

ACERVO DIGITAL FUNDAJ

Private correspondence of Mr.

Joaquim Nabuco Brazilian
ambassador in Washington
then Brazilian Minister
in London with

Mr. Buckle editor
of the London

"Times" and the

Marquis de Rudini

former Premier of

Italy and Minister,

1849-1910. **Fundação Joaquim Nabuco**

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NABUCCO, Joaquim - Private correspondence
with Mr. Buckle and the Marquis de
Rudini

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LONDON, 52 CORNWALL GARDENS, S. W.
25 Nov., 04.

DEAR MR. BUCKLE,

When lately in Rome, talking about the so many ways of reviving the interest of the world for that city, I happened to mention as a means of awaking that interest the erection of a monument to CÆSAR by subscription of the world. We devised then what these subscriptions would be, who the subscribers, certainly the partisans of strong government, the admirers of constructive and creative political genius. It was an after-dinner conversation and I remember it only on account of another suggestion which was at once made by the MARQUIS DE RUDINI. "Suppose," he said, "a contrary monument to CICERO. That would appeal to Liberalism throughout the world." It would indeed and also to Letters, to Oratory, to Jurists, and to those, chiefly, who feel, personally so to say, MOMMSEN'S onslaught.

I have no authority to organize such literary or national committees in England, the United States, France, Germany, etc., as would be necessary to carry out such a demonstration on a scale likely to make it historic, as it ought to be, at an appropriate date and under the appropriate form, both of which Scholars would have to appoint.

But it seems to me it would be worthy of the TIMES, either from its own initiative or by suggesting it to the proper persons, to organize the presentation to Rome of such magnificent tribute from the world.

I write you quite privately, as I thought worth considering the suggestion of the MARQUIS DE RUDINI,

brought about by my own about CÆSAR. I had not thought of CICERO, or else I would have suggested him myself first instead of CÆSAR, although the political significance of the latter's apotheosis should have much more in common with the Imperial and world-wide destiny of Rome. With high regard,

Very truly yours

JOAQUIM NABUCO.

27 Nov., 1904.

Private.

DEAR SENHOR NABUCO,

I am much interested in the striking suggestion which Your Excellency has been good enough to make in your letter to me. Undoubtedly both CÆSAR, as originally suggested by yourself, and CICERO, as pointed out by the MARQUIS DE RUDINI, are worthy of the homage of the world; and perhaps the proposal to do honour to CICERO would evoke the wider response of the two.

But it seems to me that such a proposal should come from the Scholars and Literary Men of the world, or from the great Universities of England, France, Germany, Italy, or the United States; and that a newspaper like THE TIMES would not be justified in advocating such an idea until it had reason to believe that there was a strong body of learned opinion in the civilized world favourable to it.

I confess too to some doubt about the form that any such universal homage should take. There will, hardly, I expect, be a general consensus of opinion in favor of raising a modern monument to a worthy of the old Roman days in the midst of the imperishable and unrivalled monuments which those worthies and their contemporaries have left us in Rome. Who among the moderns is worthy to challenge competition with what the ancients have bequeathed to us?

If such a material monument in Rome should be felt by a large number, as I am sure it would be, to be unsuitable, it is difficult to see what could take its place. Must we not then fall back on that stupendous but immaterial monument which has been raised to both men by the history of the world and the history of literature

in the twenty centuries since they flourished? Believe
me, with much respect,

Your Excellency's very sincerely & obliged

G. E. BUCKLE.

52 CORNWALL GARDENS, S. W.
DECEMBER 1ST, 1904.

DEAR MR. BUCKLE,

I probably thought of you owing to some remembrance that MOMMSEN sums up CICERO's part in Literature by calling him *a journalist*. Although he explained he was employing the term in its worst sense, the greatest of journalists can spurn the qualification and take the honour. THE TIMES always seemed to me the modern institution resembling more the ancient ORACLES in their guidance of civilisation. It is distinctly national, as they were, but in the very wide range where Country or race does not conflict with mankind, it is both high souled and high souling, that is to say *human*, in the sense not only of all Nations, but also of all times. On the present application I find your answer was drafted with both the fervour and the caution that balanced their most sympathetic advices. I really feel sure you could do much, either directly or indirectly, to give life to the idea of a Second Millenary of CICERO to be celebrated in Rome, however late.

Whom you could privately sound or appeal to, until that idea had acquired the certainty of success necessary to be launched from your columns, is a problem the difficulty of which is truly *l'embarras du choix* among the many representatives of British and Foreign scholarship, Liberalism and Philo-Italianism, in close contact with you or those around you. Once the *signifer* found, the raising of the Legion could be left to CICERO's fame. In any case American Culture would join British Culture, and even were the gift to remain exclusively Anglo-Saxon, (how that would not inspire a DANIEL WEBSTER!) the concourse of other Nations on its presentation would assume, I feel sure, the character of universality.

Trade and industry can get up Universal Exhibitions; some other spirit ought also to be able to collect the Nations of the world, under a moral and intellectual pretext, from time to time. You would have the power for that; the question is if in the present case you would adopt or not the pretext.

Certainly nothing else, as you say, could equal *the stupendous but immaterial monument that has been raised to both men by the history of the world and the history of literature in the twenty centuries since they flourished*. But the fact is that the Roman or Italian multitudes do not touch that printed monument and that they need being taught in some way they could better grasp not to forget altogether the name of the *parens patriae*. You fear also that a modern monument might appear anachronic, a sort of pastiche in Rome, which is already herself a standing monument to him. Under some circumstances it would indeed, but under others it seems to me that such a monument would, on the contrary, help both Romans and foreigners while there to think more of the past of Rome than it is thought now. As for CICERO, it happens that the ruins themselves bury him under the splendours of the Imperial epoch.

Of course no monument should, nor in fact could, be raised on the Palatine, or the Forum, and any modern monument could be out of place amidst the relics still preserved of the old Rome, or even in sight of them, but, outside the forbidden regions, once the ground well excavated, a CICERO MEMORIAL would be more in keeping with the traditions of Rome than any of the modern ones that are being raised there. Modern Italy seems in fact to be fighting its political battles *à coups de monuments* raised on the public squares of Rome, national and anti-clerical, and it is well to remind the contemporaries that the past holds

over that special spot a lien against which no prescription could run, as it is exactly the lien of perpetuity. It is the same throughout Italy. Even in Syracuse, where the myths seem to spring from the soil, and also, as all along the Ionian coast of Sicily, from the sea, we find one of those up to date testimonials in sight yet I think of ARETHUSA'S Fountain.

Who sees Lourdes, or Monte Carlo, a city, either through the pursuit of Religion, or through that of pleasure, expressing its soul by every stone that joins in its structure, can well conceive what Rome would fast become, if the world, taken up by a true devotion to her soil, were to build there all the shrines and *illustrations* it calls forth. I imagine it will be so in future, when the next great imaginative wave comes over the world, or at least over Italy, and I feel sure that piety everywhere visible, would enhance the impression of her ruins much more than the present chasm, or lapse of historic conscience, between the past and the present.

What the monument should be? It would again occur the same difficulty of the many choices. If the subscribers were the millionaires, our equivalent of the *piscinarii* of his letters, it could be built, for instance, a sort of Portico as he would like, with his statues, his pictures, his books, inspired from the Poecile of Hadrian's Villa, a sort of Academy for the philosophers. But the subscriptions being limited, I believe any monument would be acceptable to Rome which were to appropriate to CICERO in the public sight any part of her soil and of her prospect.

My point is that CICERO himself would appreciate nothing as much as this proposal. No one had ever more the sense of Posterity, of a life, actual and infinitely more living, after death, in men's memory and affections. He cared more for our opinion than for

that of his contemporaries ; he himself said so, although restricting within much shorter bounds than they have reached the probable duration of any name of his time : "*What shall history say of us in some six hundred years? That concerns me much more than the sayings of those who live to-day.*" Well, the last public exhibition of him at Rome was the piercing of his tongue by FULVIA's needle, while the last great modern manifestation about him was a similar kind of desecration from MOMMSEN's pen. He must be longing for a victorious return when the whole of Rome would welcome him back at the THREE TAVERNS.

What makes and explains history is greater love of name than of life, and therefore all that gives reality before men to the life of the name is like a replenishing of the higher sources of history.

Let me finish with the hope that you will some day in some genial SYMPOSIUM consider with others the best way of giving to Rome such noble entertainment as we have been talking about in this Dialogue, even were no standing record to remain of the *triumph* so long adjourned. It is the CICERONIAN vibration that I would like to see passing again through the heart of Rome. The monument could wait.

Pray excuse this long plaidoyer *pro Cicerone*, and with my high regard believe me, dear MR. BUCKLE,

Yours very truly

JOAQUIM NABUCO.

P. S.—The MARQUIS DE RUDINI, I must explain, did not discuss the idea of a foreign gift to Rome, which was incidental, but that which I had formulated, of the city herself attracting the crowds of the world—as the Vatican attracts them by the pageant of its canonisations—with the glorification of those of her great men

who still embody great currents of opinion and sentiment in the world, fighting as ever for the mastery.

In my former letter I said CÆSAR'S apotheosis would have much more in common with the world-wide destiny of Rome than CICCERO'S. I must say I meant only the political destiny. As to the competition between CICCERO and CÆSAR the knot, in fact, was generously cut by the latter when he wrote that to extend so greatly as CICCERO did the limits of the Roman genius was a much greater triumph than to extend those of the Empire. "*Omnium triumphorum lauream adep̄te majorem, quanto plus est, ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse, quam imperii, reliquis animi bonis.*"

J. N.

2 DECEMBER, 1904.
64 WARWICK SQUARE, S. W.

DEAR SENHOR NABUCO,

Your Excellency's eloquent letter makes a deep impression upon me, as it could not fail to do. CICERO has no reason to blush, but every reason to be proud, of his champion. You do not, however, convince me that such a monument as you desire would come with more propriety from a newspaper than from a body of scholars, or a University.

But I will seriously think over the whole question which you set before me with so much ardour and in so brilliant a fashion.

Believe me, with much respect and much sympathy,
Yours very sincerely

G. E. BUCKLE.

HIS EXCELLENCY

THE BRAZILIAN MINISTER.

52 CORNWALL GARDENS, S. W.,
DECEMBER 3RD, 1904.

DEAR MR. BUCKLE,

Your letter gives me infinite satisfaction. I now leave the idea to your care, and will not mention it to any one else.

CICERO'S monument, like those elsewhere of ARMINIUS and VERCINGETORIX, would also be a symbol, the symbol of Eloquence, of Letters, of Parliament, of the highest patriotic Ideals, of love of Humanity as a whole. You can in such a Senate call upon an English University to speak first. He better than all represents the agglutination of Greek genius and Roman power, and, if as he confessed, Rome owed everything to it, it is to him chiefly that the world must feel indebted for the inheritance resulting from that assimilation.

CICERO'S Memorial would, besides, in modern Rome, be neutral ground. *To cross the Tiber* seems a much greater moral difficulty for either party there than it was for CÆSAR, that of crossing the Rubicon, but to that effect they would willingly do it, as both acknowledge his spiritual parentage.

As for England and the Anglo-Saxon race, any world-wide mark of their gratitude for the heaps of intellectual wealth from Latin stock which they will forever enjoy with their language could not be better directed than to CICERO himself.

Many thanks and *au revoir*,

Yours very truly

JOAQUIM NABUCO.

ROME, LE 13 FEVRIER, 1905.

MON CHER MARQUIS,

Permettez-moi de vous communiquer, à titre absolument confidentiel, pour ce qui regarde le Rédacteur du TIMES et moi-même, la correspondance confidentielle que j'ai eue avec lui au sujet de la glorification de CICERON à Rome suggérée par vous-même. C'est une œuvre à laquelle vous trouveriez une tâche digne de votre inspiration d'homme d'État, car ce serait certes vous que CICERON nommerait à cette heure son exécuteur testamentaire pour ce qui regarde son amour pour les lettres, la liberté, la paix, le droit et la gloire de son grand Pays.

Votre tout dévoué

JOAQUIM NABUCO.

ROME, 15 MAI, 1905.

MONSIEUR ET CHER AMI,

Je vous demande pardon de répondre si tard à votre aimable lettre, mais, hélas ! j'ai été longtemps absent et, à peine rentré en Italie, j'ai été pris par une masse d'affaires qui m'ont ôté toute liberté.

J'ai admiré la correspondance avec le directeur du Times, Mr. Buckle, et le coup de patte que vous avez donné à Mommsen, qui l'a si bien mérité.

J'en suis fier comme Italien, et fier de voir comme la gloire de nos ancêtres est toujours fraîche et resplendissante. Mais, puisque MR. BUCKLE n'a pas l'intention de prendre la belle initiative que vous lui avez offerte, mieux vaut accepter son conseil.

Un groupe de *scholars*, une Université anglaise ou Américaine, serait peut être en mesure de prendre l'initiative avec un grand succès.

Agréez, mon cher Ministre, mes sentiments de reconnaissance soit comme Italien soit pour mon compte personnel.

Bien à vous

DE RUDINI.

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