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CICERO
LETTERS TO
QUINTUS AND BRUTUS
TO OCTAVIAN • INVECTIVES
HANDBOOK
OF ELECTIONEERING



Edited and Translated by
D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY

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LETTER FRAGMENTS

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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See also Introductions to individual sections.

Abbreviations in Critical Notes

Corr. = Corradus
Crat. = Cratander
Ern. = Ernesti
Gron. = Gronovius
Gul. = Gulielmius
Lamb. = Lambinus
Man. = Manutius
Or. = Orelli
SB = Shackleton Bailey
T.-P. = Tyrrell-Purser
Turn. = Turnebus
Vict. = Victorius
Wes. = Wesenberg

Throughout, all dates are B.C. unless otherwise specified.

**CICERO'S LETTERS TO
HIS BROTHER QUINTUS**

INTRODUCTION

Marcus Cicero's only brother, Quintus, was about two years his junior. They grew up together, and when Marcus went on his eastern travels in 79 Quintus accompanied him. Some ten years later he married the sister of Marcus' closest friend, T. Pomponius Atticus. The marriage, which M. Cicero is said on good authority to have engineered, was a failure, although it lasted nearly a quarter of a century and produced a son. Pomponia was somewhat older than her husband and they made a cantankerous pair from the first.

Following in his elder brother's wake, Quintus embarked on a political career, although he had no taste for public speaking, and stood successfully for Quaestor, Aedile, and Praetor (the last during Marcus' Consulship in 63). In 61 he went out to the province of Asia as Proconsul, a post which he held for the exceptional period of three years. It says much for his integrity as a governor that he was genuinely annoyed when the Senate extended his term a second time. His return from Asia in 58 coincided with his brother's journey into exile. Back in Rome, Quintus was for some time anxious about a threatened prosecution for maladministration in his province, perhaps to be conducted by a nephew of P. Clodius. When nothing came of it, he was able to devote himself wholeheartedly to the

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campaign for Marcus' restoration. On one occasion his efforts nearly cost him his life, when he was left for dead on the scene of a riot.

After Marcus' return in 57, Quintus remained for nearly two more years in Italy, with a brief interval of overseas employment in 56, when Pompey stationed him in Sardinia to supervise grain supplies. In the spring of 54 he joined Caesar's staff in Gaul as Legate, where he distinguished himself by a heroic defence of his camp against a rebel tribe. Caesar congratulated him publicly and gives the episode handsome recognition in his *Commentaries*, qualified however by criticism of a subsequent piece of negligence on Quintus' part, which nearly led to a disaster. With his later career down to his death in the Proscriptions of 43 we are not here concerned.

Quintus shared his brother's and brother-in-law's interest in Hellenic culture and was himself a prolific versifier, whiling away inactive spells in Gaul by translating Sophocles' plays into Latin. Twenty uninspired hexameters about the signs of the zodiac, taken from an unknown poem, are attributed to him. We also have four short letters from him in the collection *Letters to Friends* (44, 147, 351, 352) and the tract on electioneering, couched in the form of a letter of advice to his brother on his consular candidature in 64, generally known as *Commentariolum Petitionis* (*A Short Memorandum on Standing for Office*). But the authenticity of this last is in serious doubt.

Down to the closing years of their lives the relationship between the brothers remained on the whole close and affectionate, though indications of friction and latent resentments on Quintus' part are not lacking. For details I must refer to my biography, from which I quote the following

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summary: 'The deplorable marriage, which Marcus Cicero had made and striven to keep in being for his own reasons, friction over Statius, disappointments in Gaul, untoward incidents in Cilicia, Quintus' strange passivity in the early months of the Civil War—all this and much more of which we are not informed may have gone to nourish an ulcer in Quintus' mind: the mind of a small man, irritable, querulous, and weak; a severe magistrate, who spoiled his son and let himself be run by a slave; a good man in a battle or a riot, but a rabbit in front of his wife; ambitious, but inhibited by a distrust of his talents, which were not of the first order, and handicapped by the unlucky accident of birth, which had made him a bigger man's younger brother.' The outcome was a prolonged and bitter quarrel during the Civil War, which was never more than superficially patched up.¹

The three Books of Cicero's letters to Quintus may well have been published by his secretary Tiro, like the *Letters to Friends*. The first in the series is no ordinary letter but a tract, presumably meant for at least private circulation, which might have been entitled *Advice to a Governor* and could be regarded as a *quid pro quo* for the *Commensorium*, if the latter were certainly authentic. A second, genuinely private letter belongs to this period. Then come two letters from exile, followed by the remaining nineteen, which date from the end of 57 to the end of 54.

¹ The conventional view, at least until 1971, that the reconciliation following the return of both brothers to Rome late in 47 was genuine and complete cannot be entertained by anyone who has read the contemporary letters to Atticus with attention and without sentimental prejudice.

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The manuscript tradition for the *Letters to Quintus* is the same as for those to Atticus, omitting the (lost) Tornesianus. As in previous volumes in this series (*Letters to Atticus* and *Letters to Friends*) and throughout this volume, my critical notes do not particularize the manuscript sources, but rather aim to give warning where the reading in the text has little or no manuscript support (excluding some as too obvious and generally accepted to need mention). The notes in such cases give the manuscript reading generally followed by the name of the corrector in parenthesis; where no name follows, the siglum ς is to be understood, indicating inferior manuscripts or early editions.

The fullest apparatus criticus is in H. Sjögren's edition (Uppsala 1911), but for most purposes W. S. Watt's Oxford Text of 1958 (the beginning of a new era in the textual criticism and interpretation of Cicero's correspondence) or my Teubner (Stuttgart) edition of 1988 will suffice. Occasional departures from the latter text are again indicated in the critical notes by an asterisk.

My Commentary on the letters to Quintus and to M. Brutus is in the last volume (1980) of my Cambridge edition of the correspondence.

1 (I.1)

Scr. Romae (?) ex. an. 60 aut in. an. 59

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM

- 1 Etsi non dubitabam quin hanc epistulam multi nuntii, Fama denique esset ipsa sua celeritate superatura tuque ante ab aliis auditurus esses annum tertium accessisse desiderio nostro et labori tuo, tamen existimavi a me quoque tibi huius molestiae nuntium perferri oportere. nam superioribus litteris non unis sed pluribus, cum iam ab aliis desperata res esset, tamen tibi ego spem maturae decessionis adferebam, non solum ut quam diutissime te iucunda opinione oblectarem sed etiam quia tanta adhibebatur et a nobis et a praetoribus contentio ut rem posse confici non diffiderem.
- 2 Nunc, quoniam ita accidit ut neque praetores suis opibus neque nos nostro studio quicquam proficere possemus, est omnino difficile non graviter id ferre, sed tamen nostros animos maximis in rebus et gerendis et sustinendis exercitatos frangi et debilitari molestia non oportet. <et>¹ quoniam ea molestissime ferre homines debent quae ipso-
rum culpa contracta sunt, est quiddam in hac re mihi molestius ferendum quam tibi. factum est enim mea culpa, contra quam tu mecum et proficiscens et per litteras egeras, ut priore anno non succederetur. quod ego, dum socio-

¹ (*Man.*)

1 (I.1)

Rome, end of 60 or beginning of 59

From Marcus to his brother Quintus greetings.

I don't doubt that this letter will be outpaced by many messengers, indeed by Rumour herself with her well-known speed, and that you will hear from others beforehand that our loss and your labour¹ have been extended for a third year. Still, I thought it proper that this tiresome news should reach you from me as well as others. For in writing to you previously, not once but a number of times, I used to hold out to you the hope of an early homecoming even after others had already despaired of it. That was not just to amuse you as long as possible with a pleasant notion but because the Praetors and I were both working so hard for it that I felt sure the thing could be done.

Well, unfortunately, neither the Praetors' influence nor my own zeal has had any success. It is hard not to feel irked. However, we have had too long a training in the conduct of great affairs and the bearing of great responsibilities to lose heart and strength in our vexation. And in one respect I should be taking it harder than you, since it is the misfortunes for which they are ourselves to blame that ought to distress people the most. It *was* my fault that, against your urgings before you set out and later by letter, you were not relieved the previous year. Thinking of the

¹ As Proconsul in Asia.

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rum saluti consulo, dum impudentiae non nullorum negotiatorum resisto, dum nostram gloriam tua virtute augeri expeto, feci non sapienter, praesertim cum id commiserim ut ille alter annus etiam tertium posset adducere.

3 Quod quoniam peccatum meum esse confiteor, est sapientiae atque humanitatis tuae curare et perficere ut hoc minus sapienter a me provisum diligentia tua corrigatur. ac si te ipse vehementius ad omnis partis bene audiendi excitaris, non ut cum aliis sed ut tecum iam ipse certes, si omnem tuam mentem, curam, cogitationem ad excellendi² in omnibus <gene>ribus³ laudis cupiditatem incitaris, mihi crede, unus annus additus labori tuo multorum annorum laetitiam nobis, gloriam vero etiam posteris nostris adferet.

4 Quapropter hoc te primum rogo, ne contrahas ac demittas animum neve te obrui tamquam fluctu sic magnitudine negoti sinas contraque erigas ac resistas sive etiam ultro occurras negotiis; neque enim eius modi partem rei publicae geris in qua Fortuna dominetur, sed in qua plurimum ratio possit et diligentia. quod si tibi bellum aliquod magnum et periculosum administranti prorogatum imperium viderem, tremere animo quod eodem tempore esse intellexerem etiam Fortunae potestatem in nos prorogam.
5 tam. nunc vero ea pars tibi rei publicae commissa est in qua aut nullam aut perexiguam partem Fortuna tenet et quae mihi tota in tua virtute ac moderatione animi posita esse videatur. nullas, ut opinor, insidias hostium, nullam proeli dimicationem, nullam defectionem sociorum, nullam inopiam stipendi aut rei frumentariae, nullam seditionem exercitus pertimescimus; quae persaepe sapientissimi-

² excellentem (*coni. Watt**: -ntis *Ern.*)

³ (*coni. Watt*)*

LETTER 1 (I.1)

welfare of the provincials, opposing the effrontery of certain businessmen, and seeking to add to our prestige by your abilities, I acted unwisely, all the more so as I ran the risk of that second year entailing a third.

I acknowledge that the error was mine. Now it is for you, with your great good sense and your kind heart, to take good care to correct my lack of foresight by your pains. If you gird up your loins to the business of gaining approval all round and try to excel, not others, but yourself; if you urge your whole mind and concern and thought into one ambition—to do yourself the utmost credit in all respects: then take my word for it, a single added year of work will bring us happiness for many years ahead and glory to those who come after us as well.

Well then, this is the first thing I ask of you: let there be no inner withdrawal or discouragement. Don't allow yourself to be submerged beneath the flood of a great responsibility. Stand up and face it, contend with business as it comes or even go out to meet it. Success in your sphere of public service is not in the hands of chance, it mainly depends on thought and application. If you were conducting some big, dangerous war and I saw your command extended, I should be alarmed, because I should realize that it also meant an extension of Fortune's power over ourselves. But as matters stand, Fortune has no part, or only a very small part, in the public responsibility which has been entrusted to you. It seems to me to lie wholly in your own ability and discretion. We do not, I think, have to fear a hostile ambushade or a pitched battle or the desertion of allies or want of means to pay and feed our troops or a mutiny. Such things have happened time and time again to

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mis viris acciderunt, ut, quem ad modum gubernatores optimi vim tempestatis, sic illi impetum Fortunae superare non possent. tibi data est summa pax, summa tranquillitas, ita tamen ut ea dormientem gubernatorem vel obruere, vigilantem etiam delectare possit.

- 6 Constat enim ea provincia primum ex eo genere sociorum quod est ex hominum omni genere humanissimum, deinde ex eo genere civium qui aut quod publicani sunt nos summa necessitudine attingunt aut quod ita negotiantur ut locupletes sint nostri consulatus beneficio se incolumis fortunas habere arbitrantur. at enim inter hos ipsos existunt graves controversiae, multae nascuntur iniuriae, magnae contentiones consequuntur. quasi vero ego id putem, non te aliquantum negoti sustinere! intellego permagnum esse negotium et maximi consili, sed memento consili me hoc esse negotium magis aliquanto quam Fortunae putare. quid est enim negoti continere eos quibus praesis, si te ipse contineas? id autem sit magnum et difficile ceteris, sicut est difficillimum: tibi et fuit hoc semper facillimum et vero esse debuit, cuius natura talis est ut etiam sine doctrina videatur moderata esse potuisse, ea autem adhibita doctrina est quae vel vitiosissimam naturam excolere⁴ possit. tu cum pecuniae, cum voluptati, cum omnium rerum cupiditati resistes, ut facis, erit, credo, periculum ne improbum negotiatorem, paulo cupidiores publicanum comprimere non possis! nam Graeci quidem sic te ita viventem intuebuntur ut quendam ex annalium memoria aut etiam de caelo divinum hominem esse in provinciam delapsum putent.

⁴ accol- *vel* attoll-

LETTER 1 (I.1)

very wise men; they could not overcome Fortune's onset any more than the best of seamen can master a violent storm. *Your* portion is perfect peace and calm; and yet if the helmsman falls asleep he could go to the bottom in such weather, while if he keeps wide awake he may actually enjoy it.

Your province consists of a native population the most highly civilized in the world and of Romans who are either tax farmers, and thus very closely connected with us, or wealthy businessmen who think they owe the safety of their money to my Consulship. Ah, but they get into serious disputes among themselves, often do each other harm leading to mighty contentions. Well, I am not under the impression that you have no responsibilities at all! I do realize that you have a very great responsibility, calling for the highest qualities of judgement. But remember that in my opinion it is a good deal more a matter of judgement than of luck. After all, it is not too difficult to control the people under you if you control yourself. Self-control may be a great and difficult achievement for others, is so indeed, most difficult; but for you it has always been quite easy, and why not? You have a nature which would surely have tended to gentleness even without instruction; and instruction such as yours might lend some grace even to the most faulty of natures. In the future, as now, you will resist the temptations of money, pleasure, and every sort of appetite. Small fear then of your finding yourself unable to restrain a crooked businessman or an over-acquisitive tax farmer! As for the Greeks, when they look at you leading the life you do, they will think you are a character from history or a divine being come down from heaven into the province.

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- 8 Atque haec nunc non ut facias sed ut te facere et fecisse gaudeas scribo. praeclarum est enim summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia biennium⁵ sic ut nullum te signum, nulla pictura, nullum vas, nulla vestis, nullum mancipium, nulla forma cuiusquam, nulla condicio pecuniae, quibus rebus abundat ista provincia, ab summa integritate continentiae deduxerit. quid autem reperiri tam eximium aut tam expetendum potest quam istam virtutem, moderationem animi, temperantiam non latere in tenebris neque esse abditam, sed in luce Asiae, in oculis clarissimae provinciae atque in auribus omnium gentium ac nationum esse positam? non itineribus tuis perterreri homines, non sumptu exauriri, non adventu commoveri? esse, quocumque veneris, et publice et privatim maximam laetitiam, cum urbs custodem, non tyrannum, domus hospitem, non expilatorem recepisse videatur?
- 10 His autem in rebus iam te usus ipse profecto erudit nequaquam satis esse ipsum has te habere virtutes, sed esse circumspiciendum diligenter ut in hac custodia provinciae non te unum sed omnis ministros imperi tui sociis et civibus et rei publicae praestare videare. quamquam legatos habes eos qui ipsi per se habituri sint rationem dignitatis tuae.⁶ de quibus honore et dignitate et aetate praestat Tubero, quem ego arbitror, praesertim cum scribat historiam, multos ex suis annalibus posse deligere quos velit et possit imitari. Al^lienus autem noster est cum animo et benevolentia tum vero etiam imitatione vivendi. nam quid ego de Gratidio dicam? quem certo scio ita laborare de

⁵ triennium (*Ursinus*)

⁶ suae

² M. Gratidius, a relative of the Ciceros.