

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

CICERO
LETTERS TO ATTICUS
VOLUME II



Edited and Translated by
D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY

CICERO

LETTERS TO ATTICIUS

VOLUME I
江苏工业学院图书馆

藏书章
EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

D. B. SHACKLETON BAILEY.



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

LONDON, ENGLAND

1999

Copyright © 1999 by the President and Fellows
of Harvard College
All rights reserved

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark
of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cicero, Marcus Tullius.

[Ad Atticum. English]

Letters to Atticus / Cicero ; edited and translated by
D.R. Shackleton Bailey.

p. cm.—(Loeb classical library ; 7-8, 97, 491)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-674-99571-6 (v. 1). — ISBN 0-674-99572-4 (v. 2). —

ISBN 0-674-99573-2 (v. 3). — ISBN 0-674-99540-6 (v. 4)

1. Cicero, Marcus Tullius—Correspondence. 2. Latin
letters—Translations into English. 3. Atticus, Titus
Pomponius—Correspondence.

4. Statesmen—Rome—Correspondence.

5. Authors, Latin—Correspondence. I. Atticus, Titus
Pomponius. II. Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (David Roy), 1917–

III. Title. IV. Series. PA6308.E6B3 1998

937'.05'092—dc2l [b] 98-8779

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

INTRODUCTION

LETTERS 1-89

VOLUME II

LETTERS 90-165A

VOLUME III

LETTERS 166-281

VOLUME IV

LETTERS 282-426

APPENDIX

CONCORDANCE

GLOSSARY

INDEX

MAPS

**CICERO'S
LETTERS TO ATTICUS**

CICERO

90 (IV.15)

Scr. Romae VI Kal. Sext. an. 54 (§ 8)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

- 1 De Eutychide gratum, qui vetere praenomine novo nomine T. erit Caecilius, ut est ex me et ex te iunctus Dionysius M. Pomponius. valde mehercule mihi gratum est¹ Euty-
chidem tua erga me benevolentia² cognosse suam³ illam
meo dolore συμπαθείαν neque tum mihi obscuram ne-
que post ingratam fuisse.
- 2 Iter Asiaticum tuum puto tibi suscipiendum fuisse,
numquam enim tu sine iustissima causa tam longe a tot tuis
et hominibus et rebus carissimis et suavissimis abesse
voluisses. sed humanitatem tuam amoremque in tuos redi-
tus celeritas declarabit. sed vereor ne lepore suo detineat
diutius praetor Clodius et homo pereruditus, ut aiunt, et
nunc quidem deditus Graecis litteris Pituanus. sed si vis
homo esse, recipe te ad nos ad quod tempus confirmasti.
cum illis tamen cum salvi venerint Romae vivere licebit.
- 3 Avere te scribis accipere aliquid a me litterarum. dedi,
ac multis quidem de rebus ἡμερολογδὸν perscripta omnia;
sed, ut conicio, quoniam mihi non videris in Epiro diu
fuisse, redditas tibi non arbitror. genus autem mearum ad
te quidem litterarum eius modi fere est ut non libeat

¹ si *vel* se (*Buecheler*)

² tuam . . . benevolentiam (*Baiter*)

³ cognosces suam *al.* (*Baiter*)

¹ In freeing Eutychides (it would seem at Cicero's request) Atticus had given him his own adoptive *nomen*, Caecilius, and his original praenomen, Titus (not Quintus). See Appendix on names.

LETTER 90 (IV.15)

90 (IV.15)

Rome, 27 July 54

CICERO TO ATTICUS

Thank you for the news about Eutychides. So he will be T. Caecilius¹ in future, the old forename with the new name, just as Dionysius is M. Pomponius, made up of me and you. I am really very much pleased that Eutychides has found out, through your kindness to me, that I noticed his sympathy in my dark days and have not forgotten it since.

I think your trip to Asia must have been necessary, for you would never without the best of reasons have wished to be so far away from all the people and things that are yours and that you most love and delight in. But your goodness of heart and affection for those near to you will be plain to see in the speed of your return. I'm afraid though that Praetor Clodius² wit and charm may detain you a long while, and Pituanus too, such a scholar, they tell me, and so devoted nowadays to Greek literature! But be a good fellow and come back to us by the time you promised. After all you will be able to see plenty of them in Rome when they are safely home again.

You say you are longing to get a line from me. I *did* write, with a full day-by-day account of all sorts of things. But as I suspect, since it looks as though you did not stay long in Epirus, I suppose the letter was never delivered. My letters to *you* being of the kind they generally are, I

² P. Clodius' brother Gaius (apparently an aristocratic boor) was governor of Asia. Pituanus was probably on his staff, concerned with business documents, which would mostly be in Greek.

cuiquam dare nisi de quo exploratum sit tibi eum redditurum.

- 4 Nunc Romanas res accipe. a. d. III<I>⁴ Non. Quint. Sufenas et Cato absoluti, Procilius condemnatus. ex quo intellectum est *τρισαρεοπαγίτας* ambitum, comitia, interregnum, maiestatem, totam denique rem publicam flocci non facere, patrem familia<s> domi suae occidi⁵ nolle, neque tamen id ipsum abunde; nam absolverunt XXII, condemnarunt XXVIII. Publius sane diserto epilogo <la>crim[in]ans⁶ mentis iudicum moverat. Hortalus in ea causa fuit cuius modi solet. nos verbum nullum; verita est enim pusilla, quae nunc laborat, ne animum Publi offenderet.

- 5 His rebus actis Reatini me ad sua Τέμπη duxerunt ut agerem causam contra In<ter>amnatis apud consules⁷ et decem legatos, qua⁸ lacus Velinus a M'. Curio emissus interciso monte in Nar⁹ defluit; ex quo est illa siccata et umida tamen modice Rosia. vixi cum Axio; quin etiam me ad Septem Aquas duxit.

- 6 Redii Romam Fonteius causa a. d. VII Id. Quint. veni spectatum,¹⁰ primum magno et aequabili plausu—sed hoc ne curaris, ego ineptus qui scripserim. deinde Antiphonti operam. is erat ante manu missus quam productus. ne diutius pendeas, palmam tulit. sed nihil tam pusillum, nihil

⁴ *add. Manutius,* ⁵ occidere (*Schütz*)

⁶ *cruminar vel criminans (SB)* ⁷ consulem (*SB*)

⁸ quod (*SB*) ⁹ *add. Lambinus*

¹⁰ spectaculum (*Graevius*)

³ M'. Curius Dentatus as Censor in 272 built the second Roman aqueduct. The people of Interamna seem to have com-

don't like giving them to anybody unless I can be sure that he will deliver them to you.

Now let me give you the news of the town. On 4 July Sufenas and Cato were acquitted, Procilius found guilty. We conclude that our triple-piled Daniels don't care a rap about bribery, or elections, or interregnum, or lese majesty, or indeed the entire body politic, but when it comes to slaughtering a paterfamilias in his own house, they disapprove—not, however, overwhelmingly even then; 22 voted 'Not Guilty' to 28 'Guilty.' The jury was moved by a really eloquent peroration from Publius, delivered with tears. Hortalus was in his usual form. I said not a word—my little girl, who is not very well at present, was afraid it might annoy Publius.

All this transacted, the good folk of Reate brought me to their Vale, wishing me to plead their case against the Interamnates before the Consuls and ten assessors. There Lake Velinus flows into the Nar through a cutting in the mountains made by M'. Curius,³ as a result of which the Plain of Rosia⁴ was drained, though remaining moderately moist. I stayed with Axius. Indeed he took me to see the Seven Waters.⁵

I returned to Rome for Fonteius' benefit on 9 July, and went to the theatre. To begin with, the applause was loud and steady as I entered—but never mind that, I am a fool to mention it. To proceed, I saw Antipho, who had been given his freedom before they put him on the stage. Not to keep you too long in suspense, he won the prize; but

plained of flooding from the lake due to the cutting into the river Nar.

⁴ Fertile plain to the north of Reate.

⁵ A group of lakes to the north of the plain.

tam sine voce, nihil tam... verum haec tu tecum habeto. in Andromacha tamen maior fuit quam Astyanax, in ceteris parem habuit neminem. quaeris nunc de Arbuscula. valde placuit. ludi magnifici et grati; venatio in aliud tempus dilata.

- 7 Sequere nunc me in campum. ardet ambitus. ὁρῶμα δέ τοι ἐρέω⁶: faenus ex triente Id. Quint. factum erat bes-sibus. dices 'istuc quidem non moleste fero.' o virum! o civem! Memmium Caesaris omnes opes confirmant. cum eo Domitium consules iunxerunt, qua pactione epistulae committere non audeo. Pompeius fremit, queritur, Scauro studet; sed utrum fronte an mente dubitatur. ἐξοχή in nullo est; pecunia omnium dignitatem exaequat. Messalla languet, non quo aut animus desit aut amici, sed coitio consulum <et> Pompeius obsunt. ea comitia puto fore ut ducantur. tribunicii candidati iurarunt se arbitrio Catonis petitu-ros. apud eum HS quingena deposuerunt ut, qui a Catone damnatus esset, id perderet et competitoribus tribueretur. haec ego pridie scribebam quam comitia fore putabantur. sed ad te v Kal. Sext., si facta erunt et tabel-
- 8

⁶ So Horace Walpole to Horace Mann: 'His acting I have seen, and may say to you, who will not tell it again here, I see nothing wonderful in it, but it is heresy to say so.'

⁷ In the role of Hector's wife Antipho was at any rate taller (the Latin word can also mean 'better') than the child who represented Hector's baby son.

⁸ I.e., he was the *worst* actor on the stage.

⁹ An actress in mime (which, unlike tragedy, allowed of female performers), also mentioned in Horace's *Satires*.

¹⁰ The beast fight that normally followed the main show.

¹¹ *Iliad* 23.326.

never have I seen such a weedy little object, not a scrap of voice, not a—but don't say I said so!⁶ As Andromache at any rate he stood head and shoulders above Astyanax.⁷ In the other roles he didn't have his equal.⁸ Now you'll want to know about Arbuscula.⁹ First-rate. The games were fine and much appreciated. The hunt¹⁰ was put off to another time.

Now follow me to the Campus. Bribery is running riot. 'A token I shall tell':¹¹ interest went up on the Ides of July from 1/3 to 2/3 percent.¹² 'That I can bear,' you'll say—you model of morality and public spirit! Caesar is backing Memmius for all he's worth. The Consuls have paired him with Domitius in an arrangement which I dare not commit to writing.¹³ Pompey is fuming and growling. Ostensibly Scaurus is his man, but does he mean it? We have our doubts. None of the four has any special prominence. Money levels standing all round. Messalla is lagging, not for lack of spirit or friends, but the Consuls' pact and Pompey are against him. I think these elections are likely to drag on. The tribunician candidates have taken an oath to conduct their campaign with Cato as umpire. Each of them has deposited HS 500,000 with him on the understanding that anyone found guilty of impropriety by Cato shall forfeit his deposit, which will be distributed among his rivals. I write this the day before the elections are expected to take place. If they do, and if the courier has not left, I shall write you the whole story of the elections on 28

¹² Roman interest was reckoned by the month.

¹³ See following letter, para. 2. The candidates for the Consulship this year were M. Aemilius Scaurus, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, C. Memmius, and M. Valerius Messalla Rufus.

CICERO

larius non erit profectus, tota comitia perscribam. quae si, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint, plus unus Cato potuerit quam <omnes leges>¹¹ omnesque¹² iudices.

9 Messius defendebatur a nobis de legatione revocatus; nam eum Caesari legarat Appius. Servilius edixit ut adesset. tribus habet Pomptinam, Velinam, Maeciam. pugnatur acriter; agitur tamen satis. deinde me expedio ad Drusum, inde ad Scaurum. parantur orationibus indices gloriosi. fortasse accedent etiam consules designati. in quibus si Scaurus non fuerit, in hoc iudicio valde laborabit.

10 Ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia. suspenso animo exspecto quid agat. illud quidem sumus adepti, quod multis et magnis indiciis possumus iudicare, nos Caesari et carissimos et iucundissimos esse.

Dionysium velim salvere iubeas et eum roges ut te hortetur quam primum venias, ut possit Ciceronem meum atque etiam me ipsum erudire.

91 (IV.17)

Scr. Romae Kal. Oct. an. 54 (§ 4)

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1 Puto te existimare me non oblitum consuetudinis et instituti mei rarius ad te scribere quam solebam; sed cum loca

¹¹ *add. Wesenberg*

¹² omnes qui (*Wesenberg*)

¹⁴ The younger Isauricus, Praetor this year.

¹⁵ The anti-bribery law under which Messius was tried provided that the jury be chosen from three tribes.

¹⁶ Charged with extortion in Sardinia. Cicero's successful

LETTER 91 (IV.17)

July. If they go through without bribery, as it is believed they will, Cato will have done more single-handed than all the laws and all the jurymen.

I am defending Messius, who has been recalled from his Commissionership—Appius had given him one on Caesar's staff. Servilius¹⁴ issued an edict requiring him to attend. He has for tribes the Pomptine, the Veline, and the Maecian.¹⁵ We are making a game fight of it, but we have all we can do. Then I get ready for Drusus, from him to Scaurus.¹⁶ Fine titles for my speeches I'm collecting! Perhaps the Consuls-Designate will come next. If Scaurus is not one of them, he'll have a difficult passage in this trial.

From a letter of my brother's I guess that he is already in Britain. I am waiting in suspense to hear how he is getting on. One thing has been achieved anyhow, as I can judge by many substantial tokens—I stand very high in Caesar's regard and favour.

Remember me to Dionysius, and ask him to persuade you to come back as soon as possible, so that he can instruct my Marcus and myself too.

91 (IV.17)

Rome, 1 October 54

CICERO TO ATTICUS

If I write to you less often than I used, I feel sure you won't think it is because I have forgotten my old-established

speech in his defence is partially extant. Subsequently he was convicted on another charge. As to Drusus, see Letter 89, note 5. Both were nobles, whose fathers (adoptive in Drusus' case) ranked among the great names of Roman history.

et itinera tua nihil habere certi video, neque in Epirum neque Athenas neque in Asiam neque cuiquam nisi ad te ipsum proficiscenti dedi litteras. neque enim <ae> sunt epistulae nostrae quae si perlatae non sint nihil ea res nos offensura sit; quae tantum habent mysteriorum ut eas ne librariis quidem fere committamus ne quid¹ quo excidat.

- 2 Consules flagrant infamia quod C. Memmius candidatus pactionem in senatu recitavit quam ipse <et> suus competitor Domitius cum consulibus fecisset, uti ambo HS[XXXX]² consulibus darent, si essent ipsi consules facti, nisi tris augures dedissent qui se adfuisse dicerent cum lex curiata ferretur quae lata non esset, et duo consularis qui se dicerent in ornandis provinciis consularibus scribendo adfuisse cum omnino ne senatus quidem fuisset. haec pactione non verbis sed nominibus et perscriptionibus multorum <per>³ tabulas cum esse facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio est nominibus inductis auctore Pompeio. hic Appius erat idem; nihil sane iacturae. corruerat alter et plane, inquam,
- 3 iacebat. Memmius autem dirempta coitione invito Calvino plane refrixerat et eo magis nunc quod⁴ iam intellegebamus enuntiationem illam Memmi valde Caesari displicere. Messalla noster et eius Domitius competitor liberalis in populum⁵ valde fuit. nihil gratius. certi erant consules. at senatus decernit ut tacitum iudicium ante comitia fieret ab

¹ lepidum (O. E. Schmidt)

² quadragena ita interpret. Gelzer : quadringenties Watt, ut interpr. multi

³ add. SB

⁴ ita Sternkopf (vide Teubnerianam)

⁵ populo (Pius)

habit. But as your addresses and routes seem to be quite uncertain, I have given no letters to travellers to Epirus or Athens or Asia or to anyone at all unless he is on his way to you personally. Mine are not the sort of letters which can miss their destination and no harm done. They contain so many secrets that I don't usually trust them even to my clerks for fear something might leak out.

The Consuls are in the thick of a tremendous scandal. The candidate C. Memmius read out in the Senate the text of a compact which he and his fellow candidate Domitius had made with the Consuls providing that, if they were themselves elected, they would furnish three Augurs who would state that they had been present at the passing of a *lex curiata* which had never been passed, and two Consulars who would state that they had witnessed a senatorial decree making provision for the consular provinces, though the Senate had not even met; failing this, they were both to forfeit the sum of HS 4,000,000 to the Consuls. The compact, which, as was stated, was not an oral one but had been entered in the account books of many persons with names and full details, was produced by Memmius on Pompey's advice with the names cancelled. This exposure leaves Appius where he was—nothing lost to be sure. But for his colleague it is a collapse, he is utterly discredited. Memmius, having broken up the coalition against Calvinus' wishes, looks a very tired horse, especially at this present, because we now gather that Caesar is very much annoyed at his making this disclosure. Our friend Messalla and his fellow candidate Domitius have treated the public very handsomely. Much popularity in consequence. They were certain of election. Then came a senatorial decree providing that before the elections a 'silent'

iis consiliis †quae erant omnibus sortita†⁶ in singulos candidatus. magnus timor candidatorum. sed quidam iudices, in his Opimius, Veiento, Rantius, tribunos pl. appellarunt ne iniussu populi iudicarent. †rescidit†.⁷ comitia dilata ex senatus consulto dum lex de tacito iudicio ferretur. venit legi dies. Terentius intercessit. consules, qui illud levi brachio egissent, rem ad senatum detulerunt. hic Abdera, non tacente me. dices 'tamen tu non quiescis?' ignosce, vix possum. verum tamen quid tam ridiculum? senatus decreverat ne prius comitia haberentur quam lex lata esset; <si> quis intercessisset, res integra referretur. coepta ferri leviter, intercessum non invitis, res ad senatum. 'de ea re ita censuerunt, comitia primo quoque tempore haberi. c.'⁸

- 4 Scaurus, qui erat paucis diebus illis absolutus, cum ego partem eius⁹ ornatissime defendissem, obnuntiationibus per Scaevolam interpositis singulis diebus usque ad pr. Kal. Oct., quo ego haec die scripsi, sublatis, populo tributim domi suae satis fecerat. sed tamen, etsi uberior liberalitas huius, gratior esse videbatur eorum qui occuparant. cu-perem vultum videre tuum cum haec legeres; nam pro-fecto spem¹⁰ habes nullam haec negotia multarum nundinarum fore. sed senatus hodie erat futurus, id est Kal. Oct.;

⁶ sortito *coni.* SB

⁷ res cecidit *Madvig*

⁸ censere (SB)

⁹ causae *Watt* : causae eius *coni.* SB

¹⁰ rem (*Lambinus*)

¹ The nature of this special procedure is unknown.

² Now Tribune. He was probably trying to help Scaurus, with whom he had family ties, by holding up the elections.

³ Atticus would return too late to reap the moneylenders' harvest.

process¹ should be instituted against each candidate individually, the jury to be made up by lot from those already empanelled (?). Great alarm among the candidates. Certain jurors however, including Opimius, Veiento and Rantius, appealed to the Tribunes against being required to serve without the authority of the Assembly. Collapse(?) of project. The elections were then postponed by senatorial decree to allow time for a law concerning the 'silent' process to be submitted to the Assembly. Voting day arrived, Terentius cast his veto. The Consuls, who had handled the business very gingerly, referred the position to the Senate. All Fools Festival there, not without a protest from me. 'Still not keeping quiet?' you'll say. Sorry, I scarcely know how to. But really, is it not too fantastic? The Senate had forbidden elections until the presentation of the law, with the proviso that in the event of a veto the matter should be referred to them afresh. The machinery is set in motion, halfheartedly enough, the veto received without reluctance, the matter brought back to the House. 'Concerning this matter this House declared that the elections be held as soon as possible. Declared.'

A few days ago Scaurus was acquitted, part of him being defended by me in my best style. Every day up to 29 September, the day I write this letter, having been voided by Scaevola² with reports of bad auspices, he has given the public its due at his own house, tribe by tribe. But though his largesse has been more plentiful, it looks as if more popularity will go to those who got in first. I should love to see your face as you read this—for you really can't expect these goings-on to last many weeks.³ However, the Senate is to meet today, i.e. the Kalends of October, for it's now