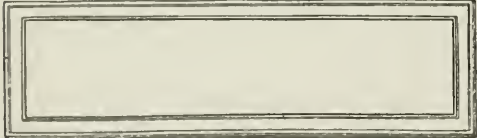
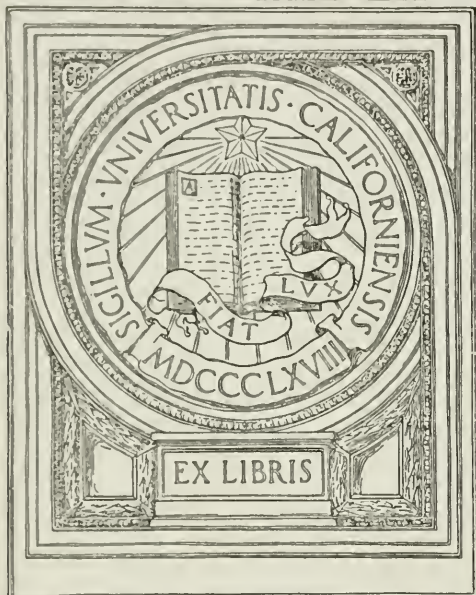




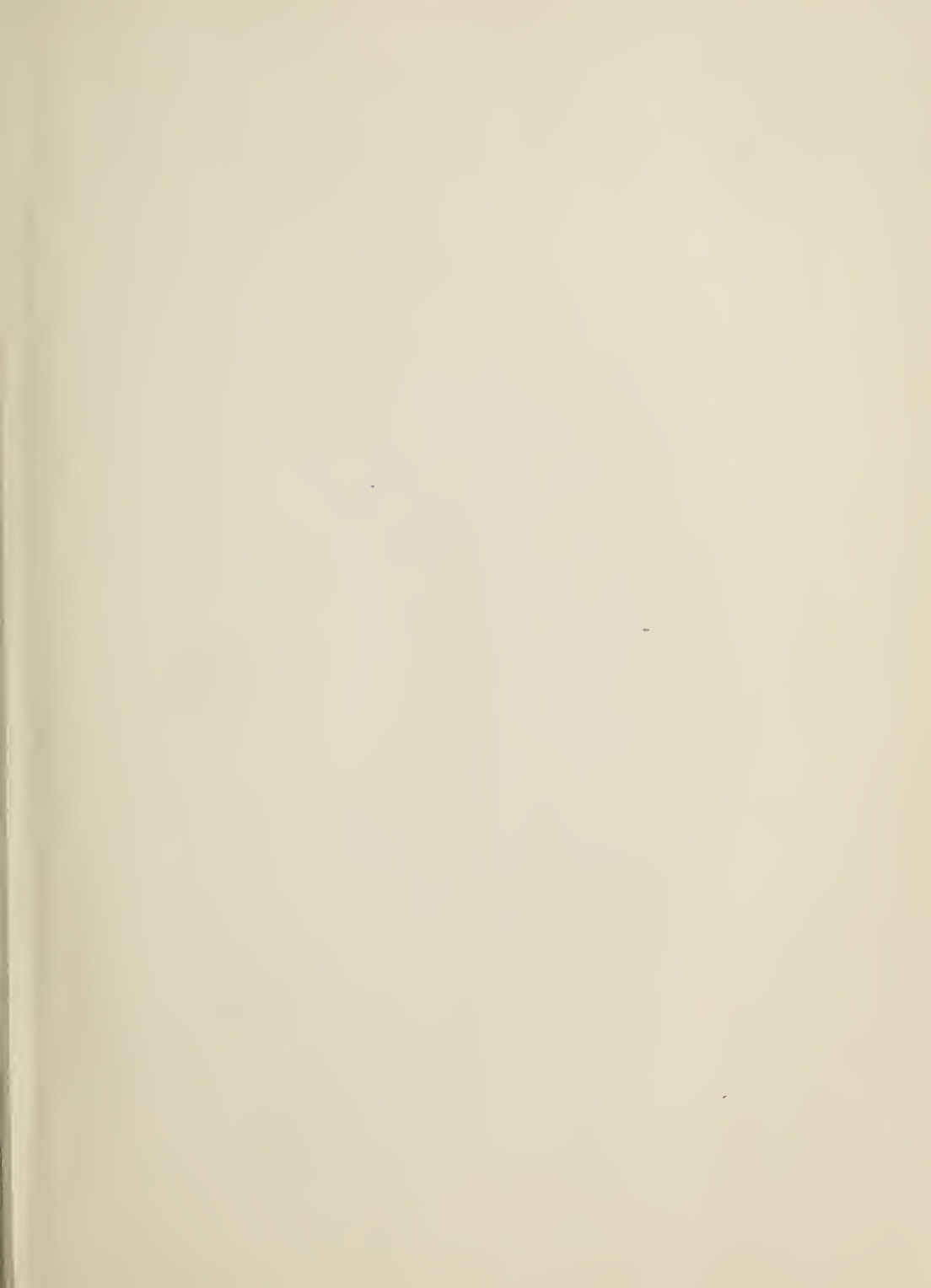
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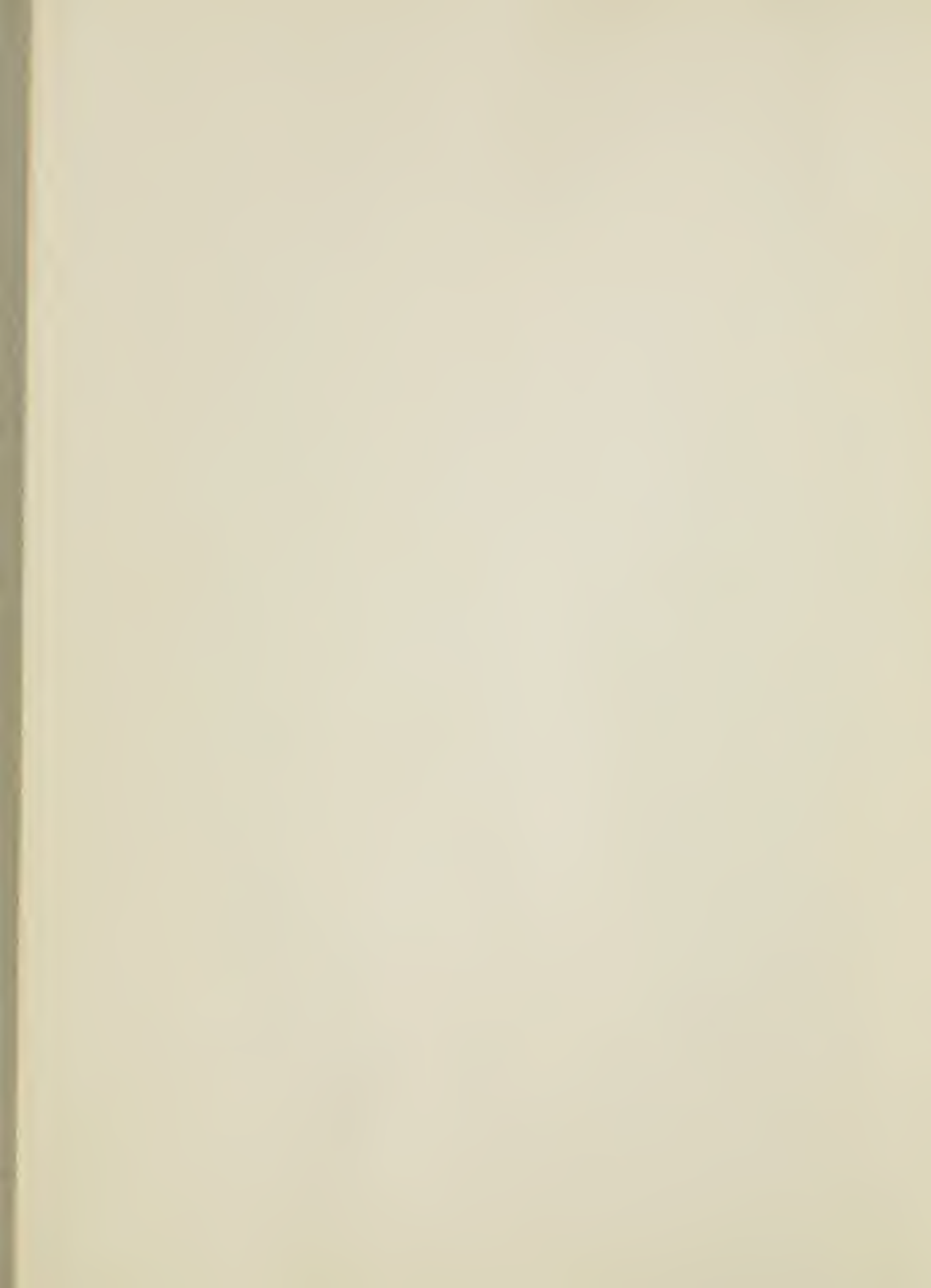




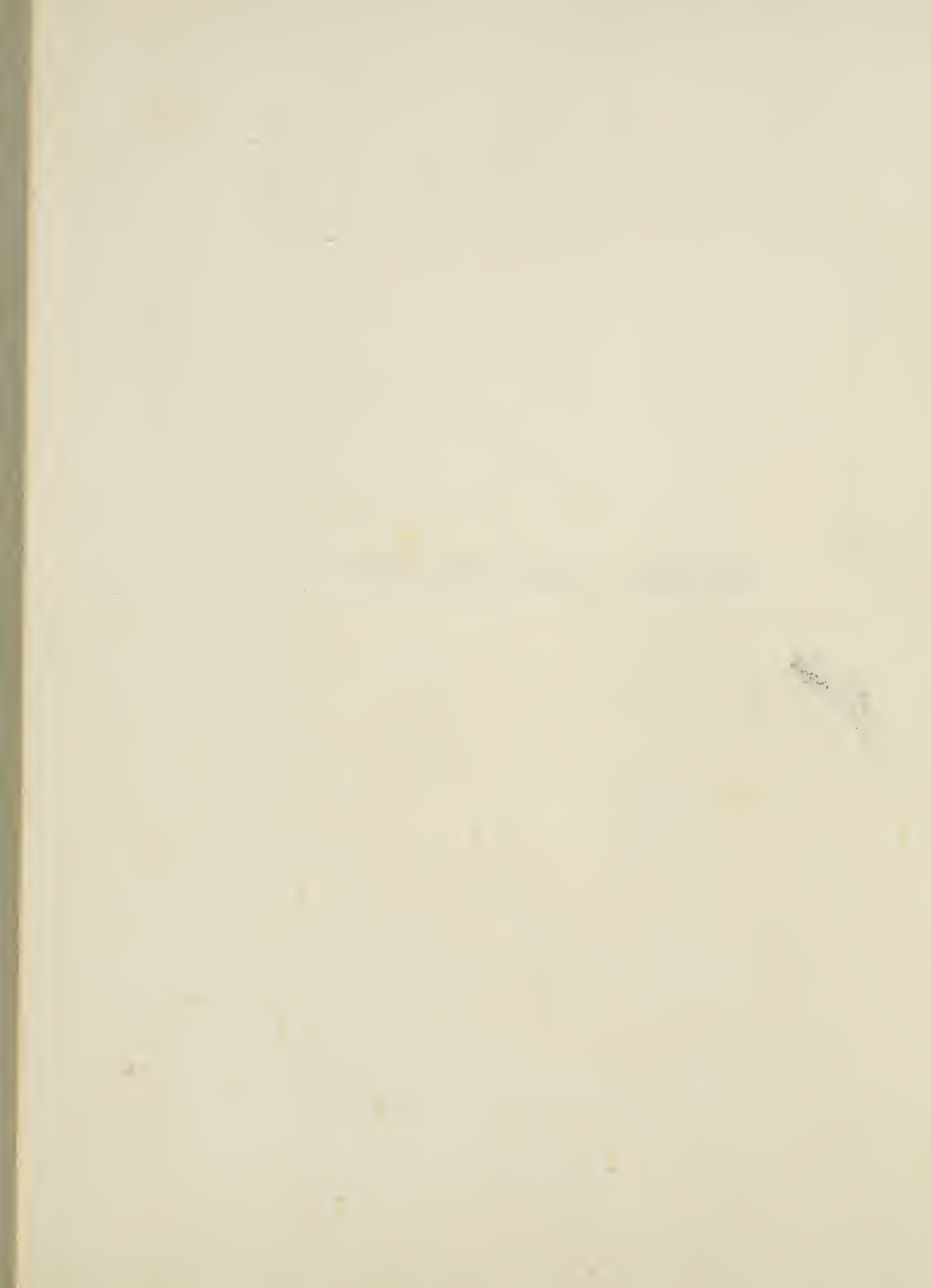








CICERO : DE OFFICIIS



# CICERO

LONDON

ARTHUR L. HUMPHREYS

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## CICERO



MY SON MARCUS, — Although, as you have for a year been studying under Cratippus, and that, too, at Athens, you ought to be well furnished with the rules and principles of philosophy, on account of the pre-eminent reputation both of the master and the city, the one of which can improve you by his learning, the other by its examples; yet as I, for my own advantage, have always combined the Latin with the Greek, not only in philosophy but even in the practice of speaking, I recommend to you the same method, that you may excel equally in both kinds of composition. In this respect, indeed, if I mistake not, I was of great service to our countrymen; so that not only such of them as are ignorant of Greek learning, but even

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men of letters, think they have profited somewhat by me both in speaking and reasoning.

Wherefore you shall study, nay, study as long as you desire, under the best philosopher of this age—and you ought to desire it, as long as you are not dissatisfied with the degree of your improvement; but in reading my works, which are not very different from the Peripatetic—because we profess in common to be followers both of Socrates and Plato—as to the subject-matter itself, use your own judgment; but be assured you will, by reading my writings, render your Latin style more copious. I would not have it supposed that this is said in ostentation; for, while I yield the superiority in philosophy to many, if I claim to myself the province peculiar to an orator—that of speaking with propriety, perspicuity, and elegance—I seem, since I have spent my life in that pursuit, to lay claim to it with a certain degree of right.

Wherefore, my dear Cicero, I most earnestly recommend that you carefully peruse not only my Orations, but even my philosophical works, which have now nearly equalled them in



extent ; for there is in the former the greater force of language, but you ought to cultivate, at the same time, the equable and sober style of the latter. And, indeed, I find that it has not happened in the case of any of the Greeks, that the same man has laboured in both departments, and pursued both the former—that of forensic speaking—and the latter quiet mode of argumentation ; unless, perhaps, Demetrius Phalereus may be reckoned in that number—a refined reasoner, a not very animated speaker, yet of so much sweetness that you might recognise the pupil of Theophrastus. How far I have succeeded in both, others must determine ; certain it is that I have attempted both. Indeed, I am of opinion that Plato, had he attempted forensic oratory, would have spoken with copiousness and power ; and that had Demosthenes retained and repeated the lessons of Plato, he would have delivered them with gracefulness and beauty. I form the same judgment of Aristotle and Isocrates, each of whom was so pleased with his own pursuit that he neglected that of the other.

But having resolved at this time to write to you somewhat, and a great deal in time to come, I have thought proper to set out with that subject which is best adapted to your years and to my authority. For, while many subjects in philosophy, of great weight and utility, have been accurately and copiously discussed by philosophers, the most extensive seems to be what they have delivered and enjoined concerning the duties of mankind; for there can be no state of life, amidst public or private affairs, abroad or at home—whether you transact anything with yourself or contract anything with another—that is without its obligations. In the due discharge of that consists all the dignity, and in its neglect all the disgrace, of life.

This is an inquiry common to all philosophers; for where is the man who will presume to style himself a philosopher, and lay down no rules of duty? But there are certain schools which pervert all duty by the ultimate objects of good and evil which they propose. For if a man should lay down as the chief good, that which has no connection

*his acts determined connected to  
one's own ideal  
action speak louder than words*

with virtue, and measure it by his own interests, and not according to its moral merit; if such a man shall act consistently with his own principles, and is not sometimes influenced by the goodness of his heart, he can cultivate neither friendship, justice, nor generosity. In truth, it is impossible for the man to be brave who shall pronounce pain to be the greatest evil, or temperate who shall propose pleasure as the highest good.

Though these truths are so self-evident that they require no philosophical discussion, yet they have been treated by me elsewhere. I say, therefore, that if these schools are self-consistent, they can say nothing of the moral duties. Neither can any firm, permanent, or natural rules of duty be laid down, but by those who esteem virtue to be solely or by those who deem it to be chiefly, desirable for its own sake. The teaching of duties, therefore, is the peculiar study of the Stoics, of the Academics, and the Peripatetics; because the sentiments of Aristo, Pyrrho, and Herillus, have been long exploded. Yet even those professors would have been entitled to have

treated upon the duties of men, had they left us any distinction of things, so that there might have been a path open to the discovery of duty. We shall, therefore, upon this occasion, and in this inquiry, chiefly follow the Stoics, not as their expositors, but by drawing, as usual, from their sources, at our own option and judgment, so much and in such manner as we please. I therefore think proper, as my entire argument is on moral obligation, to define what a duty is, a definition which I am surprised has been omitted by Panætius; because every investigation which is rationally undertaken, concerning any subject, ought to set out with a definition, that it may be understood what is the subject of discussion.

All questions concerning duty are of two sorts. The first relates to the final good; the second consists of those rules which are to regulate the practice of life in all its relations. Examples of the former are as follow:—Whether all duties are perfect in themselves? Whether one duty is of more importance than another? together with other questions of the same nature. Now the rules for moral duties relate,



indeed, to the final good; but it is not so perceptible that they do, because they seem chiefly to refer to the regulation of ordinary life, and of them we are to treat in this book.

But there is another division of duty: for one is called a mean duty, the other a perfect duty. If I mistake not, the complete or perfect duty is the same with what we call a direct one, and by the Greeks is called *κατόρθωμα*. As to that duty which is mean they call it *καθήκον*, and they thus define those terms. Whatever duty is absolute, that they call a perfect duty; and they call that duty, for the performance of which a probable reason can be assigned, a mean duty.

In the opinion, therefore, of Panætius, there is a threefold consideration for determining our resolution; for men doubt whether the thing which falls under their consideration be of itself virtuous or disgraceful, and in this deliberation minds are often distracted into opposite sentiments. They then examine and deliberate whether or not the subject of their consideration conduces to the convenience or

enjoyment of life, to the improvement of their estate and wealth, to their interest and power, by which they may profit themselves or their relations; all which deliberation falls under the category of utility. The third kind of doubtful deliberation is, when an apparent utility seems to clash with moral rectitude; for when utility hurries us to itself, and virtue, on the other hand, seems to call us back, it happens that the mind is distracted in the choice, and these occasion a double anxiety in deliberation. In this division, although an omission is of the worst consequence in divisions of this kind, two things are omitted; for we are accustomed to deliberate not only whether a thing be virtuous or shameful in itself, but, of two things that are virtuous, which is the more excellent? And, in like manner, of two things which are profitable which is the more profitable? Thus, it is found that the deliberation, which he considered to be threefold, ought to be distributed into five divisions. We must, therefore, first treat of what is virtuous in itself, and that under two heads; in like manner, of what is

profitable; and we shall next treat of them comparatively.

In the first place, a disposition has been planted by nature in every species of living creatures to cherish themselves, their life, and body; to avoid those things that appear hurtful to them; and to look out for and procure whatever is necessary for their living, such as food, shelter, and the like. Now the desire of union for the purpose of procreating their own species is common to all animals, as well as a certain degree of concern about what is procreated. But the greatest distinction between a man and a brute lies in this, that the latter is impelled only by instinct, and applies itself solely to that object which is present and before it, with very little sensibility to what is past or to come; but man, because endowed with reason, by which he discerns consequences, looks into the causes of things and their progress, and being acquainted, as it were, with precedents, he compares their analogies, and adapts and connects the present with what is to come. It is easy for him to foresee the future direction of all his life,

and therefore he prepares whatever is necessary for passing through it.

Nature, likewise, by the same force of reason, conciliates man to man, in order to a community both of language and of life : above all, it implants in them a strong love for their offspring ; it impels them to desire that companies and societies should be formed, and that they should mingle in them ; and that for those reasons, man should take care to provide for the supply of clothing and of food ; and that not only for himself, but for his wife, his children, and for all whom he ought to hold dear and to protect. This is an affection which arouses the spirit and makes it more strenuous for action.

The distinguishing property of man is to search for and to follow after truth. Therefore, when relaxed from our necessary cares and concerns, we then covet to see, to hear, and to learn somewhat ; and we esteem knowledge of things either obscure or wonderful to be the indispensable means of living happily. From this we understand that truth, simplicity, and candour, are most agreeable to the nature



of mankind. To this passion for discovering truth, is added a desire to direct ; for a mind, well formed by nature, is unwilling to obey any man but him who lays down rules and instructions to it, or who, for the general advantage, exercises equitable and lawful government. From this proceeds loftiness of mind, and contempt for worldly interests.

Neither is it a mean privilege of nature and reason, that man is the only animal who is sensible of order, of decency, and of propriety, both in acting and speaking. In like manner, no other creature perceives the beauty, the gracefulness, and the harmony of parts, in those objects which are discerned by the sight. An analogous perception to which nature and reason convey from the sight to the mind ; and consider that beauty, regularity, and order in counsels and actions should be still more preserved. She is cautious not to do aught that is indecent or effeminate, or to act or think wantonly in any of our deliberations or deeds. The effect and result of all this produces that 'honestum' which we are now in search of ; that virtue which is honourable even without

being ennobled ; and of which we may truly say, that even were it praised by none it would be commendable in itself.

My Son Marcus, you here perceive at least a sketch, and, as it were, the outline of virtue ; which, could we perceive her with our eyes, would, as Plato says, kindle a wonderful love of wisdom. But whatever is virtuous arises from some one of those four divisions : for it consists either in sagacity and the perception of truth ; or in the preservation of human society, by giving to every man his due, and by observing the faith of contracts ; or in the greatness and firmness of an elevated and un-subdued mind ; or in observing order and regularity in all our words and in all our actions, in which consists moderation and temperance.

Though these four divisions are connected and interwoven with one another, yet certain kinds of duties arise from each of them. As, for instance, in that part which I first described, and under which I comprehend sagacity or wisdom, consists the search after and discovery of truth ; and this is the characteristic function of that virtue : for the man who

is most sagacious in discovering the real truth in any subject, and who can, with the greatest perspicacity and quickness, both see and explain the grounds of it, is justly esteemed a man of the greatest understanding and discernment. From hence it follows that truth is, as it were, the subject-matter which this faculty handles, and on which it employs itself. As to the other three virtues, they necessarily consist in acquiring and preserving those things with which the conduct of life is connected, in order to preserve the community and relations of mankind, and to display that excellence and greatness of soul, which exhibits itself as well in acquiring resources and advantages both for ourselves and for our friends, as, still more conspicuously, in properly disregarding them. As to order, resolution, moderation, and the like, they come into that rank of virtues which require not only an operation of the mind, but a certain degree of personal activity; for it is in observing order and moderation in those things which constitute the objects of active life, that we shall preserve virtue and decency.

Now, of the four divisions under which I have ranged the nature and essence of virtue, that which consists in the knowledge of truth principally affects the nature of man. For all of us are impelled and carried along to the love of knowledge and learning, in which we account it glorious to excel, but consider every slip, mistake, ignorance, and deception in it, to be hurtful and shameful. In this pursuit, which is both natural and virtuous, two faults are to be avoided. The first is, the regarding things which we do not know as if they were understood by us, and thence rashly giving them our assent. And he that wishes, as every man ought to wish, to avoid this error, must devote both his time and his industry to the study of things. The other fault is, that some people bestow too much study and pains upon things that are obscure, difficult, and even immaterial in themselves. When those faults are avoided, all the pains and care a man bestows upon studies that are virtuous in themselves, and worthy of his knowledge, will be deservedly commended. Thus we have heard how Caius Sulpicius ex-



celled in astronomy, and Sextus Pompeius, to my own knowledge, in mathematics; many also in logic, and more in the civil law, all which are arts that serve to investigate truth, in the pursuit of which our duty forbids us to be diverted from transacting our business, because the whole glory of virtue consists in activity. Yet this is often intermitted, and frequent are our returns to our studies. Then there is an incessant working of the mind, which, without our taking pains, is sufficient to keep us in the practice of thinking. Now, all our thoughts, and every motion of the mind, should be devoted either to the forming of plans for virtuous actions, and such as belong to a good and a happy life, or else to the pursuits of science and knowledge. I have now treated of at least the first source of duty.

Now, as to the other three, the most extensive system is that by which the mutual society of mankind, and, as it were, the intercourse of life, is preserved. Of this there are two parts: justice, in which virtue displays itself with the most distinguished lustre,

and from which men are termed good; and allied to this, beneficence, which may likewise be termed benevolence, or liberality. Now, the chief province of justice is, that no person injure another, unless he is provoked by suffering wrong; next, that public property be appropriated to public, and private to individual, use.

Now, by nature no property is private, but dependent either on ancient possession, as when men formerly came into unoccupied territories; or victory, as when they have taken possession of it in war; or public constitution, contract, terms, or lot. By those, the land of Arpinum is regarded as belonging to the Arpinates; the Tusculan, to the Tusculans. The like division holds with regard to matters of private property. Thus, as every man holds his own, each should possess that portion which fell to his share of those things that by nature were common; and it follows, that no man can covet another's property without violating the laws of human society.

But, as has been strikingly said by Plato, we are not born for ourselves alone, and our

country claims her share, and our friends their share of us; and, as the Stoics hold, all that the earth produces is created for the use of man, so men are created for the sake of men, that they may mutually do good to one another; in this we ought to take nature for our guide, to throw into the public stock the offices of general utility by a reciprocation of duties; sometimes by receiving, sometimes by giving, and sometimes to cement human society by arts, by industry, and by our resources.

Now the foundation of justice is faithfulness, which is a perseverance and truth in all our declarations and in all our promises. Let us therefore, though some people may think it over-nice, imitate the Stoics, who curiously examine whence terms are derived, and consider that the word 'fides,' or faithfulness, is no other than a performance of what we have promised. But there are two kinds of injustice; the first is of those who offer an injury, the second of those who have it in their power to avert an injury from those to whom it is offered, and yet do it not. For if a man, prompted either by anger or any

sudden perturbation, unjustly assaults another man, such a one seems as it were to lay violent hands on one's ally ; and the man who does not repel or withstand the injury, if he can, is as much to blame as if he deserted the cause of his parents, his friends, or his country.

Those wrongs, however, which are inflicted for the very purpose of doing an injury, often proceed from fear ; as for instance, when a man who is contriving to injure another is afraid, unless he executes what he is meditating, that he may himself sustain some disadvantage ; but the great incentive to doing wrong is to obtain what one desires, and in this crime avarice is the most pervading motive.

Now riches are sought after, both for the necessary purposes of life and for the enjoyment of pleasure. But in men of greater minds the coveting of money is with a view to power and to the means of giving gratification. As M. Crassus lately used to declare, that no man who wanted to have a direction in the government had money enough, unless by the interest of it he could maintain an army. Magnificent equipages, likewise, and



a style of living made up of elegance and abundance give delight, and hence the desire for money becomes boundless. Nor indeed is the mere desire to improve one's private fortune, without injury to another, deserving of blame; but injustice must ever be avoided.

But the main cause why most men are led to a forgetfulness of justice is their falling into a violent ambition after empire, honours, and glory. For what Ennius observes, that

‘No social bonds, no public faith remains  
Inviolatè’;—

has a still more extensive application; for where the object of ambition is of such a nature as that several cannot obtain pre-eminence, the contest for it is generally so violent, that nothing can be more difficult than to preserve the sacred ties of society. This was shown lately in the presumption of C. Cæsar, who, in order to obtain that direction in the government which the wildness of his imagination had planned out, violated all laws, divine and human. But what is deplorable in this matter is, that the desire after honour, empire, power, and glory, is generally

most prevalent in the greatest soul and the most exalted genius ; for which reason every crime of that sort is the more carefully to be guarded against. But in every species of injustice it is a very material question, whether it is committed through some agitation of passion, which commonly is short-lived and temporary, or from deliberate, premeditation, malice ; for those things which proceed from a short, sudden fit, are of slighter moment than those which are inflicted by forethought and preparation. But enough has been said concerning inflicting injury.

Various are the causes of men omitting the defence of others, or neglecting their duty towards them. They are either unwilling to encounter enmity, toil, or expense ; or, perhaps, they do it through negligence, listlessness, or laziness ; or they are so embarrassed in certain studies and pursuits, that they suffer those they ought to protect to be neglected. Hence we must take care lest Plato's observation with respect to philosophers should be falsified : ' That they are men of integrity, because they are solely engaged in the pursuit of truth,

and despise and neglect those considerations which others value, and which mankind are wont to contend for amongst themselves.' For, while they abstain from hurting any by the infliction of injury, they indeed assert one species of honesty or justice, but they fail in another; because, being entangled in the pursuits of learning, they abandon those they ought to protect. Some, therefore, think that they would have no concern with the government unless they were forced to it; but still, it would be more just that it should be done voluntarily; for an action which is intrinsically right is only morally good in so far as it is voluntary. There are others who, either from a desire to improve their private fortune, or from some personal resentments, pretend that they mind their own affairs only that they may appear not to do wrong to another. Now such persons are free from one kind of injustice, but fall into another; because they abandon the fellowship of life by employing in it none of their zeal, none of their labour, none of their abilities. Having thus stated the two kinds of dishonesty or injustice, and

assigned the motives for each kind, and settled previously the considerations by which justice is limited, we shall easily, unless we are extremely selfish, be able to form a judgment of our duty on every occasion.

For, to concern ourselves in other people's affairs is a delicate matter. Yet Chremes, a character in Terence, thinks, that there is nothing which has a relation to mankind in which he has not a concern. Meanwhile, because we have the quicker perception and sensation of whatever happens favourably or untowardly to ourselves than to others, which we see as it were at a greater distance, the judgment we form of them is very different from what we form of ourselves. Those therefore are wise monitors who teach us to do nothing of which we are doubtful, whether it is honest or unjust; for whatever is honest manifests itself by its own lustre, but doubt implies the entertainment of injustice.

But occasions frequently happen in which those duties which are most worthy of an honest, and of such as we call a worthy man, are altered and changed to their contraries.



For example, to return a deposit, to perform a promise, and other matters that are relative to truth and honesty, sometimes alter so, that it is just they should not be observed; for it is proper to have recourse to those fundamentals of honesty which I laid down in the commencement: in the first place, that of injuring no person; and, secondly, that of being subservient to the public good. When these conditions are altered by circumstances, the moral obligation, not being invariably identical, is similarly altered.

A promise, as a compact, may happen to be made, the performance of which may be prejudicial either to the party promising, or to the party to whom the promise is made. For, as we see in the play, had not Neptune performed his promise to Theseus, the latter would not have been bereaved of his son, Hippolytus; for it is recorded, that of three wishes to be granted him, the third, which he made in a passion, was the death of Hippolytus, which, having been granted, he sunk into the most dreadful distress. Therefore, you are not to perform those promises

which may be prejudicial to the party to whom you promise, nor if they may be more hurtful to you than they can be serviceable to him. It is inconsistent with our duty that the greater obligation should be postponed to the less. For instance, suppose you should promise to appear as the advocate of another person while his cause is depending: now, if your son was to be seized violently ill in the meantime, it would be no breach of duty in you not to perform what you promise; the other person would rather depart from his duty if he should complain that he had been abandoned. Who, then, does not see that a man is not bound by those promises which he makes either when coerced by fear, or seduced by deceit? Many such promises are cancelled by the edict of the prætor's court, some by the laws; for very often wrongs arise through a quirk, and through a too artful but fraudulent construction of the law. Hence, 'the rigour of law is the rigour of injustice,' is a saying that has now passed into a proverb. Many injuries of this kind happen even in state affairs: thus, when a general

had concluded a truce with his enemy for thirty days, yet ravaged that enemy's territories every night, because the truce was only for so many days, not for the nights. Nor, indeed, if it is true, is the conduct of our countryman, Quintus Fabius Labeo, to be approved of, or whoever he was, for I have the story only by report, who, being appointed an arbiter by the senate to settle a boundary between the people of Nola and those of Naples, counselled each of those people separately to do nothing covetously, and that each ought rather to draw back than advance. Both of them taking this advice, a space of unoccupied ground was left in the middle. He, therefore, adjudged to each people the boundary to which they had confined themselves, and all that was in the middle to the people of Rome. This was not to give judgment but to cheat; wherefore we ought to avoid all chicanery of that kind in every transaction.

Certain duties are also to be observed, even towards those who have wronged you; for there is a mean even in revenge and

punishments. Nay, I am not certain whether it is not sufficient for the person who has injured you to repent of the wrong done, so that he may never be guilty of the like in future, and that others may not be so forward to offend in the same manner. Now, in government the laws of war are to be most especially observed; for since there are two manners of disputing, one by debating, the other by fighting, though the former characterises men, the latter, brutes, if the former cannot be adopted, recourse must be had to the latter. Wars, therefore, are to be undertaken for this end, that we may live in peace without being injured; but when we obtain the victory, we must preserve those enemies who behaved without cruelty or inhumanity during the war: for example, our forefathers received, even as members of their state, the Tuscans, the Æqui, the Volscians, the Sabines, and the Hernici, but utterly destroyed Carthage and Numantia. I am unwilling to mention Corinth; but I believe they had some object in it, and particularly they were induced to destroy it, lest the advantages of



its situation should invite the inhabitants to make war in future times. In my opinion, we ought always to consult for peace, which should have in it nothing of perfidy. Had my voice been followed on this head, we might still have had some form of government, if not the best, whereas now we have none. And, while we are bound to exercise consideration toward those whom we have conquered by force, so those should be received into our protection who throw themselves upon the honour of our general, and lay down their arms, even though the battering rams should have struck their walls. In which matter justice was cultivated with so much care among our countrymen, that it was a custom among our ancestors that they who received under their protection cities, or nations conquered in war, became their patrons.

Now, the justice of war was most religiously pointed out by the feacial law of the Romans. From this it may be understood that no war is just unless it is undertaken to reclaim property, or unless it is solemnly denounced

and proclaimed beforehand. Popilius, as general, held a province where Cato's son served in his army. It happened that Popilius thought proper to disband one legion; he dismissed, at the same time, Cato's son, who was serving in that legion. When, however, through love of a military life, he remained in the army, his father wrote to Popilius, that if he suffered him to continue in the service he should, for a second time bind him by the military oath; because the obligation of the former having been annulled, he could not lawfully fight with the enemy.

So very strict was their observance of laws in making war. There is extant a letter of old Cato to his son on this occasion, in which he writes, 'That he heard he had got his discharge from the consul, while he was serving as a soldier in Macedonia, during the war with Perseus.' He, therefore, enjoins him to take care not to enter upon action; for he declares that it is not lawful for a man who is not a soldier to fight with an enemy.

And, indeed, there is another thing that I should observe, that he who ought properly to

be termed 'perduellis,' that is, a stubborn foe, is called a 'hostis,' and thereby the softness of the appellation lessens the horror of the thing; for by our ancestors he was called 'hostis' whom we now call a stranger. This the twelve tables demonstrate: as in the words, 'a day appointed for the hostis to plead'; and again, 'a Roman's right of property, as against a hostis, never terminates.' What can exceed the gentleness of this, to call those with whom you were at war by so soft an appellation? It is true that length of time has affixed a harsher signification to this word, which has now ceased to be applied to the stranger, and remains peculiar to him who carries arms against us.

Meanwhile, when we fight for empire, and when we seek glory in arms, all those grounds of war which I have already enumerated to be just ones, must absolutely be in force. But wars that are founded upon the glory of conquest alone, are to be carried on with less rancour; for, as we treat a fellow-citizen in a different manner as a foe, than we do as an antagonist;—as with the latter the struggle

is for glory and power, as the former for life and reputation;—thus we fought against the Celtiberians and the Cimbrians as against enemies, the question being not who should command but who should exist; but we fought for empire against the Latines, the Sabines, the Samnites, the Carthaginians, and Pyrrhus. The Carthaginians, 'tis true, were faithless, and Hannibal was cruel, but the others were better principled. The speech of Pyrrhus about ransoming the captives is a noble one:—

‘In war not crafty, but in battle bold,  
No wealth I value, and I spurn at gold.  
Be steel the only metal shall decree  
The fate of empire, or to you or me.  
The gen'rous conquest be by courage tried,  
And all the captives on the Roman side,  
I swear, by all the gods of open war,  
As fate their lives, their freedom I will spare.’  
This sentiment is truly noble, and worthy the descendant of the Æacidæ.

Nay, if even private persons should, induced by circumstances, make a promise to the enemy, even in this fidelity should be observed. Thus Regulus, when he was made a prisoner by the



Carthaginians in the first Punic war, being sent to Rome to treat of an exchange of prisoners, he swore that he would return. The first thing he did when he came to Rome was to deliver his opinion in the senate that the prisoners should not be restored; and after that, when he was detained by his relations and friends, he chose to deliver himself up to a cruel death rather than to falsify his word to the enemy.

But in the second Punic war, after the battle of Cannæ, Hannibal sent ten Romans to Rome, under an oath that they would return to him unless they procured the prisoners to be ransomed; but the censors disfranchised, as long as they lived, all of them that were perjured, as well as him who had devised a fraudulent evasion of his oath. For when, by the leave of Hannibal, he had left the camp, he returned soon after, to say that he had forgotten something; and then again leaving the camp he considered himself free from the obligations of his oath, which he was with regard to the words but not the meaning of them; for in a promise, what you thought,

and not what you said, is always to be considered. But our forefathers set us a most eminent example of justice towards an enemy; for when a deserter from Pyrrhus offered to the senate to despatch that prince by poison, the senate and C. Fabricius delivered the traitor up to Pyrrhus. Thus they disapproved of taking off by treachery an enemy who was powerful, and was carrying on against them an aggressive war.

Enough has now been said respecting the duties connected with warfare; but we must bear in mind, that justice is due even to the lowest of mankind; and nothing can be lower than the condition and fortune of a slave. And yet those prescribe wisely who enjoin us to put them upon the same footing as hired labourers, obliging them to do their work, but giving them their dues. Now, as injustice may be done two ways, by force or fraud; fraud being the property of a fox, force that of a lion; both are utterly repugnant to society, but fraud is the more detestable. But in the whole system of villainy, none is more capital than that of the men, who, when they most deceive, so manage

as that they may seem to be virtuous men. Thus much, then, on the subject of justice.

Let me now, as I proposed, speak of beneficence and liberality, virtues that are the most agreeable to the nature of man, but which involve many precautionary considerations. For, in the first place, we are to take care lest our kindness should hurt both those whom it is meant to assist, and others. In the next place, it ought not to exceed our abilities; and it ought to be rendered to each in proportion to his worth. This is the fundamental standard of justice to which all these things should be referred. And they who do kindnesses which prove of disservice to the person they pretend to oblige, should not be esteemed beneficent nor generous, but injurious sycophants. And they who injure one party in order to be liberal to another, are guilty of the same dishonesty as if they should appropriate to themselves what belongs to another.

Now many, and they especially who are the most ambitious after grandeur and glory, rob one party to enrich another; and account themselves generous to their friends if they

enrich them by whatever means. This is so far from being consistent with, that nothing can be more contrary to, our duty. We should therefore take care to practise that kind of generosity that is serviceable to our friends, but hurtful to none. Upon this principle, when Lucius Sylla and Caius Cæsar took property from its just owners and transferred it to strangers, in so doing they ought not to be accounted generous; for nothing can be generous that is not at the same time just.

Our next part of circumspection is, that our generosity never should exceed our abilities. For they who are more generous than their circumstances admit of are, first, guilty in this, that they wrong their relations; because they bestow upon strangers those means which they might, with greater justice, give or leave to those who are nearest to them. Now a generosity of this kind is generally attended with a lust to ravish and to plunder, in order to be furnished with the means to give away. For it is easy to observe, that most of them are not so much by nature generous, as they are misled by a kind of pride to do a great many



things in order that they may seem to be generous; which things seem to spring not so much from good-will as from ostentation. Now such a simulation is more nearly allied to duplicity than to generosity or virtue.

The third head proposed was, that in our generosity we should have regard to merit; and, consequently, examine both the morals of the party to whom we are generous, and his disposition towards us, together with the general good of society, and how far he may have already contributed to our own interest. Could all those considerations be united, it were the more desirable; but the object in whom is united the most numerous and the most important of them, ought to have the greatest weight with us.

But as we live not with men who are absolutely perfect and completely wise, but with men who have great merit if they possess the outlines of worth, we are, I think, from thence to infer, that no man is to be neglected in whom there appears any indication of virtue; and that each should be regarded in proportion as he is adorned with the milder virtues of

modesty, temperance, and that very justice of which I have so largely treated. For fortitude and greatness of spirit is commonly too violent in a man who is not completely wise and perfect; but the aforesaid virtues seem to belong more to a good man.

Having said thus much of morals; with regard to the kindness which a person expresses for us, our first duty is, to perform the most for him by whom we are most beloved. Now we are to judge of kindness, not like children, by a sort of ardour of affection, but by its stability and constancy. But if its merits are such, that we are not to court but to requite the kindness, the greater ought our care to be; for there is no duty more indispensable than that of returning a kindness. Now if, as Hesiod enjoins, we ought, if it is in our power, to repay what we have received for mere use with interest, how ought we to act when called upon by kindness? Are we not to imitate those fertile fields which yield far more than they have received? For, if we readily oblige those who we are in hopes will serve us, how ought we to behave towards those who have served

us already? For as generosity is of two kinds, the one conferring a favour, the other repaying it, whether we confer it or not is at our own option, but the not repaying it is not allowable in a good man, provided he can do so without injury to any. Now there are distinctions to be made as to the benefits received; and it is clear that the greatest return is due in each case to the greatest obligation. Meanwhile, we are above all things to consider the spirit, the zeal, and the meaning with which a favour is conferred. For many confer numerous favours with a sort of recklessness, without any judgment or principle, upon all mankind promiscuously, or influenced by sudden perturbation of mind, as if by a hurricane: such favours are not to be esteemed so highly as those which result from judgment, consideration, and consistency. But in conferring or requiting kindness, the chief rule of our duty ought to be, if all other circumstances are equal, to confer most upon the man who stands in greatest need of assistance. The reverse of this is practised by the generality, who direct their greatest services to the man from whom

they hope the most, though he may stand in no need of them.

Now society and alliances amongst men would be best preserved if the greatest kindness should be manifested where there is the nearest relation. But we ought to go higher, if we are to investigate the natural principles of intercourse and community amongst men. The first is, that which is perceived in the society of the whole human race, and of this the bond is speech and reason, which by teaching, learning, communicating, debating, and judging, conciliate men together, and bind them into a kind of natural society. There is nothing in which we differ more from the nature of brutes than in this; for we very often allow them to have courage, as for instance, horses and lions; but we never admit that they possess justice, equity, and goodness; because they are void of reason and speech. Now this is the kind of society that is most extensive with mankind amongst themselves, and it goes through all; for here a community of all things that nature has produced for the common use of mankind is



preserved, so as that they may be possessed in the manner prescribed by laws and civil statutes: of which laws themselves some are to be observed in accordance with the Greek proverb, 'that all things amongst friends are to be in common.' Now this community consists of things which are of that nature which, though placed by Ennius under one head, may be applied to many. 'He,' says that author, 'who kindly shows the bewildered traveller the right road, does as it were light his lamp by his own; which affords none the less light to himself after it has lighted the other.'

By this single example he sufficiently enjoins on us to perform, even to a stranger, all the service we can do without detriment to ourselves. Of which service the following are common illustrations: 'That we are to debar no man from the running stream'; 'That we are to suffer any who desire it to kindle fire at our fire'; 'That we are to give faithful counsel to a person who is in doubt': all which are particulars that are serviceable to the receiver without being detrimental to the bestower. We are therefore to practise

them, and be constantly contributing somewhat to the common good. As the means, however, of each particular person are very confined and the numbers of the indigent are boundless, our distributive generosity ought still to be bounded by the principle of Ennius, —‘it nevertheless gives light to one’s self,’— that we may still be possessed of the means to be generous to our friends.

Now the degrees of human society are many. For, to quit the foregoing unbounded kind, there is one more confined, which consists of men of the same race, nation, and language, by which people are more intimately connected among themselves. A more contracted society than that consists of men inhabiting the same city; for many things are in common among fellow-citizens, such as their forum, their temples, their porticoes, their streets, their laws, their rites, their courts of justice, their trials, not to mention their customs, and intimacies, with a great number of particular dealings and intercourses of numbers with numbers. There is a still more contracted degree of society, which is



that of relatives ; and this closes, in a narrow point, the unbounded general association of the human race.

For, as it is a common natural principle among all animated beings that they have a desire to propagate their own species, the first principle of society consists in the marriage tie, the next in children, the next in a family within one roof, where everything is in common. This society gives rise to the city, and is, as it were, the nursery of the commonwealth. Next follows the connection of brotherhood, next that of cousins, in their different degrees ; and, when they grow too numerous to be contained under one roof, they are transplanted to different dwellings, as it were to so many colonies. Then follow marriages and alliances, whence spring more numerous relationships. The descendants, by this propagation, form the origin of commonwealths ; but the ties and affections of blood bind mankind by affection.

For there is something very powerful in having the monuments of our ancestors the same, in practising the same religious rites,

and in having the same places of interment. But amongst all the degrees of society, none is more excellent, none more stable, than when worthy men, through a similarity of manners, are intimately connected together; for, as I have often said, even when we discern the 'honestum' in another it touches us, and makes us friends to the man in whom it resides.

Now, though virtue of every kind attracts and charms us to the love of those who possess it, yet that love is strongest that is effected by justice and generosity. For nothing is more lovely, nothing is more binding, than a similarity of good dispositions; because amongst those whose pursuits and pleasures are the same, every man is pleased as much with another as he is with himself, and that is effected which Pythagoras chiefly contemplates in friendship, 'that many become one.' A strong community is likewise effected by good offices mutually conferred and received; and, provided these be reciprocal and agreeable, those amongst whom they happen are bound together in close association.

But when you view everything with reason

and reflection, of all connections none is more weighty, none is more dear, than that between every individual and his country. Our parents are dear to us; our children, our kinsmen, our friends, are dear to us; but our country comprehends alone all the endearments of us all. For which, what good man would hesitate to die if he could do her service? The more execrably unnatural, therefore, are they who wound their country by every species of guilt, and who are now, and have been, employed in her utter destruction. But were a computation or comparison set up, of those objects to which our chief duty should be paid, the principal are our country and our parents, by whose services we are laid under the strongest obligations; the next are our children and entire family, who depend upon us alone, without having any other refuge; the next our agreeable kinsmen, who generally share our fortune in common. The necessary supports of life, therefore, are due chiefly to those I have already mentioned; but the mutual intercourses of life, counsels, discourses, exhortations, consultations, and even sometimes

reproofs, flourish chiefly in friendships, and those friendships are the most agreeable that are cemented by a similarity of manners.

But in performing all those duties we are carefully to consider what is most necessary to each, and what every one of them could or could not attain even without us. Thus the relative claims of relationship and of circumstances will not always be identical. Some duties are owing to some more than to others. For instance, you are sooner to help your neighbour to house his corn, than your brother or your friend ; but if a cause be on trial, you are to take part with your kinsman, or your friend, rather than with your neighbour. These considerations, therefore, and the like, ought to be carefully observed in every duty ; and custom and practice should be attained, that we may be able to be correct assessors of our duties, and, by adding or subtracting, to strike the balance, by which we may see the proportion to which every party is entitled.

But as neither physicians, nor generals, nor orators, however perfect they may be in the theory of their art, can ever perform anything



that is highly praiseworthy, without experience and practice, so rules have indeed been laid down for the observation of duties, as I myself am doing ; but the importance of the matter demands experience and practice. I have now, I think, sufficiently treated of the manner in which the 'honestum,' which gives the fitness to our duties, arises from those matters that come within the rights of human society.

It must be understood, however, at the same time, that when the four springs from which virtue and honesty arise are laid open, that which is done with a lofty spirit, and one which scorns ordinary interests, appears the most noble. Therefore the most natural of all reproaches is somewhat of the following kind :—

'Young men, ye carry but the souls of women ;  
That woman of a man.'

Or somewhat of the following kind :—

'Salmacis, give me spoils without toil or danger.'  
On the other hand, in our praises, I know not how it is, but actions performed with magnanimity, with fortitude, and virtue, we eulogise in a loftier style. From hence Mara-



thon, Salamis, Plataea, Thermopylae, Leuctra, have become the field of rhetoricians; and amongst ourselves, Cocles, the Decii, the two Scipios, Cneius and Publius, Marcus Marcellus, and a great many others. Indeed, the Roman people in general are distinguished above all by elevation of spirit; and their fondness for military glory is shown by the fact that we generally see their statues dressed in warlike habits.

But that magnanimity which is discovered in toils and dangers, if it be devoid of justice, and contend not for the public good, but for selfish interest, is blameable; for, so far from being a mark of virtue, it is rather that of a barbarity which is repulsive to all humanity. By the Stoics, therefore, fortitude is rightly defined, when they call it 'valour fighting on the side of justice.' No man, therefore, who has acquired the reputation of fortitude, attained his glory by deceit and malice; for nothing that is devoid of justice can be a virtue.

It is, therefore, finely said by Plato, that not only the knowledge that is apart from

justice deserves the appellation of cunning rather than wisdom, but also a mind that is ready to encounter danger, if it is animated by private interest, and not public utility, deserves the character of audaciousness rather than of fortitude. We, therefore, require that all men of courage and magnanimity should be at the same time men of virtue and of simplicity, lovers of truth, and by no means deceitful; for these qualities are the main glory of justice.

But there is one painful consideration, that obstinacy, and an undue ambition for power, naturally spring up from this elevation and greatness of spirit; for, as Plato tells us, the entire character of the Lacedemonians was inflamed with the desire of conquest. Thus the man who is most distinguished by his magnanimity, is most desirous of being the leading, or rather the only potentate of all. Now, it is a difficult matter, when you desire to be superior to all others, to preserve that equability which is the characteristic of justice. Hence it is that such men will not suffer themselves to be thwarted in a debate, nor by any public

and lawful authority; and in public matters they are commonly guilty of corruption and faction, in order to grasp at as great power as possible; and they choose to be superior by means of force, rather than equals by justice. But the more difficult the matter is, it is the more glorious; for there is no conjuncture which ought to be unconnected with justice.

They, therefore, who oppose, not they who commit, injustice are to be deemed brave and magnanimous. Now, genuine and well-considered magnanimity judges that the 'honestum,' which is nature's chief aim, consists in realities and not in mere glory, and rather chooses to be than to seem pre-eminent: for the man who is swayed by the prejudices of an ignorant rabble is not to be reckoned among the great; but the man of a spirit the most elevated, through the desire of glory, is the most easily impelled into acts of injustice. This is, indeed, a slippery situation; for scarcely can there be found a man who, after enduring trials and encountering dangers, does not pant for popularity as the reward of his exploits.

A spirit altogether brave and elevated is chiefly discernible by two characters. The first consists in a low estimate of mere outward circumstances, since it is convinced that a man ought to admire, desire, or court nothing but what is virtuous and becoming; and that he ought to succumb to no man, nor to any perturbation either of spirit or fortune. The other thing is, that possessed of such a spirit as I have just mentioned, you should perform actions which are great and of the greatest utility, but extremely arduous, full of difficulties and danger both to life and the many things which pertain to life.

In the latter of those two characters consist all the glory, the majesty, and, I add, the utility; but the causes and the efficient means that form great men is in the former, which contains the principles that elevate the soul, and gives it a contempt for temporary considerations. Now, this very excellence consists in two particulars: you are to deem that only to be good that is virtuous; and that you be free from all mental irregularity. For we are to look upon it as the character of a



noble and an elevated soul, to slight all those considerations that the generality of mankind account great and glorious, and to despise them, upon firm and durable principles ; while strength of mind, and greatness of resolution, are discerned in bearing those calamities which, in the course of man's life, are many and various, so as not to be driven from your natural disposition, nor from the dignity of a wise man : for it is not consistent that he who is not subdued by fear should be subjugated by passion ; nor that he who has shown himself invincible by toil, should be conquered by pleasure. Wherefore, we ought to watch and avoid the love of money : for nothing so truly characterises a narrow, grovelling disposition as to love riches ; and nothing is more noble and more exalted than to despise riches if you have them not, and if you have them, to employ them in beneficence and liberality.

An inordinate passion for glory, as I have already observed, is likewise to be guarded against ; for it deprives us of liberty, the only prize for which men of elevated sentiments ought to contend. Power is so far from being



desirable in itself, that it sometimes ought to be refused, and sometimes to be resigned. We should likewise be free from all disorders of the mind, from all violent passion and fear, as well as languor, voluptuousness, and anger, that we may possess that tranquillity and security which confer alike consistency and dignity. Now, many there are, and have been, who, courting that tranquillity which I have mentioned here, have withdrawn themselves from public affairs and taken refuge in retirement. Amongst these, some of the noblest and most leading of our philosophers; and some persons, of strict and grave dispositions, were unable to bear with the manners either of the people or their rulers; and some have lived in the country, amusing themselves with the management of their private affairs. Their aim was the same as that of the powerful, that they might enjoy their liberty, without wanting anything or obeying any person; for the essence of liberty is to live just as you please.

Therefore, as the object of those who are ambitious for power, and of those who court retirement, and whom I have just now de-

scribed, is the same, the former imagine they can attain it if they are possessed of great resources, and the latter, if they can be contented with their own, and with little. In this matter, the sentiments of neither are to be absolutely rejected. But a life of retirement is more easy, more safe, less tiresome, and less troublesome than any other; while the life of those who apply themselves to the affairs of government, and to the management of a state, is more beneficial to mankind, and more conducive to glory and renown.

Allowances, therefore, are to be made for those who having no management in public matters, with an excellent genius, give themselves up to learning; and to those who being hindered by feebleness of health, or for some very weighty reason, retire from affairs of government, and leave to others the power and the honour of the administration: but when men, who have no such excuses, say that they despise that power and those offices which most admire, such men are so far from deserving praise that they incur censure. It is difficult to condemn their judgment in

despising and undervaluing popularity; but then they seem to dread the toils and troubles of affronts and repulses as involving ignominy and infamy. For some there are who, in opposite matters, are very inconsistent with themselves; they spurn most rigidly at pleasure, but they droop in pain; they despise glory, but sink under unpopularity; and that, too, with no little inconsistency.

But the men who inherit from nature appliances for government ought, laying aside all excuses, to undertake the discharge of all public offices and the management of state affairs; for neither can a state be governed, nor can magnanimity display itself, by any other means. I am not, however, sure whether those who undertake the management of public affairs ought not to be equally distinguished by magnanimity as philosophers, if not more so, and impressed with a contempt of common affairs and to possess that tranquillity, that calm of mind, I have so much recommended; I mean, if they wish to live without anxiety, with dignity and consistency.

This may be the more easily practised by

philosophers, because in their lives there is less exposed for fortune to strike at; because their necessities are more contracted; and because, if anything adverse should happen, they cannot fall so heavily. It is not, therefore, without reason, that in the mind of those who undertake the management of public affairs, more violent passions are excited, and mightier matters are to be attempted, than by those who are retired; they, therefore, ought to possess greater elevation of spirit, and freedom from disquiets. But, whoever enters upon public life ought to take care that the question, how far the measure is virtuous, be not his sole consideration, but also how far he may have the means of carrying it into execution. In this he is chiefly to take care that through indolence he do not meanly despond, nor through eagerness too much presume. Thus, in all affairs, before you undertake them, a diligent preparation should be entered into.

But, since most persons are of opinion that the achievements of war are more glorious than civil affairs, this judgment needs to be restricted: for many, as generally is the



case with high minds and enterprising spirits, especially if they are adapted to military life and are fond of warlike achievements, have often sought opportunities of war from their fondness for glory; but if we are willing to judge truly, many are the civil employments of greater importance, and of more renown, than the military.

For though Themistocles is justly praised—his name is now more illustrious than that of Solon, and his glorious victory at Salamis is mentioned preferably to the policy of Solon, by which he first confirmed the power of the Areopagus—the one should not be considered more illustrious than the other; for the one availed his country only for once—the other is lastingly advantageous; because by it the laws of the Athenians, and the institutions of their ancestors, are preserved. Now, Themistocles could not have stated any respect in which he benefited the Areopagus, but the former might with truth declare that Themistocles had been advantaged by him; for the war was carried on by the counsels of that senate which was constituted by Solon.



We may make the same observation with regard to Pausanias and Lysander amongst the Lacedemonians; for all the addition of empire which their conquests are supposed to have brought to their country is not to be compared to the laws and economy of Lycurgus; for indeed, owing to these very causes they had armies more subordinate and courageous. In my eyes, Marcus Scaurus, who flourished when I was but a boy, was not inferior to Caius Marius; nor, after I came to have a concern in the government, Quintus Catulus to Cneius Pompey. An army abroad is but of small service unless there be a wise administration at home. Nor did that good man and great general, Africanus, perform a more important service to his country when he razed Numantia, than did that private citizen, P. Nasica, when at the same period he killed Tiberius Gracchus. An action which it is true was not merely of a civil nature; for it approaches to a military character, as being the result of force and courage; but it was an action performed without an army, and from political considerations.

That state described by the following line is best for a country, for which I understand that I am abused by the wicked and malicious :

‘Arms to the gown, and laurels yield to lore.’

For, not to mention other persons, when I was at the helm of government did not ‘arms yield to the gown?’ For never did our country know a time of more threatening danger or more profound tranquillity ; so quickly, through my counsel and my diligence, did the arms of our most profligate fellow-citizens drop of themselves out of their hands. What so great exploit as this was ever performed in war, or what triumph can be compared with it ?

The inheritance of my glory and the imitation of my actions are to descend to you, my son Marcus, therefore it is allowable for me to boast in writing to you. It is, however, certain that Pompey, who was possessed of much military glory, paid this tribute to me, in the hearing of many, that in vain would he have returned to his third triumph, had not my public services preserved the place in

which he was to celebrate it. The examples of civil courage are therefore no less meritorious than those of military; and they require a greater share of zeal and labour than the latter.

Now all that excellence which springs from a lofty and noble nature is altogether produced by the mental and not by the corporeal powers. Meanwhile, the body ought to be kept in such action and order, as that it may be always ready to obey the dictates of reason and wisdom, in carrying them into execution, and in persevering under hardships. But with regard to that 'honestum' we are treating of, it consists wholly in the thoughtful application of the mind; by which the civilians who preside over public affairs are equally serviceable to their country as they who wage wars. For it often happens that by such counsels wars are either not entered into, or they are brought to a termination; sometimes they are even undertaken, as the third Punic war was by the advice of Marcus Cato, whose authority was powerful, even after he was dead.

Wisdom in determining is therefore prefer-

able to courage in fighting ; but in this we are to take care that we are not swayed by an aversion to fighting rather than by a consideration of expediency. Now in engaging in war we ought to make it appear that we have no other view but peace. But the character of a brave and resolute man is not to be ruffled with adversity, and not to be in such confusion as to quit his post, as we say, but to preserve a presence of mind, and the exercise of reason, without departing from his purpose. And while this is the characteristic of a lofty spirit, so this also is that of a powerful intellect, namely, to anticipate futurity in thought, and to conclude beforehand what may happen on either side, and, upon that, what measures to pursue, and never be surprised so as to say, 'I had not thought of that.' Such are the operations of a genius, capacious and elevated ; of such a one as relies on its own prudence and counsel ; but to rush precipitately into the field, and to encounter an enemy with mere physical force has somewhat in it that is barbarous and brutal. When the occasion, however, and its necessity compel it, we should

resist with force, and prefer death to slavery or dishonour.

But with regard to overthrowing and plundering of cities, great consideration is required that nothing be done rashly, nothing cruelly. And this is the part of a great man, after he has maturely weighed all circumstances, to punish the guilty, to spare the many; and in every state of fortune not to depart from an upright, virtuous conduct. For, as you find, as I have already observed, men who prefer military to civil duties, so will you find many of that cast who look upon dangerous and violent resolutions to be more splendid and more dignified than calm and digested measures. We should never so entirely avoid danger as to appear irresolute and cowardly; but, at the same time, we should avoid unnecessarily exposing ourselves to danger, than which nothing can be more foolish.

In encountering dangers, therefore, we are to imitate the practice of the physicians who apply to gentle illnesses gentle medicines, but are forced to apply more desperate and more



doubtful cures to more dangerous diseases. It is the part of a madman to wish for an adverse tempest in a calm, but of a wise man to find relief against the tempest by whatever means; and the rather if one incurs more advantage by accomplishing the matter than disadvantage by keeping it in suspense. Now the conducting of enterprises is dangerous sometimes to the undertakers, and sometimes to the state; and hence some are in danger of losing their lives, some their reputation, and some their popularity. But we ought to be more forward to expose our own persons than the general interests to danger, and to be more ready to fight for honour and reputation than for other advantages.

Though many have been known cheerfully to venture not only their money but their lives for the public; yet those very men have refused to suffer the smallest loss of glory even at the request of their country. For instance, Callicratidas, who, after performing many gallant actions at the head of the Lacedæmonian armies, during the Peloponnesian war, at last threw everything into confusion by

refusing to obey the directions of those who were for removing the fleet from Arginusæ, and not for fighting the Athenians; to whom his answer was, that if the Lacedemonians lost that fleet they could fit out another, but that he could not turn his back without dishonour to himself. 'Tis true, the blow that followed upon this was not very severe to the Lacedemonians; but it was a deadly one, when, from a fear of public odium, Cleombrotus fought with Epamonidas, and the power of the Lacedemonians perished. How preferable was the conduct of Quintus Maximus, of whom Ennius says:—

‘The man who saved his country by delay,  
No tales could move him, and no envy sway;  
And thus the laurels on his honoured brow,  
In age shall flourish, and with time shall grow.’  
This is a species of fault which ought also to be avoided in civil matters; for there are some men who, from a dread of unpopularity, dare not express their opinions however excellent they may be.

All who hope to rise in a state ought strictly to observe two rules of Plato. The first is,

that they so keep in view the advantage of their fellow-citizens as to have reference to it in whatever they do, regardless of their individual interest. The second is, that their cares be applied to the whole of the state, lest while they are cherishing one part they abandon the others. For the administration of government, like a guardianship, ought to be directed to the good of those who confer, and not of those who receive the trust. Now, they who consult the interests of one part of a community and neglect another, introduce into the state the greatest of all evils, sedition and discord. From this partiality some seem to court the people, some each great man, but few the whole. Hence the great discords amongst the Athenians, and in our government not only seditions but the most destructive wars, which every worthy and brave citizen who deserves to rise in the state will avoid and detest: he will give himself entirely up to the service of his country, without regard to riches or to power, and he will watch over the whole so as to consult the good of all. He will even be far from bringing any man into

hatred or disgrace, by ill-grounded charges, and he will so closely attach himself to the rules of justice and virtue, that however he may give offence he will preserve them, and incur death itself rather than swerve from the principles I have laid down.

Of all evils, ambition and the disputes for public posts are the most deplorable. Plato, likewise, on this subject, says very admirably, ‘that they who dispute for the management of a state resemble mariners wrangling about who should direct the helm.’ He then lays down as a rule that we ought to look upon those as our enemies who take arms against the public, and not those who want to have public affairs directed by their judgment. For instance, Publius Africanus and Quintus Metellus differed in opinion, but without animosity.

Nor, indeed, are those to be listened to who consider that we ought to cherish a bitter resentment against our enemies, and that this is characteristic of a high-minded and brave man ; for nothing is more noble, nothing more worthy of a great and a good man, than plac-



bility and moderation. Nay, amidst free nations and equality of rights, an equability and loftiness of temper is necessary, to prevent our falling into an idle, disagreeable peevishness, when we are irritated by persons approaching us unseasonably, or preferring to us unreasonable requests. Yet this politeness and moderation ought to be so tempered, that for the sake of the interests of the state severity should be employed, otherwise public business could not be carried on. Meanwhile, all reprimands and punishments ought to be inflicted without abuse, without regard to the party so punishing or reprimanding, but to the good of the state.

We ought, likewise, to take care that the punishment be proportioned to the offence, and that some be not punished for doing things for which others are not so much as called to account. Above all things, in punishing we ought to guard against passion; for the man who is to pronounce a sentence of punishment in a passion, never can preserve that mean between what is too much and too little, which is so justly recommended by the



Peripatetics, did they not too much commend the passion of anger, by asserting it to be a useful property of our nature. For my part, I think that it ought to be checked under all circumstances; and it were to be wished that they who preside in government were like the laws, which in punishing are not directed by resentments but by equity.

Now, during our prosperity, and while things flow agreeably to our desire, we ought with great care to avoid pride and arrogance; for, as it discovers weakness not to bear adversity with equanimity, so also with prosperity. That equanimity in every condition of life is a noble attribute, and that uniform expression of countenance and appearance which we find recorded of Socrates, and also of Caius Lælius. Though Philip of Macedon was excelled by his son in his achievements and his renown, yet I find him superior to him in politeness and goodness of nature; the one, therefore, always appeared great, while the other often became detestable. So that they appear to teach rightly, who admonish us that the more advanced we are in our fortune the more

affable ought we to be in our behaviour. Panætius tells us his scholar and friend, Africanus, used to say, that as horses, grown unruly by being in frequent engagements, are delivered over to be tamed by horse-breakers, thus men, who grow riotous and self-sufficient by prosperity, ought, as it were, to be exercised in the traverse of reason and philosophy, that they may learn the inconstancy of human affairs and the uncertainty of fortune.

In the time of our greatest prosperity we should also have the greatest recourse to the advice of our friends, and greater authority should be conceded to them than before. At such a time we are to take care not to lend our ears to flatterers, or to suffer ourselves to be imposed upon by adulation, by which it is easy to be misled: for we then think ourselves such as may be justly praised, an opinion that gives rise to a thousand errors in conduct; because, when men are once blown up with idle conceits, they are exposed to ignominious ridicule and led into the greatest mistakes. So much for this subject.

One thing you are to understand, that they

who regulate public affairs perform the greatest exploits, and such as require the highest style of mind, because their business is most extensive and concerns the greatest number. Yet there are, and have been, many men of great capacities, who in private life have planned out or attempted mighty matters, and yet have confined themselves to the limits of their own affairs; or, being thrown into a middle state, between philosophers and those who govern the state, have amused themselves with the management of their private fortune, without swelling it by all manner of means, not debarring their friends from the benefit of it, but rather, when occasion calls upon them, sharing it both with their friends and their country. This should be originally acquired with honesty, without any scandalous or oppressive practices; it should then be made serviceable to as many as possible, provided they be worthy; it should next be augmented by prudence, by industry, and frugality, without serving the purposes of pleasure and luxury rather than of generosity and humanity. The man who observes these rules may live with magnificence, with dignity,

and with spirit, yet with simplicity and honour, and agreeably to the economy of human life.

The next thing is, to treat of that remaining part of virtue in which consist chastity and those, as we may term them, ornaments of life, temperance, moderation, and all that allays the perturbations of the mind. Under this head is comprehended what in Latin we may call 'decorum,' or the graceful, for the Greeks term it the *πρεπον*. Now, its quality is such that it is indiscernible from the 'honestum'; for whatever is graceful is virtuous, and whatever is virtuous is graceful.

But it is more easy to conceive than to express the difference between what is virtuous and what is graceful, or between the 'honestum' and the 'decorum'; for whatever is graceful appears such, when virtue is its antecedent. What is graceful, therefore, appears not only in that division of virtue which is here treated of, but in the three foregoing ones; for it is graceful in a man to think and to speak with propriety, to act with deliberation, and in every occurrence of life to find out and persevere in the truth. On the other hand, to be imposed



upon, to mistake, to falter, and to be deceived, is as ungraceful as to rave or to be insane. Thus, whatever is just is graceful; whatever is unjust is as ungraceful as it is criminal. The same principle applies to courage; for every manly and magnanimous action is worthy of a man and graceful; the reverse, as being unworthy, is ungraceful.

This, therefore, which I call gracefulness, is a universal property of virtue, and a property that is self-evident, and not discerned by any profundity of reasoning; for there is a certain gracefulness that is implied in every virtue, and which may exist distinctly from virtue, rather in thought than in fact: as grace and beauty of person, for example, cannot be separated from health, so the whole of that gracefulness which I here speak of is blended with virtue, but may exist separately in the mind and in idea.

Now, the definition of this is twofold: for there is a general gracefulness that is the property of all virtue, and that includes another, which is fitted to the particular divisions of virtue. The former is commonly defined to



be that gracefulness that is conformable to that excellence of man, in which he differs from other sentient beings; but the special, which is comprised under the general, is defined to be a gracefulness so adapted to nature as to exhibit propriety and sweetness under a certain elegant appearance.

We may perceive that these things are so understood from that gracefulness which is aimed at by the poets, and of which elsewhere more is wont to be said; for we say that the poets observe that gracefulness to be when a person speaks and acts in that manner which is most becoming his character. Thus if Æacus or Minos should say:—

Let them hate me, so they fear me;

Or—

The father's belly is his children's grave, it would seem unsuitable, because we know them to have been just persons; but when said by an Atreus, they are received with applause, because the speech is worthy of the character. Now, poets will form their judgment of what is becoming in each individual according to his character; but nature herself

has stamped on us a character in excellence greatly surpassing the rest of the animal creation.

Poets, therefore, in their vast variety of characters, consider what is proper and what is becoming, even in the vicious: but as nature herself has cast to us our parts in constancy, moderation, temperance, and modesty; as she, at the same time, instructs us not to be unmindful how we should behave to mankind, the effect is, that the extent both of that gracefulness which is the general property of all virtue, and of that particular gracefulness that is adapted to every species of it, is discovered. For as personal beauty, by the symmetrical disposition of the limbs, attracts our attention and pleases the eye, by the harmony and elegance with which each part corresponds to another, so that gracefulness which manifests itself in life, attracts the approbation of those among whom we live, by the order, consistency, and modesty of all our words and deeds.

There is, therefore, a degree of respect due from us, suited to every man's character,

from the best to the worst: for it is not only arrogant, but it is profligate, for a man to disregard the world's opinion of himself; but, in our estimate of human life, we are to make a difference between justice and moral susceptibility. The dictate of justice is to do no wrong; that of moral susceptibility is to give no offence to mankind, and in this the force of the graceful is most perceptible. By these explanations I conceive that what we mean by the graceful and becoming may be understood.

Now the duty resulting from this has a primary tendency to an agreement with and conservation of our nature; and if we follow it as a guide we never shall err, but shall attain to that natural excellence which consists in acuteness and sagacity, to that which is best adapted to human society and to that which is energetic and manly. But the chief force of the graceful lies in that suitableness of which I am now treating. For not only those emotions of a physical kind, but still more those of the mind are to be approved as they are conformable to nature. For the

nature and powers of the mind are twofold; one consists in appetite, by the Greeks called *ορμη*, that is, impulse, which hurries man hither and thither; the other in reason, which teaches and explains what we are to do, and what we are to avoid. The result is, that reason should direct and appetite obey.

Now every human action ought to be free from precipitancy and negligence, nor indeed ought we to do anything for which we cannot give a justifiable reason. This indeed almost amounts to a definition of duty. Now we must manage so as to keep the appetites subservient to reason, that they may neither outstrip it, nor fall behind through sloth and cowardice. Let them be ever composed and free from all perturbation of spirit; and thus entire consistency and moderation will display themselves. For those appetites that are too vagrant and rampant as it were, either through desire or aversion, are not sufficiently under the command of reason; such, I say, undoubtedly transgress bounds and moderation. For they abandon and disclaim that subordination to reason, to which by the law of



nature they are subjected, and thereby not only the mind but the body is thrown into disturbance. Let any one observe the very looks of men who are in a rage, of those who are agitated by desire or fear, or who exult in an excess of joy; all whose countenances, voices, motions, and attitudes, are changed.

But to return to my description of duty. From these particulars we learn that all our appetites ought to be contracted and mitigated; that all our attention and diligence ought to be awake, so that we do nothing in a rash, random, thoughtless, and inconsiderate manner. For nature has not formed us to sport and merriment, but rather to seriousness, and studies that are important and sublime. Sport and merriment are not always disallowable: but we are to use them as we do sleep and other kinds of repose, when we have despatched our weighty and important affairs. Nay, our very manner of joking should be neither wanton nor indecent, but genteel and good-humoured. For as we indulge boys not in an unlimited licence of sport, but only in that which is not incon-



sistent with virtuous conduct, so in our very jokes there should appear some gleam of a virtuous nature.

The manner of joking is reducible under two denominations;—one that is ill-bred, insolent, profligate, and obscene; another that is elegant, polite, witty, and good-humoured. We have abundance of this last, not only in our Plautus, and the authors of the old Greek comedy, but in the writings of the Socratic philosophers. Many collections have likewise been made by various writers, of humorous sayings, such as that made by Cato, and called his *Apophthegms*. The distinction, therefore, between a genteel and an ill-mannered joke is a very ready one. The former, if seasonably made, and when the attention is relaxed, is worthy of a virtuous man; the other, if it exhibit immorality in its subject, or obscenity in the expression, is unworthy even of a man. There is likewise a certain limit to be observed, even in our amusements, that we do not give up everything to amusement, and that, after being elevated by pleasure, we do not sink into some immorality. Our *Campus Martius*, and

the sport of hunting, supply creditable examples of amusement.

But in all our disquisitions concerning the nature of a duty, it is material that we keep in our eye the great excellence of man's nature above that of the brutes and all other creatures. They are insensible to everything but pleasure, and are hurried to it by every impulse. Whereas the mind of man is nourished by study and reflection, and, being charmed by the pleasure of seeing and hearing, it is ever either inquiring or acting. But if there is a man who has a small bias to pleasure, provided he is not of the brute kind, for there are some who are men only in name; but, I say, if he is more high-minded even in a small degree, though he may be smitten with pleasure, he yet, through a principle of shame, hides and disguises his inclination for it.

From this we are to conclude that mere corporeal pleasure is unworthy the excellency of man's nature; and that it ought therefore to be despised and rejected; but that if a man shall have any delight in pleasure, he ought to be extremely observant of limits in its indul-

gence. Therefore, the nourishment and dress of our bodies should be with a view not to our pleasure, but to our health and our strength; and should we examine the excellency and dignity of our nature, we should then be made sensible how shameful it is to melt away in pleasure, and to live in voluptuousness and effeminacy; and how noble it is to live with abstinence, with modesty, with strictness, and sobriety.

We are likewise to observe, that nature has, as it were, endowed us with two characters. The first is in common to all mankind, because all of us partake in that excellency of reason, which places us above the brutes; from which is derived all that is virtuous, all that is graceful, and by which we trace our connections with our several duties. The other character is peculiar to individuals. For, as there are great dissimilarities in our persons—some for instance are swift in running, others strong in wrestling; and in style of beauty some have a dignity, and others a sweetness of aspect—so are there still greater varieties in our minds.

Lucius Crassus and Lucius Philippus had

a great deal of wit; but in Caius Cæsar, the son of Lucius, it was greater in degree, and more elaborate. In their contemporaries, Marcus Scaurus, and young Marcus Drusus, there was a remarkable seriousness; in Caius Lælius great hilarity; but in his friend Scipio greater ambition, and a graver style of life. As to the Greeks, we are told of Socrates that he was agreeable and witty; his conversation jocose, and in all his discourse a feigner of opinions whom the Greeks called *εἰρων*. On the other hand, Pythagoras and Pericles, without any gaiety, attained the highest authority. Amongst the Carthaginian generals, Hannibal, we learn, was crafty, and Quintus Maximus amongst our own generals was apt at concealment, secrecy, dissimulation, plotting, and anticipating the designs of enemies. In this class the Greeks rank Themistocles, and Iason of Pheræ, above all others; and place among the very first, that cunning and artful device of Solon, when, to secure his own life, and that he might be of greater service to his country, he counterfeited madness. In opposition to those characters, the tempers of

many others are plain and open. Lovers of truth and haters of deceit, they think that nothing should be done by stealth, nothing by stratagem; while others care not what they suffer themselves, or whom they stoop to, provided they accomplish their ends; as we have seen Sylla and Marcus Crassus. In which class Lysander the Lacedemonian, we are told, had the greatest art and perseverance, and that Callicratides, who succeeded to Lysander in the command of the fleet, was the reverse. We have known some others, who though very powerful in conversation, always make themselves appear undistinguished individuals among many; such were the Catuli, father and son, and Quintus Mucius Mancina. I have heard from men older than myself, that Publius Scipio Nasica was of the same cast, but that his father, the same who punished the pernicious designs of Tiberius Gracchus, was void of all politeness in conversation: and the same of Xenocrates, the most austere of philosophers, and from that very circumstance a distinguished and celebrated man. Innumerable, but far from being blamable, are the



other differences in the natures and manners of men.

Every man, however, ought carefully to follow out his peculiar character, provided it is only peculiar, and not vicious, that he may the more easily attain that gracefulness of which we are inquiring. For we ought to manage so as never to counteract the general system of nature; but having taken care of that, we are to follow our natural bias; inso-much, that though other studies may be of greater weight and excellence, yet we are to regulate our pursuits by the disposition of our nature. It is to no purpose to thwart nature, or to aim at what you cannot attain. We therefore may have a still clearer conception of the graceful I am recommending, from this consideration, that nothing is graceful that goes, as the saying is, against the grain, that is, in contradiction and opposition to nature.

If anything at all is graceful, nothing surely is more so than a uniformity through the course of all your life, as well as through every particular action of it; and you never can preserve this uniformity, if, aping another man's

nature, you forsake your own. For as we ought to converse in the language we are best acquainted with, for fear of making ourselves justly ridiculous, as those do who cram in Greek expressions; so there ought to be no incongruity in our actions, and none in all the tenor of our lives.

Now so powerful is this difference of natures, that it may be the duty of one man to put himself to death, and yet not of another, though in the same predicament. For was the predicament of Marcus Cato different from that of those who surrendered themselves to Cæsar in Africa? Yet it had been perhaps blamable in the latter, had they put themselves to death, because their lives were less severe, and their moral natures more pliable. But it became Cato, who had by perpetual perseverance strengthened that inflexibility which nature had given him, and had never departed from the purpose and resolution he had once formed, to die rather than to look upon the face of a tyrant.

How various were those sufferings of Ulysses, in his long continued wanderings, when he

became the slave of women, if you consider Circe and Calypso as such : and in all he said he sought to be complaisant and agreeable to everybody, nay, put up with abuses from slaves and handmaidens at home, that he might at length compass what he desired ; but with the spirit with which he is represented, Ajax would have preferred a thousand deaths to suffering such indignities.

In the contemplation of which each ought to consider what is peculiar to himself, and to regulate those peculiarities, without making any experiments how another man's become them ; for that manner which is most peculiarly a man's own always becomes him best.

Every man ought, therefore, to study his own genius, so as to become an impartial judge of his own good and bad qualities, otherwise the players will discover better sense than we ; for they don't choose for themselves those parts that are the most excellent, but those which are best adapted to them. Those who rely on their voices choose the part of Epigonas or Medus ; the best actors that of Menalippa or Clytemnestra. Rupilius, who I

remember, always selected that of Antiopa ; Esopus seldom chose that of Ajax. Shall a player, then, observe this upon the stage, and shall a wise man not observe it in the conduct of life ? Let us, therefore, most earnestly apply to those parts for which we are best fitted ; but should necessity degrade us into characters unsuitable to our genius, let us employ all our care, attention, and industry, in endeavouring to perform them, if not with propriety, with as little impropriety as possible : nor should we strive so much to attain excellences which have not been conferred on us, as to avoid defects.

To the two characters above described is added a third, which either accident or occasion imposes on us ; and even a fourth, which we accommodate to ourselves by our own judgment and choice. Now kingdoms, governments, honours, dignities, riches, interest, and whatever are the qualities contrary to them, happen through accident, and are directed by occasions ; but what part we ourselves should wish to act, originates from our own will. Some, therefore, apply to philosophy,



some to the civil law, and some to eloquence ; and of the virtues themselves some endeavour to shine in one, and some in another.

Men generally are ambitious of distinguishing themselves in that kind of excellence in which their fathers or their ancestors were most famous : for instance, Quintus, the son of Publius Mucius, in the civil law ; Africanus, the son of Paulus, in the art of war. Some, however, increase, by merits of their own, that glory which they have received from their fathers ; for the same Africanus crowned his military glory with the practice of eloquence. In like manner, Timotheus, the son of Conon, who equalled his father in the duties of the field, but added to them the glory of genius and learning. Sometimes, however, it happens that men, laying aside the imitation of their ancestors, follow a purpose of their own ; and this is most commonly the case with such men who, though descended from obscure ancestors, purpose to themselves great aims.

In our search, then, after what is graceful, all those particulars ought to be embraced in our contemplation and study. In the first



place, we are to determine who and what manner of men we are to be, and what mode of life we are to adopt—a consideration which is the most difficult of all; for, in our early youth, when there is the greatest weakness of judgment, every one chooses to himself that kind of life which he has most fancied. He, therefore, is trepanned into some fixed and settled course of living before he is capable to judge what is the most proper.

For the Hercules of Prodicus, as we learn from Xenophon, in his early puberty, an age appointed by nature for every man's choosing his scheme of life, is said to have gone into a solitude, and there sitting down, to have deliberated within himself much, and for a long time, whether of two paths that he saw before him it was better to enter on, the one of pleasure, the other of virtue. This might, indeed, happen to a Jove-begotten Hercules; but not so with us, who imitate those whom we have an opinion of, and are thereby drawn into their pursuits and purposes: for generally, prepossessed by the principles of our parents, we are drawn away to their customs

and habits. Others, swayed by the judgment of the multitude, are passionately fond of those things which seem best to the majority. A few, however, either through some good fortune, or a certain excellence of nature, or through the training of their parents, pursue the right path of life.

The rarest class is composed of those who, endowed with an exalted genius, or with excellent education and learning, or possessing both, have had scope enough for deliberating as to what course of life they would be most willing to adopt. Every design, in such a deliberation, ought to be referred to the natural powers of the individual; for since, as I said before, we discover this propriety in every act which is performed, by reference to the qualities with which a man is born, so, in fixing the plan of our future life, we ought to be still much more careful in that respect, that we may be consistent throughout the duration of life with ourselves, and not deficient in any one duty.

But because nature in this possesses the chief power, and fortune the next, we ought

to pay regard to both in fixing our scheme of life; but chiefly to nature, as she is much more firm and constant, insomuch that the struggle, sometimes between nature and fortune, seems to be between a mortal and an immortal being. The man, therefore, who adapts his whole system of living to his undepraved nature, let him maintain his constancy; for that, above all things, becomes a man, provided he come not to learn that he has been mistaken in his choice of a mode of life. Should that occur, as it possibly may, a change must be made in all his habits and purposes which, if circumstances shall be favourable, we shall more easily and readily effect; but, should it happen otherwise, it must be done slowly and gradually. Thus, men of sense think it more suitable that friendships which are disagreeable or not approved should be gradually detached, rather than suddenly cut off. Still, upon altering our scheme of life, we ought to take the utmost care to make it appear that we have done it upon good grounds.

But if, as I said above, we are to imitate

our ancestors, this should be first excepted that their bad qualities must not be imitated. In the next place, if nature does not qualify us to imitate them in some things, we are not to attempt it: for instance, the son of the elder Africanus, who adopted the younger son of Paulus, could not, from infirmity of health, resemble his father so much as his father did his grandfather. If, therefore, a man is unable to defend causes, to entertain the people by haranguing, or to wage war, yet still he ought to do what is in his power; he ought to practise justice, honour, generosity, modesty, and temperance, that what is wanting may be the less required of him. Now, the best inheritance a parent can leave a child—more excellent than any patrimony—is the glory of his virtue and his deeds; to bring disgrace on which ought to be regarded as wicked and monstrous.

And as the same moral duties are not suited to the different periods of life, some belonging to the young, others to the old, we must likewise say somewhat on this distinction. It is the duty of a young man to

reverence his elders, and amongst them to select the best and the worthiest, on whose advice and authority to rely. For the inexperience of youth ought to be instructed and conducted by the wisdom of the aged. Above all things, the young man ought to be restrained from lawless desires, and exercised in endurance and labour both of body and mind, that by persevering in them, he may be efficient in the duties both of war and peace. Nay, when they even unbend their minds and give themselves up to mirth, they ought to avoid intemperance, and never lose sight of morality; and this will be the more easy if even upon such occasions they desire that their elders should be associated with them.

As to old men, their bodily labours seem to require diminution, but the exercises of their mind ought even to be increased. Their care should be to assist their friends, the youth, and above all their country, to the utmost of their ability by their advice and experience. Now there is nothing that old age ought more carefully to guard against,



than giving itself up to listlessness and indolence. As to luxury, though it is shameful in every stage of life, in old age it is detestable; but if to that is added intemperance in lawless desires, the evil is doubled; because old age itself thereby incurs disgrace; and makes the excesses of the young more shameless.

Neither is it foreign to my purpose to touch upon the duties of magistrates, of private citizens, and of strangers. It is then the peculiar duty of a magistrate to bear in mind that he represents the state, and that he ought, therefore, to maintain its dignity and glory, to preserve its constitution, to act by its laws, and to remember that these things are committed to his fidelity. As to a private man and citizen, his duty is to live upon a just and equal footing with his fellow-citizens, neither subordinate and subservient nor domineering. In his sentiments of the public to be always for peaceful and virtuous measures; for such we are accustomed to imagine and describe a virtuous citizen.

Now the duty of a stranger and an alien

is, to mind nothing but his own business, not to intermeddle with another, and least of all to be curious about the affairs of a foreign government. Thus we shall generally succeed in the practice of the moral duties, when we inquire after what is most becoming and best fitted to persons, occasions, and ages; and nothing is more becoming than in all our actions and in all our deliberations to preserve consistency.

But, because the graceful or becoming character we treat of appears in all our words and actions, nay, in every motion and disposition of our person, and consists of three particulars, beauty, regularity, and appointment suited to action, ideas which indeed are difficult to be expressed, but it is sufficient if they are understood; and as in these three heads is comprehended our care to be approved by those amongst whom and with whom we live, on them also a few observations must be made. In the first place, nature seems to have paid a great regard to the form of our bodies, by exposing to the sight all that part of our figure that has a beautiful

appearance, while she has covered and concealed those parts which were given for the necessities of nature, and which would have been offensive and disagreeable to the sight.

This careful contrivance of nature has been imitated by the modesty of mankind; for all men in their senses conceal from the eye the parts which nature has hid; and they take care that they should discharge as privately as possible even the necessities of nature. And those parts which serve those necessities, and the necessities themselves, are not called by their real names; because that which is not shameful if privately performed, it is still obscene to describe. Therefore neither the public commission of those things, nor the obscene expression of them, is free from immodesty.

Neither are we to regard the Cynics or the Stoics, who are next to Cynics, who abuse and ridicule us for deeming things that are not shameful in their own nature, to become vicious through names and expressions. Now, we give everything that is disgraceful in its own nature its proper term. Theft, fraud,

adultery, are disgraceful in their own nature, but not obscene in the expression. The act of begetting children is virtuous, but the expression obscene. Thus, a great many arguments to the same purpose are maintained by these philosophers in subversion of delicacy. Let us, for our parts, follow nature, and avoid whatever is offensive to the eyes or ears; let us aim at the graceful or becoming, whether we stand or walk, whether we sit or lie down, in every motion of our features, our eyes, or our hands.

In those matters two things are chiefly to be avoided; that there be nothing effeminate and foppish, nor anything coarse and clownish. Neither are we to admit, that those considerations are proper for actors and orators, but not binding upon us. The manners at least of the actors, from the morality of our ancestors, are so decent that none of them appear upon the stage without an under-covering; being afraid lest if by any accident certain parts of the body should be exposed, they should make an indecent appearance. According to our customs, sons

grown up to manhood do not bathe along with their fathers, nor sons-in-law with their fathers-in-law. Modesty of this kind, therefore, is to be cherished, especially as nature herself is our instructor and guide.

Now as beauty is of two kinds, one that consists in loveliness, and the other in dignity; loveliness we should regard as the characteristic of women, dignity of men: therefore, let a man remove from his person every ornament that is unbecoming a man, and let him take the same care of every similar fault with regard to his gesture or motion. For very often the movements learned in the Palæstra are offensive, and not a few impertinent gestures among the players are productive of disgust, while in both whatever is unaffected and simple is received with applause. Now, comeliness in the person is preserved by the freshness of the complexion, and that freshness by the exercises of the body. To this we are to add, a neatness that is neither troublesome nor too much studied, but which just avoids all clownish, ill-bred slovenliness. The same rules are to



be observed with regard to ornaments of dress, in which, as in all other matters, a mean is preferable.

We must likewise avoid a drawling solemn pace in walking, so as to seem like bearers in a procession; and likewise in matters that require despatch, quick, hurried motions; which, when they occur, occasion a shortness of breathing, an alteration in the looks, and a convulsion in the features, all which strongly indicate an inconstant character. But still greater should be our care that the movements of our mind never depart from nature; in which we shall succeed if we guard against falling into any flurry and disorder of spirit, and keep our faculties intent on the preservation of propriety. Now the motions of the mind are of two kinds, the one of reflection and the other of appetite. Reflection chiefly applies itself in the search of truth. Appetite prompts us to action. We are therefore to take care to employ our reflection upon the best subjects, and to render our appetite obedient to our reason.

And since the influence of speech is very

great and that of two kinds,—one proper for disputing, the other for discoursing, — the former should be employed in pleadings at trials, in assemblies of the people, and meetings of the senate ; the latter in social circles, disquisitions, the meetings of our friends, and should likewise attend upon entertainments. Rhetoricians lay down rules for disputing, but none for discoursing, though I am not sure but that likewise may be done. Masters are to be found in all pursuits in which there are learners, and all places are filled with crowds of rhetoricians ; but there are none who study this, and yet all the rules that are laid down for words and sentiments in debate are likewise applicable to conversation.

But, as we have a voice as the organ of speech, we ought to aim at two properties in it: first that it be clear, and secondly that it be agreeable ; both are unquestionably to be sought from nature ; and yet practice may improve the one, and imitating those who speak nervously and distinctly, the other. There was, in the Catuli, nothing by which you could conclude them possessed of any

exquisite judgment in language, though learned to be sure they were; and so have others been. But the Catuli were thought to excel in the Latin tongue; their pronunciation was harmonious, their words were neither mouthed nor minced; so that their expression was distinct, without being unpleasant; while their voice, without strain, was neither faint nor shrill. The manner of Lucius Crassus was more flowing, and equally elegant; though the opinion concerning the Catuli, as good speakers, was not less. But Cæsar, brother to the elder Catulus, exceeded all in wit and humour; insomuch that even in the forensic style of speaking, he with his conversational manner surpassed the energetic eloquence of others. Therefore, in all those matters, we must labour diligently if we would discover what is the point of propriety in every instance.

Let our common discourse therefore, and this is the great excellence of the followers of Socrates, be smooth and good-humoured, without the least arrogance. Let there be pleasantry in it. Nor let any one speaker

exclude all others as if he were entering on a province of his own, but consider that in conversation, as in other things, alternate participation is but fair. But more especially let him consider on what subjects he should speak. If serious, let him use gravity; if merry, good-humour. But a man ought to take the greatest care that his discourse betray no defect in his morals; and this generally is the case when for the sake of detraction we eagerly speak of the absent in a malicious, ridiculous, harsh, bitter, and contemptuous manner.

Now conversation generally turns upon private concerns, or politics, or the pursuits of art and learning. We are, therefore, to study, whenever our conversation begins to ramble to other subjects, to recall it: and whatever subjects may present themselves, for we are not all pleased with the same subjects and that similarly and at all times, we should observe how far our conversation maintains its interest; and as there was a reason for beginning so there should be a limit at which to conclude.

But as we are very properly enjoined, in all the course of our life, to avoid all fits of passion, that is, excessive emotions of the mind uncontrolled by reason; in like manner, our conversation ought to be free from all such emotions; so that neither resentment manifest itself, nor undue desire, nor slovenliness, nor indolence, nor anything of that kind; and, above all things, we should endeavour to indicate both esteem and love for those we converse with. Reproaches may sometimes be necessary, in which we may perhaps be obliged to employ a higher strain of voice and a harsher turn of language. Even in that case, we ought only to seem to do these things in anger; but as, in the cases of cautery and amputations, so with this kind of correction we should have recourse to it seldom and unwillingly; and indeed, never but when no other remedy can be discovered; but still, let all passion be avoided; for with that nothing can be done with rectitude, nothing with discretion.

In general it is allowable to adopt a mild style of rebuke, combining it with seriousness,



so that severity may be indicated but abusive language avoided. Nay, even what of bitterness there is in the reproach should be shown to have been adopted for the sake of the party reprov'd. Now, it is advisable, even in those disputes which take place with our bitterest enemies, if we hear any that is insulting to ourselves to maintain our equanimity, and repress passion; for whatever is done under such excitement can never be either consistently performed, or approved of by those who are present. It is likewise indecent for a man to be loud in his own praise, and the more so if it be false, and so to imitate the swaggering soldier in the play amidst the derision of the auditors.

Now, as I touch, or at least wish to touch, upon every matter of duty, I shall likewise treat of the kind of house which I think suited to a man of high rank and office; the end of this being utility, to it the design of the building must be adapted, but still regard must be paid to magnificence and elegance. We learn that it was to the honour of Cneius Octavius, the first of that family who was

raised to the consulship, that he built upon the Palatine, a house of a noble and majestic appearance, which, as it was visited as a spectacle by the common people, was supposed to have voted its proprietor, though but a new man, into the consulship. Scaurus demolished this house, and took the ground into his own palace. But though the one first brought a consulship into his family, yet the other, though the son of a man of the greatest rank and distinction, carried into this, his enlarged palace, not only repulse but disgrace, nay ruin.

For dignity should be adorned by a palace, but not be wholly sought from it:—the house ought to be ennobled by the master, and not the master by the house. And, as in other matters a man should have regard to others and not to his own concerns alone, so in the house of a man of rank, who is to entertain a great many guests and to admit a multitude of all denominations, attention should be paid to spaciousness; but a great house often reflects discredit upon its master, if there is solitude in it, especially if, under a former

proprietor, it has been accustomed to be well filled. It is a mortifying thing when passengers exclaim, 'Ah! ancient dwelling! by how degenerate a master art thou occupied!' which may well be said at the present time of a great many houses.

But you are to take care, especially if you build for yourself, not to go beyond bounds in grandeur and costliness. Even the example of an excess of this kind does much mischief. For most people, particularly in this respect, studiously imitate the example of their leaders. For instance, who imitates the virtue of the excellent Lucius Lucullus? But how many there are who have imitated the magnificence of his villas. To which certainly a bound ought to be set, and it reduced to moderation, and the same spirit of moderation ought to be extended to all the practice and economy of life. But of this enough.

Now in undertaking every action we are to regard three things. First, that appetite be subservient to reason, than which there is no condition better fitted for preserving the moral duties. We are, secondly, to examine how

important the object which we desire to accomplish, that our attention or labour may be neither more nor less than the occasion requires. Thirdly, we are to take care that everything that comes under the head of magnificence and dignity should be well regulated. Now, the best regulation is, to observe that same graceful propriety which I have recommended, and to go no further. But of those three heads, the most excellent is, that of making our appetites subservient to our reason.

I am now to speak concerning the order and the timing of things. In this science is comprehended what the Greek call *εὐταξία*, not that which we Romans call moderation, an expression that implies keeping within bounds; whereas that is *εὐταξία*, in which the preservation of order is involved. This duty, which we will denominate moderation, is defined by the Stoics as those things which are either said or done in their appropriate places of ranging. Therefore, the signification of order and of arrangement seems to be the same. For they define order to be

the disposing of things into fitting and convenient places. Now they tell us that the appropriate place of an action is the opportunity of doing it. The proper opportunity for action being called by the Greeks *ἐνκαρία*, and by the Latins, 'occasio,' or occasion. Thus, as I have already observed, that 'modestia' which we have thus explained, is the knowledge of acting according to the fitness of a conjuncture.

But prudence, of which we have treated in the beginning of this book, may admit of the same definition. Under this head, however, I speak of moderation and temperance, and the like virtues. Therefore, the considerations which belong to prudence have been treated in their proper place. But at present I am to treat of those virtues I have been so long speaking of, which relate to morality, and the approbation of those with whom we live.

Such then should be the regularity of all our actions, that in the economy of life, as in a connected discourse, all things may agree and correspond. For it would be unbecom-



ing and highly blamable, should we, when upon a serious subject, introduce the language of the jovial or the effeminate. When Pericles had for his colleague in the prætorship Sophocles the poet, and as they were discoursing upon their joint official duty, a beautiful boy by chance passed by, Sophocles exclaimed, 'What a charming boy, Pericles!' but Pericles very properly told him, 'A magistrate ought to keep not only his hands, but his eyes under restraint.' Now Sophocles, had he said the same thing at a trial of athletic performers would not have been liable to this just reprimand, such importance there is in the time and place. So too, a man, who is going to plead a cause, if on a journey or in a walk he should muse or appear to himself more thoughtful than ordinary, he is not blamed: but should he do this at an entertainment, he would seem ill-bred for not distinguishing times.

But those actions that are in wide discrepancy with good-breeding, such, for instance, as singing in the forum, or any such absurdity, are so easily discernible, that they

require no great degree of reprehension or advice. But faults that seem to be inconsiderable, and such as are discernible only by a few, are to be more carefully avoided. As in lutes or pipes, however little they be out of tune, it is perceived by a practised ear; so in life we are to guard against all discrepancy, and the rather as the harmony of morals is greater and much more valuable than that of sounds.

Thus, as the ear is sensible of the smallest discord in musical instruments, so we, if we desire to be accurate and attentive observers of faults, may make great discoveries from very trifling circumstances. The cast of the eye, the bending or unbending of the brow, an air of dejection or cheerfulness, laughter, the tone of words, silence, the raising or falling of the voice, and the like circumstances, we may easily form a judgment which of them are in their proper state, and which of them are in discord with duty and nature. Now in this case, it is advisable to judge from others, of the condition and properties of every one of those, so that we ourselves may avoid those

things that are unbecoming in others. For it happens, I know not how, that we perceive what is defective more readily in others than we do in ourselves. Therefore, when masters mimic the faults of boys that they may amend them, those boys are most easily corrected.

Neither is it improper, in order to fix our choice in matters which involve a doubt, if we apply to men of learning and also of experience, and learn what they think of the several kinds of duty; for the greatest part of such men are usually led to that conclusion to which nature herself directs; and in these cases, we are to examine not only what a man says, but what he thinks, and upon what grounds he thinks it. For as painters, sculptors, and even poets, want to have their works canvassed by the public in order to correct any thing that is generally condemned, and examine both by themselves and with others where the defect lies; thus we ought to make use of the judgment of others to do, and not to do, to alter and correct, a great many things.

As to actions resulting from the customs or civil institutions of a people, no precepts can

be laid down; for those very institutions are precepts in themselves. Nor ought men to be under the mistake to imagine that if Socrates or Aristippus acted or spoke in opposition to the manners and civil constitutions of their country, they themselves have a similar licence. For this was a right they acquired by their great and superhuman endowments. But as to the whole system of the Cynics; we are absolutely to reject it, because it is inconsistent with moral susceptibility without which nothing can be honest, nothing can be virtuous.

Now it is our duty to esteem and to honour, in the same manner as if they were dignified with titles or vested with command, those men whose lives have been conspicuous for great and glorious actions, who feel rightly towards the state and deserve well or have deserved well of their country. We are likewise to have a great regard for old age, to pay a deference to magistrates; to distinguish between what we owe to a fellow-citizen and a foreigner, and to consider whether that foreigner comes in a public or a private capacity. In short,

not to dwell on particulars, we ought to regard, to cultivate, and to promote the goodwill and the social welfare of all mankind.

Now with regard to what arts and means of acquiring wealth are to be regarded as worthy and what disreputable, we have been taught as follows. In the first place, those sources of emolument are condemned that incur the public hatred; such as those of tax-gatherers and usurers. We are likewise to account as ungentle and mean the gains of all hired workmen, whose source of profit is not their art but their labour; for their very wages are the consideration of their servitude. We are likewise to despise all who retail from merchants goods for prompt sale; for they never can succeed unless they lie most abominably. Now nothing is more disgraceful than insincerity. All mechanical labourers, are by their profession mean. For a workshop can contain nothing befitting a gentleman. Least of all are those trades to be approved that serve the purposes of sensuality, such as, to speak after Terence, fishmongers, butchers, cooks, pastry-cooks, and fishermen; to whom



we shall add, if you please, perfumers, dancers, and the whole tribe of gamesters.

But those professions that involve a higher degree of intelligence or a greater amount of utility, such as medicine, architecture, the teaching the liberal arts, are honourable in those to whose rank in life they are suited. As to merchandising, if on a small scale it is mean; but if it is extensive and rich, bringing numerous commodities from all parts of the world, and giving bread to numbers without fraud, it is not so despicable. But if a merchant, satiated, or rather satisfied with his profits, as he sometimes used to leave the open sea and make the harbour, shall from the harbour step into an estate and lands; such a man seems most justly deserving of praise. For of all gainful professions, nothing is better, nothing more pleasing, nothing more delightful, nothing better becomes a well-bred man than agriculture. But as I have handled that subject at large in my *Cato Major*, you can draw from thence all that falls under this head.

I have I think sufficiently explained in

what manner the duties are derived from the constituent parts of virtue. Now it often may happen that an emulation and a contest may arise amongst things that are in themselves virtuous;—of two virtuous actions which is preferable. A division that Panætius has overlooked. For as all virtue is the result of four qualities, prudence, justice, magnanimity and moderation; so in the choice of a duty, those qualities must necessarily come in competition with one another.

I am therefore of opinion that the duties arising from the social relations are more agreeable to nature than those that are merely notional. This may be confirmed from the following argument. Supposing that this kind of life should befall a wise man, that in an affluence of all things he might be able with great leisure to contemplate and attend to every object that is worthy his knowledge; yet if his condition be so solitary as to have no company with mankind, he would prefer death to it. Of all virtues, the most leading is that wisdom which the Greeks call σοφία, for by that sagacity which they term φρονησις we

understand quite another thing, as it implies the knowledge of what things are to be desired, and what to be avoided. But that wisdom which I have stated to be the chief, is the knowledge of things divine and human, which comprehends the fellowship of gods and men, and their society within themselves. If that be, as it certainly is, the highest of all objects, it follows of course that the duty resulting from this fellowship is the highest of all duties. For the knowledge and contemplation of nature is in a manner lame and unfinished, if it is followed by no activity; now activity is most perspicuous when it is exerted in protecting the rights of mankind.

It therefore has reference to the social interests of the human race, and is for that reason preferable to knowledge; and this every virtuous man maintains and exhibits in practice. For who is so eager in pursuing and examining the nature of things, that if, while he is handling and contemplating the noblest objects of knowledge, the peril and crisis of his country is made known to him, and that it is in his power to assist and relieve

her, would not instantly abandon and fling from him all those studies, even though he thought he would be enabled to number the stars, or measure the dimensions of the world? And he would do the same were the safety of a friend or a parent concerned or endangered. From this consideration I infer, that the duties of justice are preferable to the studies and duties of knowledge, relating as they do to the interests of the human race, to which no anterior consideration ought to exist in the mind of man.

But some have employed their whole lives in the pursuits of knowledge, and yet have not declined to contribute to the utility and advantage of men. For they have even instructed many how they ought to be better citizens and more useful to their country. Thus Lysis the Pythagorean educated Epaminondas of Thebes, as did Plato Dion of Syracuse, and so of many others; and as to whatever services I have performed, if I have performed any to the state, I came to it after being furnished and adorned with knowledge by teachers and learning.

Nor do those philosophers only instruct and educate those who are desirous of learning while alive and present amongst us; but they continue to do the same after death, by the monuments of their learning; for they neglect no point that relates to the constitution, the manners and the morals of their country; so that it appears as if they had dedicated all their leisure to our advantage. Thus while they are themselves devoted to the studies of learning and wisdom, they make their understanding and their skill chiefly available to the service of mankind. It is therefore more serviceable to the public for a man to discourse copiously, provided it is to the purpose, than for a man to think ever so accurately without the power of expression; the reason is, because thought terminates in itself alone, but discourse affects those with whom we are connected in a community.

Now as the swarms of bees do not assemble in order to form the honey-comb, but form the honey-comb because they are by nature gregarious; so, and in a far greater degree, men being associated by nature, manifest



their skill in thinking and acting. Therefore, unless knowledge is connected with that virtue which consists in doing service to mankind, that is, in improving human society, it would seem to be but solitary and barren.

In like manner greatness of soul, when utterly disunited from the company and society of men, becomes a kind of uncouth ferocity. Hence it follows, that the company and the community of men are preferable to mere speculative knowledge.

Neither is that maxim true which is affirmed by some, that human communities and societies were instituted from the necessity of our condition, because we cannot without the help of others supply what our nature requires; and that if we could be furnished, as by a kind of magic wand, with everything that relates to food and raiment, that then every man of excelling genius, laying aside all other occupations, would apply himself to knowledge and learning. The fact is not so; for he would fly from solitude and look out for a companion in his pursuits; and would desire sometimes to teach and

sometimes to learn, sometimes to listen and sometimes to speak. Every duty therefore that operates for the good of human community and society, is preferable to that duty which is limited to speculation and knowledge.

Here perhaps it should be inquired, whether the duties of that society which is most suitable to nature are preferable to moderation and decency? By no means. For some things are partly so disgraceful, and partly so criminal in their nature, that a wise man would not commit them, even to save his country. Posidonius has collected very many such; but they are so obscene and so shocking that it would be scandalous even to name them. A wise man would not undertake such things, even to serve his country, nor would his country undertake them to serve herself. But it fortunately happens, that there never can be a conjuncture, when the public interest shall require from a wise man the performance of such actions.

Hence it follows, that in the choice of our

duties we are to prefer that kind of duty that contributes to the good of society. For well-directed action is always the result of knowledge and prudence. And therefore it is of more consequence to act properly, than to deliberate justly. Thus much then may suffice on this subject; for this topic has now been so fully laid open, that it is easy for every man in the study of his duties, to see which is preferable. Now in society there are degrees of duties by which every man may understand what belongs to himself. The first is owing to the immortal gods, the second to our country, the third to our parents, and lastly to others through different gradations.

From these arguments thus briefly stated we perceive that men are sometimes not only in doubt, whether a thing is virtuous or disgraceful; but likewise when two virtuous things are proposed, which is more so. This head, as I said before, was omitted by Panætius. Let us now proceed to what remains of our subject.

## BOOK II



MARCUS, MY SON,—I think I have in the former Book sufficiently explained in what manner our duties are derived from morality, and every kind of virtue. It now remains that I treat of those kinds of duties that relate to the improvement of life, and to the acquirement of those means which men employ for the attainment of wealth and interest. In this inquiry, as I have already observed, I will treat of what is useful, and what is not so. Of several utilities I shall speak of that which is more useful, or most so. Of all this I shall treat, after premising a few words concerning my own plan of life and choice of pursuits.

Although my works have prompted a great many to the exercise not only of reading but of writing, yet I sometimes am apprehensive, that the name of philosophy is offensive to

some worthy men, and that they are surprised at my having employed so much of my pains and time in that study. For my part, as long as the state was under the management of those into whose hands she had committed herself, I applied to it all my attention and thought. But when the government was engrossed by one person, when there was an end of all public deliberation and authority; when I in short had lost those excellent patriots who were my associates in the protection of my country, I neither abandoned myself to that anguish of spirit which, had I given way to it, must have consumed me, nor did I indulge those pleasures that are disgraceful to a man of learning.

Would that the constitution had remained in its original state; and that it had not fallen into the hands of men whose aim was not to alter but to destroy it! For then I would first, as I was wont to do when our government existed, have employed my labours in action rather than in writing; and in the next place, in my writings I should have re-



corded my own pleadings as I had frequently done, and not such subjects as the present. But when the constitution, to which all my care, thoughts, and labour used to be devoted, ceased to exist, then those public and senatorial studies were silenced.

But as my mind could not be inactive, and as my early life had been employed in these studies, I thought that they might most honourably be laid aside by betaking myself anew to philosophy, having, when young, spent a great deal of my time in its study, with a view to improvement. When I afterwards began to court public offices and devoted myself entirely to the service of my country, I had so much room for philosophy as the time that remained over from the business of my friends and the public. But I spent it all in reading, having no leisure for writing.

In the midst of the greatest calamities, therefore, I seem to have realised the advantage that I have reduced into writing, matters in which my countrymen were not sufficiently instructed, and which were most worthy their

attention. For in the name of the gods, what is more desirable, what is more excellent, than wisdom? What is better for man? what more worthy of him? They therefore who court her are termed philosophers; for philosophy, if it is to be interpreted, implies nothing but the love of wisdom.

Now the ancient philosophers defined wisdom to be the knowledge of things divine and human, and of the causes by which these things are regulated; a study that if any man despises, I know not what he can think deserving of esteem.

For if we seek the entertainment of the mind, or a respite from cares, what is comparable to those pursuits that are always searching out somewhat that relates to and secures the welfare and happiness of life? Or if we regard the principles of self-consistency and virtue, either this is the art, or there is absolutely no art by which we can attain them. And to say that there is no art for the attainment of the highest objects, when we see that none of the most inconsiderable are without it, is the language of

men who speak without consideration, and who mistake in the most important matters. Now if there is any school of virtue, where can it be found, if you abandon this method of study? But it is usual to treat these subjects more particularly when we exhort to philosophy, which I have done in another book. At this time my intention was only to explain the reasons why, being divested of all offices of state, I choose to apply myself to this study preferably to all others.

Now an objection is brought against me, and indeed by some men of learning and knowledge, who inquire whether I act consistently with myself, when, though I affirm that nothing can be certainly known, I treat upon different subjects, and when, as now, I am investigating the principles of moral duty. I could wish such persons were thoroughly acquainted with my way of thinking. I am not one of those whose reason is always wandering in the midst of uncertainty and never has anything to pursue. For if we abolish all the rules, not only of reasoning but of living, what must become of reason,

nay of life itself? For my own part, while others maintain some things to be certain, and others uncertain, I say, on the other side, that some things are probable, and others not so.

What, therefore, hinders me from following whatever appears to me to be most probable, and from rejecting what is otherwise; and, while I avoid the arrogance of dogmatising, from escaping that recklessness which is most inconsistent with wisdom? Now all subjects are disputed by our sect, because this very probability cannot appear, unless there be a comparison of the arguments on both sides. But, if I mistake not, I have with sufficient accuracy explained these points in my *Academics*. As to you, my dear Cicero, though you are now employed in the study of the oldest and noblest philosophy under Cratippus, who greatly resembles those who have propounded these noble principles, yet I was unwilling that these my sentiments, which are so corresponding with your system, should be unknown to you. But to proceed in what I propose.

Having laid down the five principles upon which we pursue our duty, two of which relate to propriety and virtue, two to the enjoyments of life, such as wealth, interest, and power, the fifth to the forming of a right judgment in any case, if there should appear to be any clashing between the principles I have mentioned, the part assigned to virtue is concluded, and with that I desire you should be thoroughly acquainted. Now the subject I am now to treat of is neither more nor less than what we call expediency; in which matter custom has so declined and gradually deviated from the right path, that, separating virtue from expediency, it has determined that some things may be virtuous which are not expedient, and some expedient which are not virtuous; than which doctrine nothing more pernicious can be introduced into human life.

It is indeed with strictness and honesty that philosophers, and those of the highest reputation, distinguish in idea those three principles which really are blended together. For they give it as their opinion that what-



ever is just is expedient; and in like manner whatever is virtuous is just; from whence it follows that whatever is virtuous is also expedient. Those who do not perceive this distinction often admire crafty and cunning men, and mistake knavery for wisdom. The error of such ought to be eradicated; and every notion ought to be reduced to this hope, that men may attain the ends they propose, by virtuous designs and just actions, and not by dishonesty and wickedness.

The things then that pertain to the preservation of human life are partly inanimate, such as gold, silver, the fruits of the earth, and the like; and partly animal, which have their peculiar instincts and affections. Now of these some are void of, and some are endowed with, reason. The animals void of reason are horses, oxen, with other brute creatures, and bees, who by their labours contribute somewhat to the service and existence of mankind. As to the animals endowed with reason, they are of two kinds, one the gods, the other men. Piety and sanctity will render the gods propitious; and next to the

gods mankind are most useful to men. The same division holds as to things that are hurtful and prejudicial. But as we are not to suppose the gods to be injurious to mankind, excluding them, man appears to be most hurtful to man. For even the very inanimate things I have mentioned, are generally procured through man's labour; nor should we have had them but by his art and industry, nor can we apply them but by his management. For there could neither be the preservation of health, navigation, nor the gathering and preserving the corn and other fruits, without the industry of mankind. And certainly there could have been no exportation of things in which we abound, and importation of those which we want, had not mankind applied themselves to those employments. In like manner, neither could stones be hewn for our use, nor iron, nor brass, nor gold, nor silver, be dug from the earth, but by the toil and art of man.

As to buildings, by which either the violence of the cold is repelled, or the inconveniences of the heat mitigated, how could

they have originally been given to the human race, or afterwards repaired when ruined by tempests, earthquakes, or time, had not community of life taught us to seek the aid of man against such influences? Moreover, from whence but from the labour of man could we have had aqueducts, the cuts of rivers, the irrigation of the land, dams opposed to streams, and artificial harbours? From those and a great many other instances, it is plain that we could by no manner of means have, without the hand and industry of man, reaped the benefits and advantages arising from such things as are inanimate. In short, what advantage and convenience could have been realised from the brute creation, had not men assisted? Men, undoubtedly, were the first who discovered what useful result we might realise from every animal; nor could we even at this time either feed, tame, preserve or derive from them advantages suited to the occasion, without the help of man. And it is by the same that such as are hurtful are destroyed, and such as may be useful are taken. Why should I enumerate the variety

of arts without which life could by no means be sustained? For did not so many arts minister to us, what could succour the sick, or constitute the pleasure of the healthy, or supply food and clothing?

Polished by those arts, the life of man is so different from the mode of life and habits of brutes. Cities, too, neither could have been built nor peopled but by the association of men: hence were established laws and customs, the equitable definition of rights, and the regulated order of life. Then followed gentleness of disposition and love of morality; and the result was that life was more protected, and that by giving and receiving, and by the exchange of resources and articles of wealth, we wanted for nothing.

We are more prolix than is necessary on this head. For to whom is not that self-evident for which Panætius employs a great many words, that no man, whether he be a commander of an army, or a leader in the state, has ever been able to perform great and salutary achievements without the zealous co-operation of men? As instances of this,



he mentions Themistocles, Pericles, Cyrus, Alexander, and Agesilaus, who, he says, without the aid of men never could have achieved such great exploits. Thus in a matter that is undoubted he brings evidences that are unnecessary. But as the assemblage or agreement of men amongst themselves is productive of the greatest benefits, so is there no plague so direful that it may not arise to man from man. We have a treatise of Dicæarchus, an eminent and eloquent Peripatetic, concerning the destruction of mankind; and after collecting together all the different causes, such as those of inundations, pestilence, devastation, and those sudden attacks of swarms of creatures, by which he tells us some tribes of men have been destroyed; he then calculates how many more men have been destroyed by men, that is by wars and seditions, than by every other species of calamity.

As this point therefore admits of no doubt, that man can do the greatest good and the greatest injury to man, I lay it down as the peculiar property of virtue, that it reconciles the affections of mankind, and employs them



for her own purposes. So that all the application and management of inanimate things, and of brutes for the use of mankind, is effected by the industrial arts. But the quick and ready zeal of mankind for advancing and enlarging our conditions, is excited through the wisdom and virtue of the best of mankind.

For virtue in general consists of three properties. First, in discerning in every subject what is true and genuine; what is consistent in every one; what will be the consequence of such or such a thing; how one thing arises from another, and what is the cause of each. The next property of virtue is to calm those violent disorders of the mind which the Greeks call *πάθη*, and to render obedient to reason those appetites which they call *όρμαι*. The third property is to treat with moderation and prudence those with whom we are joined in society, that by their means we may have the complete and full enjoyment of all that nature stands in need of; and likewise by them repel everything adverse that may befall us, and avenge ourselves of those who have endeavoured to injure us, by inflicting on them

as much punishment as equity and humanity permit.

I shall soon treat of the means to acquire this art of winning and retaining the affections of mankind, but first a few things must be premised. Who is insensible what great influence fortune has in both ways, either upon our prosperity or adversity? When we sail with her favouring breeze, we are carried to the most desirable landing-places: when she opposes us, we are reduced to distress. Some, however, of the accidents of fortune herself are more unfrequent; for instance, in the first place, storms, tempests, shipwrecks, ruins, or burnings, which spring from inanimate things; in the next place, causes, blows, bites, or attacks of brutes. Those accidents I say happen more seldom.

But of the destruction of armies, we have just now seen three different instances, and often we see more; the destruction of generals, as was lately the case of a great and an eminent personage; together with unpopularity, whence frequently arises the expulsion, the fall, or the flight of the worthiest citizens;

and on the other hand, prosperous events, honours, commands and victories; though all those are influenced by chance, yet they could not be brought about on either side without the concurring assistance and inclinations of mankind. This being premised, I am now to point out the manner in which we may invite and direct the inclinations of mankind, so as to serve our interests; and should what I say on this head appear too long, let it be compared with the importance of the subject, and then, perhaps, it may even seem too short.

Whatever, therefore, people perform for any man, either to raise or to dignify him, is done either through kindness, when they have a motive of affection for him; or to do him honour in admiration of his virtue, and when they think him worthy of the most exalted fortune; or when they place confidence in him, and think that they are doing the best for their own interests; or when they are afraid of his power; or when they hope somewhat from him; as when princes, or those who court the people, propose certain largesses; or, lastly, when they are engaged by money

and bribery; a motive that of all other is the vilest and most sordid, both with regard to those who are influenced by it, and those who are compelled to resort to it.

For it is a bad state of things, when that is attempted by money which ought to be effected by virtue; but as this resource is sometimes necessary, I will show in what manner it is to be employed, after I have treated of some things that are more connected with virtue. Now, mankind submit to the command and power of another for several reasons. For they are induced by benevolence or by the greatness of his benefits; or by his transcendent worth, or by the hopes that their submission will turn to their own account, or from the fear of their being forced to submit, or from the hopes of reward, or the power of promises, or, lastly, which is often the case in our government, they are hired by a bribe.

Now, of all things there is none more adapted for supporting and retaining our influence than to be loved, nor more prejudicial than to be feared. Ennius says very



truly, 'People hate the man they fear, and to each the destruction of him whom he hates is expedient.' It has been lately shown, if it was not well known before, that no power can resist the hatred of the many. Nor indeed is the destruction of that tyrant, who by arms forced his country to endure him, and whom it obeys still more after his death, the only proof how mighty to destroy is the hatred of mankind, but the similar deaths of other tyrants; few of whom have escaped a similar fate. For fear is but a bad guardian to permanency, whereas affection is faithful even to perpetuity.

But the truth is, cruelty must be employed by those who keep others in subjection by force; as by a master to his slaves, if they cannot otherwise be managed. But of all madmen, they are the maddest who in a free state so conduct themselves as to be feared. However, under the power of a private man the laws may be depressed and the spirit of liberty intimidated, yet they occasionally emerge, either by the silent determinations of the people, or by their secret suffrages



with relation to posts of honour. For the inflictions of liberty, when it has been suspended, are more severe than if it had been retained. We ought therefore to follow this most obvious principle, that dread should be removed and affection reconciled, which has the greatest influence not only on our security, but also on our interest and power; and thus we shall most easily attain to the object of our wishes, both in private and political affairs. For it is a necessary consequence, that men fear those very persons by whom they wish to be feared.

For what judgment can we form of the elder Dionysius? With what pangs of dread was he tortured, when, being fearful even of his barber's razor, he singed his beard with burning coals? In what a state of mind may it not be supposed Alexander the Pherean to have lived? Who, as we read, though he loved his wife Thebe excessively, yet whenever he came into her bed-chamber from the banquet, ordered a barbarian, nay, one who we are told was scarred with the Thracian brands, to go before him with a drawn sword;

and sent certain of his attendants to search the chests of the ladies, and discover whether they had daggers concealed among their clothes. Miserable man! to think a barbarous and branded slave could be more faithful to him than his wife! Yet was he not deceived, for he was murdered by her on the suspicion of an illicit connection; nor, indeed, can any power be so great as that, under the pressure of fear, it can be lasting.

Phalaris is another instance, whose cruelty was notorious above all other tyrants; who did not, like the Alexander I have just mentioned, perish by secret treachery, nor by the hands of a few conspirators, like our own late tyrant, but was attacked by the collective body of the Agrigentines. Nay, did not the Macedonians abandon Demetrius, and with one consent betake themselves to Pyrrhus? And did not the allies of the Lacedæmonians abandon them almost universally when they governed tyrannically, and show themselves unconcerned spectators of the disaster at Leuctra?

Upon such a subject I more willingly re-

cord foreign than domestic examples; as long, however, as the empire of the Roman people was supported by beneficence, and not injustice, their wars were undertaken either to defend their allies or to protect their empire, the issues of their wars were either merciful or unavoidable; and the senate was the harbour and the refuge of kings, people, and nations.

Moreover, our magistrates and generals sought to derive their highest glory from this single fact, that they had upon the principles of equity and honour defended their provinces and their allies. This therefore might more justly be designated the patronage than the empire of the world; for some time we have been gradually declining from this practice and these principles; but after the victory of Sylla, we entirely lost them: for when such cruelties were exercised upon our fellow-citizens, we ceased to think anything unjust towards our allies. In his case, therefore, a disgraceful conquest crowned a glorious cause; for he had the presumption to declare, when the goods of worthy men, of men of

fortune, and, to say the least, of citizens, were selling at public auction, that he was disposing of his own booty. He was followed by a man who, with an impious cause and a still more detestable victory, did not indeed sell the effects of private citizens, but involved in one state of calamity whole provinces and countries. Thus foreign nations being harassed and ruined, we saw Marseilles, the type of our perished constitution, carried in triumph, without whose aid our generals who returned from Transalpine wars had never triumphed. Were not this the most flagrant indignity the sun ever beheld, I might recount a great many other atrocities against our allies. Deservedly, therefore, were we punished; for had we not suffered the crimes of many to pass unpunished, never could so much licentiousness have been concentrated in one, the inheritance of whose private estate descended indeed to but a few, but that of his ambition devolved upon many profligates.

Nor, indeed, will there ever be wanting a source and motive for civil war, while men



of abandoned principles call to mind that bloody sale, and hope for it again. For when the spear under which it was made was set up for his kinsman the dictator, by Publius Sylla, the same Sylla, thirty-six years after, was present at a still more detestable sale; while another who in that dictatorship was only a clerk, in the latter one was city-quæstor. From all which we ought to learn, that while such rewards are presented, there never can be an end of our civil wars. Thus the walls of our city alone are standing, and even these awaiting the crimes that must destroy them; but already we have utterly lost our constitution; and, to return to my subject, we have incurred all those miseries, because we chose rather to be feared than to endear ourselves and be beloved. If this was the case with the people of Rome when exercising their dominion unjustly, what consequences must private persons expect? Now, as it is plain that the force of kindness is so strong, and that of fear so weak, it remains for me to descant upon the means by which we may most readily attain to that endearment



which we desire, consistently with fidelity and honour.

But of this we do not all stand in the same need; for it depends on the different purpose of life which each individual pursues, whether it be necessary for him to be beloved by the many, or whether the affections of the few be sufficient. One thing, however, may be considered as certain; that it is chiefly and indispensably necessary, that we should possess the faithful affections of those friends who love our persons and admire our qualities; for this is the only particular in which men of the highest and middle stations of life agree, and is attainable by both in much the same manner. All, perhaps, are not equally desirous of honours and of the goodwill of their fellow-citizens; but the man who is possessed of them is greatly assisted by them in acquiring other advantages as well as those of friendship.

But I have in another book, which is entitled *Lælius*, treated of friendship. I am now to speak of fame, though I have already published two books upon that subject: let

me, however, touch upon it, as it greatly conduces to the right management of the more important affairs. The highest and the most perfect popularity lies in three requisites; first, when the public loves us; secondly, when it regards us as trustworthy; thirdly, when with a certain degree of admiration, it judges us to be worthy of preferment. Now, if I am to speak plainly and briefly, almost the same means by which those advantages are acquired from private persons, procure them from the public. But there is another passage by which we may, as it were, glide into the affections of the many.

And first, let me touch upon those three maxims by which, as I have already said, goodwill may be acquired. This is chiefly acquired by benefits: but next to that, goodwill is won by a beneficent disposition, though we may be destitute of means. Thirdly, the affections of the public are wonderfully excited by the mere reputation of generosity, beneficence, justice, honour, and of all those virtues that regard politeness and affability of manners. For the very 'honestum' and the

graceful, as it is called, because it charms us by its own properties, and touches the hearts of all by its qualities and its beauties, is chiefly resplendent through the medium of those virtues I have mentioned. We are therefore drawn, as it were, by nature herself to the love of those in whom we think those virtues reside. Now these are the strongest causes of affection, though some there may be which are less material.

The acquisition of public confidence or trust may be effected by two considerations; by being supposed to be possessed of wisdom and of justice combined. For we have confidence in those who we think understand more than ourselves, and who we believe see further into the future, and, when business is actually in hand and matters come to trial, know how to pursue the wisest measures and act in the most expedient manner, as the exigency may require; all mankind agreeing that this is real and useful wisdom. Such confidence, also, is placed in honest and honourable men, that is, in good men, as to exclude all suspicion of fraud or injury. We

therefore think we act safely and properly in entrusting them with our persons, our fortunes, and our families.

But of the two virtues, honesty and wisdom, the former is the most powerful in winning the confidence of mankind. For honesty without wisdom, has influence sufficient of itself; but wisdom without honesty is of no effect in inspiring confidence; because, when we have no opinion of a man's probity, the greater his craft and cunning, the more hated and suspected he becomes; honesty, therefore, joined to understanding, will have unbounded power in acquiring confidence; honesty without understanding can do a great deal; but understanding without honesty can do nothing.

But lest any one should wonder why, as all philosophers are agreed in one maxim, which I myself have often maintained, that the man who possesses one of the virtues is in possession of them all, I here make a distinction which implies that a man may be just but not at the same time prudent, there is one kind of accuracy which in disputation refines even upon truth, and another kind, when our whole



discourse is accommodated to the understanding of the public. Therefore I here make use of the common terms of discourse, by calling some men brave, some good, others prudent. For when we treat of popular opinions, we should make use of popular terms, and Panætius did the same. But to return to our subject.

Of the three requisites of perfect popularity, the third I mentioned was, 'when the public with a certain degree of admiration judges us to be worthy of preferment.' Now everything that men observe to be great and above their comprehension they commonly admire; and with regard to individuals, those in whom they can see any unexpected excellences. They therefore behold with reverence and extol with the greatest praise, those men in whom they think they can perceive some distinguished or singular virtues; whereas they despise those whom they think to possess no virtue, spirit, or manliness. Now, men do not despise all those of whom they think ill. For they by no means contemn rogues, slanderers, cheats, and those who are prepared to commit



an injury, though they have a bad opinion of them. Therefore, as I have already said, those are despised who can neither serve themselves nor any one else, who have no assiduity, no industry, and no concern about them; but those men are the objects of admiration who are thought to surpass others in virtue, and to be free as well from every disgrace, as especially from those vices which others cannot easily resist. For pleasures, those most charming mistresses, turn aside the greater number of minds from virtue, and most men, when the fires of affliction are applied to them, are unmeasurably terrified. Life and death, poverty and riches, make the deepest impressions upon all men. But as to those who, with a great and elevated mind, look down on these indifferently;—men whom a lofty and noble object, when it is presented to them, draws and absorbs to itself;—in such cases, who does not admire the splendour and the beauty of virtue?

This sublimity of soul, therefore, produces the highest admiration; and above all justice, from which single virtue men are called good,

appears to the multitude as something marvellous. And with good reason; for no man can be just if he is afraid of death, pain, exile, or poverty, or prefers their contraries to justice. Men especially admire him who is incorruptible by money, and they consider every man in whom that quality is seen as ore purified by the fire. Justice, therefore, comprehends all the three means of acquiring glory which have been laid down. The love of the public, on account of its being a general benefit; its confidence, for the same reason; and its admiration, because it neglects and despises those objects to which most men are hurried or inflamed with avidity.

In my opinion, however, every scheme and purpose of life requires the assistance of men, especially that one should have some with whom he can familiarly unbosom himself, which is hard for one to do, unless he maintain the appearance of a good man. For this reason, were a man to live ever so lonely or ever so retired in the country, a reputation for justice would be indispensable to him, and so much the more, as those who do not possess it

will be esteemed dishonest, and thus surrounded by no protection will be exposed to numerous injuries.

And with those likewise who buy or sell, who hire or let out, or who are engaged in the transaction of business, justice is necessary to the carrying on of their pursuits, for its influence is so great, that without some grains of it, even they who live by malpractices and villainy could not subsist. For amongst those who thieve in company, if any one of them cheat or rob another he is turned out of the gang; and the captain of the band himself, unless he should distribute the spoils impartially, would either be murdered or deserted by his fellows. Indeed, robbers are even said to have their laws, which they obey and observe. By this impartiality in sharing the booty, Bardyllis, the Illyrian robber, mentioned by Theopompus, obtained great wealth; and Viriathus, the Lusitanian, much greater; to whom our armies and our generals yielded; but whom the prætor Caius Lælius, surnamed the wise, crushed and subdued, and so repressed his ferocity that he left an easy victory

to his successors. If, therefore, the influence of justice is so forcible as to strengthen and enlarge the power of robbers, how great must we suppose it to be amidst the laws and administration of a well-constituted government ?

It appears to me, that not only among the Medes, as we are told by Herodotus, but by our own ancestors, men of the best principles were constituted kings, for the benefit of their just government. For when the helpless people were oppressed by those who had greater power, they betook themselves to some one man who was distinguished by his virtue, who not only protected the weakest from oppression, but by setting up an equitable system of government, united highest and lowest in equal rights. The cause of the institution of laws was the same as that of kings ; for equality of rights has ever been the object of desire ; nor otherwise can there be any rights at all.

When mankind could enjoy it under one just and good man, they were satisfied with that ; but when that was not the case, laws were invented, which perpetually spoke to all



men with one and the same voice. It is therefore undeniable that the men whose reputation among the people was the highest for their justice, were commonly chosen to bear rule. But when the same were likewise regarded as wise men, there was nothing the people did not think themselves capable of attaining under such authority. Justice, therefore, is by all manner of means to be revered and practised ; both for its own sake, for otherwise it would not be justice, and for the enlargement of our own dignity and popularity. But as there is a system not only for the acquisition of money but also for its investment, so that it may supply ever-recurring expenses, not only the needful but the liberal ; so popularity must be both acquired and maintained by system.

It was finely said by Socrates that the shortest and most direct road to popularity, is 'for a man to be the same that he wishes to be taken for.' People are egregiously mistaken if they think they ever can attain to permanent popularity by hypocrisy, by mere outside appearances, and by disguising not



only their language but their looks. True popularity takes deep root and spreads itself wide; but the false falls away like blossoms; for nothing that is false can be lasting. I could bring many instances of both kinds; but for the sake of liberty, I will confine myself to one family. While there is a memorial of Roman history remaining, the memory of Tiberius Gracchus, the son of Publius, will be held in honour; but his sons even in life were not approved of by the good, and, being dead, they are ranked amongst those who were deservedly put to death.

Let the man therefore who aspires after true popularity, perform the duties of justice. What these are has been laid down in the former book. But although we may most easily seem to be just what we are, though in this of itself there is very great importance, yet some precepts require to be given as to how we may be such men as we desire to be considered. For if any one from early youth has the elements of celebrity and reputation, either derived from his father, which I fancy, my dear Cicero, has happened to you, or by

some other cause or accident; the eyes of all mankind are turned towards him, and they make it their business to inquire what he does and how he lives; and, as if he were set up in the strongest point of light, no word or deed of his can be private.

Now those whose early life, through their mean and obscure rank, is passed unnoticed by the public, when they come to be young men, ought to contemplate important purposes, and pursue them by the most direct means, which they will do with a firmer resolution, because not only is no envy felt, but favour rather is shown towards that period of life. The chief recommendation then of a young man to fame is derived from military exploits. Of this we have many examples amongst our ancestors, for they were almost always waging wars. Your youth, however, has fallen upon the time of a war, in which one party incurred too much guilt and the other too little success. But when in that war Pompey gave you the command of a squadron, you gained the praise of that great man, and of his army by your horse-

manship, your darting the javelin, and your tolerance of all military labour. But this honour of yours ceased with the constitution of our country. My discourse, however, has not been undertaken with reference to you singly, but to the general subject. Let me therefore proceed to what remains.

As in other matters the powers of the mind are far more important than those of the body, so the objects we pursue by intelligence and reason are more important than those we effect by bodily strength. The most early recommendation, therefore, is modesty, obedience to parents, and affection for relations. Young men are likewise most easily and best known, who attach themselves to wise and illustrious men who benefit their country by their counsels. Their frequenting such company gives mankind a notion of their one day resembling those whom they choose for imitation.

The frequenting of the house of Publius Marcus commended the early life of Publius Rutilius to a reputation for integrity and knowledge of the law. Lucius Crassus in-

deed, when very young, was indebted to no extrinsic source, but by himself acquired the highest honour from that noble and celebrated prosecution he undertook; and at an age when even those who exercise themselves are highly applauded, as we are told in the case of Demosthenes, Crassus, I say, at that age showed that he could already do that most successfully in the forum, which at that time he would have gained praise had he attempted at home.

But as there are two methods of speaking; the one proper for conversation, the other for debate; there can be no doubt but the disputative style of speech is of the greatest efficacy with regard to fame; for that is what we properly term eloquence. Yet it is difficult to describe how great power, affability and politeness in conversation have to win the affections of mankind. There are extant letters from Philip, from Antipater, and from Antigonus, three of the wisest men we meet with in history, to their sons Alexander, Cassander, and Philip, recommending to them to draw the minds of the people to kindly



sentiments by a generous style of discourse, and to engage their soldiers by a winning address. But the speech which is pronounced in debate before a multitude often carries away a whole assembly. For great is their admiration of an eloquent and sensible speaker, that when they hear him, they are convinced he has both greater abilities and more wisdom than the rest of mankind. But should this eloquence have in it dignity combined with modesty, nothing can be more admirable, especially should those properties meet in a young man.

Various are the causes that require the practice of eloquence ; and many young men in our state have attained distinction before the judges and in the senate ; but there is the greatest admiration for judicial harangues, the nature of which is twofold, for it consists of accusation and defence. Of those, though the latter is preferable in point of honour ; yet the other has often been approved. I have spoken a little before of Crassus ; Marcus Antonius when a youth did the same. An accusation also displayed the eloquence of



Publius Sulpicius, when he brought to trial Caius Norbanus, a seditious and worthless citizen.

But in truth, we ought not to do this frequently nor ever, except for the sake of our country, as in the cases I have mentioned; or for the purpose of revenge, as the two Luculli did; or by way of patronage, as I did on behalf of the Sicilians, or as Julius did in the case of Albucius on behalf of the Sardians. The diligence of Lucius Fufius was displayed in the impeachment of Manius Aquillius. For once therefore it may be done; or at all events not often. But if a man should be under a necessity of doing it oftener, let him perform it as a duty to his country, for it is by no means blameworthy to carry on repeated prosecutions against her enemies. But still let moderation be observed. For it seems to be the part of a cruel man, or rather scarcely of man at all, to endanger the lives of many. It is both dangerous to your person, and disgraceful to your character, so to act as to get the name of an accuser, as happened in the case of Marcus Brutus, a man sprung from a

most noble family, and son to the eminent adept in civil law.

Moreover, this precept of duty also must be carefully observed, that you never arraign an innocent man on trial for his life, for this can by no means be done without heinous guilt. For what can be so unnatural as to prostitute to the persecution and the ruin of the good, that eloquence which nature has given us for the safety and preservation of mankind. Although, however, this is to be avoided, yet we are not to consider it a religious duty never to defend a guilty party, so that he be not abominable and impious. The people desire this, custom tolerates it, and humanity suffers it. The duty of a judge in all trials is to follow truth; that of a pleader, sometimes to maintain the plausible though it may not be the truth, which I should not, especially as I am now treating of a philosophy venture to write, were it not likewise the opinion of a man of the greatest weight among the Stoics, Panætius. But it is by defences that glory and favour also are acquired in the greatest degree; and so much the greater, if

at any time it happens that we come to the help of one who seems to be circumvented and oppressed by the influence of some powerful man, as I myself have done both in other cases frequently, and when a youth in defence of Sextus Roscius Amerinus, against the influence of Lucius Sylla, then in power, which speech, as you know, is extant.

But having explained the duties of young men, which avail to the attainment of glory, we have next to speak about beneficence and liberality, the nature of which is twofold; for a kindness is done to those who need it, by giving either our labour or our money. The latter is easier, especially to a wealthy person; but the former is the more noble and splendid, and more worthy of a brave and illustrious man; for although there exists in both a liberal inclination to oblige, yet the one is a draft on our purse, the other on our virtue, and bounty which is given out of our income exhausts the very source of the munificence. Thus benignity is done away by benignity, and the greater the number you have exercised it upon, so much the less able are you

to exercise it on many. But they who will be beneficent and liberal of their labour, that is, of their virtue and industry, in the first place, will have by how much greater the number of persons they shall have served, so much the more coadjutors in their beneficence. And in the next place, by the habit of beneficence, they will be the better prepared, and, as it were, better exercised to deserve well of many. Philip, in a certain letter, admirably reproves his son Alexander, because he sought to gain the goodwill of the Macedonians by largesses — ‘Pest!’ he says, ‘what consideration led you into the hope that you could imagine that they whom you have corrupted with money would be faithful to you? Are you aiming at this, that the Macedonians should expect you will be, not their king, but their agent and purveyor.’ He says well, ‘agent and purveyor,’ because that is undignified in a king; and still better, because he designates a largess a corrupt bribe; for he who receives becomes the worse for it, and more ready always to expect the same. He enjoined this on his son, but we may consider it a precept



for all men. Wherefore, this indeed is not doubtful, that such beneficence as consists of labour and industry is both the more honourable, and extends more widely, and can serve a greater number. Sometimes, however, we must make presents—nor is this sort of beneficence to be altogether repudiated; and oftentimes we ought to communicate from our fortune to suitable persons, who are in need, but carefully and moderately. For many persons have squandered their patrimonies by unadvised generosity. Now, what is more absurd than to bring it to pass that you can no longer do that which you would willingly do? And moreover, rapine follows profuseness. For when, by giving, they begin to be in want, they are forced to lay their hands upon other men's property. Thus, when, for the sake of procuring goodwill, they mean to be beneficent, they acquire not so much the affection of those to whom they give as the hatred of those from whom they take. Wherefore, our purse should neither be so closed up that our generosity cannot open it, nor so unfastened that it lies open to all—a



bound should be set, and it should bear reference to our means. We ought altogether to remember that saying which, from being very often used by our countrymen, has come into the usage of a proverb, that 'bounty has no bottom.' For what bounds can there be, when both they who have been accustomed to receive, and other persons, are desiring the same thing?

There are two kinds of men who give largely, of whom one kind are prodigal, the other liberal. The prodigal are those who with entertainments, and distributions of meat to the populace, and gladiatorial exhibitions, and the apparatus of the stage and the chase, lavish their money upon those things of which they will leave behind either a transient memory, or none at all. But the liberal are they who, with their fortunes, either redeem those captured by robbers, or take up the debts of their friends, or aid in the establishing of their daughters, or assist them either in seeking or increasing their fortunes. Therefore, I am astonished what could come into the mind of Theophrastus, in that book

which he wrote about riches, in which he has said many things well, but this most absurdly. For he is lavish in praise of magnificence, and of the furnishing of popular exhibitions, and he considers the means of supplying such expenses to be the grand advantage of wealth. Now, to me that enjoyment of liberality of which I have given a few examples, seems much greater and surer. With how much more weight and truth does Aristotle censure such of us as feel no astonishment at that profusion of wealth which is wasted in courting the people; 'if,' says he, 'they who are besieged by an enemy should be compelled to purchase a pint of water at a mina, this, on first hearing, would seem to us incredible, and all would be astonished, but when we reflect upon it, we excuse it for its necessity; while in these pieces of immense extravagance and unbounded expense, we do not feel greatly astonished.' And he censures us, especially, 'because we are neither relieving necessity, nor is our dignity increased, and the very delight of the multitude is for a brief and little space, and only felt by the most giddy,

even in whom, however, at the same time with the satiety, the memory of the pleasure likewise dies.' He sums up well, too, that 'these things are agreeable to boys, and silly women, and slaves, and freemen very like slaves; but that by a man of sense, and one who ponders with sound judgment on such exhibitions, they can in no way be approved.' Though I know that in our state it is established by ancient usage, and even now in the good times, that the splendour of ædileships is expected even from the most excellent men. Therefore, both Publius Crassus, wealthy as well in name as in fortune, discharged the office of ædile with the most magnificent entertainment; and, a little while after, Lucius Crassus, with Quintus Mucius, the most moderate of all men, served a most magnificent ædileship; and next, Caius Claudius, son of Appius; many subsequently — the Luculli, Hortensius, Silanus; but Publius Lentulus, in my consulship, surpassed all his predecessors. Scaurus imitated him; but the shows of my friend Pompey, in his second consulship, were the most magnificent of all

—concerning all of whom, you see what is my opinion.

Nevertheless, the suspicion of avarice should be avoided. The omitting of the ædileship caused the rejection of Mamercus, a very wealthy man, from the consulship. Wherefore it must be done if it be required by the people, and good men, if not desiring, at least approve it, but in proportion to our means, as I myself did it; and again, if some object of greater magnitude and utility is acquired by popular largess, as lately the dinners in the streets, under pretext of a vow of a tenth, brought great honour to Orestes. Nor was ever any fault found with Marcus Seius, because in the scarcity he gave corn to the people at an as the bushel. For he delivered himself from a great and inveterate dislike by an expense neither disgraceful, since he was ædile at the time, nor excessive. But it lately brought the greatest honour to our friend Milo, that with gladiators, hired for the sake of the republic, which was held together by my safety, he repressed all the attempts and madness of Publius Clodius. The justi-



fication, therefore, of profuse bounty is that it is either necessary or useful. Moreover, in these very cases the rule of mediocrity is the best. Lucius Philippus, indeed, the son of Quintus, a man in the highest degree illustrious for his great genius, used to boast that without any expense he had attained all the highest honours that could be obtained. Cotta said the same, and Curio. I myself, too, might in some degree boast on this subject; for considering the amplitude of the honours which I attained with all the votes in my own year, too—a thing that happened to none of those whom I have just named—the expense of my ædileship was certainly trifling.

These expenses also are more justifiable on walls, docks, ports, aqueducts, and all things which pertain to the service of the state, though what is given as it were into our hands is more agreeable at present, yet these things are more acceptable to posterity. Theatres, porticos, new temples, I censure with more reserve for Pompey's sake, but the most learned men disapprove of them, as also this



very Panætius, whom in these books I have closely followed, though not translated; and Demetrius Phalereus, who censures Pericles, the greatest man of Greece, because he lavished so much money on that glorious vestibule; but all this subject I have carefully discussed in those books which I have written upon Government. The whole plan, then, of such largesses is vicious in its nature, but necessitated by particular occasions, and even then ought to be accommodated to our means, and regulated by moderation.

But in that second kind of munificence which proceeds from liberality, we ought in different cases to be affected in different manners. The case is different of him who is oppressed with misfortune, and of him who seeks to better his fortune without being in any adversity. Our benignity will require to be more prompt toward the distressed, unless perhaps they merit their distress; yet from those who desire to be assisted, not that they may be relieved from affliction, but that they may ascend to a higher degree, we ought by no means to be altogether restricted, but to apply judgment

and discretion in selecting proper persons. For Ennius observes well—  
'Benefactions ill bestowed, I deem malefactions.'  
But in that which is bestowed upon a worthy and grateful man there is profit, as well from himself as also from others; for liberality, when free from rashness, is most agreeable, and many applaud it the more earnestly on this account, because the bounty of every very exalted man is the common refuge of all. We should do our endeavour, then, that we may serve as many as possible with those benefits, the recollection of which may be handed down to their children and posterity, that it may not be in their power to be ungrateful; for all men detest one forgetful of a benefit, and they consider that an injury is done even to themselves by discouraging liberality, and that he who does so is the common enemy of the poor. And besides, that benignity is useful to the state by which captives are redeemed from slavery, and the poor are enriched. That it was indeed the common custom that this should be done by our order, we see copiously described in the speech of Crassus. This kind

of bounty, therefore, I prefer far before the munificent exhibition of shows. That is the part of dignified and great men—this of flatterers of the populace, tickling, as it were, with pleasures the levity of the multitude. It will, moreover, be expedient that a man, as he should be munificent in giving, so that he should not be harsh in exacting; and in every contract, in selling, buying, hiring, letting, to be just and good-natured to the vicinage and surrounding occupiers; conceding to many much that is his own right, but shunning disputes as far as he can conveniently, and I know not but even a little more than he can conveniently. For, to abate at times a little from our rights, is not only generous, but sometimes profitable also. But of our property, which it is truly disgraceful to allow to get dilapidated, care must be taken, but in such a way that the suspicion of shabbiness and avarice be avoided. For to be able to practise liberality, not stripping ourselves of our patrimony, is indeed the greatest enjoyment of wealth. Hospitality also has been justly recommended by Theo-

phrastus. For, as it appears to me, indeed, it is very decorous that the houses of illustrious men should be open for illustrious guests. And that also brings credit to the state, that foreigners in our city should not fail of experiencing this species of liberality. It is, moreover, exceedingly useful to those who wish to be very powerful in an honourable way, to get the command over wealth and interest among foreign nations, through their guests. Theophrastus, indeed, writes that Cymon at Athens practised hospitality even towards his brethren of the Laccian tribe; for that he so directed and commanded his stewards, that all things should be supplied to any of them that should turn aside into his villa.

Now, those benefits which are bestowed out of our labour, not our money, are conferred as well upon the entire commonwealth, as upon individual citizens. For to give legal opinions, to assist with counsel, and to serve as many as we can with this kind of knowledge, tends very much to increase both our means and our interest. This, therefore, as



well as many things about our ancestors, was noble, that the knowledge and interpretation of our most excellently constituted civil law was always in the highest repute; which, indeed, before this confusion of the present times, the nobles retained in their own possession. Now, like honours — like all the degrees of rank, so the splendour of this science is extinguished; and this is the more unmeet on this account, because it has happened at the very time when he was in existence who far surpassed in this science all who went before, to whom also he was equal in dignity. This labour, then, is acceptable to many, and suited to bind men to us by benefits. But the talent of speaking, being very closely connected with this art, is more dignified, more agreeable, and capable of higher ornament. For what is more excellent than eloquence, in the admiration of the hearers, or in the expectation of those in need of its assistance, or in the gratitude of those who have been defended? To this, then, the first rank of civil dignity was given by our ancestors. Of an eloquent man, then,



and one willingly labouring, and, what is according to the customs of our forefathers, defending the causes of many, both ungrudgingly and gratuitously, the benefits and patronage are very extensive.

The subject would admonish me that at this opportunity I should likewise deplore the discontinuance, not to call it the extinction, of eloquence, did I not apprehend lest I should appear to be making some complaint upon my own account. However, we see what orators are extinct, in how few there is promise, in how much fewer ability, in how many presumption. But though all, or even many, cannot be skilful in the law, or eloquent, yet it is in a man's power, by his exertions, to be of service to many, by asking benefits for them, commending them to judges and magistrates, watching the interests of others, entreating in their behalf those very advocates who either are consulted or defend causes. They who act thus, gain a great deal of influence, and their industry diffuses itself most extensively. Furthermore, they need not be admonished of this, for it

is obvious, that they take care to offend none while they are wishing to serve others. For oftentime they offend either those whom it is their duty or whom it is their interest not to offend. If unwittingly they do it, it is a fault of negligence ; if knowingly, of rashness. It is necessary, too, that you make an apology, in whatever way you can, to those whom you unwillingly offend—how that which you did was of necessity, and that you could not do otherwise ; and it will be necessary to make compensation to them for what injury you have inflicted by other efforts and good offices.

But since, in rendering services to men, it is usual to look either to their character or their fortune, it is easy, indeed, to say, and so people commonly say, that in bestowing benefits they only attend to a man's character, not to his fortune. It is a fine speech ; but pray is there any one who in rendering a service would not prefer the thanks of a rich and powerful man before the cause of a poor, though most worthy man ? For in general our goodwill is more inclined

towards him from whom it appears that remuneration would be easier and quicker. But we ought to consider more attentively what the nature of things is : for of course that poor man, if he be a good man, though he cannot requite a kindness, can at least have a sense of it. Now it was well said, whoever said it, 'that he who hath the loan of money, hath not repaid ; and he who hath repaid, hath not the loan. But both he who hath requited kindness hath a sense of it, and he who hath a sense of it hath requited.' But they who consider themselves wealthy, honoured, prosperous, do not wish even to be bound by a benefit. Moreover, they consider that they have conferred a favour when they themselves have received one, however great ; and they also suspect that something is either sought or expected from them : but they think it like death to them that they should need patronage, and be called clients. But, on the other hand, that poor man, because in whatever is done for him he thinks it is himself and not his fortune that is regarded, is anxious that he may be seen to be grateful,

not only by him who has merited it from him, but also by those from whom he expects the like, for he needs it from many. Nor indeed does he magnify with words any favour of his own doing, if by chance he confers one, but rather undervalues it. And this is to be considered, that if you defend a man of power and fortune, the gratitude is confined to himself alone, or perhaps to his children; but if you defend a poor but worthy and modest man, all poor men who are not worthless, which is a vast multitude among the people, see a protection offered to themselves: wherefore, I think it better that a favour should be bestowed upon worthy persons than upon persons of fortune. We should by all means endeavour to satisfy every description of people. But if the matter shall come to competition, undoubtedly Themistocles is to be received as an authority, who, when he was consulted whether a man should marry his daughter to a worthy poor man, or to a rich man of less approved character, said, 'I certainly would rather she married a man without money, than money without a man.'

But our morals are corrupted and depraved by the admiration of other men's wealth. Though what concern is its amount to any of us? Perhaps it is of use to him who owns it; not always even that: but admit that it is of use to himself, to be sure he is able to spend more, but how is he an honest man? But if he shall be a good man besides, let his riches not prevent him from getting our assistance—only let them not help him to get it, and let the entire consideration be, not how wealthy, but how worthy each individual is. But the last precept about benefits and bestowing our labour is, do nothing hostile to equity—nothing in defence of injustice. For the foundation of lasting commendation and fame is justice—without which nothing can be laudable.

But since I have finished speaking about that kind of benefits which have regard to a single citizen, we have next to discourse about those which relate to all the citizens together, and which relate to the public good. But of those very ones, some are of that kind which relate to all the citizens collectively; some



are such that they reach to all individually, which are likewise the more agreeable. The effort is by all means to be made, if possible, to consult for both, and notwithstanding, to consult also for them individually; but in such a manner that this may either serve, or at least should not oppose, the public interest. The grant of corn proposed by Caius Gracchus was large, and therefore would have exhausted the treasury; that of Marcus Octavius was moderate, both able to be borne by the state, and necessary for the commons; therefore it was salutary both for the citizens and for the nation. But it is in the first place to be considered by him who shall have the administration of the government, that each may retain his own, and that no diminution of the property of individuals be made by public authority. For Philip acted destructively, in his tribuneship, when he proposed the agrarian law, which, however, he readily suffered to be thrown out, and in that respect showed himself to be exceedingly moderate; but when in courting popularity he drove at many things, he uttered this

besides improperly, 'that there were not in the state two thousand persons who possessed property.' A dangerous speech, and aiming at a levelling of property—than which mischief, what can be greater? For commonwealths and states were established principally for this cause, that men should hold what was their own. For although mankind were congregated together by the guidance of nature, yet it was with the hope of preserving their own property that they sought the protection of cities.

Care should also be taken, lest, as often was the case among our ancestors, on account of the poverty of the treasury and the continuity of wars, it may be necessary to impose taxation, and it will be needful to provide long before that this should not happen. But if any necessity for such a burden should befall any state, for I would rather speak thus than speak ominously of our own; nor am I discoursing about our own state only, but about all states in general, care should be taken that all may understand that they must submit to the necessity if they wish to be safe.

And also all who govern a nation are bound to provide that there be abundance of those things which are necessities—of which, what kind of a provision it is usual and proper to make, it is not necessary to canvass. For all that is obvious: and the topic only requires to be touched on. But the principal matter in every administration of public business and employments is, that even the least suspicion of avarice be repelled. ‘Would to heaven,’ said Caius Pontius, the Samnite, ‘that fortune had reserved me for those times, and I had been born then, whenever the Romans may have begun to accept bribes—I would not have suffered them to reign much longer.’ He surely would have had to wait many generations. For it is of late that this evil has invaded this state; therefore I am well pleased that Pontius was in existence rather at that time, since so much power resided in him. It is not yet a hundred and ten years since a law about bribery was passed by Lucius Piso, when previously there had been no such law. But afterwards there were so many laws, and each successive one more

severe, so many persons arraigned, so many condemned, such an Italian war excited through fear of condemnations, such a rifling and robbing of our allies, those laws and judgments were suspended, that we are strong through the weakness of others, not through our own valour.

Panætius applauds Africanus because he was self-denying. Why not applaud him? But in him there were other and greater characteristics; the praise of self-restraint was not the praise of the man only, but also of those times. Paullus having possessed himself of the whole treasure of the Macedonians, which was most immense, brought so much wealth into the treasury, that the spoils of one commander put an end to taxes; but to his own house he brought nothing except the eternal memory of his name. Africanus, imitating his father, was nothing the richer for having overthrown Carthage. What! Lucius Memmius, who was his colleague in the censorship, was he the wealthier for having utterly destroyed the wealthiest of cities? He preferred ornamenting Italy



rather than his own house—although by the adornment of Italy, his own house itself seems to me more adorned. No vice, then, is more foul, that my discourse may return to the point from whence it digressed, than avarice, especially in great men and such as administer the republic. For to make a gain of the republic is not only base, but wicked also and abominable. Therefore, that which the Pythian Apollo delivered by his oracle, ‘that Sparta would perish by nothing but its avarice,’ he seems to have predicted not about the Lacedæmonians alone, but about all opulent nations. Moreover, they who preside over the state can by no way more readily conciliate the goodwill of the multitude than by abstinence and self-restraint.

But they who wish to be popular, and upon that account either attempt the agrarian affair, that the owners may be driven out of their possessions, or think that borrowed money should be released to the debtors, sap the foundations of the constitution; namely, that concord, in the first place, which cannot exist when money is exacted from some, and



forgiven to others; and equity, in the next place, which is entirely subverted, if each be not permitted to possess his own. For, as I said before, this is the peculiar concern of a state and city, that every person's custody of his own property be free and undisturbed. And in this destructive course to the state they do not obtain even that popularity which they expect; for he whose property is taken is hostile; he also to whom it is given disguises his willingness to accept it, and especially in lent monies he conceals his joy that he may not appear to have been insolvent; but he, on the other hand, who receives the injury, both remembers and proclaims his indignation; nor if they are more in number to whom it is dishonestly given than those from whom it has been unjustly taken, are they even for that cause more successful. For these matters are not determined by number, but by weight. Now, what justice is it that lands which have been pre-occupied for many years, or even ages, he who was possessed of none should get, but he who was in possession should lose?

And on account of this kind of injustice, the Lacedæmonians expelled their Ephorus Lysander, and put to death their king Agis—a thing which never before had happened among them. And from that time such great dissensions ensued, that tyrants arose, and the nobles were exiled, and a constitution admirably established fell to pieces. Nor did it fall alone, but also overthrew the rest of Greece by the contagion of evil principles, which having sprung from the Lacedæmonians, flowed far and wide. What! was it not the agrarian contentions that destroyed our own Gracchi, sons of that most illustrious man Tiberius Gracchus, and grandsons of Africanus? But, on the contrary, Aratus, the Sicyonian, is justly commended, who, when his native city had been held for fifty years by tyrants, having set out from Argos to Sicyon, by a secret entrance got possession of the city, and when on a sudden he had overthrown the tyrant Nicocles, he restored six hundred exiles, who had been the wealthiest men of that state, and restored freedom to the state by his coming. But when he per-

ceived a great difficulty about the goods and possessions, because he considered it most unjust both that they whom he had restored, of whose property others had been in possession, should be in want, and he did not think it very fair that possessions of fifty years should be disturbed, because that after so long an interval many of those properties were got possession of without injustice, by inheritance, many by purchase, many by marriage portions; he judged neither that the properties ought to be taken from the latter, nor that these to whom they had belonged should be without satisfaction. When, then, he had concluded that there was need of money to arrange that matter, he said that he would go to Alexandria, and ordered the matter to be undisturbed until his return. He quickly came to his friend Ptolemy, who was then reigning, the second after the building of Alexandria, and when he had explained to him that he was desirous to liberate his country, and informed him of the case, this most eminent man readily received consent from the opulent king that he should be assisted with a large sum of

money. When he had brought this to Sicyon, he took to himself for his council fifteen noblemen, with whom he took cognisance of the cases, both of those who held other persons' possessions, and of those who had lost their own; and by valuing the possessions, he so managed as to persuade some to prefer receiving the money, and yielding up the possessions; others to think it more convenient that there should be paid down to them what was the price, rather than they should resume possession of their own. Thus it was brought about that all departed without a complaint, and concord was established. Admirable man, and worthy to have been born in our nation! Thus it is right to act with citizens, not, as we have now seen twice, to fix up a spear in the forum, and subject the goods of the citizens to the voice of the auctioneer. But that Greek thought, as became a wise and superior man, that it was necessary to consult for all. And this is the highest reason and wisdom of a good citizen, not to make divisions in the interests of the citizens, but to govern all by the same equity. Should any dwell free



of expense in another man's house? Why so? Is it that when I shall have bought, built, repaired, expended, you, without my will, should enjoy what is mine? What else is this but to take from some what is theirs; to give to some what is another man's? But what is the meaning of an abolition of debts, unless that you should buy an estate with my money—that you should have the estate, and I should not have my money?

Wherefore, it ought to be provided that there be not such an amount of debt as may injure the state—a thing which may be guarded against in many ways; not that if there shall be such debt the rich should lose their rights, and the debtors gain what is another's—for nothing holds the state more firmly together than public credit, which cannot at all exist unless the payment of money lent shall be compulsory. It never was more violently agitated than in my consulship, that debts should not be paid; the matter was tried in arms and camps, by every rank and description of men, whom I resisted in such a manner, that this mischief of such magnitude



was removed from the state. Never was debt either greater, or better and more easily paid. For the hope of defrauding being frustrated, the necessity of paying followed. But on the other hand, this man, now our victor, but who was vanquished then, has accomplished the things which he had in view, when it was now a matter of no importance to himself. So great was the desire in him of doing wrong, that the mere wrongdoing delighted him, although there was not a motive for it. From this kind of liberality, then, to give to some, to take from others, they will keep aloof who would preserve the commonwealth, and will take particular care that each may hold his own in equity of right and judgments; and neither that advantage be taken of the poorer class, on account of their humbleness, nor that envy be prejudicial to the rich, either in keeping or recovering their own. They will besides increase the power of the state in whatever way they can, either abroad or at home, in authority, territories, tributes. These are the duties of great men. These were practised among our ancestors; they who

persevere in those kinds of duties, will, along with the highest advantage to the republic, themselves obtain both great popularity and glory.

Now, in these precepts about things profitable, Antipater the Tyrian, a Stoic, who lately died at Athens, considers that two things are passed over by Panætius—the care of health and of property—which matters I fancy were passed over by that very eminent philosopher because they were obvious; they certainly are useful. Now, health is supported by understanding one's own constitution, and by observing what things are accustomed to do one good or injury; and by temperance in all food and manner of living, for the sake of preserving the body; and by forbearance in pleasures; and lastly, by the skill of those to whose profession these things belong. Wealth ought to be acquired by those means in which there is no disgrace, but preserved by diligence and frugality, and increased, too, by the same means. These matters Xenophon, the Socratic philosopher, has discussed very completely in that book

which is entitled *Œconomics*, which I, when I was about that age at which you are now, translated from the Greek into Latin.

But a comparison of profitable things, since this was the fourth head, but passed over by Panætius, is often necessary. For it is usual to compare the good estate of the body with external advantages, and external with those of the body, and those of the body among themselves, and external with external. The good estate of the body is compared with external advantages in this manner, that you had rather be healthy than wealthy. External with those of the body in this manner, to be wealthy rather than of the greatest physical strength. Those of the body among themselves, thus, that good health should be preferred to pleasure, and strength to speed. But the comparison of external objects is thus, that glory should be preferred to wealth, a city income to a country one. Of which kind of comparison is that reply of Cato the elder, of whom, when inquiry was made, what was the best policy in the management of one's property, he answered, 'Good grazing.'

‘What was next?’ ‘Tolerable grazing.’ ‘What third?’ ‘Bad grazing.’ ‘What fourth?’ ‘Tilling.’ And when he who had interrogated him inquired, ‘What do you think of lending at usury?’ Then Cato answered, ‘What do you think of killing a man?’ From which, and many other things, it ought to be understood that it is usual to make comparisons of profitable things; and that this was rightly added as a fourth head of investigating our duties. But about this entire head, about gaining money, about letting it out, also about spending it, the matter is discussed to more advantage by certain most estimable persons sitting at the middle Janus, than by any philosophers in any school. Yet these things ought to be understood; for they relate to utility, about which we have discoursed in this book. We will next pass to what remains.

### BOOK III



Publius Scipio, my son Marcus, he who first was surnamed Africanus, was accustomed, as Cato, who was nearly of the same age as he, has written, to say 'that he was never less at leisure than when at leisure, nor less alone than when he was alone.' A truly noble saying, and worthy of a great and wise man, which declares that both in his leisure he was accustomed to reflect on business, and in solitude to converse with himself; so that he never was idle, and sometimes was not in need of the conversation of another. Thus, leisure and solitude, two things which cause languor to others, sharpened him. I could wish it were in my power to say the same. But if I cannot quite attain to any intimation of so great an excellence of disposition, I come very near it, in will at least. For, being debarred by



impious arms and force from public affairs and forensic business, I remain in retirement; and on that account having left the city, wandering about the fields, I am often alone. But neither is this leisure to be compared with the leisure of Africanus, nor this solitude with that. For he, reposing from the most honourable employments of the state, sometimes took leisure to himself, and sometimes betook himself from the concourse and haunts of men into his solitude as into a haven: but my retirement is occasioned by the want of business, not by the desire of repose. For, the senate being extinct, and courts of justice abolished, what is there that I could do worthy of myself, either in the senate-house, or in the forum? Thus, I who formerly lived in the greatest celebrity, and before the eyes of the citizens, now shunning the sight of wicked men, with whom all places abound, conceal myself as far as it is possible, and often am alone. But since we have been taught by learned men, that out of evils it is fit not only to choose the least, but also from those very evils to gather whatever good is in them,

I therefore am both enjoying rest—not such; indeed, as he ought who formerly procured rest for the state,—and I am not allowing that solitude which necessity, not inclination, brings me, to be spent in idleness. Although, in my judgment, Africanus obtained greater praise. For there are extant no monuments of his genius committed to writing—no work of his leisure—no employment of his solitude. From which it ought to be understood, that he was never either idle or solitary, because of the activity of his mind, and the investigation of those things which he pursued in thought. But I who have not so much strength that I can be drawn away from solitude by silent thought, turn all my study and care to this labour of composition. And thus I have written more in a short time, since the overthrow of the republic, than in the many years while it stood.

But as all philosophy, my Cicero, is fruitful and profitable, and no part of it uncultivated and desert—so no part in it is more fruitful and profitable than that about duties, from which the rules of living consistently and vir-

tuously are derived. Wherefore, although I trust you constantly hear and learn these matters from my friend Cratippus, the prince of the philosophers within our memory, yet I think it is beneficial that your ears should ring on all sides with such discourse, and that they, if it were possible, should hear nothing else. Which, as it ought to be done by all who design to enter upon a virtuous life, so I know not but it ought by no one more than you; for you stand under no small expectation of emulating my industry—under a great one of emulating my honours—under no small one, perhaps, of my fame. Besides, you have incurred a heavy responsibility both from Athens and Cratippus; and since you have gone to these as to a mart for good qualities, it would be most scandalous to return empty, disgracing the reputation both of the city and of the master. Wherefore, try and accomplish as much as you can, labour with your mind and with your industry, if it be labour to learn rather than a pleasure, and do not permit that, when all things have been supplied by me, you should seem to have been wanting to yourself. But let this suffice; for

we have often written much to you for the purpose of encouraging you. Now let us return to the remaining part of our proposed division.

Panætius, then, who without controversy has discoursed most accurately about duties, and whom I, making some correction, have principally followed, having proposed three heads under which men were accustomed to deliberate and consult about duty—one, when they were in doubt whether that about which they were considering was virtuous or base; another, whether useful or unprofitable; a third, when that which had the appearance of virtue was in opposition to that which seemed useful, how this ought to be determined; he unfolded the two first heads in three books, but on the third head he said that he would afterwards write, but did not perform what he had promised. At which I am the more surprised on this account, that it is recorded by his disciple Posidonius, that Panætius lived thirty years after he had published those books. And I am surprised that this matter should be only briefly touched on by Posidonius in some commentaries, especially when



he writes that there is no subject in all philosophy so necessary. But by no means do I agree with those who deny that this subject was casually omitted by Panætius, but that it was designedly abandoned, and that it ought not to have been written at all, because utility could never be in opposition to virtue. On which point is one thing that may admit a doubt; whether this head, which is third in the division of Panætius, ought to have been taken up, or whether it ought to have been altogether omitted. The other thing cannot be doubted, that it was undertaken by Panætius, but left unfinished. For he who has completed two parts out of a three-fold division, must have a third remaining. Besides, in the end of the third book he promises that he will afterwards write about this third part. To this is also added a sufficient witness, Posidonius, who in a certain letter writes that Publius Rutilius Rufus, who had been a disciple of Panætius, had been accustomed to say, that as no painter could be found who could finish that part of the Coan Venus which Apelles had left unfinished, for



the beauty of the countenance left no hope of making the rest of the body correspond, so no one could go through with those things which Panætius had omitted, on account of the excellence of those parts which he had completed.

Wherefore, there cannot be a doubt about the opinion of Panætius ; but whether it was right in him, or otherwise, to join this third part to the investigation of duty, about this, perhaps, there may be a question. For whether virtue be the only good, as is the opinion of the Stoics, or whether that which is virtuous be, as it appears to your Peripatetics, so much the greatest good, that all things placed on the other side have scarcely the smallest weight ; it is not to be doubted but that utility never can compare with virtue. Therefore we have learned that Socrates used to execrate those who had first separated in theory those things cohering in nature. To whom, indeed, the Stoics have so far assented, that they considered that whatever is virtuous is useful, and that nothing can be useful which is not virtuous. But if Panætius was one who would say that virtue was to be cultivated only on this account,

because it was a means of procuring profit, as they do who measure the desirableness of objects either by pleasure or by the absence of pain, it would be allowable for him to say that our interest sometimes is opposed to virtue. But as he was one who judged that alone to be good which is virtuous, but that of such things as oppose this with some appearance of utility, neither the accession can make life better, nor the loss make it worse, it appears that he ought not to have introduced a deliberation of this kind, in which what seems profitable could be compared with that which is virtuous. For what is called the summum bonum by the Stoics, to live agreeably to nature, has, I conceive, this meaning—always to conform to virtue; and as to all other things which may be according to nature, to take them if they should not be repugnant to virtue. And since this is so, some think that this comparison is improperly introduced, and that no principle should be laid down upon this head. And, indeed, that perfection of conduct which is properly and truly called so, exists in the wise alone, and can never be separated from virtue. But

in those persons in whom there is not perfect wisdom, that perfection can indeed by no means exist; but the likeness of it can. For the Stoics call all those duties about which we are discoursing in these books, mean duties. These are common, and extend widely, which many attain by the goodness of natural disposition, and by progressive improvement. But that duty which the same philosophers call right, is perfect and absolute, and, as the same philosophers say, has all the parts perfect, and cannot fall to the lot of any but the wise man. But when anything is performed in which mean duties appear, it seems to be abundantly perfect, because the vulgar do not at all understand how far it falls short of the perfect; but as far as they understand, they think there is nothing wanting. Which same thing comes to pass in poems, in pictures, and in many other matters, that those things which should not be commended, the unskilful are delighted with and commend; on this account, I suppose, that there is in these things some merit which catches the unskilful, who indeed are unable to judge what deficiency there may

be in each. Therefore, when they are apprised of it by the initiated, they readily abandon their opinion.

These duties, then, of which we are discoursing in these books, the Stoics say are virtuous in some secondary degree—not peculiar to the wise alone, but common to every description of men. By these, therefore, all are moved in whom there is a natural disposition towards virtue. Nor, indeed, when the two Decii or the two Scipios are commemorated as brave men, or when Fabricius and Aristides are called just, is either an example of fortitude looked for from the former, or of justice from the latter, as from wise men. For neither of these was wise in such a sense as we wish the term wise man to be understood. Nor were these who were esteemed and named wise, Marcus Cato and Caius Lælius, wise men; nor were even those famous seven, but from the frequent performance of mean duties they bore some similitude and appearance of wise men. Wherefore, it is neither right to compare that which is truly virtuous with what is repugnant to utility, nor should that which we commonly call virtuous,



which is cultivated by those who wish to be esteemed good men, ever be compared with profits. And that virtue which falls within our comprehension is as much to be maintained and preserved by us, as that which is properly called, and which truly is virtue, is by the wise. For otherwise, whatever advancement is made towards virtue, it cannot be maintained. But these remarks are made regarding those who are considered good men, on account of their observance of duties ; but those who measure all things by profit and advantage, and who do not consider that those things are outweighed by virtue, are accustomed, in deliberating, to compare virtue with that which they think profitable ; good men are not so accustomed. Therefore, I think that Panætius, when he said that men were accustomed to deliberate on this comparison, meant this very thing which he expressed,—only that it was their custom, not that it was also their duty. For not only to think more of what seems profitable than what is virtuous, but even to compare them one with the other, and to hesitate between them, is most shameful. What is it,



then, that is accustomed at times to raise a doubt, and seems necessary to be considered? I believe, whenever a doubt arises, it is what the character of that action may be about which one is considering. For oftentimes it happens, that what is accustomed to be generally considered disreputable, may be found not to be disreputable. For the sake of example, let a case be supposed which has a wide application. What can be greater wickedness than to slay not only a man, but even an intimate friend? Has he then involved himself in guilt, who slays a tyrant, however intimate? He does not appear so to the Roman people at least, who of all great exploits deem that the most honourable. Has expediency, then, overcome virtue? Nay, rather, expediency has followed virtue. Therefore, that we may be able to decide without any mistake, if ever that which we call expediency shall appear to be at variance with that which we understand to be virtuous, a certain rule ought to be established, which if we will follow in comparing such cases, we shall never fail in our duty. But this rule will be one conform-

able to the reasoning and discipline of the Stoics chiefly, which, indeed, we are following in these books, because, though both by the ancient Academicians and by your Peripatetics, who formerly were the same sect, things which are virtuous are preferred to those which seem expedient; nevertheless, those subjects are more nobly treated of by those to whom whatever is virtuous seems also expedient, and nothing expedient which is not virtuous, than by those according to whom that may be virtuous which is not expedient, and that expedient which is not virtuous. But to us, our Academic sect gives this great licence, that we, whatever may seem most probable, by our privilege are at liberty to maintain. But I return to my rule.

To take away wrongfully, then, from another, and for one man to advance his own interest by the disadvantage of another man, is more contrary to nature than death, than poverty, than pain, than any other evils which can befall either our bodies or external circumstances. For, in the first place, it destroys human intercourse and society; for if we will be so disposed

that each for his own gain shall despoil or offer violence to another, the inevitable consequence is, that the society of the human race, which is most consistent with nature, will be broken asunder. As, supposing each member of the body was so disposed as to think it could be well if it should draw to itself the health of the adjacent member, it is inevitable that the whole body would be debilitated and would perish; so if each of us should seize for himself the interests of another, and wrest whatever he could from each for the sake of his own emolument, the necessary consequence is, that human society and community would be overturned. It is indeed allowed, nature not opposing, that each would rather acquire for himself than for another, whatever pertains to the enjoyment of life; but nature does not allow this, that by the spoliation of others we should increase our own means, resources, and opulence. Nor indeed is this forbidden by nature alone—that is, by the law of nations—but it is also in the same manner enacted by the municipal laws of countries, by which government is supported in individual states, that it should not be law-

ful to injure another man for the sake of one's own advantage. For this the laws look to, this they require, that the union of the citizens should be unimpaired ; those who are for severing it they coerce by death, by banishment, by imprisonment, by fine. But what declares this much more is our natural reason, which is a law divine and human, which he who is willing to obey, and all will obey it who are willing to live according to nature, never will suffer himself to covet what is another person's, and to assume to himself that which he shall have wrongfully taken from another. For loftiness and greatness of mind, and likewise community of feeling, justice, and liberality, are much more in accordance with nature, than pleasure, than life, than riches—which things, even to condemn and count as nothing in comparison with the common good, is the part of a great and lofty soul. Therefore, to take away wrongfully from another for the sake of one's own advantage, is more contrary to nature than death, than pain, than other considerations of the same kind. And likewise, to undergo the greatest labours and inquietudes for the sake,



if it were possible, of preserving or assisting all nations—imitating that Hercules whom the report of men, mindful of his benefits, has placed in the council of the gods—is more in accordance with nature than to live in solitude, not only without any inquietudes, but even amidst the greatest pleasures, abounding in all manner of wealth, though you should also excel in beauty and strength. Wherefore, every man of the best and most noble disposition much prefers that life to this. From whence it is evinced, that man, obeying nature, cannot injure men. In the next place, he who injures another that he may himself attain some advantage, either thinks that he is doing nothing contrary to nature, or thinks that death, poverty, pain, the loss of children, of kindred, and of friends, are more to be avoided than doing injury to another. If he thinks that nothing is done contrary to nature by injuring men, what use is there in disputing with him who would altogether take away from man what is human? But if he thinks that indeed it is to be shunned, but that those things, death, poverty, pain, are much worse, he errs in this,



that he thinks any defect, either of body or fortune, more grievous than the defects of the mind.

One thing, therefore, ought to be aimed at by all men ; that the interest of each individually, and of all collectively, should be the same ; for if each should grasp at his individual interest, all human society will be dissolved. And also, if nature enjoins this, that a man should desire to consult the interest of a man, whoever he is, for the very reason that he is man, it necessarily follows that, as the nature, so the interest, of all mankind, is a common one. If that be so, we are all included under one and the same law of nature ; and if this too be true, we are certainly prohibited by the law of nature from injuring another. But the first is true ; therefore, the last is true. For that which some say, that they would take nothing wrongfully, for the sake of their own advantage, from a parent or brother, but that the case is different with other citizens, is indeed absurd. These establish the principle that they have nothing in the way of right, no society with their fellow citizens, for the sake of

the common interest—an opinion which tears asunder the whole social compact. They, again, who say that a regard ought to be had to fellow citizens, but deny that it ought to foreigners, break up the common society of the human race, which, being withdrawn, beneficence, liberality, goodness, justice, are utterly abolished. But they who tear up these things should be judged impious, even towards the immortal gods; for they overturn the society established by them among men, the closest bond of which society is, the consideration that it is more contrary to nature that man, for the sake of his own gain, should wrongfully take from man, than that he should endure all such disadvantages, either external or in the person, or even in the mind itself, as are not the effects of injustice. For that one virtue, justice, is the mistress and queen of all virtues.

Some person will perhaps say—should not the wise man, then, if himself famished with hunger, wrest food from another, some good-for-nothing fellow? By no means; for my life is not more useful to me, than such a disposition of mind that I would do violence to

no man for the sake of my own advantage. What! If a worthy man could despoil Phalaris, a cruel and outrageous tyrant, of his garments, that he might not himself perish with cold, should he not do it? These points are very easy to decide. For if you will wrongfully take away anything from a good-for-nothing man for the sake of your own interest, you will act unsociably and contrary to the law of nature. But if you be one who can bring much advantage to the state, and to human society if you remain in life, it may not deserve to be reprehended should you wrongfully take anything upon that account from another. But if that be not the case, it is rather the duty of each to bear his own misfortune, than wrongfully to take from the comforts of another. Disease, then, or poverty, or anything of this sort, is not more contrary to nature than is the wrongful taking or coveting what is another's. But the desertion of the common interest is contrary to nature, for it is unjust. Therefore, the very law of nature which preserves and governs the interests of men, decrees undoubtedly that things necessary for living should be trans-

ferred from an inert and useless fellow to a wise, good, and brave man, who, if he should perish, would largely take away from the common good ; provided he do this in such a manner, that he do not, through thinking well of himself, and loving himself, make this an excuse for committing injustice. Thus will he always discharge his duty, advancing the interests of mankind, and that human society of which I so often make mention. Now, as to what relates to Phalaris, the decision is very easy ; for we have no society with tyrants, but rather the widest separation from them ; nor is it contrary to nature to despoil, if you can, him whom it is a virtue to slay—and this pestilential and impious class ought to be entirely exterminated from the community of mankind. For as certain limbs are amputated, both if they themselves have begun to be destitute of blood, and, as it were, of life, and if they injure the other parts of the body, so the brutality and ferocity of a beast in the figure of a man, ought to be cut off from the common body, as it were, of humanity.

Of this sort are all those questions in which



our duty is sought out of the circumstances of the case.

In this manner, then, I think Panætius would have pursued these subjects, had not some accident or occupation interrupted his design; for which same deliberations there are in his former books rules sufficiently numerous, by which it can be perceived what ought to be avoided on account of its baseness, and what therefore need not be avoided, because it is not at all base. But since I am putting, as it were, the top upon a work incomplete, yet nearly finished, as it is the custom of geometers not to demonstrate everything, but to require that some postulates be granted to them, that they may more readily explain what they intend, so I ask of you, my Cicero, that you grant me, if you can, that nothing except what is virtuous is worthy to be sought for its own sake. But if this be not allowed you by Cratippus, still you will at least grant that what is virtuous is most worthy to be sought for its own sake. Whichever of the two you please is sufficient for me, and sometimes the one, sometimes the other, seems the more



probable; nor does anything else seem probable.

And in the first place, Panætius is to be defended in this, that he did not say that the really expedient could ever be opposed to the virtuous, for it was not permitted to him to say so, but only those things which seemed expedient. But he often bears testimony that nothing is expedient which is not likewise virtuous—nothing virtuous which is not likewise expedient; and he denies that any greater mischief has ever attacked the race of men than the opinion of those persons who would separate these things. It was not, therefore, in order that we should prefer the expedient to the virtuous, but in order that we should decide between them without error, if ever they should come in collision, that he introduced that opposition which seemed to have, not which has, existence. This part, therefore, thus abandoned, I will complete with no help, but, as it is said, with my own forces. For there has not, since the time of Panætius, been anything delivered upon this subject, of all the works which have come to my hands, that meets my approbation.

When, therefore, any appearance of expediency is presented to you, you are necessarily affected by it; but if, when you direct your attention to it, you see moral turpitude attached to that which offers the appearance of expediency, then you are under an obligation not to abandon expediency but to understand that there cannot be real expediency, where there is moral turpitude; because, since nothing is so contrary to nature as moral turpitude, for nature desires the upright, the suitable, and the consistent, and rejects the reverse, and nothing is so agreeable to nature as expediency, surely expediency and turpitude cannot co-exist in the same subject. And again, since we are born for virtue, and this either is the only thing to be desired, as it appeared to Zeno, or is at least to be considered weightier in its entire importance than all other things, as is the opinion of Aristotle, it is the necessary consequence, that whatever is virtuous either is the only, or it is the highest good; but whatever is good is certainly useful—therefore whatever is virtuous is useful. Wherefore, it is an error of bad men, which, when it grasps

at something which seems useful, separates it immediately from virtue. Hence spring stilettos, hence poisons, hence forgery of wills, hence thefts, embezzlements, hence robberies and extortions from allies and fellow citizens, hence the intolerable oppressions of excessive opulence—hence, in fine, even in free states, the lust of sway, than which nothing darker or fouler can be conceived. For men view the profits of transactions with false judgment, but they do not see the punishment—I do not say of the laws, which they often break through, but of moral turpitude itself, which is most severe. Wherefore, this class of sceptics should be put out of our consideration, as being altogether wicked and impious, who hesitate whether they should follow that which they see is virtuous, or knowingly contaminate themselves with wickedness. For the guilty deed exists in the very hesitation, even though they shall not have carried it out. Therefore, such matters should not be at all deliberated about, in which the very deliberation is criminal; and also from every deliberation the hope and idea of secrecy and concealment ought to be removed.

For we ought to be sufficiently convinced, if we have made any proficiency in philosophy, that even though we could conceal any transaction from all gods and men, yet that nothing avaricious should be done, nothing unjust, nothing licentious, nothing incontinent.

To this purpose Plato introduces that celebrated Gyges, who, when the earth had opened, in consequence of certain heavy showers, descended into that chasm, and, as tradition goes, beheld a brazen horse, in whose side was a door, on opening which he beheld the body of a dead man of extraordinary size, and a gold ring upon his finger, which when he had drawn off, he himself put it on, and then betook himself to the assembly of the shepherds, for he was the king's shepherd. There, when he turned the stone of this ring to the palm of his hand, he was visible to no person, but himself saw everything; and when he had turned the ring into its proper place, he again became visible. Having employed, then, this convenience of the ring, he committed adultery with the queen, and, with her assistance, slew the king, his master, and got rid of those whom he considered likely to



oppose him. Nor could any one discover him in these crimes. So with the assistance of the ring he suddenly sprang up to be king of Lydia. Now, if a wise man had this ring itself, he would think that he was no more at liberty to commit crime than if he had it not. For virtue, not secrecy, is sought by good men. And here some philosophers, and they indeed by no means unworthy men, but not very acute, say that the story told by Plato is false and fabulous, just as if he indeed maintained either that it had happened or could have happened. The import of this ring and of this example is this—if nobody were to know, nobody even to suspect that you were doing anything for the sake of riches, power, domination, lust—if it would be for ever unknown to gods and men, would you do it? They deny that the case is possible. But though indeed it be possible, I only inquire what they would do if that were possible which they deny to be so. They argue very stupidly, for they simply deny that it is possible, and they persist in that answer. They do not perceive what is the force of that expression, ‘if it were possible.’ For when we ask what they would do if they



possibly could conceal, we are not asking whether they really could conceal; but we are putting them, as it were, to the torture, that if they answer that they would do, if impunity were offered, what it was their interest to do, they must confess that they are wicked; if they deny that they would do so, they must admit that all base actions are to be shunned on their own account. But now let us return to our subject.

Many cases frequently occur, which disturb our minds by the appearance of expediency. Not when this is the subject of deliberation, whether virtue should be deserted on account of the magnitude of the profit, for on this, indeed, it is dishonest to deliberate, but this, whether or no that which seems profitable can be done without baseness. When Brutus deposed his colleague, Collatinus, from his command, he might seem to be acting with injustice; for Collatinus had been the associate and assistant in the councils of Brutus in expelling the kings. But when the rulers had taken this counsel, that the kindred of Superbus, and the name of the Tarquinius, and the memory of

royalty were to be rooted out ; that which was useful, namely, to consult for his country, was so virtuous that it ought to have pleased even Collatinus himself. Therefore the expediency of the measure prevailed with Brutus on account of its rectitude, without which expediency could not have even existed. But it was otherwise in that king who founded the city ; for the appearance of expediency influenced his mind, since, when it seemed to him more profitable to reign alone than with another, he slew his brother. He disregarded both affection and humanity, that he might obtain that which seemed useful, but was not. And yet he set up the excuse about the wall—a pretence of virtue neither probable nor very suitable : therefore, with all due respect to Quirinus or Romulus, I would say that he committed a crime.

Yet our own interests should not be neglected by us, nor given up to others when we ourselves want them ; but each should serve his own interest, as far as it can be done without injustice to another :—Chrysippus has judiciously made this remark like many others :

—‘he, who runs a race, ought to make exertions, and struggle as much as he can to be victor; but he ought by no means to trip up or push with his hand the person with whom he is contesting. Thus in life it is not unjust that each should seek for himself what may pertain to his advantage—it is not just that he should take from another.’

But our duties are principally confused in cases of friendship; for both not to bestow on them what you justly may, and to bestow what is not just, are contrary to duty. But the rule regarding this entire subject is short and easy. For those things which seem useful—honours, riches, pleasures, and other things of the same kind—should never be preferred to friendship. But, on the other hand, for the sake of a friend a good man will neither act against the state, nor against his oath and good faith—not even if he shall be judge in the case of his friend—for he lays aside the character of a friend when he puts on that of a judge. So much he will concede to friendship that he had rather the cause of his friend were just, and that he would accommodate him as to the time of pleading

his cause as far as the laws permit. But when he must pronounce sentence on his oath, he will remember that he has called the divinity as witness—that is, as I conceive, his own conscience, than which the deity himself has given nothing more divine to man. Therefore we have received from our ancestors a noble custom, if we would retain it, of entreating the judge for what he can do with safe conscience. This entreaty has reference to those things which, as I mentioned a little while ago, could be granted with propriety by a judge to his friend. For if all things were to be done which friends would wish, such intimacies cannot be considered friendships, but rather conspiracies. But I am speaking of common friendships; for there could be no such thing as that among wise and perfect men. They tell us that Damon and Pythias, the Pythagoreans, felt such affection for each other, that when Dionysius, the tyrant, had appointed a day for the execution of one of them, and he who had been condemned to death had entreated a few days for himself, for the purpose of commending his family to the care of his friends, the other



became security to have him forthcoming, so that if he had not returned, it would have been necessary for himself to die in his place. When he returned upon the day, the tyrant having admired their faith, entreated that they would admit him as a third to their friendship.

When, therefore, that which seems useful in friendship is compared with that which is virtuous, let the appearance of expediency be disregarded, let virtue prevail. Moreover, when in friendship, things which are not virtuous shall be required of us, religion and good faith should be preferred to friendship. Thus that distinction of duty which we are seeking will be preserved.

But it is in state affairs that men most frequently commit crimes under the pretext of expediency—as did our countrymen in the demolition of Corinth: the Athenians still more harshly, since they decreed that the thumbs of the Æginetans, who were skilful in naval matters, should be cut off. This seemed expedient; for Ægina, on account of its proximity, was too formidable to the Piræus. But nothing which is cruel can be expedient; for cruelty is



most revolting to the nature of mankind, which we ought to follow. Those, too, do wrong who prohibit foreigners to inhabit their cities, and banish them, as Pennus did among our ancestors, and Papius did lately. For it is proper not to permit him to be as a citizen who is not a citizen—a law which the wisest of consuls, Crassus and Scævola, introduced: but to prohibit foreigners from dwelling in a city is certainly inhuman. Those are noble actions in which the appearance of public expediency is treated with contempt in comparison with virtue. Our state is full of examples, as well frequently on other occasions as especially in the second Punic war, when she, having suffered the disaster at Cannæ, exhibited greater spirit than ever she did in her prosperity—no indication of fear, no mention of peace.

So great is the power of virtue, that it throws the semblance of expediency into the shade. When the Athenians could by no means withstand the attack of the Persians, and determined that, having abandoned their city, and deposited their wives and children at Troezen, they should embark in their vessels,

and with their fleet protect the liberties of Greece, they stoned one Cyrsilus, who was persuading them to remain in the city, and to receive Xerxes: though he seemed to pursue expediency; but it was unreal, as being opposed to virtue. Themistocles, after the victory in that war which took place with the Persians, said in the assembly, that he had a plan salutary for the state, but that it was necessary that it should not be publicly known. He demanded that the people should appoint somebody with whom he might communicate. Aristides was appointed. To him he disclosed that the fleet of the Lacedæmonians, which was in dock at Gytheum, could secretly be burned; of which act the necessary consequence would be, that the power of the Lacedæmonians would be broken; which, when Aristides had heard, he came into the assembly amidst great expectations of the people, and said that the plan which Themistocles proposed was very expedient, but by no means honourable. Therefore, the Athenians were of opinion that what was not upright was not even expedient, and on the authority of Aristides, rejected that

entire matter which they had not even heard. They acted better than we who have pirates free from tribute, and allies paying taxes.

Let it be inferred, then, that what is base never is expedient, not even when you obtain what you think to be useful. For this very thinking what is base to be expedient, is mischievous. But, as I said before, cases often occur, when profit seems to be opposed to rectitude, so that it is necessary to consider whether it is plainly opposed, or can be reconciled with rectitude. Of that sort are these questions. If, for example, an honest man has brought from Alexandria to Rhodes a great quantity of grain during the scarcity and famine of the Rhodians, and the very high prices of provisions; if this same man should know that many merchants had sailed from Alexandria, and should have seen their vessels on the way, laden with corn, and bound for Rhodes, should he tell that to the Rhodians, or keeping silence, should he sell his own corn at as high a price as possible? We are supposing a wise and honest man; we are inquiring about the deliberation and consultation of one

who would not conceal the matter from the Rhodians if he thought it dishonourable, but is in doubt whether it be dishonourable. In cases of this sort, one view was habitually taken by Diogenes, the Babylonian, a great and approved Stoic; and a different view by Antipater, his pupil, a very acute man. It seems right to Antipater, that everything should be disclosed, so that the buyer should not be ignorant of anything at all that the seller knew. To Diogenes it appears that the seller ought, just as far as is established by the municipal law to declare the faults, to act in other respects without fraud; but since he is selling, to wish to sell at as good a price as possible. I have brought my corn—I have set it up for sale—I am selling it, not at a higher rate than others, perhaps, he will even say for less, since the supply is increased; to whom is there injustice done? The argument of Antipater proceeds on the other side. What do you say? When you ought to consult for the good of mankind, and to benefit human society, and were born under this law, and have these principles from nature, which you



ought to obey and comply with, that your interest should be the common interest, and reciprocally, the common interest yours—will you conceal from men what advantage and plenty is near them? Diogenes will answer perhaps, in this manner. It is one thing to conceal from them, another thing to be silent on the subject: ‘I do not conceal from you now, if I do not tell you what is the nature of the gods, or what is the supreme good; things, the knowledge of which would be more beneficial to you than the low price of wheat. But is there any necessity for me to tell you whatever is beneficial to you to know?’ ‘Yes, indeed,’ the other will say, ‘it is necessary, that is, if you remember that there is a social tie established between men by nature.’ ‘I remember that,’ he will answer, ‘but is that social tie such that each has nothing of his own? for if it be so, we should not even sell anything, but make a present of it.’

You see, throughout all this disputation, it is not said, although this act be base, yet since it is profitable, I will do it; but on the one side it is said it is profitable in so much as it is not



a base act ; and on the other side, because it is base, on this account it should not be done. An honest man would dispose of a house on account of some faults which he himself knows, but others are ignorant of ; it is unwholesome, though considered healthy ; it is not known that snakes make their appearance in all the bed-chambers ; it is built of bad materials, ready to fall ; but nobody knows this except the master. I ask, if the seller should not tell these things to the buyer, and should sell the house for a great deal more than he thought he could sell it for, whether he would have acted unjustly or dishonestly ? He surely would, says Antipater. For if suffering a purchaser to come to loss, and to incur the greatest damage by mistake, be not that which is forbidden at Athens with public execrations, namely, a not pointing out of the road to one going astray, what else is ? It is even more than not showing the way ; for it is knowingly leading another astray. Diogenes argues on the other side. Has he forced you to purchase who did not even request you to do so ? He advertised for sale a house that did not please

him ; you have purchased one that pleased you. But if they who advertised 'a good and well-built country house,' are not thought to have practised fraud, even though it be neither good nor well-built ; much less have they who have not praised their house. For where there is judgment in the buyer, what fraud can there be in the seller ? But if it be not necessary to make good all that is said, do you think it necessary to make good that which is not said ? For what is more foolish than that the seller should relate the defects of that which he sells ? Or, what so absurd as that, by the command of the owner, the auctioneer should thus proclaim : 'I am selling an unhealthy house.'

In some doubtful cases, then, virtue is thus defended on the one side ; on the other side, it is said on the part of expediency, that it not only is virtuous to do that which seems profitable, but even disgraceful not to do it. This is that dissension which seems often to exist between the profitable and the virtuous. Which matters we must decide. For we have not proposed them that we might make a question of

them, but that we might explain them. That corn merchant, then, seems to me to be bound not to practise concealment on the Rhodians, nor this house-seller on the purchasers. For it is not practising concealment if you should be silent about anything; but when for the sake of your own emolument you wish those, whose interest it is to know that which you know, to remain in ignorance. Now, as to this sort of concealment, who does not see what kind of thing it is, and what kind of a man will practise it? Certainly not an open, not a single-minded, not an ingenuous, not a just, not a good man; but rather a wily, close, artful, deceitful, knavish, crafty, double-dealing, evasive fellow. Is it not inexpedient to expose ourselves to the imputations of so many vices, and even more?

But if they are to be blamed who have kept silent, what ought to be thought of those who have practised falsehood in words? Caius Canius, a Roman knight, not without wit, and tolerably learned, when he had betaken himself to Syracuse, for the sake, as he was himself accustomed to say, of enjoyment, not

of business, gave out that he wished to purchase some pleasure-grounds, whither he could invite his friends, and where he could amuse himself without intruders. When this had got abroad, one Pythius, who practised discounting at Syracuse, told him that he had pleasure-grounds, not indeed for sale, but that Canius was at liberty to use them as his own if he desired, and at the same time he invited the gentleman to dinner at the pleasure-grounds on the following day. When he had promised to go, then Pythius, who, as a discounter, was well liked among all ranks, called some fishermen to him, and requested of them that upon the following day they should fish in front of his grounds, and told them what he wished them to do. In due time, Canius came to dinner—the entertainment was sumptuously provided by Pythius—a crowd of fishing-boats before their eyes. Each fisherman for himself brought what he had caught; the fish were laid before the feet of Pythius. Then Canius says, ‘What is this, pray, Pythius—so much fish — so many boats?’ And he answers, ‘What’s the wonder? Whatever fish there are



at Syracuse are taken at this place; here is their watering place; these men could not do without this villa.' Canius, inflamed with desire, presses Pythius to sell. He is unwilling at first; but, to be brief, he obtains his wish. The man, eager and wealthy, purchases the place at as much as Pythius demands, and purchases it furnished. He draws the articles and completes the transaction. Canius on the following day invites his friends. He comes early himself; he sees not a boat; he asks of his next neighbour, was it any holiday with the fishermen, that he saw none of them. 'None that I know,' said he: 'but none use to fish here, and therefore I was amazed at what happened yesterday.' Canius got angry; yet what could he do? for my colleague and friend Aquillius had not yet brought out the forms about criminal devices; in which very forms, when it was inquired of him, 'What is a criminal device?' he answered, 'When one thing is pretended, and another thing done.' Very clearly, indeed, was this laid down; as by a man skilled in definition. Therefore, both Pythius, and all those who do one thing, while



feigning another, are perfidious, base, knavish. No act of theirs, then, can be useful, when it is stained with so many vices.

But if the Aquillian definition is true, pretence and dissimulation ought to be banished from the whole of life ; so that neither to buy better, nor to sell, will a good man feign or disguise anything. And this criminal device was punished both by the statute laws, as in the case of guardianship by the twelve tables, in that of the defrauding of minors, by the Prætorian law, and by judicial decisions without legal enactment, in which is added 'according to good faith.' Moreover, in other judgments, the following phrases are very excellent: in the arbitration of a cause matrimonial, the phrase, 'melius æquius'; in a case of trust, the phrase, 'ut inter bonos bene agier.' What then? Can there be any room for fraud either in that transaction which is decreed to be adjusted 'better and fairer'? Or can anything be done deceitfully or knavishly, when it is pronounced 'that among honest men there must be fair dealing'? But criminal device, as Aquillius

says, is comprised in pretence ; therefore all deceit should be excluded from contracts. The seller should not bring a person to bid over the value, nor the buyer one to bid under him. Each of the two, if he should come to name a price, should not name a price more than once. Quintus Scævola, indeed, the son of Publius, when he required that a price of a property of which he was about to become a purchaser should be named to him once for all, and the seller had done so, said that he valued it at more, and gave in addition a hundred sestertia. There is no person who can deny that this was the act of an honest man ; they deny that it was of a prudent man ; just as it would be if a man should sell a thing for less than he could get. This, then, is the mischief—that persons think some men honest, others prudent ; through which mistake Ennius remarks, ‘ that the wise man is wise in vain, who cannot be of use to himself.’ That indeed is true, if it be only agreed on between me and Ennius what ‘ to be of use ’ means. I see, indeed, Hecaton of Rhodes, the scholar of Panætius, saying, in those books about duties which he wrote to

Quintus Tubero, 'that it was the duty of a wise man, that doing nothing contrary to manners, laws, and institutions, he should have regard to improving his property ; for we do not wish to be rich for ourselves alone, but for our children, kindred, friends, and especially for our country; for the means and affluence of each individually constitute the riches of the state.' To this philosopher the conduct of Scævola, about which I spoke a little while ago, can by no means be pleasing ; for to him who disavows that he would do for the sake of his own gain only just so much as is not illegal, neither great pains nor thanks are due. But if pretence and dissimulation are criminal devices, there are few affairs in which that criminal device may not be employed ; or if a good man is he who serves whom he can, injures nobody—certainly we do not easily find such a good man ; to do wrong, then, is never profitable, because it is always base ; and to be a good man is always profitable, because it is always virtuous.

And with respect to the law of landed estates, is it ordained among us by the civil law, that by selling them, the faults should be

declared which were known to the seller. For though by the twelve tables it was sufficient to be answerable for those defects which were expressly mentioned, which he who denied suffered a penalty of double the value, yet a penalty for silence also was established by the lawyers. For they determined that, if the seller knew whatever defect there was in an estate, he ought to make it good, unless it was expressly mentioned. Thus, when the augurs were about to officiate on the augurs' hill, and had commanded Titus Claudius Centumalus, who had a house on the Cælian Mount, to take down those parts of it, the height of which obstructed their auspices, Claudius set up the house for sale, and he sold it; Publius Calpurnius Lanarius purchased it. That same notice was given to him by the augurs; therefore, when Calpurnius had pulled it down, and had discovered that Claudius had advertised the house after he had been commanded by the augurs to pull it down, he brought him before an arbitrator, to decide 'what he ought to give or do for him in good faith.' Marcus Cato pronounced the sentence; the father of



this our Cato, for as other men are to be named from their fathers, so he who begot that luminary ought to be named from his son. This judge, then, decreed as follows:—‘Since in selling he had known that matter, and had not mentioned it, that he ought to make good the loss to the purchaser.’ Therefore he established this principle, that it concerned good faith that a defect which the seller was aware of should be made known to the purchaser; but if he decided with justice, then that corn-merchant did not with justice keep silent, nor that seller of the unhealthy house. However, all mental reservations of this kind cannot be comprehended in the civil law; but those which can are carefully checked. Marcus Marius Gratidianus, our kinsman, sold to Caius Sergius Orata that house which he had himself purchased from the same man a few years before. This house was subject to a service; but Marius had not mentioned this in the conditions of conveyance. The matter was brought to trial. Crassus was counsel for Orata; Antonius defended Gratidianus: Crassus relied on the law—whatever defect a seller



who knows it had not disclosed, it is fit that he should make good : Antonius relied on the equity—that since that defect could not have been unknown to Sergius, who had formerly sold the house, there was no necessity that it should be disclosed ; neither could he be deceived, who was aware under what liability that which he had bought was placed. To what purpose these accounts ? That you may understand this, that cunning men were not approved by our ancestors.

But the laws abolish frauds in one way, philosophers in another : the laws, as far as they can lay hold of them by their arm ; philosophers, as far as they can check them by reason and wisdom. Reason, then, requires that nothing be done insidiously, nothing dissemblingly, nothing falsely. Is it not then an ensnaring to lay a net, even though you should not beat up the game, nor hunt them to it ? For the wild creatures often fall into it of themselves, no one pursuing them. So is it fit you should set up your house for sale, put up a bill like a net, sell the house because of its defects, and that somebody should rush

into it unwittingly? Though I see that this, on account of the corruption of manners, is neither esteemed base in morals, nor forbidden either by statutable enactments or by civil law; yet it is forbidden by the law of nature. For there is the social tie between man and man which is of the widest extent, which, though I have often mentioned it, yet needs to be mentioned oftener. There is a closer tie between those who are of the same nation; a closer still between those who are of the same state. Our ancestors, therefore, were of opinion that the law of nations was one thing, the municipal law a different thing. Whatever is civil law, the same is not, for that reason, necessarily the law of nations; but whatever is the law of nations, the same ought to be civil law. But we possess no solid and express image of true right and its sister justice: we use merely their shade and faint resemblances. Would that we followed even these, for they are taken from the best patterns of nature and truth! For how admirable are those words, 'that I be not ensnared and defrauded on account of you and your honesty.' What

golden words those—‘that among honest men there be fair dealing, and without fraud.’ But who are honest men, and what is fair dealing, is the great question. Quintus Scævola, indeed, the high priest, used to say, that there was the greatest weight in all those decisions in which was added the form ‘of good faith’; and he thought the jurisdiction of good faith extended very widely, and that it was concerned in wardships, societies, trusts, commissions, buyings, sellings, hirings, lettings, in which the intercourse of life is comprised; that in these it is the part of a great judge to determine, especially since there were contrary decisions in most cases, what each ought to be accountable for to each. Wherefore craftiness ought to be put away, and that knavery which would fain seem, indeed, to be prudence, but which is far from it, and differs most widely. For prudence consists in the distinguishing of good and evil—knavery, if all things that are vicious are evil, prefers evil to good.

Nor is it, indeed, in landed property alone that the civil law deduced from nature punishes knavery and fraud, but also in the sale of slaves,

all fraud of the seller is prevented. For he who ought to be aware of the health, the running away, the thefts of slaves, is accountable by the edict of the *Ædiles*; but the case of heirs is different. From which it will be understood, since nature is the fountain of right, that it is according to nature that no one should act in such a manner, that he should prey on the ignorance of another. Nor can there be found in life any greater curse than the pretence of wisdom in knavery; from which those innumerable cases proceed, where the useful seems to be opposed to the virtuous. For how few will be found who, when promised perfect secrecy and impunity, can abstain from injustice?

Let us test the principle, if you please, in those examples in which, indeed, the mass of mankind do not think perhaps that there is any crime. For it is not necessary in this place to treat of assassins, poisoners, will-forgers, robbers, embezzlers, who are to be kept down, not by means of words and the disputation of philosophers, but by chains and a dungeon. But let us consider these acts, which they who



are esteemed honest men commit. Some persons brought from Greece to Rome a forged will of Lucius Minucius Basilus, a rich man. That they might the more easily obtain their object, they put down as legatees along with themselves, Marcus Crassus and Quintus Hortensius, the most powerful men of that day; who, though they suspected that it was a forgery, but were conscious of no crime in themselves, did not reject the paltry gift of other men's villainy. What then? Was this enough, that they should not be thought to have been culpable? To me, indeed, it seems otherwise; though I loved one of them when living, and do not hate the other, now that he is dead. But when Basilus had willed that Marcus Satrius, his sister's son, should bear his name, and had made him his heir, I am speaking of him who was patron of the Picene and Sabine districts; oh! foul stigma upon those times! was it fair that these noble citizens should have the property, and that nothing but the name should come down to Satrius? For if he who does not keep off an injury, nor repel it if he can from another, acts



unjustly, as I asserted in the first book, what is to be thought of him who not only does not repel, but even assists in the injury? To me, indeed, even true legacies do not seem honourable, if they are acquired by deceitful fawning—not by the reality, but by the semblance of kind offices. But in such matters the profitable is sometimes accustomed to be thought one thing, and the honest another thing. Falsely; for the rule about profit is the same as that which obtains respecting honesty. To him who will not thoroughly perceive this, no fraud, no villainy will be wanting; for, considering thus, ‘that, indeed, is honest, but this is expedient,’ he will dare erroneously to separate things united by nature—which is the fountain of all frauds, malpractices, and crimes.

If a good man, then, should have this power, that by snapping his fingers his name could creep by stealth into the wills of the wealthy, he would not use this power, not even if he had it for certain that no one at all would ever suspect it. But should you give this power to Marcus Crassus, that by the snapping of his fingers he could be inscribed heir, when he

really was not heir ; believe me, he would have danced in the forum. But the just man, and he whom we deem a good man, would take nothing from any man in order to transfer it wrongfully to himself. Let him who is surprised at this confess that he is ignorant of what constitutes a good man. But if any one would be willing to develop the idea involved in his own mind, he would at once convince himself that a good man is he who serves whom he can, and injures none except when provoked by injury. What then ? Does he hurt none, who, as if by some enchantment, accomplishes the exclusion of the true heirs, and the substitution of himself in their place ? Should he not do, then, somebody will say, what is useful, what is expedient ? Yes, but he should understand that nothing is either expedient or useful which is unjust. He who has not learned this, cannot be a good man.

When a boy, I learned from my father that Fimbria, the consular, was judge in the case of Marcus Lutatius Pinthia, Roman knight, a truly honest man, when he had given security, which he was to forfeit, ‘ unless he was a good

man'; and that Fimbria thereupon told him that he never would decide that matter, lest he should either deprive a worthy man of his character, if he decided against him, or should be seen to have established that any one was a good man, when this matter was comprised in innumerable duties and praiseworthy actions. To this good man, then, whom even Fimbria, not Socrates alone had known, anything which is not morally right can by no means seem to be expedient. Such a man, then, not only will not venture to do, but not even to think, what he would not venture openly to proclaim. Is it not disgraceful that philosophers should hesitate about this, which not even rustics doubt—from whom is derived this proverb, which has now become trite through antiquity; for when they commend the integrity and worthiness of any person, they say 'he is one with whom you might play odd and even in the dark.' What meaning has this proverb but this, that nothing is expedient which is not morally right, even though you could obtain it without any body proving you guilty. Do you not see that, according to that proverb, no

excuse can be offered either to the aforesaid Gyges, nor to this man whom I have just now supposed able to sweep to himself the inheritances of all by a snap of the fingers? For as, how much soever that which is base may be concealed, yet it can by no means become morally right, so it cannot be made out that whatever is morally wrong can be expedient, since nature is adverse and repugnant.

But when the prizes are very great, there is a temptation to do wrong. When Caius Marius was far from the hope of the consulship, and was now in the seventh year of his torpor, after obtaining the prætorship, and did not seem likely ever to stand for the consulship, he accused Quintus Metellus, a very eminent man and citizen, whose lieutenant he was, before the Roman people of a charge that he was protracting the war, when he had been sent to Rome by him—his own commander;—stating that if they would make himself consul, that he would in a short time deliver Jugurtha, either alive or dead, into the power of the Roman people. Upon this he was indeed made consul, but he deviated from good faith



and justice, since, by a false charge, he brought obloquy upon a most excellent and respectable citizen, whose lieutenant he was, and by whom he had been sent. Even my relative Grati-dianus did not discharge the duty of a good man at the time when he was prætor, and the tribunes of the people had called in the college of the prætors, in order that the matter of the coinage might be settled by a joint resolution. For at that period the coinage was in a state of uncertainty, so that no man could know how much he was worth. They drew up in common an edict, with a fine and conviction annexed, and agreed that they should all go up together to the rostra, in the afternoon. And while the rest of them, indeed, went off each a different way, Marius, from the judgment seats, went straight to the rostra, and singly published that which had been arranged in common. And this proceeding, if you inquire into the result, brought him great honour. In every street statues of him were erected, and at these incense and tapers were burned. What need of many words? No man ever became a greater favourite with the multitude.

These are the things which sometimes perplex our deliberations, when that in which equity is violated seems not a very great crime, but that which is procured by it appears a very great advantage. Thus to Marius it seemed not a very base act to snatch away the popular favour from his colleagues and the tribunes of the people, but it appeared a very expedient thing by means of that act to become consul, which at that time he had proposed to himself. But there is for all, the one rule which I wish to be thoroughly known to you ; either let not that which seems expedient be base, or if it be base let it not seem expedient. What then ? Can we judge either the former Marius or the latter, a good man ? Unfold and examine your understanding, that you may see what in it is the idea, form, and notion of a good man. Does it then fall under the notion of a good man to lie for the sake of his own advantage, to make false charges, to overreach, to deceive ? Nothing, indeed, less so. Is there, then, anything of such value, or any advantage so desirable, that for it you would forfeit the splendour and name of a good man ? What is there which

that expediency, as it is called, can bring, so valuable as that which it takes away, if it deprive you of the name of a good man, if it rob you of your integrity and justice? Now, what difference does it make, whether from a man one transform himself into a beast, or under the form of a man, bear the savage nature of a beast?

What? Are not they who disregard all things upright and virtuous, provided they can attain power, doing the same as Pompey who was willing to have even for his father-in-law, that man by whose audacity he might himself become as powerful? It seemed expedient to him to become as powerful as possible by the unpopularity of the other. He did not see how unjust that was towards his country, and how base and how useless. But the father-in-law himself always had in his mouth the Greek verses from the *Phœnissæ*, which I will translate as well as I can — inelegantly, perhaps, yet so that the meaning can be understood:—

For if justice ought ever to be violated, it is to be violated for the sake of ruling; in other cases cherish the love of country.'

Eteocles, or rather Euripides, deserved death for making an exception of that one crime, which is the most accursed of all. Why, then, do we repress petty villainies, or fraudulent inheritances, trades, and sales? Here is a man for you, who aspired to be king of the Roman people, and master of all nations, and accomplished it—if any one says this desire is an honest one, he is a madman. For he approves of the murder of our laws and liberty; the foul and abominable oppression of these he thinks glorious. But by what reproof, or rather by what reproach, should I attempt to tear away from so great an error the man who admits that to usurp kingly power in that state which was free, and which ought to be so, is not a virtuous act, but is expedient for him who can accomplish it? For, immortal gods! can the most foul and horrible parricide of his country be expedient for any man, though he who shall have brought upon himself that guilt be named by the oppressed citizens a parent?

Expediency, then, should be guided by virtue, and indeed so that these two may seem to differ from each other in name, but to signify



the same in reality. In vulgar opinion I know not what advantage can be greater than that of sovereign sway, but, on the contrary, when I begin to recall my reason to the truth, I find nothing more disadvantageous to him who shall have attained it unjustly. Can torments, cares, daily and nightly fears, a life full of snares and perils, be expedient for any man? —‘The enemies and traitors to sovereignty are many, its friends few,’ says Accius. But to what sovereignty? That which was justly obtained, having been transmitted by descent from Tantalus and Pelops? Now, how many more do you think are enemies to that king, who with the military force of the Roman people crushed that very Roman people, and compelled a state that was not only free, but also the ruler of the nations, to be slaves to him? What stains, what stings of conscience do you conceive that man to have upon his soul? Moreover, could his life be a beneficial one to himself, when the condition of that life was this, that he who deprived him of it would be held in the highest esteem and glory? But if these things be not useful, which seem so in

the highest degree, because they are full of disgrace and turpitude, we ought to be quite convinced that there is nothing expedient which is not virtuous.

But this indeed was decided, as well on other occasions frequently, as by Caius Fabricius, in his second consulship, and by our senate in the war with Pyrrhus. For when king Pyrrhus had made aggressive war upon the Roman people, and when the contest was maintained for empire with a generous and potent monarch, a deserter from him came into the camp of Fabricius, and promised him, if he would propose a reward for him, that as he had come secretly, so he would return secretly into the camp of Pyrrhus, and despatch him with poison. Fabricius took care that this man should be sent back in custody to Pyrrhus, and this conduct of his was applauded by the senate. And yet if we pursue the appearance and notion of advantage, one deserter would have rid us of that great war, and of that formidable adversary; but it would have been a great disgrace and scandal, that he, with whom the contest was for glory, had

been conquered, not by valour, but by villainy. Whether was it then more expedient, for Fabricius, who was such a person in our state as Aristides was at Athens, or for our senate, which never separated expediency from dignity, to fight against an enemy with arms or with poison? If empire is to be sought for the sake of glory, away with guilt, in which there cannot be glory; but if power itself is to be sought by any means whatever, it cannot be expedient when allied to infamy. That proposition, therefore, of Lucius Philippus, the son of Quintus, was not expedient, that those states, which, by a decree of the senate, Lucius Sylla, on receiving a sum of money, had made free, should again be subject to tribute, and that we should not return the money which they had given for their freedom. To this the senate agreed. Disgrace to the empire! For the faith of pirates is better than was the senate's. But our revenues have been increased by it—therefore it was expedient. How long will people venture to say that anything is expedient which is not virtuous? Now, can odium and infamy be useful to any

empire which ought to be supported by glory and the good will of its allies? I often disagreed in opinion with my friend Cato. For he seemed to me too rigidly to defend the treasury and tributes; to deny all concessions to the farmers of the revenue; and many to our allies, when we ought to have been munificent towards the latter, and to have treated the former as we were accustomed to do our colonists, and so much the more, because such a harmony between the orders conduced to the safety of the republic. Curio was also in error when he admitted that the cause of the Transpadani was just, but always added, 'let expediency prevail.' He should rather have said that it was not just, because not expedient for the republic, than to say it was not expedient, when he confessed that it was just.

The sixth book of Hecaton, 'De Officiis,' is full of such questions—whether it be the part of a good man, in an exceedingly great scarcity of provisions, not to feed his slaves; he argues on either side, but still in the end he guides our duty rather by utility than humanity. He inquires, if goods must needs be thrown into



the sea in a storm, whether ought one to throw overboard a valuable horse or a worthless slave. Here pecuniary interest would incline us one way, humanity another. If a fool should snatch a plank from a wreck, shall a wise man wrest it from him if he is able? He says no, because it is an injustice. What will the master of the ship do? Will he seize the plank as his own? By no means—no more than he would be willing to toss into the sea one sailing in his ship, because it is his own. For until they are come to the place to which the vessel was chartered, the vessel is not the property of the master, but of the passengers. What, if there be only one plank, two shipwrecked men, and both wise? Should neither seize it, or one yield to the other? One, indeed, should yield to the other, namely, to him whose life was of more consequence, either for his own sake or that of the commonwealth. But if these considerations be equal in both cases? There will be no dispute; but one, conquered, as it were, by lot, or by playing at odd or even, should yield to the other. What, if a father should rob temples, or carry a sub-

terraneous passage into the treasury; should his son inform of it to the magistrates? To do that indeed would be impiety. Nay, he ought even to defend his father if he were accused of it. Is not our country then paramount to all duties? Yes, indeed, but it is advantageous to our country itself to have its citizens affectionate towards their parents. What, if a father should endeavour to usurp tyrannic power, or to betray his country? Shall the son be silent? Nay, but he should implore his father not to do it. If he prevail not, he should reproach—he should even threaten. If at last the matter should tend to the ruin of his country, he should prefer the safety of his country to that of his father.

He also asks, if a wise man should receive base money unawares for good, shall he, when he will have come to know it, pay it instead of good, if he owes money to any person? Diogenes affirms this; Antipater denies it—and with him I rather agree. Ought he who knowingly sells wine that will not keep, to acquaint the buyer? Diogenes thinks it unnecessary; Antipater thinks it the character-

istic of an honest man. These are, as it were, the controverted laws of the Stoics. In selling a slave, are his faults to be told—not those which, unless you tell, the slave would be returned by the civil law; but these, that he is a liar, a gambler, a pilferer, a drunkard? These things to the one seem necessary to be told; to the other not. If any person selling gold should suppose he was selling brass, should an honest man acquaint him that it was gold, or should he buy for a denarius what was worth a thousand denarii? It is plain now, both what is my view, and what is the controversy between those philosophers whom I have mentioned.

Are compacts and promises always to be kept, which are made neither by means of force, nor with criminal intent, as the prætors are accustomed to say? If any one should give some person a cure for the dropsy, and should covenant with him that he should never afterwards use that cure—if by that cure he became well, and in some years afterwards fell into the same disease, and could not obtain from him with whom he had covenanted, leave

to use it again—what ought to be done? Since he is an inhuman fellow, who would not give him leave, and no injury would be done to that person by using it, he ought to consult for his life and health. What! If a wise man, being required, by one who would make him his heir, when he would be left by him a large fortune in his will, that before he entered upon the inheritance he should dance openly by daylight in the forum—should promise him that he would do it, because otherwise he would not have made him his heir; should he do what he promised, or not? I would wish that he had not promised, and I think that this would have been the part suitable to his dignity. Since he has promised, if he considers it disgraceful to dance in the forum, he will with greater propriety break his word, provided he should not take anything out of the inheritance, than if he did so; unless, perhaps, he will contribute that money to some great occasion of the state—so that it would not be disgraceful even to dance, since he was about to consult for the interests of his country.

But even those promises ought not to be



kept, which are hurtful to those very persons to whom you have made them.

To revert to fictitious tales, Sol promised to Phaeton, his son, to do whatever he would desire. He desired to be taken up in his father's chariot. He was taken up. But before he was well settled, he was burned with the stroke of lightning. How much better would it have been in this case, that the promise of the father had not been kept? Why should I mention the promise which Theseus exacted from Neptune, to whom when Neptune gave three wishes, he wished for the death of his son Hippolytus, when he was suspected by his father concerning his step-mother; by obtaining which promise, Theseus was involved in the greatest affliction? Why, that Agamemnon, when he had vowed to Diana the loveliest thing that should be born that year in his kingdom, sacrificed Iphigenia, than whom, indeed, nothing lovelier was born that year? Better that the promise should not be performed, than that a horrible crime should be committed. Therefore, promises are sometimes not to be performed, and deposits are

not always to be restored. If any man in sound mind should have entrusted a sword to you, and having gone mad, should ask it back, to restore would be a crime; not to restore, a duty. What, if he who may have deposited money with you, should levy war against his country, ought you to restore the deposit? I think not. For you would be acting against your country, which ought to be most dear to you. So, many things which are right by nature become wrong by occasions. To perform promises, to stand to agreements, to restore deposits, the expediency being altered, become contrary to virtue.

Now, indeed, of those things which seem to be profitable, contrary to justice, but with the semblance of prudence, I think enough has been said. But since in the first book we derived duties from the four sources of virtue, we shall be engaged with those same, while we show that those things which seem to be useful are not so as long as they are hostile to virtue. And indeed of prudence, which craft is apt to imitate, and likewise of justice, which is always expedient, we have already treated. Two parts

of virtue remain, of which the one is discerned in the greatness and pre-eminence of an elevated mind; the other in the habit and regulation of continence and temperance.

It seemed to Ulysses to be expedient to act, as the tragic poets, indeed, have represented—for in Homer, the best authority, there is no such suspicion of Ulysses—but the tragedians accused him of wishing to escape from military service by the affectation of insanity. A dishonourable device. But it was advantageous, some persons, perhaps, will say, to reign and live at ease in Ithaca, with his parents, with his wife, with his son. They may ask, do you think any glory arising from daily toils and perils to be compared with this tranquillity? I think, indeed, this tranquillity is to be despised and rejected, because I think tranquillity which was not honourable, was not even advantageous. For what reproach do you think Ulysses would have heard if he had persevered in that dissembling, when though he performed the greatest achievements in the war, he yet heard this from Ajax?—

‘Of the oath, of which he was the originator,

as you all know, he alone disregarded the obligation. Madness he feigned ; persisted in not joining the army; and had not the clear-sighted wisdom of Palamedes seen through the knavish audacity of the fellow, he would have for ever evaded the obligation of his sacred oath.'

It was really better for him to buffet, not only with the foe, but also with the waves, as he did, than to desert Greece, when combining to wage war amongst the barbarians. But let us leave both fables and foreign scenes—let us come to real history, and that our own. Marcus Atilius Regulus, when in his second consulship taken in Africa by stratagem by Xanthippus, the Lacedæmonian general—but when Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, was the commander-in-chief—was sent to the senate, bound by an oath, that unless some noble captives were restored to the Carthaginians, he should himself return to Carthage. When he arrived at Rome, he saw the semblance of advantage, but, as the event declares, judged it a fallacious appearance, which was this—to remain in his country, to stay at home with his wife and his children; and, regarding the calamity which he



had experienced as incident to the fortune of war, to retain the rank of consular dignity. Who can deny these things to be profitable? Whom do you think? Greatness of mind and fortitude deny it.

Can you require more creditable authorities? For it is characteristic of these virtues to fear nothing, to despise all human concerns, to think nothing that can happen to a man intolerable. What, then, did he do? He came into the senate—he disclosed his commission—he refused to declare his own sentiments—he said that as long as he was bound by an oath to the enemy he was not a senator. And this, too, oh, foolish man! some person will exclaim, an enemy to his own interest! he denied to be expedient, namely, that the captives should be restored, for that they were young men and good generals, that he himself was already worn out with years. When his authority had prevailed, the captives were retained, and he returned to Carthage; nor did the love of his country or of his family withhold him. Nor was he then ignorant that he was returning to a most cruel enemy, and to

exquisite tortures. But he considered that his oath ought to be observed. Therefore, at the very time when he was undergoing death by want of sleep, he was in a better condition than if he had remained at home an aged captive, and a perjured consular. But he acted foolishly, since he not only did not advise the sending back the captives, but even spoke against the measure. How foolishly? What, even if it was advantageous to his country? Can that now which is inexpedient for our country be expedient for any citizen?

Men pervert those things which are the foundations of nature, when they separate expediency from virtue. For we all desire our own interest—we are carried along to it; nor can we by any means do otherwise. For who is there that shuns his own advantage? or rather, who is there that does not most eagerly pursue it? But because we never can find real advantage except in good report, honour, virtue; therefore we esteem these things first and chief; we consider the name of utility not so much noble as necessary. What is there, then, somebody will say, in an oath? Are we

afraid of angry Jove? But it is a common principle with all philosophers, indeed—not of those only who say that the deity has no labour himself, and imposes none on others—but of those also who are of opinion that the deity is always acting and planning something, that the deity never is angry, nor injurious. But what greater harm could angry Jupiter do to Regulus, than Regulus did to himself? It was, then, no force of religion which prevented so great an advantage. Was it that he might act basely? In the first place, choose the least among evils. Would, then, this trifling turpitude bring as much evil as that great torture? In the next place, that saying in Accius—‘Hast thou broken faith? I neither have plighted nor do plight faith with any of the faithless,’—though it is spoken by an impious king, yet is well spoken. They add, also, that just as we say that some acts seem useful which are not; so they say that some acts seem virtuous which are not so; as for instance, this very act seems virtuous, to return to torture for the sake of observing an oath, but it is really not virtuous, because whatever is extorted by the violence of enemies,

ought not to be fulfilled. They add also, that whatever is very advantageous becomes virtuous, even though it did not seem so before. These things are usually urged against Regulus. But let us consider the first objection.

We need not dread Jupiter, lest in his wrath he might do us harm, who neither is accustomed to be wroth, nor to do harm. This reasoning, indeed, applies not more against Regulus than against every oath; but in an oath it ought to be considered, not what is the fear, but what is the force. For an oath is a religious affirmation; but what you solemnly promise, as if the deity were witness, to that you ought to adhere. For it pertains now not to the anger of the gods, which exists not, but to justice and fidelity. For well has Ennius said—‘O holy Faith, winged, and the very oath of Jove.’

He, then, who violates an oath, violates Faith, which our ancestors, as is recorded in Cato’s speech, wished to be in the Capitol, next to Jupiter Greatest and Best. But they argue that even angry Jupiter could not have



done more harm to Regulus than Regulus did to himself. Certainly not, if nothing but pain be an evil. But philosophers of the highest authority assert, not only that it is not the greatest evil, but that it is not an evil at all. I pray you not to despise a witness of theirs, of no slight weight—I know not, indeed, but that he is the weightiest—namely, Regulus. For, whom do we require more creditable than the chief of the Roman people—who, for the sake of adhering to duty, underwent voluntary torture? But as to what they say, choose the least of evils—that is, baseness rather than calamity—can there be any evil greater than baseness? And if this implies something of disgust in the deformity of person, how much worse should appear the depravity and foulness of a debased mind? They, therefore, who treat of these subjects more boldly, venture to say that that which is base is the only evil; but they who treat of them more timidly, yet do not hesitate to call it the greatest evil. Now, that saying, indeed—‘I neither have plighted, nor do plight faith with any of the faithless,’—was well imagined by the poet, on

this account, because when Atreus was being delineated, it was necessary to sustain the character. But if they take this to themselves, that that is no faith which is plighted to the faithless, let them see to it lest it be sought as a subterfuge for perjury.

There are also rights of war, and the faith of an oath is often to be kept with an enemy. For that, which is so sworn that the mind conceives it ought to be done, that should be observed. What is otherwise, if you perform it not, involves no perjury. Thus, if you should not pay a price for your life, agreed on with robbers, it is no fraud if you should not perform it, though bound by an oath. For a pirate is not comprehended in the number of lawful enemies, but is the common foe of all men. With such a man, neither should faith nor an oath be in common. For to swear what is false is not always perjury; but not to do that which you swear according to the sentiment of your mind, 'ex animi tui sententia,' as it is expressed in words in our law form, is perjury. For Euripides says well — 'With my

tongue have I sworn ; I bear an unsworn conscience.'

But Regulus was under obligation not to disturb by perjury the conditions and covenants of war and of the enemy ; for the affair was transacted with a just and lawful foe, in regard to whom both the entire Fecial law and many other laws are binding in common. Had not this been so, the senate would never have delivered up eminent men bound to the enemy.

But Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius, when they were consuls the second time, were given up to the Samnites because they had made a peace with them, after having fought with ill success at Caudium, when our legions were sent under the yoke ; for they had made it without the command of the people and senate. And at the same time, Titus Numicius, and Quintus Mælius, who were then tribunes of the people, because the peace was made by their authority, were given up, that the peace with the Samnites might be rejected. And of this surrender, Postumius himself, who was given up, was the advocate and author. Which

same thing Caius Mancinus did, many years afterwards, who advocated that bill which Lucius Furius and Sextus Atilius, by a decree of the senate, brought in, that he should himself be delivered up to the Numantines, with whom he had made a league without the authority of the senate ; which bill being passed by the people, he was given up to the enemy. He acted more worthily than Quintus Pompeius, through whose petitioning against such a measure, when he was in similar circumstances, the law was not passed. With this man, that which seemed his interest had more weight than virtue had ; in the former instances, the false semblance of expediency was overcome by the authority of virtue. But, say they, that which was extorted by force ought not to be ratified ; as if, indeed, force could be used to a man of fortitude. Why then, you say, did Regulus go to the senate, if he was about to dissuade them concerning the captives ? You are reprehending that which was the noblest thing in that transaction ; for he did not rely upon his own judgment, but he undertook the cause that there might be a



decision of the senate; by whom, had not he himself been the adviser of the measure, the prisoners, indeed, would have been restored to the Carthaginians. Thus Regulus would have remained in safety in his country; which, because he thought inexpedient for his country, therefore he believed it virtuous in himself, both to think and to suffer these things. Now, as to what they say, that whatever is very useful becomes virtuous, I say, Nay, it is so really, and does not merely become so; for nothing is expedient which is not likewise virtuous; and it is not because it is expedient that it is virtuous, but because it is virtuous it is expedient. Wherefore, out of many admirable examples, one could not easily mention one either more laudable or more excellent than this.

But out of all this laudable conduct of Regulus, this alone is worthy of admiration, that he was of opinion that the prisoners ought to be retained. For that he returned seems wonderful to us now, though at that time he could not do otherwise. Therefore, that was not the merit of the man, but of the times.

For our ancestors were of opinion that there was no tie closer than an oath to bind our faith. This the laws of the twelve tables indicate—this the *leges sacratae* indicate, this the leagues indicate, by which our faith is pledged even with enemies. The opinions and animadversions of the Censors indicate it, who passed sentence on no subject more strictly than on such as concerned oaths. Marcus Pomponius, tribune of the people, fixed a day for Lucius Manlius, the son of Aulus, when he had been Dictator, to stand his trial, because he had taken to himself a few days in addition for holding the dictatorship. He accused him also because he had banished from intercourse with men, his son Titus, who was afterwards called Torquatus, and had commanded him to reside in the country. When the young man, the son, had heard this, that trouble was brought upon his father, he is said to have hastened to Rome, and to have come with the first dawn to the house of Pomponius, who, when it was announced to him, supposing that the son, being enraged, was about to bring to him some accusation against his father, arose

from his bed, and, the bystanders having been dismissed, ordered the youth to come to him. But he, when he entered, hastily drew his sword, and swore that he would instantly slay him unless he gave his oath that he would suffer his father to be discharged. Pomponius, forced by fear, swore this; he subsequently brought the matter before the people, and informed them why it was necessary for him to abandon the prosecution, and then suffered Manlius to be discharged. So much force had an oath in those times. And this is that Titus Manlius who acquired the surname of Torquatus, at the Anio, for taking the collar from the Gaul, whom he, having been challenged by him, had slain; in whose third consulship the Latins were routed and put to flight at the Veseris. A most eminently great man, but though very indulgent to his father, was again cruelly severe to his son.

But as Regulus is to be commended for observing his oath, so those ten are to be condemned whom Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ, sent to the senate, under an oath that they would return to that camp which the

Carthaginians had got possession of, unless they succeeded about redeeming the prisoners; if it be true that they did not return—about whom, all historians do not relate the story in the same manner. For Polybius, an eminently good author, writes, that out of ten very noble persons who were then sent, nine returned, the request not having been granted by the senate; that one of the ten, who, a short time after he had gone out of the camp, had returned, as if he had forgotten something, remained at Rome. For, by his return into the camp, he construed it that he was freed from his oath—not rightly, for fraud does but fasten, not absolve perjury. It was, then, silly cunning, perversely imitating prudence. The senate, therefore, decreed, that this double-dealing and artful fellow should be brought fettered to Hannibal. But the greatest act of the senate was this. Hannibal had eight thousand men prisoners; not those whom he had taken in battle, or who had fled from the peril of death, but who had been left in the camp by the Consuls, Paullus and Varro. The senate decreed that these should not be redeemed, though it might have been done at a



small expense, that it might be impressed upon our soldiers that they were either to conquer or die—which circumstance, indeed, having become known, the same author writes that the courage of Hannibal fell, because the Roman senate and people possessed so lofty a spirit in their depressed condition. Thus those things which seem expedient, are overpowered by a comparison with virtue.

But Acilius, who wrote his history in Greek, says that there were more than one who returned into the camp with the same fraudulent design, that they might be freed from their oath, and that they were branded by the censors with every ignominy.

Let this now be the end of this subject. For it is plain that those acts which are done with a timid, humble, abject, and broken spirit, such as would have been the conduct of Regulus, if, respecting the prisoners, he had either advised what seemed to be needful for himself, not what he considered beneficial to the commonwealth, or had desired to remain at home, are inexpedient, because they are scandalous, foul, and base.

The fourth part remains, which is comprehended in propriety, moderation, modesty, continence, temperance. Can anything, then, be expedient, which is contrary to this train of such virtues? However, the Cyrenæans, followers of Aristippus, and the Annicerians, misnamed philosophers, have made all good consist in pleasure, and have thought virtue to be commended on this account, because it is productive of pleasure; but, as they are antiquated, Epicurus flourishes, the advocate and author of nearly the same opinion. Against these we must fight with man and horse, as it is said, if it is our intention to defend and retain virtue. For if not only expediency, but all the happiness of life, be contained in a strong bodily constitution, and in the certain hope of that constitution, as it is written by Metrodorus; certainly this expediency, and that the greatest, as they think, will stand in opposition to virtue. For, in the first place, where will room be given for prudence? Is it that it may seek on all sides after sweets? How miserable the servitude of virtue, when the slave of pleasure? Moreover, what would

be the office of Prudence? Is it to select pleasures ingeniously? Admit that nothing could be more delightful than this; what can be imagined more base? Now, what room can Fortitude, which is the contemning of pain and labour, have in his system, who calls pain the greatest of evils? For though Epicurus may speak, as he does in many places, with sufficient fortitude regarding pain; nevertheless, we are not to regard what he may say, but what it is consistent in him to say, as he would confine good to pleasure, evil to pain; so if I would listen to him on the subject of continence and temperance, he says, indeed, many things in many places; but there is an impediment in the stream, as they say. For how can he commend temperance who places the chief good in pleasure? For temperance is hostile to irregular passions; but irregular passions are the companions of pleasure. And yet, in these three classes of virtue, they make a shift, in whatever manner they can, not without cleverness. They introduce prudence as the science which supplies pleasures and repels pain. Fortitude, too, they explain in some manner,

when they teach that it is the means of disregarding death, and enduring pain. Even temperance they introduce—not very easily, indeed—but yet in whatever way they can. For they say that the height of pleasure is limited to the absence of pain. Justice staggers, or rather falls to the ground, and all those virtues which are discerned in society, and the association of mankind. For neither kindness, nor liberality, nor courtesy can exist, any more than friendship, if they are not sought for their own sakes, but are referred to pleasure and interest. Let us, therefore, sum up the subject in few words. For as we have taught that there is no expediency which can be contrary to virtue; so we say that all bodily pleasure is opposed to virtue. On which account I think Callipho and Dinomachus the more deserving of censure, for they thought they would put an end to the controversy if they should couple pleasure with virtue; as if they should couple a human being with a brute. Virtue does not admit that combination—it spurns, it repels it. Nor can, indeed, the ultimate principle of good and



evil, which ought to be simple, be compounded of, and tempered with these most dissimilar ingredients. But about this, for it is an important subject, I have said more in another place. Now to my original proposition. How, then, if ever that which seems expedient is opposed to virtue, the matter is to be decided, has been sufficiently treated of above. But if pleasure be said to have even the semblance of expedience, there can be no union of it with virtue. For though we may concede something to pleasure, perhaps it has something of a relish, but certainly it has in it nothing of utility.

You have a present from your father, my son Marcus; in my opinion, indeed, an important one—but it will be just as you will receive it. However, these three books will deserve to be received by you as guests among the commentaries of Cratippus. But as, if I myself had gone to Athens, which would indeed have been the case had not my country, with loud voice, called me back from the middle of my journey, you would sometimes have listened to me also: so, since my voice has

reached you in these volumes, you will bestow upon them as much time as you can ; and you can bestow as much as you wish. But when I shall understand that you take delight in this department of science, then will I converse with you both when present, which will be in a short time, as I expect—and while you will be far away, I will talk with you, though absent. Farewell, then, my Cicero, and be assured that you are indeed very dear to me, but that you will be much more dear, if you shall take delight in such memorials and such precepts.













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