SELECTED LETTERS
OF
PLINY
EDITED BY
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PREFACE

This edition has been prepared at the suggestion of the committee appointed by the Board of Studies to consider the proposal to add a selection of Pliny's *Letters* to the subjects that may be offered for Pass Moderations. It is intended primarily to give help to those preparing for that Examination, but it is hoped that it may also be found useful in schools. The text is Kukula's reprinted by permission of Messrs. Teubner. The editor wishes to express his indebtedness to previous editions of Pliny's *Letters*, particularly to those of Church and Brodribb (1871) and of Merrill (1903). His best thanks are due to those friends who have helped him by making suggestions and corrections, especially to the Warden of Wadham and to Mr. A. S. Owen of Keble.

Pembroke College,
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INTRODUCTION

THE LETTERS OF PLINY

These letters may fairly claim an interest from the historical and literary as well as from the personal point of view.

Historically, the letters are of the highest value as a first-hand authority for the era of Trajan, an era of restoration and advance, for which the literary evidence is singularly scanty. It is true that Pliny lived in a comparatively narrow circle and that his letters give us little information as to the life of the great mass of the people, yet, when this has been fully admitted, it remains true that the thoughts and recollections of a man who lived from Nero to Trajan, whose prime corresponded to one of the most glorious periods in the history of the empire, must have a value of their own. Moreover, if the circle in which their author lived was small, the subjects of the letters themselves are varied, politics, professional matters, literature, natural history, domestic affairs, the claims of friendship. On all these topics we have before us the views and interests of one who may fairly be said to represent the attitude of the best men and women of his time; while three of the letters, those describing the eruption of Vesuvius (vi. 16 and 20) and that in which he asks how to deal with the Christians in Bithynia (x. 96), have a unique importance.

As literature the letters have always held a high place in spite of some adverse criticism.¹ They have often been compared with those of Cicero to the advantage of the latter. Cicero wrote for the private reader during one of the most thrilling periods of Roman history in the Golden Age of the Latin language. Pliny’s letters were clearly designed for publication,

¹ E. g. in Mackail’s History of Latin Literature, pp. 225–8.
and were written for the most part in a time of restored peace and prosperity, in an age dominated by convention. Yet they have their characteristic charm. Pliny's Latin at its best is unsurpassed in the Silver Age. His style is for the most part clear; he has a few little tricks, but very few obscurities, none intentional. The obscurities that do occur are largely due to the freedom allowed in letter-writing. The letters themselves are in some respects strikingly modern; the descriptions of nature both in its peaceful and in its most terrific aspects are fresh and vivid; the delight in country life and the appreciation of scenery are of a kind rare in classical literature; while the story of the haunted house is the exact counterpart of the modern ghost story.

Still the chief charm of the letters lies in the character they reveal. It is perhaps unfortunate for Cicero that we know so much about him. Of Pliny we know practically nothing beyond what he tells us himself in the letters. But it is difficult to believe that there is anything unpleasant behind. A certain vanity and priggishness no doubt appear in places; a strong desire for posthumous fame, a tendency to take credit for good actions, a lack of the sterner virtues, all this is clear enough; yet these defects are easily excused when compared with the sincerity, the kindness, the invariable good temper and good taste, the consideration for other people, not least for women and for slaves, which appear throughout. Pliny was certainly not a hero, but he was a perfect gentleman.

It would be out of place here to repeat the long discussion that has taken place as to the chronology of the letters. Pliny himself says that the letters are not arranged in chronological order (i. 1. 1), though how far he meant this statement to be taken literally seems uncertain. Very probably the earliest letter is ii. 20, which seems to belong to the reign of Domitian (see ii. 20. 12 and p. 17). The publication of Book I is assigned by Mommsen to A.D. 97, that of Book II to 100. Books III-VI
would cover approximately the years 101–6. Books VII–IX were written probably from 107–9, and published in the latter year. The letters of Book X were written presumably in 111–13 and published by one of Pliny’s friends after his death (see Mommsen, art. in Hermes, vol. iii). Other views on the chronology of the letters have been put forward by Stobbe (‘Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Plinius’, Philologus, xxx. 347–93), independently of Mommsen, and by Peter (‘Zur Chronologie der Briefe des jüngeren Plinius’, Philologus, xxxii. 698 ff.), in criticism of Mommsen.

The principal manuscripts of the letters are:

B Codex Beluacensis, originally at Beauvais, now in the Laurentian library at Florence, a tenth-century MS. containing a hundred letters, i–v. 6. 32 except iv. 26.

F Codex Florentinus, a twelfth-century MS., in the same library and containing the same letters as B.

M Codex Mediceus, also in the Laurentian library, a ninth-century MS. containing i–ix. 26. 8.

V Codex Vaticanus, in the Vatican library at Rome, containing i–iv, and dating from the ninth or tenth century.

Of these MSS. B and F belong to the same family, while M and V are closely akin to one another. In addition to these there is another family of fifteenth-century MSS., all containing i–vii and ix, viii being omitted and ix numbered as viii. These MSS. are much interpolated and present considerable varieties of reading among themselves (see further Merrill, Introduction, pp. xli–xlv).

The principal ancient editions are:

the Editio Princeps (p), Venice, 1471, containing i–vii and ix;
the Editio Romana (r), Rome, 1474, containing i–ix;
the Editio Aldina (a), Venice, 1508, containing i–x.

Editions published in the last and the present centuries are: Gierig, Leipzig, 1800; Döring, Freiburg, 1843; Church and Brodribb, London, 1871; Pritchard and Bernard, Oxford,

The Teubner texts are those of Keil, 1870, and Kukula, 1912.

**Life of Pliny**

1. Birth.

The author of these letters, whom we call 'the Younger Pliny' to distinguish him from his uncle Pliny the Elder, was born in the latter part of the year A.D. 61 or during the first part of 62. This date is fixed with certainty by a parenthetical remark in his description of the eruption of Vesuvius (vi. 20. 5). The eruption took place on August 24, A.D. 79, and Pliny, as he tells us, was eighteen years of age at the time. Hence his birth and early childhood would fall within the latter part of the reign of Nero (see pp. 12-13).

He was the second son of Lucius Caecilius Cilo, and his name at first was Publilus Caecilius Secundus. Neither his father nor his elder brother are mentioned in the letters. His mother, whose name was Plinia, is mentioned in the account of the eruption (vi. 20. 4). The family on both sides came from Comum (Como), which was the birthplace and early home of our Pliny and was regarded by him throughout his career with the greatest affection (see iv. 13, Introd. note). His father died while he was quite young, leaving him by his will under the tutorship of Verginius Rufus (cf. ii. 1. 8, note, and p. 22). He was evidently a precocious boy: he wrote, so he tells us, a Greek tragedy, or what he called a Greek tragedy, at fourteen (vii. 4. 2), and seems early to have imbibed an enthusiasm for learning from his uncle Pliny the Elder (cf. vi. 16. 7, and p. 21). While he was at Comum he must have been educated at home (for there was no school in the town, cf. iv. 13), unless he went to Milan like the boys of a later generation. But in
the reign of Vespasian he came to Rome and studied there under Quintilian (ii. 14. 9) 'the greatest and best of Roman teachers'. From Quintilian he learned that devotion to literature, especially to Cicero, which is so marked a feature of his letters, and at Quintilian's lectures he made some of his life-long friends.

In Pliny's eighteenth year occurred the great disaster, in which his uncle perished, and from this time onwards, having been adopted as heir in his will, he took his uncle's name, being known, according to the custom of testamentary adoption under the empire, as Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus. In the next year he began his professional career at the bar by pleading in the Hundred Court (see ii. 14, Introd. note). In the same year he was appointed Decemvirs stilitibus iudicandis, a minor magistracy, in discharge of which he would gain experience of the procedure of the Hundred Court by assisting the praetor to preside over it. In the year following he left Rome to serve his tirocinium, or military apprenticeship, as tribune of the 3rd legion in Syria. His service was of an honorary kind, and his time seems to have been spent mostly in auditing the accounts of the legion and cultivating the friendship of philosophers. On his return to Rome (vii. 4. 3), he held the sinecure office of sevir Equei Romanorum and in 89 became quaestor Caesaris, as the personal nominee of the Emperor Domitian, having as colleague Calestius Tiro (cf. i. 12, Introd. note). After the usual interval he became tribune in 91. In 93 he became praetor by special appointment of the emperor. It was the year in which Domitian banished or did to death the leaders of 'the Stoic opposition', many of whom were personally Pliny's friends (see p. 24), but he contrived to keep himself out of political complications, and was actually appointed praefectus aerarii militaris by Domitian in the midst of 'the Reign of Terror'. It is true that after the emperor's death an information against Pliny was found in his
desk, lodged by the famous informer Carus Mettius (vii. 27. 14). Whether Domitian ever intended to act on the information is uncertain; it is certain that he never did.

The assassination of the tyrant in A.D. 96 brought a profound sense of relief to the whole world (cf. Tac. Agr. i–3), and Pliny proved fully able to adapt himself to the new régime. He gained the confidence of Nerva and was appointed by him praefectus aerarii Saturni, an important financial post, with his friend Cornutus Tertullus (ii. ii. 19) as colleague. In January A.D. 100 he figured in the celebrated case of Marius Priscus (cf. ii. ii. 10, see p. 27), and in September of the same year he was promoted to the consulship—apparently for two months—under Trajan. His address of thanks to the emperor on assuming office, published under the title of 'Panegyricus', is still extant. For some years after his consulship he was free from official duties, but in 103 he was made augur in succession to his friend Frontinus (ix. 19), and in 105 was appointed president of a municipal commission to direct the works on the bed of the Tiber and the drainage of the city (cura alvei Tiberis et cloacarum urbis).

The last appointment held by Pliny, the governorship of Bithynia, may be dated conjecturally as 111–13. The province was originally senatorial, but the senate's administration had not proved a success and Trajan determined to take the government, for the time at any rate, into his own hands (see p. 35). With the details of Pliny's administration, preserved in the letters of Book X, we are not concerned here. The correspondence comes to an end abruptly with a letter, in which Pliny asks the emperor's approval of his action in giving his wife Calpurnia an official passport on her return to Italy consequent on the death of her grandfather Calpurnius Fabatus. Trajan replied, as we should expect, sympathetically. We know, from an inscription (C.I.L. v. 5262) on the baths built in accordance with his will at Comum, that Pliny was dead by
the end of the year 113, also that he held no office subsequent to his governorship of Bithynia. It seems therefore natural to conclude that he died in his province after his wife’s return to Italy, A.D. 113, at about fifty-one years of age.

It remains to say something of Pliny’s family life. Apparently he was three times married. Of the first two wives we know nothing, but the third, Calpurnia, is charmingly described in iv. 19, a letter written soon after the marriage, to his wife’s maiden aunt, Hispulla, who had had the charge of her upbringing. Calpurnia was the daughter of an influential citizen of Comum, and must have been very young at the time of her marriage, though Pliny himself was well advanced in middle life. Their happiness, however, was complete, in spite of disappointed hopes of children. Calpurnia accompanied her husband to his province, and presumably survived him.

Pliny writes throughout from the point of view of the rich man. He was born to wealth on both sides of his family. His father and mother both had estates near the lake of Como, and his adoption as his uncle’s heir in A.D. 79 brought him further accessions. He himself had two favourite villas on the lake, which he called playfully ‘Tragedy’ and ‘Comedy’, besides his winter place at Laurentum (ii. 17), his summer retreat in Etruria (ix. 36), his town-house on the Esquiline hill at Rome (iii. 21. 5), and his places at Tusculum (iv. 13. 1), Tibur, and Praeneste (v. 6. 45). But though rich he was no millionaire; his wealth came mainly from land, and was therefore liable to the embarrassments of bad harvests and insolvent tenants. He was a careful landlord (ix. 36. 6) and a good master (viii. 16).

As a man of wealth and position, he had a large familia or household establishment, and his treatment of slaves and freedmen is one of the pleasantest features of his character. The letter (viii. 16), in which he speaks of his sorrow at the illnesses and deaths that had occurred in his household (confecterunt me infirmitates meorum), shows clearly that he regarded
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his slaves as men of the same flesh and blood as himself, and it could not be surpassed for kindliness of feeling in any period. His freedmen, too, he regarded as friends. He was careful to provide for their education, and he bears witness to their intelligence (cf. vii. 27. 12, ix. 36. 4). He enjoyed talking to them himself and made no distinction between them and his other guests when he invited them to dinner (ii. 6. 3). Evidence is not lacking, however, from the letters themselves that such a relation to slaves (viii. 16. 3) and to freedmen (ii. 6. 4) was by no means universal at the time.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE: NERO TO TRAJAN

In A.D. 54 the Emperor Claudius (i. 13. 3; iii. 16. 9) died, poisoned, as it was thought, by his wife Agrippina, through whose influence Lucius Domitius, her son by a former husband, succeeded to the throne under the name of Nero, with Octavia, the daughter of Claudius, as his wife.

For the first five years of the reign (called the quinquennium Neronis) all went well under the direction of Seneca, Nero's tutor, and Burrhus, the prefect of the praetorians (the imperial bodyguard). About 59, however, the emperor came under the evil influence of Poppaea, the wife of Salvius Otho (see below), and determined to get rid of his mother. A plot to drown her in the bay of Naples miscarried, but she was soon afterwards killed by the admiral of the fleet. Seneca and Burrhus were forced to justify the action to the senate. More courage was shown by Thrasea Paetus (iii. 16; cf. Tac. Agr. 2), who declined to join in the flatteries addressed to Nero on the occasion. In 62, the year probably of Pliny's birth, Burrhus died, and soon after Seneca and Thrasea Paetus retired from the court, while Nero carried out the worst of all his crimes, the divorce and murder of Octavia. It is probable, however, that the infamous doings of the court would have little effect on a provincial town like Comum.
In 64 the great fire broke out which devastated a large part of Rome. Suspicion fell on Nero, who was said to have sung some verses from his epic on the fall of Troy, as he watched the progress of the flames. He therefore tried to make the Christians his scapegoats, and thus there came about the first great persecution (see p. 36). Another result of the fire was the rebuilding of part of the city on healthier and more magnificent lines. In 65 Nero's life was threatened by a conspiracy headed by Lucius Piso. The plot was betrayed, and in the vengeance that followed not only the actual conspirators, but also Seneca and Thrasea Paetus perished. These last were attached to the Stoic philosophy, and were theoretically Republicans, but they were not politically dangerous.

The last years of Nero (iii. 5. 5) were spent mostly in Greece, where he cultivated 'the arts', music, poetry, and acting; but in 68 he returned to Italy owing to rumours of revolt among the Western armies. Julius Vindex (ix. 19. 1), governor of one of the provinces of Gaul, began the rebellion and persuaded Sulpicius Galba, governor of Hither Spain, to join him. Vindex was crushed at Vesontio (Besançon) by Verginius Rufus (ii. 1, ix. 19), who refused the offer of the empire made him on this occasion by the soldiers; but Galba advanced to Rome. Nero, deserted on all sides, committed suicide in the house of a freedman.

Galba's rule was short. He was personally unpopular, and it soon became known that the legions on the Rhine were moving. The news led Galba to adopt, as his colleague and successor, Calpurnius Piso (ii. 20. 2). The immediate result of this action was to produce another claimant in the person of Otho, the former husband of Poppaea, who had joined Galba in his march from Spain. The allegiance of the praetorians was secured; Galba and Piso were slain, and Otho accepted as emperor by the senate.

The new emperor was immediately confronted by the legions Otho.
of the Rhine, who were supporting the claims of Vitellius. Among Otho's generals were Verginius Rufus (ii. 1) and Vestricius Spurinna (iii. 1). The decisive engagement took place outside Cremona. Otho was defeated and committed suicide two days afterwards.

No sooner had Vitellius been recognized as emperor by the senate, than a fresh candidate appeared in the East. Flavius Vespasianus was engaged in crushing the Jewish rebellion in Palestine, when it was suggested to him by Mucianus, governor of Syria, that he should make a bid for the empire. He left the Jewish war to his son Titus, and went to Egypt to cut off the corn supply of Rome, while Mucianus marched on Italy. Meanwhile the legions of the Danube under Antonius Primus, advancing in the name of Vespasian, defeated the Vitellians at Cremona, forced their way into Rome itself, killed Vitellius and his followers, and sacked the city. When Mucianus arrived, he took control of the city in the name of Vespasian, and order was restored (cf. Tac. Agr. 7).

Thus the dynasty of the Flavian Caesars was established. But there was still the Jewish war to be prosecuted; after a desperate resistance Jerusalem fell before Titus in September A.D. 70. The city was razed to the ground; the Temple was destroyed so utterly that one stone was literally not left upon another; the Jewish national polity came to an end. Titus returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph and to leave the record of this, perhaps the most terrible siege in history, on his famous arch, which is still standing amid the ruins of the Forum.

Vespasian came of humble origin, being the son of a Sabine farmer; by profession he was a soldier, but he had also the qualities of a statesman. He saw that the great need of the Roman world was stable government, by which alone the ravages of the previous years could be repaired. He determined to found a dynasty; 'Either my sons shall succeed me or no one' is one of his reported sayings. Accordingly he made Titus his colleague.
and Domitian princeps iuventutis. In foreign policy progress was made in Syria, in Britain (Tac. Agr. 9 and 17), and on the Rhine and Danube frontiers. The discipline of the army was maintained in a high state of efficiency. The emperor also kept in close touch with the navy, the elder Pliny being praefectus classis (iii. 5. 9). The most urgent domestic problem was finance: Vespasian inherited financial ability (his father was a tax-gatherer and moneylender) and succeeded, at the cost of considerable unpopularity, in putting the monetary affairs of the empire on a sound footing. He also encouraged education (see note on iv. 13. 6), and followed the example of Augustus in trying to strengthen what remained of the old Roman religion; he rebuilt the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, and also dedicated a temple to Peace; these have perished; but the mightiest of all his buildings still survives, the great Flavian amphitheatre called the Colosseum.

Vespasian also sought to introduce new blood into the senate; as emperor he controlled the elections to magistracies and was able to create new patrician families (cf. Tac. Agr. 9). But his relations with the senate were not altogether amicable. ‘The Stoic opposition’, which had been headed by Thrasea Paetus in the days of Nero, re-asserted itself in the time of Vespasian under the leadership of Helvidius Priscus (vii. 19. 3; cf. Tac. Agr. 2). Whether Helvidius actually plotted against the emperor must remain uncertain. At any rate Vespasian thought it necessary to banish him and his friends from Rome, and finally with reluctance ordered his execution, attempting subsequently to cancel the order when it was too late. Ten years of unremitting work, much of it done at night (cf. iii. 5. 9), were all that the emperor’s health could stand. He died at the age of seventy. The importance of his reign is well illustrated by some of his coins, which bear the legend ‘Roma Resurgens’.

Titus reigned only two years, during which time he enjoyed great popularity, being hailed as ‘the delight of the human
race’. The only event of importance in his reign was the great eruption of Vesuvius described in vi. 16 and 20.

The foreign policy of the next reign centred on the Rhine and Danube frontiers and in Britain (cf. Tac. Germ. 29, 37; Agr. 18–38 and 41). A permanent extension of the frontier was made in Upper Germany, and Roman civilization gained some foothold across the Danube in spite of reverses; the conquest of Britain by Agricola was a somewhat barren one. For information on the domestic affairs of the reign we are dependent on Pliny, Tacitus, and Juvenal, all of whom hated Domitian cordially, and on Martial (iii. 21), who flattered him grossly (cf. Pliny, Epp. i. 12, ii. 20, and vii. 19; Tac. Agr. 2–3 and 45). We gather, even from the tremendous indictment of Tacitus, that the decline in the emperor’s character was gradual, reaching a climax in the last three years, which are commonly known as ‘the Reign of Terror’.

The heavy expenditure incurred by increasing the pay of the army, by giving games and largesses to the people, and by extensive building schemes, tempted Domitian to recoup himself and the state from the property of the rich. His natural jealousy and arrogance (his official description was ‘our Lord and God’) combined with a highly suspicious disposition carried him during his last years to extremes of tyranny worse even than those of Nero; for Nero ordered horrors, but Domitian gloated over them (Tac. Agr. 45). The law of treason (maiestas) was put into vigorous operation, and delatores (professional informers) flourished, Carus Mettius (vii. 19. 5; cf. Tac. Agr. 45), Messalinus, Massa Baebius (Tac. Agr. 45), and Regulus (cf. ii. 20, iv. 2, iv. 7, and p. 26). A campaign was set on foot against ‘the Stoic opposition’ (Tac. Agr. 2, 3, and 45); Herennius Senecio was accused by Carus Mettius (vii. 19. 5) for writing the life of the elder Helvidius, and put to death; Arulenus Rusticus met a similar fate for writing in praise of Thrasea Paetus, while his brother Mauricus was banished.
The younger Helvidius was dragged off to prison and put to death by the hands of a servile senate. All philosophers were banished; history and literature came to a standstill.

Some of the lesser evils of the time are described in the first sections of ii. 20, but the letter ends on a more serious note (see § 12 'Αλλὰ τι διατέλεωμαι, &c.). Most vivid of all is the evidence of the Corellius letter (i. 12. 8) ‘Why do you suppose’, says the sick man, ‘that I endure so long agonies that are so great? It is in order that I may survive that Robber if only by a single day.’ No wonder that the news of the assassination of the tyrant was received by the senate and the world with almost delirious acclamation.

Domitian’s successor, M. Cocceius Nerva, had been chosen before his assassination and was accepted without dispute by the senate and the praetorians. Eminently safe and respectable, formerly the colleague both of Vespasian and of Domitian in the consulship, he is best known as emperor by his choice of his successor, M. Ulpius Trajanus, in October, A.D. 97. Meanwhile, however, he had done great services to the empire. ‘Two things formerly incompatible he combined, monarchy and freedom’ (Tac. Agr. 3)—at least to the extent that liberty of speech and social intercourse were restored. The law of treason was suspended; the philosophical and political exiles were restored: the senate and the emperor came to an understanding, which made stable government possible; history and literature began again.

These reforms were hailed as the dawn of a new age (nunc demum redit animus: . . . primo beatissimi saeculi ortu, Tac. Agr. 3), but they were accompanied by an outbreak of fury against Domitian and all his works, in which even moderate men, perhaps Tacitus himself, suffered for their enforced acquiescence in the Reign of Terror. Pliny, however, passed through the change successfully (see p. 10). Some definite
progress was made during the reign. Retrenchments were made in the public finances (cf. ii. 1. 9), an agrarian law was passed for the benefit of the country districts, and some provision was made for the maintenance of poor children in Italy.

The new emperor was a Spaniard by birth, like other great men of the Silver Age, Seneca, Martial, Quintilian. His native place was Italica, a town which had long enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizenship. The year of his birth is not quite certain, but we should probably be justified in putting it as A.D. 52 or 53. His first military service was in the Jewish war. Under Vespasian and Titus he passed through the lower stages of the *cursus honorum*, becoming praetor in 85. In 89 he was ordered to transfer a legion from Spain to Germany and was rewarded for his promptness in so doing with the consulship. During the Reign of Terror he lived quietly at Rome; he was promoted by Nerva to the governorship of Upper Germany. At his adoption as colleague and successor by Nerva, he received the title of ‘imperator’ together with other distinctions, including a second consulship; he was commanding in Lower Germany when he heard of the emperor’s death.

For a year after receiving the news Trajan occupied himself in strengthening the Rhine-Danube frontier and making observations with a view to the reduction of Dacia. Before that enterprise could be actually undertaken, he thought it well to return to Rome and secure his position. This he found no difficulty in doing. He won over the senate by a show of constitutional deference (Pan. 64–5), and by renewing the oath taken by Nerva never to put a senator to death. In January of the year A.D. 100 there took place the famous case of Marius Priscus, pro-consul of Africa, ii. 11. 10 (cf. p. 27), in which Pliny conducted the prosecution in conjunction with his friend Tacitus. In September of the same year Pliny delivered the ‘Panegyric’ of Trajan as his speech of thanks on assuming the consulship. The rest of Trajan’s reign was occupied
with the Dacian wars, the internal development of the empire, and the campaigns in the East.

The literary evidence for the Dacian campaigns is slight and late, but we have the aid of the bas-reliefs on the column in the middle of Trajan's Forum; their interpretation, however, is by no means certain, and the details of the campaigns still remain largely conjectural. The first campaign began in the spring of A.D. 101 with an invasion of Dacia, but was indecisive; in the next winter the Dacians invaded the province of Moesia, but were defeated by Trajan, who followed up his victory by a second invasion of Dacia in the spring, as a result of which the Dacians were obliged to recognize the suzerainty of Rome; their capital, Sarmizegethusa, was garrisoned, and Trajan returned in triumph, and assumed the title of 'Dacicus'. In 105, however, the Dacian leader called Decebalus again crossed the Danube; Trajan came to the support of his troops in Moesia, and for the third time advanced to the Dacian capital. The fortress fell by treachery, Decebalus subsequently committed suicide, and Dacia became a Roman province.

For some years after this there was peace within the empire, and Trajan was able to devote himself to promoting the welfare of Italy and the provinces. Emigration was discouraged; senators were required to invest a third of their property in Italian land; Nerva's scheme for endowing poor children was carried out. New roads also were built; one, bearing the name of the Via Trajana, ran from Beneventum to Brundisium, and was spanned at the starting-place by a fine triumphal arch. Of Trajan's interest in the provinces indeed we have abundant testimony: he presided in person at the trial of Marius Priscus, the pro-consul of Africa (ii. 11); prosecutions of at least three other provincial governors took place in his reign; special commissioners were sent from time to time to take over the administration of senatorial provinces and of 'free cities': such missions were those of Pliny himself to Bithynia (see
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p. 34) and of Maximus to Greece (viii. 24). Nor was the centre of administration neglected. The years of peace were marked by the carrying out of great building enterprises in Rome itself, chief among them the erection of the Forum of Trajan. The basilica and the libraries with which it was adorned have gone, but the great column recording his victories remains.

At the end of A.D. 113 Trajan left Rome for the East, never to return. His immediate objective was the annexation of Armenia, where the prince set up by him had been deposed by the Parthian king Chosroes. Armenia was accordingly made a Roman province without serious resistance, and, after a winter spent at Antioch, Trajan was able to add Mesopotamia as yet another province to the empire. In 116 he advanced again from Antioch, crossed the Tigris, and formed a third province of Assyria. Then, turning south-east to the Euphrates, he marched on Babylon, which fell without a blow. After securing the district, he turned back again to the Tigris and finally captured Ctesiphon, the Parthian capital. Chosroes fled and Trajan with a fleet of fifty ships sailed down the Tigris to the Persian gulf. He longed to go further still, but was recalled by reports of dangerous rebellions in Mesopotamia. He turned back and established the son of Chosroes upon the throne of Parthia, accepting for himself the title of 'Parthicus'. Not long after, however, Chosroes returned, and Parthia was lost to the empire. Meanwhile a furious revolt of the Jews had broken out in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Cyprus, and Cyrene, while reports came of other disorders in Africa and Britain; on the Danube frontier the Sarmatians were moving. It seemed as though the empire was breaking up at the very moment of its widest extension. Trajan set his face to Rome, but at Selinus in Cilicia he was taken ill and died (August, A.D. 117). In his last illness he had adopted as his successor P. Aelius Hadrianus.
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Pliny the Elder

Of the members of Pliny's family the one who had the greatest influence on him was undoubtedly his maternal uncle, Pliny the Elder. This person was a truly amazing character. Like his nephew he was a provincial, born at Comum, and like him a man of considerable wealth, though he never rose above the rank of an 'eques'. Born under Tiberius, he lived into the reign of Titus; he served in the army in Germany (iii. 5. 4), and held several minor posts, e.g. a procuratorship in Spain (iii. 5. 17), rising under Vespasian to be prefect of the fleet stationed at Misenum, where he had a house (vi. 16. 4). His post, like similar posts in our own time, involved a good deal of desk work at Rome, where apparently he spent most of his time, enjoying the close friendship of the emperor (iii. 5. 18).

From this letter we gather most of the details of his life that are known to us (cf. also vi. 16. 5). He would begin to study in the summer at midnight or soon after; before daylight he would pay an official visit to the emperor, for Vespasian also used to work at night. When his official work was over, he would give the whole of the remainder of the day to study. He would have books read to him at meals and after his bath, while he was being rubbed down. A journey, even through the city, was similarly employed. The results of his reading he gave to the world in the list of books enumerated in iii. 5. 3 ff. Of these only the Natural History has survived; it is an encyclopaedic work, containing much curious and valuable information on a great variety of subjects: it is, however, wholly without originality and written in a truly terrible style.

The Younger Pliny had a great admiration for his uncle's industry; he says (iii. 5. 19) that compared to him he himself and indeed most literary men are the merest idlers. He
evidently owed much to his uncle's teaching and was actually engaged upon some work for him at the time of the eruption. The Elder Pliny saw at once the importance of what was occurring (vi. 16. 7); but his interest, which was at first purely scientific, became practical in response to an appeal for help (vi. 16. 9), and his death, if not his life, had about it at least a touch of heroism.

Pliny and His Friends

Pliny had a genius for friendship. He was deeply interested in his friends, and acknowledges a tendency to idealize them. They belonged to different generations, and the bond of the friendship varied; in some cases it was simply personal; in others it was professional comradeship; in very many it was literary sympathy.

Among the friends of an older generation, three stand out conspicuously, Verginius Rufus (ii. 1), Vestricius Spurinna (iii. 1), and Corellius Rufus (i. 12). Verginius Rufus was a really great man. He was a compatriot of Pliny, coming from near Comum (ii. 1. 8), and by the end of Nero's reign had risen to the position of governor of Upper Germany. In this post he had to face the formidable revolt of Vindex (see p. 13). He crushed the outbreak in a single battle at Vesontio (Besançon) and was offered the crown by his victorious troops. He refused the offer, however, on the ground that it was the business of the senate, not of the army, to make an emperor (ix. 19. 1). In the year 69 he espoused the cause of Otho against Vitellius. Otho's forces were routed (see p. 14), and the defeated army insisted that Verginius should either be their emperor or their representative to sue for peace. Again he declined the Principate, and for some time his life was in actual danger, but the peril passed, and he lived to a good old age; he was three times consul, but spent the latter part of his life in retirement. He died in A.D. 97 at the age of eighty-three, as
the result of an illness brought on by the fracture of the thigh. Tacitus as consul pronounced his funeral oration. Verginius’ relation to Pliny was a quasi-parental one; probably by his father’s will he had been appointed his guardian, and he treated him like a son, supporting him in his candidature for all his offices and proposing him for the priesthood.

Vestricius Spurinna was also a veteran of Otho’s cause, having defended Placentia against the Vitellians. He was twice consul under Domitian, and was chosen by Trajan to suppress a rebellion of the Bructeri. His habits in old age are described in iii. 1, a letter which Pliny wrote soon after returning from a visit to him. The old man was singularly active for his years, got up early, walked well, and played tennis vigorously. He had, moreover, some poetic talent and wrote verses both in Greek and Latin, allowing himself more moral licence in his writing than in his life. He evidently thought it his duty to instruct the younger generation, without, however, appearing to do so. His manner of life was simple, but not ascetic, and impressed Pliny so much, that he avows his intention of taking him as a model for his own years of retirement. Perhaps he did so even before; for it looks very much as though his vacation day in Tuscany (ix. 36) was arranged on the pattern of Spurinna (see p. 30).

Of Corellius Rufus we know nothing, or next to nothing, till near the time of his death. He was a senator, and apparently a person of somewhat old-fashioned ideas. In his thirty-third year he was attacked by gout in the feet, a disease hereditary in his family. For some time he staved it off by careful attention to diet, but it grew upon him with increasing years, spreading to other parts of his body. He was determined, if he could, to outlive Domitian ‘the Robber’, as he called him (i. 12. 8), if only by one day. This he succeeded in doing, and then resolved to put an end to his agonies by suicide. He insisted on abstaining from food in spite of
all the appeals of his doctor, family, and friends, and died in A. D. 97.

Pliny was not deeply interested in the problems of philosophy, but he had a liking for the society of philosophers. During his military service in Syria he spent much time with philosophers, and the Stoic opposition under Domitian numbered some of Pliny's friends among its leaders. He knew Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio, whose judicial murder by the senate (Tac. Agr. 2, 45) was one of the darkest crimes even of that terrible time, and was on intimate terms with Helvidius' widow Fannia (vii. 19). But though personally on friendly terms with members of the philosophic opposition, he never allowed himself to be implicated in their policy (cf. pp. 16-17).

Of Pliny's literary friends, by far the most distinguished was Cornelius Tacitus, the historian. Tacitus was considerably the senior of the two; in fact, when Pliny came to Rome, Tacitus had an assured position at the head of the Roman bar—a position which was still further strengthened by his brilliant marriage with Agricola's daughter (Tac. Agr. 9). He followed the usual cursus honorum as far as the praetorship, under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; then he was absent from Rome for several years in some provincial command, during which time his father-in-law died (Tac. Agr. 44). He returned to Rome and lived under the Reign of Terror in the last years of Domitian, being, like Pliny, a reluctant witness of its horrors (Tac. Agr. 45). Like Pliny also he found safety in silence. With the dawn of better days under Nerva, literature revived once more (Tac. Agr. 1–3). Tacitus published the Agricola probably in 97, the Germania in 98. He was already busy on the first draught of the Histories (Tac. Agr. 3, 3), for which Pliny sent him vi. 16, as material. In 97–8 Tacitus was consul, and as such pronounced the funeral oration on Verginius Rufus (ii. 1. 6). In 98 the two friends acted together professionally in the cause célèbre of Marius Priscus (ii. 11). Pliny addressed to Tacitus
the following letters: i. 6, on the pleasures of hunting with a notebook; iv. 13, asking him to select candidates for a schoolmastership at Comum; vi. 16, the description of his uncle's death in the eruption of Vesuvius; and vi. 20, a description of the writer's own experiences during that catastrophe.\(^1\)

Another of Pliny's literary acquaintances was M. Valerius Martialis. Martial came from Spain to Rome like so many other writers of the Silver Age. He was favoured by Titus and Domitian, the latter of whom he repaid by gross flatteries. Early in Trajan's reign he retired to Bilbilis, his native place, and there died a few years afterwards. Pliny mentions the fact in a letter (iii. 21), in which he quotes some verses of Martial addressed to himself. He had acted the part of a patron to the poet, and repaid him for the effusion on himself by a present of his journey money when he retired from Rome.

Pliny was the patron of Martial; he was the pupil of Quintilian (ii. 14. 9). Born at Calagurris in Spain, Quintilian received in Rome his early training in rhetoric, to which he devoted his life. He returned to his native place to practise his profession, but was recalled to Rome by Galba in 68, and remained there teaching rhetoric till his death. His chief work was the *Liber Institutionis Oratoriae* in twelve volumes. He was a great teacher and insisted on the importance of the moral element in education as well as the merely didactic. His influence on the Roman youth of Pliny's generation was extensive and salutary (see p. 9).

**Pliny's Profession**

The Roman bar from the time of Cicero had been recognized as an avenue to office and wealth, and the decline of free political life under the empire led many ambitious young men to push their fortunes in the courts. Pliny began his

\(^1\) For Pliny's opinion of Tacitus as a literary man see p. 31.
career at the age of nineteen in the Court of the Hundred (see ii. 14, Introd. note).

It was a court with a great tradition. In the time of Pliny's seniors, an introduction from a consul or ex-consul was necessary for admission; the proceedings of the court were calm and deliberate; Domitius Afer used to plead before it, attended by Quintilian. To Pliny, however, it appeared that the court was on the down grade; the cases brought before it were trivial, seldom involving any persons or business of importance; the pleaders were a set of unknown and ill-mannered young men, who forced their way in and started making speeches with all the carelessness of school-boys starting Homer; they were attended by an audience of hired claqueurs, who did not listen to the speeches, but applauded at a signal from their leader. This practice, which at starting caused Afer to throw up his brief, had grown to such an extent, that it made the proceedings of the court resemble some orgiastic worship from Asia. Pliny became so disgusted that, despite his pride in his profession (pulcherrimum opus) he projected a gradual retirement.

In the course of his profession Pliny came into contact with Aquilius Regulus, the notorius delator (ii. 11. 22, ii. 20, iv. 2, iv. 7). This person had risen to power under Nero, who found him a convenient instrument for compassing the ruin of his victims. In the years that followed Nero's death Regulus suffered eclipse, till the tyranny of Domitian revived the operation of treason-law and gave full scope for his activities. He was concerned in the judicial murder of Arulenus Rusticus and of Senecio. After Domitian's death his influence waned, though he was still feared by many. Pliny tells us of his fickleness (ii. 11. 22), his shameless will-hunting (ii. 20), his depraved superstition, his extravagant and theatrical mourning for his son (iv. 2 and 7). Yet even Pliny is forced to acknowledge that Regulus possessed one redeeming feature in his
devotion to his profession. In spite of natural disadvantages, weak lungs, bad delivery, poor memory, he always drew an audience and insisted on having full time to develop his case. Pliny allows himself to write of this professional opponent with unwonted bitterness and probably does him some injustice (see iv. 2. 8, note).

During the reign of Trajan, Pliny figured in several famous cases. The most important of these was the prosecution of Marius Priscus, governor of the province of Africa. The case was brought by one community of the province and a number of individuals, and was tried before the senate in January of a.d. 100, the emperor presiding as consul (ii. ii. 10). Pliny and Tacitus conducted the prosecution on behalf of the provincials. Marius was accused of robbery and extortion, and also of procuring the banishment and death of innocent persons for the sake of bribes. It was said that he had caused the banishment of a Roman knight and the execution of seven of his associates, in consideration of a bribe from one Honoratus, and had caused another Roman knight to be beaten, condemned to the mines, and finally strangled in prison in return for another bribe received from a man named Marcianus. At a preliminary inquiry Marius applied for a commission (judices petiit) to assess the proper amount of reparation for the charges of extortion. By so doing, he admitted the justice of the pecuniary part of the charges, but hoped that, in view of this admission, the more serious counts would be passed over. This application was opposed by the counsel for the prosecution, Pliny and Tacitus. After a keen debate, it was decided on the motion of Julius Ferox that the commission should be granted, but that the accusers should be allowed to substantiate the more serious charges if they could. Honoratus suddenly died, but it was decided that Priscus and Marcianus should be tried together. The trial lasted, much to Pliny's satisfaction, for three days. He himself
opened the case for the prosecution. He was nervous, despite his experience of courts, and considerably affected by the plight of the accused. He was allowed extra time for his speech, and, speedily recovering from his initial nervousness, spoke for five hours. The emperor showed personal interest in him by sending several messages to him telling him not to overtax his strength. Marcellinus replied for Marcianus, and after an adjournment till the next day, Salvius Liberalis spoke for Marius with great ability. Tacitus answered him with his usual dignified eloquence, and then Catius Fronto, who had supported Marius' application for indices, closed the case for the defence. Two alternative sentences were proposed. Cornutus Tertullus proposed that the money received from Marcianus should be paid into the treasury, and Marius banished from Rome and Italy, Marcianus also from Africa. Pompeius Collega moved that the money should be paid as proposed, that no penalty beyond that for extortion should be imposed on Marius, but that Marcianus should be banished for five years. This latter proposal was instigated by Regulus, but when the majority appeared to be going the other way, Regulus himself promptly joined it. The severer sentence was thus adopted, but Marius does not seem to have suffered much from his exile (cf. Juv. Sat. i. 47 ff.). The case of Firminus, who was implicated in the misdeeds of Marius, was adjourned to the next meeting of the senate and finally disposed of with preposterous leniency. The whole trial illustrates clearly the mildness of Roman law towards a citizen in high position, even when injury to other citizens was involved.

**Pliny's Tastes and Views**

We have one letter of Pliny referring to life in the city (i. 9) and two describing the pleasures of the country (iii. i, ix. 36). Life in the city was a constant bustle; besides professional work, the round of social engagements which claimed a Roman
gentleman's time was very extensive, coming-of-age ceremonies, betrothals, marriages, the signing of a will, which last was made the occasion for a society function (cf. ii. 20. 10); all these, to say nothing of legal assistance to friends and attendance at recitations, provoke the regretful exclamation *Quot dies quam frigidis rebus absumpsit*.

No wonder it was with a sigh of relief that Pliny would escape to his *μουρέιον* in the country. Of his winter retreat at Laurentum we have an elaborate description in ii. 17. The dominant motive in its construction seems to have been a desire for comfort and peace; the design is on an extensive scale, but there is no evidence in this letter or in Pliny's circle generally of wanton extravagance; no mention is made of the decoration of walls or ceiling, nor of expensive furniture. Pliny indeed says little of art treasures, though he mentions Corinthian bronzes casually in iii. 1. 9. Display and vulgarity in all its forms he detested (cf. ii. 6). His summer residence was among the foot-hills of the Apennines in Tuscany, and he has left us in ix. 36 a full description of his day there. He awoke about six, and began at once meditating some literary composition and dictating his thoughts in his darkened chamber. About the middle of the morning he adjourned to a sort of cloister, with a bed of violets in front, and continued his work till it was time for a drive, though even during the drive his studies were continued. A short siesta followed, then a walk, then declamation in Greek or Latin, then physical exercise and the bath with its accompaniments filled the time till dinner. During this meal—the only one which is mentioned—a book was read, and the evening taken up with acting, music, and walks with members of his household. This programme was not adhered to with absolute strictness, sometimes riding was substituted for driving; sometimes neighbours came to see him; sometimes conversations with tenants lent it variety. The programme of Spurinna's day
(iii. 1) was apparently more rigidly observed, but it looks as if it was the model for Pliny's own, except that 'Spurinna talked more and read less than Pliny.'

Pliny's amusements were few and simple. The circus and its chariot races he disliked as silly and vulgar (ix. 6); nor did he care to take part in the Saturnalia (ii. 17); these times of festivity he used as opportunities for study. He liked walks and drives (ix. 36. 3) and took the usual exercises for the purposes of health; he even indulged in hunting (i. 6; ix. 36. 6), but hardly such as would appeal to a modern country gentleman. His dominant interest was literature. He began to write at the age of fourteen (vii. 4). Even amid the bustle of town life he put himself to great inconvenience to attend recitations; he applauds the zeal of the composers and deplores the apathy of the audiences. 

_Equidem prope nemini defui_, he says with conscientious satisfaction (i. 13. 5). True, he gave recitations himself, but he expressly disclaims the intention of compelling his friends to attend. He was eager to encourage literary study in private. He wrote to his friend Fuscus to give him advice on how to spend a literary vacation, recommending translation from Greek to Latin and vice versa, also the imitation of the best models (vii. 9). Personally he took more pride in his literary fame than in anything else; he was delighted when some Greeks told him they had learned Latin in order to read his poetry (vii. 4); no professional triumph, he says, gave him so much satisfaction as to learn that his name had been coupled with that of Tacitus as belonging not to an individual but to literature.¹ (ix. 23. 3).

As a literary critic Pliny seems to have been a better judge of other people's work than of his own. He appreciated, at least to some extent, the greatness of Tacitus. He is sure that,

¹ Mackail is very severe on Pliny for his presumption in this matter.
if his description of his uncle's end is included in the *Histories*, it will live (vi. 16. 1); he was impressed by the dignity of Tacitus' style of oratory (ii. 1. 6, ii. 11. 17), and used to exchange literary work with him for mutual criticism. Again Pliny saw the strong points, the wit and pungency, of Martial (iii. 21. 1); he was doubtful whether his writings would last, as they have lasted, but he evidently grasped something of his power as a master of epigram. Of his own productions, Pliny preferred his verses and speeches to his letters. His verses have perished, with the exception of a few lines preserved in vii. 4 and 9, which go far to console us for the loss of the rest. The only speech of his that survives is the Panegyric on Trajan. It is of some value historically, but has no suggestion of greatness about it, while its tone in places is somewhat too fulsome for modern taste. In the case of his letters on the other hand Pliny's strong desire for posthumous fame has been realized.

Literature and his profession apart, Pliny has very little to say on serious subjects. He made friends of philosophers and liked to hear them discourse, but he had no vital interest in philosophy as such. He deprecates suicide (i. 12. 2), which was approved by the Stoics under certain circumstances, not for any moral reason, but because it shortens a friend's life. His attitude towards religion seems to have been that of his time and class. He was quite prepared to respect the traditional beliefs; he liked the religious associations of the source of the Clitumnus (viii. 8. 5); he approved of emperor-worship as part of the machinery of state (x. 96. 5). But Roman religion was by this time dead as a vital force, and it is hardly possible to tell from Pliny's letters whether he believed in the existence of God at all. The possibility of visits from another world he seems to admit (vii. 27), and he is not without a tinge of superstition (ib. 14).

In politics it must be admitted that Pliny was something of an opportunist. His disposition was easy-going, and in the
difficult times through which he lived, he took naturally the line of least resistance. Thus he enjoyed the favour alike of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan, and, although he sympathized with Corellius (i. 12) and the Stoic opposition (vii. 19) in their hatred of Domitian, he was not prepared to risk his personal safety. Of history other than that of his own time Pliny does not say much in these letters, but it is evident from his letter (viii. 24) to his friend Maximus, who had been appointed governor in Greece, that he possessed the sense of reverence for the past.

Pliny had a genuine interest in nature, learnt no doubt from his uncle. *Te quoque ut me nihil aeque ac naturae opera delectant* (viii. 20. 10), he writes to Gallus, with perhaps a touch of exaggeration. Still he had a true appreciation of rural scenery, as we see from his description of the ride to Laurentum (ii. 17. 2–3), and of the beauties of mountains and sea; he was delighted with the simple charms of the Clitumnus, and his mind often went back with loving recollection to the lake of Como; he was interested in the curious story of the dolphin of Hippo; but his full powers are put out in the classical description of the great eruption in vi. 16 and 20, though it is noticeable that when his uncle invited him to a nearer inspection ‘Respondi’, he says, ‘studere me malle’ (vi. 16. 7).

It has often been remarked that Pliny's circle of friends presents a striking contrast with the state of society reflected in the *Satires* of Juvenal. Yet Pliny's friends were contemporary with many of those whom Juvenal attacked; the two writers themselves lived during the same period, and probably began to write about the same time (Mommsen, *Pliny*, p. 7). The contrast, however, is intelligible from the different character and circumstances of the two men. Pliny was a good-natured aristocrat, with an assured position and a good income, and tended to take a somewhat rosy view of life;
Juvenal was an embittered man and gained his views of society only from a distance. It is unlikely that the two ever met. Moreover every age exhibits startling moral contrasts, and it is fortunate that in forming an estimate of Roman society we can balance Juvenal by the evidence of Pliny. In spite of the debaucheries of Nero and Domitian, there were no doubt many homes like Pliny's at Como, and thousands of honest and industrious people living pure and virtuous lives. Certainly no society could be regarded as hopeless which included men like Verginius, Tacitus, and Quintilian, and women like Fannia, Calpurnia, and Hispulla. The influence of such people was of incalculable value in the age of Trajan, which, witnessing as it did a revival of Roman society and the beginnings of the Christian Church, formed in some sense a link between the old world and the new.

Pliny's Province

The reorganization of the provinces was one of the first tasks taken in hand by Augustus after he became emperor. By the year 27 B.C. he produced a system which may be summarized as follows:

(a) Peaceful provinces were administered as before by the senate. The governor was called a pro-consul and had under him a quaestor to manage finance (cf. Tac. Agr. 6).

(b) Turbulent provinces and provinces on the frontiers of the empire, where a standing army was necessary, were administered by the emperor directly. The military governor was called a legatus Caesaris, the head of the finances had the title of procurator. Both these officers were responsible directly to the emperor.

(c) Certain districts were given to subjects—kings, or to procurators, subordinate to the governor of the nearest province.

The province over which Pliny was sent to preside was
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composite; Bithynia consisted of the country in the north of Asia Minor from the Rhyndacus to the Sangarius, which came to Rome by the will of a native prince 74 B.C.; in 65 B.C. after the third Mithridatic war Pompey formed it into a province along with the western part of Pontus as far as the Halys. The two districts formed one province, Bithynia-Pontus, but had separate capitals, that of Bithynia being Nicomedia (x. 33. i). For administrative purposes Bithynia was divided into twelve districts, Pontus into eleven. The population was mixed, partly Greek, partly Asiatic. Up to the time of Roman occupation Hellenism had not made much headway, but after the occupation it spread rapidly, and towns, which before had been few, increased. Under the Republic the province had been governed by a propraetor, but Augustus in 27 B.C. raised it to the rank of a full senatorial province, giving it a pro-consul and a quaestor for finance (cf. viii. 24. 8).

Bithynia had not been fortunate in its governors. In the reign of Tiberius, Granius Marcellus was accused of treason and extortion and convicted of the latter (Tac. Ann. i. 74), and in the early years of Trajan, Julius Bassus was accused of extortion by the province, and a commission was appointed to assess damages against him (cf. ii. xi), his 'acts' in the province being annulled. Pliny was counsel for the defence (A.D. 103). Three years later Varenus Rufus was accused by the province, and Pliny was again to have undertaken the defence, but the case was dropped. The emperor, however, thought it well to hold an inquiry into the state of the province, as a result of which he determined to take it, for the time at any rate, under his own control.

He chose Pliny as his representative and sent him out as legatus Augusti propraetore, consulari potestate. Pliny had evidently won the emperor's confidence as a man of judgement and ability, especially perhaps financial ability, who had already considerable knowledge of Bithynian affairs. The problems
which confronted him were mainly three, financial disorder, turbulence arising from unregulated *collegia* (clubs), and a want of due control over public works. The last two are those which specially concern us in these letters. Nicomedia had no fire-brigade nor any of the necessary appliances for putting out fires, and as a result an outbreak of fire had done great damage to public buildings (x. 33). But when Pliny suggested to the emperor the formation of a brigade, to be limited to 150 members, Trajan disallowed the suggestion. 'We must remember', he says (x. 34. 1), 'that the whole province and that community in particular have been disturbed by party organization of this kind.- Whatever name, no matter for what reason, we give to those who meet for the same purpose, they are bound to become dangerous clubs.' Trajan feared political incendiarism even more than physical, and apparently instructed Pliny to suppress all clubs (x. 96. 7).

The correspondence is interesting as showing the relation in which Pliny stood to the emperor. He writes to him in the tone of friendship, but always in official terms; Trajan's replies are invariably friendly, but short and business-like, occasionally containing a gentle rebuke. The outstanding feature about the letters is the seemingly trivial character of many of the matters brought to the emperor's notice. The formation of a fire-brigade, the closing of a sewer, the building of baths, such are some of the subjects. It is true that some of these matters, the fire-brigade for instance, were not as simple as they seem at first sight; it is true also that Bithynia was in a somewhat exceptional condition, and that Pliny was an exceptional correspondent; yet, when all allowances have been made, we have here a clear evidence of that tendency to bureaucracy and centralized government which steadily increased from the time of Trajan until ultimately it crushed all independent public life out of the empire.
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Pliny and the Christians

The Roman government at first tolerated Christianity as other Eastern cults, failing probably to distinguish it from Judaism (Acts xviii. 14-15, xxv. 18-20). On several occasions (Acts xxi. 33, xxiii. 10) St. Paul was protected by the Roman officials, and his appeal to the emperor was evidently made in the belief that it would secure him a fair hearing (Acts xxv. 11). He charged his converts to be loyal to the governor as the representative of God (Rom. xiii. 1-8). He regarded the empire as the barrier against the outbreak of the forces of evil (2 Thess. ii. 6-7).¹ In the Apocalypse, however, the attitude is entirely different. Imperial Rome appears as the counterpart of ancient Babylon, the scarlet woman drunk with the blood of the martyrs (Rev. xvii. 6); the sanctuary of Caesar is Satan's seat (Rev. ii. 13).²

The collision between Christianity and the Roman state was brought about by the great fire of A.D. 64 (see p. 13). Nero endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to shift the suspicion from himself to the Christians. Possibly information against them may have been laid by Jews; certainly it is at this time that we first have clear evidence of Jews and Christians being distinguished. The persecution that followed is referred to in Tac. Ann. xv. 44, Suet. Vit. Ner. 16, Clem. Rom. ad Cor. 6, and from this time forward 'the persecution of Christians became a standing one, as of brigands.' Christianity became a religio illicita, but the regulations against it were sometimes applied carelessly. Hence it is easy to understand that the more conscientious an emperor or a governor might be, the more likely he was to become a persecutor. Meanwhile the new faith spread rapidly.

Of the evangelization of Bithynia we have no details. It

¹ Cf. Milligan, St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, pp. 100-102.
was contemplated but not carried out by St. Paul on his second missionary journey (Acts xvi. 7), and we have no evidence of his going thither at any subsequent period of his life. There were Jews from Pontus who heard St. Peter's sermon on the Day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 9). There were Christians in Pontus and Bithynia (1 Pet. i. 1) when 1 Peter was written. It may be that Christianity came first to the eastern part of the province; it may have found its way from Ephesus. At all events by the time that Pliny writes (circa A.D. 112) the province as a whole was affected, both in town and country; on the other hand there were signs, at least so Pliny thought, of a return to the old religion.

Pliny wrote to tell the emperor the course he had adopted with regard to the Christians, and to ask if it was the right one. His procedure was as follows. The first people to be accused (x. 96) apparently all admitted the charge. Pliny put the question to them thrice, presumably at intervals, at the same time threatening them; when they persisted, those who were not Roman citizens he ordered to execution, those who had the citizenship he had entered on the roll as to be sent to Rome for trial. Then, while the matter was actually being dealt with, an anonymous accusation was lodged containing many names. Those who denied that they were or ever had been Christians Pliny compelled to repeat after him a formula of invocation to the state gods, and to offer incense and wine before the emperor's statue, and if they passed these tests he thought they might be released. A third list of names was submitted by a professed accuser. These said they had been Christians, and then denied it, some stating that they had ceased to be so three or more, some even twenty, years ago. These renegades also gave certain information as to the customs of the Christian society, as a result of which Pliny thought it well to try and extract further information by torture from two deaconesses. He found nothing, however, except a superstition
prava, inmodica (see notes on § 8). Hence his appeal to the emperor.

The points on which he asked the emperor's opinion were three. (1) Should the profession of Christianity itself be punished or the crimes associated therewith by popular rumour? (2) Should there be any discrimination on the ground of age or sex? (3) Should those who repent be pardoned?

This last question is the only one which Trajan answered directly; those who repent and show their repentance by conforming to Pliny's tests should be pardoned. The emperor adds that Pliny's procedure has been right, seeming to imply that, if the accused persisted in his profession, he should be punished, i.e. the profession, the nomen ipsum, should be punished. He says, further, that no universal rule can be laid down, by which he seems to leave it to the governor's discretion to take extenuating circumstances such as youth or sex into consideration. The fundamental principle he lays down is 'Conquirendi non sunt.' 'Christians are not to be hunted out', but, if they are brought to trial by a professed accuser and convicted, the law must take its course. Anonymous accusations he rules out as affording the worst of precedents and alien to the spirit of his reign (x. 97. 2).

This pronouncement has been read in two entirely different ways. The early fathers had a certain tenderness for Trajan, and claimed him as giving by this letter an edict of toleration, e.g. Tertullian, Apol. 5 Traianus ex parte frustratus est (i.e. persecution) vetando Christianos inquiri. Certain German critics on the other hand tend to regard Trajan as the first systematic persecutor. This latter view will certainly not stand investigation; not only does Trajan give no hint whatever that he is inaugurating a new policy, but to suppose such a thing is to make his rescript singularly vague and futile. Trajan, on the contrary, was eminently a man who knew his own mind and could express it. The upshot of the letter
is quite plain. The Christians were adherents of a forbidden religion; if they were properly accused and convicted, and proved unrepentant, they must be punished for obstinate contumacy (pertinacia). They were not, however, politically dangerous, contrary as their views might be to the Roman state; hence Trajan endeavoured to avoid executions of harmless people on a large scale, and left the carrying out of the law largely to the discretion of the governor.

Pliny's own attitude to the Christians was similar. Whether or not he at first attached any importance to popular reports about the Christians (flagitia cohaerentia, x. 96. 2), further examination convinced him that there was nothing criminal in the cult. Clearly neither Pliny nor Trajan believed the charges of incest and cannibalism (see note on § 2), which were popularly made against the Christian assemblies; Christianity, however, was a religio illicita, and those who persisted in it deserved their fate, if on no other ground, on that of pertinacia. At the same time Pliny is evidently hinting that lenient treatment, if it were possible, would not be out of place. He suggests the possibility of making allowance for youth and sex, and of regarding penitence as a ground of pardon (§ 2); he is confident that if this latter suggestion be adopted many could be won back to the state-religion (§ 10).

A word may perhaps be said here as to the use of the letter as evidence for the life of the Church in the early part of the second century. The paragraph Adfirmabant . . . vetueram (§ 7) is important as describing the Christian meetings of this period. But it must be borne in mind that the statements it contains are those of renegades. This fact does not discredit their account of what they did when they were Christians, the early morning meeting (for the Sunday Eucharist), the antiphonal singing, the vows, and then the later meeting of a social character, presumably the Agape. All this, when allowance has been made for possible misunderstandings on Pliny's part,
may be accepted as good evidence. But when it is argued that the Church gave up the Agape in consequence of Pliny's edict, the inference must be held to be at least doubtful.¹ The renegades simply say that, when they were Christians, all they did was to attend two meetings on a fixed day, and this they had given up in consequence of the edict. They had given up the Agape and in fact Christianity altogether, but we have no warrant from the text for saying that the Church gave up anything in consequence of Pliny's edict.²

¹ Lightfoot, *Ap. Fathers*, vol. i, p. 52, 'The later meeting, however, was suppressed after Trajan's edict forbidding clubs.' Ramsay, *Church in Roman Empire*, p. 219, 'This (the former meeting) Pliny accepts as strictly legal. The Christians abandoned the illegal meeting, but continued the legal one.'

² Cf. Cambridge Philological Society's Proceedings, October 1894, report of a paper read by Dr. J. A. Robinson.
C. PLINI CAECILI SECVNDI

EPISTVLAE
Ridebis, et licet rideas. Ego Plinius ille, quem nosti, apros tres et quidem pulcherrimos cepi. 'Ipse?' inquis. Ipse; non tamen ut omnino ab inertia mea et quiete discederem. Ad retia sedebam; erat in proximo non venabulum aut lancea, sed stilus et pugillares; meditabar aliquid enotabamque, ut, si manus vacuas, plenas tamen ceras reportarem. Non est, quod contemnas hoc studendi genus; mirum est, ut animus agitatio ne motuque corporis excitetur; iam undique silvae et solitudo ipsumque illud silentium, quod venationi datur, magna cogitatio nis incitamenta sunt. Proinde, cum venabere, licebit auctore me ut panarium et lagunculam sic etiam pugillares feras: experieris non Dianam magis montibus quam Minervam inerrare. Vale.

Mirum est, quam singulis diebus in urbe ratio aut constet aut constare videatur, pluribus iunctisque non constet. Nam, si quem interroges: 'Hodie quid egisti?' respondeat: 'Officio togae virilis interfui, sponsalia aut nuptias frequentavi, ille me ad signandum testamentum, ille in advocationem, ille in con-
silium rogavit.' Haec quo die feceris, necessaria, eadem, si cotidie fecisse te reperes, inania videntur, multo magis cum secesseris. Tunc enim subit recordatio: 'Quot dies quam frigidis rebus absumpsi!' Quod evenit mihi, postquam in Laurentino meo aut lego aliquid aut scribo aut etiam corpori vaco, cuius fulturis animus sustinetur. Nihil audio, quod audisse, nihil dico, quod dixisse paeniteat; nemo apud me quemquam sinistris sermonebus carpit, neminem ipse reprehendo, nisi tamen me, cum parum commode scribo; nulla spe, nullo timore sollicito, nullis rumoribus inquietor: mecum tantum et cum libellis loquor. O rectam sinceramque vitam, o dulce otium honestumque ac paene omni negotio pulchrius! O mare, o litus, verum secretumque μουσείων, quam multa invenitis, quam multa dictatis! Proinde tu quoque strepitum istum inanemque discursum et multum ineptos labores, ut primum fuerit occasio, relinque teque studiis vel otio trade. Satius est enim, ut Atilius noster eruditissime simul et facetissime dixit, otiosum esse quam nihil agere. Vale.

XII

C. PLINIUS CALESTRIO TIRONI SVO S.

Iacturam gravissimam feci, si iactura dicenda est tanti viri amissio. Decessit Corellius Rufus et quidem sponte, quod dolorem meum exulcerat. Est enim luctuosissimum genus mortis, quae non ex natura nec fatalis videtur. Nam utcumque in illis, qui morbo finiuntur, magnum ex ipsa necessitate solacium est; in iis vero, quos accersita mors aufert, hic insanabilis dolor est, quod creduntur potuisse diu vivere. Corellium quidem summa ratio, quae sapientibus pro necessitate est, ad hoc consilium compulit, quamquam plurimas vivendi causas habentem, optimam conscientiam, optimam famam, maximam auctoritatem, praeterea filiam, uxorem, nepotem, sorores interque tot pignora veros amicos. Sed tam longa, tam iniqua valetudine
conflictabatur, ut haec tanta pretia vivendi mortis rationibus vincerentur. Tertio et tricensimo anno, ut ipsum audiebam, pedum dolore correptus est. Patrius hic illi; nam plerumque morbi quoque per successiones quasdam ut alia traduntur. 5 Hunc abstinentia, sanctitate, quoad viridis aetas, vicit et fregit; novissime cum senectute ingrascentem viribus animi sustinebat, cum quidem incredibiles cruciatus et indignissima tormenta pateretur. Iam enim dolor non pedibus solis ut prius insidebat, sed omnia membra pervagabatur. Veni ad eum Domitiani temporibus in suburbano iacentem. Servi e cubiculo recesserunt: habebat hoc moris, quotiens intrasset fidelior amicus; quin etiam uxor quamquam omnis secreti capacissima digrediebat. Circumtulit oculos et 'cur' inquit 'me putas hos tantos dolores tam diu sustinere? ut scilicet isti latroni vel uno die supersim.' Dedisses huic animo par corpus, fecisset, quod optabat. Adfuit tamen deus voto, cuius illae compos ut iam securus liberque moriturus multa illa vitae, sed minora retina-cula abrupt. Increverat valetudo, quam temperantia mitigare temptavit; perseverantem constantia fugit. Iam dies alter, tertius, quartus: abstinebat cibo. Misit ad me uxor eius Hispul-la communem amicum C. Geminium cum tristissimo nuntio destinasse Corellium mori nec aut suis aut filiae precibus flecti, solum superesse me, a quo revocari posset ad vitam. Cucurri. 10 Perveneram in proximum, cum mihi ab eadem Hispulla Iulius Atticus nuntiat nihil iam ne me quidem impetraturum: tam obstinate magis ac magis induruisse. Dixerat sane medico admoventi cibum: Κέκρπκα, quae vox quantum admirationis in animo meo tantum desiderii reliquit. Cogito, quo amico, quo viro caream. Implevit quidem annum septimum et sexagensimum, quae aetas etiam robustissimis satis longa est; scio. Evasit perpetuam valetudinem; scio. Decessit superstiteibus suis, florente re publica, quae illi omnibus suis carior erat; et hoc scio. Ego tamen tamquam et iuvenis et fortissimi morte doleo, doleo autem (licet me imbecillum putes) meo nomine.

**XIII**

C. PLINIUS SOSIO SENECIONI SVO S.

Magnum proventum poetarum annus hic attulit: toto mense Aprili nullus fere dies, quo non recitaret aliquis. Iuvat me, quod vigent studia, proferunt se ingenia hominum et ostentant, tametsi ad audiendum pigre coitur. Plerique in stationibus sedent tempusque audiendi fabulis conterunt ac subinde sibi nuniari iubent, an iam recitator intraverit, an dixerit praefationem, an ex magna parte evolverit librum; tum demum ac tunc quoque lente cunctanterque veniunt nec tamen permanent, sed ante finem recedunt, ali dissimulanter et furtim, ali simpliciter et libere. At hercule memoria parentum Claudium Caesarem ferunt, cum in Palatio spatiaaretur audissetque clamorem, causam requisisse, cumque dictum esset recitare Nonianum, subitum recitanti inopinatumque venisse. Nunc otiosissimus quiaque multo ante rogatus et identidem admonitus aut non venit aut, si venit, queritur se diem, quia non perdiderit, perdidisse. Sed tanto magis laudandi probandique sunt, quos a scribendi recitandi studio haec auditorum desidia vel superbia non retardat. Equidem prope nemini defui. Erant sane plerique amici; neque enim est fere quisquam, qui studia, ut non simul et nos amet. His ex causis longius, quam destinaveram, tempus in urbe consumpsi. Possum iam repetere secessum et scribere aliquid, quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus adfui, non auditor
C. PLINI

fuisses, sed creditor. Nam ut in ceteris rebus ita in audiendo officio perit gratia, si reposcatur. Vale.

XV

C. PLINIVS SEPTICIO CLARO SVO S.

1 Heus tu, promittis ad cenam nec venis! Dicitur ius: ad as-
2 sem impendium reddes nec id modicum. Paratae erant lactu-
cae singulae, coehleae ternaee, ova bina, halica cum mulso et
nive (nam hanc quoque computabis, immo hanc in primis,
quae perit in ferculo), olivae, betacei, cucurbitae, bulbi, alia
mille non minus lauta. Audisses comoedos vel lectorem vel
3 lyristen vel, quae mea liberalitas, omnes. At tu apud nescio
quem ostrea, vulvas, echinos, Gaditanas maluisti. Dabis
poenas, non dico quas. Dure fecisti: invidisti, nescio an tibi,
certe mihi, sed tamen et tibi. Quantum nos lusissetemus,
4 risissemus, studuissemus! Potes adparatis cenare apud
multos, nusquam hilarius, simplicius, incautius. In summa
experire et, nisi postea te aliis potius excusaveris, mihi semper
excusa. Vale.

LIBER SECVNDVS

I

C. PLINIVS ROMANO SVO S.

1 Post aliquot annos insigne atque etiam memorabile populi
Romani oculis spectaculum exhibuit publicum funus Vergini
2 Rufi, maximi et clarissimi civis et perinde felicis. Triginta
annis gloriae suae supervixit; legit scripta de se carmina, legit
historias et posteritati suae interfuit. Perfunctus est tertio
consulatu, ut summum fastigium privati hominis impleret, cum
3 principis noluisset. Caesares, quibus suspectus atque etiam
invisus virtutibus fuerat, evasit, reliquit incolumem optimum
atque amicissimum, tamquam ad hunc ipsum honorem publici
funeris reservatus. Annum tertium et octogensimum excessit in altissima tranquillitate, pari veneratione. Vsus est firma valetudine, nisi quod solembat ei manus tremere, citra dolorem tamen. Aditus tantum mortis durior longiorque, sed hic ipse laudabilis. Nam, cum vocem praepararet acturus in consulatu principi gratias, liber, quem forte acceperat grandiorem, et seni et stanti ipso pondere elapsus est. Hunc dum sequitur colligitque, per leve et lubricum pavimentum fellente vestigio cecidit coxamque fregit, quae parum apte collocata reluctante aetate male coiit. Huius viri exequiae magnum ornamentum principi, magnum saeculo, magnum etiam foro et rostris attulerunt. Laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito; nam hic supremus felicitati eius cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus. Et ille quidem plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam, quos recusavit: nobis tamen quaerendus ac desiderandus est ut exemplar aevi prioris, mihi vero praecipue, qui illum non solum publice quantum admirabat tantum diligebam; primum quod utrique eadem regio, municipia finitima, agri etiam possessionesque coniunctae, praeterea quod ille mihi tutor relictus adfectum parentis exhibuit. Sic candidatum me suffragio ornavit, sic ad omnes honores meos ex secessibus accucurrit, cum iam pridem eiusmodi officiis renuntiasset, sic illo die, quo sacerdotes solent nominare, quos dignissimos sacerdotio iudicant, me semper nominabat. Quin etiam in hac novissima valetudine veritus, ne forte inter quinqueviros crearetur, qui minuendis publicis sumptibus iudicio senatus constituebantur, cum illi tot amici senes consularesque superessent, me huius aetatis, per quem excusaretur, elegit his quidem verbis: 'Etiam si filium haberem, tibi mandarem.' Quibus ex causis necesse est tamquam inmaturam mortem eius in sinu tuo defleam, si tamen fas est aut flere aut omnino mortem vocare, qua tanti viri mortalitas magis finita quam vita est. Vivit enim vivetque semper atque etiam latius in memoria hominum et sermone versabitur, postquam ab oculis recessit.
12 Volui tibi multa alia scribere, sed totus animus in hac una contemplatione defixus est. Verginium cogito, Verginium video, Verginium iam vanis imaginibus, recentibus tamen, audio, adloquor, teneo; cui fortasse cives aliquos virtutibus pares et habemus et habebimus, gloria neminem. Vale.

VI

C. PLINIUS AVITO SVO S.

1 Longum est altius repetere, nec refert, quemadmodum acciderit, ut homo minime familiaris cenarem apud quendam, ut sibi videbatur, laudum et diligentem, ut mihi, sordidum simul et sumptuosum. Nam sibi et paucis opima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta ponebat. Vinum etiam parvulis lagunculis in tria genera discipserat, non ut potestas eligendi, sed ne ius esset recusandi, aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis (nam gradatim amicos habet), aliud suis nostrisque libertis.

2 Animadvertit, qui mihi proximus recumbebat, et, an probarem, interrogavit. Negavi. 'Tu ergo' inquit 'quam consuetudinem sequeris?' 'Eadem omnibus pono; ad cenam enim, non ad notam invito cunctisque rebus exaequo, quos mensa et toro aequavi.' 'Etiamne libertos?' 'Etiam; convictores enim tunc, non libertos puto.' Et ille: 'Magno tibi constat;' 'Minime.' 'Qui fieri potest?' 'Quia scilicet liberti mei non idem quod ego bibunt, sed idem ego quod liberti.' Et hercule, si gulae temperes, non est onerosum, quo utaris, ipse communicare cum pluribus. Illa ergo reprimenda, illa quasi inordinem redigenda est, si sumptibus parcas, quibus aliquanto rectius tua continentia quam aliena contumelia consulas.

3 Quorsus haec? ne tibi, optimae indolis iuveni, quorundam in mensa luxuria specie frugalitatis inponat. Convenit autem amori in te meo, quotiens tale aliquid inciderit, sub exemplo praemonere, quid debeas fugere. Igitur memento nihil magis esse vitandum quam istam luxuriae et sordium novam socie-
tatem; quae cum sint turpissima discreta ac separata, turpius iunguntur. Vale.

XI

C. PLINIVS ARRIANO SVO S.

Solet esse gudio tibi, si quid actum est in senatu dignum ordine illo. Quamvis enim quietis amore secesseris, insidet tamen animo tuo maiestatis publicae cura. Accipe ergo, quod per hos dies actum est personae claritate famosum, severitate exempli salubre, rei magnitudine aeternum. Marius Priscus accusantibus Afris, quibus pro consule praefuit, omissa defensione iudices petiit. Ego et Cornelius Tacitus adesse provincialibus iussi existimavimus fidei nostrae convenire notum senatui facere excessisse Priscum inmanitate et saevitia crimina, quibus dari iudices possent, cum ob innocentes condemnandos, interficiendo etiam, pecunias accepisset. Respondit Fronto Catius deprecatusque est, ne quid ultra repetundarum legem quaeeretur, omnium actionis suae vela vir movendarum lacrimarum peritissimus quoddam velut vento miserationis implavit. Magna contentio, magni utrimque clamosi aliis cognitionem senatus lege conclusam, aliis liberam solutamque dicentibus, quantumque admisisset reus, tantum vindicandum. Novissime consul designatus Iulius Ferox, vir rectus et sanctus, Mario quidem iudices interim censuit dandos, evocandos autem, quibus dicetur innocentium poenas vendidisse. Quae sententia non praevaluit modo, sed omnino post tantas dissensiones fuit sola frequens, adnotatumque experimentis, quod favor et misericordia acres et vehementes primos impetus habent, paulatim consilio et ratione quasi restincta considunt. Vnde evenit, ut, quod multi clamore permixto tuentur, nemo tacentibus ceteris dicere velit; patiescit enim, cum separatis a turba, contemplatio rerum, quae turba teguntur. Venerunt, qui adesse erant iussi, Vitellius Honoratus et Flavius Marcianus; ex quibus Honoratus trecentis milibus exilium equitis Romanis.
septemque amicorum eius ultimam poenam, Marcianus unius equitis Romani septingentis milibus plura supplicia arguebatur emisse; erat enim fustibus caesus, damnatus in metallum, strangulatus in carcere. Sed Honoratum cognitioni senatus mors opportuna subtraxit, Marcianus inductus est absente Prisco. Itaque Tuccius Cerialis consularis iure senatorio postulavit, ut Priscus certior fieret, sive quia miserabiliorem, sive quia invidiosiorem fore arbitrabatur, si praesens fuisset, sive, quod maxime credo, quia aequissimum erat commune crimen ab utroque defendi et, si dilui non potuisset, in utroque puniri. Dilata res est in proximum senatum, cuius ipse conspicuum Augustissimum fuit. Princeps praesidebat (erat enim consul), ad hoc Ianuarius mensis cum cetera tum praecipue senatorum frequentia celeberrimus; praeterea causae amplitudo auctaque dilatione expectatio et fama insitumque mortali- bus studium magna et inuisitata noscendi omnes undique exciverat. Imaginare, quae sollicitudo nobis, qui metus, quibus super tanta re in illo coetu praesente Caesare dicendum erat. Equidem in senatu non semel egi, quin immo nusquam audiri benignius solem: tunc me tamen ut nova omnia novo metu permovemant. Obversabatur praeter illa, quae supra dixi, causae difficultas: stabat modo consularis, modo septemvir epulonum, iam neutrum. Erat ergo perquam onerosum accusare damnatum, quem ut premebat atrocitas criminis, ita quasi peractae damnationis miseratio tuebatur. Vtcumque tamen animum cogitationemque collegi, coepi dicere non minore audientium adsensu quam sollicitudine mea. Dixi horis paene quinque; nam duodecim clepsydris, quas spatiosissimas accep- peram, sunt additae quattuor. Adeo illa ipsa, quae dura et adversa dicturo videbantur, secunda dicenti fuerunt. Caesar quidem tantum mihi studium, tantam etiam curam (nimium est enim dicere sollicitudinem) praestitit, ut libertum meum post me stantem saepius admoerneret voci laterique consulerem, cum me vehementius putaret intendi, quam gracilitas mea
Hic finis cognitionis amplissimae. Superest tamen λυτογραίου non leve, Hostilius Firminus, legatus Mari Prisci, qui permixtus causae graviter vehementerque vexatus est. Nam et rationibus Marciani et sermone, quem ille habuerat in ordine Leptitano-rum, operam suam Prisco ad turpissimum ministerium commodasse stipulatuumque de Marciano quinquaginta milia dena-riorum probabatur, ipse praeterea accepisse sestertia decem milia foedissimo quidem titulo, nomine 'unguentarii', qui titulus a vita hominis compiti semper et pumicati non abhor-24 rebat. Placuit censente Cornuto referri de eo proximo senatu; tunc enim, casu incertum an conscientia, aferat.

Habes res urbanas: invicem rusticas scribe. Quid arbusculae tuae, quid vineae, quid segetes agunt, quid oves delicatissimae? In summa, nisi aeque longam epistulam reddis, non est, quod postea nisi brevissimam expectes. Vale.

XIV

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SVO S.

Verum opinaris: distingor centumviralibus causis, quae me exercent magis quam delectant. Sunt enim pleraeque parvae et exiles: raro incidit vel personarum claritate vel negotii magnitudine insignis. Ad hoc perpauci, cum quibus iuvet dicere, ceteri audaces atque etiam magna ex parte adulescentuli obscuri ad declarandum huc transierunt tam inreverenter et temere, ut mihi Atilius noster expresse dixisse videatur sic in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari ut ab Homero in scholis. Nam hic quoque ut illic primum coepit esse, quod maximum est. At hercule ante memoriam meam (ita maiores natu solent dicere) ne nobilissimis quidem adulescentulis locus erat nisi aliquo consulari producente: tanta veneratione pul-

cherrimum opus colebatur. Nunc refractis pudoris et reverentiae claustris omnia patent omnibus, nec inducuntur, sed inrumpunt. Sequuntur auditores actoribus similes, conducti
enim, ne forte non has indignitates reliquisses, sed laborem fugisse videamur. Sumus tamen solito rariores, quod initium est gradatim desinendi. Vale.

XVII

C. PLINIVS GALLO SVO S.

1 Miraris, cur me Laurentinum vel, si ita mavis, Laurens meum tanto opere delectet: desines mirari, cum cognoveris gratiam villae, opportunitatem loci, litoris spatium. Decem et septem milibus passuum ab urbe secessit, ut peractis, quae agenda fuerint, salvo iam et composito die possis ibi manere. Aditur non una via; nam et Laurentina et Ostiensis eodem ferunt, sed Laurentina a quarto decimo lapide, Ostiensis ab undecimo relinquenda est. Vtrimque excipit iter aliqua ex parte harenosum iunctis paulo gravius et longius, equo breve et molle. Varia hinc atque inde facies; nam modo occurrentibus silvis via coartatur, modo latissimis pratis diffunditur et patescit; multi greges ovium, multa ibi equorum, boum armamenta, quae montibus hieme depulsa herbis et tepore verno nitescunt. Villa usibus capax, non sumptuosa tutela. Cuius in prima parte atrium frugi nec tamen sordidum, deinde porticus in D litterae similitudinem circumactae, quibus parvula, sed festiva area includitur. Egregium hae adversus tempestates receptaculum; nam specularibus ac magis inminentibus tectis muniuntur. Est contra medias cavaedium hilare, mox triclinium satis pulchrum, quod in litus excurrit ac, si quando Africo mare inpulsum est, fractis iam et novissimis fluctibus leviter adluitur. Vndique valvas aut fenestras non minores valvis habet atque ita a lateribus, a fronte quasi tria maria prospectat; a tergo cavaedium, porticum, aream, porticum rursus, mox atrium, silvas et longinquos respicit montes. Huius a laeva retractius paulo cubiculum est amplum, deinde alium minus, quod altera fenestra admittit orientem, occidentem altera
retinet, hac et subiacens mare longius quidem, sed securius intuetur. Huius cubiculi et triclinii illius objectu includitur angulus, qui purissimum solem continet et accendit. Hoc hibernaculum, hoc etiam gymnasio meorum est; ibi omnes silent venti exceptis, qui nubilum inducunt et serenum ante quam usum loci eripiunt. Adnectitur angulo cubiculi in hapsida curvatum, quod ambitum solis fenestris omnibus sequitur. Parieti eius in bibliothecae speciem armarium insertum est, quod non legendos libros, sed lectitandos capit. Adhaeret dormitorium membrum transitu interiacente, qui suspensus et tubulatus conceptum vaporem salubri temperamento huc illuc digerit et ministrat. Reliqua pars lateris huius servorum libertorumque usibus detineturplerisque tam mundis, ut accipere hospites possint. Ex alio latere cubiculi est politissimum; deinde vel cubiculum grande vel modica cenatio, quae plurimo sole, plurimo mari lucet; post hanc cubiculum cum prococetone, altitudine aestivum, munimentis hibernum; est enim subductum omnibus ventis. Huic cubiculo aliud et procoetone communi pariete iunguntur. Inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effusa, cuius in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria velut eicta sinuantur, abunde capacia, si mare in proximo cogites. Adiacet unctorium, hypocauston, adiacet propnigeon balinei, mox duae cellae magis elegantes quam sumptuosae; cohaeret calida piscina mirifica, ex qua natantes mare adspiciunt, nec procul sphaeristerium, quod calidissimo soli inclinato iam die occurrit. Hic turris erigitur, sub qua diaetae duae, totidem in ipsa, praeterea cenatio, quae latissimum mare, longissimum litus, villas amoenissimas prospicit. Est et alia turris. In hac cubiculum, in quo sol nascitur conditurque, lata post apotheca et horreum, sub hoc triclinium, quod turbati maris non nisi fragorem et sonum patitur eumque iam languidum ac desinentem; hortum et gestationem videt, qua hortus includitur. Gestatio buxo aut rore marino, ubi deficit buxus, ambitur; nam buxus, qua parte defenditur tectis, abunde viret; aperto caelo apertoque vento
et quamquam longinquaque aspergine maris inaurescit. Adiacet
gestationi interiore circumitu vinea tenera et umbrosa nudisque
etiam pedibus mollis et cedens. Hortum morus et ficus frequens
vestit, quorum arborum illa vel maxime ferax terra est, malignior
ceteris. Hac non deteriore quam maris facie cenatio
remota a mari fruitur, cingitur diaetis duabus a tergo, quorum
fenestris subiacet vestibulum villae et hortus alius pinguis et
rusticus. Hinc cryptoporticus prope publici operis extenditur.
Vtrimque fenestrae, a mari plures, ab horto singulae, et alternis
pauciores. Hae, cum serenus dies et inmotus, omnes, cum
hinc vel inde ventis inquietus, quae venti quiescunt, sine
inuria patent. Ante cryptoporticum xystus violis odoratus.
Teporem solis infusi repercussu cryptoporticus auget, quae ut
tenet solem sic aquilonem inhibit summovetque, quantumque caloris ante
tantum retro frigoris. Similiter Africum sittit atque ita diversissimos
ventos alium alio latere frangit et finit. Haec iucundi-
tas eius hieme, maior aestate. Nam ante meridiem xystum,
post meridiem gestationis hortique proximam partem umbra
sua temperat, quae, ut dies crevit decrevitve, modo brevior,
modo longior hac vel illa cadit. Ipsa vero cryptoporticus tum
maxime caret sole, cum ardentissimus culmini eius insistit. Ad
hoc patentibus fenestris favorius accipit transmittitque nec
umquam aere pigro et manente ingravescit. In capite xysti
deinceps diaeta est, amores mei, re vera amores: ipse posui.
In hac heliocaminus quidem alia xystum, alia mare, utraque
solem, cubiculum autem valvis cryptoporticum, fenestra prospi-
cit qua mare. Contra parietem medium zotheca perquam eleganter
recedit, quae specularibus et velis obductis reductisve
modo adicitur cubiculo, modo aufertur. Lectum et duas
cathedras capi; a pedibus mare, a tergo villae, a capite silvae:
tot facies locorum totidem fenestris et distinguat et miscet.
Iunctum est cubiculum noctis et somni. Non illud voces servulorum,
non maris murmure, non tempestatum motus, non fulgurum lumen ac ne diem quidem sentit nisi fenestris apertis.
Tam alti abditique secreti illa ratio, quod interiacens andron parietes cubiculi hortique distinguat atque ita omnem sonum media inanitate consumit. Adplicitum est cubiculo hypocauston perexiguum, quod angusta fenestra suppositum calorem, ut ratio exigit, aut effundit aut retinet. Procoeton inde et cubiculum porrigitur in solem, quem orientem statim exceptum ultra meridiem obliquum quidem, sed tamen servat. In hanc ego diaetam cum me recepi, abesse mihi etiam a villa mea videor magnamque eius voluntatem praecipue Saturnalibus capio, cum reliqua pars tecti licentia dierum festisque clamoribus personat; nam nec ipse meorum lusibus nec illi studiis meis obstrepunt. Haec utilitas, haec amoenitas deficitur aqua salienti, sed puteos ac potius fontes habet; sunt enim in summo. Et omnino litoris illius mira natura: quocumque loco moveris humum, obvius et paratus umor occurrit isque sincerus ac ne leviter quidem tanta maris vicinitate corruptus. Suggestat adfatim ligna proximae silvae; ceteras copias Ostiensis colonia ministrat. Frugi quidem homini sufficit etiam vicus, quem una villa discernit. In hoc balinea meritoria tria, magna commoditas, si forte balineum domi vel subitus adventus vel brevior mora calfacere dissuadeat. Litus ornat varietate grattissima nunc continua, nunc intermissa tecta villarum, quae praestant multarum urbium faciem, sive mari sive ipso litore utare; quod non numquam longa tranquillitas mollit, saepius frequens et contrarius fluctus indurat. Mare non sane pretiosus piscibus abundat, soleas tamen et squillas optimas egerit. Villa vero nostra etiam mediterraneas copias praestat, lac in primis; nam illuc e pasquis pecora conveniunt, si quando aquam umbramque sectantur.


Aurelia, ornata femina, signatura testamentum sumpserat pulcherrimas tunicas. Regulus cum venisset ad signandum,
'Rogo' inquit 'has mihi leges'. Aurelia ludere hominem putabat, ille serio instabat; ne multa, coegit mulierem aperire tabulas ac sibi tunicas, quas erat induta, legare; observavit scribentem, inspexit, an scripsisset. Et Aurelia quidem vivit, ille tamen istud tamquam morituram coegit. Et hic hereditates, hic legata, quasi mereatur, accipit.

'Αλλὰ τί διατείνομαι in ea civitate, in qua iam pridem non minora praemia, immo maiora nequitia et improbitas quam pudor et virtus habent? Adspice Regulum, qui ex paupere et tenui ad tantas opes per flagitia processit, ut ipse mihi dixerit, cum consuleret, quam cito sestertium sescenties impleturus esset, invenisse se exta duplicata, quibus portendi milies et ducenties habiturum. Et habebit, si modo, ut coepit, aliena testamenta, quod est improbissimum genus falsi, ipsis, quorum sunt illa, dictaverit. Vale.

LIBER TERTIVS

I

C. PLINIVS CALVISIO RVFO SVO S.

Nescio, an ullum iucundius tempus exegerim, quam quo nu per apud Spurinnam fui, adeo quidem, ut neminem magis in senectute, si modo senescere datum est, aemulari velim; nihil est enim illo vitae genere distinctius. Me autem ut certus siderum cursus ita vita hominum disposita delectat, senum praesertim. Nam iuvenes confusa adhuc quaedam et quasi turbata non indecent, senibus placida omnia et ordinata conveniunt, quibus industria sera, turpis ambitio est. Hanc regulam Spurinna constantissime servat; quin etiam parva haec, parva, si non cotidie fiant, ordine quodam et velut orbe circumagat. Mane lectulo continetur, hora secunda calceos poscit, ambulat milia passuum tria nec minus animum quam corpus exercet. Si adsunt amici, honestissimi sermones explicantur, si non, liber legitur, interdum etiam praesentibus
amicis, si tamen illi non gravantur. Deinde considit, et liber
rursus aut sermo libro potior; mox vehiculum ascendit, ad-
sumit uxorem singularis exempli vel aliquem amicorum ut
me proxime. Quam pulchrum illud, quam dulce secretum! quan-
tum ibi antiquitatis! quae facta, quos viros audias! quibus
praeeptis imbuare! quamvis ille hoc temperamentum modestiae
suae indixerit, ne praecipere videatur. Peractis septem mili-
bus passuum iterum ambulat mille, iterum residit vel se cubiculo ac
stilo reddit. Scribit enim et quidem utraque lingua lyrica do-
ctissima; mira illis dulcedo, mira suavitas, mira hilaritas, cuius
gratiam cumulat sanctitas scribentis. Vbi hora balinei nuntiata
est (est autem hieme nona, aestate octava), in sole, si caret
vento, ambulat nudus. Deinde movetur pila vehementer et
diu; nam hoc quoque exercitationis genere pugnat cum sene-
cute. Lotus accubat et paulisper cibum differt; interim audit
legentem remissius aliquid et dulcius. Per hoc omne tempus
liberum est amicis vel eadem facere vel alia, si malint. Ad-
ponitur cena non minus nitida quam frugi in argento puro et
antiquo; sunt in usu et Corinthia, quibus delectatur nec
adficitur. Frequenter comoedis cena distinguitur, ut voluptates
quoque studiis condiantur. Sumit aliquid de nocte et aestate:
nemini hoc longum est; tanta comitate convivium trahitur.
Inde illi post septimum et septuagensimum annum aurium,
oculorum vigor integer, inde agile et vividum corpus solaque
ex senectute prudentia. Hanc ego vitam voto et cogitatione
praesumo ingressurus avidissime, ut primum ratio aetatis re-
ceptui canere permiserit. Interim mille laboribus conteror,
quorum mihi et solacium et exemplum est idem Spurinna;
nam ille quoque, quoad honestum fuit, obiit officia, gessit
magistratus, provincias rexit multoque labore hoc otium meruit.
Igitur eundem mihi cursum, eundem terminum statuo idque
iam nunc apud te subsigno, ut, si me longius evehi videris,
in ius voces ad hanc epistulam meam et quiescere iubeas, cum
inertiae crimen effugero. Vale.
EPISTULARVM III. 1, 5

C. PLINIVS BAEBIO MACRO SVO S.

Pergratum est mihi, quod tam diligenter libros avunculi mei lectitas, ut habere omnes velis quaerasque, qui sint omnes. Fungar indicis partibus atque etiam, quo sint ordine scripti, notum tibi faciam; est enim haec quoque studiosis non inu-cunda cognitio. ‘De iaculatione equestri unus’; hunc, cum praefectus alae militaret, pari ingenio curaque compositum. ‘De vita Pomponi Secundi duo’; a quo singulariter amatus hoc memoriae amici quasi debitum munus exsolvit. ‘Bellorum Germaniae viginti’; quibus omnia, quae cum Germanis gessimus bella, collegit. Inchoavit, cum in Germania militaret, somnio monitus: adstitit ei quiescenti Drusi Neronis effigies, qui Germaniae latissime victor ibi perit, commendabat memoriam suam orabatque, ut se ab iniuria oblivionis adsereret. ‘Studiosi tres’, in sex volumina propter amplitudinem divisi, quibus oratorem ab incunabulis instituit et perfecit. ‘Dubii sermonis octo’ scripsit sub Nerone novissimis annis, cum omne studiorum genus paulo liberius et erectius periculosum servitus fecisset. ‘A fine Aufidi Bassi triginta unus.’ ‘Naturae historiarum triginta septem’, opus diffusum, eruditum nec minus varium quam ipsa natura. Miraris, quod tot volumina multaque in his tam scrupulosa homo absolverit, magis miraberis, si scieris illum aliquandiu causas actitasse, decessisse anno sexto et quinquagensimo, medium tempus distantum impeditumque qua officis maximis qua amicitia principum egisse. Sed erat acre ingenium, incredibile studium, summa vigilantia. Lucubrare Vulcanalibus incipiebat, non auspicandi causa, sed studendi, statim a nocte multa, hieme vero ab hora septima vel, cum tardissime, octava, saepe sexta. Erat sane somni paratissimi, non numquam etiam inter ipsa studia instantis et deserentis. Ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem (nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur), inde ad delegatum sibi officium. Reversus domum, quod
C. PLINI

10 reliquum temporis, studiis reddébat. Post cibum nempe, quem interdiu levem et facilem veterum more sumebat, aestate, si quid otii, iacebat in sole, liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpe-
batque. Nihil enim legit, quod non excerperet; dicere etiam
solebat nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliquia parte
prodesset. Post solem plerumque frigida lavabatur, deinde
gustabat dormiebatque minimum; mox quasi alio die studebat
in cenae tempus. Super hanc liber legebatur, adnotabatur et
quidem cursim. Memini quendam ex amicis, cum lector
quaedam perperam pronuntiasset, revocasse et repeti coegisse;
huic avunculum meum dixisse: 'Intellexeras nempe.' Cum
ille adnuisset, 'Cur ergo revocabas? decem amplius versus hac
tua interpellatione perdidimus.' Tanta erat parsimonia tem-
poris. Surgebat aestate a cena luce, hieme intra primam noctis
et tamquam aliqua lege cogente. Haec inter medios labores
urbisque fremitum; in secessu solum balinei tempus studiis
eximebatur: cum dico balinei, de interioribus loquor; nam,
dum destringitur tergiturque, audiebat aliquid aut dictabat. In
itinere quasi solutus ceteris curis huic uni vacabat: ad latus
notarius cum libro et pugillaribus, cuius manus hieme manicis
muniebantur, ut ne caeli quidem asperitas ullum studiis tempus
eriperet; qua ex causa Romae quoque sella vehebatur. Repeto
me correptum ab eo, cur ambularem: 'poteras' inquit 'has
horas non perdere'; nam perire omne tempus arbitrabatur,
quod studiis non impertiretur. Hac intentione tot ista volumina
peregit electorumque commentarios centum sexaginta mihi
reliquit, opistographos quidem et minutissimis scriptos; qua
ratione multiplicatur hic numerus. Referebat ipse potuisse se,
cum procuraret in Hispania, vendere hos commentarios Larcio
Licinio quadringentis milibus nummum, et tunc aliquanto pau-
ciores erant. Nonne videtur tibi recordanti, quantum legerit,
quantum scripserit, nec in officiis ullis nec in amicitia principis
fuisse, rursus, cum audis, quid studiis laboris impenderit, nec
scripsisse satis nec legisse? Quid est enim, quod non aut illae
occupationes impedire aut haec instantia non possit efficere?
Itaque soleo ridere, cum me quidam studiosum vocant, qui, si 19
comparer illi, sum desidiosissimus. Ego autem tantum, quem
partim publica, partim amicorum officia distingunt? quis ex
istis, qui tota vita litteris adsident, collatus illi non quasi somno
et inertiae deditus erubescat?

Extendi epistulam, cum hoc solum, quod requirebas, scribere 20
destinassem, quos libros reliquisset; confido tamen haec quoque
tibi non minus grata quam ipsos libros futura, quae te non
tantum ad legendos eos, verum etiam ad simile aliquid elabo-
randum possunt aemulationis stimulis excitare. Vale.

XVI

C. PLINIVS NEPOTI SVO S.

Adnotasse videor facta dictaque virorum feminarumque alia 1
clariora esse, alia maiora. Confirmata est opinio mea hesterno 2
Fanniae sermone. Neptis haec Arriae illius, quae marito et sola-
cium mortis et exemplum fuit. Multa referebat aviae suae non
minora hoc, sed obscuriora; quae tibi existimo tam mirabilia
legenti fore, quam mihi audienti fuerunt. Aegrotabat Caecina 3
Paetus, maritus eius, aegrotabat et filius, uterque mortifere, ut
videbatur. Filius decessit eximia pulchritudine, pari verecundia
et parentibus non minus ob alia carus, quam quod filius erat.
Huic illa ita funus paravit, ita duxit exequias, ut ignoraret mari-
tus; quin immo, quotiens cubiculum eius intraret, vivere filium
atque etiam commodiorem esse simulabat ac persaepe interro-
ganti, quid ageret puer, respondebat: ‘Bene quievit, libenter
cibum sumpsit.’ Deinde, cum diu cohibitae lacrimae vincerent 5
prorumperentque, egrediebatur: tum se dolori dabat; satiata
siccis oculis, composito vultu redibat, tamquam orbitatem foris
reliquisset. Praeclarum quidem illud eiusdem, ferrum stringere, 6
perfodere pectus, extrahere pugionem, porrigere marito, addere
vocem inmortalem ac paene divinam: ‘Paete, non dolet.’ Sed
tamen ista facienti, dicenti gloria et aeternitas ante oculos erant; quo maius est sine praemio aeternitatis, sine praemio gloriae abdere lacrimas, operire luctum amissaque filio matrem adhuc agere. Scribonianus arma in Illyrico contra Claudium moverat; fuerat Paetus in partibus, occiso Scriboniano Romam trahebat. Erat ascensurus navem. Arria milites orabat, ut simul imponeretur. 'Nempe enim' inquit 'daturi estis consulari viro servulos aliquos, quorum e manu cibum capiat, a quibus vestiatur, a quibus calcietur; omnia sola praestabo.' Non impetravit: conduxit piscatoriam naviculam ingensque navigium minimo secuta est. Eadem apud Claudium uxori Scriboniani, cum illa profiteretur indicium, 'Ego' inquit 'te audiam, cuius in gremio Scribonianus occisus est, et vivis?' Ex quo manifestum est ei consilium pulcherrimae mortis non subitum fuisse. Quin etiam, cum Thrasea, gener eius, deprecaretur, ne mori pergeret, interque alia dixisset: 'Vis ergo filiam tuam, si mihi pereundum fuerit, mori mecum?' respondit: 'Si tam diu tantaque concordia vixerit tecum quam ego cum Paeto, volo.' Auxerat hoc responso curam suorum, attentius custodiebat: sensit et 'Nihil agitis' inquit; 'potestis enim efficere, ut male moriar, ut non moriar, non potestis.' Dum haec dicit, exiluit cathedra adversoque parieti caput ingenti impetu impigit et corruit. Focilata 'Dixeram' inquit 'vobis inventuram me quamlibet duram ad mortem viam, si vos facilem negassetis.' Videnturne haec tibi maiora illo 'Paete, non dolet', ad quod per haec perventum est? cum interim illud quidem ingens fama, haec nulla circumfert. Vnde colligitur, quod initio dixi, alia esse clariora, alia maiora. Vale.

XXI

C. PLINIUS CORNELIO PRISCO SVO S.

1 Audio Valerium Martialem decessisse et moleste fero. Erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et
2 salis haberet et fellis nec candoris minus. Prosecutus eram
viatico secedentem; dederam hoc amicitiae, dederam etiam versiculis, quos de me compositi. Fuit moris antiqui eos, qui vel singulorum laudes vel urbium scripserant, aut honoribus aut pecunia ornare; nostris vero temporibus ut alia speciosa et egregia ita hoc in primis exolevit. Nam, postquam desiimus facere laudanda, laudari quoque ineptum putamus. Quaeris, qui sint versiculi, quibus gratiam rettuli. Remitterem te ad ipsum volumen, nisi quosdam tenerem; tu, si placuerint hi, ceteros in libro requires. Adloquitur Musam, mandat, ut domum meam Esquiliis quaerat, adeat reverenter:

Sed ne tempore non tuo disertam pulses ebria ianuam, videto. Totos dat tetricae dies Minervae, dum centum studet auribus virorum hoc, quod saecula posterique possint Arpinis quoque comparare chartis. Seras tutor ibis ad lucernas: haec hora est tua, cum furit Lyaeus, cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli. Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

Meritone eum, qui haec de me scripsit, et tunc dimisi amicis-sime et nunc ut amicissimum defunctum esse doleo? Dedit enim mihi, quantum maximum potuit, daturus amplius, si potuisset. Tametsi quid homini potest dari maius quam gloria et laus et aeternitas harum? At non erunt aeterna, quae scripsit: non erunt fortasse, ille tamen scripsit, tamquam essent futura. Vale.

LIBER QVARTVS

II

C. PLINIUS ATTIO CLEMENTI SVO S.

REGVLVS filium amisit hoc uno malo indignus, quod nescio an malum putet. Erat puer acris ingenii, sed ambigui, qui

VII

Saepe tibi dico inesse vim Regulo. Mirum est, quam efficiat, in quod incubuit. Placuit ei lugere filium: luget ut nemo; placuit statuas eius et imagines quam plurimas facere: hoc omnibus officinis agit, illum coloribus, illum cera, illum aere, illum argento, illum auro, ebore, marmore effingit. Ipse vero et nuper adhibito ingenti auditorio librum de vita eius recitavit, de vita pueri, recitavit tamen; eundem librum in exemplaria mille transscriptum per totam Italiam provinciasque dimisit. Scripsit publice, ut a decurionibus eligeretur vocalis-

XIII

C. PLINIVS CORNELIO TACITO SVO S.

Salvum te in urbem venisse gaudeo; venisti autem, si quando alias, nunc maxime mihi desideratus. Ipse pauculis adhuc diebus in Tusculano commorabor, ut opusculum, quod est in manibus, absolvam. Vereor enim, ne, si hanc intentionem iam in fine laxavero, aegre resumam. Interim, ne quid festinationi meae pereat, quod sum praesens petiturus, hac quasi praecursoria epistula rogo. Sed prius accipe causas rogandi, deinde ipsum, quod peto. Proxime cum in patria mea fui, venit ad me salutandum municipis mei filius praetextatus. Huic ego 'Studes?' inquam. Respondit: 'Etiam.' 'Vbi?' 'Medio-
lani.' 'Cur non hic?' Et pater eius (erat enim una atque etiam ipse adduxerat puerum): 'Quia nullos hic praecoepores habemus.' 'Quare nullos? nam vehementer intererat vestra, qui patres estis;' (et opportune complures patres audiebant) 'liberos vestros hic potissimum discere. Vbi enim aut iucundius morarentur quam in patria aut pudicius continerentur quam sub oculos parentum aut minore sumptu quam domi?

Quantulum est ergo collata pecunia conducere praecoepores, quodque nunc in habitations, in viatica, in ea, quae peregre emuntur (omnia autem peregre emuntur), impenditis, adicere mercedibus? Atque adeo ego, qui nondum liberos habeo, paratus sum pro re publica nostra quasi pro filia vel parente tertiam partem eius, quod conferre vobis placebit, dare. Totum etiam pollicerer, nisi timerem, ne hoc munus meum quandoque ambitu ccrumpereetur, ut accidere multis in locis video, in quibus praecoepores publice conducuntur. Huic vitio occurri uno remedio potest, si parentibus solis ius conducendi relinquatur, isdemque religio recte iudieandi necessitate collationis addatur. Nam, qui fortasse de alieino neglegentes, certe de suo diligentes erunt dabuntque operam, ne eam pecuniam [non] nisi dignus accipiat, si accepturus et ab ipsis erit. Proinde consentite, conspirate maioresque animum ex meo sumite, qui cupio esse quam plurimum, quod debeam conferre. Nihil honestius praestare liberis vestris, nihil gratius patriae potestis. Educentur hic, qui hic nascentur, statimque ab infantia natale solum amare, frequentare consuescant. Atque utinam tam claros praecoepores inducatis, ut finitimis oppidis studia hinc petantur, utque nunc libri vestri aliena in loca ita mox alieni in hunc locum confluant!

Haec putavi altius et quasi a fonte repetenda, quo magis scire, quam gratum mihi foret, si susciperes, quod iniungo. Iniungo autem et pro rei magnitudine rogo, ut ex copia studiosorum, quae ad te ex admiratione ingenii tui convenit, circumspicias praecoepores, quos sollicitare possimus, sub ea tamen

XIX

C. PLINIVS CALPYRNIÆ HISPVLLÆ SVAE S.

Cum sis pietatis exemplum fratre undque optimum et amantis simum tui pari caritate dilexeris filiamque eius ut tuam diligas nec tantum amitae ei adfectum, verum etiam patris amissi repraesentes, non dubito maximo tibi gaudio fore, cum cognoveris dignam patre, dignam te, dignam avo evadere. Summum est acumen, summa frugalitas; amat me, quod castitatis indicium est. Accedit his studium litterarum, quod ex mei caritate concepit. Meos libellos habet, lectitat, ediscit etiam. Qua illa sollicitudine, cum videor acturus, quanto, cum egi, gaudio adsicitur! Disponit, qui nuntient sibi, quem adsensum, quos clamores excitarim, quem eventum iudicii tulerim. Eadem, si quando recito, in proximo discreta velo sedet laudesque nostras avidissimis auribus excipit. Versus quidem meos cantat etiam formatque cithara non artifice aliquo docente, sed amore, qui magister est optimus. His ex causis in spem certissimam adducor perpetuam nobis maioerque in dies futuram esse concordiam. Non enim aetatem meam aut corpus, quae paulatim occidunt ac senescunt, sed gloriam diligit. Nec aliud decet tuis manibus educatam, tuis praeceptis institutam, quae nihil in contubernio tuo viderit nisi sanctum honestumque, quae denique amare me ex tua praedicatione consueverit. Nam, cum matrem meam parentis loco vererere, me a pueritia statim formare, laudare talemque, qualis nunc uxor mi meae videor, ominari solebas. Certatim ergo tibi gratias agimus, ego, quod illam mihi, illa, quod me sibi dederis, quasi invicem elegeris. Vale.
C. PLINI

LIBER SEXTVS

XVI

C. PLINIVS TACITOenko S.


8 Egrediebatur domo: accipit codicillos Rectinae Tasci iniminenti periculo exterritae (nam villa eius subiacebat, nec ulla
nisi navibus fuga); ut se tanto discrimini eriperet, orabat. Vertit ille consilium et, quod studioso animo inchoaverat, obit 9 maximo. Deducit quadriremes, ascendit ipse non Rectinae modo, sed multis (erat enim frequens amoenitas orae) latus latus auxilium. Properat illuc, unde alii fugiunt, rectumque cursum, 10 recta gubernacula in periculum tenet adeo solutus metu, ut omnes illius mali motus, omnes figuras, ut deprehenderat oculis, dictaret enim et notaretque. Iam navibus cinis incidebat, quo propius accederent, calidior et densior, iam pumices etiam nigrique et montis litora obstantia. Cunctatus paulum, an retro flecteret, mox gubernatori, ut ita faceret, monenti *Fortes' inquit *fortuna iuvat: Pomponianum pete.' Stabiis erat direptus sinu medio (nam sensim circumactis curvatisque litoribus mare infunditur); ibi quamquam nondum periculo adpropinquante, consipuco tamen et, cum cresceret, proximo sarcinas contulerat in naves certus fugae, si contrarius ventus resedisset; quo tunc avunculus meus secundissimo invectus trepidan- tem, consolatur, hortatur, utque timorem eius sua securitate leniret, deferri in balineum iubet: lotus accubat, cenat aut hilaris aut, quod est aeque magnum, similis hilari. Interim e Vesuvio monte pluribus locis latissimae flammæ altaque incendia reluebat, quorum fulgor et claritas tenebris noctis excitabatur. Ille agrestium trepidatione ignes relictos desertasque villas per solitudinem arder in remedium formidinis dictatabat. Tum se quieti dedit et quievit verissimo quidem somno. Nam meatus animae, qui illi propter amplitudinem corporis gravior et sonantior erat, ab iis, qui limini obversabantur, audiebatur. Sed area, ex qua diaeta adibatur, ita iam cinere mixtisque pumicibus oppleta surrexerat, ut, si longior in cubiculo mora, exitus negaretur. Excitatus procedit seque Pomponiano ceteris- que, qui pervigilaverant, reddit. In commune consultant, 15 intra tecta subsistant an in aperto vagentur. Nam crebris vastisque tremoribus tecta nutabant et quasi emota sedibus
suis nunc huc, nunc illuc abire aut referri videbantur. Sub dio rursus quacquam levium exesorumque pumicum casus metuebatur; quod tamen periculorum collatio elegit. Et apud illum quidem ratio rationem, apud alios timorem timor vicit. Cervicalia capitibus imposita linteis constringunt; id munimentum adversus incidentia fuit. Iam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus noctibus nigror densiorque; quam tamen faces multae variaque lumina solabantur. Placuit egredi in litus et ex proximo adspicere, ecquid iam mare admitteret; quod adhuc vastum et adversum permanebat. Ibi super abietus linteum recubans semel atque iterum frigidam poposcit hausitque. Deinde flammae flammarumque praenuntius odor sulphuris alios in fugam vertunt, excitant illum. Innixus servulis duobus adsurrexit et statim concidit, ut ego colligo, crassiore caligine spiritu obstructo clausoque stomacho, qui illi natura invalidus et angustus et frequenter interaestuans erat. Vbi dies redditus (is ab eo, quem novissime viderat, tertius), corpus inventum integrum, inlaesum opertumque, ut fuerat indutus: habitus corporis quiescenti quam defuncto similior.


XX

C. PLINIUS TACITO SVO S.

Ais te adductum litteris, quas exigenti tibi de morte avunculi mei scripsi, cupere cognoscere, quos ego Miseni relictus (id enim ingressus abruperam) non solum metus, verum etiam casus pertulerim: 'quamquam animus meminisse horret, incipiam'
multo post illa nubes descendere in terras, operire maria; cinxerat Capreas et absconderat, Miseni quod procurrît, abstulerat. Tum mater orare, hortari, iubere, quoquo modo fugerem; posse enim iuvenem, se et annis et corpore gravem bene morituram, si mihi causa mortis non fuisset. Ego contra salvum me nisi una non futurum; deinde manum eius amplexus addere gradum cogo. Paret aegre incusatque se, quod me moretur. Iam cinis, adhuc tamen rarus. Respicio: densa caligo tergis inminebat, quae nos torrentis modo infusa terrae sequabantur. ‘Deflectamus’ inquam ‘dum videmus, ne in via strati comitantium turba in tenebris obteramur.’ Vix consedereamus, et nox, non qualis inlunis aut nubila, sed qualis in locis clausis lumine extincto. Audires ululatus feminarum, infantium quiritatus, clamores virorum; alii parentes, alii liberos, alii coniuges vocibus requirebant, vocibus noscitabant; hi suum casum, illi suorum miserabantur; erant, qui metu mortis mortem precarentur; multi ad deos manus tollere, plures nusquam iam deos ullos aeternamque illam et novissimam noctem mundo interpretabantur. Nec defuerunt, qui fictis mentitisque terribus vera pericula augerent. Aderant, qui Miseni illud ruisse, illud ardere, falsa sed credentibus nuntiabant. Paulum reluxit; quod non dies nobis, sed adventantis ignis indicium videbatur. Et ignis quidem longius substitit, tenebrae rursus, cinis rursus multus et gravis. Hunc identidem adsurgentes excutiebamus; operti alioquin atque etiam oblisi pondere essemus. Possem gloriari non gemitum mihi, non vocem parum fortem in tantis periculis excidisse, nisi me cum omnibus, omnia mecum perire, miserò, magno tamen mortalitatis solacio credidissem. Tandem illa caligo tenuata quasi in fumum nebulamve diessit; mox dies verus, sol etiam effulsit, luridus tamen, qualis esse, cum deficit, solet. Occursabant trepidantibus adhuc oculis mutata omnia altoque cinere quam nive obducta. Regressi Misenum curatis utcumque corporibus suspensam dubiamque noctem spe ac metu exegi.
mus. Metus praevalebat; nam et tremor terrae perseverabat, et plerique lymphati terrificis vaticinationibus et sua et aliena mala ludificabantur. Nobis tamen ne tunc quidem, quamquam et expertis periculum et expectantibus, abeundi consilium, donec de avunculo nuntius.

Haec nequaquam historia digna non scripturus leges et tibi, scilicet qui requisisti, imputabis, si digna ne epistula quidem videbuntur. Vale.

LIBER SEPTIMVS

IV

C. PLINIUS PONTIO ALLIFANO SVO S.

Ais legisse te hendecasyllabos meos; requiris etiam, quem ad modum coeperim scribere, homo, ut tibi videor, severus, ut ipse fateor, non ineptus. Numquam a poëtice (altius enim repetam) alienus fui; quin etiam quattuordecim natus annos Graecam tragoediam scripsi. 'Qualem?' inquis. Nescio; tragoedia vocabatur. Mox, cum e militia rediens in Icaria insula ventis detinerer, Latinos elegos in illud ipsum mare ipsamque insulam feci. Expertus sum me aliquando et heroo, hendecasyllabis nunc primum, quorum hic natalis, haec causa est: Legebantur in Laurentino mihi libri Asini Galli de comparatione patris et Ciceronis. Incidit epigramma Ciceronis in Tironem suum. Dein, cum meridie (erat enim aestas) dormitus me recepissem nec obreperet somnus, coepi reputare maximos oratores hoc studii genus et in oblectationibus habuisse et in laude posuisse. Intendi animum contraque opinionem meam post longam desuetudinem perquam exiguo temporis momento id ipsum, quod me ad scribendum sollicitaverat, his versibus exaravi:

Cum libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti ausus de Cicerone dare est palmamque decusque,
lascivum 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 amantem paucula cenato sibi debita savia Tiro tempore nocturno subtraxerit. His ego lectis 'cur post haec' inquam 'nostros celamus amores nullumque in medium timidi damus atque fatemur Tironisque dolos, Tironis nosse fugaces blanditias dolos, Tironis nosse fugaces blanditias et furta novas addentia flammis?'


IX

C. PLINIUS FVSCO SVO S.

1 Quaeris, quemadmodum in secessu, quo iam diu frueris, 2 putem te studere oportere. Vtile in primis, et multi praecipiunt, vel ex Graeco in Latinum vel ex Latino vertere in Graecum; quo genere exerçitationis proprietas splendorque verborum, copia figurarum, vis explicandi, praeterea imitatione optimorum similia inveniendi facultas paratur; simul, quae legentem sepellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. In-
tellegentia ex hoc et iudicium adquiritur. Nihil offuerit, quae legeris hactenus, ut rem argumentumque teneas, quasi aemulum scribere lectisque conferre ac sedulo pensitare, quid tu, quid ille commodius. Magna gratulatio, si non nulla tu, magnus pudor, si cuncta ille melius. Licebit interdum et notissima eligere et certare cum electis. Audax haec, non tamen im-proba, quia secreta contentio: quamquam multos videmus eius modi certamina sibi cum multa laude sumpsisse, quosque sub-sequi satis habebant, dum non desperant, antecessisse. Poteris et quae dixeris post oblivionem retractare, multa retinere, plura transire, alia interscribere, alia rescribere. Laboriosum istud et taedio plenum, sed difficultate ipsa fructuosum, recalescere ex integro et resumere impetum fractum omissumque, postremo nova velut membra peracto corpori intexere nec tamen priora turbare. Scio nunc tibi esse praecipuum studium orandi; sed non ideo semper pugnacem hunc et quasi bellatorium stilum suaserim. 

Vt enim terrae variis mutatisque seminibus ita ingenia nostra nunc hac, nunc illa meditatione recoluntur. Volo interdum aliquem ex historia locum adprehendas, volo epistulam diligentius scribas. Nam saepe in oratione quoque non historica modo, sed prope poetica descriptionum necessitas incidit, et pressus sermo purusque ex epistulis petitur. Fas est et carmine remitti, non dico continuo et longo (id enim perfici nisi in otio non potest), sed hoc arguto et brevi, quod apte quantas libet occupationes curasque distinguat. Lusus vocantur; sed hi lusus non minorem interdum gloriām quam seria consequuntur; atque adeo (cur enim te ad versus non versibus adhorter?)

ut laus est cerae, mollis cedensque sequatur.
    si doctos digitos iussaque fiat opus
et nunc informet Martem castamve Minervam,
    nunc Venerem effingat, nunc Veneris puerum,
    utque sacri fontes non sola incendia sistunt,
    saepe etiam flores vernaque prata lavant,
sic hominum ingenium flecti ducique per artes
non rigidas docta mobilitate decet.

12 Itaque summi oratores, summi etiam viri sic se aut exercebant
13 aut delectabant, immo delectabant exercebantque. Nam
mirum est, ut his opusculis animus intendatur, remittatur.
Recipiunt enim amores, odia, iras, misericordiam, urbanitatem,
omnia denique, quae in vita atque etiam in foro causisque ver-
sunt. Inest his quoque eadem quae aliis carminibus utilitas,
quod metri necessitate devincti soluta oratione laetamur et,
quod facilius esse comparatio ostendit, libentius scribimus.

15 Habes plura etiam fortasse, quam requirebas, unum tamen
omisi; non enim dixi, quae legenda arbitrarer: quamquam
dixi, cum dicerem, quae scribenda. Tu memineris sui cuiusque
generis auctores diligenter ehgere. Aiunt enim multum legen-
dum esse, non multa. Qui sint hi, adeo notum probatumque
est, ut demonstratione non egeat; et aliqui tam inmodice
epistulam extendi, ut, dum tibi, quemadmodum studere debecas,
suadeo, studendi tempus abstulerim. Quin ergo pugillares
resumis et aliquid ex his vel istud ipsum, quod coeperas,
scribis? Vale.

XIX

C. PLINIUS PRISCO SVO S.

1 Angit me Fanniae valetudo. Contraxit hanc, dum adsidet
Iuniae virginiti sponte primum (est enim adfinis), deinde etiam
2 ex auctoritate pontificum. Nam virgines, cum vi morbi atrio
Vestae coguntur excedere, matronarum curae custodiaeque
mandantur. Quo munere Fannia dum sedulo fungitur, hoc
3 discrimine implicita est. Insident febres, tussis increcit,
summa macies, summa defectio: animus tantum et spiritus
viget Helvidio marito, Thrasea patre dignissimus, reliqua la-
buntur meque non metu tantum, verum etiam dolore conficiunt.
4 Doleo enim feminam maximam eripi oculis civitatis nescio an
Et mihi discendi et tibi docendi facultatem otium praebet. Igitur perquam velim scire,esse phantasmata et habere propriae figuram numerique aliquod putes an inania et vano ex metu nostro imaginem accipere. Ego ut esse credam, in primis eo ducor, quod audio accidisse Curtio Rufo. Tenuis adhuc et obscurus obtinenti Africam comes haeserat. Inclinato die spatiabantur in porticu: offertur ei mulieris figura humana grandior pulchriorque; perterrto Africam se futurum praenuntiari dixit; iturum enim Romam honoresque gesturum atque etiam cum summo imperio in eandem pro vinciam reversurum ibique moriturum. Facta sunt omnia. Praeterea accedenti Carthaginem egredientique nave eadem figura in litore occurrse narratur. Ipse certe implicitus morbo futura praeteritis, adversa secundis auguratus spem salutis nullo suorum desperante proiecit.

Iam illud nonne et magis terrible et non minus mirum est, quod exponam, ut accepi? Erat Athenis spatiosa et capax domus, sed infamis et pestilens. Per silentium noctis sonus ferri et, si attenderes acrius, strepitus vinculorum longius primo, deinde et proximo reddebat: mox adparebat idolon, senex macie et squalore concebatur, promissa barba, horrenti capillo; cruribus compedes, manibus catenas gerebat quatiebatque.

Inde inhabitantibus tristes diraeque noctes per metum vigilabantur; vigiliam morbus et crescente formidine mors sequiabantur. Nam interdum quoque, quamquam abscesserat imago, memoria imaginis oculus inerrabat, longiorque causis timoris timor erat. Deserta inde et damnata solitudine domus totaque illi monstro relicta; proscribatur tamen, seu quis emere seu quis conducere ignarus tanti mali vellet. Venit Athenas philosophus Athenodorus, legit titulum auditoque pretio, quia suspecta vilitas, percunctatus omnia docetur ac nihilo minus,

C. PLINI

datus a Caro de me libellus inventus est; ex quo coniectari potest, quia reis moris est summittere capillum, recisos meorum capillos depulsi, quod inminebat, periculi signum fuisse.

Proinde rogo, eruditionem tuam intendas. Digna res est, quam diu multumque consideres, ne ego quidem indignus, cui copiam scientiae tuae facias. Licet etiam utramque in partem, ut soles, disputes, ex altera tamen fortius, ne me suspensum incertumque dimittas, cum mihi consulendi causa fuerit, ut dubitare desinerem. Vale.

LIBER OCTAVVS

VIII

C. PLINIVS ROMANO SVO S.

Vidistine aliquando Clitumnum fontem? Si nondum (et puto nondum; alioqui narasses mihi), vide, quem ego (paenitet tarditatis) proxime vidi. Modicus collis adsurgit antiqua cupresso nemorosus et opacus. Hunc subter exit fons et exprimitur pluribus venis, sed inparibus, eluctatusque, quem facit, gurgitem lato gremio patescit purus et vitreus, ut numerare iactas stipes et relucentes calculos possis. Inde non loci deexitate, sed ipsa sui copia et quasi pondere impellitur, fons adhuc et iam amplissimum flumen atque etiam navium patiens, quas obvias quoque et contrario nisi in diversa tendentes transmittit et perfert, adeo validus, ut illa, qua properat ipse, quamquam per solum planum, remis non adiuvetur, idem aegerrime remis contisque superetur adversus. Iucundum utrumque per iocum ludumque fluantibus, ut flexerint cursum, laborem otio, otium labore variare. Ripae fraxino multa, multa populo vestiuntur, quas perspicuus amnis velut mersas viridi imagine adnumerat. Rigor aquae certaverit nivibus, nec color cedit. Adiacet templum priscum et religiosum: stat Clitumnus ipse amictus ornatusque praetexta; praesens numen

XVI

C. PLINIVS PATERNO SVO S.

Confecerunt me infirmitates meorum, mortes etiam, et quidem 1 iuvenum. Solacia duo nequaquam paria tanto dolori, solacia tamen, unum facilitas manumittendi (videor enim non omnino inmaturos perdisisse, quos iam liberos perdidi), alterum, quod permitto servis quoque quasi testamenta facere eaque ut legitima custodio. Mandant rogantque, quod visum; pareo ut 2 iussus. Dividunt, donant, relinquunt dumtaxat intra domum; nam servis res publica quaedam et quasi civitas domus est. Sed, quamquam his solaciis adquiescam, debilior et frangor 3 eadem illa humanitate, quae me, ut hoc ipsum permitterem, induxit. Non ideo tamen velim durior fieri. Nec ignoror alios eius modi casus nihil amplius vocare quam damnum eoque sibi magnos homines et sapientes videri. Qui an magni sapientesque sint, nescio, homines non sunt. Hominis est enim adfici 4 dolore, sentire, resistere tamen et solacia admittere, non solaciis non egere.
Verum de his plura fortasse, quam debui, sed pauciora, quam volui. Est enim quaedam etiam dolendi voluptas, praesertim si in amici sinu desfas, apud quem lacrimis tuis vel laus sit parata vel venia. Vale.

XX

C. PLINIVS GALLO SVO S.

1 Ad quae noscenda iter ingredi, transmittere mare solemus, ea sub oculis posita neglegimus, seu quia ita natura comparatum, ut proximorum incuriosi longinquaque sectemur, seu quod omnium rerum cupidum languescit, cum facilis occasio, seu quod differimus tamquam saepe visuri, quod datur videre, quotiens velis cernere.

continenti similes sunt, interdum discordantibus ventis digeruntur, non numquam destitutae tranquillitate singulæ fluant. Saepe minores maioribus velut cumbulae onerariis adhaerciscunt, saepe inter se maiores minoresque quasi cursum certamenque desumunt; rursus omnes in eundem locum adpulsæ, qua steterunt, promovent terram et modo hac, modo illa lacum reddunt auferuntque ac tum demum, cum medium tenuere, non contrahunt. Constat pecora herbas secuta sic in insulas illas ut in extremam ripam procedere solere nec prius intelligere mobile solum, quam litori abrepta quasi inlata et insita circumfusum undique lacum paveant, mox, quo tulerit ventus, egressa non magis se descendisse sentire, quam senserint ascendisse. Idem lacus in flumen egeritur, quod, ubi se paulisper oculis dedit, specu mergitur alteque conditum meat ac, si quid, antequam subduceretur, accept, servat et profert. Haec tibi scripsi, quia nec minus ignota quam 'mihi nec minus grata credebam. Nam te quoque ut me nihil aeque ac naturae opera delectant. Vale.

XXIV

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SVO S.

Amor in te meus cogit, non ut praecipiam (neque enim præceptore eges), admoneam tamen, ut, quae scis, teneas et observes aut respicias melius. Cogita te missum in provinciam Achaiam, illam veram et meram Graeciam, in qua primum humanitas, litteræ, etiam fruges inventæ esse creduntur, missum ad ordinandum statum liberalium civitatum, id est ad homines maxime homines, ad liberos maxime liberos, qui ius a natura datum virtute, meritis, amicitia, foedere denique et religione tenuerunt. Reverere conditores deos et numina deorum, reverere gloriam veterem et hanc ipsam senectutem, quae in homo venerabilis, in urbibus sacra. Sit apud te honor antiquitati, sit ingentibus factis, sit fabulis quoque. Nihil ex cuiusquam dignitate, nihil
ex libertate, nihil etiam ex iactatione decerpseris. Habe ante oculos hanc esse terram, quae nobis miserit iura, quae leges non victis, sed petentibus dederit, Athenas esse, quas adeas, Lacedaemonem esse, quam regas; quibus reliquam umbram et residuum libertatis nomen eripere durum, ferum, barbarum est. Vides a medicis, quamquam in adversa valetudine nihil servi ac liberi differant, mollius tamen liberos clementiusque tractari. Recordare, quid quaeque civitas fuerit, non ut despicias, quod esse desierit; absit superbia, asperitas. Nec timueris contemptum. An contemnitur, qui imperium, qui fasces habet, nisi humilis et sordidus, et qui se primus ipse contemnit? Male vim suam potestas aliorum contumeliis experitur, male terrore veneratio adquiritur, longeque valentior amor ad obtinendum, quod velis, quam timor. Nam timor abit, si recedas, manet amor, ac sicut ille in odium hic in reverentiam vertitur. Te vero etiam atque etiam (repetam enim) meminisse oportet officii tui titulum ac tibi ipsum interpretari, quale quantumque sit ordinare statum liberarum civitatum. Nam quid ordinatio civilius, quid libertate pretiosius? Porro quam turpe, si ordinatio eversione, libertas servitute mutetur! Accedit, quod tibi certamen est tecum: onerat te quaesturae tuae fama, quam ex Bithynia optimam revexisti, onerat testimonium principis, onerat tribunatus, praetura atque haec ipsa legatio quasi praemium data. Quo magis nitendum est, ne in longinquaque provincia quam suburbana, ne inter servientes quam liberos, ne sorte quam iudicio missus, ne rudis et incognitus quam exploratus probatusque, humanior, melior, peritior fuisset videaris, cum sit aliqquin, ut saepe audisti, saepe legisti, multo deformius amittere quam non adsequi laudem.

Haec velim credas, quod initio dixi, scripsisse me admonentem, non praecipientem; quamquam praecipientem quoque. Quippe non vereor, in amore ne modum exsesserim. Neque enim periculum est, ne sit nimium, quod esse maximum debet. Vale.
LIBER NONVS

VI

C. PLINIVS CALVISIO SVO S.

Omne hoc tempus inter pugillares ac libellos iucundissima quiete transmisi. 'Quem ad modum' inquis 'in urbe potuisti?' Circenses erant, quo genere spectaculi ne levissime quidem teneor. Nihil novum, nihil varium, nihil, quod non semel spectasse sufficiat. Quo magis miror tot milia virorum tam pueriliter identidem cupere currentes equos, insistentes curribus homines videre. Si tamen aut velocitate equorum aut hominum arte traherentur, esset ratio non nulla: nunc faveat panno, pannum amant, et, si in ipso cursu mediocque certamine hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, studium favorque transibit, et repente agitatores illos, equos illos, quos procul noscitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquent. Tanta gratia, tanta auctoritas in una vilissima tunica, mitto apud vulgus, quod vilius tunica, sed apud quosdam graves homines; quos ego cum recordor in re inani, frigida, adsidua tam insatiabiliter desidere, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hac voluptate non capior. Ac per hos dies libentissime otium meum in litteris colloco, quos alii otiosissimis occupationibus perdunt. Vale.

XIX

C. PLINIVS RVSONI SVO S.

Significas legisse te in quadam epistula mea iussisse Vergi-nium Rufum inscribi sepulcro suo:

Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam imperium adseruit non sibi, sed patriae.

Reprehendis, quod iusserit, addis etiam melius rectiusque Frontinum, quod vetuerit omnino monimentum sibi fieri, me-que ad extremum, quid de utroque sentiam, consulis. Vtrum-2
que dilexi, miratus sum magis, quem tu reprehendis, atque ita miratus, ut non putarem satis umquam posse laudari, cuius nunc mihi subeunda defensio est. Omnes ego, qui magnum aliquid memorandumque fecerunt, non modo venia, verum etiam laude dignissimos iudico, si inmortalitatem, quam meruere, sectantur victuirque nominis famam supremis etiam titulis prorogare nituntur. Nec facile quemquam nisi Verginium invenio, cuius tanta in praedicando verecundia quanta gloria ex facto. Ipse sum testis familiariter ab eo dilectus probatusque semel omnino me audiente provectum, ut de rebus suis hoc unum referret, ita secum aliando Cluvium locutum:

'Scis, Vergini, quae historiae fides debetur; proinde, si quid in historiis meis legis aliter, ac velles, rogo ignoscas.' Ad hoc ille: 'Tune ignoras, Cluvi, ideo me fecisse, quod feci, ut esset liberum vobis scribere, quae libuisset?' Age dum, hunc ipsum Frontinum in hoc ipso, in quo tibi parcior videtur et pressior, comparemus. Vetuit extrui monumentum, sed quibus verbis? 'Inpensa monimenti supervacua est; memoria nostri durabit, si vita meruimus.' An restrictius arbitraris per orbem terrarum legendum dare duraturam memoriam suam quam uno in loco duobus versiculis signare, quod feceris? Quamquam non habeo propositum illum reprehendendi, sed hunc tuendi; cuius quae potest apud te iustior esse defensio quam ex collatione eius, quem praetulisti? Meo quidem iudicio neuter culpandus, quorum uterque ad gloriam pari cupiditate, diverso itinere contendit, alter, dum expetit debitos titulos, alter, dum mavult videri contempsisse. Vale.

XXIII

C. PLINIUS MAXIMO SVO S.

1 Frequenter agenti mihi evenit, ut centumviri, cum diu se intra iudicum auctoritatem gravitatemque tenuissent, omnes repente quasi victi coactique consurgerent laudarentque; fre-


XXXIII

C. PLINIVS CANINIO SVO S.

sumptibus atterebatur. Postremo locus ipse quietem suam secretumque perdebat: placuit occulte interfici, ad quod coibatur. Haec tu qua miseratione, qua copia deflebis, ornabis, attolles! Quamquam non est opus adfingas aliquid aut adstruas; sufficit, ne ea, quae sunt vera, minuantur. Vale.

XXXVI

C. PLINIVS FVSCO SVO S.

Quaeris, quem ad modum in Tuscis diem aestate disponam. Evigilo, cum libuit, plerumque circa horam primam, saepe ante, tardius raro. Clausae fenestrae manent; mire enim silentio et tenebris ab iis, quae avocant, abductus et liber et mihi relictus non oculos animo, sed animum oculis sequor, qui eadem quae mens vident, quotiens non vident alia. Cogito, si quid in manibus, cogito ad verbum scribenti emendantique similis nunc pauciora, nunc plura, ut vel difficile vel facile componi tenerive potuerunt. Notarium voco et die admisso, quae formaveram, dicto; abit rursusque revocatur rursusque dimittitur. Vbi hora quarta vel quinta (neque enim certum dimensumque tempus), ut dies suasit, in xystum me vel cryptoporticum confero, reliqua meditor et dicto. Vehiculum ascendo. Ibi quoque idem quod ambulans aut iacens; durat intentio mutatione ipsa refecta. Paulum redormio, dein ambulo, mox orationem Graecam Latinamve clare et intente non tam vocis causa quam stomachi lego; pariter tamen et illa firmatur. Iterum ambulo, ungor, exerceror, labor. Cenanti mihi, si cum uxore vel paucis, liber legitur; post cenam comoedia aut lyristes; mox cum meis ambulo, quorum in numero sunt eruditi. Ita variis sermonibus vespera extenditur, et quamquam longissimus dies cito conditur. Non numquam ex hoc ordine aliqua mutantur; nam, si diu iacui vel ambulavi, post somnum demum lectionemque non vehiculo, sed, quod brevius, quia velocius, equo gestor. Interveniunt amici ex proximis oppidis partemque diei ad
se trahunt interdumque lasso mihi opportuna interpellatione
subveniunt. Venor aliquando, sed non sine pugillaribus, ut,
quamvis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam. Datur et colonis,
ut videtur ipsis, non satis temporis, quorum mihi agrestes
querellae litteras nostras et haec urbana opera commendant.
Vale.

LIBER DECIMVS

XXXIII [XLII]

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

1 CVM diversam partem provinciae circumirem, Nicomediae
vastissimum incendium multas privatorum domos et duo publica
opera quamquam via interiacente, Gerusian et Iseon, absumpsit.

2 Est autem latius sparsum primum violentia venti, deinde inertia
hominum, quos satis constat otiosos et inmobiles tanti mali
spectatores perstitisse; et aliqui nullus usquam in publico
sipo, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia
compescenda. Et haec quidem, ut iam praecipi, parabuntur.

3 Tu, domine, dispice, an instituendum putes collegium fabrorum
dumtaxat hominum CL. Ego attendam, ne quis nisi faber
recipiatur neve iure concesso in aliud utatur; nec erit difficile
custodire tam paucos.

XXXIV [XLIII]

TRAIANVS PLINIO

1 Tibi quidem secundum exempla complurium in mentem
venit posse collegium fabrorum apud Nicomedes omnes constitui,
Sed meminerimus provinciam istam et praecipue eam civitatem
eius modi factionibus esse vexatam. Quodcumque nomen ex
quacumque causa dederimus iis, qui in idem contracti fuerint,

2 hetaeriae praegraves fient. Satius itaque est comparari es,
quae ad coercendos ignes auxilio esse possint, admonerique
dominos praediorum, ut et ipsi inhibeant, ac si res poposcerit
adcurso populi ad hoc uti.
C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Sollemne est mihi, domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere vel ignorantiam instruere? Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui numquam: ideo nescio, quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat aut quaeri. Nec mediocriter haesitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen aetatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differat, detur paenitentiae venia, an ei, qui omnino Christianus fuit, desisse non prosit, nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini punitur. Interim in iis, qui ad me tamquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, an essent Christiani. Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi supplicium minatus: perseverantes duci iussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque esset, quod faterentur, pertinaciam certe et inflexiblem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentiae, quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos. Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine plures species inciderunt. Pro positus est libellus sine auctore multorum nomina continens. Qui negabant esse se Christianos aut fuisse, cum praeente me deos adpellarent et imaginii tuae, quam propter hoc uisse-rum cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicarent, praeterea male dicerent Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur, qui sunt re vera Christiani, dimittendos esse putavi. Alii ab indice nominati esse se Christianos dixerunt et mox negaverunt; fuisse quidem, sed desisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti. Hi quoque omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt et Christo male dixerunt. Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod
obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum adpellati abnegarent. Quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium; quod ipsum facere desisse post editum meum, quo secundum man-

8 data tua hetaerias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset veri, et per tormenta quaerere. Nihil aliud inveni quam superstitionem pravam, inmodicam. Ideo dilata cognitione ad 9 consulendum te decurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna cons-

sultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervaga-

10 tae est; quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat prope iam desolata tempia coepisse celebrari, et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti pastumque venire victimarum, cuius adhuc rarissimus emtor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quae turba hominum emendi possit, si sit paenitentiae locus.

XCVII [XCVIII]
TRAIANVS PLINIO

1 Actum, quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis causis eorum, qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant, secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, 2 constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt; si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen, ut, qui negaverit se Christianum esse idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est supplicando dis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum, veniam ex paenitentia impetret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli in nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli nec nostri saeculi est.
NOTES

I. 6. PLINY’S HUNTING.

On Pliny’s amusements in general see p. 30; for his hunting cf. ix. 36. 6 venor aliquando sed non sine pugillaribus. The Romans had little natural taste for hunting, but ‘venationes’ (combats with wild beasts) had become popular as a show in Cicero’s time (Cic. de Off. ii. 16. 55; cf. also Hardy’s Juvenal, Satires, Appendix B to Sat. iv, p. 160). Pliny hunted out of deference to fashion rather than from any genuine enthusiasm for sport. With him the hunting was simply an aid to study; he calls the whole occupation ‘hoc studendi genus’, § 2.

Cornelio Tacito: on Pliny and Tacitus see p. 24, and cf. in the text ii. 1. 6; ii. 11. 17; iv. 13. 1-3, 10; vi. 16. 1-3 and 21-2, vi. 20. 1 and 20; ix. 23. 2-3.

§ 1. et quidem: in confirmation of what precedes, a silver age use for et eos; cf. i. 12. I et quidem sponte, ix. 23. 2 nosti me et quidem ex studios.

inertia here means ‘leisure for study’; cf. otium i. 9. 7, and contr. x. 33. 2.

in proximo: cf. iv. 19. 3 in proximo discreta velo sedet.

venabulum: a spear for thrusting; cf. modern pigsticking.

lancea: spear with thong attached for throwing.

stilus: a short stick pointed at one end, flattened at the other, sometimes made of iron, sometimes of bronze, with which the writing was scratched on the tablets; cf. vii. 4. 5 exaravi.

pugillares: from pugillus, a handful, sc. libelli, cerae, or tabulae, wooden tablets small enough to be held in one hand. The surface was smeared with wax to take the impress of the stilus. Sometimes the pugillares were single, sometimes two or more were fastened together. Single tablets would be used by schoolboys for their exercises, or, as here, by a literary man to put down thoughts that occurred from time to time. Cf. iii. 5. 15; vii. 9. 16; vii. 27. 7; ix. 6. 1; ix. 36. 6.

meditabar suggests poetical composition; cf. Hor. Sat. i. 9. 2 Nescioquid meditans nugaram, but in ix. 36. 3 meditor seems to denote composition in general. For Pliny’s verses cf. vii. 4, esp. § 6. enotabamque: cf. vi. 16. 10 note.

§ 2. mirum est ut: cf. vii. 9. 13 mirum est ut his opusculis animus intendatur. For mirum est quam cf. i. 9. 1 note.

iam here denotes succession of thought, not of time.
§ 3. **Proinde**: summing up the letter; cf. i. 9. 7; vii. 27. 15.

**lagnunculam**: cf. ii. 6. 2.
**Dianam**: the Italian goddess identified with Artemis, the Greek goddess of hunting.

**Minervam**: the Italian goddess identified with Pallas Athene, the patroness of poetry and of the arts generally. Cf. iii. 21. 5; vii. 9. 11.

**inerrare**: cf. vii. 27. 6 *memoria imaginis oculis inerrabat*.

I. 9. **City Life.**

On the subject-matter of this letter see p. 29, and Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*, i, ch. 4.

§ 1. **Mirum est quam**: cf. iv. 7. 1 *mirum est, quam efficiat, in quod incubuit.*

**ratio aut constet aut constare videatur**: *ratio [accepti et expensi] constat* is a business phrase, 'the account [of receipts and expenses] comes right', 'balances'. Pliny transfers the phrase from the sphere of business to that of everyday life. If he reckons up the doings of each day singly, the account balances, that is, he can give a satisfactory account of his time; but if he reckons up his doings, looking back over several days, there is something wrong in the account, that is, he is dissatisfied with the way he has spent his time.

§ 2. **Officio togae virilis**: the coming-of-age ceremony at Rome was generally performed at the feast of the Liberalia (March 17). The age varied considerably, but was normally about thirteen to seventeen. The boy laid down the emblems of childhood, the *toga praetexta* (purple-bordered) and the *bulla* (gold amulet worn round the neck), at the altar of the *penates* (the household gods), and put on the dress of manhood, the *toga virilis*, which was plain white (*pura*). The boy was then escorted to the forum by his family and friends, and his name inscribed on the register of the tribe. A sacrifice was offered on the Capitol and the rest of the day was given up to festivity. If the family was a distinguished one, a largess was given to the people, as in the case of the Imperial family, cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 29. After the ceremony the boy entered on his full status as a citizen, cf. Marquardt, *Privatl.* i. 125 ff. For the corresponding ceremony among the Germans cf. Tac. *Germ.* xiii. 1.

**sponsalia**: the rites of betrothal were so called from the formula 'Spondesne?', 'Spondeo', used in making the contract. The contract was made by the parents of the engaged couple, often a considerable time before marriage. It did not necessarily bind the parties to celebrate the marriage and could be repudiated apparently by either side (*sponsalia dissolvere*). At this time it had become mainly a social function (Marquardt, *Privatl.* i. 39 ff.; cf. Becker's *Gallus*, 170ff.).
nuptias: Roman marriage, which brought the wife ‘in manum mariti’, was of three kinds: confarreatio, coemptio, usus. Of these confarreatio alone rested on a religious basis; coemptio was a process of fictitious sale by which the wife came ‘into the hands of her husband’, usus was a free union by which the woman, after spending a year in her husband’s house without being absent for a ‘trinoctium’, passed ‘in manum mariti’. Confarreatio was the form of marriage used generally by patricians, but it dropped out of use earliest among the poorer classes, partly no doubt on account of the expense involved by the ceremonies. The main ceremony was performed by the Pontifex Maximus or Flamen Dialis, in the presence of ten witnesses. Offerings of meal (far) were made to Jupiter (hence the name of the ceremony) and the bride passed into the hands of her husband with the formula ‘Quando tu Gaius, ego Gaia’; hands were joined (dextras iungunt), and the couple walked round the altar while the priest pronounced the formula of prayer. The rest of the day was given up to merry-making, and in the evening the bride was conducted with a torchlight procession (deductio) to her husband’s house, being lifted over the threshold to prevent the possibility of a stumble, which was considered an evil omen. For further details see Marquardt, Privatl. i. 28 ff. Becker’s Gallus, 157 ff.

ad signandum testamentum: a will to be valid in Roman law needed to be signed by the testator in the presence of seven witnesses, who also signed and sealed the document. At this time the signing of a will, in contrast to modern sentiment on the subject, was made the occasion for a social function; cf. the story of Regulus and Aurelia, ii. 20. 10.

in advocationem: to support a friend in court either with professional advice or simply by one’s presence. The latter sense is more probable here.

in consilium: to sit as assessor with a presiding magistrate.

§ 3. secesseris: used absolutely here in the sense of ‘to be away from town’. So commonly in Pliny and silver-age writers; cf. ii. 11. 1. frigidis, ‘dreary’; for this sense of frigidus cf. ix. 6. 3.


corpori vaco, ‘I have leisure to attend to the wants of my body’; cf. iii. 5. 15 In itinere, quasi solutus ceteris curis, huic uni vacabat.

§ 6. mouereiv: the traditional seat of the Muses was Mount Helicon in Boeotia, but Pliny finds them just as truly present at his country house at Laurentum.

Proinde: cf. i. 6. 3.

§ 7. multum: adverbial.

otio: ‘cultivated leisure’ as distinct from negotium, ‘business’; cf. vii. 27. 1; ix. 6. 4.

§ 8. Atilius (Crescens): born near Comum, a friend of Pliny
from early days. Another remark of his is quoted in ii. 14. 2 sic in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari ut ab Homero in scholis. *otiosum*: contr. ix. 6. 4 [dies] quos alii otiosissimis occupationibus perdunt.

I. 12. THE DEATH OF CORELLIUS RUFUS.

On Corellius Rufus see p. 23.

Calestrius Tiro, a fellow pupil of Quintilian, was a companion of Pliny during his military service and his colleague as quaestor and praetor.

§ 1. si iactura dicenda est: iactura properly denotes the throwing over of part of a ship’s cargo in a storm. Then the word came to be used for material loss or damage in general. Pliny’s apology for its use may be due to the material and commercial associations of the word. It is used, however, by Sulpicius in writing to console Cicero for the loss of his daughter Tullia (Cic. Fam. iv. 5. 4). Perhaps the apology may have been due to the feeling that only the *mortalitas* of such a man had gone (cf. ii. 1. 10), and that so much of him lived on, that to speak of his ‘loss’ was inappropriate.

et quidem: cf. i. 6. 1.

non ex natura nec fatalis: Pliny is distinguishing between suicide and any other kind of death. Men may die from old age, disease, or accident. Death from these natural causes is inevitable, but a ‘mors accersita’ cuts life short unnecessarily. No contrast seems to be in point between a ‘mors ex natura’ and a ‘mors fatalis’.

For the conjunction of *natura* and *fatalis* cf. Cic. Phil. i. 4. 10 multa autem impendere videntur praetor naturam etiam praeterque fatum.

§ 2. utcumque may be taken (1) closely with magnum, ‘however great’, in which case vero marks the apodosis; (2) ‘at any rate’, lit. ‘however it may happen’, vero being simply adversative. The classical use of *utcumque* is as a conjunction introducing a clause, e.g. Cic. Fin. v. 4. 11 utcumque res postularit; cf. ii. 11. 14. But in the silver age it is used commonly as an adverb limiting an adjective or participle; cf. vi. 20. 19 curatis utcumque corporibus.

§ 3. summa ratio, etc.: ‘the supremacy of reason’ was one of the main doctrines of the Stoic philosophy, which in certain cases allowed and even encouraged suicide. Cf. Lecky, History of European Morals, i. 223 ff.

quamquam . . . habentem: for quamquam with participle cf. vi. 16. 12; vi. 20. 20; vii. 19. 6; viii. 24. 10; x. 33. 1; with adjective, cf. § 7; ii. 17. 14; viii. 8. 3; ix. 36. 4; for quamquam = kai toI see vii. 4. 10 note.

optimam conscientiam: cf. Tac. Agr. i. 2 bonae tantum conscientiae pretio.

filiam: Corellia Hispulla, a friend and correspondent of Pliny.
uxorem: Hispulla; perhaps the same person as Calpurnia Hispulla, cf. iv. 19.

pignora originally means 'pledges', then 'children' as being pledges of mutual affection between husband and wife. Its use was subsequently extended to cover near relations in general. Cf. Tac. Germ. vii. 3 in proximo pignora; Tac. Agr. xxxviii. 1 frangi aspectu pignorum. Here 'relations' (pignora) are contrasted with 'friends' (amicos). Cf. Bacon, Essay viii, 'He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune.'


§ 6. Domitian: cf. vii. 27. 14; for Domitian's reign see historical outline, p. 16.

iacentem, 'lying ill'; cf. ii. 20. 2 Verania Pisonis graviter iacebat.

§ 7. moris: partitive genitive; cf. iii. 21. 3 fuit moris antiqui, vii. 27. 14 quia reis moris est, and Tac. Agr. xxxviii. 1 ut Domitianus moris erat.

quotiens intrasset: the verb in dependent clauses denoting frequentative action is usually in the indicative in the best prose, but the subjunctive is found in Livy and is common in silver-age Latin; cf. iii. 16. 4 quotiens cubiculum eius intraret. This use may possibly be due to the influence of the Greek optative of indefinite frequency.

quamquam omnis secreti capacissima: quamquam with a participle or adjective is mostly post-classical, but not uncommon in Pliny; cf. § 3 note. For capax with genitive in the literal sense see Livy ix. 16, 13 cibi vinique capacissimus; in the metaphorical sense, as here, cf. Tac. Hist. i. 49 imperii capax. In ii. 17. 3 capax is used with the dat. usibus: in ii. 17. 11 absolutely.

§ 8. isti latroni: Domitian.

dedisses ... fecisset quod optabat: dedisses is co-ordinated with fecisset instead of being subordinated with si; cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 15 Decies centena dedisses / Hic parco, paucis contento; quinque diebus / nil erat in loculis. The subjunctive is used because the assumption is imaginary (Madvig, § 442 a, obs. 2). The meaning apparently is that had Corellius been well, he would himself have brought about the death of Domitian.

adfuit tamen deus voto: he lived to see the accession of Nerva in A.D. 96.

§ 9. valetudo denotes properly 'state of health', whether good or bad; cf. the use of the English word 'temper'. For valetudo in the sense of 'illness' cf. ii. 20. 7 Blaesus novissima valetudine conflictabantur.

perseverantem constantia fugit: constantia should be taken as ablative and perseverantem as referring to valetudo, 'he escaped
its persistence by an act of resoluteness', i.e. his determination to die. So Church and Brodribb, Merrill.

§ 10. Perveneram . . . cum . . . nuntiat: the coincidence in time is expressed by an inversion: hence indic. in the 'cum' clause. 

vox: for this sense of vox ('saying', 'remark') cf. Tac. Agr. xxxiii. 4 fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam.

§ 11. quae aetas etiam robustissimis satis longa est: cf. Ps. xc. 10.


valetudinem: cf. § 9 note.

florente re publica: under Nerva; cf. Tac. Agr. iii. 1 ad init.

§ 12. In summa: cf. i. 15. 4; ii. 11. 25. The usual classical construction is ad summam.

contubernali: contubernalis denotes properly a 'tent-companion'; cf. Tac. Agr. v. 1 electus quem contubernio aestimaret; so 'comrade', 'companion' in general.

Calvisio: C. Calvisius Rufus was a native of Comum, and a close friend and correspondent of Pliny; cf. ii. 20; iii. 1; ix. 6.

§ 13. audierim: the subjunctive denotes a certain kind or quality of consolation; see Madvig, § 364.

audivi denotes definite words of consolation heard.


On Pliny's love of literature see p. 30.

The practice of an author's reading his own composition to an audience of invited guests seems to have begun at Rome with Asinius Pollio, the great literary patron and founder of the first public library at Rome, in the time of Augustus. The practice quickly became common, and Juvenal mentions the recitations of the poets as one of the plagues of city life. (On Pliny's own recitations see below, § 6.)

§ 1. proventum: proventus properly means 'a crop'; cf. Tac. Agr. xii. 5 cito proventiunt; so, metaphorically, as here, cf. Quint. xii. 10. 11 proventus oratorum.

toto mense Aprili: April was a good time for such functions, as it was largely a holiday month. Juvenal mentions August as a month for recitations, Sat. iii. 9.

§ 2. stationibus: i.e. porticoes where one could lounge. Cf. ii. 9. 5 stationes circumae; Juv. Sat. xi. 4 thermae, stationes, omne theatrum.

fabulis: i.e. the gossip of the city.

evolverit librum: the 'book' would be a sheet of papyrus wound round a rod, and gradually unrolled as the reader proceeded. For liber cf. ii. 1. 5.

dissimulanter . . . libere: the adverbial couplets in this section are noticeable; cf. Cic. Phil. ii. 21 impure et intemperanter . . . impie ac nefario.
NOTES I. 12, 13, 15

§ 3. hercule: a mild expletive common in Pliny; cf. ii. 6. 5.
Claudium Caesarem: see p. 12.
Palatio: probably to be taken in the ordinary sense of ‘on the Palatine’ (hill). Claudius lived on the north-west of this hill in the palace built by Tiberius. There was also a Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, where recitations were often given. Palatium is used occasionally for ‘palace’, e.g. in Ovid, Met. i. 176, but it seems unlikely that a recitation should be held in the palace itself without the knowledge of the emperor, and the ordinary meaning gives a good sense.
Nonianum: M. Servilius Nonianus was consul under Tiberius, distinguished as a pleader and historian; cf. Tac. Ann. xiv. 19.
§ 4. quia non perdiderit: the subjunctive is used ironically to express the ground of the people’s complaint; they complain that they have lost a day, because they have not lost it in gossip.
§ 5. qui studia, sc. amat, ‘loves literature without at the same time loving me.’
ne videar ... creditor: contr. the sentiment of Juveral, who represents himself as incited to write by a desire for revenge on the reciters (Sat. i. 1).

I. 15. A FORGOTTEN INVITATION.

A Roman dinner consisted normally of three parts: (1) Hors d’œuvres, in this case lactucae, cochleae, ova, halica with mulsum; (2) courses, for which vegetarian fare is here substituted, olivae, betacei, cucurbitae, bulbi; (3) dessert, consisting of fruit, which is here covered by alia mille.
§ 1. promittis, sc. te venturum esse.
Dicitur ius: (1) there is a case against you; or (2) the decision is given against you. (1) is probably to be preferred.
ad assem, ‘to the last halfpenny’; for this use of ad assem, cf. Hor. Sat. i. 1. 43 viatica ad assem perdiderat. Cf. also ii. 20. 1 assem para.
§ 2. ova: cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 6 ab ovo usque ad mala, i.e. from the beginning to the end of dinner.
halica (from tr. root ἀλέω, to grind), ‘ground spelt’, here ‘barley cake’.
mulso: wine mixed with honey.
nive: snow was used to cool the wine; cf. Juv. Sat. v. 49.
mille: used for an indefinite number in iii. 1. 11 mille laboribus conteror, iv. 7. 2 in exemplaria mille.
comoedos ... lyristen: cf. iii. 1. 9 frequenter comoedis cena distinguitur; ix. 36. 4 post cenam comoedia aut lyristes.
§ 3. ostrea: the favourite varieties came from the Lucrine lake.
in Campania and from Rutupiae (Richborough) in Kent; cf. Juv. Sat. iv. 141.


Gaditanas: the women of Gades (Cadiz) are mentioned here as demoralizing, just as the songs of Gades in Juv. Sat. xi. 162.

necscio an: here neutral, 'perhaps'. In iii. 1. 1 Nescio an ultum iucundius tempus exegerim, and vii. 19. 4 oculis nescio an aliquid simile visuris, the suggestion is negative. Cf. also viii. 16. 3 An magni sapientesque sint, nescio.

Quantum nos . . . studuissemus: cf. iii. 1. 9 ut voluptates quoque studiis condiantur.

§ 4. in summa: cf. i. 12. 12.

II. 1. The Death of Verginius Rufus.

On Verginius Rufus see p. 22.

Voconius Romanus, a Spaniard by birth, was a fellow pupil of Quintilian with Pliny, and his close friend afterwards: Pliny recommended him both to Nerva and to Trajan for admission to the senate.

§ 1. publicum funus: a public funeral was one voted by decree of the senate and paid for at the public expense.

§ 2. Triginta annis: abl. of measure of difference. Pliny uses 'thirty' in a general way; Verginius' reputation reached its climax in his refusal of the Principate twenty-eight years before.

legit historias: probably that of Cluvius would be included (cf. ix. 19. 5), possibly that of the elder Pliny, in continuation of Auidius Bassus (cf. iii. 5. 6). We might compare in this respect the career of Wellington, who lived to see the publication of Napier's Peninsular War.

posteritati suae interfuit: (1) 'lived to see his descendants', i.e. grandchildren at least; or (2) 'was himself witness to his fame among posterity'. The latter is preferable as making a better climax. The use of posteritas for 'posthumous fame' is supported by certus posteritatis in ix. 3. 1.

tertio consulatu: with Nerva as colleague in A.D. 97.

privati: under the Republic privatus denoted a citizen who held no office of state; under the Empire even the highest officers of state were privati relatively to the emperor. But the original use is also found, e.g. i. 23. 3.

§ 3. Caesares quibus suspectus, etc. There is some evidence (Tac. Hist. i. 8) to show that Galba suspected Verginius, but no evidence of hostility on the part of any emperor. Pliny probably had Nero and Domitian in mind, but may be speaking somewhat rhetorically, unless he had information, which we have not.

optimum, etc.: Nerva.
§ 4. Annun tertium et octogensimum: he lived from A.D. 14 to A.D. 97.

citra: lit. 'on this side of', so 'falling short of'; cf. Tac. Agr. 13 citra fidem, ib. xxxv. 2 citra Romanum sanguinem, Germ. xvi. 3 citra speciem aut delectationem.

§ 5. acturus . . . gratias: the consulship by this time had become merely a complimentary distinction controlled by the emperor; the office, however, was much sought after; and it was usual for a consul on assuming it to make an address of thanks to the emperor for his promotion; thus Pliny addressed Trajan on the occasion of his consulship in A.D. 100, and the speech, somewhat enlarged, was published under the title of the Panegyricus and still survives. See p. 31.

liber . . . et seni et stanti: both seni and stanti give reasons for his letting the book fall, and both are governed by elapsus. For liber cf. i. 13. 2 note.

§ 6. rostris: the rostra was a platform for public speakers in the forum adorned with the beaks of ships captured from the people of Antium; cf. Liv. viii. 14.

Laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito: for Tacitus see p. 24; the custom of funeral orations is kept up at modern French funerals. The laudatio was usually pronounced by the nearest of kin, but on great occasions, or when there was no one in the family competent, the senate appointed some magistrate to perform the task.

§ 7. quos recusavit: i.e. those of the Principate.

non solum publice: sc. sed etiam private.

§ 8. tutor relictus: presumably by his father's will.


suffragio ornavit: a 'suffragator' supported a candidate by his presence and his vote at his election, and by accompanying him at the ceremony of his inauguration in office.

die, quo sacerdotes solent nominare, etc. There were four priestly colleges, the pontifices, augures, quindecim viri sacris factundis, septemviri epulonum (cf. ii. 11. 12). In theory they still 'nominated' to vacancies in their body, but the power of appointment really lay with the emperor. Pliny became a member of the college of Augurs, see p. 10. The day for nomination was early in January.

§ 9. quinqueviros qui . . . constituebantur: these retrenchments were made under Nerva, see p. 18. For the dative cf. Q. Fabius comitia censoribus creandi habuit, Liv. xxiv. 11.

huius aetatis: (1) 'of this generation'; or (2) 'in spite of my youth'; cf. iii. i. 5 'uxorem singularis exempli, iii. 5. 8 erat sane somni paratissimi.

Theseus, Tac. Agr. xlvi. 4 manet ... mansurumque est, and § 12 habemus et habeimus.

II. 6. A SNOB'S DINNER PARTY.

Cf. throughout Juv. Sat. v, Virro's dinner.

§ 1. altius repetere: cf. iv. 13. 10; vii. 4. 2.

§ 2. parvulis lagunculis: cf. i. 6. 3. For the diminutive of adj. and subst. together cf. Apul. de Mag. c. 8, p. 277. 12 parvulis gingivulis.

gradatim usually has the sense of 'step by step', gradually, as in ii. 14. 14 quod initium est gradatim desinendi, but here means 'in classes'.

§ 3. recunbebat: of the position at meals; cf. ix. 23. 4 recunbebbat mecum vir egregius.

notam: so used from the mark which the censors put against the name of a citizen whom they had occasion to degrade.

§ 5. hercule: cf. i. 13. 3 note.

in ordinem redigenda: the metaphor is military, 'to reduce an officer to the ranks', so, to degrade an official person to the ordinary level.

II. II. THE CASE OF MARIUS PRISCUS.

For the subject-matter of this letter see p. 27.

§ 1. secesseris: cf. i. 9. 3.

§ 2. Marius Priscus was a native of Spain and governor of the province of Africa; cf. Juv. Sat. vii. 120 cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros. The province of Africa had two parts, the old Carthaginian territory and Numidia. It was one of the most important senatorial provinces (cf. Tac. Agr. xliii), sending to Rome a considerable part of her corn-supply. The province was sometimes called Proconsularis simply.

omissa defensione: he pleaded guilty on the charge of extortion (res repetundae), hoping thereby to escape prosecution on the other and more serious charges.

iudices petiit: he applied for a commission of judges (recipera-tores) to assess the amount of compensation which he should pay to the provincials.

Ego et Cornelius Tacitus: see p. 24.

ius: by the senate.

§ 3. Fronto Catius: Catius Fronto would be the ordinary designation of this person. The inversion of the praenomen and the nomen occurs in Horace, e.g. Od. ii. 2 Crispe Sallusti, and became frequent in Latin of the silver age.

vela ... implevit: vela is used metaphorically in Cicero (Tusc. iii. 11. 25) but in a different sense, res velis, ut ita dicam,
Pliny uses it elsewhere as here, e.g. vi. 33. 10
dedimus vela indignationi.

§ 4. lege refers not to the lex repetundarum but 'legal principle'
in general, the plea being apparently that as the more serious
charges were not insisted upon when the grant of iudices was made,
they should not be pressed afterwards, on the principle that a man
should not be twice tried for the same offence.

§ 8. exilium equitis Romani: in the case of an accusation
brought against a Roman citizen, the magistrate was under normal
circumstances bound to allow an appeal to the emperor (cf. the
case of St. Paul, Acts xxv. 10–12). He could only disallow appeals
(in certain cases) if he possessed the ius gladii. It is noticeable
that Pliny lays stress not on the unconstitutional conduct of the
governor, but on the innocence of the victims, ob innocentes con-
demandandos (§ 2). It is possible therefore that Marius did possess
the ius gladii.

ultimam poenam: death.

fustibus caesus: flogging was the usual preliminary to execution,
but under the Empire it was not inflicted on people of higher social
position (honestiores).

dannatus in metallum: it appears that this punishment was
only inflicted under the Empire, and only on people of inferior
social position (tenuiiores).

strangulatus: cf. the fate of the Catilinarian conspirators.

§ 9. iure senatorio: in virtue of his right as a senator to propose
what he pleased.

§ 10. Princeps: Trajan.

Januarius mensis: January, A.D. 100.

cetera may be taken (1) as acc. 'in other ways', e.g. the
inauguration of officers (for this use of cetera cf. Hor. Ep. i. 10. 50
excepto quod non simul esses cetera laetus); (2) as abl. with fre-
quentia, 'noted for the crowd of all other people and especially of
senators'. The use of cetera elsewhere seems to favour (1).

§ 12. septemvir epulonum: cf. ii. 1. 8 note. The college was
instituted at the beginning of the second century B.C. It consisted
originally of three, the number being afterwards increased to seven,
and later still to ten, though the members were still called septem-
viri. Their business was to preside over public banquets.

iam neutrum: the admission of repetundae implied by the
application for iudices involved forfeiture of senatorial privileges.
The plight of the defendant seems to have influenced both the
counsel for the prosecution and the jury.

§ 13. quasi: modifying peractae only.


horis paene quinque: abl. of duration of time is common in
Pliny (cf. iii. 5. 19 tota vita; iv. 13. 1 pauculis adhuc diebus) and
silver-age writers.
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clepsydris: the *clepsydra* (*κλεψυδρα*) was a contrivance for measuring time with water, as the sand-glass measures it with sand. Ordinarily four *clepsydrae* went to an hour, but as sixteen here correspond to five hours, perhaps the amount of water was varied. The length of speeches seems to have been decided for each particular trial.


gracilitas: Pliny’s health, however, was good as a rule.

§ 17. *dispositus*: cf. iii. 1. 2 *Me autem vita hominum disposita delectat.*

§ 18. *locus ille*: the point reached in the defence.

probationes: *probatio* is a rhetorical term (*πίστις*) denoting the third and last part of the discourse, in which the orator summed up his arguments with a view to producing conviction; cf. Quint. *Inst. Orat.* iii. 9. 1.

§ 19. *Cornutus Tertullus*: Pliny was his colleague as consul and as *praefectus aerarii*, possibly also his successor in Bithynia, a close friend all his life, though considerably his senior.

interdicendum: the full phrase is *interdicere aqua et igni*, the old formula of banishment.

Marciano . . . Africa: because Africa was his home.

§ 20. *relegandum*: *relegatio* was the mildest form of banishment, the *relegatus* retaining his rights as a citizen (*caput*) and his property; cf. vii. 19. 4.

§ 22. *discessio*: the consul read out one of the proposals and ordered all who favoured it to go to one side of the house. He announced the result of the division in the formula ‘Haec (pointing to it) pars maior videtur.’

Regulo: cf. ii. 20; iv. 2; iv. 7; and p. 26.

aliqui: properly ‘in other respects’, here and in x. 33. 2 ‘in general’; in ii. 14. 12, vii. 9. 16, and viii. 24. 9 ‘from other points of view’; in vi. 20. 16 and viii. 8. 1 ‘otherwise’.

§ 23. *λιτουργία* evidently means ‘an offshoot’ or ‘appendix’, a small piece of business growing out of a large one; whether the word should be connected with *λειτουργία* or *λιτός* is uncertain.

Leptitanorum: the people of Leptis Magna, a town on the coast of Africa, east of Carthage.

unguentarii: cf. ‘pin-money’.


in summa: cf. i. 12. 12 note.
II. 14. THE CENTUMVIRAL COURT.

The centumviral court is mentioned in Cic. de Or. i. 38. It consisted traditionally of 105 members, three from each of the thirty-five tribes, but the number was afterwards increased to 180, though the original title Centumviri was preserved. The court dealt with cases of inheritance, wills, and property generally: it had four panels (quadruplex iudicium), which ordinarily sat separately, but in important cases together. The original meeting-place was the Forum, but under the Empire the Basilica Julia. The presidents were originally ex-quaestors, but Augustus transferred the duty to the decemviri stlitibus iudicandis (see p. 9). On Pliny's profession see p. 26.

Maximo: cf. viii. 24; ix. 23.

§ 2. ad declamandum: they make their preparation here instead of at school. The two kinds of cases debated in the schools of rhetoric were called suasoriae and controversial.

Atilius: cf. i. 9. 8 note.

auspicari: cf. iii. 5. 8 note; auspicari means originally 'to make a lucky start', but the word has weakened till it means here practically the same as incipere.

ab Homero: Homer was read in the Roman schools as the foundation of all learning.

§ 3. hercule: cf. i. 13. 3 note.

producente: by allowing the young man to appear with him as 'junior' in a case.

§ 4. manceps (manu-capi): the contractor.

in media basilica: this is the Basilica Julia on the south-west of the Forum, begun by Julius and finished by Augustus: it was a huge building, consisting of a central court surrounded by a double row of pillars.

sportulae (dim. from sporta, a basket). It was customary for clients in early times to dine occasionally at their patron's table. Later a portion of food was given them in a little basket (sportula) to carry away. Finally a dole in money was substituted for food. Here sportulae simply means 'doles'; cf. Juv. Sat. xiii. 33. (On the sportula in general cf. Appendix IX A to Sat. iv, p. 159, Hardy's Juvenal.)

§ 5. οὐφοκλεῖς: from οὐφως and καλ-, 'people who shout, Bravo.'

ludiceni: from laus and cena, 'people who praise to get a dinner.'

§ 6. utraque lingua: Greek and Latin. Cf. iii. 1. 7 and Hor. Od. iii. 8. 5.

nomenclatores: a nomenclator was a confidential slave, whose duty it was to tell his master the names of those who saluted him in the street, and to announce visitors at his house, keeping out the undesirable.
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togas, sc. viriles; cf. i. 9. 2.
numerosa = (1) multa; or (2) 'crowded'; cf. Tac. Agr. 17 Brigantum civitas quae numerossima provinciae totius, 'populous'. In classical Latin it means 'rhythmical'; e.g. Cic. de Or. iii. 48. 185.

§ 8. tribunal: a raised platform on which the president and jurymen sat. Sometimes distinguished persons present were invited to sit on ‘the tribunal’ as on ‘the bench’ of a modern court.

§ 9. Larcius Licinius: cf. iii. 5. 17; legatus praetorius in Spain, where he offered the Elder Pliny a large sum for some of his notebooks.

corrogaret (opp. conducere): he invited an audience but did not hire them.

ex Quintiliano: see p. 25.

§ 10. Domitium Afrum: a native of Gaul who gained a considerable position at Rome as an orator; he was a favourite of Tiberius and lived into the reign of Nero.

ex proximo: cf. vi. 16. 17.

§ 12. alioqui: see note on ii. 11. 22.
fracta pronuntiatione: 'shrill', 'affected' pronunciation like that of the priests of Cybele; cf. Juv. Sat. ii. 111 fracta voce.
taetris: Mommsen’s emendation for teneris used in the sense of 'effeminate'.

§ 13. plausus: rhythmical clapping.
cymbala: hollow brass plates clashed together.
tympana: 'tambourines', also used in the worship of Cybele or the Magna Mater, the great nature-goddess of Asia Minor.
theatris: the 'gallery' in a Roman theatre was often disorderly.
quoque, 'even'.

§ 14. ratio aetatis, 'regard for my age'; cf. iii. 1. 11 ut primum ratio aetatis receptui canere permiserit.
gradatim, ‘little by little’; see ii. 6. 2 note.

II. 17. PLINY’S HOUSE AT LAURENTUM.

For remarks on this villa and a tentative plan see pp. 29 and 147.

Gallo: cf. viii. 20, a letter also describing scenery, the Vadimonian lake. This letter may be divided for convenience into the following parts: 1–3, the approach from Rome to the villa; 4–24, description of the villa itself; 25–8, its surroundings; 29, an invitation to Gallus to visit it.

§ 1. Laurentinum ... Laurens (sc. praedium), alternative forms of the adjective; cf. Picentinum ... Picens. Pliny elsewhere uses the longer form. The shorter is used by Vergil, Aen. v. 797, vii. 650, 661, and Juv. Sat. i. 107, for reasons of scansion. ‘The Laurentine shore’ had traditional associations with the coming of the Latin race (see Verg. ib.), and was a favourite resort with Romans of the
upper classes (see § 12 villas amoenissimas), though not so fashionable as Baiae.

litoris spatiurn: the extent of shore belonging to the estate.

§ 2. secessit: cf. i. 9. 3; the notion of retirement is transferred metaphorically from the owner to the house.

salvo et composito die. A dies saluis is a day on which no duty has been omitted (contr. dies perditus); a dies compositus is a day on which the necessary business has been well arranged and dispatched without hurry or fuss.

lapide: i. e. milestone.

Vtrimque excipit: 'whichever way you go' (i. e. by the Ostian or Laurentine road); iter, 'a side road'; excipit, 'receives you as you turn out of the main road'. Vtrimque in this sense means 'at both points', i. e. at the fourteenth milestone on the Laurentine and the eleventh on the Ostian road.

§ 3. tepore: the mild breezes of spring; cf. § 17 and Ov. Met. i. 107–8.

nitescunt: niteo and nitesco are the regular words for cattle growing sleek; cf. Verg. Aen. vi. 654 of horses.

§ 4. usibus capax. For capax with gen. cf. i. 12. 7 secreti capacisima.

tutela: abl. of description. Madv. § 272; cf. § 287, obs. 2.

atrium frugi: i. e. not crammed with statues, etc. The atrium was a covered-in forecourt or entrance-hall, approached probably by a short passage (fauces) from the door into the street.

atrium: many possible derivations have been suggested. ἄθροον (Becker), ἄθροιον (Scaliger), Atria, a Tuscan town (Varro), have all been accepted at different times. Perhaps the explanation most generally in favour now is that of Servius, who says (ap. Verg. Aen. i. 726) iber et culina erat: unde et atrium dictum est: atrium enim erat ex fumo. Cf. Gk. μελαθρον; Magoun, Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass. 1896, pp. vi–vii.

porticus: two semicircular porticoes facing one another, with an open space (area) between them.

specularibus: frames probably filled with glass, not, as was formerly thought, with thin plates of mica.

§ 5. contra medias: sc. porticus.

cavaedium has sometimes been explained as equivalent to atrium, 'an atrium of smaller size' (so Becker, Gall. p. 253), but this is probably wrong: see Amer. Philol. Ass. 1894, pp. xxxiv–v; originally atrium and cavaedium were practically synonymous. Here it denotes an inner hall like a second atrium but larger.

mox: 'next' of place; cf. Tac. Ann. i. 51 pars equitum ... mox prima legio. For mox used of time cf. vi. 16. 5; vi. 20. 2; vii. 9. 3; viii. 20. 8; ix. 33. 9; ix. 36. 4; Tac. Germ. xiii. 1 ante hoc (investiture with arms) domus pars videntur, mox reipublicae.
triclinium: originally the couch running round three sides of the dinner-table, then the dining-room.

Africo: sc. *vento*, the south-west wind, still called in Italy 'Affrico'.

fenestras: apertures in the wall at some distance from the ground, whereas *valvae* were on a level with the floor.

a tergo: i.e. if any one turned right round after entering the *triclinium* and looked back through the open doors.

montes: the Alban hills.

§ 6. a laeva: i.e. south of the *triclinium*.

cubiculum denotes an ordinary room, not necessarily a bed-room unless it is definitely so described, e.g. in § 27 *cubiculum noctis et somni*.

§ 7. hibernaculum: this Laurentine house was Pliny's winter place; his summer retreat was in Etruria; cf. ix. 36.

meorum, 'my household', i.e. slaves and freedmen; cf. vii. 27. 14; viii. 16. 1 *consecrunt me infirmitates meorum*; ix. 36. 4 *cum meis amбуlo*.

serenum: governed by *eriπιυντ.*

§ 8. in hapsida curvatum: the words describe a 'bow-window', not 'a vaulted roof'.

in *bibliothecae speciem armarium*: Pliny is too modest to say *bibliotheca* simply.

§ 9. suspensus: the floor was raised on pillars like a bridge.

tubulatus: heated air was conveyed by pipes (*tubι, tubuli*) laid under the floor of this passage from the furnace; the heat was thus distributed on both sides (*huc, illuc*).

plerisque: sc. cubiculis, abl. abs.

§ 10. Ex alio latere: north of the *triclinium*.

Huic cubiculo aliud: sc. *cubiculum*.

§ 11. cella frigidaria: the other two *cellae* of the bath (*tepida* and *caldaria*) are indicated below, *mox duae cellae*.

capacia: absolutely; see i. 12. 7 note.

sphaeristerium: exercise was the usual preliminary to the bath; cf. iii. 1. 8 *movetur pila vehementer et diu...* Lotus accubat.

inclinato iam die: when the sun has passed the meridian; cf. vii. 27. 2 *inclinato die spatibatur in porticu*.

§ 12. turris: hardly 'a tower' in the ordinary sense; a raising of the roof to accommodate a second story.

in ipsa: the second story.

cenatio is a less formal word than *triclinium* but almost a synonym.

§ 13. apotheca, 'a wine store', but the Romans kept their wine at the top of the house, not, as we do, at the bottom. The *apotheca* was near the bath in order that the wine might be improved by the smoke from the furnace.
gestationem: gestatio means literally 'a being carried about', and so the place where one is carried about, 'a drive'.

§ 14. rore marino: rosemary is very common in Italy, both wild and in gardens.

§ 15. vinea tenera et umbrosa: some people find difficulty in understanding how a vine-plantation could be both 'young' and 'shady', but in Italy vines were, and still often are, trained much higher than now in France. Hence it seems better to keep the MSS. reading vinea. Kukula conjectures via. Mollis et cedens in respect of its soil, cf. vii. 9. 11 where mollis cedensque is used of a surface of wax.

vestibulum: the open space in front of the door, court-yard.


§ 16. cryptoporticus: this hybrid word (κρυπτό-, porticus) denotes a sort of tunnel, with windows but no pillars. There is a cryptoporticus still to be seen on the Palatine. For the word cf. ix. 36. 3.

publici operis: gen. of quality; see note on ii. 1. 9 huius aetatis. ab horto singulæ, et alternis pauciores: this reading, which is that of Gesner, Church and Brodribb, seems to give the best sense that can be made out of these words, i.e. for every other window on the side looking towards the sea there was one window on the side looking towards the garden. Kukula reads ab horto singulis ex alternis pauciores, Pritchard and Bernard ab horto singulæ sed alternis pauciores, Merrill ab horto pauciores, sed alternis singularæ.

§ 17. xystus. In Greek ευροδ (from ευω, to polish) denoted a portico with polished floor adjoining the gymnasion, where the athletes could disport themselves. In Latin xystus describes the open space in front of the portico, which was a favourite place for a stroll. The nearest English word is perhaps 'terrace', but xystus was not necessarily a raised walk. For xystus cf. ix. 36. 3; Vitruvius vi. 7. 150.

teporem: cf. § 3.
aquilonem: NNE. wind.

summovetque: cf. Hor. Od. ii. 18. 21; Tac. Agr. xxiii. 2 summotis velut in aliam insulam hostibus.

Africam: cf. § 5 note.

§ 19. favonios: west wind.

§ 20. diaeta: here means a suite of rooms, i.e. heliocaminus, cubiculum, cubiculum noctis, hypocauston, procotet, cubiculum.
amores mei: used commonly of people (cf. Cic. Att. ii. 19 Pompeius, nostri amores) or animals; here of the room.

§ 21. zotheca (Gk. ζωθα and θηκη): lit. place for keeping live animals, e.g. poultry for fattening; then the word came to be used for any small room, a recess or alcove, sometimes used for religious purposes; sometimes for books or pictures. Here apparently it was simply for rest.
specularibus: see § 4 note.
cathedras: cathedra was used commonly of chairs for women (cf. iii. 16. 12 and Hor. Sat. i. 10. 91), but also for a sedan chair (Juv. Sat. i. 65) and for a professor's chair (Juv. Sat. vii. 203).
§ 22. cubiculum noctis et somni: for cubiculum cf. § 6 note.
andron: ἄνδρων in Gk. means 'the men's part of the house', anārōn in Lat. 'a passage'. For a word changing its meaning in the two languages cf. note on xystus § 17.
§ 24. Saturnalibus. The Saturnalia began on Dec. 17 and lasted for a week or so. It was a time of general festivity; presents were exchanged and slaves were allowed to enjoy themselves (cf. licentia dierum festisque clamoribus).
festis clamoribus: cf. Tac. Germ. xl. 3 festa loca.
meorum: cf. § 7 note.
in summo: putei probably denote springs deep down, fontes springs near the surface.
corruptus: read by all modern editors in preference to salsus, which was probably a gloss on corruptus.
§ 26. Ostiensis colonia. Ostia was traditionally said to have been founded by Ancus Martius, one of the early kings of Rome, as a harbour at the mouth of the Tiber, but it became silted up. Claudius built a harbour on the opposite side of the river, which was further developed by Trajan.
calfacere dissuadeat: ne calfacias dissuadeat would be more usual in prose, but cf. Quint. ii. 8. 7.
§ 27. quod non... indurat: there is very little tide on the Laurentine shore. The sand was difficult to walk on in calm weather, but firm when the wind drove the waves up on to it (contrarius).
§ 29. justisne: ne = nonne; cf. iii. 16. 13.
dotibus: properly, wedding gifts; cf. Tac. Germ. xviii. 1; then 'endowments' or 'qualities' of mind or body, so 'charms', 'attractions' generally: cf. as applied to a place, Ov. Her. xv. 146 dos erat ille loci.
villulae: for the diminutive used in modest depreciation; cf. iii.
21. 2 (versiculi).
contubernio: cf. contubernalis, i. 12. 12.

II. 20. THREE STORIES OF REGULUS.

This letter, written in Pliny's best style, is probably the earliest in the selection; see p. 6. It falls naturally into the following parts: § 1, introductory; §§ 2-6, Regulus and Verania; §§ 7-9, Regulus and Blaesus; §§ 10-11, Regulus and Aurelia; §§ 12-14, conclusion.
Calvisio: C. Calvisius Rufus, a fellow countryman and close friend of Pliny; cf. i. 12. 12; iii. 1; ix. 6.
For Regulus see p. 26.
§ 1. Assem para: Pliny imitates the cry of a 'circulator', a wandering storyteller (cf. iv. 7. 6). For assem cf. i. 15. 1 note.
auream: cf. the Asinus Aureus of Apuleius.
§ 2. Verania Pisonis: for the form of expression cf. vi. 16. 8
Rectinae Taei.
iecebat: cf. i. 12. 6.
quem Galba adoptavit: see p. 13.
impudentiam: acc. of exclamation.
§ 3. quo die, etc.: Regulus was evidently superstitious and may really have believed in horoscopes.
agitat... computat. The Romans had an elaborate system of reckoning numbers by the fingers, counting units and tens on the fingers of the left hand and hundreds on those of the right. Cf. Juv. Sat. x. 249, with Mayor's note, and Bede De loquela per gestum digitorum et temporum ratione, p. 132, ed. Colon. 1612, also Purser, Hermathena, xiv. 33, pp. 391 ff.
climactericum tempus: years which were multiples of 7, as well as 7 itself, were considered critical (cf. κλίμακτηρ), especially 63, but Regulus may have told Aurelia that she was at some special climacteric.
§ 4. haruspicem: i.e. a soothsayer who would foretell the future from the entrails of victims.
§ 5. codicillos: here 'will', contr. vi. 16. 8, where codicillos means simply 'a note'.
hoeminem: the acc. of exclamation is made the object of clamat.
filii: he died soon after; cf. iv. 2 and 7.
§ 7. Velleius Blaesus may be the person referred to in Tac. Hist. xi. 38.
novissima valetudine: cf. i. 12. 9.
novis tabulis commonly means 'a cancelling of debts', and so by association 'a revolution'. Here the phrase seems to be used in its literal sense, meaning 'a new will'.
captare: the regular word for will-hunting; cf. Juv. Sat. xvi. 56.
§ 8. tantulum: 'so much' with a snap of the fingers; sc legavit.
§ 9. scholastica lege: i.e. the rule of the schools of rhetoric.
A thesis was to be illustrated by three examples, e.g. iii. 16.
Cf. the Greek Trilogy, three plays on connected subjects, e.g. of Aeschylus, Agamemnon, Choephorae, Eumenides.
signatura testamentum: cf. i. 9. 2. has: sc. tunicas.
§ 11. ne multa: sc. dicam.
quas... induta: the acc. with verbs of putting on and taking off is poetical, e.g. Verg. Aen. ii. 275 exuvias indutus Achillei, but is found in prose in Livy and the silver-age writers.
hereditates: the inheritance of the whole or of part of an estate; legata, specific things left.
III. 1. A Visit to Spurinna.

On the subject-matter of this letter see p. 30; cf. also ix. 36. On Spurinna himself cf. p. 23.

Calvisio Rufo: cf. previous letter.

§ 1. Nescio an: cf. i. 15. 3 note.

datum est: cf. vi. 16. 3; vii. 19. 7.

certus siderum cursus: for the same idea of the fixed order of the stars cf. Psalms, cxlvii. 4.

§ 2. disposita: cf. ii. 11. 17.

§ 4. lectulo: 'couch', not 'bed'.

hora secunda: Roman days and nights consisted in the periods from sunrise to sunset, and sunset to sunrise, divided into twelve horae. Hence the length of the horae and the part of the day or night to which they corresponded varied at different seasons of the year. If we take six o'clock as the normal hour for sunrise secunda hora = approximately 7 a.m.

calceos poscit: cf. the Elder Pliny, vi. 16. 5.

§ 5. liber: sc. legitur; cf. iii. 5. 10 note.

sermo: sc. explicatur.

vehiculum ascendit: cf. Pliny's own custom, ix. 36. 3.

uxorem singularis exempli: for the gen. cf. ii. 1. 9 note.

§ 6. hoc temperamentum modestiae suae indixerit: for temperamentum in the sense of 'restraint' cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 12 Caesar orationem habuit meditato temperamento. Hoc is explained by ne praecipere videatur. Modestiae dat. governed by indixerit. The English idiom would be 'modesty put restraint on him'.


cuius gratiam, etc. Spurinna's verses were amatory and apparently somewhat risqué, though Spurinna himself was eminently respectable. This pose was adopted by Pliny himself. Cf. iv. 14; v. 3; cf. also Ov. Trist. ii. 354 vita verecunda est, Musa iocosa mihi.

§ 8. in sole ... ambulat nudus: cf. vi. 16. 5.

movetur pila: cf. Pliny's fondness for games, shown by the sphaeristerium in his Laurentine house (ii. 17. 11). The pila was the ball ordinarily used, but Martial remarks (xiv. 47. 21) folle deet pueros ludere, folle senes; cf. also ix. 36. 4, where exercēor is used in a middle sense, as movetur here.

§ 9. cena: ‘dinner’ was the chief meal of the day, beginning about 3 or 4, and lasting, with the convivium that followed (see below), well into the night. In the case of Spurinna, as of Pliny himself, this is the only meal mentioned, but light refreshment may have been taken at other times during the day.

For Pliny’s menu at dinner cf. i. 15, and for his views on hospitality, ii. 6.
puro: i.e. not embossed, as old plate frequently was; cf. Juv. Sat. i. 76.
et: = et tamen; cf. ii. 6. I lautom et diligentem ... sordidum simul et sumptuosum; iii. v. 17 et tunc aliquanto pauciiores erant.

Corinthia: sc. aeraria, dishes and bowls as well as statues made by a special process the secret of which was lost. Hence Corinthia were valuable. Pliny had none of them at his own house, but presented a Corinthium signum to a temple; cf. iii. 6. 1.

comoedis: cf. i. 15. 2.
distinguitur: i.e. between the courses.
ut voluptates, etc.: cf. i. 15. 3 Quantum nos lusissesmus, risis- semus, studuissemus.

convivium: the after-dinner sitting over the wine.
receptui canere: the metaphor is military; cf. Caes. B. G. passim.
mille: cf. i. 15. 2 note.
officia, ‘offices’; cf. iii. 5. 7, e.g. the prefecture of the fleet (iii. 5. 9), but not those of the senatorial cursus, which were called magistratus.
provincias: e.g. Lower Germany.
§ 12. Igitur: very rarely the first word of the sentence in the Augustan period, but commonly in Pliny (ii. 6. 7) and other silver-age writers, e.g. Tac. Agr. vii. 3.

III. 5. The Works and Life of Pliny the Elder.

For Pliny the Elder cf. p. 21.
§ 2. indicis: used of ‘a table of contents’ at the beginning of a book, or, as here, a list of all the books of one author.

studiosis: in Cicero always with gen. litterarum, eloquentiae, &c. For absolute use of the verb studeo cf. iv. 13. 3 Studes?
§ 3. unus: sc. liber.
prefectus alae. A prefecture in an auxiliary cohort was the first step in the equestrian cursus.

De vita Pomponi Secundi. Pomponius Secundus was involved in the conspiracy of Seianus against Tiberius and narrowly escaped death, but rose to favour under Caligula and Claudius and became a
successful general and Governor of Upper Germany. His tragedies were approved by Quintilian (x. 1. 98).


Drusi Neronis effigies: Drusus, brother of the Emperor Tiberius, carried the Roman arms further into Germany than any other general, and was extending the frontier to the Elbe when he died prematurely in 9 B.C.; cf. Tac. Germ. xxxiv. 3 nec defuit audentia Druso.

Germaniae: gen. governed by victor; cf. Cic. Pis. vii. 8 omnium gentium victor.

latissime victor: cf. Verg. Aen. i. 25 populum late regem.

§ 5. tres (sc. libri) in sex volumina, etc.: liber and volumen were originally synonymous; by Pliny’s time, however, volumen was used for the actual roll on which the writing was inscribed, liber for the division of the work. Thus in this case two volumina went to one liber.

sub Nerone novissimis annis cum, etc.: cf. Tac. Agr. 6 gnarus sub Nerone temporum quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit.

§ 6. A fine Aufidi Bassi: A fine, ‘in continuation of’. Aufidius Bassus wrote a history of the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. His work has perished except for a few fragments.

Naturae historiarum: the book was called by the Elder Pliny himself Naturalis Historia; it is the only one of his books that has survived; see p. 21.

§ 7. scrupulosa, ‘difficult’; scrupulus means originally a sharp pebble.


medium: the interval between his retirement from the bar and his death.

officis: cf. iii. I. 11 note.

principum: Vespasian and Titus.

§ 8. Vulcanalibus: Aug. 23, when the shortening of the days made it necessary to work by artificial light.

auspicandi: i.e. he began to burn the midnight oil on this day not because it was lucky, but because it was necessary for his work. Cf. ii. 14. 2, where, however, the suggestion of ‘luck’ is less prominent.

somni paratissimi: for genitive: cf. ii. 1. 9 note.

§ 9. delegatum officium: the prefecture of the fleet at Misenum. There were two ‘classes praetoriae’ established by Augustus, one ‘Superioris maris’ normally stationed at Ravenna, the other ‘Inferioris maris’ at Misenum; they were commanded by praefecti exercising the imperium of the emperor, whom they represented
directly; cf. vi. 16. 4. This arrangement of Augustus was continued by his successors (Tac. Ann. iv. 5). The Elder Pliny spent most of his time at desk-work in Rome, though he had a house at Misenum; cf. vi. 16. 4.

§ 10. cibum: i.e. the ientaculum, a light breakfast.

legebatur: by a slave trained for the purpose.

excerpebat: cf. vi. 20. 5; this lack of originality was characteristic of the age.

§ 11. frigida: sc. aqua; cf. vi. 16. 5.

gustabat: cf. vi. 16. 5; i.e. prandium. This gustatio was properly the first course of the cena (dinner). Cena is the only meal mentioned in the case of Spurinna and the Younger Pliny; cf. iii. 1. 9 note.

dormiebat. The midday siesta (meridiatio) was an almost invariable custom with the Romans, as it still is with the Italians, though it was sometimes omitted under pressure of business. The Younger Pliny took it in summer; cf. ix. 36. 3 Paulum redormio; also vii. 4. 4 cum meridie (erat enim aestas) dormiturns me recepsiem; but omitted it in the busy season in winter (ix. 40. 2).

quasi alio die. Most people’s working day was over at midday.

Super hanc: cf. iv. 22. 6 super cenam.

et quidem: cf. i. 6. 1 note.


in secessu: cf. i. 9. 3.

interioribus: of the bath.

destringitur: with the strigil, a scraper made of horn or metal; cf. Juv. Sat. iii. 263.

tertitur: with a towel.

§ 15. notarius: cf. ix. 36. 2 notarium voco.

pugillaribus: cf. i. 6. 1 note.


Romae quoque. Driving in Rome was forbidden at this period (and long afterwards). The Elder Pliny rode in a sella in preference to walking (see § 16), because he could study better thus. The sella was a sort of sedan chair in which the occupant sat upright, whereas in a lectica he reclined.


§ 17. commentarios: ‘note-books’ or ‘rough notes’. Caesar called his books on the Gallic and the Civil Wars commentarii; cf. vii. 19. 5.

mihi reliquit: as his heir; see life, p. 9.

opisthographos: cf. Juv. Sat. vi. 6. Writing materials were dear.

cum procuraret: when he was serving in Hispania Tarra-
conensis as the emperor's financial agent; for procuratores cf. Tac. Agr. ix. 5.

in Hispania: cf. vi. 20. 5.
et: = et tamen; cf. iii. 1. 9 note.
§ 18. instantia, 'urgency', a post-Augustan use.
§ 19. Ego autem tan turn; sc. desidiosus sum.
tota vita: for abl. cf. ii. 11. 14 Dixi horis paene quinque; iv. 13. 1 pauculis adhuc diebus in Tusculano commorabor.

III. 16. THE HEROISM OF THE ELDER ARRIA.

For the part played in the history by the Stoic opposition see pp. 12-13, 15, 16. Cf. also vii. 19 and Tac. Agr. ii and xlv. The pedigree of the family so far as it concerns these letters is as follows:

Caecina Paetus = Arria senior

III. 16. 3

| iii. 16. 2 |

son, iii. 16. 3

Arria junior = P. Thrasea Paetus, Tac. Agr.

III. 16. 10

| ii, iii. 16. 10, vii. 19. 3 |

Fannia = Helvidius Priscus, Tac.

III. 16. 1, vii. 19. 1

| Agr. ii, vii. 19. 3 |

Helvidius, Tac. Agr. xlv

The letter illustrates the thesis alia clariora esse, alia maior in the case of Arria senior by three examples, scholastica lege (cf. ii. 20. 9).

§§ 1-2 are introductory; §§ 3-12 illustrate the heroism of Arria, 3-6 in concealing the death of her son, 7-9 in following her husband to Rome, 10-12 in her determination to die with him; § 13 gives the conclusion of the thesis.

§ 2. Fanniae: cf. vii. 19. 1, the granddaughter of Arria senior, daughter of Arria junior and Thrasea Paetus, wife of Helvidius Priscus. See vii. 19 for incidents in her life.

Arriae illius: the elder Arria, whose heroism is the subject of this letter.

§ 3. Caecina Paetus: see below for incidents in his life.

§ 4. quotiens ... intraret: cf. i. 12. 7 note quotiens intrasset, and Tac. Ann. vi. 21 Quotiens super tali negotio consultaret, edita domus parte ac liberti unius conscientia utebatur.

quid ageret: colloquial, 'going on', as we say; cf. for colloquial use of ago § 11 nihil agitis, 'it is no good'; in § 6 matrem agere, ago has a different sense 'to play the mother'.

Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Paeto,
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis,
'Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet,' inquit,
'Sed quod tu facies hoc mihi, Paete, dolet.'

Sed tamen, etc. Pliny is judging Arria's action by his own standards; her motive was clearly pure devotion to her husband.


in partibus: i.e. was implicated in the conspiracy.

§ 8. servulos: diminutive of depreciation. The sense here is slightly different from that of villulae, ii. 17. 29, and versiculis, iii. 21. 2.

calcietur: cf. iii. 1. 4 note.

§ 9. apud Claudium: cf. i. 13. 3 note.

uxori Scriboniani: Vibia by name; cf. Tac. Ann. xii. 52.

cum illa profiteretur indicium, 'turned king's evidence'.

cuius in gremio. Pliny here agrees with Tac. Hist. ii. 75 as against Dio. ix. 15, who says that Scribonianus killed himself.

§ 10. Thrasea: Paetus; cf. introd. note to this letter; vii. 19. 3;

Tac. Agr. ii. 1; Ann. xvi. 34: the husband of the younger Arria and father of Fannia.

filiam tuam: the younger Arria. The situation he contemplated occurred twenty-four years later. The younger Arria wished to follow her mother's example, but was persuaded to live for the sake of her daughter Fannia.

§ 11. male moriar: i.e. by a long and painful death, contr. ii. 20. 8 bona mortis.

§ 12. cathedra: cf. ii. 17. 21 note.


haec: the three incidents related in §§ 3-12.

Vnde colligitur: summing up the illustrations to prove the thesis.

III. 21. THE DEATH OF MARTIAL.

On Martial see p. 25.

§ 1. decessisse: some time after A.D. 100.

Erat homo, etc.: for P.'s criticism of Martial see p. 31.

§ 2. Prosequus. Prosequor properly means to follow in a procession, e.g. to follow a candidate to the forum; so, to pay a compliment; and, as here, to honour with a complimentary present.

viatico: cf. iv. 13. 5; a present of money to cover travelling expenses.

secedentem: Martial was leaving Rome for Bilbilis, his native town in Spain.

versiculis: diminutive of modesty; cf. villulae, ii. 17. 29.
§ 3. Fuit moris: cf. i. 12. 7 habebat hoc moris; vii. 27. 14 quia
reis moris est.

honoribus: e.g. the poet Archias had been given the Roman
citizenship as a reward for his literary work (Cic. pro Arch. iii. 4).

pecunia: e.g. Horace received gifts of money from Maecenas.

§ 4. tenerem: sc. memoria; cf. vii. 9. 3; ix. 36. 2; Verg. Ecl. ix.

numeros memini si verba tenerem.

§ 5. Esquilliis: Pliny's town house; for his country houses cf.
ii. 17; ix. 36; and p. 29.

Minervae: cf. i. 6. 3.

centum ... virorum: cf. ii. 14, introd. note.

Arpinis: Cicero's birthplace was Arpinum. For Pliny's admira-
tion for Cicero cf. vii. 4. 3 ff.

Lyaeus: Δαίας (Liaus), an epithet of Bacchus as loosing from


daturus: the future participle takes the place of a subjunctive in
apodosis in the case of a condition contrary to fact. Cf. vii. 27. 14
futurus.

IV. 2. THE DEATH OF REGULUS' SON.


§ 1. filium: cf. ii. 20. 6.

hoc uno malo indignus: because it involved his son, who was
presumably innocent of Regulus' crimes.

nescio an: cf. i. 15. 3.

referret: cf. Verg. Aen. iv. 329 si quis mihi parvulus aula
luderet Aeneas qui te tamen ore referret.

§ 2. emancipavit. In strict legal theory the son in a Roman
family was his father's slave, and hence was incapable, like any
other slave (cf. viii. 16. 1 note), of holding property. He could be
set free from the patria potestas (emancipatus) by a process of
fictitious sale to a third party thrice repeated. The third party
after each 'sale' set the son free. Regulus' son was thus enabled
to hold the property left to him.

ut heres matris existeret. Regulus' wife was apparently not
married to him by any of the processes which involved her coming
in manum mariti (see i. 9. 2 note). Hence she was able to leave
her own property to her son directly.

emancipatum: emancipare (which is not a Ciceronian word)
usually means the same as emancipare, 'to make over'; cf. Tac.
Ann. ii. 30 servos singulos actori publico emancipavit. It may be
so used here, the boy being 'made over' or 'sold' by his father so
that being subsequently 'freed' (see above) he might inherit his
mother's property. More probably, however, Pliny means to suggest
that the son was not really emancipatus, but mancipatus in the
etymological sense of the word, i.e. 'captured' by his father.

ex moribus hominis: so ingenium is used in Tac. Agr. xl. 2
ex ingenio principis; hominis is used contemptuously: 'the
creature'.

foeda: (1) simply 'disgusting', i.e. unbecoming in a father; or
(2) 'shocking', as suggesting that Regulus was hoping to become
his son's heir. The idea of a parent surviving a child was partic-
ularly abhorrent to Roman sentiment; cf. Cic. Sen. 85 proficiscar
... ad Catonem meum (the speaker's son) cuius a me corpus est
crematum quod contra decuit ab illo meum.

§ 3. mannulos: Gallic ponies, especially used for pleasure; cf.
Mart. xii. 24. 8.
iunctos et solutos: cf. ii. 17. 2. Gallic 'stable' words are par-
cially frequent in Latin, e.g. reda, petorritum.
Iusciniias: for the affection of the Romans for pet birds cf.
Statius, Silv. ii. 4 on the death of his parrot, and Catullus ii on
Lesbia's sparrow.
circa rogum trucidavit: cf. Homer, Il. xxiii. III ff. (the funeral
of Patroclus), and Tac. Germ. xxvii. 2.

§ 4. Nec dolor erat ille, etc.: dolor is grief of heart, mourning
is expressed rather by maeror. This ostentatio doloris ('parade of
grief') was a relic of the shows of the Neronian age in which
Regulus had been brought up, and which he had not, like Pliny,
the good taste to dislike.
et: = et tamen; cf. iii. 1. 9 note.
Regulo demerendo: Regulus being now childless (orbus) was
the more open to captatio; for his own efforts in this direction
see ii. 20. 2-11.

§ 5. Tenet se trans Tiberim: i.e. the right bank of the Tiber
in the district still called Trastevere, which is not now any more
than in Pliny's time much affected by rich Romans; cf. Hor. Sat.
i. 9. 18 Trans Tiberim cubat.
suis: contumtuous, 'his precious statues'. This sense seems
more probable than 'statues of himself': the statues were probably
of his son; cf. iv. 7. 1.

§ 6. Vexat: by making them come a long distance to pay him
calls of condolence.
insaluberrimo tempore: midsummer.
§ 8. Non quia adfirmat, etc. The bitterness of tone in this
and the following letter is unusual; Pliny probably does Regulus
less than justice in this matter. There is no reason to believe that
Regulus was not genuinely fond of his son; cf. p. 27.

IV. 7. REGULUS' MOURNING FOR HIS SON.

§ 1. Mirum est quam: cf. i. 9. 1.
agit ... effingit: practically causative.
§ 2. auditorio: commonly the place of hearing; here the people hearing, 'the audience'.

librum de vita: cf. Tac. Agr. ii. 1. Arulenus Rusticus wrote in praise of Thrasea Paetus, and Herennius Senecio of Helvidius Priscus; the Agricola itself is a book of this kind; cf. iii. 3 hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus.

recitavit: cf. i. 13 introductory note.
mille: cf. i. 15. 2 note.

tuba: i.e. to the corporation officially; cf. vii. 27. 11; viii. 8. 6.
decurionibus: members of the town council of provincial towns in Italy (coloniae or municipia), corresponding to the senate at Rome.

§ 3. áμαθa κτλ.: quoted from Thuc. ii. 40. 3, Pericles' funeral speech: 'ignorance produces rashness, but thought brings hesitation.'

§ 4. Exemplo est Regulus. In iii. 16. 2 and iv. 19. 1 exemplum is used.

inventio: a term of rhetoric, thus defined by the Auctor ad Herennium: excogitatio rerum verarum aut verisimilium quae causam probabilém reddant. Cf. Quint. Inst. Or. xii. 10. 36.

§ 5. Herennius Senecio: cf. vii. 19. 5; Tac. Agr. ii. 1; xiv. 2. Catonis illud. Cato of Utica had described an orator as vir bonus dicendi peritus (Quint. xii. 11).

mehercule: cf. i. 13. 3.

§ 6. circulatőr: a strolling juggler or story-teller; cf. ii. 20. 1 assem para.

ἐπάρας... τὴν φωνήν καὶ γεγηθὸς καὶ λαρυγγίζων, 'lifting up your voice and full of exultation and straining your throat', Dem. de Cor. 296 (of Aeschines).

IV. 13. EDUCATION AT COMUM.

Comum (Como), Pliny's native place (cf. life, p. 8), is situated on the south-west arm of the Lake of Como (noster Larius, Pliny calls it). The town first came into Roman hands after the victory of Marcellus over the Insubrian Gauls at the beginning of the second century B.C., and was colonized by Julius Caesar in 59 B.C. Its position on the lake at the foot of one of the passes over the Alps into Rhaetia gave it a certain importance among the cities of North Italy, but it remained always a provincial town. Pliny speaks of Comum with the greatest affection, e.g. as his patria (§ 3), his res publica (§ 5), which he regards as a 'filia' or 'parens'; cf. also i. 3. 1 Comum, meae deliciae. Several inscriptions have been found (C. I. L. 5262-7) recording his benefactions to the city; he gave large sums for the foundation and endowment of a public library, for the provision of communal feasts, and for the
benefit of the poor children of the town, also for the erection of public baths (thermae). His memory is still connected with the place by the name of a steamer on the lake and of a hotel on the lake front, as well as by the titles of several streets in the town and neighbourhood, and by a renaissance statue on the west front of the Cathedral.

Cornelio Tacito: cf. i. 6, and p. 24.
§ 1. pauculis adhuc diebus: for the abl. cf. ii. 11. 14 note.

in Tusculano: sc. praedio. Tusculum is seventeen miles southeast of Rome in the Alban Hills.

§ 2. ne quid... pereat, 'that nothing may be lost to my promptness', i.e. that it may carry all before it.

praecursoria is almost ἀπαξ λεγόμενον: hence quasi, apologizing for its use (perhaps also for the assumption of importance implied). Praecursores were servants who went before a distinguished person to announce his approach. Trajan, however, dispensed with them; cf. Pan. lxxvi. 7 ut illum nullus praecursorum tumultus detineret. Here the letter is the praecursor.

§ 3. praetextatus. The toga praetexta (with purple stripe) was worn by freeborn children, partly to protect them, partly because they took part in religious duties. It was exchanged later for the toga virilis; cf. i. 9. 2 note. It was also worn by the higher magistrates.

'Studes?': cf. studiosus, iii. 5. 2 note.

Etiam, 'Yes.'

Mediolani. Milan is twenty-five miles from Como, and the most important town in North Italy. It was formerly the capital of the Insubres. In the fourth century A.D. it became the residence of the ruler of the Western Empire.

praecptores is a general word including both teachers of elementary subjects, such as reading and writing (litteratores, grammatici), and those of the higher branches of education, especially the art of public speaking (rhetores).

§ 4. intererat: the imperf. is used of a state of things existing in the past and continuing into the present. See Madv. § 348. 1.

pudicius: Pliny, like Quintilian (cf. p. 25), saw the importance of the moral element in education.

§ 5. viatica: cf. iii. 21. 2 prosecutus eram viatico.

qui nondum liberos habeo: this letter was written soon after his marriage with Calpurnia.

pro re publica, etc.: cf. introd. note.

§ 6. ambitu, 'jobbery': unless the townspeople had the responsibility of contributing, they would not take the trouble to get the best teachers.

in quibus, etc. Vespasian was the first emperor who organized the provision of teachers paid out of the public funds, Quintilian being among the number, and by this time schools paid for by the State
§ 7. religio is derived (1) from relego, by Cicero; if we take this view of the word, then ‘care’, ‘scrupulousness’, will be the meaning; (2) from religo, by most modern etymologists: in which case the idea of ‘duty’ is involved.

§ 9. ex meo: sc. animo.

§ 10. altius: cf. ii. 6. 1 note.

ne cui . . . obstringam: i.e. ‘I do not pledge myself that any particular candidate will be taken.’

§ 11. istinc: from Rome.

IV. 19. Pliny’s Wife.

On Pliny’s family cf. p. 11. This letter, like the previous one, was written soon after his third marriage. The following pedigree will make the relationships clear so far as concerns these letters:

Calpurnius Fabatus, *prosocr*, viii. 20. 3; *avo*, iv. 19. 1

Calpurnia Hispulla Son *fratrem, patris amissi* iv. 19. 1

Calpurnia = Pliny iv. 19

§ 1. *fratrem, patris amissi*: see pedigree above.

*filiam eius*: Calpurnia.

*adfectum*: a silver-age use; cf. ii. 1. 8.

*repraesentes*: (1) to bring back, e.g. *imagines rerum absentium*; (2) to pay on the spot, e.g. *légata, summam*. Here simply ‘show’.

*non dubito . . . fore*. In Cicero and the best Latin *dubito* takes *quin*. The use with the infin. begins with Livy; cf. v. 3 *an est quisquam qui dubitet tribunos offensos esse*; and becomes common in subsequent writers.

*avo*: Calpurnius Fabatus (cf. viii. 20. 3, and Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 8) lived at Comum, and began the official career of an *eques*, becoming *tribunus militum*, but proceeded no further. His death was the occasion of the last extant letter of Pliny; see p. 10.

*evadere*: sc. *illum*. 
VI. 16. THE DEATH OF PLYN THE ELDER DURING THE ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS.

This eruption of Vesuvius is the first recorded in history, though the fact that the streets of Pompeii are themselves paved with lava points to earlier ones, but an earthquake had occurred in the neighbourhood in the reign of Nero (Tac. Ann. xv. 22). These letters (vi. 16 and 20) are the best extant account of the eruption. The closest parallels in modern times are perhaps the eruption of Mount Krakatoa in Java, 1883, of Mont Pelee in Martinique, 1902, of Vesuvius itself in 1906, and of Sakurashima in Japan, January 1914.

Tacito: see i. 6, and p. 24.
§ 1. avunculi mei: cf. iii. 5, and p. 21.
quo verius tradere posteris possis: in 'the Histories'; the portion describing the eruption has, however, perished.
§ 2. Quamvis ... occiderit: clade abl. of attendant circumstances with occiderit: casu in apposition to clade with et populi et urbis dependent on it. Et populi et urbis must be taken as describing (with some exaggeration) the inhabitants of Pompeii and the district. Most editors (e.g. Keil, Church and Brodribb, Pritchard and Bernard, Merrill) read ut populi, ut urbes, in which case occiderunt must be supplied: Casaubon reads ut populi ut urbis.
plurima opera: see iii. 5. 3-6.
mansura: only the Naturalis Historia has survived.
scriptorum tuorum aeternitas: for Pliny's opinion of Tacitus, see p. 31.
§ 3. datum est: cf. iii. i. 1 note.
§ 4. imperio: cf. iii. 5. 9 note, and viii. 24. 6 note.
praesens: much of his time was spent at Rome; see iii. 5. 9 note.
Nonum Kal. Sept.: August 24, A. D. 79.
hora fere septima: cf. iii. 1. 4 note; approximately 1. 20 p.m.
mater mea: Plinia; cf. vi. 20. 4, and life, p. 8.
§ 5. Vsus sole ... gustaverat: cf. iii. 5. 11; mox, 'then', 'afterwards'; cf. ii. 17. 5 note.
soleas, 'sandals'. The Romans commonly went barefoot in the house; cf. iii. 1. 4.

incertum ... ex quo: Vesuvius is eighteen miles from Misenum across the Bay of Naples, and there are other mountains near.

pinus: i.e. the umbrella pine of Southern Europe.

§ 6. senescente: used metaphorically of trees in Cic. Div. ii. 14. 33; of a field, Ov. A. A. iii. 82 continua ... messe senescit ager.
destituta: cf. viii. 20. 6.

§ 7. Liburnicam (navem): a light vessel with sharp prows used by the pirates of the East Adriatic, adopted by Augustus at Actium, and commonly used by the Romans afterwards; cf. Tac. Agr. xxviii. 2.

respondi studere me malle: cf. p. 32.
§ 8. codicillos: contr. ii. 20. 5 note.

Rectinae Tasci: cf. ii. 20. 2 note.

§ 9. quadríremes: sc. naves with four banks of oars, i.e. 'men-of-war'.

§ 10. enotaretque: cf. i. 6. 1. If the word is to be taken here in its strictly literal sense, it would imply that the Elder Pliny wrote some of the notes himself; otherwise it must be used in a causative sense, 'had notes taken'; cf. iv. 7. 1.

§ 11. vadum subitum: cf. vi. 20. 9.
an ... flecteret: an is sometimes used thus without utrum after verbs of doubting; cf. Cic. T. 23 an dolo malo factum sit ambigitur; Tac. Ann. i. 5 dubium an quae sita morte.

'Fortes fortuna iuvat': cf. Verg. Aen. x. 284 Audentes fortuna iuvat.

§ 12. Stabiiis erat diremptus sinu medio. The site of Stabiae was near the modern Castellamare. The subject of erat is Pomponianus, which continues down to resedisset. Diremptus, from the Elder Pliny. Sinu refers either (1) to the Bay of Naples itself, or (2) to an inner creek, the sinus Stabianus. On the whole (1) seems more natural.

quamquam ... adpropinquante: for quamquam with partic. and abl. abs. cf. x. 33. 1.
certus fugae: the gen. is used for more regular abl. with de; cf. Tac. Ann. xii. 32 certus destinationis, ib. sceleris, and see Madv. 290. 9.

lotus accubat: cf. iii. 1. 8.

§ 13. quievit verissimo quidem somno: cf. iii. 5. 8 erat sane somni paratissimi.
meatus animae: Pliny, like his sister (cf. vi. 20. 12), was stout.

qui limini obversabantur: (1) those who happened (casually) to be near the door; or (2), more probably, his personal slaves, keeping guard over their master.

§ 14. diaeta: cf. ii. 17. 20; probably here, as there, a suite of rooms.

mora: sc. esset; for the omission of a verb in the subjunctive cf. vii. 9. 3 sedulo pensitare quid tu quid ille commodius.

§ 15. vastisque tremoribus, etc.: slightly poetical turn of phrase; cf. variaque lumina, § 17.


quamquam levium: for quamquam with adj. cf. ix. 36. 4 quamquam longissimus dies; cf. vi. 20. 6.

periculorum collatio. Collatio in the sense of comparison is fairly common in Cicero, e.g. Fin. iii. 10. 33 collatio rationum; here the comparison or balance is by a bold transference made the subject of elegit.

§ 17. dies, 'daylight'; cf. vi. 20. 6; vii. 27. 13; ix. 36. 2.

variaque lumina: i.e. artificial lights; flames from the mountain and burning houses could hardly be said solari noctem.

ex proximo: cf. ii. 14. 10 audiit ex proximo.

§ 20. dies (is . . . tertius): counting in the day at both ends, as was commonly done in ancient times; on the day on which the Elder Pliny died no daylight was seen.

integrum, inlaesum: showing that there had been no foul play on the part of his slaves.


nec tu aliud, etc. In this letter the eruption is described incidentally to the death of the Elder Pliny.

VI. 20. THE ACCOUNT OF THE Eruption continued.

§ 1. cupere should be taken after ais, not after adductum.

id enim . . . abruperam: see vi. 16. 21.

quamquam . . . incipiam: quoted from Verg. Aen. ii. 12. With these words Aeneas begins to tell Dido the story of the fall of Troy.

§ 2. mox, 'then'; cf. note on ii. 17. 5.

§ 3. tremor terrae: cf. vi. 16. 15.

quia Campaniae solitus: cf. introd. note to vi. 16.


area here describes an open space outside the house, between it and the sea, contr. ii. 17. 4, where the area is the open space between the two sides of the porticus inside the house.

Titi Livi: i.e. Livy the historian.
excerpo: see note iii. 5. 10.
ex Hispania: cf. iii. 5. 17 cum procuraret in Hispania.
securitatem, 'apathy'.
§ 6. hora diei prima: cf. iii. 1. 4 note.
dies: cf. vi. 16. 17. It should have been full daylight at this time in the summer.
quamquam in aperto: cf vi. 16. 16.

Ab altero latere: (1) 'landwards', or (2) 'across the bay'.
§ 10. frater tuus, tuus avunculus: turning from one to the other.

§ 11. Capreas: the island of Capri in the bay.
Miseni quod procurrit: the promontory beyond the town.
quiritatus: cf. Cic. Fam. ix. 32 illi misero quiritanti, 'Civis Romanus sum'.
§ 15. nusquam iam deos, etc.: cf. Verg. Georg. i. 466, and the conception of the Götterdämmerung.
§ 16. alioquin: cf. viii. 8. 1, and ii. 11. 22 note.
17. misero: abl. with solacio.
§ 19. utcumque: cf. i. 12. 2 note.
vaticinationibus seems to be taken more naturally with ludificabantur than with lymphati.
ludificabantur, 'burlesqued'.
§ 20. quamquam et: cf. i. 12. 3 note.
imputabis: to set down to an account; cf. Tac. Agr. xxvii. 2 prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur; xxxiv. 4 aprobate rei publicae nunguam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.

VII. 4. Pliny's Verses.

For Pliny's taste in literature see p. 30.
Pontio Allifano: i.e. a citizen of Allifae, a town of Samnium (Central Italy).
§ 1. hendecasyllabos. For verses in this metre cf. Tennyson:
'O you chorus of indolent reviewers,
Irresponsible, indolent reviewers,
Look, I come to the test, a tiny poem,
All composed in a metre of Catullus.'
§ 2. altius enim repetam: cf. ii. 6. 1; iv. 13. 10.
§ 3. Mox, 'then', 'afterwards'; cf. ii. 17. 5 note.
e militia rediens: from Syria; see life, p. 9.
Icaria: one of the islands in the south-east of the Greek Archipelago.
elegos: hexameters and pentameters.
heroo: hexameters only.
in Laurentino: cf. ii. 17.
Asini Galli: son of Asinius Pollio (patris), the friend of Augustus and great literary patron, who founded the first public library at Rome. Asinius the younger was a favourite of Augustus, but suspected and put to death by Tiberius.
epigramma. Any short address was called an 'epigramma', whether it was the dedication of a statue (cf. Cic. Verr. ii. 4. 57) or an address to a person (cf. Martial's epigram to Pliny, iii. 21. 5-6).
§ 4. meridie dormiturus: for the meridiatio (midday siesta) cf. iii. 5. 11 note.
maximos oratores: cf. vii. 9. 12 summi oratores.
§ 5. exaravi: lit. 'ploughed up', used of the scratching of the stilus on the wax surface of the pugillares; cf. i. 6. 1 note.
§ 6. aaus de Cicerone: Gallus' book apparently compared Pollio to Cicero to the disadvantage of Cicero.
lascivum inveni iusum Ciceronis: Pliny learnt his admiration of Cicero from Quintilian; cf. p. 9.
§ 8. si quid otii: sc. erat.
maxime in itinere: following his uncle's example and advice; cf. iii. 5. 15.
§ 9. quos Latine, etc. This no doubt was what the Greeks told Pliny.
cithara: cf. iv. 19. 4.
lyra: a bigger and louder instrument than the cithara.
§ 10. Quamquam = kairotai: cf. iv. 7. 3; vii. 9. 15; viii. 8. 7; ix. 19. 7; ix. 33. 11.
poëtis furere: cf. ix. 33. 1. This letter shows Pliny's self-consciousness at its worst.
non de meo ... iudicio: cf. ix. 23. 6 cum de me aliorum iudicium non meum profero.

VII. 9. A LITERARY VACATION.

For subject-matter see p. 30.
Fusco: cf. ix. 36, a letter also describing life in vacation.
§ 1. secessu: cf. i. 13. 6.
studere: cf. iv. 13. 3.
§ 2. multi praecipient: e.g. Quint. Instit. Orat. x. 5. 2, from whom in all probability Pliny got the idea.
legentem fefellissent: legentem = si legisset; fefellissent is subj. as expressing a condition which is entirely unreal.

§ 3. Nihil offuerit: subj. of modest assertion; cf. viii. 8. 4 rigour aquae certaverit nivibus.

argumentum = inódiosi: 'line of thought'.

teneas: sc. memoria; cf. iii. 21. 4 note.

quid tu quid ille commodius: for ellipse of subj. cf. § 15 quae scribenda; vi. 16. 14 si longior in cubiculo mora, exitus negaretur; cf. also Cic. Tusc. iv. 20 itaque expecto quid ad ista (sc. dicturus sis).

§ 5. quae dixeris: forensic oratory was the branch of literature in which Fuscus was specially anxious to shine.

§ 8. pressus denotes the absence of all redundancy; cf. ix. 19. 6. The metaphor may be from pruning a tree, or following close on a man's step.

purus: for the use of the word in its literal sense cf. iii. 1. 9 argento puro; viii. 8. 2 potescit purus et vitreus.


mollis cedensque: in ii. 17. 15 mollis et cedens is used literally, of the soil of a vineyard.

Minervam: cf. i. 6. 3.

Veneris puernum: Cupid.

sacri fontes: e.g. the Clitumnus; see viii. 8. 2 iactas stipes.

§ 12. summi oratores: cf. vii. 4. 4 maximos oratores.

§ 13. mirum est ut: cf. i. 6. 2 mirum est ut animus excitetur.

§ 15. quamquam: cf. vii. 4. 10 note.

§ 16. alioqui: cf. ii. 11. 22 note.

pugillares: cf. i. 6. 1 note.

VII. 19. THE ILLNESS OF FANNIA.

For Fannia and her family see introd. note to iii. 16; cf. also Agr. ii and xlv.

§ 1. virgini: one of the virgins, who served the temple of Vesta under the superintendence of the pontifices: they were pledged to chastity. Pliny in another letter (iv. 11) records the burying alive of a vestal virgin suspected of unchastity.

§ 2. atrio Vestae: the 'convent' or 'cloister' of the virgins, adjoining the temple. The house was on the south-east of the forum just under the slope of the Palatine, and elaborate precautions were taken against damp in the chambers adjoining the Palatine. This dampness may have been the cause of the illness of this vestal.

hoc discrimine implicita: cf. vii. 27. 3 implicitus morbo.

§ 3. Helvidio: i.e. Helvidius Priscus; cf. iii. 16 introd. note, cf. also Tac. Agr. ii. 1. He was a prominent member of 'the Stoic opposition', banished by Nero, then recalled after Nero's death, again banished by Vespasian, and finally executed by his order, see p. 15.
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Thrasea: cf. iii. 16 introd. and 10, pp. 12-13, and Tac. Agr. ii. i. § 4. nescio an: cf. i. 15. 3 note.

Bis... est: once under Nero, once under Vespasian; see above, § 3 note.

tertio ipsa... relegata: under Domitian; cf. Tac. Agr. xlv. I tot nobilissinarum feminarum exilia et fugas. On relegatio see ii. 11. 20 note.

§ 5. Senecio (cf. p. 16 and Tac. Agr. ii and xlv) was condemned to death by the senate at the bidding of the emperor at the beginning of Domitian's reign of terror (A.D. 93). The pretext was a book he had written in praise of Helvidius; Tac. Agr. xlv nos innocentii sanguine Senecio perfudit.

Mettio Caro: cf. Tac. Agr. xlv. I una adhuc (at the time of Agricola's death) victoria Carus Mettius censebatur; cf. also Juv. Sat. i. 35. Mettius was one of the worst of the delatores (professional informers) encouraged by Domitian. An information lodged by him against Pliny was found among Domitian's papers after the emperor's death; cf. vii. 27. 14.

commentarios: cf. iii. 5. 17 (the 'notes' of the Elder Pliny). Here the word probably denotes papers or diaries.

matre: Arria junior; see introd. note to iii. 16.

§ 6. ex necessitate... temporum. On the action of the senate at this time see Tac. Agr. ii. I; for the destruction of books cf. ib. ii. I delegato triumviris ministerio ut monimenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur.

7. datum est: cf. iii. i. 1 note.

§ 8. posteros: the younger Helvidius (see iii. 16 introd.) was Fannia's stepson; he had a son besides two daughters, both of whom died prematurely.

§ 10. uitor reversarum: i.e. when Arria and Fannia returned on the accession of Nerva.

feci... paria: paria facere in the sense of 'balance' or 'equalize' is a silver-age use practically confined to Pliny and Seneca; cf. Sen. Ben. iii. 9. 3 cum aliter beneficium detur, aliter reddatur, paria facere difficile est.

VII. 27. GHOST STORIES.

The letter falls into the following parts: § 1, introductory; §§ 2-3, the African ghost; §§ 4-11, the Athenian ghost; §§ 12-14, the incident of the slave's hair; §§ 15-16, conclusion.

Licinius Sura was a friend of Nerva, and advised him in the matter of the adoption of Trajan; he won distinction in Trajan's Dacian campaigns (see p. 19), and introduced Hadrian to his favour.

§ 1. otium: cf. i. 9. 7 note.

Igitur: cf. iii. i. 12 note.

numen aliquod: cf. viii. 8. 5; viii. 24. 3.
§ 2. Curtio Rufo. He lived in the time of Tiberius. This story of him is told in greater detail in Tac. Ann. xi. 21.

Tenuis adhuc et obscurus: cf. Cic. Part. Or. xxxiv. 117 si obscuri erunt aut tenues.

obtintenti Africam: by ballot. The two senior ex-consuls had the right to ballot for the two best senatorial provinces, Asia and Africa; cf. Tac. Agr. xlii. 1.

Inclinato die: cf. ii. 17. 11; at the time of the afternoon siesta; for another vision at this time cf. Acts x. 9 ff.


Africam: i.e. the genius of Africa.

cum summo imperio implies supreme military and civil command, including the inus gladii, subject in most cases to an appeal to the emperor; cf. ii. 11. 8 note.

§ 3. implicitus morbo: cf. vii. 19. 2.

§ 5. Erat Athenis: the story is also told by Lucian, Philopseud, 29; in his version the house is at Corinth and the philosopher's name is Arignotus.

si attenderes... reddebatur: in such cases Cicero uses the indic. in the protasis; this mixture of moods begins in Caesar and continues in subsequent writers.

promissa barba, horrenti capillo: abl. of quality.

§ 6. inerrabat: cf. i. 6. 3 experieris non Dianam magis montibus quam Minervam inerrare.


monstro: Plautus calls his play about a haunted house Mostellaria (dim. of monstrum).

§ 7. Athenodorus: two Stoic philosophers of this name are known at Rome; one the friend of the Elder Cato, the other of Augustus.

titulum: the announcement that the house was for sale.

audivo: on further inquiry.

sterni: sc. lectum; for study, not sleep.

pugillares, stilum: cf. i. 6. 1.

suos: cf. § 14 and ii. 17. 7 meorum.

dimittit... intendit, ne... fingeret: the historic present sometimes takes sequence according to its form (primary), sometimes according to its sense (historic). Here and below, § 9 ut paulum expectaret significat, it takes the latter, the constructio ad sensum; cf. Madv. 382, obs. 3. In Caes. B. G. i. 7 there is a mixture: Helvetii... legatos ad eum (Caesarem) mittunt, qui dicentem sibi esse in animo iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliius iter nullum haberent; rogare, ut eius voluntate id sibi facere liceat.

§ 8. auribusque praetendere: sc. animum, 'he made his mind a protection for his ears.'

§ 10. aream domus: cf. ii. 17. 4.
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§ 11. vinculis: abl. of instr. after exesa.
publicae sepielluntur: cf. ii. 1, the publicum funus of Verginius Rufus. For publice cf. iv. 7. 2; viii. 8. 6.
rite conditis manibus: abl. after caruit; for condere manes cf. Verg. Aen. iii. 67 animamque sepulcro condimus. The idea was that, unless the body was duly buried, the spirit could not rest.
§ 12. Est libertus mihi non in literaturas: cf. ix. 36. 4 quorum in numero sunt eruditi. For Pliny’s interest in his slaves and freedmen cf. viii. 16 and pp. 11-12.
Is: the younger brother.
§ 13. paedagogio here indicates the part of the house where the young slaves were trained; cf. the Paedagogium on the Palatine.
dies: cf. vi. 16. 17 note.
§ 14. futurus: fut. partic. takes the place of an apodosis in the case of a condition contrary to fact; cf. iii. 21. 6 daturus.
Domitianus: cf. i. 12. 6; for his reign see pp. 16-17.
scrinio: a round box for keeping letters and papers; cf. capsae.
a Càro: i.e. Carus Mettius; cf. vii. 19. 5 note.
ex quo coniectari potest: the inference seems somewhat far-fetched.
quia reis moris: cf. i. 12. 7 note.
summittere capillum: summitto is here equivalent to demitto in the sense of ‘let down’ (cf. Tac. Germ. xxxi. 1 crinem barbarumque submittere; cf. also Juv. Sat. xv. 136), the idea being that the defendant was so much distracted with anxiety that he could not attend to his toilet.
§ 15. Proinde: cf. i. 6. 3.
§ 16. ex altera, sc. disputa: from disputes.

VIII. 8. THE SOURCE OF THE CLITUMNUS.

The Clitumnus (Clitunno) is a small stream flowing into the Tinia (Topino), which is a tributary of the Tiber. The village at the head of the stream is called Le Vene. The beauty of the spot much impressed the Romans, and the white cattle of the Clitumnus were famous, cf. Verg. Georg. ii. 146 Hinc albi, Clitunnome, greges; and in English literature Macaulay’s Lays of Ancient Rome, Horatius, 54, ‘Unwatched along Clitumnus | Grazes the milk-white steer.’ Also Byron, Childe Harold, iv. 66-8. On Pliny’s appreciation of nature see p. 32.
§ 1. alloquii: cf. ii. 11. 22.
§ 2. exprimitur: ‘bursts forth’, as though forced out by some pressure from the limestone rock.
pluribus venis: cf. the Seven Springs near Cheltenham.
eluctatusque...gurgitem: for eluctor with acc. cf. Tac. Agr. xvii. 3 eluctatus locorum difficultates. Another reading, adopted by Merrill, is eluctatusque facti gurgitem qui,&c., in which case eluctatus
must be taken 'as forcing its way from the ground', which has been already expressed by *exprimitur*.

purus: contr. met. use in vii. 9. 8.


iactas stipes: as offerings to the river god. The Clitumnus was a *fons sacer* (cf. vii. 9. 11); see § 5. For the practice of throwing coins into springs as offerings cf. Sen. *Quaest.* Nat. iv. 2. 7. *In hac ora* (the supposed source of the Nile) *stipem sacerdotes iacint*, and the practice still kept up in Rome of throwing coins into the Fontana di Trevi.

§ 3. *navium patiens*: this is an exaggeration; the Clitumnus is quite a small stream and can only take light craft.

quas obvias... perfert: the point of the clause is the breadth of the river. *obvias* is best taken as 'meeting one another', *quoque*, 'even'. *transmittit*, cf. ii. 17. 19, and contrast its use below, § 5.

validus: sc. Clitumnus.

illa: sc. *via*.

adiuvetur... *superetur*: the stream instead of the boat is said to be helped by oars: so in § 4 the stream instead of the visitor is said to count the reflections of the trees.

§ 4. *per iocum ludumque*: for this pleonasm cf. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 1. 60 § 155 *aliquem per ludum ac iocum evertere*. Cf. also viii. 20. 7 *quasi cursum certamenque*.

laborem otio, *otium labore*: another *chiasmus* follows in the next sentence: *fraxino multa, multa populo*.

adnumerat: (1) 'counts their number'; or (2), less natural, 'counts among its charms'. For the expression *amnis... adnumerat* cf. *adiuvetur... superetur* § 3.

certaverit: for subj. cf. vii. 9. 3 *offuerit* note.

§ 5. *templum*: the church which now occupies the site is certainly not the original temple, though built in the classical style; it has the Christian symbols of the vine and the cross on the façade, and may belong to the fourth or more probably the twelfth century.

stat: river deities are usually represented as reclining with the head resting on the elbow. The river god Clitumnus has sometimes been identified with the Umbrian Jupiter, but the identification is uncertain.

ornatus praetexta: river gods were commonly nude. The statue, like nearly all the oldest images, was probably of wood (*ξώαυς*). The (toga) *praetexta* was worn by higher magistrates as a robe of special dignity, also by free-born children; cf. iv. 13. 3.

praesens numen: for *numen* cf. vii. 27. 1; *praesens* has the sense of 'present' and 'powerful'.


transmittitur: (1) = *iungitur*, or (2) sc. *a viatore*. (1) is the simpler interpretation, though difficult to parallel.
§ 6. in superiore parte: the sanction of religion was thus used as a means of keeping the water clean; for 'sacred water' cf. VIII. 20. 5, and Tac. Ann. xiv. 22, the Aqua Marcia. Nero gave great offence by bathing in the latter, and the severe illness by which he was attacked afterwards was regarded as a punishment.

Hispellates: Hispellum (Spello), twelve miles from the Fons Clitumnus, colonized by Augustus under the name of Colonia Julia; it was probably on this occasion that the grant mentioned in the relative clause (quibus ... dedit) was made.

publice praebent, praebet et hospitium: publice cf. iv. 7. 2. The Hispellates were more alive to the possibilities of their locality than the people of Hippo, who discouraged visitors; cf. ix. 33. 10.


inscripta: 'graffiti’, remarks scribbled on the wall.

quamquam = καλτει; cf. vii. 4. 10 note.

VIII. 16. Pliny and his Household.

On Pliny's treatment of his slaves and freedmen see p. 11-12.

§ 1. unum facilitas ... alterum quod permitto: for the construction cf. Tac. Germ. xliii. 1 Osos Pannonica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos et quod tributa patiuntur. There were three regular methods of freeing a slave: (1) per censum, by which the slave's name was entered on the roll of citizens with his master's consent; (2) per testamentum, which was much more difficult; (3) per vindictam, by means of a ceremony in which the slave was touched with a rod; cf. Cic. Top. ii. 10; si neque censu neque vindicta neque testamento liber faciis est, non est liber.

quasi testamenta facere: slaves had no right in Roman law to hold property; even their savings (peculium) were only theirs by their master's consent. Hence they were a fortiori incapable of making bequests.

§ 2. nam servis res publica, etc.: a slave had no civitas, but in his case the domus, Pliny says, corresponded to the civitas of the free-born (ingenius).

§ 3. damnum: a mere business loss; cf. the use of iactura, i. 12. 1 note.

sapientes: perhaps in the sense of philosophic; cf. Tac. Agr. ii. 2. Stoic teaching would accord with the view just expressed.

an ... nescio: cf. i. 15. 3 note.

Hominis, 'human being'.

VIII. 20. The Islands of the Vadimonian Lake.

For Pliny’s interest in nature see p. 32.

Gallo: cf. ii. 17.

The Lacus Vadimonis (Laghetto di Bassano) in the Tiber valley near Horta (Orte) was the site of early Roman victories over the Etruscans; cf. Livy, ix. 39. 5. Its floating islands are mentioned by the Elder Pliny (N. H. ii. 209) and by Seneca (Nat. Quaest. iii. 25. 8).

§ 1. ut proximorum incuriosi: cf. Tac. Agr. i. 1 aetas quamvis incuriosa suorum.

§ 2. permulta in urbe nostra: many London residents know less of London than passing tourists.

Achaia. After the capture of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C. all Greece, including Macedonia and Epirus, became a province under the name of Achaia. In 27 B.C. Augustus formed Southern Greece into a separate senatorial province and restricted the name of Achaia to the district thus formed.

§ 3. prosocer: Calpurnius Fabatus; cf. iv. 19 introd. note, and p. 10.

Amerina: Ameria (Amelia), a town on the Tiber north of Orte.


pressior: contr. metaphorical use in vii. 9. 8 (of style); here it means ‘dull’.

§ 5. sacer enim: cf. viii. 8. 6 note.

alia seems to go with quae rather than with pala in the sense of ‘surrounding’.

humili, ‘shallow’; cf. Tac. Ann. i. 61 humili fossa.

§ 6. discordantibus ventis: the winds are personified and so described as ‘angry’.

destitutae: left by the wind; cf. vi. 16. 6.

§ 7. onerariis: sc. navibus; big ‘merchantmen’.

cursum certamenque: cf. viii. 8. 4 per iocum ludumque.

promovent terram: by joining on to the shore.

modo hac... contrahunt: some of them move away from the shore and so ‘restore’ part of its circumference to the lake, then they drift back again and take it away (auferuntque), then all float out into the middle and so yield to the lake its full circular form. Pliny seems to have got in his mind the simile of a fleet.

§ 8. mox: cf. ii. 17. 5 note.

§ 9. specu mergitur: like many streams on the west slope of the Mendips.

§ 10. Nam te... opera delectant: delectant is attracted into the plural by opera.
VIII. 24. Advice to Governor of Greece.

For the subject-matter of this letter see p. 32; cf. also Cicero’s letter to his brother Quintus, Qu. Fr. i. 1, and Byron, Childe Harold, ii. 73.

§ 2. provinciam Achaianam: cf. viii. 20. 2 note.
illam veram et meram Graeciam: as distinct from outlying districts, such as Macedonia and Epirus; cf. Juv. Sat. vi. 187 meram Cecropis.

humanitas, litterae, etiam fruges: cf. Cic. Pro Flacc. xxvi; Lucr. vi. 1 ff. The beginning of agriculture (fruges) is generally associated with Eleusis, but there were many local myths on this point all over Greece.

missum ad ordinandum statum: Maximus may have been sent to take over the administration of the whole province temporarily, as the emperor’s representative (legatus Augusti propraetore), in the same way as Pliny was sent to Bithynia (see p. 34), or he may have been commissioned as supervisor (corrector) of the liberae civitates only; cf. Mommsen, Prov. ch. vii.; Marquardt, Staatsverw., i. 228 n. 1.

liberarum civitatum. These were of two kinds: (1) civitates foederatae, cities whose independence was guaranteed by treaty, e.g. Athens and Sparta. (2) Civitates (sine foedere) immunes et liberae (cf. Liv. xxxvii. 55), smaller states whose independence was given them under a constitution imposed by the Roman government and terminable at its pleasure (Marquardt, Staatsverw., i. 71, 321.

maxime homines: because of their civilization.

maxime liberos: because they had in many instances fought bravely for their freedom.

ius a natura datum: i.e. all men are by nature free; contr. Arist. Pol. i. 2.
§ 3. numina deorum: divine influences in general; for numina cf. vii. 27. 1.
§ 4. quae... iura: according to tradition a commission was sent from Rome to Greece to gather information before the codification of the Twelve Tables; cf. Liv. iii. 31.
§ 6. imperium: Maximus as a special commissioner exercised the imperium of the emperor; cf. vi. 16. 4 imperio (of the Elder Pliny).

fasces: bundles of rods with an axe in the middle, carried by lectors before the higher magistrates.

timor abit, si recedas: the subj. is used in the 2nd person singular, when the subject is indefinite = the French ‘on’; cf. Cic. Sen. ii Mens quoque et animus, nisi tanquam lumini oleum instilles, extinguuntur senectute. For the sentiment cf. Tac.
The Circus Maximus situated between the Palatine and Aventine hills was begun by Julius Caesar and finished by Augustus; it was reconstructed by Nero after the great fire, restored again by Domitian after another fire, and finally enlarged by Trajan, who boasted that it was large enough to accommodate the whole Roman people. The senators sat nearest the arena, the knights behind them, and then the populace. The emperor and his family had a special box, but Trajan often sat among the people. In the centre of the circus and running the whole length of it was a wall (spina) four feet high and twelve feet broad, with triple columns at each end (metae), round which the chariots had to pass seven times. The outfits for the drivers were furnished by companies (factiones). Under the Republic there were two companies, the Red (russata) and the White (albata). But although the circus played an important part in the life of the city under the later Republic (cf. Cic. Phil. ii. 43. 110), its popularity increased greatly under the patronage of the early emperors, and two more companies were added, the Green (prasina) and the Blue (veneta); these two later companies became so prominent that the original companies coalesced with them, the White with the Green and the Red with the Blue. The rival companies were supported with frantic enthusiasm, every one, from the emperor to the slaves, taking sides. So great was the popularity of the races that it was said that the Roman people cared for nothing but panem et Circenses. (Cf. Friedl. Sittengesch. ii. 322.)

Calvisio: cf. ii. 20.
§ 1. pugillares: cf. i. 6. 1.
Circenses, sc. ludi: they were also called ludi Romani or ludi magni; held in September.
§ 2. Quo magis miror: Pliny had no sporting instinct; cf. i. 6; cf. also § 3 capio aliquam voluptatem, etc.

insistentes curribus homines: the charioteers (aurigae or agitatores, see below) wore shirts of the colours of their factio.
transfratur...transibit: the change from the subj. in the protasis to the indic. in the apodosis emphasizes the certainty of the consequence.
§ 3. quod villius tunica: for the attitude towards the crowd cf. Hor. Od. iii. 1. 1 odi profanum vulgus et arceo.
frigida, 'uninteresting'; cf. i. 9. 3.
otium...otiosissimis: cf. i. 9. 7 and 8.

IX. 19. A COMPARISON OF VERGINIU8 AND FRONTINUS
IN RESPECT OF MODESTY.

On Verginius cf. ii. 1, and p. 22. Frontinus was one of Pliny's closest friends and his successor in the College of Augurs. He was praetor (Tac. Hist. iv. 39) and Governor of Britain A.D. 74-8, being succeeded immediately by Agricola. While in Britain, he subdued the Silures. Tacitus describes him as vir magnus quantum licebat (Agr. xvii. 3). He wrote a book on aqueducts and four books of Strategemata.
§ 1. pulso qui Vindice quondam: the incident referred to happened in A.D. 68; see p. 13.
§ 2. Vtrumque dilexi: for Pliny's admiration of Verginius cf. ii. 1. 7-8.
§ 5. Cluvius wrote a history of the reigns of the emperors from Nero to Vitellius, which has perished, but was probably used as an authority by Tacitus for his Histories and by Suetonius for his lives of the Caesars. Cf. Tac. Ann. xiii. 20; xiv. 2.
ideo me fecisse, quod feci: i.e. his refusal of the throne after the defeat of Vindex.
vobis, 'you historians'.
§ 6. pressior: cf. vii. 9. 8 note.
§ 7. Quamquam = κατά τό: cf. vii. 9. 15 note.
collatione: cf. vi. 16. 16 note.

IX. 23. THE LITERARY FAME OF PLINY AND TACITUS.

On Pliny and Tacitus cf. i. 6, and p. 24.
§ 1. centumviri: cf. ii. 14, introd. note.
§ 2. sedisse secum...equitem Romanum: Tacitus was of senatorial rank, but on this occasion could not have been sitting among the senators; senators probably had the right of sitting where they liked; cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 32.
Circensibus proximis: abl. of time; cf. Cic. Phil. i. 15 gladiatoribus. For the games in the Circus cf. ix. 6.
et quidem: cf. i. 6. 1.
ex studiis: from my literary work; cf. studiis § 3.

§ 4. Recumbebat: cf. ii. 6. 3 proximus recumbebat.

super eum: Pliny, Rufinus, and Rufinus' friend were occupying places on the same couch, Pliny being inus.

§ 5. si Demosthenes, etc.: the story is told in Cic. Tusc. v. 103. Other Greek quotations in these letters are i. 9. 6 μουσείον, i. 12. 10 κέρκικα, ii. 11. 17 σεμνός, 23 λιτουργιον, ii. 14. 5 Σοφοκλεῖς ... ἀπὸ τοῦ σοφῶς καὶ καλείσθαι, ii. 20. 12 ἀλλὰ τι διατείνομαι, iv. 7. 3 ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὁκνον φέρει, 6 ἑπάρας ... τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγήθως καὶ λαρυγγίζων.

§ 6. aliorum judicium: cf. vii. 4. 10 non de meo sed de aliorum judicio loquor.

IX. 33. THE DOLPHIN OF HIPPO.

This incident is recounted by the Elder Pliny (ix. 8), but our Pliny had either not read this part of his uncle's work or had forgotten it, since he introduces the tale as an after-dinner story (§ 1). We may compare with it the legend of Arion and the dolphin told in Ov. Fast. ii. 79, and in modern times the story of Pelorus-jack.

For Pliny's interest in natural phenomena see p. 32.

§ 1. materiam: this use of the word for a 'theme' or 'story' is almost entirely post-Augustan; cf. v. 13. 3 materiam ex titulo cognosces.

laetissimo may be taken (1) literally, 'joyous' (cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 26 laetus animi), or (2) 'rich', luxuriant (cf. Cic. de Or. i. 18. 81 nitidum quoddam genus est verborum et laetum).

poëtico: Caninius had projected a poem on Trajan's Dacian campaigns (see p. 19).

autem: used, as δὲ in Greek, where it seems to us superfluous.

super cenam: cf. iii. 5. 11 super hanc (cenam) liber legebatur.

quid poëtae cum fide? cf. vii. 4. 10 poëtis furere concessum est.

§ 2. Africa: cf. vii. 27. 2.

Hipponensis colonia: Hippo Zarytus, north-west of Carthage, a town colonized by Julius Caesar, afterwards the episcopal seat of St. Augustine.

stagnum: used of the sea; cf. Verg. Aen. i. 125 emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus et inis stagna refusa vadis.


§ 3. Omnis ... aetas: i. e. homines omnis aetatis; cf. Liv. xxvii. 51 omnis aetas currere obviam.

§ 4. occurrit ... praecedere: cf. below § 5 serpit ... concurrere.


si quid est mari simile: i. e. the lagoon and estuary.

§ 6. praeuentem: pres. partic. for relative clause qui se praebebat.
§ 8. Incredibile... extrahi: dolphins were commonly supposed to die if they came out of the water.

gestatorem collusoremque puerorum: puerorum does not mean 'the boys', for the dolphin singled out one; the phrase is a general description of the dolphin; he was puerorum gestator collusorum.

§ 9. educto: sc. delphino.

superfudisse unguentum: venerating the dolphin as some sort of deity; perhaps also with the idea of averting any evil omen; cf. Liv. vii. 6 prodigi procaratio.

novitatem odoremque: possibly a hendiadys, 'the strange smell', or 'the novelty of the proceeding and the smell of the ointment'.

mox: cf. ii. 17. 5 note.

§ 10. quorum adventu, etc.: contr. the action of the people of Hispellum, viii. 8. 6.

§ 11. Quamquam = cairo: cf. vii. 4. 10.

est opus adfingas... adstruas: apparently the only instance of opus est with subj. only. For opus est with infin. only cf. Cic. Att. vii. 8. 1; with acc. and infin. Cic. Fam. xvi. 4. 2; with ut Tac. Dial. 31.

IX. 36. A SUMMER DAY IN TUSCANY.

For subject-matter of this letter see pp. 29-30.

§ 1. in Tuscis: near Tifernum (Città di Castello) on the Upper Tiber; north of the town the ruins of a villa have been discovered with bricks stamped C. P. C. S. (Pliny’s initials). For Pliny’s other houses cf. ii. 17, and p. 11.

aestate: his winter resort was at Laurentum (ii. 17).

diem... disponam: cf. Tac. Germ. xxx. 2 diem disponere.

circa horam primam: cf. iii. 1. 4 note.

fenestrae here exclude light, not air.

§ 2. ad verbum scribenti: i.e. the exact wording, not merely a rough draft; cf. Quint. Instit. Or. 112.

teneri, sc. memoria; cf. iii. 21. 4.

Notarium: cf. iii. 5. 15.

die, ‘daylight’: cf. vi. 16. 17 note.

§ 3. dies here is equivalent to caelum, weather.

xystum... cryptoporticum: cf. ii. 17. 16 and 17 notes.

meditor: cf. i. 6. 1.

Vehiculum ascendo: cf. iii. 1. 5.

Paulum redormio: the siesta (meridiatio); cf. iii. 5. 11. No mention is made of the siesta in iii. 1.

§ 4. ungor: cf. ii. 17. 11 unctorium.

exerceor: cf. iii. 1. 8 movetur pilae.
lavor: cf. iii. 1. 8.
cenanti: cf. iii. 1. 9 note.
liber legitur: cf. iii. 5. 10.
comoedia...lyristes: cf. i. 15. 2; iii. 1. 9.
mox: cf. ii. 17. 5 note.
cum meis: cf. ii. 17. 7 note.
quorum...eruditi: cf. vii. 27. 12 Est libertus mihi non inlitteratus.
quamquam longissimus dies: cf. i. 12. 3 note.
conditur: cf. Verg. Ecl. ix. 51 Saepe ego longos / Cantando puerum memini me condere soles; Call. Ep. xi. 3 ἡλιων ἐν λίσχη κατεδώσαμεν.
§ 6. Venor...pugillaribus: cf. i. 6. 1.
colonis: cf. Tac. Germ. xxv. 1 ut colono iniungitur.
For Pliny and his tenants cf. p. 11.
haec urbana opera: his professional and social duties; cf. i. 9. 1-2.

X. 33 [42]. THE PROPOSED FIRE BRIGADE AT NICOMEDIA.

For Pliny’s administration of his province see pp. 34-5.
§ 1. Nicomediae: the capital of Bithynia, situated on the Propontis (Sea of Marmora); the city was an imperial residence in the time of Diocletian.
vastissimum incendium. For fires in Rome cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 64; vi. 45; xv. 38; Juv. Sat. iii. 7; xiv. 305; and p. 13. Augustus organized cohortes vigilum to guard against these outbreaks in the city, but elsewhere there was no regular organization to cope with them.
quamquam: cf. i. 12. 3 note.
Gerusian: a public almshouse or hospital for old men who had done good service to the State. There was a Gerusia of this kind at Sardis; cf. Vitruvius ii. 8 Croesi domus, quam Sardiani... Gerusian dedicaverunt. Cf. also the Prytaneum at Athens, where those who had done distinguished service to the city were entertained at the public cost.
Iseon. Isis was originally an Egyptian goddess, but by the first century A.D. her worship had spread along the coasts of the Levant and even into Germany (cf. Tac. Germ. ix. 2) and Britain. For the worship in Rome cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 85, Jos. xviii. 3-5. On the prevalence of Isis-worship cf. Cumont, Oriental Religions, pp. 79-85. It was propagated especially by sailors and merchants.
§ 2. inertia...otiosos: both words are here used literally, contr. i. 6. 1 and i. 9. 7-8.
alióqui: cf. ii. 11. 22.
sipo: properly a little pipe through which to suck drinks. Here it denotes a fire-engine working like a large syringe.
NOTES IX. 36; X. 33, 34, 96

§ 3. domine: the invariable mode of address used by Pliny to the emperor. Salutem and Vale are not used in the letters of this book, as being too familiar.

collegium: collegia were voluntary associations, organized sometimes for a religious purpose, e.g. devotion to some god, Aesculapius for instance, sometimes for securing burial at the common expense, sometimes as trade unions. Each collegium had its constitution (lex), its rites (sacra), its officers, and its fête. In Rome the collegia were subject to the praefectus urbi, in the provinces to the governor. The number of collegia greatly increased towards the end of the Republic, and those of the trade-union type especially became centres of political intrigue and of disorder. In 68 B.C. the senate suppressed all collegia quae adversus rem publicam videbantur esse; in 58 B.C., however, Clodius restored those that had been suppressed and added others; Julius Caesar suppressed all collegia praeter antiquitus instituta; Augustus, Claudius, and Nero took measures against them.

ne quis nisi faber: i.e. no one who was not a bona fide workman. Honorary members would be a probable source of trouble.

iure concesso. Trajan had ordered the suppression of all collegia (hetaeriae), and Pliny had issued an edict to this effect in his province; cf. x. 96. 7 post edictum meum quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram. Pliny anticipates Trajan's objection to his scheme.

X. 34 [43]. TRAJAN'S ANSWER.

§ 1. exempla complurium: e.g. Lugdunum (Lyons).

eam civitatem: Nicomedia. The varia lectio eae civitates would include neighbouring towns, e.g. Nicaea.

Quodcumque ... fient: this was Trajan's principle in the matter.

hetaeriae praegraves fient: for praegraves cf. Pan. lvii. 4. This reading is Kukula's emendation for the MSS. hetaeriae quae breves fient. Lightfoot's emendation heteriae aequae brevi fient is adopted by Merrill and Hardy.

§ 2. ad hoc: i.e. ad ignem coercendum.

Trajan must have seen that his scheme would be impossible to put into practice so far at any rate as adcurso populi uti was concerned.

X. 96 [97]. PLINY AND THE BITHYNIAN CHRISTIANS.

For the subject-matter of this letter see pp. 36-40.

Cognitionibus. A cognition was an examination conducted by a magistrate holding imperium on his own initiative, and according to any procedure he chose, whereas a iudicium needed an accuser and a definite accusation, and followed a set form. The cognitiones referred to here were probably local in Bithynia, where the number of Christians would make the distinction between them and the Jews clearer than it often was elsewhere.

quid et quatenus should probably be taken both with puniri and quaeri. Pliny's ignorance of precedents makes him doubtful as to what ought to be made the ground of punishment or the subject of investigation, and what degree of punishment should be inflicted, or how far the investigation should be pushed. He himself had gone as far as to torture two deaconesses; cf. § 8.

§ 2. discrimen aetatum, etc.: in some cases Roman law lessened the penalty on the ground of youth or female sex.

detur paenitentiae venia: the principle of Roman law was against this.

nomen ipsum: the mere profession of Christianity was criminal if proved, involving membership in a collegium illicitum. Pliny in this paragraph is really, though covertly, suggesting possible ways in which leniency might be shown, this being the method by which he thought the progress of the new religion could best be stopped; cf. § 10 ex quo facile est, etc., where he repeats the suggestion of a locus paenitentiae.

flagitia cohaerentia: cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 44 (Christianos) per flagitia invisos; cf. also Suet. Nero xvi. There were popular calumnies charging the Christians with cannibalism and incest θεώτεια δείπνα, οἰδιποδείους μίξεις). Possibly a perverted explanation of Christian language about the Eucharist may have been at the bottom of the charge of cannibalism. It is quite clear that neither Pliny nor Trajan believed these slanders.

§ 3. iterum ac tertio: presumably allowing an interval between.
duci, sc. ad supplicium: to execution.

pertinaciam...obstinationem: i.e. persistent disobedience in remaining members of a collegium illicitum.

§ 4. amentiae: this persistence seemed (naturally enough) to Roman officials, who did not take the trouble to understand it, mere insensate contumacy.

quia cives Romani erant: cf. the case of St. Paul, Acts xvi. 37; xxii. 25; xxv. 11; xxvii. 1. A provincial governor could not punish Roman citizens with death unless he had the ius gladii, which Pliny had not. See ii. 11. 8 note (the case of Marius Priscus).

adnotavi: i.e. in the register of cases.

§ 5. imagini tuae. These rites were not paid to Trajan's statue at Rome, by the emperor's special desire; cf. Pan. l.ii. 6 non apud genium tuum bonitate tuae gratias agi, sed apud numen lovis
optimi maximi pateris. But Trajan seems to have approved of the proceeding in the present case; cf. x. 97. 2 id est supplicando dis nostris.

male dicerent Christo: cf. the answer of Polycarp, when this was required of him, Eus. H. E. iv. 15. 167 ὁ γνωρίσας καὶ εἴς ἔτη δουλεύω αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδὲν με ἑδίκησε καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τῶν Βασιλέω μου, τῶν σώσαντά με;

quorum nihil, etc.: incidental testimony to the constancy of the Christians.

§ 7. Adfirmabant. The evidence that follows is given by apostates (cf. last sentence, Hi quoque omnes, etc.): they must be understood as committing themselves only, not the Church as a whole. So far as they describe what they did when they were Christians, their evidence may be taken as true of the Church, but where they describe what they gave up, they involve no one beyond themselves; see pp. 39-40.

stato die: Sunday; cf. Justin. Ἄρωλ. i. 67 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γινεται τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων.

convenire: for the weekly Eucharist; the commemoration of Christ's Death and Resurrection.

quasi deo: deo would be understood by Pliny in a polytheistic sense, but the Christians would use the word in an exclusive sense.

invicem: antiphonal singing is meant. A story related in Socrates, H. E. vi. 8 attributes its introduction to Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who was martyred under Trajan about A.D. 110, but the story is probably due to a misunderstanding of passages in his letters, Eph. iv, Rom. ii.

sacramento. Pliny would understand the word in the ordinary sense of an oath; to the Christians, however, it was perhaps already associated with the mystery of the Eucharist; cf. Tert. de Cor. Mil. iii. p. 102 Eucharistiam sacramentum antelucanis coetibus (cf. ante lucem) nec de aliorum manu quam praesidentium sumimus.

rursusque coeundi: for the Agape, the social meal of the community, which at first accompanied the Eucharist, but had by this time been separated from it.

promiscuum tamen et innoxium: 'ordinary', 'common', i.e. not of the kind suggested by popular reports; cf. flagitia cohærentia § 2 note.

quod... facere desisse. This can only be asserted of those who gave evidence; they were apostates, and in consequence of Pliny's edict against hetaeriarque had given up the Agape, and indeed Christianity altogether. quod is generally taken as referring to the Agape only. The apostates gave up attendance at the Agape because such attendance was the outward sign of membership in the Christian Society.

quo... vetueram: cf. x. 33. 3 note; 34. 1.
§ 8 ministræ: a translation of διάκονον. For the office cf. Rom. xvi. 1 Συνάγωγα δὲ ύμων Ἐφεσίων τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν, οὐδὲν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεντραίαις.

et per tormenta. Under Roman law slaves were regularly tortured as a preliminary to giving evidence in court. They were not allowed to give evidence against their master (except on certain specified charges), cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 30, iii. 67; but slaves of a corporation would not come under this prohibition.

superstitionem pravam, inmodicam: superstitio denotes a non-Roman religion, a foreign cult. pravam, inmodicam: Pliny would regard Christianity, which evidently he did not in the least understand, as degrading and disturbing to the even tenor of a dignified life such as his own. For the language cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 44 exitiabilis superstition; Suet. Nero 16 superstition nova ac malefica.

§ 10. prope iam desolata . . . rarissimus emptor: probably exaggerated reports of interested parties. Cf. the silversmiths at Ephesus, Acts xix. 24 ff.

si sit penitentiae locus: cf. § 2 an . . . detur paenitentiae venia.

X. 97. Trajan's Answer.

For the interpretation of this letter see pp. 38-9.

§ 1. in universum may be taken (1) as a rule applicable to the whole empire, (2) a rule that can be carried out exactly in every case. (2) is probably to be preferred.

§ 2. Conquirendi non sunt. This is the pivot of the letter, the effect of which was to throw the responsibility for persecution largely on the governor. No cognitiones were to be held by the governor on his own motion, but if a person was convicted of Christianity in a regular indicium by a professed accuser, then the law must take its own course. Tertullian's comment is well known, Apol. 2 0 sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos, ut innocentes, et mandat puniendi ut nocentes.

si deferantur . . . puniendi sunt: i.e. the mere profession (nomen ipsum) of Christianity is punishable.

supplicando dis nostris: cf. x. 96. 5.

saeculi, 'the spirit of the age'; cf. Tac. Germ. ix. 3 nec corrumpere et corrumpi saeculum vocatur.
Additional Note on the Laurentinum (II. 17).

No reconstruction of Pliny's house on the Laurentine shore can be other than tentative. Apart from Pliny's own description, which is characterized by enthusiasm rather than clearness, we have little to help us; descriptions of other houses, the remains excavated at Herculanum and Pompeii, and the writings of Vitruvius (his drawings have perished) give some assistance; but only the evidence of actual remains could give us certainty.

Pliny himself gives no description of the outside appearance of the house; he gives no actual dimension anywhere; he does not tell us who was his architect (it has been conjectured that it may have been one Mustius); nor does he make any mention of apartments for his wife. It is possible, however, to gather from §§ 4-5 (especially § 5 a tergo ... montes) an impression of the main features of the building, while § 6 Huius a laeva, etc., and § 10 Ex alio latere, etc., give some clue as to the position of the outlying parts of the house.

Twelve attempts at reconstruction have been made, varying in date from 1615, that of Scamozzi, to 1894, that of Professor Magoun. The possibilities of divergence and discussion are from the nature of the case unlimited. It seems best to reproduce the latest conjecture, that of Professor Magoun; cf. Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1894, vol. 26-27, pp. xxxiii–xxxv; cf. also the article by Professor Aitchison in The Builder, Feb. 8, 1890, where four other plans (those of Scamozzi, Felibien des Avaux, 1699, Haudebourt 1838, Bouchet 1852) are reproduced.
PROFESSOR MAGOUN’S PLAN
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EXPLANATION OF PLAN

1. atrium
2. 3. porticus
4. area
5. cavaedium
6. triclinium
7. cubiculum (amplum)
8. cubiculum (minus)
9. hibernaculum
10. cubiculum (in hapsida curvatum)
11. dormitorium membrum
12. transitus interiacens
13. servants’ rooms
14. cubiculum (politissimum)
15. cubiculum (grande)
16. cubiculum (munimentis hibernum)
17. procoeton
18. cubiculum (aliud)
19. cella frigidaria
20. unctorium
21. hypocauston
22. propaigeon
23. caldarium (?)
24. tepidarium (?)
25. piscina
26. sphaeristerium
27, 28, 29, 30. diaetae
31. cenatio
32. cubiculum
33. apotheca
34. horreum
35. triclinium
36. gestatio
37. cenatio
38, 39. diaetae
40. vestibulum
41. hortus (pinguis) [with trichila (?)]
42. cryptoporticus
43. xystus
44. heliocaminus
45. cubiculum
46. zotheca
47. cubiculum (noctis)
48. andron
49. hypocauston
50. procoeton
51. cubiculum
U. culina (?)
V. larder (?)
W. latrina (?)
X. kitchen storeroom (?)
Y. general storerooms (?)
Z. stabulum (?)