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Pliny's Friends

A Thesis

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of Master of Arts

in the

College of Letters and Sciences

in the

Department of Latin

of the

University of Idaho

by

Vera Myrna Gray, B.M.

1912.

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Introduction.

Although countless books and essays have been written about Pliny, yet so far as we know, no attempt has been made to give a complete list of his friends. Many of these friends are too unimportant to secure a place for themselves in such books as those mentioned above; many of them are almost too well-known to need any careful description, it is true, but yet we are of the opinion that it might be of interest to give as complete a description of them as possible.

For the most part, the material will be taken from the Epistulae themselves, except when reference to other authorities will be necessary to clear up some doubtful question of identity.

It is not planned in this paper to dwell on the things already known to the reader, but to use them only when they will be of assistance in portraying their relations to Pliny.

It has been thought best to divide the friends into various groups, in accordance with the different phases of Pliny's life. Thus, his immediate family and their friends would form one group, those whom he met daily in the law-courts another, those who were engaged in other professions, and then his literary friends form still other groups.

Chapter I.
DOMESTIC TIES.

Pliny was essentially a family man, and for this reason it is fitting that we should take our first view of him in intimate daily life, and that we should first consider his domestic relations.

Of his father we know very little, and that almost entirely from sources outside the Epistulae. His name was L. Caecilius Cilo, and he belonged to a very old plebeian family which had resided at Comum for many years. Cilo died when Pliny was very young, so that it is not surprising that he does not mention his father. It seems strange, though, that in letters intended for publication he should not make some reference to his father for the information of his readers. This suppression extends even to his mother who lived several years later than her husband. Pliny mentions her but twice in connection with the Eruption of Vesuvius (VI:20). "Inrumpit cubiculum meum mater," and "Tum mater orare, hortari, iubere quoquo modo fugerem." That she was the wife of Cilo, and not of Pliny the Elder, is unmistakably proven by this remark addressed to Pliny and his companion by a by-stander: "Si frater tuus, tuus avunculus vivit, vult esse vos salvos." (VI:20) After this date (79A.D.) we have no further information about her.

Pliny the Elder is the most important member of Pliny's family. Pliny felt a deep and enduring affection for his uncle, and endeavored in many ways to return in some small degree the many kindnesses which the elder man had bestowed upon him.

The terms of respectful, even reverent admiration in which he speaks of his fathers' brother almost verge into despair of ever attaining that tireless industry and machine-like regularity of life. This is shown by his contemptuous reference to the fact that people called him industrious. In comparison with such a man as his uncle, Pliny scornfully speaks of himself as "desidiosissimus" (III:5).

Pliny admired, respected, and almost worshipped the elder Pliny first because of his kindness in adopting him, then because of his magnetic personality and splendid intellect of the elder man, and lastly, because of the amazing incentive the ceaseless activity of his uncle was to the young man just commencing his legal career.

In spite of these loving references to his uncle, we are surprised and in a measure shocked at the calm, casual manner in which the nephew relates the story of the catastrophe in which the elder Pliny was killed. Not a regret, not a single word escapes him in reference to the grief which he and his mother must have felt upon that occasion. Pliny speaks in a general way of the good qualities his uncle possessed, but with much less warmth of feeling than he laments for a mere friend. But two explanations are possible,--either Pliny purposely suppressed these natural tokens and expressions of grief as seemly in an account designed for a history*, or else he really accepted his uncle's

*Pliny wrote this letter in answer to a request from Tacitus who wished to use it in his History of the Emperors.

death in his boasted philosophical spirit.(I:12) As to which explanation is correct, we can but conjecture. Knowing Pliny as we do, it is impossible to imagine that he did not feel keenly the loss of such a dear friend and protector as his uncle.

Dearest of all his friends or relatives was Calpurnia, his second, or as some say his third wife, to whom he wrote many affectionate letters. Their love for each other was boundless. Pliny tells about Calpurnia concealing herself behind the curtains, when he was giving a recitation, and eagerly listening to the praises bestowed upon him by his friends and acquaintances. (IV:19) Pliny's care and solicitude for his invalid wife was genuine and sincere, and may be compared to Robert Browning's concern and tenderness for his delicate wife. Pliny thoughtfully (VII:5) spares his wife any anxiety about household matters during her sojourn at the seaside on account of her health. He mentions none but the most cheerful topics. Husband and wife were both orphans, but each had been fortunate in finding affectionate persons ready and eager to step into the positio of father and mother- Pliny in his uncle and Calpurnia in her aunt Calpurnia Hisp Hispulla.

Calpurnia Hispulla, the aunt, was, according to Pliny(IV:19) on excellent terms with her niece's husband. This intimacy was not due directly to the marriage, but it appears that Hispulla and Pliny's mother had been very dear friends. After the death of the mother, Hispulla continued to maintain a watchful interest in the son. In a measure she supplied the place of a mother to the youth, guiding and encouraging him to make a name for him-

self in the world, until as he humorously says (IV:19), he really seemed to be almost as great a man as his wife thought him to be. This deep affection for such a good woman, of so many years growth, was a constant source of gratification to Pliny. Hispulla was his confidential friend and advisor, to whom we can imagine Pliny turning in times of trouble. Thus(VIII:11), upon the severe illness of his wife, he writes to Hispulla, describing the anxiety which he has endured, and asking her to share his joy in the convalescence of his wife.

As all of his relatives died while he was yet very young,* it was but natural that he should turn to his wife's kin, and live on terms of unusual intimacy with them. Fabatus, Hispulla's father was an exceedingly genial old gentleman, much interested in his grand-daughter's husband. Pliny reciprocated this feeling most heartily. He always celebrated the birthday of Fabatus as carefully as his own*, not only because of the pleasure which he, himself, derived from it, but because so much of his prosperity was due to Fabatus. In every way possible Pliny strove to please Fabatus. His anxiety about the health of the old man is touching. When Fabatus announced his intention of

*Pliny was but eighteen years of age upon the death of his uncle.

*The Romans paid much more attention to the celebration of birthdays than is customary with us.

leaving for Mediolanum to meet Tiro, Pliny attempted to dissuade him from undertaking the fatiguing journey. Tiro was a young man, and very considerate of all who belonged to Pliny, so it is not probable that he would care to have one "quem ego parentis loco observo", as Pliny says, endure the hardships and risk involved in the trip to Mediolanum.

A woman with whom Pliny was on the best of terms was Pompeia Celerina, his second wife's mother. She appears to have been wealthy, as in (I:IV), he compliments her upon the comforts of her country houses at Oriculum, Narnia, Carsulae, and Perugia. In another place (III:19), in writing to Calvisius Rufus about the purchase of a large estate, the price of which was three millions of sesterces, he says that he can easily borrow the purchase money from his mother-in-law. He also mentions another villa at Alsium, which had formerly belonged to Verginius Rufus (VI:10). Thus we see that Pliny, contrary to the usual belief, was an admirable son-in-law, and really respected his mother-in-law.

Corellia, a dear friend of his mother, was much benefited by Pliny's affection for her and for her husband, Minutius Fuscus (VII:11). She wished to buy an estate, five-twelfths of which Pliny had fallen heir to, and he, to show his kindly feeling toward her, let have his share of the property at the rate of 700,000 sesterces for the whole, instead of 900,000 sesterces as was the real value of the place. Corellia appreciated this for she insisted that Pliny sell the estate to her at the true

valuation, but this he courteously yet firmly refused (VII:14). We can not wonder that he was not enormously wealthy, for this is but one instance of his generosity to his friends.

Pliny's friendship for Verginius Rufus, his guardian, was lasting and deep-seated. In an epistle to Romanus (II:1), he eulogizes his dead friend. His words "Verginium cogito, Verginium video, Verginium iam vanis imaginibus, recentibus tamen, audio, adloquor, teneo, qui fortasse cives aliquos virtutibus pares et habemus at habebimus, gloria neminem" unmistakably show his deep grief at the loss of his friend. He admired and respected his uncle much, but he seemed to love Verginius more. He was ready to defend his friend, even though he might offend another in doing so. Raso and Pliny became engaged in a rather warm discussion as to whether Verginius was conceited in writing his own epitaph. Pliny contended that he was not, but Raso declared (IX:19) that Frontinus was more praiseworthy because he refused to allow any monument to be made for him. Verginius was ably defended by Pliny.

Another instance of Pliny's intolerance of any injustice to a friend is his indignant remonstrance about the neglect of Verginius' grave. This duty had been entrusted to a man who had failed to fulfill the commission. Pliny, in a letter to Albinus (VI:10), expresses his shocked surprise at learning that the monument was still in an incomplete condition. This was all the more productive of anger on his part because he knew how the aged Verginius had planned on having the epitaph, which he him-

self, had written, placed above his grave.

After seeing the friends whom Pliny met in his home, we are not surprised that he became the great man he did. His home influences were so remarkably good, and he was so surrounded by loving and helpful friends, that, it would, indeed, have been a strange if he had not become the polished, sympathetic, and congenial man whom we know.

Relations with the Emperors.

Pliny occupied the unique position of living during the reigns of nine emperors. We are surprised, therefore, at first thought that he was not on a more familiar footing with more of them, possessing, as he did, wealth, social position, and great prestige as a lawyer. Perhaps, it may be, that by investigating the circumstances, we may account for this state of affairs.

Born in 62 B.C. he knew nothing, except from hearsay, of the terrible crimes committed under Nero. A lad of six years, as he was upon Nero's death, could not possibly retain any memories of political events occurring then, horrible though they were.

The swiftly succeeding reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius because of their short tenure, permitted no true friendships to be formed, even if Pliny had been mature enough to wish to do so.

During Vespasian's rule, Pliny was actively engaged in preparing himself for his future work as pleader, and the natural diffidence of a youth in his position would prevent him from striving to become known at court.

He was seventeen years old when Titus ascended the throne. This is just the impressionable age when we might expect him to be greatly influenced by the advent of a new ruler. Titus however, seems to have failed to make any lasting impression upon his mind, for he never mentions him, except vaguely, as "divus Titus." Perhaps this was due to the brevity of Titus' reign, and Pliny's youth.

It was during the terrible despotism of Domitian that he

entered upon early manhood. As to his attitude during the dark and gloomy times that followed, we are quite sure that, as usual, his method of procedure was extremely cautious and careful.

Even in the letters following Domitian's death, this same reserved attitude is preserved, doubtless engendered through bitter experience. Contrary to our expectations, he does not speak of Domitian with venomous hatred. The place where we detect any trace of ill feeling is in (I:12) where Corellius Rufus, with reference to Domitian says: "ut scilicet isti latroni vel uno die supersim." Although somewhat surprising, moderate course is to be expected of him, because in no manner was he a rash and head strong man. A diplomat in every sense of the word, and with a natural aversion to arousing enmity we cannot imagine him acting in any other way. It cannot be said of him that he did not have a keen eye towards the future.

We would not expect the quiet, gentle Nerva to make any appreciable difference in Pliny's life. Pliny speaks of driving with Nerva, but rather seems inclined to make fun of Nerva's insipid method of ruling (IV:22). Not until we come to Trajan do we find that Pliny was in any sense a real friend of the Emperor.

The letters to Trajan do not have the interest for us which Pliny's other letters afford. Pliny seems constrained, and the formal dignity which the circumstances demanded, detract and almost destroy his easy and genial style. He appears to be in constant fear of losing his position as governor of Bithynia or surely he would not trouble a busy Emperor to answer such trifl-

ing questions as the advisability of forming a fire-company at Nicomedia (52), the number of soldiers to accompany Gabius Bassus (32), the punishment to be awarded two slaves(38). The latter incident was an especially insignificant matter to consult the Emperor about, for we all, know, how cheaply even at this time the life of a slave was valued. Pliny with all his humane ideas is not as great an exception to this rule as we might imagine. We must remember that the Roman mind, brutalized as it was by the gladiatorial spectacles and almost continual warfare, could not have the humanitarian feelings of the present day.

Pliny's attitude toward the Christians is an illustration of this. Kind-hearted andmerciful as he was, yet in a letter to Trajan (10:97), he confesses that he is in great doubt as to the attitude he should adopt towards them in regard to punishment. He relates his method of examination. He asked all the accused people twice if they were Christians, if they persisted, he ordered them to be punished, for he was convinced that "per-tinacian certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere punire." We also have record in this same letter of Pliny putting female slaves to torture. He seems to look upon Christianity in a puzzled manner, as a sort of fanatical frenzy and contagious disease "superstitionis istius contagio" which must be put down at all hazards.

Pliny's attitude toward Trajan is almost too subservient. From the Epistulae to his friends we have been led to believe that Pliny was a capable, self-reliant man, of great executive

ability. Instead of such a man in his letters to Trajan, we discover a person of an entirely different sort. We would expect that communication with an Emperor would lead to subjects of greater depth than the location of a bath at Prusa (IO:75), the right of removing the ashes of ones ancestors (IO:73)? the cutting of a canal at Nicomedia (IO:50). Trajan, at Rome, a long distance from Bithynia surely could not be expected to decide upon these matters of local importance as well as Pliny, who was right there. It may be however, that Trajan demanded this exactness in details, and that we are therefore doing Pliny an injustice. Still, if all the governors in all the provinces showered letters upon Trajan in this fashion, the Emperor would have been overwhelmed.

Trajan shows a genuine interest in Pliny, who had only to ask a favor and it was immediately granted (X:6). Pliny asks for Roman citizenship to be bestowed upon his physician (X:12), he requests a leave of absence for a couple of months which is readily given (X:22), he and his mother-in-law desire Coelius Clemens to be made proconsul. The Emperor esteems it a personal pleasure to help Pliny.

Thus we see that Pliny was on the best of terms with Trajan. They were both of the same kindly disposition, interested in literature and art, both had served in the army. Their temperament being congenial, it would be a matter of course that they should mutually respect and love each other.

CHAPTER III.

LITERARY ASSOCIATES.

Pliny had many sides to his character but the one of most interest to us is his literary life, and his associates in his literary career. They are numerous, and while few are really great writers, yet the fame of several has survived for centuries to the present time-surely no moderate test. Such men as Tacitus, Martial, Suetonius Tranquillus, Silius Italicus, Euphrates and others are known to almost every person of education. Pliny's friends were of no common type, but were brilliant men belonging to an age in which oratory and literature flourished. The greater number of these men were poets, a lesser number historians, and the rest were made up of philosophers, literary critics, rhetoricians, and scientific men.

Pliny's most surprising friendship is with the poet Martial. No two men could have been more different by nature, and circumstances had brought about a distinction in their social position. Pliny had always been in comfortable circumstances, continually flattered and cared for, while on the other hand Martial was poor and almost in the ignoble position of a parasite. Pliny was cheerful and happy naturally, Martial misanthropic and morose. Having nothing in common with each other we are astounded at the warmth of friendship between the two men. It would be expected that the antagonistic views of the two men would clash but this was not so. Pliny admired Martial's keenness in satire, and Martial, in turn, respected Pliny. Upon Martial's death Pliny in a letter to Cornelius Priscus (III:20) laments his decease saying "moleste fero."

When Martial left Rome, Pliny had presented him with his travelling expenses - a true token of friendship. Pliny takes no credit to himself for this gift, but pretends it is a pecuniary reward given in return for Martial's kindness in writing a poem in praise of Pliny. As to Martial's sincerity in praising Pliny, there may be doubt, but we are sure that Pliny respected and loved a man so "ingeniosus, acutus, acer." (III:21) Below is appended a translation* of Martial's poem about Pliny.

"Only take care, my tipsy Muse,
That a fit and proper time you choose
To knock at my Pliny's eloquent gates,
To the stern Minerva he devotes
All his days, and elaborates
What may win the Hundred Judges' votes,-
Speeches which this and the coming age
May venture to match with Tully's page.
When may you safely go?- when the light
Of the lamps is burning late, and the night
Grows wild with the wine-cup, and the rose
Is Queen of the feast, and the perfume flows
From dripping locks. In that hour of thine
Stern Catos may read this book of mine."

Tiberius Catius Silius Italicus was both orator and writer, besides holding many official positions. Just how intimate Pliny and Italicus were is not known, but we find that they had a com-

*The translation was made by Church and Brodribb.

mon bond in their mutual interest in Vergil(III: 7). Italicus owned the estate on which was Vergil's tomb, and it was his pleasure to do all honor to it. He even carried this Vergil cult, as it were, so far as to celebrate Vergil's birthday as carefully as his own. Pliny cared for Silius as a man, but had no very great estimate of his ability for as he says "Italicus wrote poems with greater care than genius". Pliny's and Italicus' views on suicide coincided. They contended that suicide was justifiable when by some misfortune life became unbearable. Silius, in fact, actually carried out his own views on the subject, and when he found that life was becoming unbearable to him because of an incurable tumor, quietly ended his life by starvation. Pliny regretted the loss of his friend, but could not find it in his heart to condemn him for his act.

Holding a similar position in Pliny's estimation was the poet, Vestricius Spurinna, who after an honorable career in public life spent his old age in admirable leisure. Part of this time was devoted to the writing of beautiful lyric verses. This was Pliny's ideal plan of life--to spend the early and middle years in the active pursuit of offices and honors, and by so doing to earn an old age untroubled by business cares or unnecessary activities. If Pliny had attained Spurinna's age, doubtless he would have been of exactly the same sort--lovable and gentle, yet possessed of a keen and active mind placed in a healthy but not a robust body. A sane and temperate mode of living was the ambition of both the young and the old man, who

were united in bonds of closest friendship. They shared each other's sorrows, and endeavored to alleviate the suffering of the other by deep sympathy(III:10). Our Pliny in a delicately expressed letter assures Spurinna and his wife Cottius of his deep feeling for them in the loss of their son. Pliny loved Cottius sincerely, and the poem written by Pliny in praise of the young man, must have comforted the stricken parents wonderfully. In a letter to Macrinus (II:7) he rejoices that a statue has been erected to Cottius, who was one whom "amavi consurvatissimum iuvenem tam ardentem, quam nunc impatienter requiro".

The Spurinnas were people with whom Pliny was able to discard all ceremony, so perfectly were they in harmony with him. But one of Pliny's most potent charms was his power to so attach himself to people and secure their affection that he was given free reign and unrestrained liberties of which he never took advantage, for not a moment did he forget his duties as a gentleman, and his innate tact also prevented him from doing anything rude or boorish. We easily see the reason for Pliny's friendship with Spurinna--Spurinna was his ideal, really a personification of what Pliny would be at that age, and, united by common interests it would have been strange, indeed, if their's had not been a wonderful friendship.

We now come to a group of minor poets, according to a division made by Teuffel-Schwabe, of whom we know nothing except through references made to them by such writers as Pliny, Suetonius, Tacitus, etc. None of their works are extant.

One of the leading men of this group is Cn. Octavius Titin[†]

ius Capito. Our knowledge of him is derived from Pliny's letters and an inscription. From the inscription we learn that he held high civil office under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan. Capito was an ardent worshipper of literature, and one who loved to do honor to famous men, (I:17) informs us that Capito has been wont to collect the statues of famous men of letters, and place them in his own home. This characteristic trait of his explains the intimacy between Capito and Pliny. Capito was attracted by Pliny's genius (for Pliny did have genius, although, it was of a somewhat mediocre sort) and Pliny was attracted to one who took so keen an interest in his career. Capito was a patron of letters (VIII:12). He was accustomed to throw open his house for recitations, against which a rather hostile feeling had arisen. People not interested were apt to be bored, and were not willing to give sufficient encouragement to young writers(V:8). Capito strenuously urges Pliny to undertake some historical work. Pliny needed encouragement and spurring on, and for this purpose Capito was invaluable. Capito, although not a writer of much merit, wrote a book on the death of the victims under Domitian.

One of the most prominent families during the age of Trajan was that of Rufus. Two poets of this family, Caninius Rufus and Octavius Rufus were intimate with Pliny.

Caninius Rufus was a friend and neighbor of Pliny at Comum. (II:8). Caninius has aroused in Pliny an eager desire to escape from the hot and dusty city with its endless round of duties, both public and private and to join his friends in the delights of hunting, fishing, and studying in the quiet of the country.

The strongest tie between Pliny and Caninius was their intense love for the country. Some contend that this was an affectation of Pliny's, that he was really a city man, with a professed love for the country. Circumstances had caused most of his life to be passed in the city, but in spite of that, one can really see that Pliny sincerely enjoyed rural life. His beautiful description of the source of the Clitumnus (VIII:8), his enjoyment of the sea, (IX:7), his interest in a curious lake (IV:30), his delight in his Tuscan estate and the beautiful grounds(V:6)?, all express a sincere love of nature.

Caninius was an epic writer. He consulted Pliny about the advisability of composing an epic poem on Trajan's two campaigns in Dacia(VIII:4). Pliny encouraged him in his purpose, but spoke of the difficulty there would be in the adaptation of the crude Dacian names to verse form. We have information telling us in what degree Caninius was able to overcome this obstacle.

(VII:18) shows us that Caninius Rufus was a philanthropist. He consulted Pliny about the best means of applying a fund which was to be used, after his death, for an annual feast at Comum. In all probability, he was influenced by the example of his neighbors munificent gifts to the people of Comum.*

Octavius Rufus possessed a remarkable talent, if we are to believe Pliny's glowing description of him. Two of Pliny's letters are written to him, besides a letter addressed to Saturninus (IX:38) in which a certain Rufus is praised as "dignis-

*Other letters addressed to Caninius are VI:21, IX:33.

simus". Authorities appear to be generally agreed that this is Octavius Rufus. In this same epistle, Pliny spoke in almost a paternal manner of the writings of Rufus, (all of which he had read) and added that he was afraid he was inclined to be too partial towards Rufus, because he loved him so dearly. The style of Rufus appealed peculiarly to Pliny, - in fact, he was so interested in the books of Octavius, that he wrote an impatient letter to him, urging him to hurry up and publish his latest book, so that he could get to read it (II:10).

(I:7) is rather surprising, for in it, our Pliny refuses to grant his friend's request, namely, that he plead in behalf of Gallus against the province of Baetica. Pliny's motive, however, is praise-worthy, for he cannot feel justified in speaking against the province which has done so much for him. He compromised by consenting to plead for neither side.

C. Passennus c. f. Serg. Paullus Propertius Blaesus, according to an inscription found at Assisi, was an elegia poet of considerable promise. It was at a recitation given by Passennus (VI:15) that the absurd interruption by Javolenus Priscus occurred. Paulus was a "Splendidus eques Romanus, et in primis eruditus, scribit elegos". (VI:15), and a citizen of Propertius, numbering Propertius among his ancestors. Pliny took a kindly interest in the young poet, showing much concern about the illness of Paullus (IX:22), both because of their mutual love, and also because of the loss the death of Paullus would occasion to literature. If others regarded him in the same manner, the loss would have been great, indeed, for Pliny says (IX:22): "Nuper ad lyrica deflexit, in quibus ita Horatium ut in illis illum alterum effingit!"

But one letter occurs in Pliny's correspondence, in which the name of Calpurnius Piso is mentioned. Piso was consul, and an elegaic poet, in addition. Pliny had attended a recitation given by Piso (V:I7) and had been much impressed by the modest bearing of the reciter, and the sublimity of his verses. The production read was entitled "The Sports of Love". Further than this we know nothing of Piso.

Another poet whose recitals Pliny attended "Cum summa mea voluptate, immo etiam admiratione" was Serius Augurinus. His style was a combination of sweetness and bitterness (IV:27). The recitation referred to in this letter, lasted three days, and Pliny was delighted with it. Either Pliny's patience was well-developed, or else the fact that one of the poems recited, was written in praise of Pliny, helped him to endure the ordeal. However, recitations was one of Pliny's hobbies, he, thinking it necessary to secure the opinions of one's friends in this way. He held to the opinion that the selections recited should not be shortened in any way, as was customary (VIII:2I) because only in this way, could the audience comprehend the piece in its entirety.

Vergilius Romanus (VI:2I) is extravagantly lauded by Pliny as a writer of comedies. At a recent reading, Romanus had read one of his mimianbi with much favorable criticism by Pliny. Pliny's excessive praise surfeits and tires one. It is logical that of so many poets, there must have been much that would be mediocre, or worse, and deserving of adverse criticism. A severe, critical judgment of their writings would have been more beneficial to men of moderate talent as it would spurred them on

to greater achievements. Pliny's flattery was so easy to secure and applied so indiscriminately that its winning would have a tendency to deaden the ambition of the average person because of the complacent self-satisfaction resultant upon its bestowal.

A man of versatile character was Pompeius Saturninus, who wrote orations, history, and poetry. Pliny thought his abilities as a writer were above the average, and predicted a promising future for him. Pliny mentions his friend in such glowing words that it seems best to reproduce them exactly: "Amabam, Pompeium Saturninum laudabamque eius ingenium, etiam antequam scirem, quam varium, quam flexibile, quam multiplex essent, nunc vero totum me tenet, habet, possidet." He also chooses to say (I:16), that the verses of Saturninus were equally as good as those of Catullus or Calvus.

Pliny's letters to Saturninus are neighborly, dwelling on topics of interest to each other, but to no one else. (V:21). Saturninus has post-poned a recitation of his until Pliny's return to the city, Julius Avens is ill, and Julius Avitus has recently died. In another (VII:7) Saturninus begs a favor of Pliny for Priscus, in (VII:15) Pliny speaks of the routine of business, and in (I:8) Pliny sends a speech, which he intends to deliver at Comum, to his friend for criticism. These letters are interesting, but they do not possess permanent interest for us, as the matters discussed are of too trifling a nature.

Julius Avitus was an obscure author of whom we know nothing except from one letter written to Pompeius Saturninus by Pliny (V:21). In this epistle he mentions the death of Avitus, who

died on ship-board, while returning from his quaestorship in Asia. He left behind a brother and sister, besides his mother. Pliny lamented deeply that such an industrious young man should be stricken by death in the flower of his youth.

A poet whom we are not able to forget because of a strange propensity of his, was Arrius Antoninus. Although a Roman, he preferred to write his verses in Greek, with such success that as Pliny says everyone tried to imitate them, but none were able to do so successfully (V:15). Pliny generously admits in this same letter that he is among those who have failed. That is one of the most striking qualities in Pliny's character--his utter lack of jealousy. We cannot help admiring him for this noble trait. From the description given in these letters to Arrius (IV:3; IV:18). V:15 we are reminded of the elder Spurnina. Arrius was loved by his associates, and had earned a quiet old age by his activity when younger. He had been consul twice, a model proconsul of Asia, and had attained fame in literature. Arrius was the maternal grand-father of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. Pliny was admirable in his attitude toward the old--nothing but the greatest respect and reverence was ever displayed by him.

Let us now turn our attentions to the historians with whom Pliny was familiar. As is to be expected, the man who towers above all the rest is Cornelius Tacitus, to whom eleven of Pliny's letters are addressed. The two men constantly interchanged their books for mutual criticism. Pliny was exceedingly proud of being associated with such a great writer as Tacitus. Pliny

was fond of imagining that he and Tacitus were on an equal plane in literature, and so was especially pleased by the incident which had happened to Tacitus at the circus.(IX:23).

Pliny's prophetic spirit was wonderfully far-seeing. His opening sentence to VII:33: "Auguror, nec me fallit augurium, historias tuas immortales futuras; quo magis illis, ingenue fatebor, inseri cupio," is startling in its accuracy. Pliny frankly admitted that he knew that the works of Tacitus were destined to immortality, and for this reason he was desirous of seeing his own name inserted in them. In the letter referred to above, he tells of his successful appearance before the Emperor as advocate for the province of Baetica against the proconsul Baebius Massa. Unfortunately that part of Tacitus' History which treats of Pliny's time has been lost, so we have no way of telling in what manner Tacitus described Pliny. From the number of letters addressed to Tacitus, and the fact that Tacitus himself told Pliny that they were considered to be of equal power as writers, we assume that the friendship was not all on Pliny's side as has been frequently suggested.

Suetonius Tranquillus was an important literary character of Hadrian's time. Three of the letters are addressed to him, and in three others he is mentioned. It is from these that most of our information about Suetonius comes.

Pliny was in a position to benefit Suetonius, and he did so, to the utmost. That is one of his most pleasing qualities. To do something for a friend was never any trouble for him. In a great many of his letters we find that in some kind way he has been aiding a friend, or even an acquaintance. His was the true Christian spirit although it did exist in a pagan body.

has been aiding a friend, or even an acquaintance. His was the true Christian spirit, although it did exist in a pagan body. It is difficult to realize where he found the time to attend to all of these minor details, in addition to his legal duties, social engagements, literary pursuits, and the management of his estates. The secret probably lay in the orderly, systematic habits inculcated by his uncle. Pliny was very good to Suetonius. (I:24) he aids him in buying a farm, and in X:94 he asks the Emperor to bestow upon Suetonius the "ius trium liberorum."

The rhetorician, Quintilian was Pliny's teacher of rhetoric. In II:14 he says: "ita certe ex Quintiliano, praeceptore meo, audisse nemini," and again in VI:32 we find "prope cotidie ad audiendos quos tunc ego frequentebam Quintilianum, Niceton Sacerdotem ventitabat." No letters of Pliny's survive which are addressed to Quintilian, and no other mention is made of him except in the two quoted above. Probably Pliny was not on sufficient terms of familiarity to write an intimate letter to him.

C. Fannius (V:5) was an historian with much ability. Pliny loved him, and was accustomed to rely upon his judgment. His death was pathetic, in that, because of a flaw in the will, it happened that his property went to his enemies, and his friends received nothing. Pliny was grieved to think that his history, "exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone" was unfinished at the time of his death. This history undoubtedly told the life-stories of Helvidius Priscus, Arria, and others equally notable. Pliny's grief for Fannius was deep and sincere.

Pliny was fortunate in being associated with a group of

philosophers who helped him gain a tolerant and broad-minded view of life. These are Euphrates, Artemidorus, and Isaeus.

Euphrates was a Stoic philosopher and native of Alexandria. Pliny had formed his acquaintance when doing military service in Syria. He was glad to renew their friendship when, several years later, the philosopher changed his place of residence to Rome. Euphrates was patriarchal in appearance, and gifted with a winning personality(I:10). It afforded Pliny much pleasure to hear Euphrates discuss philosophical problems for as he says: "Disputat subtiliter, graviter, ornate, frequenter etiam Platoniceam illam sublimitatem et latitudinem effingit."(I:10)

Pliny was much indebted to Euphrates for the calm frame of mind which enabled him to endure the irritating routine of business cares. The philosopher consoled him with the sage admonition that the most noble thing of all is to carry out in actual practice those things which the philosophers preach about.

Euphrates ended a noble life by suicide. When he discovered that he was so weakened by disease and old age that his life was of no further use to him, he drank hemlock, first, for some unaccountable reason, securing permission from the Emperor. That the Emperor should grant his consent to such an act almost incomprehensible to us, and is only another illustration of the vast difference between the moral code of Roman times and that of to-day. It was upon Artemidorus, another Grecian philosopher that Pliny was able to confer a debt of gratitude. The philosophers had been banished from Rome by Domitian in 93 A.D.; so it was therefore an act involving much danger to have any dealings whatsoever with them. Pliny, even though praetor at the

time, remained true to his friend, and dared to visit him at his house in the suburbs. He also presented him with a sum of money, to secure which, Pliny was obliged to borrow from a friend. The philosophers were finally recalled when Nerva came to the throne, and Artemidorus took up a peaceful existence in Rome. He was fortunate enough to marry the daughter of C. Mazonius.

Isaeus was a Greek philosopher, especially skilled in extemporaneous speaking. Pliny gives a description of a lecture by Isaeus. "He suggests several themes, and permits his audience to choose, doing this often without preparation." The resulting oration was always a finished master-piece (II:3). In speaking of Isaeus and the class to which he belongs, Pliny expresses his admiration for them because their lives are passed in an atmosphere untainted by sordid business. He considered the lot of the philosopher to be the happiest of any.

PROFESSIONAL FRIENDS.

Pliny was one of the foremost lawyers of his day, and in consequence had a large circle of legal friends, with some of whom he was very friendly, with others, however, his intercourse was on a strictly business basis.

Among this latter class might be placed the informer, Regulus. Pliny scorned the base nature of the man, but could not keep from admiring his cleverness as a lawyer. After the death of Regulus, he says in a letter to Arrianus: "Soleo non numquam in iudiciis quarere M. Regulum, nolo enim dicere desiderare." Pliny felt no personal sense of loss for Regulus, but he did regret the absence of such an able pleader from the law-courts.

As is suggested in "Pliny's Letters" by Church and Brodribb it does seem as though in letter IV:7, especially, that Pliny was unnecessarily severe on Regulus. He describes him as "imbecillum latus, os confusum, haesitans lingua, tardissima inventio, memoria nulla, nihil denique praeter ingenium insanum, et tamen eo impudentia ipsoque illo furore pervenit, ut plurima orator habeatur." Amazed with so many and such glowing faults as these could scarcely acquire any reputation as an orator. It is quite probable that Pliny may have become prejudiced against Regulus, because we already know that they were never on friendly terms. Regulus' infamous question about Modestus to Pliny in the Court of the Hundred (I:V), the equally evilly intended insinuation that Pliny was a rival of Cicero (I:V) prove to us that Regulus had aroused Pliny's anger. It was but human for Pliny to retaliate by relating some of Regulus' wicked deeds.

As we all know, it is very easy to magnify the misdeeds of those whom we do not like, so this may account in some small degree for the exceedingly black character which Pliny has assigned to Regulus. Apart from any personal reasons, a man with such a perverted moral nature must have been abhorrent to a frank, upright man of Pliny's type.

One of whom he speaks with the greatest respect is Valerius Licinianus (IV:II). He had been banished by Domitian for a crime, to which he had pleaded guilty, but many thought he did so merely to escape worse consequences. At any rate, he was sent to Sicily, where he became a rhetorician, in place of his former profession of advocate and praetor. Throughout this entire letter to Minicianus we are impressed by the underlying sympathy of Pliny for the disgraced man.

Licinianus employed Herennius Senecio to represent him before Domitian. In (III:II) Pliny mentions that Herennius was also to fall a victim to Domitian, and was put to death by that same tyrant. The offense of which he was guilty was that of writing a flattering account of the life of Helvidius Priscus (VII:I9). At the trial of Herennius, a strong contrast was shown between his character and that of Fannia, the wife of Helvidius Priscus. Herennius used as his defense the fact that he composed the book by Fannia's request. She proudly admitted her part in the affair. It was strange that a man who appeared to be so strong, should fail at the critical moment, and attempt to lay the blame on a woman. It must, however, be remembered that Fannia came from a family, whose women, especially, were

wrote to Pliny for advice. He wished to know of what character the causes should be which an advocate should undertake. Pliny, as usual, in accordance with his own nature, replied that causes should be divided into three classes; those in which one's friends are involved, those which might establish a precedent, and those which are liable to bring fame and distinction to the pleader. Circumstances had, however, induced Pliny to plead several cases before the senate for various other reasons(VI:29). In IX:13, he told Quadratus the details of his vindication of Helvidius Priscus.

Voconius Romanus was one of his dearest friends. He and Pliny had been students together (II:13), and the intimacy continued on into their later life. Both were engaged in the same profession, and both attained much fame as lawyers. "Ad hoc ingenium excelsum, subtile, dulce, facile, eruditum in causis agendis (II:13). Pliny's assurance that it is Voconius whom "arte familiariterque dilexi" (II:13), is strengthened by the fact that it is Voconius to whom he sends the first draft of the Panegyric for approval and criticism (III:13). He was accustomed to use Voconius as a critic, for in VI:33 we find that he has sent another one of his speeches concerning an inheritance case to him. Voconius came of good family, held the office of flamen, and in addition was a letter writer of considerable merit (II:13).

Crematius Ruso was a rising young advocate.(VI:23)Triarus has asked Pliny to defend a case for him. This he refused to do unless Ruso should be allowed to help him, because in his

own words: "mire concupisco bonos iuvenes ostendere foro, adsignare famae." No one can refrain from admiring Pliny's goodness in helping the struggling young lawyers. We all know what the effect must have been upon the youthful advocate's chance of success when a noted lawyer chose him as his colleague.

Another pleader of some distinction at this time was Salvius Liberalis, to whom Pliny was greatly attached. They spoke on opposite sides in the case of Marius Priscus, Liberalis in behalf of Priscus, and Pliny in behalf of the province. (II:II) The trial attracted so much attention, and was so generally talked about, that it would not have been surprising if the two leading lawyers on the opposite sides had had hostile feelings towards each other. We have no way of knowing Liberalis' opinion on this subject, and it may be that he did not look upon Pliny with the greatest affection, for it was Pliny who won the case. He could afford to be generous in his estimation, for, flushed with success, first because of his victory, and second because he had made his magnificent plea for the province before the Emperor, he would be in a position to even pity his opponent's defeat. The Emperor's presence made Liberalis' disappointment all the more severe. It would be interesting to know how Pliny would have been able to bear defeat, if he had exchanged places with Liberalis. Naturally, as Pliny himself edited these letters for publication, we hear nothing about any of his defeats at the bar. The failure of Liberalis was evidently not due to lack of effort on his part, for Pliny says: "in illa vero causa omnes artes suas protulit," (2:II) and as he was a "vir

subtilis, dispositus, acer, disertus," we must infer that Pliny's merits as a lawyer were striking. Of course it may be that Pliny was clever enough to praise his opponent's ability as a lawyer, so as to make it appear that his own triumph was the more phenomenal.

Luceius Albinus, "vir in dicendo copiosus, ornatus" (III:9) was Pliny's colleague at the trial of Marius Priscus. Before this trial it appears in this same letter that the two men had met only as acquaintances, but the constant communication with each other necessitated by the exigencies of the trial, caused them to look upon each other with great affection. From this time on, they evidently worked together often, for in IV:9, we see the two engaged in the trial of Julius Bassus. So perfect was the harmony between Pliny and Albinus, that, as Pliny himself says of their speeches: "Successit mihi Luceius Albinus tam apte, ut orationes nostrae varietatem duarum, contextum unius habuisse credantur(IV:9).

A "fortissimus advocatus" was Cornelius Minicianus. Pliny wrote many letters to him, of which three are extant. One treats of a law-suit, another of a senator who had become a rhetorician, and another of a recitation by Titinius Capito. Minicianus possessed a brilliant intellect, and was qualified to secure numerous honors and offices with little apparent effort on his part(VII:22), and in addition he had a most humble opinion of himself.

An eminent pleader of this same period was Pompeius Falcō. In I:23 he consults Pliny as to the advisability of pleading

causes, while serving as tribune. He was careful, almost painfully conscientious. Pliny, himself, had refrained from pleading, when he served as tribune, and thus he probably influenced Falco to do likewise. Frequent letters were exchanged between the two men. It is to Falco that Pliny applied when he wished the tribunateship to be granted to Cornelius Minicianus.

In connection with the famous trials in which Pliny was engaged, we must not forget to mention some of his friends, who suffered through the cruelty of Domitian. Among these are the women, Arria and Fannia, who are types of true womanhood at its best. It was Arria who, upon the death of her son, concealed the fact from her husband, Caecina Paetus, who was ill at the time. Her fortitude was phenomenal (III:16). Pliny's own words best relate the story of her incitement of Paetus to suicide:

Praeclarum quidem illud eiusdem, ferrum stringere, perfodere pectus, extrahere pugionem, porrigere marito, addere vocem immortalem ac paene divinam: 'Paete, non dolet.'"

She accompanied her husband back to Rome when he was taken there a prisoner. The soldiers forbade her passage on the ship which bore Paetus, so she followed in a fishing vessel.

Her daughter, also named Arria, was a worthy successor to her dauntless mother. Pliny knew the elder Arria from hearsay only, but he was extremely intimate with the daughter. He grieved deeply at her death (VII:19), and was also gravely concerned about the illness of Fannia, her daughter, who had contracted her indisposition while engaged in attending one of the Vestal Virgins. Equal affection was felt by Pliny for both Fannia and Arria (VII:19). "Utramque cuius, utramque dilexi; utram magis, nescio, nec discerni volebant. Habuerunt officia mea

in secundis, habuerunt in adversis." In the letter mentioned above, he relates the story of Fannia's unflinching honesty in the court-room, when she was accused of instigating Sosius Senecio to write the biography of her husband, the notorious Helvidius Priscus. She and her grand-mother were the most heroic of this family. At least, we infer this, as the mother of Fannia is not spoken of by Pliny as participating in any great deed of valor,- he mentions her simply as the mother of a wonderful daughter, and likewise the daughter of an equally important mother in regard to bravery.

Helvidius Priscus, for whom Fannia endured so much, deliberately irritated the Emperor by his revolutionary talk, so that it was an easy matter for his enemies to secure his banishment. It was his son, however, with whom Pliny was so friendly. It is he who is referred to in III:II, and for him Pliny bravely brought suit against Publicius Certus, who was the infamous intriguer concerned in the death of Priscus (IX:13). Certus was impeached as the result of the trial, and felt the disgrace so keenly that his death followed soon. Pliny published a book of speeches made upon this occasion. The entire affair redounds to his credit, for by daring to attack Certus, he, himself, was undergoing no small risk. What aroused his anger most was that HE Helvidius Priscus was a peaceable man who had purposely excluded himself from politics so as to avoid the fate of his father. His enemies were determined to banish him, and so a drama which he had written was interpreted as a slander against the Emperor's wife, and consequently he was summarily banished from the

city.

Julius Africanus was more of an acquaintance of Pliny's than a friend (VII:6). Pliny calls him a "iuuenis ingeniosus, sed homo parum callidus." He spoke against Pliny in the case of Varenus, giving Pliny an opportunity to display his own wit at the expense of Africanus.

The friendship between Nymphidius Lupus and Pliny was of long standing. Nymphidius was much praefect when Pliny was military tribune. He was much older than Pliny, but even though he pleaded old age as an excuse, Pliny insisted that he accompany him to Bithynia as his adviser (IO:87). The son, of the same name as his father, was regarded with deep affection by Pliny, and in the letter referred to above, he gently hints to the Emperor that any advancement given to the boy, will be looked upon as a personal favor by him.

Larcus Macedo endured a humiliating experience at the hands of his slaves (3:14). They mobbed him, and left him for dead, but he finally recovered from his painful ordeal. Evidently he deserved in some measure his punishment, for Pliny calls him a "superbus alioqui dominus et saevus," yet in spite of this his sympathies could not but be with the master, both because he was a praetor, and then because Pliny was an extensive slaveholder. The incident must have caused a number of Roman gentlemen to look askance at their slaves and wonder if their turn was to come next, for not all Roman masters were as lenient as Pliny.

MINOR FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES, AND NAMES OCCURRING IN
THE LETTERS.

L. Satrius Abascantes. 10:11.

Pliny had secured from Trajan the full rights of a Roman citizen for him.

Acilianus. 2:16.

He left part of his estate to Pliny.

Domitius Afer. 2:14, 8:18.

Pontius Allifanus. 6:28, 5:14, 7:4.

Several letters are written to him. But one is of any importance, that one which tells of Pliny's start as a poet. (7:4).

Flavius Aper. 5:13.

P. Accius Aquila. 10:106, 10:107.

A centurion of the sixth equestrian cohort. He applied through Pliny to Trajan for the freedom of Rome for his daughter.

Domitius Apollinaris. 2:9.

Appuleius. "miles, qui est in statione Nicomedensi." 10:74.

Annius. 2:16.

Popilius Artemisius. 9:28.

Romanus has recommended Popilius to Pliny.

Asclepiades. 10:85.

A magistratus in Prusa.

The names followed by numbers only, are either merely mentioned in those letters, or else the letters are addressed to them, but no further information can be derived from their content.

Intolerance of ingratia

the younger (C. AD. C. 112)
Pliny - Gaius Plinius Caecilius
Secundus was born the 2nd L. Caecilius
Cilo who ^{died while Pliny was quite young} but was adopted by his ^{mother's} father
brother Plinius the Elder.

Business

Not only is there historical value to
Pliny's letters but there is also
insight into the character of the man,
himself.

Pliny the younger much admired his
uncle. Pliny
The admiration + respect that the younger
Pliny held for his uncle was perhaps
the impetus for following his footsteps
pursuing ^{him} pursuing ^{in life} the ~~fields~~
of inter areas of life in which he was
involved.

Although Pliny was a ^{businessman} lawyer, +
served in Govt he is best known for
his literary works. He wrote ~~and~~
published 10 books of letters which are
invaluable to historians today. These letters
contained written in a very simple style, told
of the events of the day whether it be
in business, ~~in~~ politics, in the social world,
or in the home. His letters ^{about} were most
descriptive + revealed his "scientific
accuracy of observation" (Oxford Classical Dictionary)

Plinius Secundus seemed ^{at first} to be a ~~compassionate~~ ^{compassionate} man. He ~~did~~ tolerate

unjust to slaves, - ~~He treated his slaves well~~ & criticized
He had many close friends
those who didn't

Pliny loved the country & wrote
many letters about his to his friends
reflecting that message. - He
wrote letters ~~love~~ was most affectionate
He ^{also} seemed to be most affectionate -
as we find in the letters to his wife
Calpurnia, who was an invalid,

Pliny could also be harsh. - to
unjust ^{whether it be} enemies of the state ^(regularly) or
to wealthy ^{unjust} slave owners & he did
not hesitate to verbally ^{attack the individual} shoot down
someone to let it be known.

~~He~~ Pliny himself was a wealthy
man & a slave owner. ^{wt.} He treated
his slaves well & freed men

^{we find} An example of his treatment
of ^{a freed man} slaves in his letter to Valerius
Paulinus regarding his slave, -

This letter reflects one side of his
nature which is ~~one~~ probably
one of the reasons Plinius Secundus
continues to be ^a the great man that he
was from our past.

affairs, a quick eye for abuses, and much humanity towards repressed classes such as the Christians. In *Ep.* 10. 96 he gives the earliest external account of their teaching, behaviour, and official repression.

TEXT. *Epistles*, R. A. B. Mynors (O.C.T. 1963); *Paneg.*, M. Durry (Paris, 1938). A.-M. Guillemin, *Plinie et la vie littéraire de son temps* (1929); Syme, *Tacitus*, chs. 7-8, appendixes 19-21; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Pliny's Letters, A Social and Historical Commentary* (1966). A. N. S.-W.

PLOTINA, POMPEIA (*PW*, s.v. Pompeius 131), had married Trajan (q.v.) before his accession, but never bore children. She was admired for her simplicity, dignity, fidelity, and virtue. Though she had refused the title *Augusta* in A.D. 100, she finally accepted it in 105. From 112, she was honoured on coins; in particular the type of *Vesta* emphasized the purity of her family life. She was present at Trajan's death in Cilicia in 117 and probably facilitated his adoption (probably genuine rather than pretended by her) of Hadrian (q.v.) as his successor. She had long favoured Hadrian, who later honoured her on coins of 117-18, and at her death c. 121/2 consecrated her. She was commemorated by at least two temples, in that of Trajan in his Forum at Rome and independently at Nîmes.

Dio Cass. bks. 68, 5, 69, 1 and 10; S.H.A. *Hadr.*; Aur. Vict. *Epit.* 42. 21; Pliny, *Pan.* 83; Wegner, *Herrscherbild* ii. 3 (1956), 74 ff., 118 ff.; Strack, *Reichsprägung* i. 41; ii. 66 ff., 115 ff.; B.M. *Coins*, Rom. *Emp.* iii. See also under **TRAJAN**. C. H. V. S.; M. H.

PLOTINUS (*Πλωτίνος*) (A.D. 205-269/70). The main facts of his life are known from Porphyry's memoir (prefixed to editions of the *Enneads*). His birthplace, on which Porphyry is silent, is said by Eunapius and the *Suda* to have been Lycos or Lycopolis in Egypt, but his name is Roman, while his native language was almost certainly Greek. He turned to philosophy in his 28th year and worked for the next eleven years under Ammonius (q.v.) Saccas at Alexandria. In 242-3 he joined Gordian's unsuccessful expedition against Persia, hoping for an opportunity to learn something of eastern thought. The attempt was abortive, and at the age of 40 he settled in Rome as a teacher of philosophy, and remained there until his last illness, when he retired to Campania to die. At Rome he became the centre of an influential circle of intellectuals, which included men of the world and men of letters, besides professional philosophers like Amelius and Porphyry. He interested himself also in social problems, and tried to enlist the support of the Emperor Gallienus for a scheme to found a Platonic community on the site of a ruined Pythagorean settlement in Campania.

WRITINGS. Plotinus wrote nothing until he was 50. He then began to produce a series of philosophical essays arising directly out of discussions in his seminars (*συν-ομοίαι*), and intended primarily for circulation among his pupils. These were collected by Porphyry, who classified them roughly according to subject, arranged them rather artificially in six *Enneads* or groups of nine, and eventually published them c. 300-5. From this edition our manuscripts are descended. An edition by another pupil, the physician Eustochius, is known to have existed (schol. *Enn.* 4. 4. 30); and it has been argued by some scholars (Henry, *Recherches*, etc., see Bibliography) that the extracts from Plotinus in Eus. *Praep. Evang.* are derived from this Eustochian recension. Save for the omission of politics, Plotinus' essays range over the whole field of ancient philosophy: ethics and aesthetics are dealt with mainly in *Enn.* 1, physics and cosmology in *Enns.* 2 and 3; psychology in *Enn.* 4; metaphysics, logic, and epistemology in *Enns.* 5 and 6. Though not systematic in intention, the *Enneads* form in fact a more complete body of philosophical teaching than any other which has come down to

us from antiquity outside the Aristotelian corpus. Plotinus' favourite method is to raise and solve a series of *ἀπορίας*: many of the essays give the impression of a man thinking aloud or discussing difficulties with a pupil. Owing to bad eyesight, Plotinus never revised what he wrote (*Porph. Vita Plot.* 8), and his highly individual style often reflects the irregular structure of oral statement. Its allusiveness, rapid transitions, and extreme condensation render him one of the most difficult of Greek authors; but when deeply moved he can write magnificently.

PHILOSOPHICAL DOCTRINE. In the nineteenth century Plotinus' philosophy was often dismissed as an arbitrary and illogical syncretism of Greek and oriental ideas. Recent writers, on the other hand, see in him the most powerful philosophical mind between Aristotle and Aquinas or Descartes; and in his work a logical development from earlier Greek thought, whose elements he organized in a new synthesis designed to meet the needs of a new age. These needs influenced the direction rather than the methods of his thinking: its direction is determined by the same forces which resulted in the triumph of the eastern religions of salvation, but its methods are those of traditional Greek rationalism. Plotinus attached small value to ritual, and the religious ideas of the Near East seem to have had little direct influence on the *Enneads*, though Bréhier would explain certain parallels with Indian thought by postulating contact with Indian travellers in Alexandria. To Christianity Plotinus makes no explicit reference; but *Enn.* 2. 9 is an eloquent defence of Hellenism against Gnostic superstition.

Plotinus holds that all modes of being, whether material or mental, temporal or eternal, are constituted by the expansion or 'overflow' of a single immaterial and impersonal force, which he identifies with the 'One' of the *Parmenides* and the 'Good' of the *Republic*, though it is strictly insusceptible of any predicate or description. As 'the One', it is the ground of all existence; as 'the Good', it is the source of all values. There is exact correspondence between degrees of reality and degrees of value, both being determined by the degree of unity, or approximation to the One, which any existence achieves. Reality, though at its higher levels it is non-spatial and non-temporal, may thus be pictured figuratively as a series of concentric circles resulting from the expansion of the One. Each of these circles stands in a relation of timeless dependence to that immediately within it, which is in this sense its 'cause'; the term describes a logical relationship, not an historical event. Bare Matter (*ύλη*) is represented by the circumference of the outermost circle: it is the limiting case of reality, the last consequence of the expansion of the One, and so possesses only the ideal existence of a boundary.

Between the One and Matter lie three descending grades of reality—the World-mind (*νοῦς*), the World-soul (*ψυχὴ*), and Nature (*φύσις*). The descent is marked by increasing individuation and diminishing unity. The World-mind resembles Aristotle's Unmoved Mover: it is thought-thinking-itself, an eternal lucidity in which the knower and the known are distinguishable only logically; within it lie the Platonic Forms, which are conceived not as inert types or models but as a system of interrelated forces, differentiations of the one Mind which holds them together in a single timeless apprehension (*νόησις*). The dualism of subject and object, implicit in the self-intuition of Mind, is carried a stage further in the discursive thinking characteristic of Soul: because of its weaker unity, Soul must apprehend its objects successively and severally. In doing so it creates time and space; but the World-soul is itself eternal and transcends the spatio-temporal world which arises from its activity. The lowest creative principle is Nature, which corresponds to the immanent World-soul of the Stoics: its consciousness

Aurelia. 2:20.

A woman whom Regulus induced to will her gown to him.

Titius Aristo. 5:3, 5:4, 5:13.

Mnnius Bassus. 7:31.

Claudius Pollio wrote a laudatory biography of him.

Armenius Brocchus. 10:65, 10:66.

A proconsul.

Caecilius Celer. 1:5.

Sempronius Caelianus. 10:29, 10:30.

He discovered two slaves among the soldiers, and brought them to Pliny.

Caelius Clemens. 10:51/

Pliny and Fabatus had asked that Caelius be given permission to come into the province.

Mettius Carus. 1:5.

He rebuked Regulus for defaming the character of Harennius Senecio.

Julius Candidus. 5:20/

A keen-witted man.

Cerialis. 1:19.

Tuccius Cerialis. 2:11.

A consul.

Velius Cerialis. 4:21.

Attius Clemens. 1:10, 4:2.

Colonus. 9:9.

Cornelia. 4:II.

A Vestal Virgin, who was buried alive for breaking her vow.

Cornellianus. 6:3I.

Metilius Crispus. 6:25.

A countryman of Pliny's who had mysteriously disappeared.

Passienus Crispus. 7:II.

A pleader.

Asudius Curianus. 5:I.

He was disinherited by his mother, Pomponius Galla. The inheritance was left to Pliny.

Claudius Capito. 6:I3.

He is referred to but once. "Egit Claudius Capito inreverenter magis quam constanter, ut qui senatus consultum apud me senatum accusaret."

P.Servilius Calvus. IO:56, IO:57.

He was a proconsul, "clarissimus vir."

Afranius Dexter. 5:I3, 8:I4.

Pompeius Falco. I:23, 4:27, 7:22, 9:I5.

Julius Ferox. 2:II, IO:87.

"Consul designatus, vir rectus et sanctus."

Saturius Firmius. 4:I5.

A grandson of Asinius Rufus. Pliny in a letter to Fundanus speaks of him as onee "quem diliges ut ego, si ut ego propius inspexeris."

Calpurnius Flaccus. 5:2.

A letter was written to him in acknowledgment of some thrushes.
Libo Frugi. 3:9.

A "consularis."

Valerius Festus. 3:7.

Pomponia Galla. 5:1.

She left her estate to Pliny.

Asinius Gallus. 4:17.

Gallus urged Pliny to undertake the cause of Corellia in
her absence.

Geminus. 1;12.

A mutual friend of Pliny and Corellius Rufus.

Genialis. 8:13.

He and his father were accustomed to pass judgment upon
Pliny's writings.

Gratilla. 3:11, 5:1.

She was banished during the reign of Domitian.

Harpocras. 10:5, 10:7, 10:6, 10:10.

A physician who had attended Pliny during a long illness.
Pliny showed his gratitude by securing the privileges of citi-
zen-ship for him from Trajan.

Helvidian sisters. 4:21.

Two sisters, whose deaths at the same time, caused Pliny
much sorrow. They were daughters of the younger Helvidius Pris-
cus.

Hispanus. I:24.

To him was entrusted the commission of buying a farm for Suetonius Tranquillus.

Vitellius Honoratus. 2:II.

Caepio Hispo. 4:9.

Titius Homullus. 4:9, 5:20:

He was one of the advocates at the trial of Julius Bassus. Again, at the trial of Varenus, "dixit pro Varenio Homullus callide, acriter, culte."

Fabius Iustus. I:5, 7:2.

One of the men whom Regulus asked to reconcile him to Pliny.

Minicius Iustus. 7:II, 6:2(?) /

He was Corellia's husband.

Catius Lepidus. 4:7.

Julius Largus. IO:75, IO:76.

Mamilianus. 9:16, 9:25.

Aeferulus Marcellinus. 5:16, 8:23(?).

Postumius Marinus. IO:II.

A physician of Pliny's, for whom Pliny secured citizenship:

Neratius Marcellus. 3:8.

"clarissimo viro."

Messius Maximus. 3:20, 4:25.

Two letters are addressed to him on the introduction of the ballot into the Roman senate.

Mettius Modestus. 1:5.

A dear friend of Pliny's who had been banished by Domitian..
Montanus. 7:29, 8:6.

C. Musonius. 3:II.

The father-in-law of Artemidorus. Pliny calls him a man
whom "quantum licitum est per aetatem, cum admiratione dilexi."
Mustius. 9:29.

Probably one of Pliny's workmen, for in this letter, he
is ordered to secure part of the material for the building of
a temple.

Nonius Maximus. 4:20, 5:5.

Nonius. 9:30.

A philanthropist.

Junius Pastor. 1:18.

A client of Pliny's.

Paternus. 4:4.

Paulinus. 2:2, 9:3, 9:37.

Fabius Postumius. 9:13.

A pleader.

Praesens. 7:13.

A friend who enjoyed the delights of country life.

Cornelius Priscus. 3:21, 5:20.

A "consularis."

Serrana Procula. 1:14.

The maternal grand-mother of Minicianus Acilianus, who was
regarded as an example of "gravitate, prudentia, fide prope sin-

Herennius Pollio. 4:9.

An advocate at the trial of Julius Bassus. "Respondit Herennius Pollio instantanter et graviter."

Pomponius Rufus. 3:9, 4:9.

"Consularis." "Egit contra eum Pomponius Rufus, vir paratus et vehemens."

Restitutus. 6:17.

A man of literary tastes, for Pliny addresses to him a letter about a recent reading.

Claudius Restitutus. 3:9.

In all probability, he is identical with the Restitutus mentioned above. He was a lawyer, concerned in the trial of Marius Priscus.

Robustus. 6:25.

A Roman knight who had disappeared soon after leaving Oriculum, a town about forty miles from Rome.

Rufinus. 8:18.

"Vir egregius." Pliny regarded him as of great importance and was pleased at his complimentary remarks.

Trebonius Rufinus. 4:22.

It was he who forbade the continuation of the gymnastic performances in his province.

Acilius Rufus. 7:27, 6:20.

Proconsul of Africa.

Satrius Rufus. 1:5, 9:13.

A pleader who upheld Publicius Certus, when he was tried

as the destroyer of Helvidius Priscus.

Curtius Rufus. 5:19.

Rusticus. 9:29.

Sabina. 4:10.

She left her estate to Statius Sabinus and Pliny.

Sabinianus. 9:24.

Pliny interceded in behalf of a freedman belonging to Sabinianus, who had incurred his master's displeasure?

Sabinus. 6:18, 2:2, 9:18.

A man with literary tastes who delighted in reading Pliny's books.

Statius Sabinus. 4:10.

Doubtless, identical with the preceding one. He and Pliny were joint heirs to Sabina's property.

Saturninus. 5:7.

He made Calvisius Rufus and Pliny joint heirs to his estate. He was a citizen of Comum.

Atilius Scaurus. 6:25.

Terentius Scaurus. 5:12.

To him, Pliny sent an oration for criticism.

Sosius Senecio. 1:13, 4:4.

He was evidently of official importance, for Pliny requested him to secure the tribune-ship for C. Calvisius.

Sertorius Severus. 5:1.

Co-heir with Pliny of the estate of Pomponia Galla. Also

he held the office of praetor. "Splendidus eques Romanus."
Severus. 6:27? 9:22.

Consul designatus.

Annius Severus. 3:6, 5:1.

Pliny was on very intimate terms with him, and promises to come to visit him soon.

Catilius Severus. 1:22, 3:12.

A dear friend, whose invitation to dinner Pliny accepts.
Herennius Severus. 4:28.

"Vir doctissimus." Evidently, a man of wealth, as he desired to place in his library the statues of Nepos and Cato.
Julius Sparsus. 4:5, 8:3/

Of literary tastes.

Theophanes. 4:9.

A pleader at the trial of Julius Bassus.
Timo. 1:5.

The husband of Arrionilla.

Cornelius Titianus. 1:17, 9:32.

Triaius. 6:23.

He desired Pliny to undertake a case for him.

Fabius Valens. 4:24.

Julius Valerianus. 2:15, 5:4, 5:13.

Valerius Paulinus. 4:16, 5:19, 4:9, 10:104, 10:105.

"Consularis." Tribune at one time of the praetorian guard,

and also procurator of the province of Narbonensis in southern Gaul.

Venator. 9:20.

An appreciative reader of Pliny.

Attia Viriola. 6:32.

A woman of splendid birth and breeding who was disinherited by her father. Pliny undertook her case, when she contested her father's will.

Cornelius Ursus. 4:9, 5:20? 6:5, 6:13, 8:9.

Probably a lawyer as Pliny's letters to him describe interesting law cases.

CONCLUSION.

Pliny's friends and their activities may perhaps have suggested several interesting thoughts to the reader of this paper. It may be that the number of his friends surprises us, for as we read the letters we naturally note those with whom we are familiar, and thus overlook the minor ones. Their number is surprising, until we stop to consider that any public man of to-day could muster, in all probability a far greater number. Very few public men, however, would be on such terms of perfect understanding with their friends as was Pliny. It may be the fault of the times we are living in, but it is certainly to be greatly regretted and deprecated that in our imagined over-crowded lives, we pass by such opportunities for friendship. Surely, if anyone had a right to legitimately put forth the plea of lack of time, it was Pliny, for harassed as he was by his duties as pleader, writer, manager of his own large business interests, governor of a province, the filling of various municipal offices his position as critic and patron of young writers, we wonder how it was that he could be on terms of familiarity with his own relatives even, not to mention friends.

His friendship was of no common sort either, for the one motto of his life was "service". In this, he was a true Christian, and no one can think of him as a pagan, even though he worshipped the gods of Rome. His kindness to his slaves, his thoughtful consideration for his family, his eagerness to do for others, and his generous nature all seem to belong to a man who would put to shame the average church-member of to-day. We

find but one instance of his speaking a harsh word of any one, and that is in regard to Regulus, of whom we hear nothing favorable from other writers.

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