sua inspicerem.  
perambulanti mihi ostenditur subiacens lacus non  
Vadimonis; simul quaedam incredibilia narra-  
Pervenit ad ipsum. Lacus est in similitud-  
iacentis rotae circumscriptus et undique aeq-  
nullus sinus, obliquitas nulla, omnia dimensa,  
et quasi artificis manu cavata et excisa.  
caeruleo albidior, viridior et pressior, sulphuris  
saporque medicatus, vis, qua fracta solidantur.  
tium modicum, quod tamen sentiat ventos et flu-  
intumescat. Nulla in hoc navis (sacer enim  
innatant insulae herbidae omnes arundine et

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<sup>a</sup> "The water, as it evaporated, depositing a  
sulphurous or calcareous character" (Merrill).

reach; whether it be that we are naturally inquisitive concerning those things which are near while we are pushed forward in pursuit of remote objects; or because the easiness of gratifying desire is always sure to damp it; or, perhaps, that we defer from time to time viewing what we know we have an opportunity of seeing when we please. Whatever the reason be, it is certain there are several rarities in and near Rome which we have only never seen, but even never so much as heard of: and yet if they had been the produce of Greece or Egypt, or Asia, or any other country which offers us a rich display of wonders, we would long since have heard about them, read about them, surveyed them ourselves.

For myself at least, I confess, I have lately become acquainted with one of these curiosities which I was an entire stranger before. My grandfather desired I would view his estate near Ameria. As I was walking over his grounds I discovered a lake that lies below them, called Vadim, and given at the same time an incredible account of it. So I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular; there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, somewhat cloudy; it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures.<sup>a</sup> Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels were suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred; but several grassy islands swim about it, cover-

tectae, quacque alia fecundior palus ipsaque  
extremitas lacus effert. Sua cuique figura ut mo  
cunctis margo derasus, quia frequenter vel litor  
sibi illisae terunt terunturque. Par omnibus altit  
par levitas; quippe in speciem carinae humili ra  
descendunt. Haec ab omni latere perspi  
eademque suspensa pariter et mersa. Inter  
iunctae copulataeque et continenti similes  
interdum discordantibus ventis digeruntur;  
numquam destitutae tranquillitate singulae fluita

Saepe minores maioribus velut cumbulae ones  
adhaerescunt, saepe inter se maiores minores  
quasi cursum certamenque desumunt; rursus on  
in eundem locum adpulsae, qua steterunt, promo  
terram et modo hac, modo illac lacum red  
auferuntque ac tum demum, cum medium ten  
non contrahunt. Constat pecora herbas secuti  
in insulas illas ut in extremam ripam proce  
solere nec prius intellegere mobile solum, quam  
abrepta quasi illata et imposita circumfusum und  
lacum paveant, mox, quo tulerit ventus, egressa  
magis se descendisse sentire, quam senserint as  
disse. Idem lacus in flumen egeritur, quod, u  
paulisper oculis dedit, specu mergitur alteque

with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce. No two are alike in size or shape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and against another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy; for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view; the hull is half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent; sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds; at times, when in a calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately.

You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat; or perhaps, seeming to strike, which shall outswim the other; then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they touch and advance, and now here, now there, diminish and restore the area of the lake; only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the borders of the lake, without perceiving that they were on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship; and when they presently land where the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been at embarking. This lake empties itself into a river which after running a little way above ground, si

ditum meat ac si quid, antequam subduceret accepit, servat et profert.

Haec tibi scripsi, quia nec minus ignota quam mihi nec minus grata credebam. Nam te quod ut me, nihil aequè ac naturae opera delectat. Vale.

## XXI

### C. PLINIUS ARRIANO SUO S.

UT in vita sic in studiis pulcherrimum et manissimum aestimo severitatem comitate miscere, ne illa in tristitiam, haec in petulantiam excedat. Qua ratione ductus graviora opera ludo iocisque distinguo. Ad hos proferendos et te et locum opportunissimum elegi, utque iam adsuescerent et ab otiosis et in triclinio audiri, mense, quo maxime lites interquiescunt, positos lectos cathedris amicos collocavi.

Forte accidit, ut eo die mane in advocati subitam rogarer, quod mihi causam praelegit dedit. Sum enim deprecatus, ne quis ut irreverentis operis argueret, quod recitaturus, quamquam amicis et paucis, idem iterum amicis, foro et ne-

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\* Apparently that the guests might jot down comments during the reading.

into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course if anything is thrown in brings it up again where stream emerges.

I have given you this account because I imagine it would not be less new, nor less agreeable to you than it was to me; as I know you take the same unique pleasure as myself, in contemplating the works of nature. Farewell.

## XXI

### TO ARRIANUS

NOTHING, in my opinion, gives a more amiable becoming grace to our studies, as well as to our manners, than to temper gravity with gaiety, lest the former should degenerate into austereness, and the latter run up into levity. Upon this maxim it is that I diversify my more serious works with light and playful effusions. I had chosen a convenient place and season to introduce some of these; designing to accustom them early to a disengaged audience, and to the dinner table, I invited my friends in July, when the courts of justice are usually shut up, and I placed writing-desks before their dining-couches.<sup>a</sup>

But as I happened that morning to be suddenly called on to plead a cause, I took occasion to preface my recital with an apology. I begged my audience not to infer that I slighted the affair in hand, because when on the point of reading my works, though merely to a small circle of friends, I had kept clear of other friends and of legal business.

non abstinuissem. Addidi hunc ordinem me describendo sequi, ut necessitates voluptatibus, iucundis anteferrem ac primum amicis, tum scriberem.

Liber fuit et opusculis varius et metris. solemus, qui ingenio parum fidimus, satietatis culum fugere. Recitavi biduo. Hoc adse audientium exegit. Et tamen, ut alii trans quaedam imputantque, quod transeant, sic ego praetereo atque etiam non praeterire me, te. Lego enim omnia, ut omnia emendem, quod tingere non potest electa recitantibus. At modestius et fortasse reverentius. Sed hoc si eius et amantius. Amat enim, qui se sic amari potest ut taedium non pertimescat; et alioqui quid praesodales, si conveniunt voluptatis suae causa? Delicacae similis ignoto est, qui amici librum bonum magis audire quam facere.

Non dubito cupere te pro cetera mei carum quam maturissime legere hunc adhuc mus librum. Leges, sed retractatum, quae causa recitatus fuit; et tamen nonnulla iam ex eo nosti. Haec emendata postea vel, quod interdum longiore solet, deteriora facta quasi nova rursus et resc



added that I observed the same rule, as an author of giving precedence to the necessary over the entertaining, the preference to the grave over the gay, and of writing for my friends first, myself afterwards.

The poems I read composed a variety of subjects and measures. It is thus that we, who dare rely upon the single force of our genius, endeavour to avoid giving our readers satiety. In compliance with the unanimous demand of my audience, I recited for two days successively. And this although, just as others omit their less shining passages, and make a merit of doing so, I omit nothing, and actually affirm that fact. I read the whole, that I might correct the whole; which it is impossible those who only read select passages should do. True, the latter plan is more modest, perhaps more respectful; but the former is more artless and affectionate. For to be so confident of your friends' affection that you have no dread of wearying them, is a sure indication of your own. Besides, what good do your company do you if they assemble merely with a view to their own entertainment. He who had rather find his friend's performance correct, than make it so, is to be considered as a stranger, or one who is too indolent to give himself any trouble.

Your affection for me leaves me no room to doubt that you are impatient to read my yet unripened book. You shall do so, when I have corrected it, which was indeed the design of my recital. You are already acquainted with some parts of it; but even those, after they have been polished (or perhaps spoiled, as is sometimes the case by over-keeping) will seem new to you. For when a composition

cognoscēs. Nam plerisque imitatis ea quoque  
videntur, quae manent. Vale.

## XXII

C. PLINIUS GEMINIO SUO S.

NOSTINE hos, qui omnium libidinum se  
aliorum vitiis irascuntur, quasi invideant, e  
vissime puniunt, quos maxime imitantur? cu  
etiam, qui non indigent clementia ullius, nihil  
quam lenitas deceat. Atque ego optimu  
emendatissimum existimo, qui ceteris ita ig  
tamquam ipse quotidie peccet, ita peccatis ab  
tamquam nemini ignoscat. Proinde hoc dom  
foris, hoc in omni vitae genere teneamus, ut  
implacabiles simus, exorabiles istis etiam, qu  
veniam nisi sibi nesciunt, mandemusque mer  
quod vir mitissimus et ob hoc quoque ma  
Thrasea, crebro dicere solebat: ‘Qui vitia  
homines odit.’

Quaeris fortasse, quo commotus haec se  
Nuper quidam—sed melius coram; quamqu  
tunc quidem. Vereor enim, ne id, quod in  
eos sectari, carpere, referre huic, quod cum n  
praecipimus, repugnet. Quisquis ille, qualisc  
sileatur, quem insignire exempli nihil, non ins  
humanitatis plurimum refert. Vale.

has been extensively altered, it contracts an air of novelty even in those parts which remain untouched. Farewell.

## XXII

### TO GERMINIUS

HAVE you ever observed a sort of people, who though they are themselves slaves to every lust, shew a kind of jealous resentment against the vices of others; and are most severe upon those who they most resemble? yet, surely tolerance, even to persons who have the least occasion for clemency themselves, is of all virtues the most becoming. In my mind, the best and most faultless character is his, who is as ready to pardon the rest of mankind as though he daily transgressed himself; and at the same time as cautious to avoid a fault, as if he never forgave one. Be it our rule, then, at home, abroad, and in every sphere of conduct to be relentless to ourselves, placable to others, even such as forgive our failings but their own; remembering always what the humane, and therefore, as well as upon other accounts, the great Thræsea used frequently to say, “He who hates vice, hates mankind.”

You will ask, perhaps what has moved me to these reflections? The other day, a certain person, but of that when we meet—though upon second thoughts, not even then, lest whilst I inveigh against and expose conduct I disapprove, I should act counter to that maxim I particularly recommend. Who therefore, and what he is, shall remain in silence: for to brand the man would point no more while to refrain is to take the side of humanity. Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS MARCELLINO SUO S.

OMNIA mihi studia, omnes curas, omnia avocavit, exemit, excussit, eripuit dolor, quem ex morte Aviti gravissimum cepi. Latum clavum in me induerat, suffragio meo adiutus in persequendis honoribus fuerat, ad hoc ita me diligebat, ut imitabatur, ut me formatore morum, me quasi mater uteretur. Rarum hoc in adulescentibus nostris, quotusquisque vel aetati alterius vel auctoritati minor cedit? Statim sapiunt, statim sciunt, neminem verentur, imitantur neminem atque imitanda exempla sunt.

Sed non Avitus, cuius haec praecipua praecepta, quod alios prudentiores arbitrabatur, haec praecipua eruditio, quod discere volebat. Semper ille studiis aliquid aut de officiis vitae consulebat, ita recedebat ut melior factus et erat factus, quod audierat, vel quod omnino quaesierat.

Quod ille obsequium Serviano, exactissimum praestitit! quem legatum tribunus ita et insequens et cepit, ut ex Germania in Pannoniam transiret, non ut commilito, sed ut comes adsectatus sequeretur. Qua industria, qua modestia quae

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\* ii. 9, note.

## TO MARCELLINUS

THE deep concern I am under for the death of Junius Avitus, has rendered me incapable of business, study or amusement. He was invested with the laticlave in my house; my interest supported him whenever he stood for office; more than that, affection and esteem for me were so great that they formed his manners and regulated his conduct by my example and direction. An uncommon proceeding, this, with the youth of our day; for who of them pays submission as an inferior to age and authority? These young gentlemen begin life as sages, and know everything from the first; there is no one they revere or imitate, as they are their own models.

But not so Avitus; he especially shewed wisdom, in believing there were some who had more and discovered his knowledge, in his desire to learn. He constantly sought advice on points relating to his studies, or his duties in life, and always went away with the feeling of being morally improved; and as improved he was, if not by the advice he received, by the mere act of seeking it.

How implicitly he obeyed that strict disciplinarian Servianus! During the latter's command as Legatus Avitus, who was tribune under him, so fully learned his merit, and so endeared himself to him, that when Servianus was transferred from Germany to Pannonia, he attended him, not as a fellow-officer, but as a friend and admirer. How diligent, how respectful he must have been as Quæstor, to make himself

consulibus suis (et plures habuit) non minus  
dus et gratus quam utilis fuit! Quo discursu  
vigilantia hanc ipsam aedilitatem, cui praesens  
est, petiit! quod vel maxime dolorem  
exulcerat.

Obversantur oculis cassi labores et infructus  
preces et honor, quem meruit tantum. Redit  
ille latus clavus in penatibus meis sumptus: re  
illa prima, illa postrema suffragia mea, illi sermo  
illae consultationes. Adficio adolescentia  
adficio necessitudinum casu. Erat illi grandis  
parens, erat uxor, quam ante annum virginitatis  
acceperat; erat filia, quam paulo ante sustulit.  
Tot spes, tot gaudia dies unus in adversa con  
modo designatus aedilis, recens maritus, recens  
intactum honorem, orbam matrem, viduam uxorem  
filiam pupillam ignaramque patris reliquit.

Accedit lacrimis meis, quod absens et impensum  
mali nescius pariter aegrum, pariter decessisse  
novi, ne gravissimo dolori timore consuescerent  
tantis tormentis eram, cum scriberem haec, scribere  
sola; neque enim nunc aliud aut cogitare aut  
possum. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> Lit. "had taken up from the ground"; the ceremony  
which a father admitted a new-born child (which he had  
right to rear or not, as he pleased) into the family.

less pleasing and acceptable, than useful, to several Consuls he served under! With what energy and vigilance did he canvass for this very aedileship from which he is now prematurely snatched—a circumstance that intensely aggravates my grief!

His wasted labours, his fruitless solicitations, the office which he only merited, never enjoyed, ever in my mind's eye. That memorable investment of the laticlave under my roof; the first and the last occasions of my supporting his candidature; the conversations we have had, and the consultations we have held, all return fresh upon my mind. I was affected by his own youth, and the misfortune of his family. He had an aged parent; a wife, who was his virgin bride only a year ago; a daughter, who he had only lately given a father's first embrace. So many pleasing hopes, so many tender joys, were reversed and destroyed in one day! When he was just elected aedile; when he was lately become a husband and father, he had to leave his child untasted, his mother childless, his wife a widow, his daughter a mere infant, never to know a father's love.

But what increases my tears upon this melancholy occasion is that, being absent and unconscious of an impending stroke, I never knew of his sickness. I heard of his death, and had no time to prepare myself for this cruel blow, by previously apprehending it! Such is the distress of my mind that I cannot communicate these tidings. You must not wonder then that they are the whole subject of my letters for I am not able at present to think or talk of anything else. Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

AMOR in te meus cogit, non ut praecipiam (enim praeceptore eges), admoneam tamen, ut scis, teneas et observes aut scias melius.

Cogita te missum in provinciam Achaïam, veram et meram Gracciam, in qua primum vitas, litterae, etiam fruges inventae esse creduntur. id est ad ordinandum statum liberarum civitatum. id est ad homines maxime homines, ad liberrimos, qui ius a natura datum virtute, non amicitia, foedere denique et religione tenuerunt.

Reverere conditores deos et numina deorum, reverere gloriam veterem et hanc ipsam senectutem quae in homine venerabilis, in urbibus sacra. Sit te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit quoque. Nihil ex cuiusquam dignitate, nihil ex libertate, nihil ex iactatione decerpseris. Habere oculos hanc esse terram, quae nobis miserit iura leges non victis, sed petentibus dederit, Achaïam esse, quas adeas, Lacedaemonem esse, quam non debent quibus reliquam umbram et residuum libertatis auferre. eripere durum, ferum, barbarum est. Vides a n

<sup>a</sup> Achaïa is so called in contrast to the province of Macedonia, not only as including most of Greece proper but because it contained Athens and Sparta.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* enjoying nominal independence, and more autonomy under Roman rule.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* the "Laws of the Twelve Tables" (451-50 B.C.) which the whole of Roman jurisprudence was founded on. Previous to framing this code, the Romans sent commissioners to study the laws of the chief Greek cities.



## XXIV

### TO MAXIMUS

THE love I bear you obliges me to give you, indeed a precept (for you are far from needing a preceptor), but a reminder that you should resolutely act up to the knowledge you already have, or else improve it. Consider that you are sent to the province of Achaia, that real, genuine Greece, where politeness, learning, and even agriculture itself, are supposed to have first arisen. You are commissioned to superintend the affairs of these states;<sup>b</sup> in other words, of men who are in the fullest sense men, and freemen who are in the highest sense free; who have maintained the rights they received from Nature, by courage, by virtue, and friendship—in fine, by civil treaties and religious sanctions.

You will revere their Divine Founders, and the workings of divine powers among them; their ancient glory, and even their very age, which as venerable in men, in states it is sacred. Cherish the sentiments of respect for their antiquity, their colossal achievements, and even for their legal institutions. Let no man's dignity, liberty, or vanity, suffer the least diminution at your hands. Remember it is from this land we derived our legal code,<sup>c</sup> that gave us laws not by right of conquest, but as a favour. Remember it is Athens you approach; Lacedaemon you govern; and to snatch from such people the shadow that remains, the name that is left, of their freedom, would be a harsh, cruel, barbarous, act. Physicians, you see, though

quamquam in adversa valetudine nihil servi a differant, mollius tamen liberos elementa tractari.

Recordare, quid quaeque civitas fuerit, ne despicias, quod esse desierit; absit superbia, asperitas. Nec timueris contemptum. An contemnit imperium, qui fasces habet, nisi humilis et socius, et qui se primus ipse contemnit? Male vim potestas aliorum contumeliis experitur, male reverentia ac veneratio acquiritur, longeque valentior amorem obtinendum, quod velis, quam timor. Namque recedat, si recedas, manet amor: ac sicut ille in timore hic in reverentiam vertitur.

Te vero etiam atque etiam (repetam enim) in officio nisse oportet officii tui titulum ac tibi ipsi imitari, quale quantumque sit ordinare statum libertatis civitatum. Nam quid ordinatione civilis libertate pretiosius? Porro quam turpe, si ordinatione eversione, libertas servitute mutetur!

Aecedit, quod tibi certamen est tecum. Omnis quaesturae tuae fama, quam ex Bithynia operata revexisti, onerat testimonium principis, onerat natus, praetura atque haec ipsa legatio quasi praetura data. Quo magis nitendum est, ne in longinquam provinciam quam suburbana, ne inter servientes

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of local rights and institutions.

sickness there is no difference between slaves and freemen, yet give the latter milder and more generous treatment.

Recollect each city's former greatness, but so as to despise her for having lost it. Fear not to borrow pride and asperity from my friend; nor fear that proper condescension can breed contempt. Can a man who is vested with the powers and bears the ensigns of the state—can he be contemned, unless he himself be a low, sordid being, and sets the example by his conduct? To put affronts upon others is another way of testing the force of your authority; and you have gotten the homage inspired by terror; and love will help you to gain your ends far more effectually than fear. For while fear departs the moment you withdraw your presence, love abides! and as fear turns to hatred, so does love to respect.

It behoves you then (I cannot but repeat it) to recall again and again the terms of your commission, and to make yourself clearly comprehend the nature and importance of your task as comptroller of the states. For what is more constitutional than control, or more precious than liberty? How famous, then, his conduct, who transforms control into overturning<sup>a</sup> and liberty into slavery!

Moreover, you are your own rival. The reputation of having been an admirable Quaestor, which you brought home from Bithynia; the approbation of the Emperor; your conduct as Tribune and Praetor; in a word, this very mission, which may be looked upon as the reward of your services—these are so many weighty responsibilities. So much the more must you endeavour to avoid the imputation, that you showed more honesty, sympathy,

liberos, ne forte quam iudicio missus, ne r  
incognitus quam exploratus probatusque h  
melior, peritior fuisse videaris, cum sit alioc  
saepe audisti, saepe legisti, multo deformius ar  
quam non adsequi laudem.

Haec velim credas, quod initio dixi scripsit  
admonentem, non praecipientem; quamquam  
cipientem quoque. Quippe non vereor, in  
ne modum excesserim. Neque enim per  
est, ne sit nimium, quod esse maximum  
Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> sc. of the Emperor, by whose appointment Maximian was sent to Greece.

skill in a remote, than in a suburban province ; and  
a subject, than among a free people ; when you  
office by lot, than when you did so by deliberation  
choice <sup>a</sup>; whilst you were still a novice and untried  
than after you had been tried and tested.  
speaking generally, the maxim you have often heard  
and read holds true—'tis far more disfiguring to  
than to lack, men's praises.

Pray believe, what I began by saying, that I  
written as your monitor, not your preceptor, though  
I have played the preceptor also. For, to be sure  
am not afraid of carrying affection beyond its  
limits : since there cannot be any danger of excess  
where we ought to advance as far as possible.  
Farewell.



**BOOK IX**

# LIBER NONUS

## I

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

SAEPE te monui, ut libros, quos vel pro te  
Plantam, immo et pro te et in illum (ita enim  
cogebat) composuisti, quam maturissime en-  
quod nunc praecipue morte eius audita et h-  
moneo. Quamvis enim legeris multis lege-  
dederis, nolo tamen quemquam opinari o-  
demum inchoatos, quos incolumi eo peregisti  
sit tibi constantiae fama. Erit autem, si notur-  
iniquisque fuerit non post inimici mortem s-  
tibi natam esse fiduciam, sed iam paratam e-  
morte praeventam. Simul vitabis illud

‘Οὐχ ὀσίη φθιμένοισιν.’

Nam, quod de vivente scriptum, de vivente re-

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\* *Odys.* 23. 412.



## BOOK IX

### I

#### TO MAXIMUS

I HAVE frequently recommended it to you, to be as expeditious as possible in publishing what you have written either in defence of yourself, or against Planta; or rather indeed (as your materials demand) what you drew up with both those views: but I particularly press this advice upon you *now* that you hear he is dead. For though you read this piece to several of your friends, and put it into the hands of others, yet I should regret extremely, that the world should suspect you only began after his death, when it is most certain you had finished during his life. Let not the character my friend has acquired by his firmness and resolution be called in question. And it will; unless both the candid and the malicious shall know, that the death of your adversary did not give you confidence to compose this piece, but merely forestalled the appearance of a work which were on the point of giving to the world. And thus you will also avoid the imputation,

“With impious joy to triumph o’er the dead.”

For what you wrote and recited on the subject of a living personage, will be considered as published.

est, in defunctum quoque tamquam viventem editur, si editur statim. Igitur, si quid manibus, interim differ; hoc perface, quod qui legimus, olim absolutum videtur. Sed videatur et tibi, cuius cunctationem nec desideret et temporis ratio praecedit. Vale.

## II

### C. PLINIUS SABINO SUO S.

FACIS iucunde, quod non solum plurimas meas, verum etiam longissimas flagitas; in parcior fui, partim quia tuas occupationes partim quia ipse multum distringebam pluribus frigidis negotiis, quae simul et avocant et comminuunt. Praeterea nec materia plerumque habendi dabatur. Neque enim eadem nostra quae M. Tulli, ad cuius exemplum nos volumus, enim et copiosissimum ingenium et ingenii varietas rerum qua magnitudo largissime super nos quam angustis terminis claudamur, etiam me perspicis, nisi forte volumus scholasticas atque, ut ita dicam, umbraticas litteras. Sed nihil minus aptum arbitramur, cum arma, cum castra, cum denique cornua, tubas, et pulverem, soles cogitamus. Habes, ut puta

too, provided you publish it at once. If therefore have any other work upon your hands, let me intrude you to lay it aside, and give your last finishing touches to this performance. It seemed to me indeed, when I formerly read it, to want no improvements; and so let it now seem to you neither the thing itself requires, nor the occasion will admit, of any farther delay. Farewell.

## II

### TO SABINUS

YOUR request that I would write to you not only very frequent, but very long letters, is extremely agreeable to me. If I have forborne to do so, is partly in consideration of your being much occupied, and partly from some very cold and uninteresting engagements of my own, which distract and at the same time dissipate my ideas. Besides I had not sufficient matter for frequent letters; and am by the means in the same situation that Tully was, which you point out to me as an example. He not only possessed a most enlarged genius, but the time wherein he lived furnished a variety of noble occasions for exercising it. As for myself, you know (without my telling you) to what narrow limits I am confined; unless I should take into my head to write you rhetorical, and what I might call, *armchair letters*. But nothing seems to me more out of place, when I imagine you in the midst of arms and encampment, in short, inflamed with martial music and toiling in dust and heat. This is my apology, and I think

excusationem, quam tamen dubito an tibi  
velim. Est enim summi amoris negare  
brevibus epistulis amicorum, quamvis  
constare rationem. Vale.

### III

#### C. PLINIUS PAULINO SUO S.

ALIUS alium, ego beatissimum existimo,  
mansuraeque famae praesumptione perfruit  
que posteritatis eum futura gloria vivit.  
nisi praemium aeternitatis ante oculos, pin-  
altumque otium placeat. Etenim omnes  
arbitror oportere aut immortalitatem suam  
talitatem cogitare, et illos quidem contendit  
hos quiescere, remitti nec brevem vitam  
laboribus fatigare, ut video multos, misera  
ingrata imagine industriae ad vilitatem sui  
Haec ego tecum, quae quotidie mecum, ut  
mecum, si dissenties tu; quamquam non  
ut qui semper clarum aliquid et immortale  
Vale.

---

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Cowley :

“ What shall I do to be for ever known  
And make the age to come my own ? ”

reasonable one ; however, I almost wish you would not accept it. For to reject a friend's excuses writing briefly, be they ever so just, bespeaks warmest affection. Farewell.

### III

#### TO PAULINUS

MANKIND differ in their notions of supreme happiness ; but in my opinion it consists in the taste of an honest and abiding fame, the assurance being admired by posterity, the realization, while living, of future glory.<sup>a</sup> I confess if I had not reward of an immortal reputation in view, I should choose to live in the lap of Leisure, as people do. There seem to be but two points worthy our attention ; either the endless duration of fame, or the short extent of life. Those who are governed by the former consideration, must pursue it with the exertion of the most laborious efforts ; while such are influenced by the latter should quietly recommend themselves to repose, nor wear out a short life in perishable pursuits : as some, we may observe, do, then sink at last into self-contempt, in the midst of a wretched and fruitless course of false industry. These are my daily reflections, which I communicate to you, in order to renounce them if you do not with me in the same sentiments : as undoubtedly you will, who are for ever meditating some glorious and immortal enterprise. Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS MACRINO SUO S.

VERERER, ne immodicam orationem putares cum hac epistula accipies, nisi esset generis saepe incipere, saepe desinere videatur. Nam criminibus singulae velut causae continentur. ergo, undeeunq̄ue ineeperis, ubicunq̄ue desieris deinceps sequentur, et quasi incipientia le quaesi cohaerentia meque in universitate longi brevissimum in partibus iudicare. Vale.

## V

## C. PLINIUS TIRONI SUO S.

EGREGIE facis (inquiro enim, et perseveras) iustitiam tuam provincialibus multa humiliter commendas; cuius praecipua pars est honeste quemque complecti atque ita a minoribus a simul a principibus diligere. Plerique autem verentur, ne gratiae potentium nimium in videantur, sinisteritatis atque etiam malae famam consequuntur. A quo vitio tu longe nescis (scio), sed temperare mihi non possum, quod

## IV

### TO MACRINUS

I SHOULD fear you would think the oration which you receive with this letter, immoderately long; that it is of such a nature as to require several breaks; and as it consists of different charges, the appearance of so many distinct speeches. Wherever therefore you begin or end, you must consider what follows, either as connected with what went before, or making of itself a new subject, so that you may look upon it as very long upon the whole, and yet as extremely short with respect to particular parts. Farewell.

## V

### TO TIRO

You are to be highly applauded for the course by which as I am informed (and I make very serious enquiry), you commend your administration to justice to the people of your province; one principal branch of which virtue is to distinguish merit in every degree, and so to gain the love of the lower rank, as to preserve at the same time the regard of their superiors. But it is an error many have fallen into, that while they endeavour to avoid the appearance of favouring the great, they run into the contrary extreme, and gain the character of avarice with ill manners, or ill nature. A mistake which you are far from committing, I well know; however, I cannot forbear throwing in a caution

laudem similis monenti, quod eum modum  
ut discrimina ordinum dignitatumque eius  
quae si confusa, turbata, permixta sunt, ni  
ipsa aequalitate inaequalius. Vale.

## VI

C. PLINIUS CALVISIO SUO S.

OMNE hoc tempus inter pugillares ac  
incundissima quiete transmisi. 'Quem ad m  
inquis, 'in urbe potuisti?' Circenses eran  
genere spectaculi ne levissime quidem tencor.  
novum, nihil varium, nihil quod non semel sp  
sufficiat. Quo magis miror tot milia viroru  
pueriliter identidem cupere currentes equ  
sistentes eurribus homines videre. Si tam  
velocitate equorum aut hominum arte traher  
esset ratio nonnulla; nunc favent panno, p  
amant, et si in ipso cursu medioque certam  
color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium fa  
transibit, et repente agitadores illos, equos illo  
procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina,  
quent.

Tanta gratia, tanta auctoritas in una vi

---

<sup>a</sup> The games in the Circus Maximus, chiefly consi  
chariot-races, for which the Roman people had th  
passion as the English now have for football matches.



my applause, and recommending it to you, to con-  
yourself in such a manner as to keep up  
distinctions of rank and dignity. For to level  
confound the different orders of mankind, is  
from producing an equality among them; it is  
truth, the most unequal thing imaginable. Fare

VI

TO CALVISIUS

I HAVE spent these several days past among  
papers with the most pleasing tranquillity imagin-  
You will ask how that can possibly be in the m-  
of Rome? Why, the Circensian Games<sup>a</sup> are  
taking place; a kind of entertainment for which  
have not the least taste. They have no novelty  
variety, nothing, in short, one would wish to  
twice. I am the more astonished that so many  
thousands<sup>b</sup> of grown men should be possessed of  
and again with a childish passion to look at gallo-  
horses, and men standing upright in their char-  
If, indeed, they were attracted by the swiftness  
the horses or the skill of the men, one could account  
for this enthusiasm. But in fact it is a bit of  
they favour, a bit of cloth that captivates them.  
And if during the running the racers were to  
exchange colours, their partisans would change sides  
and instantly forsake the very drivers and horses  
whom they were just before recognizing from  
and clamorously saluting by name.

Such favour, such weighty influence, hath

<sup>a</sup> The elder Pliny (*N.H.* xxxvi. 102) says that the C  
Maximus, as enlarged by Nero, held 250,000 spectators.

tunica, mitto apud vulgus, quod vilius tunica  
apud quosdam graves homines; quos ego  
recordor in re inani, frigida, adsidua tam insati  
desidere, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hac  
tate non capior. Ac per hos dies libentissime  
meum in litteris colloco, quos alii otiosas  
occupationibus perdunt. Vale.



## VII

C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

AEDIFICARE te scribis. Bene est; inveni  
cinium; aedifico enim iam ratione, quia tecum  
hoc quoque non dissimile, quod ad mare tu,  
Larium lacum.

Huius in litore plures villae meae, sed d  
maxime delectant ita exercent. Altera in  
saxis more Baiano lacum prospicit, altera  
more Baiano lacum tangit. Itaque illar  
goediam, hanc appellare comoediam solco;  
quod quasi cothurnis, hanc quod quasi soccul  
tinetur. Sua utrique amoenitas, et utraque  
denti ipsa diversitate iucundior. Haec lacu p  
illa latius utitur; haec unum sinum molli cur

---

<sup>a</sup> The charioteers and their teams were hired out  
companies or "factions," named from the colours  
livery. The "Greens" and "Blues," introduced  
Imperial times, eclipsed the two older Red and

cheap tunic<sup>a</sup>—never mind it with the vulgar who are more worthless than the tunics they wear but with certain grave personages. When I observe such men thus insatiably fond of so silly, so so uninteresting, so common an entertainment congratulate myself that I am insensible to pleasures: and am glad to devote the leisure of the season to literature, which others throw away the most idle employment. Farewell.

## VII

### TO ROMANUS

YOUR letter informs me that you are engaged in building; 'tis mighty well; I have now found a patronage; for I am doing the same, and since I have you, who shall deny I have reason on my side. We are pretty much agreed likewise, I find, in our situations; as you are building upon the sea-coast and I beside the Larian lake.

I have several villas upon this shore, but there are two particularly, in which as I take most delight they give me the most employment. They are both situated in the manner of those at Baiae; one of them stands upon a rock, and overlooks the sea; the other touches it. The first, supported as it is by the lofty buskin, I call my *Tragedy*; the other, as resting upon the humble sock, my *Comedy*. The former has its peculiar beauties, and recommends itself more to their owner by mere force of contrast. The former enjoys a wider, the latter a nearer prospect of the sea, and had frantic partisans among all the emperors; Caligula and Nero were devotees of the "Greens." Gibbon, c. xl. 2.

amplectitur, illa editissimo dorso duos dirimit  
recta gestatio longo limite super litus extendit  
spatiosissimo xysto leviter inflectitur; illa fluct  
sentit, haec frangit; ex illa possis despiciere pis  
ex hac ipse piscari hamumque de cubiculo ac  
etiam de lectulo ut e navicula iacere. Haec  
causae utrique, quae desunt, adstruendi ob ea  
supersunt. Sed quid ego rationem tibi? apud  
pro ratione erit idem facere. Vale.

## VIII

C. PLINIUS AUGURINO SUO S.

SI laudatus a te laudare te cocpero, vereor,  
tam proferre iudicium meum quam referre g  
videar. Sed, licet videar, omnia scripta tu  
cherrima existimo, maxime tamen illa, quae de  
Accidit hoc una eademque de causa. Nam  
quae de amicis, optime scribis, et ego, quae c  
ut optima lego. Vale.

the lake. This follows the gentle curve of a bay; the salient ridge upon which the other forms two. Here you have a straight extending itself along the shore, there, a terrace that falls by a gentle descent toward The former does not perceive the force of the wind the latter breaks them: from *that* you see fishermen at work below; from *this* you may yourself, and throw your line out of your chair and almost as you lie in bed, as out of a boat. the beauties therefore these agreeable villas point that tempt me to add to them those which wanting.—But I need not assign a reason to who, undoubtedly, will think it a sufficient one you are about the same business. Farewell.

## VIII

### TO AUGURINUS

WERE I to begin praising you from whom I received so much applause, I am afraid I should seem not so much to profess my genuine opinion to confess my gratitude. Nevertheless I will scruple to say, that I think all your productions beautiful, but especially those of which I am subject. And the same reason will account both their deserving that character, and for my thin so: for as on the one hand you ever succeed when writing about your friends; so, on the other I always admire most what is written about me. Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS COLONI SUO S.

UNICE probo, quod Pompeii Quintiani mori dolenter adficeris, ut amissi caritatem desiderandas, non ut plerique, qui tantum viventes seu potius amare se simulant ac ne simulant quod nisi quos florentes vident. Nam miserorum non ac defunctorum obliviscuntur. Sed tibi per fides tantaque in amore constantia, ut finiri morte non possit. Et hercule is fuit Quintianus quem diligi deceat ipsius exemplo. Felices amiseros tuebatur, desiderabat amissos. Ita quanta probitas in ore, quanta in sermone cum quam pari libra gravitas comitasque! quod scientiarum litterarum, quod iudicium! qua pietate cum millimo patre vivebat! quam non obstabat imminus vir optimus videretur, quod erat eius filius!

Sed quid dolorem tuum exulcero? quam sic amasti iuvenem, ut hoc potius quam illo sileri velis, a me praesertim, cuius praedictas putas vitam eius ornari, memoriam praedictam ipsamque illam, qua est raptus, aetatem possidui. Vale.

## IX

## To COLO

I GREATLY approve your being so poignantly affected by the death of Pompeius Quintianus, and keep alive by your regrets your love for a lost friend. Far different from the majority, who love, or rather who counterfeit love to, none but the living; even counterfeit it, save to those whom they see at the height of prosperity! For the unfortunate are forgot as quickly as they do the dead. But your fidelity is perennial, and the constancy of your affection can only end with your life. Quintianus most certainly, well deserved to meet with the most generous warmth from his friends, of which he has left himself so bright an example. He loved them in prosperity; he protected them in adversity; he lamented them in death. How honest was his countenance! how deliberate his speech! how equal did he hold the balance between dignity and courtesy! how fond was he of learning! how judicious his sentiments! how dutiful his communications with a father of a very different character! How completely did he surmount the difficulty of proving himself a good son, without forfeiting the title of a good man!

But I must not sharpen your affliction—you know your affection for this excellent youth requires such, that you had rather endure such a recital, than have his virtues passed over in silence; especially by me, whose applause, you imagine, will adorn his actions, extend his fame, and restore him, as it were, to that life from which he is unhappily snatched. Farewell.

## X

C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

CUPIO praeceptis tuis parere ; sed aprorum penuria est, ut Minervae et Dianae, quas aliter colendas, convenire non possit. Itaque vae tantum serviendum est, delicate tamen secessu et aestate. In via plane non nulla statimque delenda ea garrulitate, qua sermone vehiculo seruntur, extendi. His quaedam ad villam, cum aliud non liberet. Itaque poemata scribunt, quae tu inter nemora et lucos commode perfici putas. Oratiunculam unam, alteram retinet, quamquam id genus operis inamabile, inanem magisque laboribus ruris quam voluptatibus Vale.

## XI

C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

EPISTULAM tuam iucundissimam accepi, eo nescio quod aliquid ad te scribi volebas, quod libri non posset. Obveniet materia, vel haec ipsa quaerantur.



## X

### TO TACITUS

I SHOULD like extremely well to follow your advice, but there is such a scarcity of boars, that it is impossible to reconcile Minerva with Diana, which you think, ought to be worshipped together. I am content myself then with paying my service to the former; and even that half-heartedly, considering it is holiday time and summer weather. I composed indeed, a few trifles in my journey hither, which are only fit to be destroyed, as they are written with the same negligence and inattention that one usually chats upon the road. Since I came to my villa, I have made some few additions to them, not finding myself in a humour for work of more consequence. Thus my poetry, which you imagine is carried on with so much advantage amidst the silence and solemnity of woods and groves, is, in truth, a very stand. I have revised a small oration or treatise, though that kind of work is disagreeable and unentertaining enough, and has a much nearer affinity with rustic labours, than with rural pleasures. Farewell.

## XI

### TO GEMINUS

YOUR letter was particularly agreeable to me, and I mentioned your desire that I would address some epistle to you which might appear in my published correspondence. I shall find matter either in

stras, vel potior alia. Sunt enim in hac officina non nulla: circumfer oculos, et occurrent.

Bibliopolas Lugduni esse non putabam, a libentius ex litteris tuis cognovi venditari meos, quibus peregre manere gratiam, quam collegerint, delector. Incipio enim satis ab existimare, de quo tanta diversitate regionum hominum iudicia consentiunt. Vale.

## XII

### C. PLINIUS IUNIORI SUO S.

CASTIGABAT quidam filium suum, quod paulo tuosius equos et canes emeret. Huic ego digresso; ‘Heus tu, numquamne fecisti, pater corripitur? fecisti, dico, non in facis, quod filius tuus, si repente pater ille, tibi pari gravitate reprehendat? Non omnes in aliquo errore ducuntur? non hic in illo sibi, alius, indulget?’

Hæc tibi admonitus immodicæ severitatis et pro amore mutuo scripsi, ne quando tu quoque tuum acerbius duriusque tractares. Cogita et puerum esse et te fuisse atque ita hoc, quod e

subject you indicate or some preferable one. *yours* contains some points of offence; look at you, and they will be obvious.

As I did not imagine there were any booksellers at Lyons, I am so much the more pleased to learn from your letter that my volumes are sold there. I rejoice to find they retain the favour abroad, which they gained at home; and I begin to flatter myself they are finished compositions, since persons living in entirely different localities are agreed in the sentiments concerning them. Farewell.

## XII

St

### TO JUNIOR

A CERTAIN friend of mine lately corrected his son with great severity before me, for being somewhat too profuse in the article of dogs and horses. "And pray," said I to him (when the youth was withdrawn), "did you never do anything yourself which deserved your father's correction? Nay, you not sometimes even now guilty of acts which your son, were your relations suddenly reversed, might with equal gravity reprove? Are not all mankind subject to errors of some kind? have we not each of us our particular foibles in which we fondly indulge ourselves?"

The great affection subsisting between us, induced me to set this instance of unreasonable severity before you, as a caution not to treat your son with too much rigour and austerity. Consider him is but a boy, and that there was a time when

utere, ut memineris et hominem esse te et patrem. Vale.

### XIII

C. PLINIUS QUADRATO SUO S.

QUANTO studiosius intentiusque legisti libros de Helvidi ultione composui, tanto in postulas, ut perscribam tibi, quaeque extra quaeque circa libros, totum denique ordinem per aetatem non interfuisti.

Occiso Domitiano statui mecum ac deliberare magnam pulchramque materiam insectandi non miseros vindicandi, se proferendi. Porro inter scelera multorum nullum atrocius videbatur quod in senatu senator senatori, praetorius eoque iudex manus intulisset. Fuerat alioque eum Helvidio amicitia, quanta potuerat esse eo, qui metu temporum nomen ingens virtutes secessu tegebat, fuerat cum Annia Fannia, quarum altera Helvidi noverca, mater novercae. Sed non ita me inra pro publicum fas et indignitas facti et exemplum incitabat.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* his speech against Publicius Certus, revised, and divided into "books." See iv. 21, vii. 30.

<sup>b</sup> Sept. 18, 96 A.D.

<sup>c</sup> See iii. 16.

were so too. In exerting, therefore, the authority of a father, remember always that you are a man, the parent of a man. Farewell.



### XIII

#### TO QUADRATUS

THE pleasure and attention with which you read my books<sup>a</sup> *On the Avenging of Helvidius*, has made you, it seems, more earnest in requesting I would fully inform you of particulars not included in, and relevant to, my work, and, in short, of the whole course of the affair, as you were too young to witness it.

When Domitian was killed,<sup>b</sup> I judged, on mature consideration, that a glorious opportunity now offered of pursuing the guilty, vindicating the injured, and advancing one's own career. Further, amidst many crimes whereof many had been guilty, none appeared to me more atrocious, than that one who was at once an ex-praetor and a judge, a senator should in the very senate itself have laid violent hands upon a senator and ex-consul, who then stood arraigned before him. Apart from this, I had maintained with Helvidius the closest friendship that was possible with one who, fearing the tyranny of the times, endeavoured to hide his glory and his no less glorious virtues, by a retired life. I had been intimate, with Arria and her daughter Fannia,<sup>c</sup> who was step-mother to Helvidius. But it was not so much private attachments as the rights of the public, indignation at the crime, and the importance of establishing a precedent, that incited me to action.

Ac primis quidem diebus reddita libertate se quisque inimicos suos, dumtaxat minor condito turbidoque clamore postulaverant oppresserant. Ego et modestius et conarbitratus immanissimum reum non communi porum invidia, sed proprio crimine urgere iam satis primus ille impetus defervisset, quidior in dies ira ad iustitiam redisset, quantum maxime tristis amissa nuper uxore m. Anteam (nupta haec Helvidio fuerat), reveniat, quia me recens adhuc luctus limitineret. Ut venit, 'Destinatum est' inquam, maritum tuum non inultum pati. Nuntia et Fanniae' (ab exsilio redierant); 'consule illas, an velitis adscribi facto, in comite non egeo; sed non ita gloriae meae fut ut vobis societate eius invideam.' Perfert mandata, nec illae morantur.

Opportune senatus intra diem tertium. ego semper ad Corellium retuli, quem proximum aetatis nostrae sapientissimumque c in hoc tamen contentus consilio meo fui, ne vetaret; erat enim cunctantior cautiorque non sustinui inducere in animum, quo mi eodem die facturum me indicarem, quod an t

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of Nerva's reign.

<sup>b</sup> Tacitus also uses *constans* in this sense, *Hist.* (Church and Brodribb.)

<sup>c</sup> See x. 2 n.

In the first days of restored liberty<sup>a</sup> every one had singled out his personal enemy (though it must be confessed, those only of a lower rank) and in the midst of much clamour and confusion, no sooner accused, than crushed him. But for myself, I thought it the more moderate and also the more effectual course against a defendant so steeped in crime, to rely not on the universal detestation of the last resort, but on a specific indictment. When, therefore, the first outburst of rage had fairly subsided and declining resentment gave way to justice, though at that time saddened by the recent loss of my wife, I sent to Anteia, the widow of Helvidius, and desired her to come to me, as my recent mourning obliged me to keep at home. When she arrived, "I am resolved," I said, "not to suffer your husband's crimes remain unavenged. Pray make this known to Julia and Fannia" (they had returned from exile), "and consider along with them whether you will join to lodge an accusation. Not that I want an opportunity, but I am not so fond of my own renown as to grudge your participating in it." Anteia carried my message to those ladies, who at once embraced the proposal.

It happened very opportunely, that the Senate met the next day but one. I never acted without consulting Corellius, in whom I recognised the most far-seeing and the wisest man of our time. I never, in the present ease, I contented myself with following my own plan, which I feared he would veto, as he was of a very slow and cautious temper. But I could not prevail with myself to forego acquainting him, on the day of the event, that I was about to take a step, on which I did not co-

non demerabam, expertus usui de eo, quod naveris, non esse consulendos, quibus et obsequi debeas. Venio in senatum, ius dicendo paulisper maximo adsensu. Ubi coepi attingere, reum destinare, adhuc tamen sine nundique mihi reclamari. Alius: 'Sciamus, quod de quo extra ordinem referas,' alius: 'Quis est relationem reus?' alius: 'Salvi simus, qui sumus.' Audio imperturbatus, interritus; susceptae rei honestas valet, tantumque ad fidem vel metum differt, nolint homines, quod facere non probent.

Longum est omnia, quae tunc hinc inde sunt, recensere. Novissime consul: 'Sententiae loco dices, si quid volueris.' 'Permissum inquam, quod usque adhuc omnibus permissum Resido. Aguntur alia. Interim me quidam consularibus amicis secreto accuratoque sermone nimis fortiter ineauteque progressum corripit, vocat, monet, ut sistam: adiecit etiam notum me futuris principibus. 'Esto' inquam, 'dum

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<sup>a</sup> Ordinarily, motions were put to the Senate by the presiding Consul, who then called upon the members in formal order, to express their opinions. But any senator might bring in a private motion by leave of the House.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "out of the regular order," i.e. by the privilege explained above. <sup>c</sup> sc. Domitian's reign of terror.

<sup>d</sup> "'Tis very remarkable, that when any senator was called upon for his opinion in the house, he had the privilege of speaking as long as he pleased upon any other affair." (Melm.)

<sup>e</sup> Nerva had not yet adopted an heir. His choice of Trajan (97 A.D.) put an end to wide-spread anxiety.



anyone; experience having taught me the unwise of consulting on a predetermined affair those whose judgment you are bound to follow, if you do consult them. The Senate being assembled, I came into the house, and begged leave to introduce a motion: I spoke for a few moments with universal assent. When I began to touch upon the charge, and indeed whom I intended to accuse (though as yet without mentioning him by name) I was attacked on all sides. "Let us know," says one, "who is the object of this extraordinary motion." <sup>b</sup> "Who is it," asked another, "that is thus actually put on trial before the question of indicting him has been submitted to the House?" "Let us be safe," added a third, "who have survived." <sup>c</sup> I heard all this unruffled and undismayed; such strength is derived from a good cause, and so much difference it makes with respect to confidence or fear, whether the world deprecates or disapproves, your action.

It would be too tedious to relate all that was thrown out by different sides upon this occasion. At length the Consul said, "You will be at liberty, Secundus, to speak on whatever you wish to propose, when you are called upon to give your opinion on the business of the day." <sup>d</sup> "The permission you granted and I withdraw," said I, "you never yet refused to attend, and so sat down; when immediately the House went upon other affairs. In the meanwhile, one of my consular friends took me aside, and with great earnestness telling me he thought I had carried on this affair with more boldness than prudence, used every method of reproof and persuasion, to prevail with me to desist. He even added that I should find myself a marked man under future Emperors." <sup>e</sup> "So be

vix in se discesserat, rursus alter: "Quid aude-  
ris? quibus te periculis obiicis? quid praese-  
confidis incertus futurorum? lacessis homine  
praefectum aerarii et brevi consulem, praeter  
gratia, quibus amicitiiis fultum!" Nominat quos  
qui tunc ad orientem amplissimum et fa-  
simum exercitum non sine magnis dubiisque  
bus obtinebat. Ad haec ego: "Omnia praese-  
atque animo mecum ante peregi"<sup>1</sup> nec recus-  
casus attulerit, luere poenas ob honestissimum  
dum flagitiosissimum uleiscor.'

Iam censendi tempus. Dicit Domitius  
linaris, consul designatus, dicit Fabricius V-  
Fabius Postumius, Vettius Proculus, collega  
Certi, de quo agebatur, uxoris autem meae,  
amiseram, vitricus, post hos Ammius F-  
Omnes Certum nondum a me nominatum ut n-  
tum defendunt, crimenque quasi in medio re-  
defensione suscipiunt. Quae praeterea dixerit  
est necesse narrare; in libris habes. Sum enim  
ipsorum verbis persecutus

Dicunt contra Avidius Quietus, Cornutus  
tullus; Quietus, iniquissimum esse querel-  
lentium excludi, ideoque Arriae et Fanni

<sup>1</sup> Verg. *Aen.* vi. 105.

<sup>a</sup> sc. of Saturn; see x. 3 A, note b.

quoth I, "if they are bad Emperors." He had seen  
left me, when a second came up: "For God's sake  
said he, "what are you attempting? Will you  
yourself? Do you consider to what hazards you  
exposed? Why will you presume on the present  
situation of public affairs, when it is so uncertain  
what turn they may hereafter take? You are attacking  
a man who is actually at the head of the treasury  
and will shortly be Consul. Besides, consider what  
credit he has, and with what powerful friendships  
is supported!" Upon which he named a certain  
person, who (not without several strong and  
suspicious rumours) was then commanding a powerful  
army in the east. I replied,

"All I've foreseen, and oft in thought revolv'd  
and am willing, if so it falls out, to suffer pains  
penalties for an honourable action, provided I avoid  
an infamous one."

The time for the members to give their opinion  
was now arrived. Domitius Apollinaris, the consul  
elect, spoke first; after him Fabricius Veientinus,  
Fabius Postumius, Vettius Proculus, (my late wife's  
step-father, and the colleague of Publicius Certus  
whom the debate turned,) and lastly Ammius Flaccus.  
They all defended Certus, as if I had named him  
(tho' I had not yet done so), and thus as it were took  
up the challenge of my accusation. I need not  
relate what they said further, as you can read it  
word for word in my speech.

Avidius Quietus and Cornutus Tertullius spoke  
the opposite sense. The former observed, that  
was extremely unjust not to hear the complaints  
those in distress, and therefore that Arria

querentia non amittendam, nec interesse, cuius  
 dinis quis sit, sed quam causam habeat; Con-  
 datum se a consulibus tutorem Helvidi filiae pu-  
 bus matre eius et vitrico; nunc quoque non sus-  
 deserere officii sui partes, in quo tamen et suo  
 modum imponere et optimarum feminarum pe-  
 modestissimum adfectum; quas contentas es-  
 monere senatum Publici Certi cruentae adul-  
 et petere, si poena flagitii manifestissimi remi-  
 nota certe quasi censoria inuratur. Tum S-  
 Rufus medio ambiguoque sermone ‘Puto’  
 ‘iniuriam factam Publicio Certo, si non abso-  
 nominatus est ab amicis Arriae et Fannia  
 minatus ab amicis suis. Nec debemus solliciti  
 idem enim nos, qui bene sentimus de h-  
 iudicaturi sumus; si innocens est, sicuti et  
 et malo, donec aliquid probetur, credo po-  
 absolvere.’

Haec illi, quo quisque ordine citabantur. V-  
 ad me; consurgo, utor initio, quod in libr-

<sup>a</sup> A reply to the plea above, *salvi simus, qui super-*  
 against any further prosecutions of *Senators*, so u-  
 whom had perished in that way under Domitian.

<sup>b</sup> Towards Domitian, at whose desire he brought a  
 charge against Helvidius.

<sup>c</sup> During the Republic, the list of senators was  
 once in five years by the Censors, who affixed a mark  
 to the names of those whom they thought proper to do  
 Annual revision of the list, and expulsion of any sen-  
 discretion had now become part of the emperor's prerog-

Fannia ought not to be denied the privilege of laying their grievances before the house; and the point to be considered was not the rank of the person, but the merit of the cause.<sup>a</sup> Cornutus told the house, that as he was appointed guardian to the daughter of Helvidius by the consuls, upon the petition of her mother and her step-father, he could not bring himself to abandon the confidence of his trust on this occasion. In fulfilling it, however, he would restrain his personal indignation, and report the extremely moderate sentiments of the excellent ladies. They desired no more, he said, than to bring to the Senate's notice the bloodstains which Certus procured in his obsequiousness,<sup>b</sup> and the request that, if the legal penalty of his notorious crime were remitted, at least Certus might be branded with some disgrace equivalent to degradation by the Censors.<sup>c</sup> Satrius Rufus then expressed himself in neutral and ambiguous terms. "I am of opinion," said he, "that injustice will be done to Certus, if he is not acquitted (I do not scruple to name him, since the friends of Arria and Fannia, as well as his own, have done so). Nor has the Senate any grounds for anxiety; for we, who think of the man, are to be his judges. If he is innocent (as I hope and wish, and till something be proved against him, shall believe he is), it will be in our power to acquit him."

Thus they delivered their several opinions, in the order in which they were called upon. When it came to my turn, I rose up, and using the same exordium which appears in the published speech, I replied to the effect, and he might be induced to degrade Certus if the Senate expressed condemnation of him. (Merrill.)

respondeo singulis. Mirum qua intentione, clamoribus omnia exceperint, qui modo reclamantem tanta conversio vel negotii dignitatem, vel patetum orationis, vel actoris constantiam subvertit. Finio. Incipit respondere Veiento; patitur; obturbatur, obstrepitur adeo quidem diceret: 'Rogo, patres conscripti, ne me compellat implorare auxilium tribunorum.' Et statim M. Valerius tribunus: 'Permitto tibi, vir clarissime Veiento, dicere.' Tunc quoque reclamatur. Inter consul citatis nominibus et peracta discessione senatum, ac p. aene adhuc stantem temptantem dicere Veintonem reliquit. Multum ille dicitur (ita vocabatur) contumelia, questus est Horatius versu :

ᾠ γέρον, ἧ μάλα δὴ σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχηταί

Non fere quisquam in senatu fuit, qui non complecteretur, exosclaretur, certatimque cumulare, quod intermissum iandiu moro publicum consulendi susceptis propriis simulte redixissem, quod denique senatum invidia libera qua flagrabat apud ordines alios, quod severo ceteros senatoribus solis dissimulatione quasi parceret.

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* viii. 102.

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<sup>a</sup> Theoretically, the Tribunes could still control the procedure of the Senate by interposing their veto. Veiento appealed to them to protect him in exercising his right of giving his opinion (*ius censendi*).

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* introducing a bill, which had become virtually a prerogative of the Emperor. See next note.

severally. It is surprising with what attention, with what applause I was heard by those who just before were exclaiming against me; such a wonder conversion was wrought either by the importance of the affair, the successful progress of the speech, the resolution of the advocate. After I had finished Veiento began to reply; not a soul would hear him; the general clamour raised against him was so overpowering that he was reduced to saying, "I hope, my lords, you will not oblige me to implore the assistance of the Tribunes." <sup>a</sup> Immediately the Tribune Murena cried out, "You have my leave, most illustrious Veiento, to proceed." But still the uproar was renewed. In the interval the Consul put the question severally to the rest, and having taken a division, dismissed the Senate, leaving Veiento in the midst, still attempting to speak. He made great complaints of this affront (as we call it) applying the following lines of Homer to himself:

"Great perils, father, wait th' unequal fight;  
Those younger champions will oppress thy might."

There was scarce a man in the House that did not embrace and kiss me, and vie in loading me with praises. They extolled me because, at the risk of exciting private animosities, I had revived a custom so long disused, of consulting the Senate in the interest of the public <sup>b</sup>; in fine, because I had wiped off that reproach which was thrown upon the Senate by the other orders of citizens, though while severe towards the rest of the community it let its own members escape its justice by a sort of mutual connivance.

Haec acta sunt absente Certo; abiit enim tale aliquid suspicatus, sive, ut excusabatur, i. Et relationem quidem de eo Caesar ad senatū remisit; obtinui tamen, quod intenderam collega Certi consulatum, successorem Certus planeque factum est, quod dixeram in fine, praemium sub optimo principe, quod a pessimo.

Postea actionem meam, utcumque potui, reddidi multa. Accidit fortuitum, sed non tantum fortuitum quod editis libris Certus intra paucos dies implicitus morbo decessit. Audivi re hanc imaginem menti eius, hanc oculis oblatam, tamquam videret me sibi cum ferro imminere. haec, adfirmare non ausim; interest tamen ut vera videantur.

Habes epistulam, si modum epistolae libris, quos legisti, non minorem; sed imputa qui contentus libris non fuisti. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> From Vespasian's time, the *ius relationis*, i. e. to submit a motion to the Senate, belonged to the *relationem remittere* was the technical term for his at the request of the Senate itself (addressed to him the Consuls). We gather that Pliny's motion for prosecute Certus was carried by a large majority, the Senate could not proceed further without



All this was transacted in the absence of Certus who kept out of the way either because he suspected something of the kind was on foot, or (as was said his excuse) that he was really indisposed. Caesar did not, it is true, refer his case to the Senate. But I obtained nevertheless, what I aimed at, his colleague was appointed to a consulship, while he himself was superseded. And thus, the wish with which I concluded my speech, was actually accomplished: "May he be obliged," said I, "to renounce under a virtuous prince that reward received under an infamous one." <sup>b</sup>

Some time after I reconstituted my speech as well as I could, and considerably enlarged it. It chanced (though such an event seemed more than a coincidence) that a few days after I had published those books, Certus was taken ill and died. I heard reports that he not only imagined, but actually saw a figure haunting him—and the apparition was no other than myself, threatening him with a sword. Whether this story is true or not, I cannot venture to affirm; but with a view to pointing a moral, so important that it should be accounted true.

And here you have a letter which, if you consider the limits of a letter, is as long as the books you have perused. But you must blame yourself for that, since the books did not suffice you. Farewell.

*relatio* from Nerva, whose policy was to let bygones be bygones, and who accordingly allowed the matter to drop.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* "May Nerva deprive him of the treasurership which Domitian gave him."

## XIV

## C. PLINIUS TACITO SUO S.

NEC ipse tibi plaudis, et ego nihil magis quam de te scribo. Posteris an aliqua cura nescio, nos certe meremur, ut sit aliqua, ne ingenio (id enim superbum), sed studio et et reverentia posterorum. Pergamus modo instituto, quod ut paucos in lucem famamque protulit, ita multos e tenebris et silentio protulit. Val

## XV

## C. PLINIUS FALCONI SUO S.

REFUGERAM in TUSCOS, ut omnia ad ar meum facerem. At hoc ne in Tuscis quidem multis undique rusticorum libellis et tam inquietor, quos aliquanto magis invitus quam lego: nam et meos invitus. Retracto enim culas quasdam, quod post intercapedinem t et frigidum et acerbum est. Rationes quasi a me negleguntur. Interdum tamen equum cor et patrem familiae hactenus ago, quod a

## XIV

### TO TACITUS

You do not blow your own trumpet, and I, for my part, never write more sincerely than when I write about you. Whether future generations will pay you some regard, I know not; but let us anyhow endeavor to get some regard, I will not say by our genius (that would be arrogant) but by our zeal, our labours, our reverence for posterity. Let us but proceed in the course we have begun; which, as it has conducted some few to the sunshine of fame, so it has led out numbers from nameless obscurity. Farewell.

## XV

### TO FALCO

I fled to my Tuscan estate in order to do just as I pleased; but that privilege is denied me even here, so greatly am I harassed by showers of petitions, which are so many complaints—from my various tenants. I look over their papers with more reluctance than my own; for, to confess the truth, it is with great unwillingness I review even those I am revising, however, some little orations; my employment which, after a length of time had intervened, is but of a very cold and unentertaining kind. In the meanwhile my private affairs are neglected as much as if I were absent. Yet I sometimes so far act the part of a careful master of my family, as to mount my horse and ride about

partem praediorum, sed pro gestatione percurrere  
consuetudinem serva nobisque sic rusticis  
acta perscribe. Vale.

## XVI

C. PLINIUS MAMILIANO SUO S.

SUMMAM te voluptatem percipisse ex isto  
sissimo genere venandi non miror, cum histor  
more scribas numerum iniri non potuisse.  
venari nec vacat, nec libet; non vacat, quia vin  
in manibus; non libet, quia exiguae. De  
tamen pro novo musto novos versiculos  
iucundissime exigenti, ut primum videbuntur  
visse, mittemus. Vale.

## XVII

C. PLINIUS GENITORI SUO S.

RECEPI litteras tuas, quibus quereris tac  
fuisse quamvis lautissimam cenam, quia s  
cinaedi, moriones mensis inerrabant. Vis tu  
tere aliquid ex rugis? Equidem nihil tale

farms, but merely in lieu of taking exercise in my *a*  
As for you, I hope you will keep up your old custom  
and give your rustie friend an account of what  
going forward in town. Farewell.

## XVI

### TO MAMILIANUS

IT is no wonder a chace on the vast scale  
mention afforded you infinite pleasure, "the number  
the slain" (as you write in true historian phrase) "is  
not to be counted." As for myself, I have nei-  
leisure nor inclination for sports of that kind:  
leisure because I am in the midst of my vinta-  
not inclination because it has proved an extreme  
one this season. However, I shall be able, I hope  
*draw off* some new verses, in default of new w  
for your entertainment, which (since you req  
them in so agreeable a manner) I will not fai  
send you as soon as they shall be thoroughly *set*  
Farewell.

## XVII

### TO GENITOR

I HAVE received your letter, in which you com-  
of being highly disgusted lately at an entertainm  
though exceeding splendid, by a set of buffo  
fools, and wanton prostitutes, who were play  
their antic tricks round the tables. But let  
advise you to smooth your brow a little. I can  
indeed, I admit nothing of this kind at my

nequaquam me ut inexpectatum festivumve de  
si quid molle a cinaedo, petulans a scurra, stu  
morione profertur. Non rationem, sed stom  
tibi narro. Atque adeo quam multos putas  
quos aequae ea, quibus ego et tu capimur et du  
partim ut inepta, partim ut molestissima offer  
Quam multi, cum lector [aut lyristes aut con  
inductus est, calceos poscunt aut non minor  
tadio recubant, quam tu ista (sic enim ap  
prodigia perpessus es! Demus igitur alienis ob  
tionibus veniam, ut nostris impetremus. Vale.

## XVIII

C. PLINIUS SABINO SUO S.

QUA intentione, quo studio, qua denique m  
legeris libellos meos, epistula tua ostendit  
igitur exhibes negotium tibi, qui elicis et invi  
quam plurima communicare tecum velim. F  
per partes tamen et quasi digesta, ne istam

house; however, I bear with it in others. "why then (you will be ready to ask) "should you have them yourself?" The truth is, because soft gestures from a wanton, the pleasantries from a buffoon, or the folly from a professed fool, give me no entertainment, as they give you no surprise. It is my taste, you see, not my principles, that I plead against them. And indeed, what numbers there are, think you, who distaste the entertainments which you and I are most delighted with, and consider them either trivial or wearisome! How many are there, who as soon as a reader, a musician, or a comedian is introduced, either take their leave of the company, or if they continue at the table, shew as much dislike to this kind of diversions, as I did at those *monsters*, as you call them! Let us bear therefore, my friend, with others in their amusements, that they, in return, may shew indulgence to ours. Farewell.

## XVIII

### TO SABINUS

WITH what care and attention you have read my works, and how perfectly treasure them in your memory, your letter is a sufficient testimony. Do you consider then, what a troublesome affair you are bringing upon your hands, when you kindly entice me, by every friendly art, to communicate to you as many of them as possible? I cannot, certainly, refuse your request; but shall comply with it, however, at different intervals, and observe some kind

turbem oneratamque et quasi oppressam  
pluribus singula, posterioribus priora dimittit.  
Vale.

## XIX

C. PLINIUS RUSONI SUO S.

SIGNIFICAS legisse te in quadam epistula  
iussisse Verginium Rufum inscribi sepulcro.

‘ Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quomodo  
Imperium adseruit non sibi, sed patriae.’

Reprehendis, quod iusserit, addis etiam  
rectiusque Frontinum, quod vetuerit omnino  
numentum sibi fieri, meque ad extremum, quod  
utroque sentiam, consulis. Utrumque dilexi  
ratus sum magis, quem tu reprehendis, atque i  
ratus, ut non putarem satis unquam laudari  
cuius nunc mihi subeunda defensio est. Omne  
qui magnum aliquod memorandumque fecerunt  
modo venia, verum etiam laude dignissimos i  
si immortalitatem, quam meruere, sectantur v  
que nominis famam supremis etiam titulis pro  
nituntur.



succession. For I would not by too copious and frequent a supply, over-burthen and confound memory to which I already owe so many acknowledgments; nor, in short, pour in such an unreasonable quantity, as to oblige it to discharge what it before received, in order to retain what follows. Farewell.

## XIX

### To Russo

You have read, it seems, in a letter of mine that Virginius Rufus directed the following lines to be inscribed upon his tomb:

“Here Rufus lies, who raised in victory’s hour  
His country, not himself, to sovran power:”

for which you blame him, adding that Fromm acted much more worthily in forbidding any monument whatsoever to be erected to his memory. And in the conclusion of your letter you desire sentiments upon each. I loved them both; but I confess I admired *him* most whom you condemn, and to such a degree, that so far from imagining I ever should have occasion to rise up in his defence, I thought he could never be sufficiently applauded. In my opinion, every man who has acted a great and memorable part, deserves not only to be excused, but extolled, if he pursues that glorious immortality of fame he has merited and endeavours to perpetuate, and to leave an everlasting remembrance of himself, even by an epitaph.

\* vi. 10. Cf. ii. 1.

Nec facile quemquam nisi virginium inveni-  
 cuius tanta in praedicando verecundia quae  
 gloria ex facto. Ipse sum testis, familiariter ab  
 dilectus probatusque, semel omnino me audi-  
 provectum, ut de rebus suis hoc unum referret  
 secum aliquando Cluvium locutum : ‘Seis, Ver-  
 quae historiae fides debeat; proinde si quis  
 historiis meis legis aliter ac velis, rogo ignosce.  
 Ad hoc ille : ‘Tunc, Cluvi, ignoras, ideo me feci  
 quod feci, ut esset liberum vobis scribere, con-  
 libuisset?’

Age dum, hunc ipsum Frontinum in hoc  
 in quo tibi pareior videtur et pressior, compare.  
 Vetuit extrui monumentum; sed quibus verum  
 ‘Impensa monumenti supervacua est; memoria non  
 durabit, si vita meruimus.’ An restrictius arbit-  
 per orbem terrarum legendum dare duraturam  
 memoriam suam, quam uno in loco duobus versi-  
 signare, quod feceris? Quamquam non habeo  
 positum illum reprehendendi, sed hunc tue  
 cuius quae potest apud te iustior esse defensio quae  
 ex collatione eius, quem praetulisti? Meo qui  
 iudicio neuter culpandus, quorum uterque ad glo-  
 pari cupiditate, diverso itinere contendit, alter,  
 expetit debitos titulos; alter, dum mavult vi-  
 contempsisse. Vale.

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<sup>a</sup> Consul under Caligula; pro-consul of Spain under Nero.  
 Tacitus, Plutarch, and Suetonius seem to have drawn  
 his (lost) history of his own times for their accounts of Galba,  
 Otho, and Vitellius.

Yet hardly could I name a man, who had formed such great achievements, so modestly served upon the subject of his own actions, as Virginius was. I can bear him witness (and I had happiness to enjoy his intimacy and affection) that he never but once heard him mention his own conduct and that was, in giving an account of a conversation which passed between him and Cluvius <sup>a</sup>: “You know, Virginius,” (said Cluvius to him,) “the fidelity required in an historian; you will pardon me therefore, I hope, if you should meet with any thing in my works, that is not agreeable to you.” “O Cluvius,” he replied, “can you be ignorant that what I have done in order that you historians might enjoy the liberty of writing what you please?”

But let us compare Frontinus with him in every instance wherein you think the former is more modest and reserved. He forbid a monument to be erected to him, it is true; but in what words? “The expense of a monument,” says he, “is superfluous; my memory will endure if my actions deserve it. Is there less vanity, do you think, thus to purchase a record for all the world to read that his memory would endure; than to mark upon a single tablet or stone, in two lines, the actions one has performed? It is not, however, my design to condemn my favourite; I only mean to defend Virginius; what defence can be more prevailing with you, than one drawn from a comparison between him and the person you prefer? In my own opinion, indeed, neither of them is blameworthy, since they both pursued glory with equal passion, but by different roads; the former in desiring those monuments and honours he had merited: the latter in rather choosing the appearance of despising them. Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS VENATORI SUO S.

TUA vero epistula tanto mihi iucundior fuit, quod longior erat, praesertim cum de libellis meis loqueretur; quos tibi voluptati esse non miror, omnia nostra perinde ac nos ames.

Ipse cum maxime vindemias graciles quibus uberiores tamen quam expectaveram, colligere colligere est, non nunquam decerpere uvam, tulum invisere, gustare de lacu mustum, obrucum urbanis, qui nunc rusticis praesunt meque non et lectoribus reliquerunt. Vale.

## XXI

✓ C. PLINIUS SABINIANO SUO S.

LIBERTUS tuus, cui succensere te dixeras, ad me, advolutusque pedibus meis, tamquam haesit. Flevit multum, multumque rogavit, me etiam tacuit; in summa, fecit mihi fidem persistentiae. Vere credo emendatum, quia deliquit sentit

## XX

## TO VENATOR

THE longer your letter was, so much the agreeable I thought it, especially as it turned en upon my works. I am not at all surprised you should find a pleasure in them, since I know you have the same affection for every thing that belongs to me as you have for myself.

The getting in of my vintage (which though it proved but a slender one this season, is, however, more plentiful than I expected) particularly entertains me at present. If indeed I can with any propriety say so, who only gather a grape now and then, tread the vine-press, taste the must in the vat, and saunter with my town-servants; who being now engaged in assisting their rustic fellows, have wholly abandoned me and my readers and my secretaries. Farewell.

## XXI

## TO SABINIANUS

YOUR freedman, whom you lately mention as having displeas'd you, has been with me; he threw himself at my feet and clung there with as much submission as he could have done at yours. He earnestly requested me with many tears, and with the eloquence of silent sorrow, to intercede for him; in short, he convinc'd me by his whole behaviour, that he sincerely repents of his fault. I am persuas'd he is thoroughly reformed, because he seems entirely sensible of his delinquency.

Irascaris, scio ; et irascaris merito, id quoque sed tunc praecipua mansuetudinis laus, cum causa iustissima est. Amasti hominem et, si amabis ; interim sufficit, ut exorari te sinas. Licet rursus irasci, si meruerit, quod exoratus excus facies. Remitte aliquid adulescentiae ipsius, re lacrimis, remitte indulgentiae tuae ; ne torseris i ne torseris etiam te. Torqueris enim, cum tam irascaris.

Vereor, ne videar non rogare, sed cogere precibus eius meas iunxero. Iungam tamen plenius et effusius, quanto ipsum acrius severi corripui destriete minatus numquam me p rogaturum. Hoc illi, quem terreri oportebat non idem. Nam fortasse iterum rogabo, impe iterum ; sit modo tale, ut rogare me, ut praesta deceat. Vale.

## XXII

C. PLINIUS SEVERO SUO S.

MAGNA me sollicitudine adfecit Passenni valetudo et quidem plurimis iustissimisque de c

I know you are angry with him, and I know that is not without reason ; but clemency can never beget itself with more applause, than when there is the most justest cause for resentment. You once had an affection for this man, and, I hope, will have a great one in the meanwhile, let me only prevail with you to pardon him. If he should incur your displeasure hereafter, you will have so much the stronger an excuse for your anger, as you shew yourself more inexorable to him now. Allow something to his youth, to his tears, and to your own natural mildness and temper : do not make him uneasy any longer, and do not will add too, do not make yourself so ; for a man of your benevolence of heart cannot be angry with a man, without feeling great uneasiness.

I am afraid, were I to join my entreaties with yours, I should seem rather to compel, than request you to forgive him. Yet I will not scruple to do it ; and will do it much the more fully and freely as I have before so sharply and severely reproved him, positively threatening never to interpose again in his behalf. I thought though it was proper to say this to him, in order to make him more fearful of offending, I do not say it to you. I may, perhaps, again have occasion to intreat you upon his account, and again obtain your forgiveness ; supposing, I mean, his error should be such as may become me to intercede for, and you to pardon. Farewell.

## XXII

### TO SEVERUS

I HAVE BEEN much alarmed by the ill state of the health of Passenus Paulus, as indeed I had good and just reasons. He has a most excellent

Vir est optimus, honestissimus, nostri amantissimus, praeterea in litteris veteres aemulatur, experdit, Propertium in primis, a quo genus ducit, soboles eoque simillima illi, in quo ille praecipue. Si elegos eius in manus sumpseris, leges tersum, molle, iucundum et plane in Propertio scriptum.

Nuper ad lyrica deflexit, in quibus ita Horatius ut in illis illum alterum effingit. Putes, si quae studiis cognatio valet, et huius propinquum. Magna varietas, magna mobilitas. Amat ut qui veris dolet ut qui impatientissime, laudat ut qui gnissime, ludit ut qui facetissime, omnia de tamquam singula absolvit.

Pro hoc ego amico, pro hoc ego ingenio minus aeger animo, quam corpore ille, tandem illum, tandem me recepi. Gratulare mihi, gratulare



generous heart, of which I have the happiness to share the warmest friendship. In his writings he very successfully emulates the ancients, whose style and manner he has closely imitated and happily restored; especially that of Propertius, to whom he is no less related by genius, than by blood, and particularly resembles that poet in his chief excellency. When you read his elegies, whatever elegant, tender, and agreeable, will conspire to charm you; as you will clearly discover they derive their lineage from Propertius.

He has lately made some attempts in the same kind, in which he as successfully copies the manner of Horace as in his elegies he has that of the poet just mentioned. You would imagine, there such a thing as a kindred in genius, that the blood of Horace likewise flowed in his veins. He displays a most wonderful variety and versatility when he describes the passion of love, you perceive his heart is entirely possessed by the most tender sentiments; when he paints the emotions of grief you see his breast is penetrated with the deepest sorrow; when he enters upon topics of panegyric is with all the ardour of the warmest benevolence when he diverts himself with subjects of pleasure it is in the spirit of the most agreeable gaiety. In short, whatever species of poetry he engages in he executes it with such a masterly hand, that one would imagine it were the single branch to which he had applied himself.

The dangerous indisposition of such a friend, such a genius afflicted me in mind no less than in body. But at length *he* is recovered, and peace is restored. Congratulate me, my friend,

etiam litteris ipsis, quae ex periculo eius ta  
discrimen adierunt, quantum ex salute gloriae  
sequentur. Vale.

## XXIII

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SUO S.

FREQUENTER agenti mihi evenit, ut centur  
cum diu se intra iudicium auctoritatem gravita  
que tenuissent, omnes repente quasi victi coac  
consurgerent laudarentque; frequenter e senat  
mam, qualem maxime optaveram, rettuli; num  
tamen maiorem cepi voluptatem, quam nup  
sermone Corneli Taciti. Narrabat sedisse s  
circensibus proximis equitem Romanum. Hunc  
varios eruditosque sermones requisisse: 'Italic  
an provincialis?' Se respondisse: 'Nosti me et qu  
ex studiis.' Ad hoc illum, 'Tacitus es an Plin  
Exprimere non possum, quam sit iucundum  
quod nomina nostra quasi litterarum propria  
hominum, litteris redduntur, quod uterque no  
his etiam ex studiis notus, quibus aliter ig  
est.

Accidit aliud ante pauculos dies simile. Re  
bebat mecum vir egregius, Fabius Rufinus, super

congratulate also literature itself, which ran as great a hazard by his danger, as it will receive glory by recovery. Farewell.



### XXIII

#### TO MAXIMUS

It has frequently happened, as I have been pleading before the centumviri, that those judges, after having preserved as long as possible the gravity and solemnity suitable to their character, have at length as though overcome and compelled, suddenly risen up with one consent to applaud me. I have often likewise gained as much glory in the senate by my utmost wishes could desire: but I never was so much touched with a more sensible pleasure than by the account which I lately received from Cornelius Tacitus. He informed me, that at the last Circensian games, he sat next to a Roman knight, who, after a much discourse had passed between them upon various points of learning, asked him if he was Italian or a provincial? Tacitus replied, "Your acquaintance with literature must have informed you who I am." "Ay!" said the knight, "But then is it Tacitus or Pliny I am talking with?" I cannot express how highly I am pleased to find that our names, as if they were rather the proper appellatives of letters than of men, are ascribed to literature itself; and that those very pursuits render us known to those, who would be ignorant of us by any other means.

An accident of the same nature happened to me a few days ago. Fabius Rufinus, a person of

municeps ipsius, qui mo die primum venit  
urbem; cui Rufinus demonstrans me: 'Vides h  
Multa deinde de studiis nostris. Et ille 'E  
est' inquit. Verum fatebor, capio magnum  
mei fructum. An, si Demosthenes iure laetatur  
quod illum anus Attica ita noscitavit, 'Οὐτ  
Δημοσθένης,' ego celebritate nominis mei gaude  
debeo? Ego vero et gaudeo et gaudere me  
Neque enim vereor, ne iactantior videar, cum  
aliorum iudicium non meum profero, pra  
apud te, qui nec ullius invides laudibus et  
nostris. Vale

## XXIV

C. PLINIUS SABINIANO SUO S.

BENE fecisti, quod libertum aliquando tibi  
reducentibus epistulis meis in domum, in a  
recepisti. Iuvabit hoc te; me certe iuvat, p  
quod te tam tractabilem<sup>1</sup> video, ut in ira regi  
deinde quod tantum mihi tribuis, ut vel auc

<sup>1</sup> tam tractabilem *M*, *Müller*, talem *a*, *Bipon*

tinguished merit, was placed next to me at table and above him a fellow-townsmen of his, who had just then come to Rome for the first time. Rufus desired his friend to take notice of me, and fell expatiating upon the subject of my eloquence, to whom the other immediately replied, "That man undoubtedly be Pliny." To own the truth, I set upon these instances as a very considerable recompense of my labours. Had Demosthenes reproached to be pleased with the old woman of Athens crying out on recognizing him "There goes Demosthenes" and may I not be allowed to congratulate myself upon the extensive reputation my name has acquired? Yes, my friend, I will rejoice in it, without scruple own that I do. As I only merit the judgement of others concerning me, not in opinion I conceive of myself, I am not afraid incurring the censure of vanity; especially from you who, as you envy no man's reputation, so you are particularly zealous for mine. Farewell.

## XXIV

### TO SABINIANUS

I GREATLY approve of your having, under countenance of my<sup>a</sup> letter, received again into your family in favour, a freed-man, whom you once admitted in your share of your affection. It will afford you, I doubt not, great satisfaction. It certainly, at least, has done both as it is a proof that you are capable of being governed in your anger, and as it is an instance of your paying so much regard to me, as either to

<sup>a</sup> ix. 21.

meae pareas vel precibus indulgeas. Igitur et  
et gratias ago; simul in posterum moneo,  
erroribus tuorum, etsi non fuerit, qui depre-  
placabilem praestes. Vale.

## XXV

C. PLINIUS MAMILIANO SUO S.

QUERERIS de turba castrensium negotiorum  
tamquam summo otio perfruare, lusus et in  
nostras legis, amas, flagitas meque ad similia con-  
non mediocriter incitas. Incipio enim ex hoc g-  
studiorum non solum oblectationem, verum  
gloriam petere post iudicium tuum, viri grav-  
eruditissimi ac super ista verissimi. Nunc me  
actus modice, sed tamen dstringit; quo-  
aliquid earundem Camenarum in istum ber-  
simum sinum mittam. Tu passerculis et colum-  
nostris inter aquilas vestras dabis pennas, si tan-  
sibi et tibi placebunt, si tantum sibi, contin-  
cavea nidove curabis. Vale.

## XXVI

C. PLINIUS LUPERCO SUO S.

DIXI de quodam oratore seculi nostri recto q-  
et sano, sed parum grandi et ornato, ut opinor,

my authority or to yield to my entreaty. You accept therefore, at once, both of my applause and my thanks. At the same time, I must advise for the future to be placable towards erring servants, though there should be none to interpose in their behalf. Farewell.

## XXV

### TO MAMILIANUS

THOUGH you complain of the crowd of my affairs which press upon you, yet, as if you were enjoying the most uninterrupted leisure, you still admire and demand my poetical trifles and little encourage me still to persevere in them. I begin, indeed, to pursue this kind of study, not with a view to my amusement, but my glory, and they have approved themselves to the judgement of a man of your gravity and learning, and worth more than all, of your veracity. At present I have some causes upon my hands, which (though very deeply indeed, however) engage me; when I shall have dispatched these, I will again trust myself in your candid bosom. You will suffer my doves and sparrows to take wing among your ears, if you should have the same good opinion of them as they have of themselves; if not, you will kindly confine them to their cage or their nests. Farewell.

## XXVI

### TO LUPERCUS

I SAID once (and I think not improperly) of a certain orator of the present age, whose compositions are extremely regular and correct, but by no means

‘Nihil peccat, nisi quod nihil peccat.’ Debet orator crigi, attolli, interdum etiam effervescenter efferi ac saepe accedere ad praeceps. Nam plerumque altis et excelsis adiacent abrupta; tutius plana, sed humiliter et depressius iter; frequenter currentibus quam reptantibus lapsus, sed his labentibus nulla, illis non nulla laus, etiamsi labantur. Nam ut quasdam artes ita eloquentiam nihil nisi quam ancipitia commendant. Vides, qui per fluctus in summa nituntur, quantos soleant excitare clamores cum iam iamque casuri videntur. Sunt enim maxima mirabilia, quae maxime insperata, maxime periculosa, utque Graeci magis exprimunt, παράβολα. nequaquam par gubernatoris est virtus, cum placido et cum turbato mari vehitur; tunc admirante illaudatus, inglorius subit portum; at, cum stridentibus funes, curvatur arbor, gubernacula gemunt, tunc clarus et dis maris proximus.

Cur haec? Quia<sup>1</sup> visus es mihi in scriptis adnotasse quaedam ut tumida, quae ego sublimiter improba, quae ego audentia, ut nimia, quae ego periclitari arbitrabar. Plurimum autem refert, reprehendit

<sup>1</sup> Cur haec? Quia *Dpa*, *K* ii., Haec, quia *M*, *K* i.



sublime and ornamented, "His only fault is, he has none." For the true orator should be and elevated, and sometimes even flame out and hurried away with all the warmth and violence of passion, in short, he should frequently soar to great and even dangerous heights. For precipices are generally near whatever is towering and exalted, whereas the plain affords a safer, but for the most part a more humble and inglorious path; that run are more likely to stumble than they creep; but the latter gain no honour by not slipping, while the former even fall with glory. It is the same in eloquence as with some other arts; she is never more pleasing than when she hazards most. Have you not observed what acclamations our rope-dancers excite at the instant when they seem on the point of falling? Whatever is most unexpected and hazardous, or, as the Greeks strongly express it, desperate, has always the greatest share of admiration. The pilot's skill is by no means improved in a calm, as in a storm; in the former he tamely enters the port, unnoticed and unapplauded; but when the cordage creaks, the rigging bends, and the rudder groans, then is it that he shines forth in full lustre, and is adored as little inferior to a sea-god.

The reason of my making this observation is because, if I mistake not, you have condemned some passages in my writings as tumid which I thought sublime, excessive which I deemed bold, and overloaded which seemed to me copious. But it is not material to consider, whether your criticism turns upon such points as are real faults, or only stri-

adnotes an insignia. Omnis enim advertit, eminet et exstat; sed acri intentione diiudicanda est, immodicum sit an grande, altum an en-  
 Atque, ut Homerum potissimum attingam, tandem alterutram in partem potest fugere 'Α  
*σάλπιγγεν μέγας οὐρανός.*<sup>1</sup> 'ἠέρι δ' ἔγχος ἐκέκ  
 et totum illud, 'οὔτε θαλάσσης κῆμα τόσον βο  
 Sed opus est examine et libra, incredibilia sint et immania an magnifica et coelestia. Nec num-  
 me his similia aut dixisse aut posse dicere puto. ita insanio; sed hoc intellegi volo, laxandos eloquentiae frenos, nec angustissimo gyro ingenii impetus refringendos.

At enim alia condicio oratorum, alia poetarum. Quasi vero M. Tullius minus audeat. Quam hunc omitto; neque enim ambigi puto. Demosthenes ipse, ille norma oratoris et regula se cohibet et comprimit, cum dicit illa notis.

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xxi. 388.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* v. 356.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* xiv. 394.

<sup>a</sup> Speaking of Mars. (Melm.)

and remarkable expressions. Whatever is salient sure to be criticized; but it requires a very judgements to distinguish the bounds between extravagance and grandeur; between a just and enormous height. To give instances out of Homer, preference—what reader, whether he incline to this side or the other, can fail to remark—

“Heav’n in loud thunder bids the trumpet sound  
And wide beneath them groans the reeling  
ground.”

Again,

“His spear on clouds reclined.” *a*

So in that whole passage :

“Not half so loud the bellowing deeps resound  
It requires, I say, a very delicate hand to poise these metaphors, and determine whether they are fantastic and absurd, or truly majestic and sublime. Not I think anything which I have written or can write admits of comparison with these. I am extravagant enough to say so; what I would be understood to contend for is, that we should take up the reins to eloquence, nor restrain the dauntless flights of genius within too narrow a compass.

But it will be said, perhaps, there is a difference between orators and poets. As if, forsooth, Tully were not as bold in his figures as any of our poets! But not to mention particular instances of him, since in his case, I imagine, there can be no dispute; does Demosthenes himself, that model standard of true oratory, does Demosthenes ever and repress the fire of his genius, in that well known passage which begins thus: “Ye infernal

ἄνθρωποι μισροὶ καὶ κόλακες, καὶ ἀλάστορες,<sup>1</sup>  
 rursus: Οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις  
 et statim Οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὐβοίαν προ-  
 σθαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς.<sup>3</sup> Et alibi: Ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι μὲν, ὃ ἂν  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐκεῖνον μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει  
 πεπραγμένων.<sup>4</sup>

Iam quid audentius illo pulcherrimo ac longis  
 excessu? Νόσημα γάρ.<sup>5</sup> Quid haec? breviora su-  
 oribus, sed audacia paria, Τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Π  
 θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ἡμῶν.<sup>6</sup> Ex ea  
 nota: Ὅταν δὲ ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ ποιηρίας τίς, ὡ  
 οὗτος, ἰσχύσῃ, ἢ πρώτη πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν πτο  
 ἅπαντα ἀνεχαίτισε καὶ διέλυσε.<sup>7</sup>

Simile his: Ἀπεσχοινοσμένος ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ  
 δικαίοις γνώσεσι τριῶν δικαστηρίων.<sup>8</sup> Et ibidem  
 τὸν εἰς ταῦτα ἔλεον προὔδωκας, Ἀριστογοεῖτον, μᾶλλον  
 ἀνήρηκας ὄλωσ. μὴ δὴ πρὸς οὓς αὐτὸς ἐάλωκας λιμένα  
 προβόλων ἐνέπλησας, πρὸς τούτους ὀρμίζου.<sup>9</sup> Et dix  
 Δέδοικα μὴ δόξητέ τισι τὸν αἰεὶ βουλόμενον εἶναι ποι  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παιδοτριβεῖν.<sup>10</sup> Et deinceps: Τούτῳ  
 δένα ὀρῶ τῶν τόπων τούτων βάσιμον ὄντα, ἀλλὰ πάντα  
 κρημνα, φάραγγας, βάραθρα.<sup>11</sup> Nec satis: Οὐδὲ γάρ

<sup>1</sup> Dem. xviii. 296.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* 299.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* 301.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* iv. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *ib.* xix. 259.

<sup>6</sup> *ib.* xviii. 136.

<sup>7</sup> *ib.* ii. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *ib.* xxv. 28.

<sup>9</sup> *ib.* 84.

<sup>10</sup> *ib.* 7.

<sup>11</sup> *ib.* 76.

<sup>a</sup> *lit.* "throws off" as a horse does his rider when  
 rears and tosses up his neck.

flatterers, ye evil genii?"—And again, "It is not  
with stones nor bricks that I have fortified this city."  
And afterwards: "Was it not well done to take  
the rampart of Euboea in front of Attica on  
seaward side?" And in another place: "O my  
Countrymen, I think, by the immortal gods, that  
he is intoxicated with the grandeur of his own actions."

But what can be more daring and beautiful  
than that long digression, which begins in this manner:  
"A terrible disease, O my countrymen, has spread  
upon all Greece?"—The following passage, like the  
former, though something shorter, is conceived in the  
boldness of metaphor:—"Then it was I rose  
in opposition to the daring Pytho, who *poured forth a  
torrent* of menaces against you." The subsequent  
stricture is of the same stamp: "When a man  
strengthened himself, as Philip has, by avarice and  
wickedness, the first pretence that offers itself  
as the least false step, overthrows him<sup>a</sup> and brings about  
ruin."

So in the same style with the foregoing is the  
"Railed off, as it were, from all the privileges of  
civil society, by the concurrent judgements of  
the tribunals in the city." And in the same place  
Aristogiton! you have betrayed that mercy which  
was used to be shewn to offences of this nature, or rather  
indeed, you have wholly exhausted it. In vain  
would you *fly* for refuge to a port, which you  
*shut up, and choked with piles.*"—He had said before  
"I am afraid you will appear in the judgement  
of some to be *setting up a public seminary* of factious  
And later on—"I see *no footing for him in any of  
these places; but all is precipice, gulf, and pro-  
abyss.*" And again: "Nor do I imagine that

πρόγονους ὑπολαμβάνω τα δικαστήρια ταυτα οικοδομη-  
 ῖνα τοὺς τοιούτους ἐν αὐτοῖς μοσχεύητε.<sup>1</sup> Adhuc :  
 κάπηλός ἐστι πονηρίας καὶ παλιγκάπηλος καὶ μεταβο-  
 Et mille talia ; ut praeteream, quae ab Aeschines  
 θαύματα, non ῥήματα, vocantur.

In contrarium ineidi. Dies, hunc quoque ab-  
 eulpari. Sed vide, quanto maior sit, qui repre-  
 ditur, ipso reprehendente ; et maior ob haec quo-  
 In aliis enim vis, in his granditas eius elucet.  
 autem Aeschines ipse iis, quae in Demost-  
 carpebat, abstinuit? Χρὴ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,  
 αὐτὸ φθέγγεσθαι τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τὸν νόμον· ὅταν δ' ἐ-  
 μὲν φωνὴν ἀφιῆ ὁ νόμος, ἑτέραν δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ.<sup>4</sup>—Alio  
 Ἐπειτα ἀναφαίνεται περὶ πάντων ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι  
 τῷ κλέμματι γράψας τὰ πέντε τάλαντα, τοὺς πρέ-  
 ἀξιῶν τοὺς Ὠρεΐτας μὴ ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ Καλλιᾶ διδόναι.  
 δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀφελὼν τὸν κομπόν, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις  
 τὴν ἀλαζονείαν, ἐκ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀνάγνωθι.<sup>5</sup> It  
 alio : Καὶ μὴ ἐᾶτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ παρανόμου λό-  
 περιστάσθαι.<sup>6</sup> Quod adeo probavit, ut repetat, ἵνα  
 ἐγκαθήμενοι καὶ ἐνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰσελα-  
 αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐκτ-  
 αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων ἐπιτηρεῖτε.<sup>7</sup> An illa custod

<sup>1</sup> Dem. xxv. 48.

<sup>2</sup> ib. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Aesch. Ctes. 167.

<sup>4</sup> ib. 16.

<sup>5</sup> ib. 101.

<sup>6</sup> ib. 206.

<sup>7</sup> Timarch. 176.

ancestors erected those courts of judicature, men of his character should be *propagated* there; And afterwards: "If he deals in, and retails, peddles wickedness."—And a thousand other passages which I might cite to the same purpose: no mention those expressions which Aeschines says not *words*, but *wonders*.

You will tell me I have lighted on an advantage, since Demosthenes is condemned by Aeschines for running into these figurative expressions. But observe, I intreat you, how far superior the former orator is to his criticizer, and superior too, in virtue of these very passages: for in others the strength of his genius discovers itself: in those above quoted, the sublimity of it shines out. Does Aeschines himself avoid what he reproves Demosthenes? "The orator," says he, "Athenians and the law, ought to *speak* the same language; when the *voice* of the law declares one thing, that of the orator another."—And in another place "he afterwards manifestly discovered the design he had, of concealing his fraud under cover of a decree, having expressly declared therein, that the ambassadors sent to the Oretae gave the five talents not to you, but to Callias. And that you may be convinced what I say is the truth (after having *stripped* the decree of its *pomp*, its *galleys*, its *braggadocio*) read the clause itself." And in another part: "Suffer him not to *break cover* and *wander* beyond the limits of the question:" a metaphor he is so fond of, that he repeats it again: "But sitting firm and lying in ambush in the assembly *drive* him into the merits of the question, and observe how he *doubles*." Is his style more reserved a

τῶν πραγμάτων διὰ τῆς πολιτείας πλέοντα τιμωρήσασθαι,  
et alia.

Exspecto, ut quaedam ex hae epistula, ut ‘gubernacula gemunt,’ et ‘dis maris proximo,’  
iisdem notis, quibus ea, de quibus scribo, communi sunt.  
Intellego enim, me, dum veniam prioribus peccatis peto,  
illa ipsa, quae adnotaveras, incidisse. Sed con-  
licet, dummodo iam nunc destines diem, quod  
de illis et de his coram exigere possimus. Non  
enim tu me timidum, aut ego te temerarium  
faciam. Vale.

## XXVII

C. PLINIUS PATERNO SUO S.

QUANTA potestas, quanta dignitas, quanta maiestas,  
quantum denique numen sit historiae, cum  
quenter alias tum proxime sensi. Recitavit  
quidam verissimum librum partemque eius in  
diem reservaverat. Ecee amici cuiusdam  
obsecrantesque, ne reliqua recitaret. Tantum  
diendi, quae fecerint, pudor, quibus nullus factus  
quae audire erubescunt. Et ille quidem pra-

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Ctes.* 208.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* 253.



simple when he says: "But you are *manufacturers*," or, "will you not seize and punish the political *pirate*, who *cruises* about the state?"—with many other passages of the like nature.

And now I expect you will make the same strictures upon certain expressions in this letter, which you did upon those I have been endeavouring to defend. The rudder that *groans*, and the person compared to a *sea-god*, will not, I imagine, escape your erasures: for I perceive while I am suing for indulgence to my former offences, I have fallen in the very turn of figure that you condemn. But let these expressions if you please, provided you will immediately appoint a day when we may meet to discuss both my letter and my speech in person, you will then either teach *me* to be less daring, or I shall learn *you* to be more bold. Farewell.

## XXVII

### TO PATERNUS

I HAVE had many occasions to observe the power of the dignity, the majesty, and I will add too, even the *divine* efficacy there is in history; but I never saw with so strong an instance of it as lately. An author had recited part of an historical performance, which he had drawn up with the utmost regard to truth, reserving the remainder for another day. Well, behold! the friends of a certain person came to him, and earnestly conjured him not to recite the rest, so much are men ashamed to hear those actions repeated which they yet do not blush to commit! The historian complied (as he well might, without

quod rogabatur, sinebat haec. Liber tam  
factum ipsum manet, manebit legeturque s  
tanto magis, quia non statim. Incitantur  
homines ad agnoscenda, quae differuntur. Va

## XXVIII

### C. PLINIUS ROMANO SUO S.

Post longum tempus epistulas tuas, se  
pariter recepi, omnes elegantissimas, amanti  
et quales a te venire, praesertim desideratas, o  
bat. Quarum una iniungis mihi iueundissim  
nisterium, ut ad Plotinam, sanetissimam fer  
litterae tuae perferantur. Perferentur.  
commendas Popilium Artemisium. Statim pr  
quod petebat. Indicas etiam modicas te vin  
collegisse. Communis haec mihi tecum, qua  
in diversissima parte terrarum, querela est.

Altera epistula nuntias multa te nunc o  
nunc scribere, quibus nos tibi repraesentes. O  
ago; agerem magis, si me illa ipsa, quae scri  
dietas, legere voluisses. Et erat aequum ut t  
ita me tua scripta cognoscere, etiamsi ad  
quam ad me pertinerent. Polliceris in fine  
certius de vitae nostrae ordinatione aliquid au

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<sup>a</sup> The Empress, Trajan's wife.

breach of honour) with their request. But how the history, like the action, remains, and will remain. And will be read too with so much greater curiosity as the publication of it is delayed for nothing raises the inquisitive disposition of mankind so much as to defer the gratification of it. Farewell.

## XXVIII

### TO ROMANUS

YOUR letters have at length reached me, but I received three at once; all breathing the very spirit of elegance and friendship, and such as I had reason to expect from you, especially after having waited for them so long. In one, you enjoin me the agreeable commission of forwarding your letters to that excellent lady, the virtuous Plotina <sup>a</sup>: I take care to do so. At the same time you recommend to me Popilius Artemisius; and I have at length performed his request. You tell me also that the vintage has proved extremely moderate. The complaint, notwithstanding we are separated by distant countries, is common to us both.

Your second letter informs me, that you have employed in dictating and writing your impressions of myself. I am much obliged to you; and shall be more so, if you would give me the pleasure of reading your performance. It were but just indeed that as I communicate to you all my compositions you should suffer me to partake of yours, even though they should turn upon another subject than my own. You promise me in the close of your letter, that as soon as you shall be informed with certainty, in

evolaturum, qui iam tibi compedes nectimus, perfringere nullo modo possis.

Tertia epistula continebat esse tibi redorationem pro Clario, eamque visam ubi quam dicente me, audiente te fuerit. Est ubi multa enim postea inserui. Adicis alias te li curiosius scriptas misisse; an acceperim, qu Non accepi et accipere gestio. Proinde quaque occasione mitte adpositis quidem usuris, ego (num parcius possum?) centesimas comp Vale.

## XXIX

### C. PLINIUS RUSTICO SUO S.

UT satius est unum aliquid insigniter facere plurima mediocriter, ita plurima mediocriter, s possis unum aliquid insigniter. Quod intuen variis me studiorum generibus nulli satis co experior. Proinde, cum hoc vel illud leges singulis veniam ut non singulis dabis. An c

manner I intend to dispose of myself, you will an elopement from your family, and immediate to me : I am already preparing certain chains for which, when I have you here, you will by no means be able to break through.

I learn from your third, that my oration in behalf of Clarius has been delivered to you, which appears it seems, more full than when you heard it pronounced. It is so, I confess : for I afterwards considerably enlarged it. You mention having me another letter, which you say was written with some pains, and desire to know if I have received it : I have not, but impatiently wish for its arrival. To make me amends, write to me upon the next opportunity, and pay me with full interest, which I shall compute at *one per cent. monthly* ; tell me, will you acquit you upon more reasonable terms? Farewell.

## XXIX

### To RUSTICUS

As it is far better to excel in any single art, than to arrive only at a mediocrity in several ; so on the other hand, a moderate skill in several is to be preferred, where one cannot attain to excellency in any. Upon this maxim it is, that I have attended to compositions of various sorts, as I could not expect to carry any particular one to its highest point of excellency. I hope, therefore, when you read my performance of mine, you will consider it with the indulgence which is due to an author, who has confined himself to a single manner of writing, and has struck out into different kinds. In every

artibus excusatio in numero, litteris durior le-  
quibus difficilior effectus est? Quid autem eg-  
venia quasi ingratus? Nam, si ea facilitate pro-  
acceperis qua priora, laus potius speranda  
venia obsecranda est. Mihi tamen venia su-  
Vale.

### XXX

#### C. PLINIUS GEMINO SUO S.

LAUDAS mihi et frequenter praesens et  
per epistulas Nonium tuum, quod sit liberalis  
quosdam. Et ipse laudo, si tamen non in  
solos. Volo enim eum, qui sit vere liberalis  
buere patriae, propinquis, adfinibus, amicis,  
amicis dico pauperibus, non ut isti, qui iis p-  
simum donant, qui donare maxime possunt.  
ego viscatis hamatisque muneribus non sua pro-  
puto, sed aliena corripere. Sunt ingenio s-  
qui, quod huic donant, auferunt illi famam  
liberalitatis avaritia petunt. Primum est a  
suo esse contentum, deinde, quos praecipue  
indigere, sustentantem foventemque orbe quo  
societatis ambire. Quae cuncta si facit iste, us-

art quantity pleads some excuse for the quality ; shall literature, the most difficult of all, be tried by a severer law ? But whilst I am bespeaking candour, am I not bringing my gratitude in question ? For, if you receive these last pieces with the indulgence that you have all my former, I have more reason to hope for your applause, than to sue for your pardon. However, your pardon will be sufficient. Farewell.

### XXX

#### TO GEMINUS

You have frequently in conversation, and lately in a letter, commended your friend Nonius to me for his liberality to some particular persons ; I shall join with you in his applause, if his bounty is not confined to those only. I would have the man of generosity assist his country, his kindred, his relations and his friends ; his friends I mean in distress like those who chiefly bestow their presents where there is the greatest ability to make returns. I do not look upon such, as parting with any thing of their own ; on the contrary, I consider their bounty as only so many disguised baits, thrown out with a design of catching the property of others. I know of the same character are those, who rob Peter to pay Paul, and seek a reputation for munificence by the practice of avarice. The first principle of genuine liberality is to be contented with what we have ; and after that, to cherish and embrace the most indigent of your acquaintance, in the comprehensive circle of benevolence. If your friend observes this rule in its full extent, he is entirely

laudandus tamen. Tam rarum est etiam imperfectae liberalitatis exemplar. Ea invasit homines habere cupidō, ut possideri magis quam possidere videantur. Vale.

### XXXI

C. PLINIUS SARDO SUO S.

POSTQUAM a te recessi, non minus tecum, quam cum apud te fui. Legi enim librum tuum iterum et iterum repetens ea maxime (non enim mentis quae de me seripsisti, in quibus quidem pereopos fuisti. Quam multa, quam varia, quam non eadem de eodem nec tamen diversa dixisti! Laus pariter et gratias agam? Neutrum satis potest et, si possem, timerem, ne arrogans esset oratio laudare, ob quae gratias agerem. Unum addam, omnia mihi tanto laudabiliora visa, quam iucundiora, et tanto iucundiora, quanto laudabiliora erant. Vale.

### XXXII

C. PLINIUS TITIANO SUO S.

QUID agis? quid acturus es? Ipse vitam iucundissimam, id est, otiosissimam, vivo. Quo fit



be commended; if he only partially pursued, still he deserves (in a less degree indeed, however he deserves) applause: so uncommon is it to find with an instance of generosity even of the imperfect kind! The lust of lucre has so completely seized upon mankind, that their wealth seems to possess them, than they to possess their vices.  
Farewell.

### XXXI

#### TO SARDUS

I STILL continued with you, notwithstanding we had parted: for I entertained myself with reading over your book. And I frequently went over with particular fondness (I honestly own it) those parts of which I am the subject: a subject upon which, indeed, you have been extremely copious. Your number and variety of remarks, all different, and all consistent, have you made on one and the same person! Will you suffer me to mingle my acknowledgements with my acknowledgements? I can do no more sufficiently; and if I could, there would be nothing, I fear, of vanity, in making that the subject of my praise, which is, in truth the object of your thanks. I will only add then, that the pleasure received from your performance raised its merit in my eyes; and its merit heightened that pleasure.  
Farewell.

### XXXII

#### TO TITIANUS

WHAT are you doing? And what do you propose to do? As for myself, I pass my life in the most agreeable, that is, in the most disengaged manner.

scribere longiores epistulas nolim, velim legere  
illud tanquam delicatus, hoc tanquam otiosus.  
Nihil est enim aut pigrius delicatis aut curius  
otiosis. Vale.



### XXXIII

#### C. PLINIUS CANINIO SUO S.

INCIDI in materiam veram, sed simillimam fingere  
dignamque isto laetissimo, altissimo planeque poetico  
ingenio, incidi autem, dum super cenam varia  
culina hinc inde referuntur. Magna auctoris fides  
tametsi quid poetæ cum fide? Is tamen auctor  
bene vel historiam scripturus credidisses.

Est in Africa Hipponensis colonia mari proxima  
adiacet navigabile stagnum; ex hoc in modum  
fluminis aestuarium emergit, quod vice alterna, per  
aestus aut repressit aut impulit, nunc infertur mare  
nunc redditur stagno. Omnis hic aetas piscibus  
navigandi, atque etiam natandi studio tenetur  
maxime pueri, quos otium ludusque sollicitat.  
gloria et virtus altissime provehi; victor ille,  
longissime ut litus ita simul nantes reliquit.  
certamine puer quidam audentior ceteris in ulte

imaginable. I do not find myself, therefore, humour to write a long letter, though I am to one. I am too much a man of pleasure for the former, and just idle enough for the latter; for we are more indolent, you know, than the voluptuous, or have more curiosity than those who have nothing to do. Farewell.

### XXXIII

#### TO CANINIUS

I HAVE met with a story, which, though true, has all the air of fable, and would afford a very proper subject for your lively, elevated, and truly poetical genius. It was related to me the other day at a place where the conversation happened to turn upon various kinds of miraculous events. The person who gave the account, was a man of unsuspected veracity:—but what has a poet to do with truth? However, you might venture to rely upon his testimony, even though you had the character of a faithful historian to support.

There is in Africa a town called Hippo, situated not far from the sea-coast: it stands upon a small lake, from whence an estuary is discharged after the manner of a river, which ebbs and flows with the sea. Persons of all ages divert themselves here with fishing, sailing or swimming; especially boys, whom love of play and idleness bring hither. The contest among them is, who shall have the honour of swimming farthest; and he that leaves the shore and his companions at the greatest distance, is declared the victory. It happened in one of these trials of skill, that a certain boy, more bold than the

tendebat. Delphinus occurrit et nunc praecedens  
puerum, nunc sequi, nunc circumire, postremo sub  
deponere, iterum subire trepidantemque perfert  
primum in altum, mox fleetit ad litus reddit  
terrae et aequalibus. Serpit per coloniam factam  
concurrere omnes, ipsum puerum tamquam miraculum  
adspicere, interrogare, audire, narrare.

Postero die obsident litus, prospectant mare, et  
quid mari simile. Natant pueri; inter hos ille, qui  
cautius. Delphinus rursus ad tempus, rursus  
puerum [venit]. Fugit ille cum ceteris. Delphinus  
quasi invitet et revocet, exilit, mergitur, varios  
orbes implicat expeditque. Hoc altero die, tertio,  
hoc pluribus, donec homines innutritos rursus  
subiret timendi pudor: accedunt et adludunt  
appellant, tangunt etiam pertrectantque praebent  
Crescit audacia experimento. Maxime puer,  
primus expertus est, adnatat natanti, insilit te  
fertur referturque, agnoscit se, amari putat, amat ip

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<sup>a</sup> This animal is celebrated by several of the ancients for  
its philanthropy, and Pliny the elder, in particular, relates  
this very story, among other instances, in confirmation of  
that notion. See Plin. *Hist. Nat.* 1, 9, c. 8. (Melm.)

launched out towards the opposite shore. He met by a dolphin,<sup>a</sup> who sometimes swam before and sometimes behind him, then played round and at last took him upon his back, then let down, and afterwards took him up again: and carried the poor frightened boy out into the deep part; when immediately he turns back again to shore, and lands him among his companions. The fame of this remarkable accident spread through the town, and crowds of people flocked round the boy (whom they viewed as a kind of prodigy) to ask questions, hear his story and repeat it.

The next day the shore was lined with multitudes of spectators all attentively observing the ocean (what indeed is almost itself an ocean) the lake. Meanwhile the boys swam as usual, and among the rest, the youth I am speaking of went into the water but with more caution than before. The dolphin punctually appeared again and came to the boy together with his companions swam away with the most precipitation. The dolphin, as it were, to remind and recall them, bounded and dived up and down winding about in a thousand different circles. The boys practised for several days together, till the parents (accustomed from their infancy to the sea) began to be ashamed of their timidity. They ventured before to advance nearer, playing with him and calling him to them, while he, in return, suffered himself to be touched and stroked. Use rendered them more courageous: the boy, in particular, who first made the experiment, swam by the side of him, and when he lay upon his back, was carried to and fro in the same manner: he fancies the dolphin knows and is fond of him, and he returns its fondness. There se

tudo illius augetur. Nec non alii pueri dex  
laevaue simul eunt hortantes monentesque. Il  
una (id quoque mirum) delphinus alius tant  
spectator et comes. Nihil enim simile aut faciel  
aut patiebatur, sed alterum illum ducebat reduceb  
que, ut puerum ceteri pueri.

Incredibile, tam verum tamen quam priora, d  
phinum gestatorem collusoremque pucrorum in t  
ram quoque extrahi solitum harenisque siccatum, u  
incaluisset, in mare revolvi. Constat Octavi  
Avitum, legatum proconsulis in litus educto religio  
prava superfudisse unguentum, cuius illum novitat  
odoremque in altum refugisse nec nisi post mul  
dies visum languidum et maestum, mox redditis v  
bus priorem lasciviam et solita ministeria repetis  
Confluebant ad spectaculum omnes magistrat  
quorum adventu et mora modica res publica no  
sumptibus atterebatur. Postremo locus ipse quiet  
suam secretumque perdebat. Placuit occulte int  
fici ad quod coibatur.

Hæc tu qua miseratione, qua copia defle

---

“ It was a religious ceremony practised by the antien  
to pour precious ointment upon the statues of their go  
Avitus, it is probable, imagined this dolphin was some s  
divinity, and therefore expressed his veneration of him  
the solemnity of a sacred unction. (Melm.)

now, indeed, to be no fear on either side, the confidence of the one and the tameness of the other were mutually increasing; the rest of the boys in the meanwhile swimming on either hand, encouraging and cautioning their companion. It is very remarkable, that this dolphin was followed by a second, which seemed only as a spectator and attendant upon the former; for he did not at all submit to the same familiarities as the first, but only conducted him backwards and forwards, as the boys did their comrade.

But what is incredible, yet no less true than the rest, this dolphin who thus played with the boys, and carried them upon his back, would come upon the shore, dry himself in the sand, and as soon as the sun grew warm, roll back into the sea. 'Tis known that Octavius Avitus, deputy governor of the province, from an absurd piece of superstition, poured some precious ointment over him as he lay on the shore,<sup>a</sup> the novelty and smell of which made him retire into the ocean, and it was not till after several days that he was seen again, when he appeared dull and languid; however he recovered his strength and continued his usual wanton tricks. All the magistrates round the country flocked here to view this sight, the entertainment of whom cost their arrival, and during their stay, was an additional expense, which the slender finances of this remote community could ill afford; besides, the quiet retirement of the place was utterly destroyed. It was thought proper therefore to remove the occasion of this concourse, by privately killing the dolphin.

And now, with what a flow of tenderness will I describe this sad catastrophe! and how will

ornabis, attones! Quamquam non est opus ad  
aliquid aut adstruas; sufficit, ne ea, quae sunt  
minuantur. Vale.

### XXXIV

#### C. PLINIUS TRANQUILLO SUO S.

EXPLICA aestum meum. Audio me male leg  
dumtaxat versus; orationes enim commodius,  
tanto minus versus. Cogito ergo recitaturus f  
liaribus amicis experiri libertum meum. Hoc que  
familiaribus, quod elegi non bene, sed melius lectur  
si tamen non fuerit perturbatus. Est enim  
novus lector quam ego poëta. Ipse nescio, quid  
legente interim faciam, sedeam defixus et m  
et similis otioso an ut quidam, quae pronunti  
murmure, oculis, manu prosequar. Sed puto me  
minus male saltare quam legere. Iterum dic  
explica aestum meum vereque rescribe, num sit m  
pessime legere quam ista vel non facere vel fac  
Vale.



genius adorn and heighten this moving st  
Though, indeed, it does not require any fictitious  
bellishments; it will be sufficient to place the  
circumstances in their full light. Farewell.

## XXXIV

### TO TRANQUILLUS

I AM under a wondrous difficulty, which you must  
settle. I have not, I am told, a good manner  
reading verses: my talent lying chiefly in reci-  
tations, I succeed so much the worse, it seems  
poetry. I design therefore, as I am to recite some  
poems to my familiar friends, to make trial of  
freedman for that purpose. It is treating the  
own, with familiarity, to employ a person who  
not read well himself; however, he will perform  
know, better than I can, provided his fears do  
disconcert him, for he is as unpractised a reader  
am a poet. Now the perplexing question is, how  
shall behave while he is reading; whether I shall  
silent in a fixed and indolent posture, or follow  
him as he pronounces, with my eyes, hands, and  
voice; a manner which some, you know, pre-  
tise. But I fancy I have as little gift for pantomime  
as for reading. I repeat it again, therefore, you  
must extricate me out of this wondrous difficulty,  
and write me word whether you honestly think  
would be better to read ever so ill, than to pra-  
or omit any of the weighty circumstances above  
mentioned. Farewell.

C. PLINIUS ATRIO<sup>1</sup> SUO S.

LIBRUM, quem misisti, recepi et gratias ago. tamen hoc tempore occupatissimus. Ideo non eum legi, cum alioqui validissime cupiam; sed reverentiam cum litteris ipsis tum scriptis tuis d ut sumere illa nisi vacuo animo irreligiosum p Diligentiam tuam in retractandis operibus probo. Est tamen aliquis modus, primum nimia cura deterit magis quam emendat, d quod nos a recentioribus revocat simulque absolvit priora et inchoare posteriora non pa Vale.

## C. PLINIUS FUSCO SUO S.

QUAERIS, quem ad modum in Tuscis diem a disponam.

Evigilo, cum libuit, plerumque circa primam, saepe ante, tardius raro. Clausae fenae manent. Mire enim silentio et tenebris ab iis avocant, abductus et liber et mihi relictus, non e animo sed animum oculis sequor, qui eadem

<sup>1</sup> ATRIO *D*, APPIO *pr*, OPPIO *a*, ATTIO *K*.

## XXXV

### To ATRIUS

I HAVE received your book, and return you thanks for it; but am at present so much engaged, that I have not time to read it; which, however, I most patiently wish to do. I have that high reverence for letters in general, and for your compositions in particular, that I think it a sort of profanation to approach them but with a mind entirely disengaged. I extremely approve of your care in revising your works; remember, however, this exactness has its limits: too much polishing rather weakens than strengthens a performance. Besides, this excessive delicacy, while it calls one off from other pursuits, not only prevents any new attempts, but does not even finish what it has begun. Farewell.

## XXXVI

### To FUSCUS

You desire to know in what manner I dispose my day in summer-time at my Tuscan villa.

I rise just when I find myself in the heat of the day, though generally with the sun; often indeed sooner, but seldom later. When I am up, I continue to sit with the shutters of my chamber-windows closed, and under the influence of darkness and silence, I find myself wonderfully free and abstracted from all outward objects which dissipate attention, and from my own thoughts; nor do I suffer my mind to wander with my eyes, but keep my eyes in subj

mens vident, quotiens non vident alia. Cogito  
quid in manibus, cogito ad verbum scribenti er  
dantique similis nunc pauciora, nunc plura, ut  
difficile, vel facile componi tenerive potuer  
Notarium voco et die admisso, quae formave  
dicto. Abit rursusque revocatur rursusque  
mittitur.

Ubi hora quarta vel quinta (neque enim cen  
dimensumque tempus), ut dies suasit, in xystum  
vel cryptoporticum confero, reliqua meditor  
dicto. Vehiculum ascendo. Ibi quoque idem q  
ambulans aut iacens; durat intentio mutatione  
refecta. Paulum redormio, dein ambulo, mox  
tionem Graecam Latinamve clare et intente  
tam vocis causa quam stomachi lego; pariter ta  
et illa firmatur. Iterum ambulo, ungor, exerc  
labor. Cenanti mihi, si cum uxore vel paucis, l  
legitur; post cenam comoedus aut lyristes;  
cum meis ambulo, quorum in numero sunt eru

to my mind, which in the absence of external objects, see those which are present to the imagination. If I have any composition upon my mind, this is the time I choose to consider it, not only with respect to the general plan, but even the style and expression, which I settle and correct as if I were actually writing. In this manner I compose myself, unless as the subject is more or less difficult, and I am not myself able to retain it. Then I call my secretary, and, opening the shutters, I dictate to him what I have composed, after which I dismiss him for a short while, and then call him in again and again correct him.

About ten or eleven of the clock (for I always observe one fixed hour), according as the weather recommends, I betake myself either to the terrace or the covered portico, and there I meditate and dictate what remains upon the subject in which I am engaged. From thence I get into my chariot, and I employ myself as before, when I was walking in my study; and find this changing of the scene preserves and enlivens my attention. At my home I repose myself a while; then I take a walk, and after that, read aloud and with emphasis some Greek or Latin oration, not so much for the purpose of strengthening my elocution as my digestion; for indeed the voice at the same time finds its exercise in this practice. Then I walk again, am again taken my exercises, and go into the bath. At supper, if I have only my wife, or a few friends with me, some author is read to us; and after supper we are entertained either with music, or an Italian play. When that is finished, I take my walk with my domestics, in the number of which I am not w

quam longissimus dies cito conditur.

Non nunquam ex hoc ordine aliqua mutantur.  
Nam, si diu iacui vel ambulavi, post somnum demum  
lectionemque non vehiculo, sed, quod brevius, celeriter  
velocius, equo gestor. Interveniunt amici ex proximis  
oppidis partemque diei ad se trahunt interdum  
lassato mihi opportuna interpellatione subveniunt.  
Venor aliquando, sed non sine pugillaribus,  
quamvis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam. Datur  
colonis, ut videtur ipsis, non satis temporis, quod  
mihi agrestes querelae litteras nostras et haec urbana  
opera commendant. Vale.

## XXXVII

C. PLINIUS PAULINO SUO S.

NEC tuae naturae est translaticia haec et quae  
publica officia a familiaribus amicis contra ipsorum  
commodum exigere, et ego te constantius amo, quod  
ut verear, ne aliter, ac velim, accipias, nisi  
Kalendis statim consulem videro; praesertim cum  
me necessitas locandorum praediorum in<sup>1</sup> plu-

<sup>1</sup> in *add.* Müller.

some persons of literature. Thus we pass evenings in various conversation; and the even when it is at the longest, is quickly spent.

Upon some occasions, I change the order of certain of the articles above mentioned. For instance, if I have lain longer or walked more than usual, after my second sleep and reading, instead of using my chariot I get on horseback, which means I take as much exercise and lose less time. The visits of my friends from the neighbouring towns claim some part of the day; and some, by a seasonable interruption, they relieve me, I am fatigued. I now and then amuse myself with sporting, but always take my tablets into the field, that though I should catch nothing, I may at least bring home something. Part of my time is allotted to my tenants: (though not so much as they desire), is allotted to my tenants: and I find their rustic complaints give a zest to my studies and engagements of the same kind. Farewell.

## XXXVII

### TO PAULINUS

As you are not of a disposition to expect your friends the common ceremonies of the law when they cannot observe them without inconvenience to themselves; so I too warmly love to be apprehensive you will take otherwise than you should, my not waiting upon you on the first of your entrance upon the consular office; especially as I am detained here by the necessity of letti

sumenda sunt. Nam priore lustro, quamquam magnas remissiones, reliqua creverunt. Inde p isque nulla iam cura minuendi aeris alieni, c desperant posse persolvi; rapiunt etiam consum que, quod natum est, ut qui iam putent se non parcere.

Occurrendum ergo augescentibus vitiis et me dum est. Medendi una ratio, si non nummo, partibus locem ac deinde ex meis aliquos op exactores custodes fructibus ponam. Et ali nullum iustius genus redditus, quam quod terra, coel annus refert. At hoc magnam fidem, aeres oeu numerosas manus poscit. Experiendum tamen quasi in veteri morbo quaelibet mutationis au temptanda sunt.

Vides, quam non delicata me causa obire prin consulatus tui diem non sinat; quem tamen quoque ut praesens votis, gaudio, gratulatione c brabo. Vale.



farms upon long leases. I am obliged to enter an entire new method with my tenants: for during the last five years, though I made them very considerable abatements, they have run greatly in a For this reason several of them not only take no care of to lessen a debt, which they despair of paying in full; but even seize and consume the produce of the lands, in the belief that it would be no advantage to themselves to spare it.

I must therefore obviate this increasing evil, and endeavour to find out some remedy against it. The only one I can think of is, not to let at a money rent, but on condition of receiving a fixed share of the produce; and then to place some of my servants to overlook the tillage, and to keep a watch on the tenants. And indeed, there is no sort of revenue more valuable, than what arises from the bounty of the soil, the seasons and the climate. 'Tis true, this method will require great integrity and diligent attention in the person I appoint my bailiff, and put me to the expense of employing many hands. However, I must hazard the experiment; and, as in an inveterate distemper, try every change of remedy.

You see, it is not any pleasurable indulgence that prevents my attending you on the first day of my consulship. I shall celebrate it nevertheless as much as if I were present, and pay my vows for you here, with all the warmest sentiments of joy and congratulation. Farewell.

## C. PLINIUS SATURNINO SUO S.

EGO vero Rufum nostrum laudo, non quia tu ita facerem, petisti, sed quia ille est dignissimus. Legi enim librum omnibus numeris absolutum, multum apud me gratiae amor ipsius adiecit. Id mihi non cavi tamen. Neque enim soli iudicant, qui mali legunt. Vale.

## XXXIX

## C. PLINIUS MUSTIO SUO S.

HARUSPICUM monitu reficienda est mihi aedes Cereris in praediis in melius et in maius, vetus scilicet et angusta, cum sit alioqui stato die frequentissima. Nam Idibus Septembribus magnus e regione transit coit populus, multae res aguntur, multa vota supplicentur, multa redduntur; sed nullum in proximo suffugium aut imbris aut solis. Videor ergo munusculum simul religioseque facturum, si aedem quam pulcherrimam exstruxero, addidero porticus aedi, illamque usum deae, has ad hominum.

Velim ergo emas quattuor marmoreas columnas, cuius tibi videbitur generis, emas marmora, qui

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<sup>a</sup> Soothsayers who practised the (originally Etruscan) method of divination by inspection of the sacrificial victim's entrails.

## XXXVIII

### TO SATURNINUS

YES, I sincerely applaud our friend Rufus; because you desire me; but because I think highly merits approbation. I have read his finished performance, to which my affection for author added a considerable recommendation. it did not blind my judgement; for the malice is not, I trust, the only judicious reader. F well

## XXXIX

### TO MUSTIUS

IN compliance with the advice of the *haruspex* I intend to repair and enlarge the temple of C which stands upon my estate. It is indeed not very ancient, but small, considering how thorough it is upon a certain anniversary. On the of September, great numbers of people from all country round assemble there, many affairs transacted, and many vows paid and offered; there is no shelter hard by against rain or sun imagine then, I shall do at once an act of piety and munificence, if at the same time that I rebuild the temple on the noblest scale, I add to it a spacious portico; the first for the service of the Goddess, the other for the use of the people.

I beg therefore you would purchase for me four marble pillars, of whatever kind you shall think proper; as also a quantity of marble for laying

seruam, quibus parietes circumstant. Erit etiam  
faciendum vel emendum ipsius deae signum,  
antiquum illud e ligno quibusdam sui partibus  
tustate truncatum est.

Quantum ad porticus, nihil interim occurrit,  
videatur istine esse repetendum; nisi tamen  
formam secundum rationem loci scribas. Nihil  
enim possunt circumdari templo; nam solum tamen  
hinc flumine et abruptissimis ripis, hinc via circum  
Est ultra viam latissimum pratium, in quo satis  
contra templum ipsum porticus explicabuntur  
quid tu melius inveneris, qui soles locorum difficul  
arte superare. Vale.

## XL

C. PLINIUS FUSCO SUO S.

SCRIBIS pergratas tibi fuisse litteras meas, quod  
cognovisti, quem ad modum in Tuscis otium ad  
exigerem; requiris quid ex hoc in Laurentino  
permutem. Nihil, nisi quod meridianus sol  
eximitur, multumque de nocte vel ante vel post  
sumitur, et si agendi necessitas instat, quae fre  
hieme, non iam comoedo vel lyristae post c

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<sup>a</sup> ix. 36.

floor and incrusting the walls. You must like either buy a statue of the Goddess, or procure to be made; for age has maimed, in some part the ancient one of wood which stands there at present.

With respect to the portico, I do not at present recollect there is any thing you can do for me that will be serviceable; unless you will sketch me out a plan suitable to the situation of the place. It is not practicable to build it round the temple because it is encompassed on one side by the river whose banks are exceedingly steep; and on the other by the high road. Beyond this road lies a very large meadow, in which the portico may be conveniently enough placed, opposite to the temple; unless you who are accustomed to conquer the inconveniences of nature by art, can propose some better situation. Farewell.

## XL

### To FUSCUS

You are much pleased, I find, with the account I gave you in my former letter,<sup>a</sup> of the manner in which I spend my summer holidays in my Tuscan villa; and desire to know what alteration I make in my method, when I am at my Laurentine villa in the winter. None at all, except depriving myself of my sleep at noon, and considerably abridging my nocturnal repose, either after sunset or before sunrise: and if I have any forensic business depending (which in winter very frequently happens) instead of having interludes or music after su-

locus, sed illa, quae dictavi, identidem retracta  
ac simul memoriae frequenti emendatione profusa.  
Habes aestate, hieme consuetudinem; nunc<sup>1</sup>  
huc licet ver et autumnum, quae inter hiemem  
etque media, ut nihil de die perdunt, ita de  
parvulum acquirunt. Vale.

<sup>1</sup> nunc *add. Casaub.*

I meditate upon what I have dictated, and by revising it in my own mind, fix it in my memory. Thus I have given you my scheme of life in summer and winter ; to which you may add the intermediate seasons of spring and autumn. As at those times I lose nothing of the day, so I steal but little from night. Farewell.





# BOOK X

# LIBER DECIMUS

## I

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

TUA quidem pietas, imperator sanctissime, verat, ut quam tardissime succederes patri : sed immortales festinaverunt virtutes tuas ad gubernacula rei publicae, quam susceperas, admove. cor ergo, ut tibi et per te generi humano pro omnia, id est digna saeculo tuo, contingant. Forte et hilarem, imperator optime, et privatim publice opto.

## II

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

EXPRIMERE, domine, verbis non possum, quam mihi gaudium attuleris, quod me dignum patri iure trium liberorum. Quamvis enim Iuli Severi optimi viri tuique amantissimi, precibus indul

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<sup>a</sup> Nerva, who had adopted Trajan three months previously, died on Jan. 28, 98 A.D. Trajan received the news

# BOOK X

## I

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

YOUR filial affection, most pious Emperor, may wish it might be late ere you succeeded your Father. But the immortal gods have hastened the advancement of those virtues to the helm of the commonwealth, which had already so successfully shared in the conduct of it.<sup>a</sup> May you then, through the world through your means, enjoy every prosperity in other words, everything worthy of your reign; which let me add my wishes, most excellent Emperor, upon a private as well as public account that your health and spirits may be preserved firm and unbroken.

## II

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

You have occasioned me, Sir, an inexpressible pleasure, by thinking me worthy of enjoying the privilege which the laws confer on those who have three children.<sup>b</sup> For though it was an indulgence at the request of your very affectionate and worthy friend Servilianus, that you granted this favour; I was present at your accession at Cologne, and did not return to Rome for nearly two years.

<sup>b</sup> See ii. 13, note, vii. 16, note.

tamen etiam ex rescripto intellego libentius  
ei te praestitisse, quia pro me rogabat.  
ergo summam voti mei consecutus, cum inter  
felicissimi principatus tui probaveris me a  
culiarem indulgentiam tuam pertinere; eoque  
liberos concupisco, quos habere etiam illo tris-  
saeculo volui, sicut potes duobus matrimoniis  
credere. Sed di melius, qui omnia integra bene-  
tuae reservarunt; malui<sup>1</sup> hoc potius tempo-  
patrem fieri, quo futurus essem et securus  
felix.

### III A

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

UT primum me, domine, indulgentia  
promovit ad praefecturam aerarii Saturni, omnia  
advocationibus, quibus alioqui numquam  
promiscue functus, renuntiavi, ut toto  
delegato mihi officio vacarem. Qua ex causa  
patronum me provinciales optassent contra M.

<sup>1</sup> malui *Av. a, Bipons*, maluere *Ernesti, Müller*

<sup>a</sup> Of Domitian. On Pliny's marriages see Introduction.  
<sup>b</sup> The only public treasury until the time of Augustus  
created two others, with separate sources of revenue  
*aerarium Saturni* (so called from its office being in the

I have the satisfaction to find by the words of rescript that you complied the more willingly his application was in my behalf. I cannot but upon myself as in possession of my utmost after having thus received, at the entrance of auspicious government, so distinguishing a mark your peculiar favour; at the same time that considerably heightens my desire of leaving a father behind me. I was not without this inclination in that former most cruel reign:<sup>a</sup> as my marriages will easily incline you to believe. the Gods decreed it better, by reserving a valuable privilege to be bestowed by your kindness I prefer to become a father only *now*, when I can secure and happy in my fatherhood.

### III A

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHEN, Sir, by the joint indulgence of your august Father and yourself, I was promoted to the head of the treasury of Saturn,<sup>b</sup> I immediately renounced my engagements of the bar (which indeed I had undertaken promiscuously), that no avocations might call off my attention from the post to which I was appointed. For this reason when the people of Africa petitioned that I might undertake their defence against Marius Priscus,<sup>c</sup> I excused myself from

of Saturn), after various changes of administration under several emperors, was placed by Nerva under the charge of "prefects of the treasury," who were appointed by the emperor and held office for three years.

<sup>c</sup> See ii. 11; iii. 4, 9; vi. 29.

Sed, cum postea consul designatus censuisset, dum nobiscum, quorum erat excusatio recep- essemus in senatus potestate pateremurque nostra in urnam conici, convenientissimum tranquillitati saeculi tui putavi praesertim moderatae voluntati amplissimi ordinis non nare. Cui obsequio meo opto ut existimes corationem, cum omnia faeta dictaque mea p- sanctissimis moribus tuis cupiam.

### III B

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

ET civis et senatoris boni partibus functus es quum amplissimi ordinis, quod iustissime exi- praestando. Quas partes impleturum te secu- susceptam fidem confido.

### IV

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

INDULGENTIA tua, imperator optime, quam p- simam experior, hortatur me, ut audeam tibi pro amicis obligari; inter quos sibi vel praece-

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<sup>a</sup> When provincials sought to prosecute a govern- advocate for them was ordinarily chosen by lot, out of nominated by the Senate. This form was observed w-

office; and accordingly my excuse was admitted. But when afterwards the consul elect proposed the Senate should apply again to those of us who had put in an excuse and endeavour to prevail on us to place ourselves at its disposal, and suffer our names to be thrown into the urn,<sup>a</sup> I thought it more suitable to that tranquillity and good order which happily distinguishes your times, not to do so (especially in so reasonable an article) the way was shown at that august assembly. And, as I am desirous that all my words and actions may be approved by exemplary virtue, I hope you will think my compliance was proper.

### III B

#### THE EMPEROR TRAJAN TO PLINY

You acted as becomes a good citizen and a senator, by paying obedience to the just injunctions of that august body; and I have full confidence you will faithfully discharge the part you have undertaken.

### IV

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE ample experience, Sir, I have had of your unbounded generosity to me, in my own person, encourages me to hope I may be yet farther obliged to it, in favour of my friends. Voconius Romanus

in this case, the provincials asked for some particular advocate.

aetate condiscipulus et contubernalis meus. Quod ex causis et a divo patre tuo petieram, ut in amplissimum ordinem promoveret. Sed votum meum bonitati tuae reservatum est, mater Romani liberalitatem sestertii quadragesimo quod conferre se filio codicillis ad patrem scriptis professa fuerat, nondum satis legere peregerat; quod postea fecit admonita a matre. Nam et fundos emancipavit et cetera, quae emancipatione implenda solent exigi, consummavit.

Cum sit ergo finitum, quod spes nostras moratur, non sine magna fiducia subsigno apud te fidem moribus Romani mei, quos et liberalia sibi exornant, et eximia pietas, qua et hanc in matris liberalitatem et statim patris hereditatem et adoptionem a vitrico meruit. Auget haec natalium et paternarum facultatum splendor; tibi singulis multum commendationis accessit, etiam ex meis precibus indulgentiae tuae causa. Rogo ergo, domine, ut me exoptatissimae gratulationis compotem facias et honestis, ut sine adfectibus meis praestes, ut non in me tantum verum et in amico gloriari iudiciis tuis possim.

quadragiens B, quadringenties a,



(my school-fellow and early companion) claims first rank in that number; in consequence of which I petitioned your sacred Father to promote him to the dignity of the Senatorial order. But the completion of my request is reserved to your good pleasure, for his mother had not then executed a deed of the four millions of sesterces which she engaged to give him, in her petition to the Emperor's late father:<sup>a</sup> this, however, on a reminder from her she has since done, having realized a sufficient estate in land, with all the necessary formalities.

The difficulties therefore being removed, we have deferred our wishes, it is with full confidence I venture to assure you of the merit of my friend Romanus, heightened and adorned as it is, not only by the liberal and polite arts, but by his extraordinary tenderness to his parents. It is to his virtue he owes the present liberality of his mother, as well as his immediate succession to his father's estate, and his having been adopted by his stepfather. To these personal qualifications the wealth and rank of his family give an increased lustre; as I persuade myself it will be an additional recommendation to your favour, to solicit in his behalf. Let me then intreat you to put it in my power to congratulate Romanus on an occasion so highly agreeable to me; and at the same time to gratify an eager, and I hope a laudable ambition of being able to boast, that your favourable regards are extended not only to myself, but to my friend.

<sup>a</sup> Property to the value of 1,200,000 sesterces was the necessary qualification for senatorial rank.

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PROXIMO anno, domine, gravissima valitudo usque ad periculum vitae vexatus iatralipten adsi; cuius sollicitudini et studio tuae tantum indulgentiae beneficio referre gratiam possum. Rogo, des ei civitatem Romanam. Est enim grinae condicionis manumissus a peregrina. Vultur ipse Harpocras; patronam habuit Thermionis, quae iam pridem defuncta est. Item rogo, des ius Quiritium libertis Antoniae Maximae ornatissimae feminae, Hediae et Harmeridi, quae te petente patrona peto.

## VI

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

AGO gratias, domine, quod et ius Quiritium liberti necessariae mihi feminae et civitatem Romanam Harpocerati, iatraliptae meo, sine mora indulgentiam. Sed, cum annos eius et censum, sicut praecepit, concederem, admonitus sum a peritioribus debuisse

<sup>a</sup> An *iatraliptes*, or "doctor-trainer," practised a treatment consisting of dieting, exercises, and massage.

<sup>b</sup> Freedmen of citizens, if manumitted with the full formalities (*iusta manumissio*) became *ipso facto* citizens; those of aliens kept, of course, the status of their patron.

<sup>c</sup> A woman, though herself a citizen, could not give *manumissio*, but must use one of the informal methods by which the freedman gained only the "Latin franchise."

## V

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

HAVING been attacked last year by a severe dangerous illness, I employed a physician <sup>a</sup> with care and diligence, Sir, I cannot sufficiently re- but by your gracious assistance. I intreat you to fore to make him a citizen of Rome; for he is a freedman of an alien.<sup>b</sup> His name is Harpocras, the patroness (who has been dead a considerable time) was Thermuthis, the daughter of Theon. I further intreat you to bestow the full privileges of a Roman citizen <sup>c</sup> upon Hedia and Harmeris, the freedwomen of Antonia Maximilla, a lady of high rank. It is her desire <sup>d</sup> I make this request.

## VI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I return you thanks, Sir, for your ready compliance with my desire, in granting the complete privilege of a Roman to the freedwomen of a lady to whom I am allied, and making Harpocras my physician and citizen of Rome. But when, agreeably to your directions, I gave in an account of his age and condition, I was informed by those who are better skilled in these affairs than I pretend to be, that as he was a freedman of an alien (vii. 16, note, x. 104, note). Persons who already had the *status Latinorum* became full citizens by the addition of the *Quiritium*; hence Pliny asks the latter for Antonia's freedwomen, but *civitas* for the alien Harpocras.

<sup>a</sup> Certain legal disqualifications attended the non-fulfillment of this condition.

Romanam, quoniam esset Aegyptius. Ego autem quia inter Aegyptios ceterosque peregrinos interesse credebam, contentus fuero hoc scribere tibi, esse eum<sup>1</sup> a peregrina manum patronamque eius iam pridem decessisse. De ignorantia mea non queror, per quam stetit, ut pro eodem homine saepius obligarer.

Rogo itaque, ut beneficio tuo legitime frui possis tribuas ei et Alexandrinam civitatem et Romanam. Annos eius et censum, ne quid rursus indulgentiam tuam moraretur, libertis tuis, quibus iusseras, mis-

## VII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

CIVITATEM Alexandrinam secundum institutionem principum non temere dare proposui. Sed, si Harpocrati, iatraliptae tuo, iam civitatem Romanam impetraveris, huic quoque petitioni tuae negare non sustineo. Tu, ex quo homo sit, notum mihi facere debebis, ut epistulam tibi ad Pompeium Plinium praefectum Aegypti, amicum meum, mittam.

<sup>1</sup> esse eum *B*, etsi eum *Av.*, scilicet eum *a*.

<sup>a</sup> The citizens of Alexandria and other Greek cities in Egypt formed a distinct class from the Egyptians below

Egyptian, I ought first to have obtained for him freedom of Alexandria,<sup>a</sup> before he was made free at Rome. I confess, indeed, as I was ignorant of the difference in this case between Egyptians and aliens, I contented myself with only acquainting you that he had been manumitted by a foreign lady, since deceased. However, it is an ignorance I do not regret, since it affords me an opportunity of receiving from you a double obligation in favor of the same person.

That I may legally therefore enjoy the benefit of your goodness, I beg you would be pleased to grant him the freedom of the city of Alexandria, as was the custom that of Rome. And that your gracious intention may not meet with any farther obstacles, I have taken care, as you directed, to send an account of your freedmen of his age and fortune.

## VII

### THE EMPEROR TRAJAN TO PLINY

IT is my resolution, in pursuance of the custom observed by the princes my predecessors, to be extremely cautious in granting the freedom of the city of Alexandria: however, since you have obtained for me the freedom of Rome for your physician Harpoceras, I cannot refuse you this other request. You must let me know to what district he belongs, that I may give you a letter to my good friend Pompeius Planta, governor of Egypt.

to the forty-seven nomes (provinces). Neither the Ptolemies nor their successors the Roman emperors, ever granted Alexandrian citizenship to these Egyptians, except in special circumstances. (Hardy.)

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM divus pater tuus, domine, et oratio pulcherrima et honestissimo exemplo omnes ad munificentiam esset cohortatus, petii ab eo statuas principum, quas in longinquis agris per plures successiones traditas mihi, quales acceperam, custodiam, permitteret in municipium transferre ad ipsius sua statua. Quod cum<sup>1</sup> ille mihi cum plenis testimonio indulserat, ego statim decurionibus scriberam, ut adsignarent solum, in quo templum pecuniae mea exstruerem; illi in honorem operis ipsius conditionem loci mihi obtulerant. Sed primum mea, de patris tui valetudine, postea curis delegati a vobis officii retentus nunc videor commodissime possidem rem praesentem excurrere. Nam et menstruum meum Kalendis Septembris finitur, et sequens meum complures dies feriatos habet.

Rogo ergo ante omnia permittas mihi opus, quo incohaturus sum, exornare et tua statua, deinde hoc facere quam maturissime possim, indulgetis.

<sup>1</sup> quod cum *Gruterus*, quodque *a, B.*

## VIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

AFTER your late sacred Father, Sir, had, in a noble speech as well as by his own generous example, exhorted and encouraged the public to acts of munificence, I implored his permission to remove to my town the several statues which I had of the former emperors; and at the same time begged the liberty of adding his own to the number. For these statues had come down to me as family heirlooms, and I kept them just as they were on my distant estate. He was pleased to grant my request and at the same time to give me a very ample testimony of his approbation.

I immediately therefore wrote to the town council that they would allot a piece of ground, upon which I might build a temple at my own expense; but as a mark of honour to my design, they offered me the choice of any site I thought proper. However, my own indisposition in the first place, and afterwards that of your father, and later the duties of that office with which you were both pleased to intrust me, prevented my going on with that design. But I have now, I think, a convenient opportunity of making an excursion to this place, as my month's attendance ends on the first of September, and there are several holidays in the month following.

My first request then is, that you would permit me to adorn the temple I am going to erect, with your statue, besides the rest; and next (in order to execute my design with all the expedition possible) that you would indulge me with leave of absence

commeatum. Non est autem simplicitatis  
dissimulare apud bonitatem tuam obiter te plurimum  
collaturum utilitatibus rei familiaris meae. Agri enim, quos in eadem regione possideo, locatio  
alioqui cccc excedat, adeo non potest differri  
proximam putationem novus colonus facere debet.  
Praeterea continuae sterilitates cogunt me de re  
onibus cogitare; quarum rationem nisi praesens  
non possum.

Debebo ergo, domine, indulgentiae tuae et pietatis  
meae celeritatem et status ordinationem, si mihi  
utraque haec dederis commeatum xxx dierum. Nihil  
enim angustius tempus praefinire possum, cum  
municipium et agri, de quibus loquor, sint  
centesimum et quinquagesimum lapidem.

## IX

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

Et privatas<sup>1</sup> multas et omnes publicas  
petendi commeatus reddidisti; mihi autem ve  
voluntas tua suffecisset. Neque enim dubito  
primum potueris, ad tam districtum officium  
surum. Statuam poni mihi a te eo, quo desi

<sup>1</sup> privatas *add. Catan.*



It would ill become the sincerity I profess, were conceal from so kind a master that your comply with this desire will at the same time be extremely serviceable to me in my own private affairs. If absolutely necessary I should not defer any longer the letting of my lands in that province ; for besides that they amount to above four hundred thousand sesterces annually, the time for dressing the vineyards is approaching, and *that* care must fall upon my new tenants. Moreover, the badness of the vintage for several years past obliges me to think of making some abatements in my rents ; which cannot possibly settle unless I am present.

I shall be indebted then to your indulgence, both as accelerating this public act of piety, giving me the opportunity of settling my private affairs, if you will be pleased to grant me leave to be absent for thirty days. I cannot limit it to a shorter time, as the town and the estate of which I am speaking lie above an hundred and fifty miles from Rome.

## IX

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

You have given me many private reasons, and moreover, with a bearing on the public welfare, you desire leave to be absent ; but I need no other than that it is your inclination : and I doubt not of your returning as soon as possible to the duty of your office, which so much requires your attendance. I would not seem to check any instance of

loco, quamquam eiusmodi honorum parcissimus, patior, ne impedisse cursum erga me pietatis videar.

## X

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

EXPRIMERE, domine, verbis non possum, quomodo me gaudio adfecerint epistolae tuae, ex quibus cognovi, te Harpocrati, iatraliptae meo etiam andrinam civitatem tribuisse, quamvis secundum institutionem principum non temere eam dare posuisses. Esse autem Harpocran *ρομοῦ Μερμυρίων* indico tibi. Rogo ergo, indulgentissime imperator, ut mihi ad Pompeium Plantam, praefectum Aegypti, amicum tuum, sicut promisisti, epistolam mittas.

Obviam iturus, quo maturius, domine, exoptatiissimi adventus tui gaudio frui possim, rogo, ut mittas mihi quam longissime occurrere tibi.

## XI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PROXIMA infirmitas mea, domine, obligavit me Postumio Marino medico; cui parem gratiam meam beneficio tuo possum, si precibus meis ex consuetudine bonitatis tuae indulseris. Rogo

loyalty towards me, I shall not oppose your erecting my statue in the place you mention; though in general I am extremely chary of allowing such marks of honour.

## X

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I CANNOT express, Sir, the pleasure your letter gave me, by which I am informed that you have made my physician Harpocras a citizen of Alexandria; notwithstanding your resolution to follow the maxim of your predecessors in this point, being extremely cautious in granting that privilege. Agreeably to your directions, I acquaint you that Harpocras belongs to the nome of Memphis. I intreat you then, most gracious Emperor, to send, as you promised a letter to your good friend Pompeius Planta, governor of Egypt.

As I purpose (in order to have the early enjoyment of your presence, so ardently wished here)<sup>a</sup> to come to meet you; I beg, Sir, you will permit me to extend my journey as far as possible.

## XI

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I WAS greatly obliged, Sir, in my late indisposition to Posthumius Marinus, my physician; and I only make him a suitable return by the assistance of the gracious indulgence which you are wont to send to my petition. I intreat you then to confer Roman

<sup>a</sup> Affairs in Germany had delayed Trajan's return to Rome as Emperor. See x. 1 note.

ut propinquis eius des civitatem, Chrysippo M  
datis, uxoriq̄ue Chrysippi Stratonicae Epigoni,  
liberis eiusdem Chrysippi, Epigono et Mithrida  
ut sint in patris potestate, utq̄ue iis in li  
servetur ius patronorum. Item rogo, indulge  
Quiritium L. Satrio Abascantio et P. Caesio  
phoro et Anchariae Soteridi; quod a te vole  
patronis peto.

## XII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Scio, domine, memoriae tuae, quae est b  
ciendi tenacissima, preces nostras inhaerere.  
tamen in hoc quoque saepe indulxisti, ad  
simul et impense rogo, ut Accium Suram pr  
exornare digneris, cum locus vaeret. Ad quam  
alioqui quietissimum hortatur et natalium sp  
et summa integritas in paupertate et ante  
felicitas temporum, quae bonam conscientiam  
tuorum ad usum indulgentiae tuae provoc  
attollit.

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<sup>a</sup> An exceptional privilege to the sons, for on Chr  
gaining the *patria potestas* over them they would n  
lose their independent rights, including those ove  
freedmen. (Hardy.)

citizenship upon the following persons, his relative Chrysippus, son of Mithridates, and Straton daughter of Epigonus, who is wife to Chrysippus. I implore likewise the same privilege in favour of Epigonus and Mithridates, the two sons of Chrysippus; but in such manner that they may be under the dominion of their father and yet preserve the right of patronage over their own freedmen. I farther intreat you to grant the full privileges of a Roman to L. Satrius Abascantus, P. Caesius Philoporus, and Ancharia Soteris. This request I make with the consent of their patrons.

## XII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THOUGH I am well assured, Sir, that you, who never forget any opportunity of exerting your generosity, are not unmindful of the request lately made you; yet since you have frequently among many other instances of your indulgence permitted me to repeat my solicitations to you, I so now on behalf of Accius Sura; and I earnestly beseech you to honour him with the Praetorship which is at present vacant. Though his ambition is extremely moderate, yet the quality of his birth, the inflexible integrity which he has shewn in his fortune below mediocrity, and, above all, the happiness of your reign, which emboldens citizens of conscious virtue to claim the indulgence of your favour, prompts him to hope he may experience it in this instance.

### XIII

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM sciam, domine, ad testimonium laudemque meorum pertinere tam boni principis imperium exornari, rogo, dignitati, ad quam me praestantissima indulgentia tua, vel auguratum vel septemviri quae vacant, adicere digneris, ut iure sacrorum precari deos pro te publice possim, quos nunc precor pietate privata.

### XIV

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

VICTORIAE tuae, optime imperator, maximae et cherrimae, antiquissimae et tuo nomine et gratulor publicae gratulor deosque immortales precor omnes cogitationes tuas tam laetus sequatur eventus ut virtutibus tantis gloria imperii et novet augeatur.

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<sup>a</sup> The Augurs and the Septemviri formed two of the great priestly colleges. Pliny received the Auguratum (vacant by the death of Julius Frontinus), probably in 103 A.D. *cf.* iv. 8.

### XIII

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

As I am sensible, Sir, that the highest approval my conduct can receive, is to be distinguished by an excellent a Prince: I beg you would be graciously pleased to add either the office of Augustus or Septemvir<sup>a</sup> (both of which are now vacant) to the dignity I already enjoy by your indulgence; <sup>b</sup> that I may have the satisfaction of publicly offering up vows for your prosperity, from the duty of my office, which I daily prefer to the Gods in private, from the affection of my heart.

### XIV

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I CONGRATULATE both you and the public, excellent Emperor, upon the great and glorious victory you have obtained,<sup>c</sup> so agreeable to the glory of Rome. May the immortal Gods give the happy success to all your designs, that, under the administration of so many princely virtues, the splendour of the Empire may shine out, not only in the former, but with additional lustre.

<sup>b</sup> The Augurship was usually conferred on consuls. Pliny had been Consul 100 A.D.

<sup>c</sup> Over the Dacians. See viii. 4. Whether this refers to Trajan's first or second campaign is unknown.

## XV

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUIA confido, domine, ad curam tuam pertinere nuntio tibi me Ephesum cum omnibus meis Μαλέαν navigasse. Quamvis contrariis ventis retentus, nunc destino partim orariis navibus, partim vehiculis provinciam petere. Nam sicut itineri graves aestates, ita continuae navigationi etesiae reluctantur.

## XVI

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

RECTE renuntiasti, mi Secunde carissime. Pertinere enim ad animum meum, quali itinere *in*<sup>1</sup> provinciam pervenias. Prudenter autem constituis interitum navibus, interim vehiculis uti, prout loca suaserint.

## XVII A

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SICUT saluberrimam navigationem, domine, usque ad Ephesum expertus ita inde, postquam vehiculis uti facere coepi, gravissimis aestibus atque etiam febribus.

<sup>1</sup> in *add. Cat*<sup>2</sup>.



## XV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

HAVING safely passed the promontory of Malean, I am arrived at Ephesus with all my train, notwithstanding I was detained for some time by contrary winds; an information, Sir, in which I trust you will think yourself concerned. I design to pursue the remainder of my journey to my province,<sup>a</sup> partly by coasting vessels and partly in post-chaises: for as excessive heats will prevent my travelling altogether by land, so the Etesian winds, which are now seasonable, will not permit me to proceed entirely by sea.

## XVI

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

Your communication, my dear Pliny, was extremely proper; as it is much my concern to know in what manner you arrive at your province. You were prudent in arranging to travel either by sea or land, as you shall find most convenient.

## XVII A

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

As I had a very salubrious voyage to Ephesus, in travelling post from thence I was extremely commoded by the heats; they even threw me in

<sup>a</sup> See Introduction for Pliny's governorship of Bithynia, which the rest of this book relates.

culis vexatus Pergami substiti. Rursus, cum trans  
in orarias naviculas, contrariis ventis retentus aliqu  
tardius, quam speraveram, id est xv Kal. Oct  
Bithyniam intravi. Non possum tamen de  
queri, cum mihi contigerit, quod erat auspicatissi  
natalem tuum in provincia celebrare. Nun  
publicae Prusensium impendia, reditus, deb  
executio; quod ex ipso tractatu magis ac  
necessarium intellego. Multae enim pecuniae  
ex causis a privatis detinentur; praeterea qua  
minime legitimis sumptibus erogantur. Haec  
domine, in ipso ingressu meo scripsi.

## XVII B

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUINTODECIMO Kalendas Octobres, domine,  
vinciam intravi, quam in eo obsequio, in ea er  
fide, quam de genere humano mereris, inveni. Di  
domine, an necessarium putes mittere huc mens  
Videntur enim non mediocres pecuniae posse rev  
a curatoribus operum, si mensurae fideliter agu  
Ita certe prospicio ex ratione Prusensium, quam  
maxime tracto.

fever, which kept me some time at Pergamum; then resorted to coasting-vessels; but being detained by contrary winds, I arrived at Bithynia some days later than I had hoped, namely on the 17th of September. However, I have no reason to complain of this delay, since it produced me a most auspicious omen—namely, to celebrate your birthday in this province.<sup>a</sup> I am at present engaged in examining into the public finances of the Prusenses, their disbursements, revenues and credits; and the more I look into them, the more I perceive the necessity of my inquiry. Many sums of money are detained in private hands upon various pretences; more than some public grants are made for quite illegitimate expenses. This, Sir, I write to you immediately upon my arrival.

## XVII B

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I ENTERED this province, Sir, on the 17th of September, and found it in those sentiments of obedience and loyalty which you justly merit from all mankind. You will consider, Sir, whether it would not be proper to send hither a surveyor; for it appears that substantial sums of money might be recovered from the contractors for public buildings, if a faithful admeasurement were taken. At least, I am of opinion, from what I have already seen of the accounts of this city, which I am now in the act of examining.

<sup>a</sup> The reigning Emperor's birthday had always been a public holiday.

## XVIII

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

CUPEREM sine querela corpusculi tui et tuo pervenire in Bithyniam potuisses, ac simile tibi ab Epheso ei navigationi fuisset, quam expertus ut illo eras. Quo autem die pervenisses in Bithyniam cognovi, Secunde carissime, litteris tuis. Procciales, credo, prospectum sibi a me intellegit. Nam et tu dabis operam, ut manifestum sit electum te esse, qui ad eosdem mei loco mittere. Rationes autem in primis tibi rerum publicarum excutiendae sunt; nam et esse eas vexatas constat. Mensores vix etiam iis operibus, qui aut Romae aut in proximo fiunt, sufficientes habent, sed in omni provincia inveniuntur, quibus consistat, et ideo non deerunt tibi, modo velis diligenter excutere.

## XIX

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Rogo, domine, consilio me regas haesitantem, utrum per publicos civitatum servos, quod usque adhuc factum, an per milites adservare custodire debeam. Vereor enim, ne et per servos publicos parum fideliter custodiantur, et non exiguum mili-

<sup>a</sup> For the playful use of *corpusculum* cf. vi. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Slaves owned by a state or city wore a sort of livery

## XVIII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WISH you could have reached Bithynia with any complaint from your *little anatomy*,<sup>a</sup> or from your train; and that your journey from Ephesus had been as easy as your voyage to that place. I learn from your letter, my dear Pliny, what day you reached Bithynia. The people of that province do not understand, I believe, that I have their interests at heart. For you will take care to make it clear to them, that you were appointed specially to represent myself. You must pay particular attention to investigating the financial affairs of the towns, which are evidently in confusion. As for surveyors, I find scarce enough for those works which I am carrying on at Rome, and in the neighbourhood; but trustworthy persons of this class may be found in every province, so that you will have no lack of them if you choose to make diligent inquiry.

## XIX

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I BEG your advice, Sir, on a matter wherein I am greatly doubtful; it is, whether I should have my prisoners guarded by public slaves<sup>b</sup> (as has been hitherto the practice), or by soldiers? On the one hand, I am afraid the public slaves will not perform this duty faithfully; and on the other, that if they were an annual stipend, and were employed as mail-carriers, executioners, attendants at the public baths, libraries,

numerum haec cura distringat. Interim publicis servis paucos milites addidi. Video tamen periculum esse, ne id ipsum utrisque negligentiae causa sit, dum communem culpam hi in illos, illi in se regerere posse confidunt.

## XX

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

NIHIL opus est, mi Secunde carissime, ad retinendas custodias plures commilitones convocari. Perseveremus in ea consuetudine, quae isti provinciae est, ut per publicos servos custodiantur. Etenim ut fideliter hoc faciant, in tua severitate ac diligentia positum est. In primis enim, sicut se reverendum est, ne, si permisceantur servis publicis milites, mutua inter se fiducia negligentiores faciant. Sed et illud haereat nobis, quam paucissimos milites a signis avocandos esse.

## XXI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

GABIUS BASSUS, praefectus orae Ponticae reverentissime et officiosissime, domine, veni me et compluribus diebus fuit mecum, quae

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<sup>a</sup> An expression avoided as undignified by Augustus and his immediate successors, but affected by later Emperors whose power largely depended on the goodwill of the army.

<sup>b</sup> cf. x. 22.

engage too large a body of the soldiery. In  
meanwhile I have joined a few of the latter  
to the former. I see, however, there is a danger  
this plan may occasion negligence on both sides,  
since each will trust to throwing upon the other  
the blame attaching to both.

## XX

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THERE is no occasion, my dear Pliny, to draw  
more of my fellow-soldiers<sup>a</sup> to guard the prison.  
Let us rather abide by the custom of your province,  
and employ the public slaves. Their fidelity in  
office depends entirely upon the discipline and  
severity you exercise. It is to be feared, as you observe,  
if the soldiers are combined with the public slaves,  
they will mutually rely on each other, and by  
this means grow so much the more negligent. But  
let this be our fixed rule, that as few soldiers as possible  
should be called away from the colours.<sup>b</sup>

## XXI

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

GABIUS BASSUS, Prefect of the Pontic province,  
visited me in the most respectful and obliging  
manner, and has been with me, Sir, for several days.

<sup>a</sup> Prefects in the provinces were more or less permanent  
officials, appointed by the Emperor. Some held civil, and  
some military appointments; among the latter were the Prefect  
of the Rhine frontier, the Euphrates frontier, and the Prefect  
of the Black Sea.

perspicere potui, vir egregius et indulgenti-  
dignus. Cui ego notum feci praecepisse tibi  
ex cohortibus, quibus me praeesse voluisti,  
tentus esset beneficiariis decem, equitibus du-  
centurione uno. Respondit non sufficere sibi  
numerum, idque se scripturum tibi. Hoc in-  
fuit, quo minus statim revocandos putarem,  
habet supra numerum.

## XXII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

ET mihi scripsit Gabius Bassus non sufficere  
eum militum numerum, qui ut daretur illi, ma-  
meis complexus sum. Cui quae rescripsissen  
notum haberes, his litteris subici iussi. Mihi  
interest, res poscat an homines imperare  
velint.<sup>2</sup> Nobis autem utilitas demum spectand  
et, quantum fieri potest, curandum, ne mili-  
signis absint.

## XXIII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PRUSENSES, domine, balineum habent et sor-  
et vetus. Id itaque indulgentia tua rest

<sup>1</sup> Cui quae rescripsissem *K*, quid quaeris scripsisse me

<sup>2</sup> res poscat an homines imperare latius velint *Cu*  
poscat an homines in se ut latius velint *a, B*, tempus p  
iure uti l. v. *Orell*.



As far as I could observe, he is a person of great merit and worthy of your favour. I acquainted it was your order that he should retain only beneficiary soldiers,<sup>a</sup> two troopers, and one centurion out of the cavalry which you were pleased to assign to my command. He assured me these would be sufficient for him, and that he would write to you upon this head; for which reason I did immediately upon your directions, recall his supernumeraries.

## XXII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I HAVE received from Gabius Bassus the letter in mention, acquainting me, that the number of soldiers I had ordered him was not sufficient: for your information I have directed my answer to be annexed to this. It is very material to distinguish between what the exigency of affairs requires, and what an ambitious desire of extending power may think necessary. As for ourselves, the interest of the public must be our only guide: and it is incumbent upon us to take all possible care, that our soldiers are not absent from their colours.

## XXIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Prusenses, Sir, have an ancient and ruinous bath, which they desire your leave to repair. Upon examining into the condition of it, I find it ought

<sup>a</sup> Privates who were either exempted from fatigue or detailed for some special duty by a superior, were called his *beneficarii*.

desiderant: ego tamen aestimans novum debere . . . . videris mihi desiderio eorum gere posse. Erit enim pecunia, ex qua fiat, p ea, quam revocare a privatis et exigere iam deinde quam ipsi erogare in oleum soliti sunt in opus balinei conferre; quod alioqui et d civitatis et saeculi tui nitor postulat.

## XXIV

TRAIANUS PLINIO

SI instructio novi balinei oneratura vires F sium non est, possumus desiderio eorum ind modo ne quid ideo aut intribuatur, aut minus posterum fiat ad necessarias erogationes.

## XXV

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SERVILIUS PUDENS legatus, domine, VIII Decembres Nicomediam venit meque long spectationis sollicitudine liberavit.

## XXVI

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ROSIANUM GEMINUM, domine, artissimo v mecum tua in me beneficia iunxerunt. Habu

be rebuilt; I think therefore you may indulge them in this request, as there will be a sufficient fund for that purpose, partly from those debts which are due from private persons to the public, which I am now calling in, and partly from what they disburse from their treasury towards furnishing the bath with oil, which they are willing to apply to the carrying on of this building: a work which the dignity of the city, and the splendour of your reign seems to demand.

## XXIV

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

IF the erecting a public bath will not be too great a charge upon the Prusenses, we may comply with their request: provided, however, that no new tax be levied for this purpose, nor any of those taken off which are applied for necessary purposes.

## XXV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

MY lieutenant Servilius Pudens came to Nicomedes Sir, on the 24th of November; and by his arrival freed me, at last, from the solicitude of a very unequal expectation.

## XXVI

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

YOUR generosity to me, Sir, was the occasion of uniting me to Rosianus Geminus, by the strongest

illum quaestorem in consulatu, mei sunt  
servantissimum expertus. Tantam mihi  
sulatum reverentiam praestat, ut publicae  
dinis pignora privatis cumulet officiis. Ro  
ut ipse apud te pro dignitate eius precibus  
faveas, cui et, si quid mihi credis, indul  
tuam dabis. Dabit ipse operam, ut in iis,  
mandaveris, maiora mereatur. Parciores  
laudando facit, quod spero tibi et integritate  
et probitatem et industriam non solum  
honoribus, quos in urbe sub oculis tuis gessit  
etiam ex commilitio esse notissimam. Illud  
quod propter caritatem eius nondum mihi  
satis plene fecisse, etiam atque etiam facio  
domine, rogo, gaudere me exornata quaest  
dignitate, id est per illum mea, quam mat  
velis.

## XXVII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

MAXIMUS, libertus et procurator tuus,  
praeter decem beneficiarios, quos adsignavit

ties; for he was my Quaestor when I was Consul. His behaviour to me, during the continuance of our offices, was highly respectful; and he has treated me ever since with so peculiar a regard, that besides the many obligations I owe him upon a public account, I am indebted to him for the strongest pledges of private friendship. I intreat you then to comply with my request for the advancement of one, whom (if my recommendation has any weight) you will even honour with your particular favour; as whatever trust you shall repose in him, he will endeavour to shew himself still deserving of an higher. But I forbear to enter into a more particular detail of his merit; being persuaded, his integrity, his probity, and his vigilance are well known to you, not only from those high posts, which he has exercised in Rome within your immediate inspection; but from his behaviour when he served under you in the field. One thing, however, my affection for him inclines me to think I have not yet sufficiently done; and therefore Sir, I repeat my entreaties to you, that you will give me the pleasure, as early as possible, of rejoicing in the honourable advancement of my Quaestor; or, in other words, of receiving an addition to my own dignity, in the person of my friend.

## XXVII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I AM assured, Sir, by your freedman and receiver general Maximus, that it is necessary he should have a party of six soldiers assigned to him, over and besides

Gemellino, optimo viro, iussisti, sibi quoque  
firmat necessarios esse milites sex. Tres<sup>1</sup> i  
sicut inveneram, in ministerio eius relin  
existinavi, praesertim cum ad frumentum  
parandum iret in Paphlagoniam. Quin  
tutelae causa, quia desiderabat, addidi duos  
In futurum quid servari velis, rogo reseribas.

## XXVIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

NUNC quidem proficiscentem ad compara  
frumentorum Maximum, libertum meum, rect  
tibus instruxisti. Fungebatur enim et ipse  
ordinario munere. Cum ad pristinum actum  
sus fuerit, sufficient illi duo a te dati mil  
totidem a Viridio Gemellino, procuratore meo  
adiuvat.

## XXIX

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SEMPRONIUS CAELIANUS, egregius iuvenis, r  
inter tirones duos servos misit ad me; quoru

<sup>1</sup> milites sex. Tres *Mommsen*, milites. Ex his  
*a, B, lacunam post milites K, post interim incl. Müller*

<sup>a</sup> See x. 21, note.

the ten beneficiary soldiers,<sup>a</sup> which by your order allotted to the very worthy Gemellinus. The therefore which I found in his service I thought proper to continue there, especially as he was going into Paphlagonia in order to procure corn. For better security likewise, and because it was my request, I added two of the horse-guards. But I beg you would inform me in your next despatch what method you would have me observe for the future in points of this nature.

## XXVIII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

As my freedman Maximus was going upon an extraordinary commission to procure corn, I approved of your having supplied him with a file of soldiers. But when he shall return to the duties of his former post, I think two from you, and as many from the receiver-general Virdus Gemellinus (to whom I have a coadjutor) will be sufficient.

## XXIX

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

SEMPRONIUS CAELIANUS (whose merit I must always mention with esteem) having discovered two slaves among the recruits has sent them to me. But

<sup>b</sup> The Roman policy excluded slaves from entering military service, and it was death if they did so. (Martial, *lib. 1. ep. 10.*) But in great crises, as after the battle of Cannae, and during the civil wars, slaves were occasionally enlisted.

supplicium distuli, ut te conditorem disciplinæ militaris firmatoremque consulerem de modo poenarum. Ipse enim dubito ob hæc maxime, quod, ut dixerant sacramento militari, nondum distributi numeros erant. Quid ergo debeam sequi, responde domine, scribas, praesertim cum pertineat ad exemplum.

### XXX

#### • TRAIANUS PLINIO

SECUNDUM mandata mea fecit Sempronius Caninius mittendo ad te eos, de quibus cognosci oportet, an capitale supplicium meruisse videantur. Reus autem, voluntarii se obtulerint an lecti sint vel vicarii dati. Lecti si sunt, inquisitio peccavit; vicarii dati, penes eos culpa est, qui dederunt; si cum haberent condicionis suae conscientiam, viderunt, animadvertendum in illos erit. Neque enim multum interest, quod nondum per numeros distributi sunt. Ille enim dies, quo primum probati sunt, veritatem ab his originis suae exigit.



deferred passing sentence till I had conferred with you, the glorious founder, and firm support of military discipline, concerning the punishment proper to be inflicted upon them. My principal doubt is, though they have taken the military oath, they are not yet entered into any particular legion. I beg therefore, Sir, you would let me know what method I shall pursue, especially as it is an affair in which your example is concerned.

### XXX

#### TRAJAN TO PLINY

SEMPRONIUS CAELIANUS has acted agreeably to your orders, in sending those persons to you for trial, the capital nature of whose offence must be decided by investigation. It is material, in the case in question, to inquire, whether these slaves enlisted themselves voluntarily, or were enrolled by the recruiting officers, or presented as proxies for others. If they were enrolled, the officer is guilty; if they are proxies, the blame rests with those who deputed them; but if, conscious of the legal incapacities of their station, they presented themselves voluntarily, the punishment must fall upon their own heads. That they are not yet entered into any legion makes no great difference in their case; for they ought to have given a true account of themselves immediately, upon their being approved as fit for the service.

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SALVA magnitudine tua, domine, desc  
oportet ad meas curas, cum ius mihi dederis refe  
ad te, de quibus dubito. In plerisque civita  
maxime Nicomediae et Niceae, quidam vel in  
damnati vel in ludum similiaque his g  
poenarum publicorum servorum officio minister  
funguntur atque etiam ut publici servi a  
accipiunt. Quod ego cum audissem, diu multu  
haesitavi, quid facere deberem. Nam et re  
poenae post longum tempus plerosque iam sen  
quantum adfirmatur, frugaliter modesteque viv  
nimis severum arbitrabar, et in publicis o  
retinere damnatos non satis honestum puta  
eosdem rursus a republica pasci otiosos inutile  
pasci etiam periculosum existimabam. Nece  
ergo rem totam, dum te consulerem, in sus  
reliqui.

Quaeres fortasse, quem ad modum eveneri  
poenis, in quas dati erant, exsolverentur; e  
quaesivi, sed nihil comperi, quod adfirmare tibi po

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• x. 19, note.

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

As I have your permission, Sir, to address my  
 you in all my doubts, you will not esteem it below  
 dignity to descend to those affairs, which con-  
 the administration of my post. I find there are  
 several cities, particularly those of Nicomedia  
 Nicea, certain persons who take upon themselves  
 act as public slaves,<sup>a</sup> and receive an annual stipend  
 accordingly; notwithstanding they have been  
 condemned either to the mines, the public games,  
 other punishments of like nature. Having received  
 information of this abuse, I have been long deliberating  
 with myself how I should act. On the one hand  
 send them back again after a long interval to their  
 respective punishments, (many of them being  
 grown old, and behaving, as I am assured, with  
 sobriety and modesty,) would, I thought, be  
 proceeding against them too severely; on the other  
 retain convicts in the public service, seemed  
 altogether decent. I considered at the same time  
 to support these people in idleness, would be a  
 useless expense to the public; and to leave them  
 starve, would be dangerous. I was obliged therefore  
 to suspend the determination of this matter, and  
 could consult with you.

You will be desirous, perhaps, to be informed  
 how it happened that these persons escape their  
 punishments to which they were condemned. In  
 inquiry I have also made myself, but cannot give  
 you any satisfactory answer. The records of

Ut decreta, quibus damnati erant, proferebantur, nulla monumenta, quibus liberati probarentur. Erant tamen, qui dicerent deprecantes ius proconsulum legatorumve dimissos. Addebat fides, quod credible erat neminem hoc ausum sine auctore.

## XXXII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

MEMINERIMUS idcirco te in istam provinciam missum quoniam multa in ea emendanda apparuerint. Eius autem vel hoc maxime corrigendum, quod, cum damnati ad poenam erant, non modo ea sine auctore ut scribis, liberati sunt, sed etiam in condicione proborum ministrorum retrahuntur. Qui igitur intra hos proximos decem annos damnati nec ulli idoneo auctore liberati sunt, hos oportebit poenae suae reddi; si qui vetustiores invenientur et serui ante annos decem damnati, distribuamus illos in ministeria, quae non longe a poena sint. Solent enim eius modi ad balineum, ad purgationes cloacarum item munitiones viarum et vicorum dari.

sentence were indeed produced; but no record of them ever having been reversed. It was assumed, however, that these people were released on their petition to the proconsuls, or their lieutenants, which seems likely enough to be the truth, as it is improbable any person should have dared to set them at liberty without authority.

## XXXII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

WE are to remember that you were sent to Bithynia for the particular purpose of correcting those many abuses with which it appeared to be over-run. Now none stands more in need of reformation, than that convicts should not only be restored to liberty (as your letter informs me) without authority, but actually restored to the station of respectable officials. Those therefore among them who have been convicted within these ten years, and whose sentence has not been reversed by proper authority, must be sent back again to their respective places: but where more than ten years have elapsed since their conviction, and they are grown old and infirm, let them be distributed in such employments as approach penal servitude; that is, either to attend upon the public baths, cleanse the closets, sewers, or repair the streets and highways, or to be put to such usual offices to which such persons are assigned.

## XXXIII

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM diversam partem provinciae circumi  
 Nicomediae vastissimum incendium multas priv  
 rum domos et duo publica opera quamquam  
 interiacente, Gerusian et Iseon, absumpsit.  
 autem latius sparsum primum violentia ventī, de  
 inertia hominum, quos<sup>1</sup> satis constat otiosos  
 immobiles tanti mali spectatores perstitisse;  
 alioqui nullus usquam in publico siphō, nulla h  
 nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia com  
 cenda. Et haec quidem, ut iam praecepi, p  
 buntur. Tu, domine, dispice, an instituendum p  
 collegium fabrorum dumtaxat hominum CL.  
 attendam, ne quis nisi faber recipiatur, neve  
 concesso in aliud utatur; nec erit difficile custo  
 tam paucos.

## XXXIV

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

TIBI quidem secundum exempla complurium  
 mentem venit posse collegium fabrorum a  
 Nicomedenses constitui. Sed meminerimus pro

<sup>1</sup> quos *Rittershusius*, quod *a.*

## XXXIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHILE I was making a progress in a different part of the province, a prodigious fire broke out in Nicomedia, which not only consumed several private houses, but also two public buildings, the old market-hospice<sup>a</sup> and the temple of Isis, though they stood on contrary sides of the street. The occasion of its spreading thus far was partly owing to the violence of the wind, and partly to the indolence of the people, who, I am well assured, stood fixed and idle spectators of this terrible calamity. And at any rate, the city was not provided either with a single engine or bucket, or any one instrument proper to extinguish fire. These however will be got ready, as I have already ordered. Pray determine, Sir, whether you think it well to institute a guild of fire-men, not to exceed one hundred and fifty members. I will take in none but those of that calling shall be admitted into it; and that the privileges granted them shall not be diverted to any other purpose. As they will be so few, it will be easy enough to keep them under proper regulation.

## XXXIV

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

You are of opinion it would be proper to constitute a guild of fire-men in Nicomedia, agreeably to what has been practised in several other places. But

<sup>a</sup> Several cities are known to have had these institutions, which provided common meals and a common resort for the citizens elected to membership.

ciam istam et praecipue eas civitates eius factionibus esse vexatas. Quodcumque non quacumque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem co fuerint hetaeriae aequae brevi<sup>1</sup> fient. Satius est comparari ea, quae ad coercendos ignes esse possint, admonerique dominos praediorum ipsi inhi-beant, ac, si res poposcerit, acursu ad hoc uti.

### XXXV

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SOLEMNIA vota pro incolumitate tua, qua p salus continetur, et suscipimus, domine, pari solvimus, precati deos ut velint ea semper semperque signari.

### XXXVI

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

ET solvisse vos cum provincialibus dis im libus vota pro mea salute et incolumitate et passe libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cogn litteris tuis.

<sup>1</sup> aequae brevi *Lightfoot*, quae breves *a*, *B*.

<sup>a</sup> Nicomedia and, probably, Nicaea, her rival.

<sup>b</sup> This had happened in the case of many of the guilds at Rome. Our own Trades Unions supply para



is to be remembered that this sort of societies has greatly disturbed the peace of your province general, and of those cities<sup>a</sup> in particular. Whatever title we give them, and whatever our object in giving it, men who are banded together for a common end will all the same become a political association before long.<sup>b</sup> It will therefore be better to provide suitable means for extinguishing fire, and enjoin owners of house-property to employ them themselves, calling in the help of the populace when necessary.

### XXXV

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WE have offered,<sup>c</sup> Sir, and acquitted, our annual vows for your safety, in which that of the State is included; imploring the Gods to grant us ever to be able to pay, and thus to confirm them.

### XXXVI

#### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WAS gratified, my dear Pliny, to learn by your letter, that you, together with the provincials, have both paid and renewed your vows to the immortal Gods, for my health and safety.

<sup>c</sup> *suscipere vota* = to undertake vows (for the coming year) *vota solvere* = to pay vows (for the past year). The ceremony referred to was performed on the Capitol, in the various camps, and in the provinces, on the 3rd January. (Hardy)

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

IN aquae ductum, domine, Nicomedenses derunt sestertium [XXX] CCCXXIX, qui impetum adhuc relictus ac etiam destructus est: ruinae alium ductum erogata sunt cc. Hoc quoque novo impendio est opus, ut aquam habeat: tantam pecuniam male perdiderunt. Ipse pergit ad fontem purissimum, ex quo videtur aquam perducere, sicut initio tentatum erat, arcuato opere tantum ad plana civitatis et humilia perducere. Manent adhuc paucissimi arcus; possunt esse quidam lapide quadrato, qui ex superiore detractus est; aliqua pars, ut mihi videtur, tamen opere agenda erit; id enim et facilius et vilius in primis necessarium est mitti a te vel aquam vel architectum, ne rursus eveniat, quod non. Ego illud unum adfirmo, et utilitatem operis et pulchritudinem saeculo tuo esse dignissimam.

<sup>a</sup> About £27,000.

<sup>b</sup> The *Pont de Gard* near Nîmes (*Nemausus*) is a recent specimen of these overground aqueducts.

## XXXVII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE citizens of Nicomedia, Sir, have expended three million three hundred and twenty-nine thousand sesterces<sup>a</sup> on an aqueduct; but they abandoned it unfinished, and it has actually been pulled down. They made a grant of two hundred thousand sesterces for another aqueduct, but this likewise discontinued; so that after having thrown away an immense sum they must incur fresh expense in order to be accommodated with water. I have personally visited a most limpid spring from whence the water may be conveyed over arches<sup>b</sup> (as was done in the first design), so as not to reach only the level of the low parts of the city. There are but very few arches remaining; others can be erected with the square blocks of stone which have been pulled down from the former work; some part, I think, may be built of brick,<sup>c</sup> as that will be the easier and cheaper method. But first, to prevent another failure will be necessary for you to send here an inspection of aqueducts or an engineer. I will venture to affirm one thing—the beauty and usefulness of your work will be entirely worthy of your reign.

<sup>a</sup> *opus testaceum*, “brickwork,” was only used as facing a concrete core, as was also the *lapis quadratus* just mentioned. (Hardy.)

## XXXVIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

CURANDUM est, ut aqua in Nicomedensem tatem perducatur. Vere credo te ea, qua diligentia hoc opus aggressurum. Sed medius ad eandem diligentiam tuam pertinet in quorum vitio ad hoc tempus tantam pecuniam Nicomedenses perdididerint, ne, cum inter se agerentur, et inchoaverint aquaeductus et reliqua. Quid itaque compereris, perfer in notitiam meam.

## XXXIX

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

THEATRUM, domine, Nicaeae maxima iam constructum, imperfectum tamen, sestertium audio (neque enim ratio operis<sup>1</sup> excussa est) auctoritate centies hausit, vereor ne frustra. Ingentibus sumptibus desedit<sup>2</sup> et hiat, sive in causa solum huiusmodi materia et molle, sive lapis ipse gracilis et putris; cum sit est certe deliberatione, sitne faciendum relinquendum an etiam destruendum. Nam fere huiusmodi ac substructiones, quibus subinde suscipitur, non firmae mihi quam sumptuosae videntur. Quod si theatrum ex privatorum pollicitationibus multa

<sup>1</sup> operis *Müller*, plus *a*.

<sup>2</sup> desedit *Hardy ex Bodl.* descendit *a*, discedit *Gr*

## XXXVIII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

CARE must be taken to supply the city Nicomedia with water—you will, I am persuaded, set about the work with all due diligence. But it is most certainly no less incumbent upon you to ascertain whose fault it is that the Nicomedians have up to the present squandered such large sums. They must not be suffered to commence and to abandon aqueducts by a system of collusion. I will let me know the result of your inquiry.

## XXXIX

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE citizens of Nicaea, Sir, have built the greater part of a theatre which, though it is not yet finished, has already exhausted, as I hear said (for the account has not yet been audited) above ten millions of sesterces ; and, I fear, to no purpose. For either from the damp and yielding nature of the ground, or that the stones themselves were thin and friable, the building is sinking and displaying enormous cracks. The question certainly deserves consideration, whether it should be completed, abandoned, or even pulled down. For the buttresses and bases upon which it is here and there supported, appear to me more expensive than the building. Several private persons have undertaken to build several parts of this theatre at their own expense, s

tur ut basilicae circa, ut porticus supra caveam. nunc omnia differuntur, cessante eo quod peragendum est.

Idem Nicaeenses gymnasium incendio ante adventum meum restituere coeperunt numerosius laxiusque, quam fuerat, et iam aliqua erogaverunt, periculum est, ne parum ut incompositum enim et sparsum est. Prae architectus sane aemulus eius, a quo opus inchoatum est, adfirmat parietes quamquam viginti et pedes latos imposita onera sustinere non posse siut caemento mediis farti nec testaceo praecincti.

Claudiopolitani quoque in depresso loco, immo etiam monte ingens balineum defodiunt magis aedificant, et quidem ex ea pecunia, quam bene additi beneficio tuo aut iam obtulerunt ob intrinsecum aut nobis exigentibus conferent. Ergo, cum tibi in urbe illic publica pecunia, hic, quod est omni pretiosius, munus tuum male collocetur, non petere a te, non solum ob theatrum, verum etiam ob haec balinea mittas architectum dispectum, utrum sit utilius post sumptum, qui factus est, quod

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<sup>a</sup> "The word *Cavea* in the original comprehends more than what we call the *Pit* in our theatres, as it means the space in which the spectators sat." (Melm.) "The *cavea* is the interior of the semi-circular part of the theatre, the seats (*cunei*) rising out behind one another from the orchestra at the bottom to the external wall of the theatre at the top. . . At the top there was often a double

engaging to erect the adjacent basilicas, other the gallery above the pit<sup>a</sup>: all of which is now postponed as the principal fabric is a stand.

The citizens are also rebuilding, upon a large scale, the Gymnasium, which was burnt down before my arrival in the province. They have already voted funds for the purpose, which are likely to be wasted, for the structure is ill-planned and rambling. Besides, the present architect (who, it must be owned, is a rival to the one first employed) asserts that the walls, though they are twenty-two feet thick, are not strong enough to support the superstructure, as their core is merely rubble, nor are they faced with brickwork.

Furthermore, the people of Claudiopolis are sinking (for I cannot call it building) a large public bath in a hollow at the very foot of a hill, and are appropriating for this work the fees which those ex-members you were pleased to add to their senatus paid on their admission, or are now paying on demand.<sup>b</sup> Lest, therefore, the public money in this place, and in the other (what is infinitely more valuable than any pecuniary consideration) your benefaction, should be misapplied, I am obliged to desire you would send hither an architect to inspect not only the theatre but the bath, and decide whether, after so much money has already been

columns extending all round the *cavea* and forming a kind of ambulatory. . . This is the *porticus* alluded to." (Hardy)

<sup>b</sup> In Bithynia those *elected* to the local senates paid an entrance fee, but those admitted on the Emperor's nomination paid either one or two thousand denarii, according to circumstances.

modo consummare opera, ut inchoata sunt, ar  
videntur emendanda, corrigere, quae transfe  
transferre, ne, dum servare volumus, quod imp  
est, male impendamus, quod addendum est.

## XL

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

QUID oporteat fieri circa theatrum, quod inchoatum  
apud Nicaeenses est, in re praesenti optime delib  
et constitues. Mihi sufficiet indicari, cui sententiam  
accesseris. Tunc autem a privatis exigere opera  
curae sit, cum theatrum, propter quod illa praesentia  
sunt, factum erit. Gymnasiis indulgent Graeci, pro  
ideo forsitan Nicaeenses maiore animo constructio  
eius aggressi sunt. Sed oportet illos eo contentos esse  
quod possit illis sufficere.

Quid Claudiopolitanis circa balineum, quod inchoatum  
ut scribis, idoneo loco inchoaverunt, suadendum  
tu constitues. Architecti tibi deesse non possunt.  
Nulla provincia est, quae non peritos et ingeniosos  
homines habeat; modo ne existimes brevius e  
urbe mitti, cum ex Graecia etiam ad nos venire  
sunt.



laid out, it will be better to finish them as we may upon the present plan, or to make improvements and alterations where they are required. Otherwise we may throw away our future labour by endeavouring not to lose what we have already expended.

## XL

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

You, who are upon the spot, will best be able to consider and determine what is proper to be done concerning the theatre, which the Nicaeans have begun; as for myself, it will be sufficient if you let me know your decision. It will be time enough for you to exact fulfilment of private undertakings with regard to parts of the theatre, when the new building is finished. These paltry Greeks, I know, have a foible for Gymnasia; hence, perhaps, the citizens of Nicaea have been somewhat too ambitious in planning one; but they must be contented with such a one as will be sufficient to answer the occasions.

You must decide for yourself how best to advise the Claudiopolitani with reference to their baths, which they have placed, it seems, in a very improper situation. As there is no province that is not furnished with architects of skill and ingenuity, you cannot possibly be in want of one; pray do not imagine it is your quickest way to get them from Rome, for it is usually from Greece that they come hither.

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

INTUENTI mihi et fortunae tuae et animi magnitudinem convenientissimum videtur demoueri opera non minus aeternitate tua quam gloria quantumque pulchritudinis tantam utilitatis habere. Est in Nicomedensium finibus amplissimus Per hunc marmora, fructus, ligna, materiae et summo modico et labore usque ad viam navibus, magno labore, maiore impendio vehiculis advehuntur.<sup>1</sup> Itaque mari committere cupiunt opus multas manus poscit; at hae porro non desunt. Nam et in agris magna copia est hominum et in civitate, certaue spes omnes libentissime assuros opus omnibus fructuosum.

Superest, ut tu libratores vel architectos, videbitur, mittas, qui diligenter exploret, sitne altior mari, quem artifices regionis huius quadratibus altiore esse contendunt. Ego per ea loca inuenio fossam a rege percussam, sed incertum utrum ad colligendum humorem circumiacentium agrorum an ad committendum flumini lacunam enim imperfecta. Hoc quoque dubium, inter-

<sup>1</sup> devehuntur . . . lacunam indic. Müller.

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHEN I reflect upon your exalted station, and the greatness of your mind, it seems most fitting to point out to you some works worthy alike of your immortality and your fame, and no less useful than magnificent. Bordering upon the territories of the city of Nicomedia is a most extensive lake; from which marbles, produce, timber and commodities are easily and cheaply transported to the high road; and from thence, are conveyed in carriages to the sea-side, at great charge and labour. According to their desire to connect this lake with the sea, to carry out this work will require, 'tis true, many hands; but these again cannot be scarce, for the country, and particularly the city, is exceedingly populous; and one may assuredly hope that everybody will readily engage in a work which will be of universal benefit.

It only remains then to send hither, if you should think proper, a surveyor or an architect, in order to examine whether the lake lies above the level of the sea; the mechanics of this province being of opinion that the former is higher by forty cubits. I find there is in the neighbourhood of this place a large canal, which was cut by one of the kings of this country; but as it is left unfinished, it is uncertain whether it was for the purpose of draining the adjacent lands, or of connecting the lake with the river. It is equally doubtful, too, whether the death of the king, or the despair of being able

rege mortalitate an desperato operis effectu  
hoc ipso (feres enim me ambitiosum pro tua  
incitor et accendor, ut cupiam peragi a te  
tantum coeperant reges.

## XLII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

POTEST nos sollicitare lacus iste, ut committere  
mari velimus; sed plane explorandum est diligenter,  
ne, si demissus<sup>1</sup> in mare fuerit, totus effluat,  
quantum aquarum et unde accipiat. Poteris  
purnio Macro petere libratores, et ego hinc ad  
tibi peritum eiusmodi operum mittam.

## XLIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

REQUIRENTI mihi Byzantium rei publicae imperatoris  
quae maxima fecit, indicatum est, domine, legatum  
te salutandum annis omnibus cum psephismate  
eique dari nummorum duodena milia. Memo  
propositi tui legatum quidem retinendum, pseph

<sup>1</sup> demissus *Catan.*, immissus *a, B*, dimissus *Av*

<sup>a</sup> Legate of Lower Moesia, 112 A.D. *cf.* letters 6  
this Book. Letter 18 of Bk V. is addressed to him.

accomplish the design, prevented the completion of it. If the latter was the reason, I am so much more impelled to desire ardently (you will forgive me, know, my being ambitious for your fame) that I may have the glory of executing, what kings could only attempt.

## XLII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE scheme you propose of opening a communication between the lake and the sea, may, perhaps tempt me to come into it. But you must carefully ascertain what quantity of water your lake contains, and from whence it is supplied; lest, in letting it into the sea, it should be totally exhausted. You may apply to Calpurnius Macer<sup>a</sup> for a survey. I will also send you from hence some person skilled in works of this nature.

## XLIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

UPON examining the public expenses of the Byzantines (which I find are extremely great), I am informed, Sir, that they send an envoy every year to salute you with a complimentary decree, and accompany him the sum of twelve thousand sesterces. Mindful of your intentions,<sup>b</sup> I thought proper to send you a decree without the envoy, that, at the same time

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* that Pliny should enforce economy on the provincials. *cf.* x. 18, 38.

autem mittendum putavi, ut simul et s  
levaretur, et impleretur publicum officium.  
civitati imputata sunt terna milia, quae viatici  
annua dabantur legato eunti ad eum, qui M  
praest, publice salutandum. Haec ego in po  
circumcidenda existinavi. Te, domine, ro  
quid sentias, rescribendo aut consilium meu  
firmare aut errorem emendare digneris.

## XLIV

TRAIANUS PLINIO

OPTIME fecisti, Secunde carissime, duode  
Byzantiis, quae ad salutandum me in legatu  
pendebantur, remittendo. Fungetur his pa  
etsi solum eorum psephisma per te missum  
Ignoscet illis et Moesiae praeses, si minus  
sumptuose coluerint.

## XLV

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

DIPLOMATA, domine, quorum dies praeter  
omnino observari et quam diu velis, rogo s

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<sup>a</sup> Calpurnius Macer. See x. 42 note.

<sup>b</sup> Orders, signed by the Emperor, to use the imperi  
ing system, by which official correspondence and tra  
officials were conveyed between Rome and the pro

they discharged their public duty to you, they might be eased as regards the cost. This city is likewise charged with the sum of three thousand sesterces as travelling allowance of an envoy, whom they annually send to compliment the governor of Moesia; this expense I judged it right to retrench for the future. I beg, Sir, you would do me the honour either to confirm my judgement, or correct my error in these points, by letting me know your sentiments.

## XLIV

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WELL approve, my dear Pliny, of your having remitted to the Byzantines the twelve thousand sesterces which they allowed the envoy commissioner to salute me. I shall esteem their duty as sufficiently paid, though I only receive the act of the senate through your hands. The governor of Moesia <sup>a</sup> must likewise excuse them, if they commend him at a less expense.

## XLV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I BEG, Sir, you would settle a doubt I have concerning your passports <sup>b</sup>; whether you think proper that those whose dates are expired shall remain valid.

“These diplomata at a later time were granted only by Emperors, but at this period apparently the provincial governors were provided with blank forms which they could fill in and assign.” (Hardy.)

meque haesitatione liberes. Vereor enim, alterutram partem ignorantia lapsus aut illicitam firmem aut necessaria impediam.

## XLVI

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

DIPLOMATA, quorum praeteritus est dies, esse non debent; ideo inter prima iniungo nunc per omnes provincias ante mittam nova diploma quam desiderari possint.

## XLVII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM vellem Apameae, domine, cognoscere quid licos debitores et reditum et impendia, respiciendum est mihi cupere quidem universos, ut a me rationes coloniae legerentur, numquam tamen esse legerunt nullo proconsulum; habuisse privilegium et veteris simum morem arbitrio suo rem publicam administrari. Exegi, ut, quae dicebant, quaeque recitabant, complecterentur; quem tibi, qualem acceperam, quamvis intellegerem pleraque ex illo ad id, quod quaeritur, non pertinere. Te rogo, ut mihi praecipere<sup>1</sup> digneris, quid me putes observare debere. Vereor enim, ne aut excessisse aut non in officii mei partes videar.

<sup>1</sup> praecipere, *Av.*, *Bipons*, *K*, *Muell.*, praecire, *Ba*, *Kukula*.



and how long? For I am apprehensive I may through ignorance fall into one of two errors, and either confirm instruments which are illegal, or obstruct those which are necessary.

## XLVI

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

PASSPORTS whose dates are expired must by some means be made use of. For which reason it is my principal rule with me, to send out fresh passports to all the provinces before there can be any shortage of them.

## XLVII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

UPON my desiring, Sir, to examine the public loans, revenues and expenditure of Apamea, the citizens replied they were all extremely willing they should inspect the accounts of the colony, but nevertheless no Proconsul had ever yet perused them, they had a privilege (and that of very ancient date) of administering their commonwealth in the manner they thought proper. I required them to draw up a memorial of their assertions, together with the authorities they cited, which I transmit to you exactly as I received it; though I am sensible it contains several things foreign to the question. I beg you would honour me with your commands, how I am to act in this affair; for I would not willingly be thought either to exceed or fall short of my commission.

## XLVIII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

LIBELLUS Apameorum, quem epistolae tuae ras, remisit mihi necessitatem perpendendi, essent, propter quae videri volunt eos, quod consulibus hanc provinciam obtinuerunt, abs inspectione rationum suarum, cum, ipse<sup>1</sup> inspiceres, non recusaverint. Remunerandi igitur probitas eorum, ut iam nunc sciant hoc inspecturus es, ex mea voluntate salvis, quae privilegiis esse facturum.

## XLIX

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ANTE adventum meum, domine, Nicomediensi priori foro novum adicere coeperunt, cuius in medio est aedes vetustissima Matris Magnae aut recondenda aut transferenda ob hoc praecipue, quod est depressior opere eo, quod cum maxime surgit cum quaererem, num esset aliqua lex dicta de dedicationis. Cognovi alium hic, alium apud nos esse de dedicationis. Dispice ergo, domine, an putes, cui nulla lex dicta est, salva religione posse transferri. Alioqui commodissimum est, si religio non impeditur.

<sup>1</sup> ipse ut eas inspici. *Hardy*, cum ipse . . . non recipiam *Av.*, cum ipsum te ut eas inspici. non recusaverint.

<sup>a</sup> The Phrygian Goddess Cybele.

<sup>b</sup> The pontifices on consecrating a temple drew up a *dedicationis* or *lex templi*, defining its precincts, its ritual, and the administration of its revenues. (C)

## XLVIII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE memorial of the Apameans which you annexed to your letter has saved me the necessity of considering the reasons they allege, why the former Proconsuls forbore to inspect their accounts since they do not refuse to permit *your* examination. Their integrity deserves to be rewarded; and they must be assured for the present that you are to make your inquiry at my personal wish, and with a full reserve to their privileges.

## XLIX

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Nicomedians, Sir, before my arrival, had begun to build a new Forum contiguous to the former, in a corner of which stands an ancient temple dedicated to the Great Mother.<sup>a</sup> This fabric must either be rebuilt or removed; and for this reason chiefly, because it stands on a much lower level than the lofty building now being erected. Upon inquiring whether this temple had been dedicated under charter,<sup>b</sup> I was informed that their manner of dedication differs from ours. You will be pleased therefore, Sir, to consider whether a temple which has no charter of dedication, may be removed, consistently with the claims of religion; for if there be no objection from that quarter, there is none on this side of inconvenience.

## L

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

POTES, mi Secunde carissime, sine sollicitudine religionis, si loci positio videtur hoc desiderare, Matris Deum transferre in eam, quae est accortior; nec te moveat, quod lex dedicationis reperitur, cum solum peregrinae civitatis caput sit dedicationis, quae fit nostro iure.

## LI

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

DIFFICILE est, domine, exprimere verbis, quod perceperim laetitiam, quod et mihi et socro praestitisti, ut adfinem eius,<sup>1</sup> Caelium Celerem in hanc provinciam transferres. Ex illo enim sensum beneficii tui penitus intellego, cum tam indulgentiam cum tota domo mea experire referre gratiam parem ne audeo quidem, quae maxime debeam. Itaque ad vota confugio precor, ut iis, quae in me adsidue confers, dignus existimer.

<sup>1</sup> adfinem eius *Beroaldus*, ad finem eius *Av.*, *a.*, consulatus *Catan.*

## L

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

You may without religious scruple, my dear Pliny, if the site requires it, remove the temple of the Mother of the Gods to a more convenient spot. That you can find no charter of dedication, need not influence you; for the ground of a foreign city is not capable of receiving that kind of consecration which is conferred by our laws.

## LI

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

It is not easy, Sir, to express the joy I received when I heard you had, in compliance with the request of my mother-in-law <sup>a</sup> and myself, granted my kinsman Caelius Clemens the Proconsulship of this province after the expiration of his Consular office, as it is from thence I learn the full extent of your beneficence towards me, which thus graciously spread itself through my whole family. I dare not pretend to make an equal return to those obligations, I so justly owe you. I can only therefore have recourse to vows, and ardently implore the Gods that I may be found unworthy of those favours, which you continually bestowing upon me.

<sup>a</sup> Pompeia Celerina, i. 4, iii. 19, xvi. 10.

## LII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

DIEM, domine, quo servasti imperium, suscipis, quanta mereris laetitia, celebravimus deos, ut te generi humano, cuius tutela et se salutis tuae innisa est, incolumem florentemque starent. Praeivimus et commilitonibus ius iurum more solemni praestantibus et provincialibus eadem certarunt pietate, iurantibus.

## LIII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

QUANTA religione ac laetitia commilitone provincialibus te praeunte diem imperii mebraverint, libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognolitteris tuis.

## LIV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PECUNIAE publicae, domine, providentia taministerio nostro et iam exactae sunt et exiguae vereor ne otiosae iaceant. Nam et prum comparandorum aut nulla aut rarissima

## LII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WE have celebrated, Sir, (with those sentiments of joy your virtues justly merit,) the day of your accession, when, at the same time that you accepted the empire, you saved the empire. And we sincerely implore the Gods to preserve you in health and prosperity; for it is upon your welfare that the security and repose of mankind depend. I have administered the oath of allegiance to my fellow-soldiers in the usual form; and the people of the province emulously expressing their affection to you by taking the same oath.

## LIII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

YOUR letter, my dear Pliny, was extremely acceptable, as it gave me an account how religiously and joyfully my fellow-soldiers and the provinces solemnized the day of my accession to the empire under your presidency.

## LIV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE money owing to the public, by the prudent counsel of Sir, of your counsels, and the care of my administration, is either actually paid in, or now recovering; but I am afraid it must lie unemployed. For as on one side, there are few or no opportunities of purchasing land, so on the other, one cannot manage

sio est; nec inveniuntur, qui velint debere publicae, praesertim duodenis assibus,<sup>1</sup> quae privatis mutantur. Dispice ergo, domine, numerum minuendam usuram ac per hoc idoneos debere invitandos putes, et, si ne sic quidem reperiri distribuendum inter decuriones pecuniam, in recte rei publicae caveant; quod quamquam in recusantibus minus acerbum erit leviore constituta.

## LV

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

ET ipse non aliud remedium dispicio, mi Se carissime, quam ut quantitas usurarum minus quo facilius pecuniae publicae collocentur. Minus enim ex copia eorum, qui mutuabuntur, tu constas. Invitos ad accipiendum compellere, quod fors ipsis otiosum futurum sit, non est ex iustitia numerum temporum.

<sup>1</sup> duodenis assibus *deleri volunt Ernestius et Hard., assibus Salmasius et Gronovius.*

<sup>a</sup> The reason why they did not choose to borrow



with any person who is willing to borrow of municipality (especially at the interest of 12 *per cent*) when they can raise money upon the same terms from private hands.<sup>a</sup> You will consider then, whether it may not be advisable, in order to invite responsible persons to borrow this money, to lower the interest; or if that scheme should not succeed to parcel it out among the town-councillors, upon their giving sufficient security to the public. Although they should not be willing to receive it, as the rate of interest will be abated, the hardships will be so much the less.

## LV

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

LIKE you, my dear Pliny, I see no other method of facilitating the placing out of the public money than by lowering the interest; the amount of which reduction you will determine according to the number of the borrowers. But to compel persons to receive it, who are not disposed to do so, which possibly they themselves may have no opportunity of employing it, is by no means consistent with the justice of my government.

public at the same rate of interest which they paid to private persons, was because in the former instance they were obliged to give security (Melm.); and the state was a more formidable creditor than individuals.

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SUMMAS, domine, gratias ago, qui inter multas occupationes in<sup>1</sup> iis, de quibus te consulimus quoque regere dignatus es; quod nunc quoque facias rogo. Adiit enim me quidam indicans adversarios suos a Servilio Calvo, clarissimo in triennium relegatos in provincia morari contra ab eodem se restitutos adfirmaverunt edictaque recitaverunt. Qua causa necessarium est ut rem integram ad te referre. Nam sicut multis cautum est, ne restituam ab alio aut a reo relegatos, ita de iis, quos alius relegaverit et restitutos nihil comprehensum est.

Ideo tu, domine, consulendus fuisti, quid observare velles tam hercule de his quam de illis, ne perpetuum relegati nec restituti in provincia comprehenduntur. Nam haec quoque species incognita est in cognitionem meam. Est enim adductus ad me perpetuum relegatus Iulio Basso proconsule, quia sciebam acta Bassi rescissa datumque a me ius omnibus, de quibus ille aliquid constituis-

<sup>1</sup> in *add. Gierig, Ernesti, K.*

<sup>a</sup> Proconsul of Bithynia 108-110 A.D.

<sup>b</sup> Proconsul 98 A.D. See IV. 9, VI. 29.

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I RETURN you my highest acknowledgements, that among the many important occupations which you are engaged, you have condescended to direct me also on those points wherein I have consulted you: a favour which I must now again beseech you to grant me. A certain person came before me with a complaint, that his adversaries, who had been banished for three years by Servilius Calvus,<sup>a</sup> a man of senatorial rank, still remained in the province: they, on the contrary, affirmed that Calvus had restored them again to their country, and produced his edict to that purpose. I thought it necessary, therefore, to refer the whole affair to you. For as I have your express orders not to restore any person who has been sentenced to banishment either by myself or others; so I have no directions with respect to those who, having been banished by some of my predecessors in this government, have by the Emperor also been restored.

I am obliged then, to beg you would inform me, Sir, what method I should observe, as well with regard to these, as to others, who, having been condemned to perpetual banishment and never restored, are found in the province; for cases of this nature have likewise fallen under my cognizance. A person was brought before me who had been sentenced to perpetual exile by the Proconsul Julius Bassus<sup>b</sup>; but knowing that the decrees of Bassus had been rescinded, and that the Senate had granted a new trial to all those who had come under

integro agendi dumtaxat per biennium, interrumptum hunc, quem relegaverat, an adisset docuisset proconsulem. Negavit.

Per quod effectum est, ut te consulerem, reddendum eum poenae suae an gravius aliquid et potissimum constituendum putares et in hunc modum eos, si qui forte in simili condicione invenirent. Decretum Calvi et edictum, item decretum Bassi litteris subieci.

## LVII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

QUID in persona eorum statuendum sit, cum P. Servilio Calvo proconsule in triennium relegatus, mox eiusdem edicto restituti in provincia reserunt, proxime tibi rescribam, cum causas facti a Calvo requisiero. Qui a Iulio Basso in perpetuum relegatus est, cum per biennium a facultatem habuerit, si existimabat se iniuria reatum, neque id fecerit atque in provincia morari severaverit, vinctus mitti ad praefectos praetorii debet. Neque enim sufficit, eum poenae suae re quam contumacia elusit.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the Proconsul of 99 or 100.

<sup>b</sup> Not to be tried by them, but to remain in their custody pending the emperor's decision on the case. Thus St

sentence, provided they appealed within the space of two years, I inquired of this man whom he banished whether he had acquainted the Proconsul with his case? He replied he had not.

I beg then you would inform me whether you would have him sent back again into exile; whether you think some more severe, and what kind of punishment, should be inflicted upon him, such others who may hereafter be found to lie under the same delinquency. I have annexed to this letter the decree of Calvus, and the edict by which the persons mentioned above were restored, as in the decree of Bassus.

## LVII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WILL let you know my determination concerning those exiles which were banished for three years by the proconsul P. Servilius Calvus, and afterwards restored to the province by his edict, when I shall have informed myself from him of the reasons of his proceeding. With respect to that person who was sentenced to perpetual banishment by Julius Bassus, yet continued to remain in the province, without making his appeal if he thought himself aggrieved (though he had two years given him for that purpose) I would have him sent in chains to my Praetorian prefects<sup>b</sup>; for only to remand him back to a punishment, which he has contumaciously eluded, will by no means be sufficient.

was kept at Rome by the Praetorian Guard; *Philippic* i. 13. (Hardy.)

## LVIII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM citarem iudices, domine, conventum choaturus, Flavius Archippus vacationem pro se coepit ut philosophus. Fuerunt, qui dicerent liberandum eum iudicandi necessitate, sed oratio tollendum de iudicum numero reddendum poenae, quam fractis vinculis evasisset. Res est sententia Velii Pauli proconsulis, qua probatum Archippus crimine falsi damnatus in metallum. nihil proferebat, quo restitutum se doceret; legabat tamen pro restitutione et libellum Domitiano datum et epistulas eius ad honorem pertinentes et decretum Prusensium. Addebat et tuas litteras scriptas sibi, addebat et patrum edictum et epistulam, quibus confirmasset bene a Domitiano data. Itaque, quamvis eidem crimina applicarentur, nihil decernendum pro eo donec te consularem de eo, quod mihi constitutum tua dignum videbatur. Ea, quae sunt utriusque recitata, his litteris subieci.

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<sup>a</sup> They probably decreed him a statue, *cf.* Letters (Hardy.)

## LVIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHEN I cited the jurors, Sir, to attend me at sessions which I was going to hold, Flavius Archippus claimed the privilege of being excused, as exercising the profession of a philosopher. It was alleged by some who were present, that he ought not so much to be excused from that office as struck out of the roll of jurors, and remanded back to the punishment from which he had escaped by breaking his chains. At the same time a sentence of the Prætor consul Velius Paullus was read, by which it appeared that Archippus had been condemned to the mines for forgery. He had nothing to produce in proof that this sentence had ever been reversed. He adduced, however, as implying his restitution, a petition which he presented to Domitian, together with honorific letters from that Prince, and a decree of the Prusensians.<sup>a</sup> To these he subjoined a letter which he had received from you; as also an edict and a letter of your august father confirming the grants which had been made to him by Domitian. For these reasons, notwithstanding other crimes were laid to his charge, I did not think proper to determine any thing concerning him, without first consulting with you in the affair, which seems to merit your personal decision. I have transmitted you, with this letter, the documents put in by both parties.

## EPISTULA DOMITIANI AD TERENCEM MAXIMUM

FLAVIUS Archippus philosophus impetravit ut agrum ei ad  $\bar{e}$ <sup>1</sup> circa Prusiadam, patriam emi iuberem,<sup>2</sup> cuius reditu suos alere posset. ei praestari volo. Summam expensam liber meae ferēs.

## EIUSDEM AD L. APPIUM MAXIMUM

ARCHIPPUM philosophum, bonum virum et fessione sua etiam moribus<sup>3</sup> respondentem, con datum habeas velim, mi Maxime, et plena humanitatem tuam praestes in iis, quae verecunde desideraverit.

## EDICTUM DIVI NERVAE

QUAEDAM sine dubio, Quirites, ipsa felicitas porum edicit, nec spectandus est in iis bonus pri quibus illum intellegi satis est, cum hoc sibi qu civium meorum spondere possit, me securi omnium quieti meae praetulisse, ut et libenter beneficia conferrem, et ante me concessa serv Ne tamen aliquam gaudiis publicis afferat ha tionem vel eorum, qui impetraverunt, diffid

<sup>1</sup> ut agrum ei ad  $\bar{e}$  *Hardy, ex marg. B, ut agr. ei ut agr. ei adderem Av.*

<sup>2</sup> suam emi iuberem *a, B, suam tam uberem Av.*

<sup>3</sup> moribus *Ritterhusius, maioribus, a, Av.*

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<sup>a</sup> Apparently manager of the Imperial domain in Bithynia.

<sup>b</sup> Proconsul of Bithynia under Domitian.



## DOMITIAN'S LETTER TO TERENTIUS MAXIMUS <sup>a</sup>

FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS the philosopher has prevailed with me to give an order that 100,000 sesterces be laid out in purchasing him an estate near Prusa, his native place, sufficient to support his family. I desire this be accordingly done ; and place the sum expended to the article of my benefactions.

## FROM THE SAME, TO L. APPIUS MAXIMUS <sup>b</sup>

I RECOMMEND, my dear Maximus, to your protection, that worthy philosopher Archippus, a person whose morals are agreeable to his profession ; and I would have you accede with your utmost courtesy to his modest requests.

## THE EDICT OF THE EMPEROR NERVA

THERE are some points, no doubt, Quirites, concerning which the happy tenor of my government itself issues an edict <sup>c</sup> ; and a good prince need not be narrowly scrutinized in matters wherein his intention cannot but be clearly understood. Every citizen may rest assured, even without a reminder, that I gave up my private repose to the security of the public in order to dispense new benefits, and confirm those of my predecessor. But lest the memory of him <sup>d</sup> who made these grants, or the diffidence of those who received them, should c

<sup>c</sup> The edicts of each Emperor became *ipso facto* invalid at his death ; and after Titus, a new Emperor usually confirmed by edict the benefactions of his predecessor. See Hardon's note.

<sup>d</sup> Domitian.

vel eius memoria, qui praestitit; necessarium p  
credidi ac laetum, obviam dubitantibus indulge  
meam mittere. Nolo existimet quisquam, qua  
Principe vel privatim vel publice consecutu  
ideo saltem a me rescindi, ut potius mihi d  
Sint rata et certa,<sup>1</sup> nec gratulatio ullius i  
ratis eget precibus, [et qui non habent, me,]  
fortuna imperii vultu meliore respexit. Me  
beneficiis vacare patiantur: et ea demum  
roganda esse, quae non habent.

#### EPISTULA EIUSDEM AD TULLIUM IUSTUM

CUM rerum omnium ordinatio, quae pri  
temporibus inchoatae consummatae sunt, obser  
sit, tum epistulis etiam Domitiani standum est.

### LIX

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS per salutem tuam aete  
temque petit a me, ut libellum, quem mihi  
mitterem tibi. Quod ego sic roganti praesta  
putavi, ita tamen, ut missurum me notum  
satriei eius facerem, a qua et ipsa acceptu  
bellum his epistulis iunxi, quo facilius velut a  
utraque parte dispiceres, quid statuendum pu

<sup>1</sup> sint rata et certa *Beroualdus, Hard.*, si ingrata et c.  
si enim grata et c. *a*, sint si rata, et c. *B, Kukul.*

any misgiving over public joy, I thought it necessary as agreeable to obviate these doubts, by special mark of my indulgence. I would have one think that I shall rescind either the public or private benefactions of a former prince, in order to gain credit by restoring them. They shall be fully ratified; and let no one, on whom the Fortune of the Empire has smiled, think his happiness in need of fresh petitions. Rather let them leave me leisure to bestow new benefits; under the assurance, that need only be solicited for those which have not already been obtained.

#### FROM THE SAME, TO TULLIUS JUSTUS

As in all matters, whether begun or accomplished, the rules laid down in the last reign are to be observed, so even the letters of Domitian must be held binding upon us.

#### LIX

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

FLAVIUS ARCHIPPUS has conjured me by your prosperity and immortal glory, that I would transmit to you the memorial which he presented to me. I thought I might grant a request conceived in such terms, provided I acquainted his prosecutrix<sup>a</sup> with this my intention, from whom I have also received the memorial on her part. I have annexed it to my letter; that by hearing each side, you may more easily perceive what to determine in this affair.

<sup>a</sup> Furia Prima, see next Letter.

## LX

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

POTUIT quidem ignorasse Domitianus, in quo esset Archippus, cum tam multa ad honorem pertinentia scriberet; sed meae naturae accommodatius est credere etiam statui eius subverbo interventu principis, praesertim cum etiam statua ei honor toties decretus sit ab iis, qui *non*<sup>1</sup> ignorat quid de illo Paulus proconsul pronuntiasset. Certe tamen, mi Secunde carissime, non eo pertinentis est, si quid illi novi criminis obicitur, minus de eo auctorem dum putes. Libellos Furiae Primae accusatorum, item ipsius Archippi, quos alteri epistulae iunxeras, legi.

## LXI

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Tu quidem, domine, providentissime vereris, ne commissus flumini atque ita mari lacus effluat; ego in re praesenti invenisse videor, quem ad modum huic periculo occurrerem. Potest enim lacus usque ad flumen adduci nec tamen in flumen emitti, sed relicto quasi margine contineri pariter et di-

<sup>1</sup> non *add.* Ernestius.

<sup>a</sup> sc. the Prusensians. See note on Letter LVIII.

## LX

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

It is possible Domitian might be ignorant of the position of Archippus when he wrote letters so much to that philosopher's honour. However, it is more agreeable to my disposition to suppose that Prince's intervention actually restored him to his former situation; especially since he so often had even the honour of a statue decreed to him by those <sup>a</sup> who could not be ignorant of the sentence which the Proconsul Paulus pronounced upon him. But I do not mean to intimate by this, my dear Pliny, that any new charge should be brought against him, you should be less disposed to hear his accusers. I have examined the memorial of his prosecutrix, Fulvia Prima, as also that of Archippus himself, which you sent with your former letter.

## LXI

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

It is with great foresight, Sir, you are apprehensive that the lake <sup>b</sup> may be exhausted by being connected with the river and consequently with the sea; but, being on the spot, I think I have found a method to obviate that risk. For the lake may be brought close to the river by a canal without opening directly into it; a sort of border being left between them to form at once a bulwark and a division.

<sup>b</sup> See x. 41, 42.

Sic consequemur, ut nec vacuetur<sup>1</sup> flumini mixturam sit perinde ac si misceatur. Erit enim facile illam brevissimam terram, quae interiacebit, ad fossa onera transponere in flumen.

Quod ita fiet, si necessitas coget, et spero, coget. Est enim et lacus ipse satis altus et in contrariam partem flumen emittit, quod inclusum inde et, quo volumus, aversum, sine detrimento lacus tantum aquae, quantum nunc potest effundet. Praeterea per id spatium, per quod facienda est, incidunt rivi; qui si diligenter colliguntur, augebunt illud, quod lacus dederit. Enimvero si placeat fossam longius ducere et artius<sup>2</sup> pressari aequare nec in flumen, sed in ipsum mare emittere, repercussus maris servabit et reprimit quidquid e lacu veniet.

Quorum si nihil nobis loci natura praestiterit expeditum tamen erat cataractis aquae cursum temperare. Verum et haec et alia multo sagacius conquiret explorabitque librator, quem plane, domum debes mittere, ut polliceris. Est enim res digna magnitudine tua et cura. Ego interim Calpurnium

<sup>1</sup> vacuetur *Madv. adv. iii. 216*, vacuo videatur *a*, vicino videatur *Catan.*

<sup>2</sup> artius *vulg.*, altius *Gierig, Madv.*

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<sup>a</sup> Pliny means, of course, that the outflow of the water through his canal will be compensated for by blocking

By this means we shall not only secure the lake from being drained by union with the river, but all the same purposes will be answered as if they were united; for it will be extremely easy to convey over that little intervening ridge whatever burden shall be brought down by the canal.

This is a scheme which may be pursued, if it should be found necessary; but I hope there will be no occasion to put it into practice. For the lake itself is pretty deep, and as it is, a river runs out of it on the opposite side; by damming this up, and diverting it in whatever direction we please, we ensure its sending out the same quantity of water as it now conveys, without any diminution of the lake. Besides, there are several little brooks along the proposed course of the canal which, if carefully collected, will augment the supply of water from the lake. If we should rather approve of the canal's being extended farther, and cut narrower,<sup>b</sup> so as to reach sea-level, and run not into the river but direct into the sea, the reflux of the tide will make good a check the discharge from the lake.

After all, if the nature of the place should not admit of any of these schemes, the course of the water may be easily regulated by sluices. The details, however, and other particulars, will be more skillfully examined into by the engineer, whom, agreeably to your promise, I am sure you will send; for indeed, Sir, it is an enterprise well worthy of your attention and magnificence. In the meanwhile I have written

this river; but he oddly speaks as if the new outflow were the river itself, diverted into a new channel.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* "to minimise the quantity of water contained by greater length." (Hardy.)

Marco, clarissimo viro, auctore te scripsi, ut l  
torem quam maxime idoneum mitteret.

## LXII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

MANIFESTUM est, mi Secunde carissime, nec  
dentiam nec diligentiam tibi defuisse circa i  
lacum, cum tam multa provisa habeas, per quae  
periclitetur exhauriri et magis in usus nobis fut  
sit. Elige igitur id, quod praecipue res ipsa sua  
Calpurnium Macrum credo facturum, ut te libra  
instruat, neque enim provinciae istae his artifi  
carent.

## LXIII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SCRIPSIT mihi, domine, Lycormas, libertus tuus  
si qua legatio a Bosporo venisset urbem peti  
usque in adventum suum retineretur. Et le  
quidem dumtaxat in eam civitatem, in qua ipse  
nulla adhuc venit; sed venit tabellarius Saurom  
regis quem ego,<sup>1</sup> usus opportunitate, quam mihi  
obtulerat, cum tabellario, qui Lycormam ex iti

<sup>1</sup> Sauromatae regis quem ego *Schaefer, XII., I*  
*Kukula*, cuius ego *Av.*, quem ego *a, KI., Hard.*

<sup>a</sup> See x. 42.

<sup>b</sup> *sc.* Nicaea; *cf.* x. 67.

<sup>o</sup> Hardy has shown that *Sauromatae* does not refer



to the illustrious Calpurnius Macer,<sup>a</sup> in pursuance of your orders, to send me a proper engineer for the occasion.

## LXII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

IT is evident, my dear Pliny, that neither your prudence nor your care have been wanting in the affair of the lake, since you have provided so many expedients both against the hazard of its being drained away, and to make it of more general benefit to us. Select, then, whichever scheme is recommended by circumstances. Calpurnius Macer will do his best, no doubt, to supply you with an engineer, and artists of that kind are not wanting in the provinces near you.

## LXIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I RECEIVED, Sir, a despatch from your freedman Lycormas, desiring me, if any embassy from the Bosphorus should come hither in the way to Rome, that I would detain it till his arrival. None has yet arrived; at least in the city where I am.<sup>b</sup> But a courier passing through this place from King Sauromates,<sup>c</sup> I lay hold of that opportunity which accidentally offers itself, of sending with him the courier who brought Lycormas' despatch; that you

problematical king of the Sauromatae (Sarmatians), but the Bosphoran King Sauromates, who reigned from 92 to 93 A.D. till 124 A.D.

praecessit, mittendum putavi, ut possis ex Lyco  
et ex regis epistulis pariter cognoscere, quae for  
pariter scire debes.

## LXIV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

REX Sauromates scripsit mihi esse quaedam,  
deberes quam maturissime scire. Qua ex  
festinationem tabellarii, quem ad te cum epi  
misit, diplomate adiuvi.

## LXV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

MAGNA, domine, et ad totam provinciam pert  
quaestio est de condicione et alimentis eorum,  
vocant *θρεπτούς*. In qua ego, auditis constitu  
bus principum quia nihil inveniebam aut prop  
aut universale, quod ad Bithynos ferretur, cons  
dum te existimavi, quid observari velles, neque  
putavi, posse me in eo, quod auctoritatem  
posceret, exemplo esse contentum.

Recitabatur autem apud me edictum, quod  
batur divi Augusti, ad Asiam<sup>1</sup> pertinens; reci

<sup>1</sup> Asiam *Hard.*, Anniam *vulg.*, Achaïam *Momm.*

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* whether they were legally slaves, and, if so, whether those who had reared them could claim to recover the cost of their upbringing.

may learn simultaneously from the letter Lycormas and the letter of the King, matters which perhaps you ought to be informed of at one and the same time.

## LXIV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

KING SAUROMATES has written to me that certain affairs have happened which require your immediate knowledge. I have therefore assisted the courier whom he dispatched with a letter to you, to arrive more speedily, by granting him an order to employ the public post.

## LXV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

A VERY considerable question, Sir, in which the whole province is interested, has been lately started concerning the state and maintenance<sup>a</sup> of what are called *foundlings*. I have examined the rulings of former Princes upon this head, but not finding anything in them either particular or general relating to the Bithynians, I thought it necessary to apply to you for your directions. For in a point which requires the special interposition of your authority I could not content myself with following precedents.

An edict of the Emperor Augustus (as pretended) was read to me, concerning Asia<sup>b</sup>; also a letter from

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* the Roman province so called.

et epistulae divi Vespasiani ad Lacedaemonios  
divi Titi ad eosdem, dein ad Achaeos: et Domitiana  
ad Avidium Nigrinum et Armenium Brocchum  
proconsules, item ad Lacedaemonios; quae idcirco  
non misi, quia et parum emendata et quaedam  
certae fidei videbantur, et quia vera et emendata  
seriniis tuis esse credebam.

## LXVI

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

QUAESTIO ista, quae pertinet ad eos, qui  
nati expositi, deinde sublati a quibusdam  
servitute educati sunt, saepe tractata est, nec  
quam invenitur in commentariis eorum principum  
qui ante me fuerunt, quod ad omnes provincias  
constitutum. Epistulae sane sunt Domitianae  
ad Avidium Nigrinum et Armenium Brocchum,  
fortasse debeant observari; sed inter<sup>1</sup> casus  
vincias, de quibus rescripsit, non<sup>2</sup> est Bituntina  
et ideo nec adsertionem denegandam iis, quibus  
eius modi causa in libertatem vindicabuntur,  
neque ipsam libertatem redimendam pretio a  
torum.

<sup>1</sup> inter *a*, *Av.*, intra *K*.      <sup>2</sup> non *om.* *Av.*, *add.* *o*.

Vespasian to the Lacedaemonians, and another from Titus to the same, with one likewise from him to the Achaeans. Also a letter from Domitian to the Proconsuls Avidius Nigrinus and Armenius Brocchus and another to the Lacedaemonians: but I have not transmitted them to you, as well because they were ill-copied (and some of them, too, of doubtful authority) as because I imagine the true copies are preserved in your Record Office.<sup>a</sup>

## LXVI

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE question concerning free-born persons who have been exposed as infants and reared in slavery by those who took them up, has been frequently discussed; but I do not find in the archives of the Princes my predecessors, any general regulation upon this head, extending to all the provinces. There are, indeed, letters of Domitian to Avidius Nigrinus and Armenius Brocchus, which perhaps ought to be observed; but Bithynia is not comprehended in the provinces therein mentioned. I am of opinion, therefore, that those who desire emancipation upon this ground should not be debarred from publicly asserting their freedom, nor be obliged to purchase it by repaying the cost of their maintenance.

<sup>a</sup> "Under the empire, the *scrinia* . . . were the official bureaux where the public archives were kept." (Hardy.)

## LXVII

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

LEGATO Sauromatae regis, eum sua sponte N ubi me invenerat, biduo substitisset, long moram faciendam, domine, non putavi; pr quod incertum adhuc erat, quando libertus Lycormas venturus esset, deinde quod ipse profi bar in diversam provinciae partem ita officii ne tate exigente. Haec in notitiam tuam perfe existimavi, quia proxime scripseram petisse eorum, ut legationem, si qua venisset a Bo usque in adventum suum retinerem. Quod d faciendi nulla mihi probabilis ratio occurrit; sertim cum epistulae Lyeormae, quas detiner ante praedixi, nolui, aliquot diebus hunc leg antecessurae viderentur.

## LXVIII

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PETENTIBUS quibusdam, ut sibi reliquias su aut propter iniuriam vetustatis aut propter flu incursum aliaque his similia quaecumque secu exemplum proconsulum transferre permetterem sciebam in urbe nostra ex eius modi causis colle pontificum adiri solere, te, domine, maximum po cem consulendum putavi, quid observare me vel

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<sup>a</sup> The *pontifices* were the highest of the four great dotal colleges. From the time of Augustus, their pre (*Pontifex Maximus*) was the reigning Emperor.

## LXVII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE ambassador from King Sauromates having voluntarily stayed two days at Nicaea, where he found me, I thought it best, Sir, not to detain him long; firstly, because it was quite uncertain when your freedman Lycormas would arrive, and secondly, my official duties obliged me to set out for a different part of the province. Of this I thought it necessary that you should be informed, because I lately acquainted you in a letter, that Lycormas had desired if any embassy should come this way from Bosphorus that I would detain it till his arrival. But I see no valid reason for doing so any longer, especially as I have despatches from Lycormas which (as I mentioned before) I was not willing to detain, would probably reach you some days sooner than this ambassador.

## LXVIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

HAVING been petitioned by some persons to grant them the liberty (agreeably to the practice of the Proconsuls) of removing the relics of their deceased relations, upon the suggestion, that either their monuments were decayed by age, or ruined by inundations of the river, or for other reasons of the same kind; I thought proper, Sir, knowing that it is usual at Rome to consult the pontifical college on such matters, to ask you, as the sovereign of that sacred order, what course you would have me follow.

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

DURUM est iniungere necessitatem provinci pontificum adeundorum, si reliquias suorum p aliquas iustas causas transferre ex loco in locum velint. Sequenda ergo potius tibi ex sunt eorum, qui isti provinciae praefuerunt, causa cuique ita aut permittendum, aut negand

## LXX

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUAERENTI mihi, domine, Prusae ubi posse lineum, quod indulstisti, fieri, placuit locus, in fuit aliquando domus, ut audio, pulchra, nun formis ruinis. Per hoc enim consequemu foedissima facies civitatis ornetur, atque etia ipsa civitas ampliatur, nec ulla aedificia tolla sed, quae sunt vetustate sublapsa, relaxentur melius. Est autem huius domus condicio legaverat eam Claudius Polyaeus Claudio Ca iusseratque in peristylio templum ei fieri, reliqu domo locari. Ex ea redditum aliquamdiu c

<sup>1</sup> relaxentur *K*, *Hard.*, reparentur *a*.



## LXIX

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

It will be a hardship upon the provincials to oblige them to address themselves to the college of Pontiffs whenever they have just reasons for removing the ashes of their ancestors. In this case therefore it will be better you should follow the example of the governors your predecessors, and grant or deny them this liberty as you shall see reasonable.

## LXX

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I HAVE inquired, Sir, at Prusa, for a proper site on which to erect the bath you were pleased to allow that city to build ;<sup>a</sup> and I have found one to my satisfaction. It was formerly occupied by a dwelling-house—beautiful, I am told, which is now in hideous ruin. By fixing upon that spot, we shall gain the advantage of ornamenting the city in a part which at present is exceedingly deformed, and actually make it more spacious without pulling down any buildings, but merely by advantageous opening out the ruins time has made. There are some circumstances attending this structure of which it is proper I should inform you. Ovidius Claudius Polyænus bequeathed it to the Emperor Claudius Caesar with direction that a temple should be erected to that Prince in the piazza, and that the remainder of the house should be let. T

percepit; deinde paulatim partim spoliata, partim neglecta cum peristylio domus tota collapsa, iam paene nihil ex ea nisi solum superest; quod domine, sive donaveris civitati sive venire iudicaveris propter opportunitatem loci pro summo munere accipiet.

Ego, si permiseris, cogito in area vacua balneum collocare, eum autem locum, in quo aedificia fuerunt, exedra et porticibus amplecti atque tibi consuevit cuius beneficio elegans opus dignumque nominabitur fiet. Exemplar testamenti, quamquam mendaciter misi tibi; ex quo cognosces multa Polyaei eiusdem domus ornatum reliquisse, quae, ut ipsa, perierunt, a me tamen, in quantum potest, requirentur.

## LXXI

TRAIANUS PLINIO

POSSUMUS apud Prusenses area ista cum peristylio collapsa, quam vacare scribis, ad extruendum balinei uti. Illud tamen parum expressisti, an in peristylio Claudio facta esset. Nam si facta licet collapsa sit, religio eius occupavit solum.

city received the rents for a considerable time, but partly by its having been plundered, and partly by its being neglected, the whole house together with the piazza is entirely gone to ruin, and there now scarce anything remaining of it, but the ground upon which it stood. If you shall think proper, either to give or sell this spot of ground to the emperor, as it lies so conveniently for their purpose, they will receive it as the highest mark of your favour.

I intend, with your permission, to place the bath in the vacant space; and to extend a range of colonnades, together with alcoves, on that part where the former edifice stood. This new fabric I desire to dedicate to you, by whose bounty it will rise with all the elegance and magnificence worthy of your glorious name. I have sent you a copy of the inscription by which, though it is not very correct, you will see that Polyænus left large sums for the ornament of this house; but those also are lost with all the rest. I will however make the strictest inquiry after them, that I am able.

## LXXI

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I HAVE no objection to the Prusenses making use of the vacant space together with the ruined house which you say is untenanted, for the situation is convenient for their bath. But it is not sufficiently clear by your letter, whether the temple in the piazza was actually erected to Claudius or not: for if it were, even if it be now in ruins, the site is preoccupied for his worship.

## LXXII

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

POSTULANTIBUS quibusdam, ut de agnoscendis liberis restituendisque natalibus et secundum titulum Domitiani scriptam Minicio Rufo et secundum exempla proconsulum ipse cognoscerem, res ad senatus consultum pertinens ad eadem generis causarum, quod de his tantum provinciis loquitur quibus proconsules praesunt; ideoque rem interdistuli, dum tu, domine, praeceperis, quid obsequium me velis.

## LXXIII

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

SI mihi senatus consultum miseris, quod haec actionem tibi fecit, aestimabo, an debeas cognoscere agnoscendis liberis et natalibus suis restituendis.

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<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* by the husband of their mother, if she was suspected of unfaithfulness.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* granting the rights of a freeborn citizen to the servile birth. "The phrase was based on the theory that the original condition of men was one of freedom." Ha

## LXXII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I HAVE been pressed by certain persons to take upon myself the cognizance of cases relating to the acknowledgement of children<sup>a</sup> and the restitution of birthright,<sup>b</sup> in accordance with a letter of Domitian's to Minicius Rufus, and the practice of the former proconsuls. But upon referring to a decree of the Senate concerning cases of this nature, I find that it only mentions the Proconsular provinces.<sup>c</sup> I therefore, Sir, defer intermeddling in this affair, till I shall receive your commands how you would have me act.

## LXXIII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

IF you will send me the decree of the Senate upon which occasions your doubt, I shall be able to judge whether you ought to take upon yourself the cognizance of causes relating to paternity, and the restitution of birth-right.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the senatorial provinces, the governor of which enjoyed the title of pro-consul. Though Bithynia was strictly a senatorial province, Pliny had been sent to govern it as Emperor's Legate (see Introduction), and hence scrupulously assumed Pro-consular rights.

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

APULEIUS, domine, miles, qui est in statu Nicomedensi, scripsit mihi quendam nomine lidromum, cum detineretur a Maximo et Dione pistoribus, quibus operas suas locaverat, confugit ad tuam statuam perductumque ad magistrum indicasse, servisse aliquando Laberio Maximo tumque a Susago in Moesia et a Decibalo missum Pacoro, Parthiae regi, pluribusque anni ministerio eius fuisse, deinde fugisse atque ita Nicomediam pervenisse.

Quem ego perductum ad me, cum eadem narrarem mittendum ad te putavi; quod paulo tardius dum requiro gemmam, quam sibi habentem imaginem Pacori, et quibus insignibus<sup>1</sup> ornatus fuisset, tractam indicabat. Volui enim hanc quoque inveniri potuisset, simul mittere, sicut glebum misi, quam se ex Parthico metallo attulisse dicebat. Signata est annulo meo, cuius est aposphragis quadriga.

<sup>1</sup> insignibus *add. Catan.*

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<sup>a</sup> Statues of the emperors, even during their lifetime, the same rights of sanctuary attached to them as had certain altars and statues of the gods.

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I RECEIVED a letter, Sir, from Apuleius, a soldier now in garrison at Nicomedia, informing me that one Callidromus on being detained by Maximus and Dionysius, bakers to whom he had hired himself, fled for refuge to your statue <sup>a</sup>; that being brought before the magistrate, he declared he was formerly slave of Laberius Maximus <sup>b</sup>; but being taken prisoner at Susagus in Moesia, <sup>c</sup> he was sent as a present to Pacorus king of Parthia, in whose service he continued several years, from whence he made his escape, and came to Nicomedia.

When he was examined before me, he repeated this account; so that I thought it best to send him to you. But I deferred his journey while I had search made for a gem which he said had been stolen from him, upon which was engraven the figure of Pacorus in his royal habit; for I was desirous (if it could have been found) of sending this curiosity to you along with the man himself, I am now sending a small ingot of gold, which says he brought with him from the Parthian mine. I have fixed my seal to it, the impression of which is a chariot drawn by four horses.

<sup>b</sup> One of Trajan's generals in the Dacian war.

<sup>c</sup> A general, or ally, of Decebalus the Dacian King.

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

IULIUS, domine, Largus ex Ponto nondum visus ac ne auditus quidem (scilicet iudicio credidit) dispensationem quandam mihi erga tatis suae ministeriumque mandavit. Rogavit testamento, ut hereditatem suam adirem cernique ac deinde perceptis quinquaginta milibus num reliquum omne Heracleotarum et Tiar civitatibus redderem, ita ut esset arbitrii mei, opera facienda, quae honori tuo consecrare putarem an instituendos quinquennales agones Traiani appellentur. Quod in notitiam tuam ferendum existimavi ob hoc maxime, ut dispice quid eligere debeam.

## LXXVI

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

IULIUS LARGUS fidem tuam, quasi te bene n elegit. Quid ergo potissimum ad perpetui memoriae eius faciat, secundum cuiusque loci dicionem ipse dispice, et quod optimum existima sequere.



## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

JULIUS LARGUS, Sir, of Pontus, though I never saw, nor indeed, even heard of him (to be sure, I relied on your testimonial <sup>a</sup>), has intrusted me with the administration, so to speak, of his loyal sentiments towards you. He has desired me in his will to take the formal possession of his estate, and, after deducting 50,000 sesterces for my own use, to make over the remainder to the cities of Heraclea and Tium, conditionally upon their either erecting some public edifice in your honour, or instituting Athletic games, to be celebrated every five years, and called *Trajan's games*, according as I shall determine. Of this I thought it necessary to acquaint you; and for this reason chiefly, that you may decide which alternative you should choose.

## LXXVI

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

By the confidence Julius Largus has reposed in you, one would imagine he had known you well. You will consider then what will most tend to the perpetuating of his memory, according to the circumstance of the respective places; and pursue whatever course you shall think most proper.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the appointment of Pliny to Bithynia. *iudicium* in this sense *cf.* x. 4. *ut gloriari . . . iudicium tuis possim.* (Hardy.)

## LXXVII

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

PROVIDENTISSIME, domine, fecisti, quod praecepit Calpurnio Macro, clarissimo viro, ut legionariorum centurionem Byzantium mitteret. Dispice, an et Iuliopolitanis simili ratione consulendum putaveris, quorum civitas, cum sit perexigua, onera maxima sustinet tantoque graviores iniurias, quanto infirmior, patitur. Quidquid autem Iuliopolitana praestiteris, id etiam toti provinciae proderit. Scis enim in capite Bithyniae plurimisque per eam commutantibus transitum praebent.

## LXXVIII

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

EA condicio est civitatis Byzantium confluentis, undique in eam commutantium turba, ut secundum consuetudinem praecedentium temporum honoris eius praesidio centurionis legionarii consulendum habuerimus. Si <sup>1</sup> Iuliopolitanis succurrendum eodem modo putaverimus, onerabimus nos exemplo. Plurimum enim tanto magis eadem requirent, quanto infirmiores erunt. Tibi eam fiduciam diligentiae habeo, credam te omni ratione id acturum, ne sint obno-

<sup>1</sup> si om. a, Av.

## LXXVII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

YOU acted agreeably, Sir, to your consummate prudence, when you commanded the illustrious Cornelianus Macer<sup>a</sup> to send a legionary centurion<sup>b</sup> to Juliolis. Pray, consider whether the city of Juliolis does not deserve the same regard, which though it is extremely small, sustains very great burthens and is so much the more exposed to injuries, as it is less capable of resisting them. Whatever benefits you shall confer upon that city, will in effect be advantageous to the whole province: for it is situated at the entrance of Bithynia, and is the town through which all who travel into that province generally pass.

## LXXVIII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE circumstances of the city of Byzantium are such, by the great confluence of travellers to it, that I have thought proper to aid the magistrates with a legionary centurion's guard as has been customary in former reigns. But if we should assist the city of Juliolis in the same manner, we should burden ourselves with a precedent; for other towns will request the same aid, and the more readily, the weaker they are. I have so much confidence in your activity, as to believe you will omit no method

<sup>a</sup> See x. 42.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* a detachment of legionaries under a centurion (Hardy.)

iniuriis. Si qui autem se contra disciplinam n  
gesserint, statim coerceantur; aut, si plus admise  
quam ut in re praesenti satis puniantur, si m  
erunt, legatis eorum, quod<sup>1</sup> deprehenderis, n  
facies aut, si in urbem versus venturi erunt,  
scribes.

## LXXIX

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CAUTUM est, domine, Pompeia lege, quae Bith  
data est, ne quis capiat magistratum neve s  
senatu minor annorum triginta. Eadem lege  
prehensum est, ut, qui ceperint magistratum, si  
senatu. Secutum est dein edictum divi Aug  
quo permisit minores magistratus ab annis duob  
viginti capere. Quaeritur ergo, an, qui minor tr  
ta annorum gessit magistratus, possit a censorib  
senatum legi et, si potest, an ii quoque, qui  
gesserint, possint per eandem interpretationem a  
aetate senatores legi, a qua illis magistratum g  
permissum est; quod alioqui factitatum adhuc et  
necessarium dicitur, quia sit aliquanto melius ho  
torum hominum liberos quam e plebe in cu  
admitti.

<sup>1</sup> quod *Rittershusius*, quae *a*, *Av*.

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<sup>a</sup> After subjugating Mithridates of Pontus (65 A.D.), Bithynia was made a Roman province. A kind of constitution (*lex provinciae*) for each province thus acquire

of protecting the town from injuries. Any breach of public order as by me established, are to instantly suppressed; or, should the offence be serious for summary chastisement, if the culprits soldiers, you will report the misdemeanour to the officers; but if they are persons who are returning Rome, inform me by letter.

## LXXIX

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

IT is enacted, Sir, by the provincial code which Pompey drew up for Bithynia,<sup>a</sup> that no person shall exercise any magistracy, or be admitted into the senate, under the age of thirty. By the same law it is provided, that those who have held a magistracy shall be senators of course. Subsequently, however, an edict of the Emperor Augustus permitted minor offices to be held at the age of twenty-two. The question therefore is, whether those who have held office before the age of thirty, may be legally admitted into the senate by the Censors, and if not, whether by the same kind of construction they may be admitted senators, at the age when they were allowed to be magistrates, though they have not actually borne any office. A custom, it seems, which has hitherto been observed, and is supposed to be necessary, as it is a good deal better that persons of noble birth should be admitted into the senate, than those of plebeian rank.

conquest was framed by the victorious general in conjunction with ten commissioners of senatorial rank sent from Rome for the purpose, and was known by his name.

Ego a destinatis censoribus, quid sentirent interrogatus eos quidem, qui minores triginta gessissent magistratum, putabam posse in senatu et secundum edictum Augusti et secundum legem Pompeiam legi, quoniam Augustus gerere magistratum minoribus annis triginta permisisset, lex senatus esse voluisset, qui gessisset magistratum. Idem autem, qui non gessissent, quamvis essent aetate eiusdem cuius illi, quibus gerere magistratum permisisset, haesitabam; per quod effectum est, ut te, doctor, consularem, quid observari velles. Capita legis et edictum Augusti, litteris subieci.

## LXXX

TRAIANUS PLINIO

INTERPRETATIONI tuae, mi Secunde carissime, existimo hactenus, edicto divi Augusti novatam legem Pompeiam ut magistratum quidem capere possint ii, qui non minores duorum et viginti annorum essent, et, qui cepissent, in senatum curiamque civitatis pervenirent. Ceterum non capto magistratum eos, qui minores triginta annorum sint, quia magistratum capere possint, in curiam etiam loci cuius non existimo legi posse.

The Censors elect having desired my sentiment upon this point, I was of opinion that, taking the law of Pompey and the edict of Augustus together, those who had held a magistracy before the age of thirty, might be admitted into the senate; because the edict allows the office of magistrate to be undertaken before thirty; and the law declares that whoever has been a magistrate, has a right to be a senator. But with respect to those who had not held a magistracy, though they were of the age required for that purpose, I had some doubt; therefore, Sir, I apply to you for your directions, which I have annexed to this letter sections of the law together with the edict of Augustus.

## LXXX

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I AGREE with you, my dear Pliny, in your construction; and am of opinion that the law of Pompey is so far repealed by the edict of Emperor Augustus, that those persons who are less than twenty-two years of age may hold the office of magistrate, and when they have, may be received into the senate of their respective countries. But I think those who are under thirty years of age, and have not held the office of magistrate, cannot upon pretence that in point of years they may have done so, claim a place in the senate of several communities.

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

CUM Prusae ad Olympum, domine, publicis negotiis intra hospitium eodem die exiturus vacante Aesclepiades magistratus indicavit appellatum nomen Claudio Eumolpo. Cum Cocceianus Dion in adsignari civitati opus, cuius curam egerat, vacatum Eumolpus adsistens Flavio Archippo postulavit exigendam esse a Dione rationem operis ante quod rei publicae traderetur, quod aliter fecisset debuisset. Adiecit etiam esse in eodem compositam tuam statuam et corpora sepulcorum, ut Dionis, et filii; postulavitque, ut cognoscerem tribunali.

Quod cum ego me protinus facturum dilaturumque profectionem dixissem, ut longiorem diem ad inveniendam causam darem, utque in alia civitate cognoscerem, petiit. Ego me auditurum Niceae respondit. Ubi cum consedissem<sup>1</sup> cogniturus, idem Eumolpus tamquam adhuc parum instructus, dilationem postulare coepit, contra Dion, ut audiretur, exigere. Idem sunt utrimque multa etiam de causa. Ego postulavi dandam dilationem et te<sup>2</sup> consulendum existimavi.

<sup>1</sup> Ubi cum consedissem *Orelli*, ubi consedissem *Av.*  
cum sedissem *a.*      <sup>2</sup> te *om. a, Av.*

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<sup>a</sup> Dio, surnamed Chrysostom, rhetorician and philosopher.



## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WHILST I was dispatching some public affairs, S in the official lodgings at Prusa near Olympus, with an intention of leaving that city the same day, I learned from the magistrate Aselepiades that Claud Eumolpus had appealed to me. Cocceianus Dio, it seems, at a meeting of the senate desired that the public edifice, which had been erected under his charge, might be handed over to the city in full. But Eumolpus, acting for Flavius Archippus, insisted that Dio should render an account of the expense of this work, before it was assigned to the corporation; suggesting that he had not properly executed his commission. He added that yet no statue had been placed in the said building, although the bodies of Dio's wife and son are interred there, and petitioned that I would hold a judicial inquiry on the matter.

Upon my complying, and offering to defer my journey, he desired a later day in order to prepare the cause, and that I would try it in some other city. I appointed the city of Nicaea; but when I took my seat, Eumolpus, on the plea of not being sufficiently instructed, requested a further adjournment; Dio, on the contrary, insisted that the cause should be heard then and there. When this point and also the merits of the cause had been argued at length on both sides, I decided to grant an adjournment and meanwhile to advise with you, who was a native of Prusa. Sojourning at Rome, he became an intimate friend of the Emperor Nerva.

in re ad exemplum pertinenti, dixi utrique ut postulationum suarum libellos darent. Vos enim te ipsorum potissimum verbis ea, quae proposita, cognoscere. Et Dion quidem se dixit et Eumolpus respondit complexurum se si quae reipublicae peteret, ceterum, quod ad se pertineret, non accusatorem se, sed advocatum Archippi, cuius mandata pertulisset. Archippus Eumolpus sicut Prusiade adsistebat, dixit se libellum daturum. At<sup>1</sup> nec Eumolpus nec Archippus plurimis diebus expectati, adhuc mihi libello derunt; Dion dedit, quem huic epistolae iunxi.

Ipse in re praesenti fui et vidi tuam quam statuam in bibliotheca positam, id autem, in quo dicuntur sepulti filius et uxor Dionis, in area repositum, quae porticibus includitur. Te, domine, ut me in hoc praecipue genere cognitionis digneris, cum alioqui magna sit expectatio, necesse est in ea re, quae et in confessum veritate exemplis defenditur, deliberare.

## LXXXII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

POTUISTI non haerere, mi Secunde caris circa id de quo me consulendum existimasti, propositum meum optime nosse non ex

<sup>1</sup> at *Schaefer*, ita *a*, *Av*.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of the emperor's statue being in the same building with dead bodies.

an affair which would set up a precedent. Accordingly, I directed both parties to give in a memorial of their respective demands; for I wished you to judge the statements of both from their own words. This Dio promised to do; and Eumolpus engaged to draw up a memorial on the claims of the other. But he added, that he made no personal accusation with respect to the sculptures, being merely an advocate of Archippus, whose instructions he laid before me. Archippus, however, for whom Eumolpus was counsel here, as at Prusa, undertook to present a memorial. But neither Eumolpus nor Archippus, though I have waited many days, has yet sent me their memorials; Dio has sent me his, and I have annexed it to this letter.

I have visited the spot myself where I saw your statue placed in a library; the alleged burial-place of Dio's wife and son is in a courtyard which is enclosed with a colonnade. I intreat, Sir, that you would deign to direct me in such an inquiry as respects all others, as it is one to which the world is generally attentive. And, indeed, it highly deserves a more mature deliberation, since the fact<sup>a</sup> is not generally acknowledged, but defended by many examples.

## LXXXII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

As you well know, my dear Pliny, it is the first maxim of my government not to create an awe of any person by severe and rigorous measures and by construing every slight offence into an act of treason.

nec terrore hominum aut criminibus maiorem reverentiam nomini meo acquiri. Omissa ea quaestione, quam non admitterem, etiam si implis adiuvaretur, ratio totius operis effectura cura Cocceiani Dionis exentiatur, cum et utilitas civitatis exigat, nec aut recuset Dion aut deus recusare.

### LXXXIII

#### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ROGATUS, domine, a Nicaeensibus publice precibus quae mihi et sunt et debent esse sanctissima, pro qua per aeternitatem tuam salutemque, ut preces suas a te perferrem, fas non putavi negare acceptumque tuis his libellum huic epistolae iunxi.

### LXXXIV

#### TRAIANUS PLINIO

NICAEENSIBUS, qui intestatorum civium suorum necessam vindicationem bonorum a divo Augusto petierunt, debes vacare contractis omnibus personarum idem negotium pertinentibus adhibitis Viridio Gellio et Epimacho, liberto meo, procuratoribus aestimatis etiam iis, quae contra dicuntur, quod verum credideritis, statuatis.

there was no occasion for you to hesitate a moment upon the point, concerning which you thought proper to consult me. Without entering therefore into that question, (to which I would by no means give any attention, though there were ever so many instances of the same kind,) I recommend to you the care the examination of Dio's accounts relating to the public works which he has finished; as it is a case in which the interest of the city is concerned, and as Dio neither ought, nor indeed does refuse, to submit to the inquiry.

### LXXXIII

#### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Nicaeans having conjured me, Sir, by (what I think ought to be, most sacred to me) your prosperity and immortal glory, to present to you their petition, I did not think myself at liberty to refuse them, and have therefore enclosed it in this letter.

### LXXXIV

#### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE Nicaeans, I find, claim a right by an edict of Augustus to the estate of every citizen who dies intestate. You will therefore summon the several parties interested in this question, and with the assistance of Epimachus and Viridius Gemellinus, Procurators (having duly weighed every argument that shall be alleged against the claim), determine as shall appear most reasonable.

## LXXXV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

MAXIMUM, libertum et procuratorem tuum domine, per omne tempus, quo fuimus unus, probum et industrium et diligentem ac sicut rei publicae amantissimum ita disciplinae tenacissimum experiri libenter apud te testimonio prosequor ea fide, quam tibi debeo.

## LXXXVI A

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

GABIUM BASSUM, domine, praefectum orationis, integrum, probum, industrium, atque in omni ista reverentissimum mei expertus voto pariter suffragio prosequor ea fide, quam tibi debeo.

## LXXXVI B

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

FABIUM VALENTEM instructum commilitio tuo videri probo, cuius disciplinae debet quod indulgentiae dignus est. Apud me et milites et pagani, a quibus iniustitia eius et humanitas inspecta est, certatim qua privatim qua publice testimonia pertribue. Quod in notitiam tuam perfero ea fide quam tibi debeo.

## LXXXV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

YOUR freedman and procurator, Maximus, behaves, Sir, during all the time we were together, with great probity, care and diligence : as one strongly attached to your interest, and strictly observant of discipline. This testimony I willingly give him : and I do it with all the fidelity I owe you.

## LXXXVI A

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

AFTER having experienced, Sir, in Gaius Bassus, Prefect of the Pontic shore, the greatest integrity, honour and vigilance, as well as the most particular respect to myself, I cannot refuse him my best wishes and suffrage ; and I give them to him with all the fidelity which is due to you.

## LXXXVI B

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I WARMLY recommend Fabius Valens, who learned a soldier's duty under you ; to which training it is owing that he merits the honour of your favour. The soldiery and the people here, who have had the experience of his justice and humanity, endeavour to rival each other in that glorious testimony they give of him, as well in public as in private ; and I will notify this with all the sincerity you have a right to expect from me.

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

NYMPHIDIUM LUPUM, domine, primipilarem militonem habui, cum ipse tribunus essem, praefectus. Inde familiariter diligere coepi. C postea caritas ipsa mutuae vetustate amicitiae. Itaque et quieti eius inieci manum et exegi, ut in Bithynia consilio instrueret. Quod ille amicis et otii et senectutis ratione postposita et iam facturus est. Quibus ex causis necessitudines inter meas numero, filium in primis, Nymphidium Lupum, iuvenem probum, industrium et egregium patre dignissimum, suffecturum indulgentiae sicut primis eius experimentis cognoscere poteris, praefectus cohortis plenissimum testimonium fuerit Iuli Ferocis et Fusci Salinatoris, clarissimorum virorum. Meum gaudium, domine, meam gratulationem filii honores continebis.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> continebis *Catan.*, continerent *Ar., a.*

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* (probably) of the camp, not of a cohort, like his (see below). "Since the time of Domitian each legion had a separate camp, and accordingly a separate *praefectus*



## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

NYMPHIDIUS LUPUS, Sir, formerly a chief centurion was my comrade in arms; he was prefect<sup>a</sup> at the same time that I was military tribune: and it was from thence my affection for him began. A long acquaintance hath since mutually endeared and strengthened our friendship. For this reason I was violent to his repose, and insisted upon his attending me in Bithynia, as my assessor in council. He most readily granted me this proof of his friendship, and without any regard to the plea of age, or the ease of retirement, he has shared with me the fatigues of business; and upon all occasions is still ready to give me his assistance. I look upon his relation therefore as my own; in which number Nymphidius Lupus, his son, claims my particular notice. He is a youth of great merit and indefatigable application, and in every view of his character, well worthy of an excellent father. That he is equal to any honour you shall think proper to confer upon him, the evidence and proof he gave of his qualifications will easily convince you; as his conduct as prefect of a cohort gained him the full applause of those most illustrious personages, Julius Ferox, and Fuscus Salinator. And I will add, Sir, that any increase of dignity which he shall receive, will be an occasion of particular congratulation to myself.

*castrorum* . . . usually appointed from the *primipilar*  
 (Hardy.)

## LXXXVIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

OPTO, domine, et hunc natalem et plurimos quam felicissimos agas aeternaque laude florentis virtutis tuae gloriam et incolumis et fortis aliis et aliis operibus augeas.

## LXXXIX

TRAIANUS PLINIO

AGNOSCO vota tua, mi Secunde carissime, quae precaris, ut plurimos et felicissimos natales florentis statu rei publicae nostrae agam.

## XC

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SINOPENSES, domine, aqua deficiuntur; quae vires et bona et copiosa ab sextodecimo miliario perducuntur. Est tamen statim ab capite paulo ante mille passibus locus suspectus et mollis, quem interim explorari modico impendio iussi, an recedat et sustinere opus possit. Pecunia curantibus contracta non deerit, si tu, domine, hoc genus cunctis et salubritati et amoenitati valde sitientis colere indulseris.

## LXXXVIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

MAY this and many succeeding birthdays attended, Sir, with the highest felicity to you; may you, in the midst of an uninterrupted course of health and prosperity, be still adding to the increase of that immortal glory which your virtues justify your merit.

## LXXXIX

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

YOUR wishes, my dear Pliny, for my enjoyment of many happy birthdays amidst the glory and prosperity of the republic, were extremely agreeable to me.

## XC

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE city of Sinope is ill supplied, Sir, with water, which, however, may be brought thither from about sixteen miles' distance in great plenty and perfection. The ground indeed, near the source of the spring, is for something more than a mile of a very suspicious and marshy nature; but I have directed an examination to be made (which will be done at a small expense) whether it is capable of bearing a superstructure. I have taken care to provide a sufficient fund for this purpose, if you shall approve, Sir, of a work so conducive to the health and amelioration of this colony, greatly distressed by a scarcity of water.

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

UT coepisti, Secunde carissime, explora diligenter an locus ille, quem suspectum habes, sustinere aquae ductus possit. Neque enim dubitandum quin aqua perducenda sit in coloniam Sinoperi si modo et viribus suis ipsa id adsequi potest, plurimum ea res et salubritati et voluptati collatura sit.

## XCII

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

AMISENORUM civitas et libera et foederata bene indulgentiae tuae legibus suis utitur. In hac de re mihi publice libellum ad eranos pertinentem litteris subieci, ut tu, domine, dispiceres, quid quatenus aut permittendum aut prohibendum putares.

## XCIII

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

AMISENOS, quorum libellum epistolae tuae iunxi, si legibus istorum, quibus de officio foederis uti concessum est eranum habere, possumus, quo non habeant, non impedire, eo facilius, si tali collata non ad turbas et illicitos coetus, sed ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam utuntur. In ceteris civitatibus quae nostro iure obstrictae sunt, res huius modi prohibenda est.

## XCI

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WOULD have you proceed, my dear Pliny, carefully examining, whether the ground you suspect is firm enough to support an aqueduct. For I have no manner of doubt that it is proper the city of Sinope should be supplied with water; provided the finances will bear the expense of a work so conducive to their health and pleasure.

## XCII

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE free and confederate<sup>a</sup> city of Amisus enjoys by your indulgence, the privilege of its own laws. A memorial being presented to me there concerning mutual benefit societies, I have enclosed it in a letter that you may consider, Sir, whether, how far, these meetings are to be permitted or prohibited.

## XCIII

## TRAJAN TO PLINY

IF a benefit society be agreeable to the laws of the Amisenians, which they enjoy under the terms of the treaty, we cannot oppose it; especially if the contributions are employed, not for the purpose of riot and faction, but for the support of the indigent. In other cities, however, which are subject to our laws, I would have all societies of this nature prohibited.

<sup>a</sup> *civitas foederata* was one whose autonomy was secured to it by formal treaty.

## XCIV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SUETONIUM TRANQUILLUM, probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum, et mores eius secutus, studia iam pridem, domine, in contubernium assumpsi, tantoque magis diligere coepi, quanto propius inspexi. Huic ius trium liberorum noster sarius faciunt duae causae; nam et iudicia amicum promeretur et parum felix matrimonium expertus impetrandumque a bonitate tua per nos habet, illi fortunae malignitas denegavit. Scio, domine, quantum beneficium petam, sed peto a te, cui omnibus desideriis meis plenissimam indulgentiam experior. Potes autem colligere, quanto cupiam, quod non rogarem absens, si medio cuperem.

## XCV

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

QUAM parce haec beneficia tribuam, utique, mihi cunde carissime, haeret tibi, cum etiam in s

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\* ii. 13, note.

## XCIV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, Sir, is a person of great merit and learning, as well as of noble birth. I was so much pleased with his turn and manners, that I long since made him one of my intimates; and my affection for him still increased the more I discovered of his character. Two reasons concur to make the privilege which the law grants to those who have three children,<sup>a</sup> extremely necessary to him; he is legatee to several of his friends,<sup>b</sup> and has had little success in his marriage. Those advantages therefore which nature has denied to him, he hopes to obtain from your goodness, by means of my intercession. I am thoroughly sensible, Sir, of the value of your favour I am asking; but I know I am making this request to one whose gracious compliance with all my desires I have amply experienced. Hence I passionately wish to obtain this favour, you will judge by my thus requesting it in my absence, which I should not have done, had it been a point where I am only commonly solicitous.

## XCV

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

You cannot but know, my dear Pliny, how reserved I am in granting favours of this kind, having frequently declared in the senate, that I had not

<sup>b</sup> By the *Lex Papia Poppaea* (vii. 16, note) childless persons forfeited one half of every legacy they received.

adfirmare soleam non excessisse me numerum apud amplissimum ordinem suffecturum professus sum. Tuo tamen desiderio subseredidisse me ius trium liberorum Suetonio Traea condicione, qua adsuevi, referri in commeos iussi.

## XCVI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SOLEMNE est mihi, domine, omnia, de dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim potest melcunctationem meam regere, vel ignorantiastruere? <sup>inquam tunc</sup> Cognitionibus de Christianis interfuquam. Ideo nescio, quid et quatenus autsoleat, aut quaeri. Nec medioeriter haesitavi aliquod discrimen aetatum, an quamlibet tenera robustioribus differant, detur paenitentiae an ei, qui omnino Christianus fuit, desisse nonomen ipsum, etiamsi flagitiis careat, an cohaerentia nomini puniantur.

Interim in iis, qui ad me tamquam Chideferabantur, hunc sum secutus modum. Inter ipsos, an essent Christiani. Confitentes itertertio interrogavi supplicium minatus. Perantes duci iussi. Neque enim dubitabam, cunque esset, quod faterentur, pertinaciam ce



ceeded the number which I assured that illustrious order I would be contented with. I have yielded however, to your request; and have directed an article to be inserted in my register, that I have conferred upon Tranquillus, on my usual condition the privilege which the law grants to those who have three children,

## XCVI

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

IT is a rule, Sir, which I inviolably observe, to refer myself to you in all my doubts; for who is more capable of guiding my uncertainty or informing my ignorance? Having never been present at the trials of the Christians, I am unacquainted with the method and limits to be observed either in examining or punishing them. Whether any difference is to be made on account of age, or no distinction allowed between the youngest and the adult; whether repentance admits to a pardon, or if a man has been once a Christian it avails him nothing to recant; whether the mere profession of Christianity, although without crimes, or only the crimes associated therewith are punishable—in all these points I am greatly doubtful.

In the meanwhile, the method I have observed towards those who have been denounced to me as Christians is this: I interrogated them whether they were Christians; if they confessed it I repeated the question twice again, adding the threat of capital punishment; if they still persevered, I ordered them to be executed. For whatever the nature of the creed might be, I could at least feel no doubt that

inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fu-  
alii similis amentiae ; quos, quia cives Romani  
adnotavi in urbem remittendos.

Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffunderet  
crimine plures species inciderunt. Propositus  
libellus sine auctore multorum nomina contulit.  
Qui negabant se esse Christianos aut fuisse  
praeceunte me deos appellarent, et imagini tuae  
propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum a  
ture ac vino supplicarent, praeterea maledix-  
Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur, quod  
re vera Christiani, dimittendos esse putavi.   
indice nominati esse se Christianos dixerunt et  
negaverunt ; fuisse quidem, sed desiisse, quidam  
triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo  
ante viginti quinque.<sup>1</sup> Omnes et imaginem  
deorumque simulaera venerati sunt : et C  
maledixerunt.

Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel  
suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die  
lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo  
secum invicem seque sacramento non in  
aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia  
adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent.

<sup>1</sup> viginti quinque *Rittershusius*, quoque *a*, *Av*.

<sup>a</sup> Except by special delegation of the Emperor's own  
diction, no provincial governor had power to inflict the

contumacy and inflexible obstinacy deserved chastisement. There were others also possessed with the same infatuation, but being citizens of Rome, directed them to be carried thither.

These accusations spread (as is usually the case) from the mere fact of the matter being investigated, and several forms of the mischief came to light. A placard was put up, without any signature, accusing a large number of persons by name. Those who denied they were, or had ever been, Christians, who repeated after me an invocation to the God, and offered adoration, with wine and frankincense, to your image, which I had ordered to be brought for that purpose, together with those of the Gods, and who finally cursed Christ—none of which acts, it is said, those who are really Christians can be forced into performing—these I thought it proper to discharge. Others who were named by that placard at first confessed themselves Christians, and then denied it; true, they had been of that persuasion, but they had quitted it, some three years, others many years, and a few as much as twenty-five years ago. They all worshipped your statue and the images of the Gods, and cursed Christ.

They affirmed, however, the whole of their guilt, or their error, was, that they were in the habit of meeting on a certain fixed day before it was light, when they sang in alternate verses a hymn to Christ, as to a god, and bound themselves by a solemn oath, not to any wicked deeds, but never to commit any fraud, theft or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be compelled by the penalty on a Roman citizen, but must allow him to take legal trial at Rome. *cf.* St. Paul's "appeal to Caesar," Acts xxv.

depositum appellati abnegarent. Quibus pe-  
morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeum  
capiendum eibum, promiscuum tamen et innox  
quod ipsum facere desiisse post edictum meum  
secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram.  
magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis,  
ministrac dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tom  
quaerere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam sup  
tionem pravam, immodicam.

Ideo dilata cognitione ad consulendum te de  
Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, m  
propter periclitantium numerum. Multi  
omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus  
vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque  
civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque  
superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est;  
videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis co  
prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et  
solemnia diu intermissa repeti: passimque  
victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor in  
batur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quae turba hom  
emendari possit, si fiat paenitentiae locus.

should be called upon to deliver it up; after which it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble to partake of food—but food of an ordinary and innocent kind.<sup>a</sup> Even this practice, however they had abandoned after the publication of my edicts by which, according to your orders, I had forbidden political associations.<sup>b</sup> I judged it so much the more necessary to extract the real truth, with the assistance of torture, from two female slaves, who were styled *deaconesses*: but I could discover nothing more than depraved and excessive superstition.

I therefore adjourned the proceedings, and betook myself at once to your counsel. For the matter seemed to me well worth referring to you, especially considering the numbers endangered. Persons of all ranks and ages, and of both sexes are, and will be, involved in the prosecution. For this contagious superstition is not confined to the cities only, but has spread through the villages and rural districts; it seems possible, however, to check and cure it. 'Tis certain at least that the temples which had been almost deserted, begin now to be frequented; and the sacred festivals, after a long intermission, are again revived; while there is a general demand for sacrificial animals, which for some time past have met with but few purchasers. From hence it is easy to imagine what multitudes may be reclaimed from this error, if a door be left open to repentance.

<sup>a</sup> Like the medieval Jews, the early Christians were suspected of ritually murdering children, and even of drinking their blood at these "love feasts."

<sup>b</sup> On *hetaeriae* see x. 33 note.

## XCVII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

ACTUM quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excus  
causis eorum, qui Christiani ad te delati fu  
secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid,  
quasi certam formam habeat, constitui p  
Conquirendi non sunt; si deferantur et argu  
puniendi sunt, ita tamen, ut, qui negaver  
Christianum esse idque re ipsa manifestum fece  
est supplicando diis nostris, quamvis suspec  
praeteritum fuerit, veniam ex paenitentia imp  
Sine auctore vero propositi libelli nullo crimine  
habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli, nec  
saeculi est.

## XCVIII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

AMASTRIANORUM civitas, domine, et elegan  
ornata habet inter praecipua opera pulcherr  
eandemque longissimam plateam; cuius a late  
spatium omne porrigitur nomine quidem flum  
vera cloaca foedissima; quae sicut turpis et in  
dissima aspectu, ita pestilens est odore taete  
Quibus ex causis non minus salubritatis quam d

## XCVII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE method you have pursued, my dear Pliny sifting the cases of those denounced to you Christians is extremely proper. It is not possible to lay down any general rule which can be applied as the fixed standard in all cases of this nature. A search should be made for these people; when they are denounced and found guilty they must be punished; with the restriction, however, that when the party denies himself to be a Christian, and can give proof that he is not (that is, by adoring no Gods) he shall be pardoned on the ground of repentance, even though he may have formerly incurred suspicion. Informations without the accuser's name subscribed must not be admitted as evidence against anyone, as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to the spirit of the age.

## XCVIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE elegant and beautiful city of Amastris, has among other capital buildings a most noble extensive piazza. On one entire side of the structure runs what is called indeed a river, but in fact is no other than a vile common sewer, extremely offensive to the eye, and at the same time very wholesome by its noxious smell. It will be very advantageous therefore in point of health, as well

interest eam contegi; quod fiet, si permittentibus nobis, ne desit quoque pecunia tam magno, quam necessario.

## XCIX

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

RATIONIS est, mi Secunde carissime, contegi ac istam, quae per civitatem Amastrianorum flumina intecta salubritati obest. Pecunia ne huic contegenda desit, curaturum te secundum diligentiam certum habeo.

## C

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

VOTA, domine, priorum annorum nunc certantem alacres laetique persolvimus novaque rursus certa commilitonum et provincialium pietate, suscepimus precati deos, ut te remque publicam florenter incolam ea benignitate servarent, quam sibi magnas plurimasque virtutes praecipua sancti obsequio,<sup>2</sup> deorum honore meruisti.

<sup>1</sup> certante *Cellarius*, curante *a*, *Av.*

<sup>2</sup> obsequio *Beroaldus*, obsequi *a*, *Av.*



ornament, to have it covered ; which shall be done with your permission : as I will take care, on my part, that money be not wanting for executing so needful and necessary a work.

## XCIX

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

IT is highly reasonable, my dear Pliny, if the water which runs through the city of Amastri be prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants when open, that it should be covered. I am well assured you will, with your usual application, take care that the money necessary for this work shall not be wanting.

## C

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WE have paid, Sir, with great joy and alacrity, the vows which we offered up for you the last year ; and have again publicly renewed them, the army and provincials vying with each other in demonstration of loyalty. We implored the Gods to preserve you and the commonwealth in safety and prosperity with that peculiar favour, which not only your own many and great virtues, but particularly your distinguished piety and reverence of the Gods deserve.

CI

TRAIANUS PLINIO

SOLVISSE vota dis immortalibus te praeunte pro incolumitate commilitones cum provincialibus laetissimo consensu et in futurum nuncupasse libenter. Secunde carissime, cognovi litteris tuis.

CII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

DIEM, quo in te<sup>1</sup> tutela generis humani felicissima successione translata est, debita religione celebravimus commendantes dis imperii tui auctores et vota publica et gaudia.

CIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

DIEM imperii mei debita laetitia et religio commilitonibus et provincialibus praeunte te celebratum libenter, mi Secunde carissime, cognovi litteris tuis.

<sup>1</sup> quo in te *B*, in quem *a*.

## CI

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

IT was very agreeable to me, my dear Pliny, to learn by your letter, that the army and the provincials seconded you with great joy and unanimity in those vows which you paid and renewed to the immortal Gods for my welfare.

## CII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

WE have celebrated, with all the devotion and respect due to the occasion, the day in which, by a very happy success, the protection of mankind was transferred to your hands, commending to the Gods, from whom you received the empire, our public vows and congratulations.

## CIII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I WAS extremely well pleased to be informed by your letter, my dear Pliny, that you had, at the request of the soldiers and the provincials, solemnized the accession to the empire, with all due joy and devotion.

## CIV

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

VALERIUS, domine, Paulinus, excepto uno<sup>1</sup> Latinorum suorum mihi reliquit; ex quibus tribus interim ius Quiritium des. Vereor e ne sit immodicum pro omnibus pariter in vo indulgentiam tuam, qua debeo tanto modestius quanto plenior. Sunt autem, pro qu peto, C. Valerius Astraeus, C. Valerius Dionysius Valerius Aper.

## CV

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

CUM honestissime iis, qui apud fidem tuam Valerio Paulino depositi sunt, consultum v matura per me. Iis interim, quibus nunc pe dedisse me ius Quiritium referri in commenta meos iussi idem facturus in ceteris, pro qu petieris.

<sup>1</sup> excepto uno *Bipons*; excepto [Paulino] uno *a*; ex Paul. *Ar.*, Müller.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "his Latini." By a law passed 19 A.D., freed over thirty years old who were formally manumitted

## CIV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

VALERIUS PAULINUS, Sir, having left me his power of patronage over all his freedmen,<sup>a</sup> except one, I intreat you to grant full Roman citizenship to two of them. To desire you to extend this favour to them all, would, I fear, be too unreasonable a trespass upon your indulgence; which, as I have already experienced, I ought to be so much the more cautious in troubling. The persons for whom I make this request are, C. Valerius Astraenus, C. Valerius Dionysius, and C. Valerius Aper.

## CV

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

As it is very generous of you to consult the interest of those whom Valerius Paulinus has confided to your trust, I cannot but encourage your good intentions. I have meanwhile given full Roman citizenship to those persons for whom he requested it, and have directed the grant to be registered: I am ready to do the same for the others whenever you shall desire me.

Roman citizens, became full citizens themselves; failing one of these three conditions they gained only the partial citizenship known as the "Latin" franchise, and called *Latini Juniani* from the title of the law in question (*lex Junia Norbana*).

## CVI

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ROGATUS, domine, a P. Accio Aquila, centurionis sextae equestris, ut mitterem tibi libellum per quem indulgentiam pro statu filiae suae implorat, durum putavi negare, cum scirem, quod soleres militum precibus patientiam humanitatis praestare.

## CVII

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

LIBELLUM P. Accii Aquilae, centurionis sextae equestris, quem misisti, legi; cuius pro merito motus dedi filiae eius civitatem Romanam. Libellum rescripti, quem illi redderes, misi tibi.

## CVIII

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUID habere iuris velis et Bithynas et Ponticae civitates in exigendis pecuniis, quae illis vocationibus vel ex venditionibus aliisve debeantur, rogo, domine, rescribas. Ego

## CVI

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

P. ACCIUS AQUILA, centurion of the sixth equestrian cohort, requested me, Sir, to transmit his petition to you concerning the status of his daughter.<sup>a</sup> I thought it would be unkind to refuse him this gratification, knowing, as I do, with what patience and humanity you receive the petitions of the soldiers.

## CVII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I HAVE read the petition of P. Accius Aquila, centurion of the sixth equestrian cohort, which he has sent to me; and in compliance with his request, I have given his daughter the freedom of the city of Rome. I send you at the same time the petition, which you will deliver to him.

## CVIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I BEG, Sir, you would inform me what rights are wished assigned to the cities of Bithynia and Pontus, with regard to recovering their debts, either for real estate or goods sold, or upon any other consideration.

<sup>a</sup> Accius was an alien who had received Roman citizenship, but under conditions which left his daughter an alien. Hardy's note.

a plerisque proconsulibus concessam eis protopraetorem  
eamque pro lege valuisse. Existimo tamen  
providentia constituendum aliquid et sancien-  
per quod utilitatibus eorum in perpetuum consuli-  
Nam, quae sunt ab aliis instituta, sint licet sapi-  
indulta, brevia tamen et infirma sunt, nisi illi  
contingat auctoritas.

## CIX

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

Quo iure uti debeant Bithynae vel Ponticae  
civitates in iis pecuniis, quae ex quaque causa  
publicae debebuntur, ex lege cuiusque animam  
tendum est. Nam, sive habent privilegium,  
ceteris creditoribus anteponantur, custodiendum  
sive non habent, in iniuriam privatorum id dari  
non oportebit.

## CX

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Ecdicus, domine, Amisencorum civitatis pecuniam  
apud me a Iulio Pisone denariorum circiter XL  
donata ei publice ante xx annos bule et ee



find they have a privilege granted to them by several Proconsuls, of being preferred to other creditors; and this custom has prevailed, as if it had been established by law. Your prudence, I imagine, will think it necessary to enact some settled rule, by which their advantage may always be secured. For the ordinances of others, however wisely conceded, are but feeble and temporary expedients, unless confirmed by your authority.

## CIX

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE rule by which the cities either of Pontus or Bithynia are to be governed, in the recovery of debts of whatever kind, due to their several communities, must be determined agreeably to their respective laws. Where any of them enjoy the privilege of being preferred to other creditors, that must be observed; but, where no such privilege prevails, it is not just I should establish one, to the prejudice of private property.

## CX

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE solicitor to the treasury<sup>a</sup> of the city of Amisus laid a claim, Sir, before me against Julius Piso of about 40,000 denarii, which were given him by the public above twenty years ago, with the

<sup>a</sup> "The *eccliticus* was a public prosecutor in financial matters. We only know of the title in connection with Asia Minor (Hardy.)

consentiente utebaturque mandatis tuis, quibus  
modi donationes vetantur. Piso contra plurimum  
in rempublicam contulisse ac prope totas facultates  
exrogasse dicebat. Addebat etiam temporis spatium  
postulabatque, ne id, quod pro multis et olim  
cepisset, cum eversione reliquae dignitatis re-  
cogeretur. Quibus ex causis integram cognitionem  
differendam existimavi, ut te, domine, consulam  
quid sequendum putares.

## CXI

### TRAIANUS PLINIO

Sicut largitiones ex publico fieri mandata  
hibent, ita, ne multorum securitas subruatur,  
ante aliquantum temporis retractari atque in  
vindicare non oportet. Quidquid ergo ex hac  
actum ante viginti annos erit, omittamus.  
minus enim hominibus cuiusque loci, quam pecunia  
publicae consultum volo.

consent of the general council and assembly of city; and he founded his demand upon certain your edicts by which donations of this kind prohibited. Piso, on the other hand, asserted that he had conferred large sums of money upon the community, and, indeed, had expended that value almost his whole estate. He insisted upon the length of time which had intervened since the donation, and hoped that he should not be compelled to the ruin of the remainder of his fortunes, to refund a sum, which had been granted him long since in return for many good offices he had done to the city. For this reason, Sir, I thought it necessary to suspend giving any judgement in this cause, till I shall receive your directions.

## CXI

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THOUGH by my edicts I have ordained, that largesses shall be given out of the public money; yet, that numberless private persons may not be disturbed in the secure possession of their fortunes, those donations which have been made long since ought not to be called in question or revoked. I will not, therefore, inquire into any thing that has been transacted in this affair so long ago as two years; for I would be no less attentive to secure the repose of every private man, than the treasure of every public community.

## CXII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

LEX Pompeia, domine, qua Bithyni et P  
utuntur, eos, qui in bulen a censoribus legu  
dare pecuniam non iubet; sed ii, quos indulg  
tua quibusdam civitatibus super legitimum num  
adicere permisit, et singula milia denariorum et  
intulerunt. Anicius deinde Maximus proconsu  
etiam, qui a censoribus legerentur, dumtaxa  
paucissimis civitatibus aliud aliis iussit in  
Superest ergo, ut ipse dispicias, an in om  
civitatibus certum aliquid omnes, qui deinde bul  
leguntur, debeant pro introitu dare. Nam qu  
perpetuum mansurum est, a te constitui decet,  
factis dictisque debetur aeternitas.

## CXIII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

HONORARIUM decurionatus omnes, qui in q  
civitate Bithyniae decuriones fiunt, inferre de  
necne, in universum a me non potest statui. Id  
quod semper tutissimum est, sequendam eui

## CXII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Pompeian law, Sir, which is observed in Pontus and Bithynia, does not direct that money should be given by those who are elected into the public council by the Censors. It has however been usual for such members as have been admitted into those assemblies, in pursuance of a privilege which you were pleased to grant to several particular cities, of receiving above their legal number, to pay one or two thousand denarii. Subsequent to this, the Proconsul Anicius Maximus ordained (though indeed his edict extended to several few cities only) that those who were elected by the Censors should also pay into the treasury a certain sum, which varied in different places. It remains therefore, for your consideration whether it would not be proper for all the cities to settle a certain sum for each member, who is elected into the council, to pay upon his entrance; for it well becomes a man whose every word and action deserves immortality, to give laws that shall for ever be permanent.

## CXIII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

I CAN give no general directions applicable to the cities of Bithynia, whether those who are members of their respective councils shall pay a honorary fee upon their admittance, or not. It seems best therefore, in this case (what indeed u

civitatis legem puto ; scilicet adversus eos, qui in  
fiunt decuriones, id existimo acturos, ut erod  
ceteris praeferatur.

## CXIV

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

LEGE, domine, Pompcia, permissum Bithy  
civitatibus adscribere sibi, quos vellent, cives,  
ne quem earum civitatum<sup>1</sup> quae sunt in Bith  
Eadem lege sancitur, quibus de causis e senatu  
soribus eiciantur. Inde me quidam ex censo  
consulendum putaverunt, an eicere deberent  
qui esset alterius civitatis. Ego, quia lex  
adscribi civem alienum vetabat, ita eici e senat  
hanc causam non iubebat, praeterea quia ab aliqu  
adfirmabatur mihi, in omni civitate plurimos  
buleutas ex aliis civitatibus, futurumque ut  
homines multaeque civitates concuterentur ea  
legis, quae iampridem consensu quodam exolev  
necessarium existinavi consulere te, quid servar  
putares. Capita legis his litteris subicci.

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<sup>1</sup> dum ne quem earum civ., B, dum neque merum civ

<sup>a</sup> lxxix. note.

all occasions is the safest way), to leave each city its respective laws. But I think, however, that Censors ought to set the sum lower to those who chosen into the senate contrary to their inclination than to the rest.

## CXIV

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Pompeian law,<sup>a</sup> Sir, allows the Bithynians to give the freedom of their respective cities to whatever persons they think proper, provided they not already belong to any of the cities of the province.<sup>b</sup> The same law specifies the particular causes for which the Censors may expel any member of the senate. Certain of the Censors accordingly have desired my sentiments, whether they ought to expel a member if he should happen to be a citizen of another Bithynian state. But I thought it necessary to receive your instructions in this matter, not only because the law, though it forbids the admission of persons to be admitted citizens, does not direct a senator to be expelled for the same reason, because I am informed that there are in every province several members of their senate who are in the same circumstances. If therefore this clause of the law which seems to be antiquated by a long custom, the contrary, should be enforced, many cities, as well as private persons, will be thrown into great confusion. I have subjoined the heads of this law to my letter.

<sup>b</sup> The rule that a man could not be citizen of more than one city was often contravened in practice, and difficulty and confusion necessarily resulted.

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

MERITO haesisti, Secunde carissime, quid responderi oporteret censoribus consulentibus legerent in senatum aliarum civitatum, eius tamen provinciae cives. Nam et legis auctoritas longa consuetudo usurpata contra legem in divemovere te potuit. Mihi hoc temperamentum placuit, ut ex praeterito nihil novaremus, sed manerent quamvis contra legem adseiti quarumcivitatium cives, in futurum autem lex Pompeiana servaretur; cuius vim si retro quoque velimus condire, multa necesse est perturbari.

## CXVI

## C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

QUI virilem togam sumunt vel nuptias faciunt, inveniunt magistratum vel opus publicum deducunt, solent totam bulen atque etiam e plebe non exigentium numerum vocare binosque denarios vel singulos. Quod an celebrandum et quatenus putes, scribas. Ipse enim sicut arbitror, praesertim



## TRAJAN TO PLINY

You might very reasonably, my dear Pliny, doubtful what decision to give to the inquiry of Censors; whether they might elect into the senate citizens of other cities though of the same province. The authority of law on one side, and long custom prevailing against it on the other, might well throw you into a state of suspense. The proper means to observe in this case, will be, to make no change of what is past, but to suffer those senators who are already elected, though contrary to law, to keep their seats, to whatever city they may belong; in future elections, however, to pursue the direction of the Pompeian law: for to extend its influence backwards, must necessarily introduce great confusion.

## CXVI

## TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

It is customary here upon any person's taking the manly robe,<sup>a</sup> solemnizing his marriage, entering upon the office of a magistrate, or dedicating any public work, to invite the whole senate, together with a considerable part of the commonalty, and distribute to each of the company one or two denarii. I would inform me, whether you think proper that this ceremony should be observed, and if so, within what limits. For myself, though I am of opinion that

<sup>a</sup> i. 9, note.

solemnibus causis, concedendas iussisti invitatio-  
ita vereor, ne ii, qui mille homines, interdum  
plures vocant, modum excedere et in sp  
dianomes incidere videantur.

## CXVII

TRAIANUS PLINIO

MERITO vereris, ne in speciem dianomes in  
invitatio, quae et in numero modum exced  
quasi per corpora, non viritim singulos ex noti  
solemnes sportulas contrahit. Sed ego ideo  
dentiam tuam elegi, ut formandis istius prov  
moribus ipse moderareris et ea constituas, qu  
perpetuam eius provinciae quietem essent profu

## CXVIII

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

ATHLETAE, domine, ea, quae pro iselastici  
taminibus constituisti, deberi sibi putant stat

<sup>1</sup> concedendas iussisti invitationes *Hardy*, conced  
iussisti *B*, *Budaeus*, concedendum iussi invit. *a*, conce  
esse invit. *Orelli*.

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<sup>a</sup> *dianome* (Gr. *διανομή*, "distribution") here means  
tribution of bribes," such as was made by candidates t  
their agents.

<sup>b</sup> *Iselastic* (Gr. *εἰσελαστικός*, "of entry") games wer  
which entitled the victors to make a triumphal ent

upon some occasions, especially those of public festivals, this kind of invitations may be permitted; yet when they are carried so far as to draw together a thousand persons and sometimes more, it is good. I fear, beyond a reasonable number, and has something the appearance of ambitious largesses.<sup>a</sup>

## CXVII

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

It is with justice you apprehend, that these public invitations, which extend to an unreasonable number of people, and where the dole is distributed, singly to a few acquaintances, but as it were to whole collective bodies, may be turned to turbulent purposes of ambition. But I made choice of your prudence, expressly that you might take your own measures for regulating the manner and settling the peace of this province.

## CXVIII

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

THE Athletic victors, Sir, in the iselastic games, think they ought to receive the pension you have established for the conquerors at those combats from their native city, in a chariot of state, which was drawn through a breach in the walls made for the occasion. These honours were originally confined to victors at the four great Hellenic games (the Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea); in Imperial times it appears that any games could become cease to be, iselastic at the Emperor's pleasure. Iselastic victors had always received a pension, or free maintenance for life from their cities; Trajan had increased these (probably daily) allowances. (Hardy.)

co die, quo sunt coronati; nihil enim referre, quod sint patriam invecti, sed quando certamine victricibus ex quo invehi possint. Ego contrascrivo<sup>1</sup> 'isela-  
 nomine' ita ut<sup>2</sup> vehementer addubitem, an sit  
 id tempus, quo εἰσῆλασαν, intuendum. Iden-  
 sonia petunt pro eo agone, qui a te iselasticus  
 est, quamvis vicerint, ante quam fieret. Aiunt  
 congruens esse, sicut non detur sibi pro iis  
 minibus, quae esse iselastica, postquam vic-  
 desierunt, ita pro iis dari, quae esse coeperunt.  
 quoque non mediocriter haereo, ne cuiusquam  
 habeatur ratio, dandumque, quod tunc, cum  
 cerent, non debebatur. Rogo ergo, ut dubitatio  
 meam regere, id est beneficia tua interpretari  
 digneris.

## CXIX

TRAIANUS PLINIO

ISELASTICUM tunc primum mihi videtur in-  
 deberi, cum quis in civitatem suam ipse εἰσῆ-  
 Obsonia eorum certaminum, quae iselastica  
 placuit mihi, si ante iselastica non fuerunt, retr-

<sup>1</sup> Ego contrascrivo 'iselaistici nomine' *Orelli*, ex *a*.  
 Ego contra scribo is. nom.

<sup>2</sup> ita ut *Beroaldus*, itaque eorum *a*, *Av*.

the day they are crowned: for it is not at material, they say, when they may be triumphantly conducted into their city, but when they merit the honour by their conquest. I habitually countersign the drafts for payment with the words "under the head of iselastic money," so that I am strongly inclined to believe that the time of their public entry is to be alone considered. They likewise petition to be allowed the pension you give at the combats which you have made iselastic, though they were conquerors before that establishment took place: for it is but reasonable, they assert, that they should receive their rewards in this case, as they are deprived of them at those games which have been divested of the honour of being iselastic, since their victories. But I am extremely doubtful, whether retrospect should be admitted in this case, and a reward given to which they had no right at the time they gained the victory. I beg therefore you would be pleased to direct my judgement in these points by explaining the intention of your own beneficent factions.

## CXIX

### TRAJAN TO PLINY

THE reward proposed to the conqueror in iselastic games, is not, I think due till he makes public entry into his city. Nor at those combats which I have thought proper to make iselastic ought pensions to be extended backwards to the

debentur. Nec proficere pro desiderio athletico potest quod eorum quae postea iselastica non constitui, quam vicerant<sup>1</sup> accipere desierunt. tanta enim condicione certaminum nihilo quae ante perceperant, non revocantur.

## CXX

### C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

USQUE in hoc tempus, domine, neque eum diplomata commodavi neque in rem ullam nisi misi. Quam perpetuam servationem meam quam necessitas rupit. Uxori enim meae audita morbo volenti ad amitam suam excurrere usum negare durum putavi, eum talis officii gratia celeritate consisteret, sciremque te rationem in probaturum, cuius causa erat pietas. Haec scripsi quia mihi parum gratus tibi fore videbar, si dilaxassem inter alia beneficia hoc unum meo indulgentiae tuae, quod fiducia eius quasi consensu non dubitavi facere, quem si consulissem fecissem.

<sup>1</sup> quod eorum quae postea iselastica non esse constituta vicerant *Schaefer*, quid eorum q. p. is. non lege constat qui ierant *a*.

who conquered there before that alteration took place. Nor is it a point in their favour that they have ceased to receive the emolument for the games which subsequent to their victories I have ordained are not to be iselastic; since, notwithstanding any change which has been made relative to these games, they are not called upon to return the recompense which they received prior to such alteration.

## CXX

### TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN

I HAVE never, Sir, accommodated any person with an order for post chaises,<sup>a</sup> or dispatched a courier provided with one, except upon your affairs. I find myself however at present under a sort of necessity of breaking through this fixed rule. My wife having received an account of her grandfather's<sup>b</sup> death, and being desirous to wait upon her aunt<sup>c</sup> with possible expedition, I thought it would be unkind to deny her the use of this privilege; as the grace so tender an office consists in the early discharge of it, and as I well knew a journey which was founded in filial piety, could not fail of your approbation. I have informed you of this, as I should think myself highly ungrateful, were I to dissemble, that among other great obligations which I owe to your indulgence, I have this in particular, that in confidence of your favour I have ventured to do without consulting you, what would have been too late had I waited for your consent.

<sup>a</sup> x. 45.

<sup>b</sup> Fabatus.

<sup>c</sup> Hispulla.

## TRAIANUS PLINIO

MERITO habuisti, Secunde carissime, fiducia mi mei. Nec dubitandum fuisset, si exspectatione donec me consuleres, an iter uxoris tuae diplomibus, quae officio tuo dedi, adiuvandum esset, eorum intentioni non profuisse, cum apud a suam uxor tua deberet etiam celeritate gradus adventus sui augere.



## TRAJAN TO PLINY

You did me justice, my dear Pliny, by confiding in my affection towards you. Without doubt you had waited for my consent to forward your voyage in her journey by means of those warrants which I have intrusted to your care, the use of them would not have answered your purpose ; since it was precisely this visit to her aunt should have the additional recommendation, of being paid with all possible expedition.



# BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

## OF NOTABLE PERSONS ADDRESSED OR MENTIONED BY PLINY

**ARRIA THE ELDER** (III. 16; VI. 24), wife to Caecina Paetus, crowned an heroic life by showing her condemned husband how to die, A.D. 42 (see III. 16, note). Her daughter,

**ARRIA THE YOUNGER** (III. 11, 16; VII. 19; IX. 13), was already married to Thræsea Paetus at the time of her mother's death, which she wished to emulate twenty-four years later, when Thræsea was condemned for treason to Nero (66 A.D.). But he persuaded her to live for the sake of their daughter Fannia (*q.v.*). Banished by Domitian, Arria returned with the other political exiles on Nerva's accession (96 A.D.). Her death occurred some time before that of Fannia (VII. 19), but the date is unknown.

**ARULENUS RUSTICUS, L. JUNIUS** (I. 5, 14; III. 11; V. 1; IX. 29), first showed his fiery spirit when as a young man (*flagrans iuvenis cupidine laudis*, Tacitus, *Ann.* XVI. 26), being tribune of the plebs, he would have vetoed the Senate's condemnation of Thræsea Paetus, but for Thræsea's earnest representation that he would only throw away his own life by ineffectually interposing (66 A.D.). Praetor under Vitellius in 69 A.D., he was among the envoys sent by the Senate to meet Vespasian's troops; and was wounded by them while

unsuccessfully making overtures for peace (I. 5; Tac. *Hist.* II. 80). Quiescent under Vespasian and Titus, he could not speak in silence the tyranny of Domitian; he published a panegyric on Thræsea Paetus and Herennius Priscus which led to his execution for treason, 93 A.D. He was publicly burned by order of the Senate (*scilicet in vocem populi Romani et liberos senatus et conscientiam humani aboleri arbitratu*, Tac. *Agric.* 2). Rusticus is doubly suspect as a disciple of Stoicism, which was supposed to foster revolutionary principles, and Suetonius (*Dom.* 10) connects his condemnation with Domitian's expulsion of all philosophers from Rome.

**CORNUTUS TERTULLUS, C.** (II. 11, 12; IV. 17; V. 14, 21, 31; IX. 13), Pliny's colleague in the prefecture of the treasury and in the consulship, was senior by about twenty years. Pliny loved and revered him in their official relations with the happiest possible results. Cornutus was given the cura of the Aemilian Way while Pliny was holding that of the treasury (V. 14); later he successively governed four provinces, the second being Bithynia, which he apparently succeeded Pliny in the latter's death.

DOMITIUS AFER (II. 14; VIII. 18), the teacher of Quintilian, who pronounces him the foremost orator of his time, was a native of Nemausus (Nîmes). Under Tiberius, he misused his great gifts by prosecuting persons obnoxious to the Emperor (Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 52, 56; XIV. 19; *Dial. de Orat.* 13, 15). He died at a great age in 59 A.D.

EUPHRATES (I. 10), a Stoic philosopher, native of Alexandria, taught first at Tyre, afterwards for many years at Rome, whither he came in Vespasian's retinue. Conformably to Stoic principles, he committed suicide when oppressed by age and infirmity (118 A.D.).

FANNIA (III. 11, 16; VII. 19; IX. 13), granddaughter of Caecina Paetus and Arria the Elder, daughter of Thrasea Paetus and Arria the Younger, was married 52 A.D. to Helvidius Priscus (*q.v.*). She twice followed her husband into exile; and was herself banished (93 A.D.) by Domitian, along with her mother, whom she vainly sought to exculpate, for being accessory to Herennius Senecio in producing a laudatory memoir of Helvidius. Returning to Rome on Domitian's death, Fannia was called on by Pliny to join in his attempt to avenge her stepson, the younger Helvidius (*q.v.*). The letter (VII. 19) in which Pliny laments her death as imminent was probably written in 107 A.D., when she must have been at least seventy.

FESTUS, VALERIUS (III. 7), commanded the troops in Africa under the proconsul Piso. After vainly endeavouring to make Piso take up arms for Vitellius against Vespasian, Festus went over to the latter's side when he saw it was the winning one, and carried out the order of

Vespasian's lieutenant by a party of soldiers to kill him. The treachery of Festus was rewarded with a series of honours (including the consulship, 71 A.D.) bestowed on him by Vespasian and by Titus.

HELVIDIUS PRISCUS (VI. 19), son-in-law to Thrasea Paetus, was banished by Nero in the 10th year of Thrasea's exile (66 A.D.), and again by Vespasian, who finally put him to death in exile. It was for public encomiums upon him as a champion of Liberty that Helvidius Rusticus and Helvidius Senecio were condemned to death. Fannia (*q.v.*), the daughter of Thrasea, was his wife; by a former marriage he left a son—

HELVIDIUS (III. 11; IV. 20; IX. 13), executed for treason under Domitian (93), on the accusation of Helvidius Certus, a senator. Pliny sought to bring to a halt after Domitian's death the trial of Helvidius left a son, and two daughters, both of whom were young in childbirth (IV. 5).

HERENNIUS SENECIO (I. 5; IV. 7, 11; VII. 19), eminent advocate, was banished for Licinianus (IV. 11) in 65, and, conjointly with Pliny, for his native province of Bithynia in the trial of Baebius Priscus (VII. 19), 93 A.D. In the same year he was put to death on a charge of treason brought by Mettius Carus; his crime consisted in having, like Rubellius Plautus, published a laudatory memoir of Helvidius Priscus (*see F.*

JULIUS FRONTINUS, SEX. (V. 1; IX. 19), one of the most eminent men of his time, was born not later than 40 A.D. and died *circ.* 103 A.D., when he succeeded him in the Co-





some twelve years, whose influence secured him a military tribuneship (III. 8) and the *ius trium liberorum* (X. 94, 95). Suetonius was later one of Hadrian's private secretaries, but lost office and Imperial favour in 121 A.D. by failing in respect towards the Empress Sabina, and devoted the last forty years of his life to writing voluminously on grammar, rhetoric, antiquities, and the natural sciences. His works are almost entirely lost with the fortunate exception of his *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*—a *chronique scandaleuse*, but also an inestimable mine of personal detail about the early Emperors. The *Lives* can hardly have been the work referred to by Pliny in V. 10 as long overdue, since they were not published until 120 A.D.

TACITUS, CORNELIUS (I. 6; II. 1, 11; IV. 13, 15; VI. 9, 16, 20; VII. 20, 33; VIII. 7; IX. 10, 11, 23), of whose family nothing is known, was born early in Nero's reign, and began his official career, as quaestor, not later than 79 A.D., being then at least twenty-five, and already married to the daughter of Agricola. He was thus some seven years older than Pliny, whose friend and associate he became while both practised at the bar. Praetor under Domitian, 88 A.D., Tacitus rose to the consulship as Nerva's colleague, 97 A.D. In the following year he published that pearl of biographies, the memoir of Agricola, and the treatise *De Origine Situ Moribus ac Populis Germaniae*, the first fruits of his genius, with the exception of an early essay on oratory (*Dialogus de Oratoribus*). Then followed the works that have made him immortal—the *Histories* and the *Annals*, presenting the history of the Roman Empire from the death

of its founder, Augustus, down to that of Domitian. Allusion to current events in the *Annals* show that this, his latest work, was published after 115 and it seems likely that Tacitus did not long survive that year. At least, he did not live to see his expressed intention of recording the happier times of Nerva and Trajan.

THRASEA PAETUS, P. (I. 20; III. 16; VI. 29; VII. 19, 22), a native of Padua, husband of the younger Arria, and son of Fannia, took a leading part in public affairs under Claudius and under Nero until 65 A.D., when he marked his opposition to Nero by withdrawing altogether from the public scene. Three years later he was condemned for treason, and a sentence of forestall execution by Nero (see ARRIA and RUSSELL) was commuted to imprisonment. Martial (Epp. I. 8) couples Thrasea with Cato as a type of Stoicism.

TRAJAN (Marcus Ulpius Trajanus) (VOL. I. : II. ; III. 6; IV. 8; 26, 31; VOL. II. : II. 4, 5; *passim*)<sup>b</sup>. 52, *d.* 117 A.D. A native of Spain, on the death of Nerva he became Emperor at the age of forty-four. Equally great soldier and administrator, Trajan stands highest among the Emperors—"Nerva and his successors, under whose reign the ancient world enjoyed for the first five years the full blessing of the "Pax Romana." On Trajan's accession, the assembled Senate accompanied only by his wife and some personal friends. In order to be the first to inaugurate a policy of good government, he refused all Imperial pomp, walked through the city unattended, and lived frugally like a private citizen. Thus, without any new taxes, he financed several grand public works, and two great wars, and an enormous industry, and

knowledge of the details of administration throughout the Empire, comes out in his correspondence with Pliny. So does his enlightened view of provincial government. "Interfere as little as possible with local rights and customs," he says in effect; "there must be no waste or jobbery, but otherwise let the municipalities manage their own affairs." As a soldier, Trajan is still more famous. In six years of war he subdued and thoroughly Romanised the Dacians; in three years more he overthrew the great Parthian monarchy, and carried the Roman eagles as far as the Persian Gulf. At his death on his way home from that campaign, he left the Empire at its greatest extent.

VERGINIUS RUFUS (II. 1; v. 3; VI. 10; IX. 19), Pliny's guardian and second father, was the Nestor of his time. Born in the first year of Tiberius (14 A.D.) and dying in the second of Nerva (97 A.D.), he saw eleven wearers of the purple, which he prudently refused for himself in the terrible "Year of Four Emperors" (68-69 A.D.). In that year, as Legate of Upper Germany, he crushed the formidable revolt of Julius Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, by the decisive battle of Besançon;

his victorious army, cast allegiance to Nero, then urged him to proclaim Emperor and lead the Italy. A few months when Galba's "transient embarrassed phantom" allowed Nero to the Verginius joined forces Otho against Vitellius; and the Vitellians won the Betriacum, his beaten and perate soldiers, after once importuning him to claim the Empire, actually demanded death from its new master Vitellius, to his credit pains to save him (*Hist.* II. 68). Having weathered these storms, Verginius honoured and prospered the three Flavian Emperors; if, as Pliny seems to think (II. 1), he was suspected and disliked by Vespasian a demerit, neither attempted to molest him. He was consul; firstly in 63 A.D. under Nero; secondly in 69 A.D. under Otho; thirdly in 97 A.D. a year of his death, when he made him his colleague in office. Pliny is better than usual when he writes (II. 1) that to have his eulogy pronounced by Verginius set the coping-stone upon the good luck of Verginius.

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