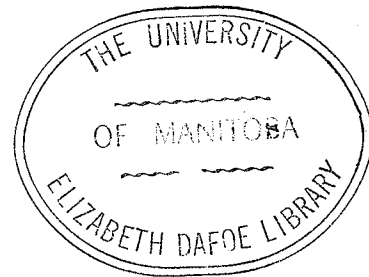


THE BROTHERS CICERO
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RELATIONSHIPS

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by
Margaret Mary Page
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To the memory of the late Professor W.M.Hugill this thesis, with its humble efforts, is gratefully dedicated.

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Abstract of Thesis

Cicero's Letters are, undoubtedly, the best available source of information for Cicero's family life and, particularly, for the relationships of the brothers Cicero. These Letters reveal the bold advocate, the timid and often vacillating statesman, the kind master, the warm-hearted friend, the fond husband, the affectionate father, and the loving and devoted brother.

Cicero believed very strongly in the importance of the family in society and the importance of the relationships within the family group. Despite his strong devotion to his family, most of his trials and troubles came from this same family. The chief troubles were his divorce from Terentia, the unfortunate marriages of his daughter Tullia, the failure of his son Marcus, and the disappointment of his nephew Quintus. Possibly the greatest trial of all was the bitter quarrel with Cicero's brother Quintus. Atticus was the only one close to Cicero who was a constant source of joy and consolation.

Cicero and Quintus were close friends and companions from their youth. Events at Pharsalus precipitated a bitter quarrel which lasted some two years. Various reasons have been offered for this quarrel or may be inferred from the letters.

Quintus' irascible nature and lack of self-control, his constant bickering with his wife, his disagreement with Atticus prior to going to his province - all these prepared the way for his eventual estrangement from his brother. The more immediate reasons may be considered to be Quintus' embitterment after Pompey's defeat and his general indebtedness dating from the period before he joined Cicero in Pompey's camp. It is likely, too, that Quintus felt some jealousy when Cicero and not he, was offered Pompey's command after Pharsalus. Furthermore, that Quintus had forfeited Caesar's goodwill by joining Cicero in this campaign must not be overlooked. No doubt, young Quintus, long experienced in family quarrels, seized this quarrel between his father and his uncle as an opportunity to avenge himself on his uncle for his past strictness towards him.

Both Cicero and Quintus were victims of their own inherent weaknesses. Cicero failed to realize his potential as a statesman because of his constant vacillation and faint-heartedness. If he could have made up his mind he could have left Italy and escaped the proscriptions of 43 B.C. Quintus was hampered by his irascible temper and lack of self-control even though he was considered an outstanding soldier and campaigner with Caesar.

Cicero blamed himself for his misfortunes. Quintus blamed others - Pomponia, young Quintus, Atticus, even Cicero.

The Ciceros left no progeny. Only young Marcus survived the proscriptions. He is reported to have died without an heir.

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INTRODUCTION

There are, perhaps, many interesting facets of Cicero's character as husband, father, and brother that could bear a more thorough study. Through the ages critics have defended or condemned, praised or maligned Cicero's conduct towards his family on different occasions and in varying circumstances. In the course of this study a conscientious effort will be made to view more closely some of these instances and to discuss the apparent reasons for the trials and difficulties that brought so much misunderstanding and grief to Cicero's domestic relationships. Particularly important to this study will be the quarrel with his brother Quintus, the probable reasons for it, the influence of family members upon it, and the eventual outcome of it.

Cicero's voluminous manuscripts and hundreds of letters have given readers an insight into his life and into the times in which he lived. The Letters, particularly, reveal Cicero the man with his strengths and his weaknesses, his successes and his failures. Here is the bold advocate, the timid and often vacillating statesman, the kind master, the warm-hearted friend, the fond husband, the affectionate father, and the loving and devoted brother.

Because the particular emphasis of this study will be upon Cicero's relationships with his brother both in public and in private life, the Letters will be necessarily the prime sources of information. The volumes of Ad Familiares translated by W.Glynn Williams, and the volumes of Ad Atticum translated by E.O.Winstedt, both from the Loeb Classical Library, will be the editions used throughout.

These letters numbering about one thousand are contained in thirty-six books of which sixteen are addressed to Atticus, sixteen to other friends, one to Marcus Brutus, and three to Cicero's brother, Quintus. They are strictly of a contemporary nature dealing as they do with events of Cicero's life from his thirty-ninth year to the end of his life, that is, from 68 to 43 B.C.

The three books Ad Quintum Fratrem cover a shorter period of six years from 60 to 54 B.C. Though these letters are interesting, they lack that complete abandon so characteristic of the letters to Atticus. Indeed the stately and respectful attitude of Cicero toward his younger and comparatively undistinguished brother in the first letter of his correspondence is more suited to that of a formal essay. Actually the letter itself was a treatise on provincial government and was intended as a return for the letter from Quintus to Cicero on the duties of a consular candidate.¹

The letters written to Quintus while in Caesar's camp show, understandably, less detail and frankness than

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the other letters addressed to him. Cicero himself remarked in one of them that he wrote less minutely to Quintus about public affairs because he was aware that everything, whether of little or great importance, was being reported to Caesar.² In another letter written a few months later he advised caution on Quintus' part. The reason he gave was the same one that prompted him to be careful in his own writings, namely, the possibility of his letter being intercepted and hurting someone's feelings.³

There are, unfortunately, no letters from the year of Cicero's consulship nor from the year of his canvass for the consulship, 64 and 63 B.C. There are only eleven in all from 68 to 65 B.C. There is no record of that crucial period of his life from the time of Clodius' election to the tribuneship in 59 B.C. to Cicero's banishment in 58 B.C. Another gap in the correspondence is the complete lack of written testimony from Atticus and from the women of Cicero's family.

What Atticus might have written can only be surmised at rare intervals from a chance reference to a letter received, a question asked, or, what is more usual, advice sought. However, there is one letter in Book IX which contains many quotations from one of Atticus' own letters. Here something of the rapport between the two friends can be sensed.⁴ What Terentia or Tullia might have written is impossible to determine. Since the correspondence with Terentia is more

limited than that with Atticus, not so much can be learned about Terentia from the letters. Yet the little that is known about Terentia and Tullia has been gathered largely from Cicero's Letters and Plutarch's writings.

However, apart from these limitations and gaps in the correspondence, Cicero has left an almost continuous record of Roman contemporary life. In his own characteristic style he has interpreted the political events of his own generation - a colourful period in the annals of civilization. He, too, has presented his own business, literary, and philosophical interests with ample detail. He has portrayed his close friends, his servants, and the members of his family. These portraits are often delineated with the utmost clarity and candour.

It is obvious that during his lifetime Cicero contemplated the eventual publication of his letters at least in part, for he said to Atticus when writing from Puteoli on July 9, 44 B.C.:

There is no collection of my letters, but Tiro has about seventy, and some can be got from you. Those I ought to see and correct, and then they may be published.⁵

There have been several theories advanced regarding the publication of these Letters. One of these theories is that of Jérôme Carcopino, who believes that the Letters were published to justify Octavian who allowed Cicero to be among the proscribed in 43 B.C.⁶

Carcopino declares that the Letters were published

during the period of the Triumvirate 43-31 B.C. He says that in their context and at the time they saw the light they served the cause of the Caesars, and lent support to their plan. He says, furthermore, that because the Letters convicted Cicero of having wished and welcomed Caesar's death they exonerated Octavian for having sacrificed Cicero. Octavian apparently considered the persecution of his adoptive father's assassins and would-be assassins a sacred mission imposed on him, as it was, by the will of Caesar's veterans, as well as by the filial piety he had sworn at the battle of Philippi.⁷

Tyrrell believes, on the authority of Cornelius Nepos, that Cicero's letters to Atticus did not appear before Atticus' death. He believes, too, that the letters to Quintus and Brutus were published with the letters to Atticus. He does not discuss the letters that supposedly show Cicero's biased views on Caesar.⁸ Shuckburgh declares that Cicero was "a human being with fiercely-beating pulse and hot blood", and thus seems to attribute Cicero's statements about Caesar to emotionalism. Shuckburgh, like Tyrrell, has made no mention of Cicero's so-called harm to Caesar in his letters.⁹ Nowhere in his wide research is there any mention of this matter.

Boissier believes that Cicero's letters must have been published in the interval that separates the period of proscriptions from the later period when books were burned indiscriminately. Boissier has made no mention of the

letters indicting Cicero for his opinions of Caesar. Rather Boissier states that the letters show that Cicero had dealings with all parties. Boissier admits it was a great fault in a politician and that for it Cicero was bitterly reproached by the shrewd people of his time. Yet he concedes that this fault of Cicero's profited posterity for, by it, all parties are represented in his correspondence.¹⁰

Carcopino alone, of the critics read, takes the view that Octavian felt vindicated by the publication of Cicero's Letters. It is necessary here to take into consideration Cicero's temperament. He was a highly emotional man who would naturally have felt strongly about the leading personalities of his day. As a private individual he should have been permitted the liberty to write freely to an intimate without the letters being used maliciously against him at a later date.

What was Cicero's opinion of Caesar as expressed in the Letters? On April 10, 44 B.C. Cicero had written to Atticus that the Ides of March consoled him even though all the world conspired against him and his associates.¹¹ On April 11 he affirmed that even though Caesar, the tyrant, had been killed, the tyranny continued. Cicero feared a sudden uprising of Caesar's followers. He reasoned that those who ought to have been hedged about and even honoured by the watchful care of the whole world, were only praised and admired and confined to their homes. He regretted, too, that they were happy while the state itself was in misery.¹² In

his letter to Atticus on April 12 he was even more bitter. He said:

For can there be a more wretched state of affairs than that we should keep up the things for which we detested him? Are we to have consuls and tribunes, too, for the next two years selected by him? I don't see how I can possibly take part in politics. For nothing could be more topsy-turvy than to belaud the slayers of the tyrant to the skies and to defend the tyrant's acts And in the meantime no senatorial decrees. For our policy is this, that we are afraid of the conquered party.¹³

Cicero reminded Atticus how, immediately after the assassination, he had cried aloud that the Senate should be summoned. The delay afforded ascendancy to the Caesareans.¹⁴ Cicero reminded Atticus, too, how he had exclaimed to Cicero that if Caesar's funeral took place the cause was lost.¹⁵

Yet despite Cicero's apparent sympathy with the assassins he had enjoyed friendly relations with Caesar. It would seem to be the power exercised and abused, rather than the individual who wielded it, he rejoiced to see gone. Cicero had respected and admired Caesar's literary achievement.¹⁶ He had entertained with pleasure Caesar and his retinue at Puteoli in December of 45 B.C.¹⁷

Caesar, on his part, had favoured Cicero. For Cicero's sake he had shown great consideration to Quintus when he returned to his camp after Pompey's defeat.¹⁸ Cicero owed to Caesar the valued leisure which enabled him to put forth some of his best literary works.¹⁹

Carcopino has a theory too, to account for the suppression of all letters written by Atticus. He maintains that

it was young Marcus, the owner of the volumina in which Cicero had bound Atticus' letters, who had the authority to publish or withhold Atticus' letters according to Atticus' own wishes. Carcopino concludes that the complete absence of all letters from Atticus in the compilation, which included letters from less important correspondents, is a proof of some understanding which must have reigned between Atticus and Marcus, the younger.²⁰ This statement must go uncontested for there is no proof that such was the reason for the suppression of Atticus' letters to Cicero.

Tiro is the one generally accredited with the publication of Cicero's correspondence. It was he who collected and edited the Letters.²¹ He was well qualified for publishing them, too, for who else had had such valued experience in taking down his master's dictation, reading aloud his fine works, and above all deciphering for copyists his almost illegible handwriting?²²

Despite Carcopino's conjecture of the agreement between Marcus and Atticus, he does admit that it was certain that Cicero's secretary had deposited Cicero's documents in some safe place; for he declares that the Ad Familiares include not only some letters which Tiro had received from Cicero, but a certain number which Quintus Cicero had addressed to Tiro.²³

That the Letters maintain a high level of artistry is only to be expected from the foremost prose writer of

the later Republican period. Not only are they examples of fine literary expression but they are courteous in tone and often truly charming. There is in them that urbanitas and humanitas for which Cicero is so noted. Plutarch maintained that in the entire correspondence there were only two examples of letters in which Cicero openly rebuked the addressees and employed a harsh tone. These are the letters written in Greek to Gorgias, the rhetorician, who was corrupting young Marcus while he was in Athens; and to Pelops of Byzantium who failed to procure for Cicero certain honours and public testimonials from the Byzantines.²⁴ No doubt it was Cicero's vanity that really prompted the latter.

In the extant correspondence Cicero, though he might have felt deeply annoyed or hurt, has managed to cloak his meaning diplomatically. An instance of this is the letter he sent to Marcus Antonius regarding the recall of Servius Clodius. That Cicero was deeply concerned, his words to Atticus attest:

But you can easily imagine the proposal is so unprincipled, so disgraceful, and so mischievous, that at times one almost wishes for Caesar back again.²⁵

Yet to Antonius he wrote:

So, since in making your request you say you will not use the power you have against my will, you may make this concession to the boy too in my name, if you will; not that a man of my age has anything to fear from a youth of his, or that a person of my position needs shrink from any quarrel, but that we may be more intimate than we have been as yet.²⁶

In Cicero's day letters were an almost indispensable

means of communication. They filled the place of the still non-existent newspaper. Frequently they were gossipy or just chatty. Sometimes they were a mere exchange of camaraderie as, for instance, this excerpt:

A bit of gossip is something after all, and, even if there is nothing to our talk, the mere fact of talking together has some charms.²⁷

Though Julius Caesar is credited with the establishment of the Acta Diurna it was not sufficiently well established then to replace the letter as a medium for circulating news. Circulation of letters was dependent upon the band of tabellarii who could travel great distances with the eagerly awaited news. More important documents were carried by private messengers. Cicero remarked in one letter to Atticus:

. . . . but I have been rather slow about sending one, for lack of a safe messenger. There are very few who can carry a letter of weight without lightening it by a perusal.²⁸

These letters were written in ink with a reed pen on paper or parchment. Sometimes they were on tablets of wood or ivory covered with wax, the marks being cut with a stylus. Cicero was not always too careful to make his letters clear. In reply to a complaint from Quintus he said that he was not busy, nor upset, nor angry with anyone; rather it was his practice to use whatever pen he found in his hand as if it were a good one.²⁹ He promised to make an effort to be more careful in the future since Quintus could hardly read his last letter. He selected a good pen, well-mixed ink, and

ivory-polished paper.³⁰ 11

It is quite evident from the Letters that Cicero, when writing, devotes attention primarily to the details of political and judicial matters. Then, too, several are filled with the minutiae of the trial of Aulus Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, accused of bribery. One such letter opens with an expression of disgust that Gabinius had been acquitted. Cicero declared that nothing on earth could have been more puerile than Gabinius' accuser, Lentulus, and those who endorsed his indictment, nothing more corrupt than the panel of jurors.³¹ This is followed by a detailed explanation of the trial.³²

The procession from Brundisium to Rome on Cicero's return from exile is described in vivid and glowing terms. Cicero said that when he came near the city there was not a soul of any class known to his attendant who did not come to meet him, except those enemies who could neither hide nor deny their enmity. When he reached the Capenan Gate, the steps of the temple were thronged with the populace. They exhibited their joy in loud applause. He declared that a similar crowd accompanied him to the Capitol, and that there was an extraordinary gathering in the Forum and on the Capitol, too.³³

Quite different is the treatment of family and domestic matters. Sometimes the briefest, often barest reference has to suffice; for instance:

I beg to inform you that on the very day that L. Julius Caesar and C. Marcus Figulus were elected to the consulship I was blessed with a baby boy; and Terentia is doing well. It is ages since I had a letter from you 34

In another letter to Atticus, this one written after his return from exile, there is this hint of pending domestic difficulties:

My other anxieties may not be rashly mentioned. My brother and daughter are devoted to me. I am looking forward to your coming.³⁵

Frequently in letters to Atticus and occasionally in letters to Quintus or others Cicero employed Greek phrases. This would appear to have been done for one of two reasons: Cicero indulged in a bit of camaraderie and used phrases or quotations which he knew the addressee would fully understand and appreciate;³⁶ or, he wished certain expressions of opinion to be private. Having written them in Greek, he provided less likelihood of a chance viewer deciphering the meaning. A perusal of the Letters indicates that some intimate family matters and the occasional political detail were rendered in Greek.³⁷

It is fortunate, indeed, for this study that so many of Cicero's letters to Quintus are extant, for they sometimes deal at greater length with personal and family matters than do many of the others. It is to be hoped that by a thorough perusal of these along with the letters to Terentia, Tiro, Atticus, and others that a better understanding of Cicero's relationship with his brother will be realized. Why Quintus should quarrel so violently with Cicero, the events that precipitated the quarrel, the part played by other members of the family in the rupture, and the eventual reconciliation will be treated as fully as the Letters permit. That a

clearer picture of this episode will emerge as well as a better understanding of Cicero and Quintus in their public and private relationships will be the chief aim of this study.

CHAPTER I

THE PERSONALITIES OF CICERO'S FAMILY

One of Cicero's last works, De Officiis, dedicated to his son Marcus, contains a passage which expresses very clearly Cicero's ideas on the importance of the family in society, and, also, the importance of the relationships within the family group. In this passage Cicero said that the union of kinsmen was a close one. It could be termed human society in miniature. Because all living creatures are endowed with the reproductive instinct, the first bond of union is that between husband and wife, next that between their children. Then comes the unit of the family holding everything in common. Here, he said, we find the germ of the city, even of the state - the nursery. Next in order are the relatives of brothers and sisters, of first cousins and their children, who, cramped in the one home, go forth, as it were, to found new colonies. Then, he continued, marriages with their relationships follow and kinsmen multiply. In this propagation and its aftergrowth states have their origin, for ties of common blood unite men in kindness and love. He concluded the passage by declaring that it is a great thing to have one family history, a common worship, and a common tomb.¹

Cicero's family, including as it does Terentia his wife, Tullia and Marcus his children, Quintus his brother with his

wife Pomponia and son Quintus, was a small group. Cicero desired it to be a closely knit and loving group. He had occasion to remind his wife of this in one of his earliest extant letters to her. She had had some disagreement with Quintus and Cicero hoped she would soon cease her bickering:

As to my brother Quintus, I make no charge against you, but it has ever been my wish that all of you, especially as there are so few of you, should be as closely united as possible.²

Cicero loved his family deeply. Separation from them at the time of exile he bore badly. He told Atticus he was bowed down with grief through his longing for all his dear ones, who were always dearer to him than himself.³

In order to obtain a better understanding of this family, and particularly of Cicero and Quintus, it will be necessary to take a glimpse here at each member in turn.

Cicero, whose full name according to Roman style would be written Marcus Tullius, Marci Filius, Marci Nepos, Cornelia, Cicero, was the elder son of Marcus Tullius Cicero and his wife Helvia. He was born on the third of January in the year 106 B.C., the same year that witnessed the birth of Pompey. While it seems to be generally agreed that Helvia, Cicero's mother, was nobly born, there are differing statements as to his father's background. Some writers, according to Plutarch, say that he was bred in a fuller's shop; others, that his family went back originally to Tullius Attius, a famous king of the Volscians, who waged war very effectively against the Romans. Whatever

the origin, Cicero's father seems to have been a man of cultivated mind who either because of weak health or inclination, or perhaps both, led the quiet life of a country gentleman in the town of Arpinum in the Volscian mountains. There, for many generations the family of the Ciceros had held a place of honour and influence, though they appear to have taken no part in the politics of the community. In fortune and position they belonged to the upper middle class known as the equestrian order. Cicero, though he felt himself drawn towards the nobility, the Optimates, by his taste for "refinement of manners and elegant pleasures"⁴ was, nevertheless, always regarded as a homo novus, and while that position did not seem to hinder or impede his eventual political advancement his status remained always that of a homo novus.

Cicero's father realized the importance of Rome for his two sons' education. Accordingly in due time the family moved to the capital, to a house near their uncle C.Aculeo in the street called Carinae.⁵ There, along with their cousin Lucius, the boys came under the guidance of some of the foremost teachers in Rome. These included Diodotus, the Greek scholar and philosopher who lived with them; Roscius, the comic actor; Aesop, the tragic actor; the poet Archias, and L.Aelius Stilo from whom Cicero derived his life-long love of his country's literature and history.

Cicero himself affirmed that before he reached the end of his sixteenth year the whole plan of his preparation for a

forensic career was fairly well completed.⁶ He seems to have been indefatigable in his deep desire to get into some positive relationship with everything and everyone that could aid or guide his own career. He, too, shared the privileged relationship which existed between Scaevola, the augur, and his young clients. Scaevola used to bring them together whenever he was about to give a decision in his work as jurisconsult. Cicero's father appears to have enjoyed a close friendship with the Scaevolae, the learned lawyer and president of the Senate, and his cousin, the Pontifex Maximus.

Though Cicero did not profess the science of jurisprudence, he gained such a practical knowledge of the laws of his country that he was well equipped for the duties of an advocate. When only twenty-five years of age he was able to match his skill with the great Hortensius in the Roman law court. The subsequent acquittal of his client Roscius was a dazzling forensic victory. It was followed by a period of rest and study in Athens and the Roman province of Asia.

Everywhere he went while on this sojourn Cicero availed himself of opportunities for more learning with such eminent teachers as Molo of Rhodes whom he had known in Rome, and Aeschylus of Cnidus. Cicero appears to have had a remarkable facility in the Greek language. One of his teachers in Rhodes, Apollonius, did not understand Latin, so, for him, Cicero declaimed in Greek. On one occasion Cicero was distressed because Apollonius was making no comment. After sitting lost

in thought for some time Apollonius said:

You indeed, Cicero, I commend and admire, but I pity the fortune of Greece, seeing that the only excellent things which are left to us have been transferred to the Romans by you, learning and eloquence.⁷

In 76 B.C. Cicero was fully established along with Cotta and Hortensius as one of the leaders of the bar. That year, his thirtieth, made him eligible for the first of the magisterial offices - the quaestorship. In quick succession he entered the senate, assumed the aedileship, and the praetorship, each at the earliest possible date.

His consulate effected the prosecution and punishment of the Catiline conspirators. Cicero mentioned this achievement frequently both in his speeches and in his letters.⁸ He suffered embarrassingly for his conduct in the Catilinarian affair because of his bitter enemy Clodius. He was driven into exile in 58 B.C. and remained there for eighteen months. His Roman property was thoroughly destroyed, and his family experienced great pain and hardship.

Much against his will Cicero was obliged, as a former consul, to take his turn in 51 B.C. as governor of the large province of Cilicia. The provincials were content and prospered under his wise and careful government but Cicero's heart longed for the city life of his beloved Rome.⁹

Though Cicero was by temperament ill-suited to political life he did attain great prominence in the state. His openness to impressions, his delicate and irritable sensitive-

ness, and above all, his versatile and fertile imagination which drew his attention to all sides at once, rather incapacitated him for forming well-connected plans.

Cicero had the misfortune to reach his maturity in one of the stormiest and most troubled periods of history. He took no part in Caesar's murder but he did urge the senate to convene immediately afterwards in order to bring some order out of the growing chaos in Rome.¹⁰

Caesar's great-nephew, Octavian, seems to have been fond of Cicero, calling him "father" and seeking his advice on many occasions.¹¹ Yet that bond was not so firm that it could not be severed when Antonius insisted Cicero's name be included in the proscriptions drawn up by Lepidus, Octavian, and himself. Antonius made Cicero pay the supreme price for his brilliant pen and witty tongue. Not only did Antonius' wife, Fulvia, pierce with her needle that tongue whose reproaches she had felt so often,¹² but Antonius himself suspended from the rostrum the head and hands of him who had so often, in that very spot, swayed the populace with his eloquence. Many years later when Octavian, then Augustus, caught his grandson reading a work of Cicero's, he had to remark when he looked at the book: "A wise man, my boy, a wise man and a lover of his country."¹³

Prior to Cicero's period of rest and study in Athens and Asia he had been attracted to Terentia, a young girl of a distinguished Roman family. Whether Cicero chose Terentia as

a member of the well-born class and a maiden of good fortune, or Terentia chose Cicero for a man of brilliant intellect with an assured place in the forum and an influence in public affairs, is not known. Assuredly, it was a match that must have met with the approval of both families for upon Cicero's return from the East the formal betrothal took place.

This betrothal was an occasion for celebration with the appropriate ceremonies in the presence of relatives and friends. Terentia's dowry seems to have been substantial, amounting as it did to 100,000 denarii.¹⁴ This included several revenue-bearing insulae in Rome, a forest near Tusculum, and cash as well.

Terentia, like most Roman maidens, probably was married as soon as she had time to provide her trousseau. At the time of her marriage she was just fourteen; Cicero was thirty.¹⁵

The position of the married woman in Rome was one of substantial dignity, calling for a corresponding type of character. She shared with her husband in all the duties of the household, including those of religion, and within the house itself, she was practically supreme. All members of the familia, that is, all members of the whole household, addressed her as domina.¹⁶ That Terentia merited the title of domina in the sense of "controller" may be well understood from Plutarch's description of her. He declared that Terentia

"generally was not a woman of a mild temper nor naturally without courage, but an ambitious woman, and as Cicero himself says, more ready to share in his political perplexities than to communicate to him her domestic matters".¹⁷

With the possible exception of the dowry, Roman women of this period kept control of their finances. Terentia, like the Roman women of the period, managed, throughout her married life, her own financial affairs with the exception of the dowry.¹⁸ She seems to have done this advantageously to herself.¹⁹ Whatever assistance she needed, she received from time to time from her steward, Philotimus.²⁰

Terentia's sharing in political matters was not always advantageous. For instance, her influence in urging Cicero to join in the attack on Clodius and give testimony against him for his violation of the Bona Dea ceremonies had dire consequences. Clodius had been a friend of Cicero at the time of the Catiline conspiracy but now this change of attitude, prompted only by Terentia's jealousy and dislike of Clodius' sister, Claudia, who was suspected of having a matrimonial interest in Cicero,²¹ made him from that time on, Cicero's bitter foe whose sworn revenge resulted in Cicero's banishment in 58 B.C.²²

Nothing definite seems to be known about Terentia's education. She could not have had much, marrying as she did at so early an age. Nowhere in his letters to her did Cicero

make any references to his intellectual pursuits or interests. Household and family matters, and, more particularly, concern for her health are the predominant themes.²³ Throughout her earlier life Terentia had suffered much from rheumatism.²⁴ Cicero's great solicitude for her health must have been well heeded for there are records that she lived to be one hundred and three.²⁵

Boissier concludes that Terentia was an economical and orderly housekeeper but sharp and disagreeable with whom it was difficult to live at ease.²⁶ That Terentia did not get along with Pomponia, Quintus' wife, is understandable, for, no one seems to have been able to get along with her.²⁷

Terentia had an influence over her husband that a "determined and obstinate woman always has over a careless and irresolute mind".²⁸ Cicero's constant vacillation, particularly during the period of the Civil War, when he could not decide whether to throw in his lot with Caesar or remain faithful to Pompey,²⁹ must have been very trying to Terentia. His family urged him to await, at least, the outcome of Caesar's Spanish campaign.³⁰ When finally he left to join Pompey even Cato rebuked him for the move. How torn in mind he must have been when he knew full well that Pompey with his inept generalship could not hope to be victorious and yet, here he was, wandering about Pompey's camp complaining, yet unwilling or unable to leave.

Terentia, once more in charge of the household and closer to the bounds of Caesar's influence, must have viewed the situation with a cooler, more calculating eye. As some critics have mentioned, she probably found it expedient to show partiality to the Caesareans.³¹ At this time she is believed to have seriously embarrassed her husband by speculations in which she allowed herself to be defrauded by her steward and freedman, Philotimus.³²

From the Letters it may be concluded that the affection between Terentia and Cicero was not the kind that increases with time. That common life, which strengthens true personal unions, seems to have weakened this one. The enforced absence of Cicero's exile and its resulting misfortunes made them more tender at that time. The letters which Cicero wrote to Terentia during that unhappy period reveal much devotion, affection, and solicitude for his wife in her trials. Terentia had been willing to join Cicero in exile but Cicero dissuaded her from doing so.³³ However, six years later when Cicero was governor of Cilicia the tone of the letters had changed. Though he called his wife lux nostra the words had the appearance of polite phrases.³⁴ The more formal opening, "Si vales, bene est; valeo." is evident in these.³⁵ In a letter of October 16, 50 B.C. Cicero asked Terentia if she would, without endangering her health, come to meet him.³⁶ This would be on his return from Cilicia. That she did come, Cicero mentioned in a letter to

Tiro, his faithful freedman.³⁷

More brusquely Cicero bade Terentia not to take to the road when he was returning from Pompey's defeated camp. In November 48 B.C. he said:

That you should take to the road at this particular time is sheer nonsense. The journey is not only long, but unsafe; and I fail to see of what good you can be if you do come.³⁸

The letter of the following June 14 makes it clear that Tullia was with her father, offering the comfort and solace he so sorely needed at that time.³⁹ This close bond between father and daughter might have been a further cause for the rift between Cicero and Terentia. Nowhere does it appear that either mentioned it as such, but to a woman of Terentia's temperament it could quite likely have been a contributing factor to the eventual rupture.

Cicero has been much criticized by biographers for his last letter written to Terentia in October of 47 B.C. In it he ordered her to prepare things for his homecoming. He addressed her in a briefer, colder way than he would, most likely, have used to a slave.⁴⁰

On his departure for Cilicia Cicero left the administration of part of his property to Philotimus, but soon repented of it. Philotimus paid less attention to his master's interests than to his own. He kept for himself the profits he had made on the property of Milo, and on Cicero's return presented him an account in which he, Philotimus, fig-

ured as his creditor for a considerable amount. At this time Cicero suspected only Philotimus. When he returned from Pharsalus he saw clearly that Terentia was his accomplice.⁴¹

In a letter written to Plancius in January of 45 B.C. Cicero said he was quite sure that Plancius was sincere in congratulating him upon the step he had taken. He assured his friend that he would have made no change in his life if he had not found on his return that his domestic affairs were in as evil a plight as those of the state. He thought it time to protect himself by new and trustworthy alliances against the treachery of the old. Those very persons who should have valued most his welfare and all his possessions, and on whom he had bestowed imperishable benefits, had behaved so wickedly that he could find no safety within the walls of his own home, nor any corner without its ambush.⁴²

Terentia denied that her mismanagement of finances was the reason for their subsequent divorce, though Cicero affirmed it to be so.⁴³ She strongly averred that he was smitten with Publilia's beauty and longed to marry her. The statement to Plancius rather precludes this, as does Cicero's earlier relations with the opposite sex. Rather than that any great passion attracted him to Publilia, it seems, as Tiro affirmed, that he saw a way to pay some of his debts.

Publilia was a rich young girl of eighteen whom her father, when dying, confided to Cicero's guardianship. The Voconian Law of 169 B.C. deprived the daughter of a rich man

of the right of inheriting from her father. Since Publilia's father could not make his daughter his heir, he had recourse to the usual practice of the day, and entrusted a large share of his property to Cicero as trustee and guardian, on the understanding that it would be handed over to Publilia on her marriage. Though there was such a disparity in age, Publilia, her mother, and her brother were anxious to maintain the union.⁴⁴ After all, Cicero, though over sixty, was a prominent Roman with a high standing in the capital. Tyrrell pointed out that in that age when public careers were begun later than in modern times, sixty was not considered so advanced an age.⁴⁵

The exact date of Cicero's divorce from Terentia is uncertain. It could not have been later than the beginning of 46 B.C., but it must certainly have been contemplated earlier than that. Thirty years of marriage had come to naught. Terentia's disagreeable temper which, no doubt, provoked household quarrels, her mismanagement of finances, her dealings with the unscrupulous Philotimus, her resentment of Cicero's fondness for Tullia - all these must have played their part in the severance of a tie that had grown tedious. Divorce had become rather a common occurrence at that period of Roman history and Cicero seemed to have succumbed, like the others, to one of the practices of the day.

Terentia must have borne up well under the trying circumstances. She is reputed to have twice married again,

first to Sallust, the historian; and after his death, to Messalla Corvinus, the orator.⁴⁶

However, if Cicero thought to protect himself by new and trustworthy alliances against the treachery of the old, his hopes were shortlived, for he divorced Publilia about three months after their marriage. Carcopino concludes that Cicero probably divorced Publilia because he had been left a substantial legacy which enabled him to satisfy many of his debtors.⁴⁷ It seems more likely, and biographers are generally agreed, that Tullia's death was the more probable reason for the divorce. Publilia showed such evident relief at Tullia's tragic death that Cicero wanted to have no more to do with her.

Tullia was like her father. She resembled him in appearance and shared his intellectual interests. Cicero spoke of her thus when writing to Quintus at the time of his exile:

And what of the fact that at the same time I miss a daughter, and how affectionate a daughter, how unassuming, how talented - the very replica of myself in face, speech, and spirit?⁴⁸

Tullia was fond of Quintus⁴⁹ and he of her.⁵⁰ She was a favourite, too, with Atticus.⁵¹ Marcus Antonius had words of praise for Tullia even though he bore no love for her family. He called her "that queen among women".⁵²

It is generally believed that Cicero somewhat spoilt his darling Tulliola. There is one instance cited in a letter to Atticus. When she was seventeen, already

twice married and once divorced, Cicero went to great pains to take her to some games at Antium. He planned to leave Formiae on the first of May in order to reach Antium on the third. The games which Tullia wished to see were being held from the fourth to the sixth of May.⁵³

Tullia seems to have had a strong influence on her father. In 52 B.C. when Hortensius defended Proculus at his trial for murder Cicero did not speak at all. The reason he gave was that Tullia, who was then unwell, was afraid lest he might cause offence to Clodius who was conducting the prosecution.⁵⁴

Tullia was born in 76 B.C. Her childhood like that of the other Roman girls of her era was short. When only nine or ten she was betrothed to C. Piso Frugi, a youth of aristocratic lineage.

Her betrothal was a family arrangement. The element of romance was rarely a basis for marriage among the ancients. In the higher circles of Roman society, marriage was quite coolly considered as a means to an end. The strengthening of political alliances, the bolstering of family position, and an heir were the main objects. No doubt Terentia's parents at the time of her betrothal to Cicero had the same considerations in mind when he was found to be an acceptable choice.

Tullia was married to Piso in 63 B.C. during her father's consulship. She was thirteen at the time, just a

little younger than her mother when she married Cicero. That this marriage was happy seems likely for Cicero slipped in an allusion to it in his defence of Sestius. He told how after his exile he landed at Brundisium on August 5, 57B.C. and met his daughter for the first time since her heavy grief and bereavement.⁵⁵ Piso had been elected quaestor in 58 B.C. Instead of going to his territory of Pontus and Bithynia he remained in Rome to exercise what influence he could to help effect Cicero's recall.⁵⁶ It was during this interval that he died.

Tullia's second marriage seems to have been another parental arrangement. This time the betrothal was to P.Furius Crassipes. The sponsalia took place on April 6, 56 B.C.,⁵⁷ two days after Tullia was betrothed.⁵⁸

This suitor appeared to have extensive holdings, if such may be the interpretation of a letter to Quintus where Cicero spoke of the flood damage to Crassipes' promenade.⁵⁹ The expense of Tullia's dowry must have burdened Cicero at this time for he wrote to Atticus that Crassipes was swallowing up all his travelling money.⁶⁰

Tullia divorced Crassipes in 53 B.C. This, however, did not affect her father's relations with her ex-husband. Like the Romans of his day Cicero continued to enjoy Crassipes' friendship. Besides, Crassipes, being an adherent of Caesar, was probably able to use his influence in Cicero's

favour whenever the need might have arisen.

About a year after Tullia's divorce numerous suitors for Tullia were being considered again. She seems to have been a very popular young woman. No doubt her father's prestige increased her desirability. Because Cicero had left for Cilicia Atticus figured more prominently in the marital arrangements this time.⁶¹ Cicero's choice for Tullia's third husband was Tiberius Nero who had come to see him in Laodicea. Cicero held him in the highest esteem as a letter to P.Silius reveals.⁶² Unfortunately the news of Tiberius' acceptability did not reach Rome in time.⁶³ Cicero had allowed Terentia and Tullia considerable freedom in this matrimonial matter and they had chosen P.Cornelius Dolabella. He was a dissolute fellow though charming to the ladies. His name was first suggested when he was still married to his wife, Fabia. Atticus disapproved of him as much as did Cicero.⁶⁴

Dolabella must have been very young when Tullia married him, for, at the time of her death, he was only twenty-four.⁶⁵ This marriage probably took place in August of 50 B.C. just after Appius Clodius' acquittal.⁶⁶ Appius had been accused of majestas and acquitted. Cicero congratulated him for his victory under rather awkward circumstances for, at the same time, he had to condone his daughter's marriage to Dolabella who was none other than Appius' prosecutor. Both Appius and Cicero, however, shared the hope that Tullia would be a good influence on this degenerate.⁶⁷

Though this marriage was unhappy because of Dolabella's philandering and profligacy Dolabella himself continued to remain attractive to Tullia.⁶⁸ Their first child, a boy and a seven months' child, was born in May of 49 B.C. but did not long survive.⁶⁹

Dolabella by his private and public conduct greatly distressed his father-in-law.⁷⁰ Cicero felt extremely sorry for Dolabella's poor wife, his own dear Tullia.⁷¹ However, in the precarious political situation at that time Cicero appreciated Dolabella's political connections. During the Civil War Dolabella tried to help Cicero. When he advised neutrality to Cicero he promised to use his influence with Caesar.⁷² It was Dolabella's letter written, no doubt, at Caesar's instigation, that permitted Cicero to return to Italy after Pharsalus.⁷³

Dolabella was tribune in 47 B.C. During his term of office he proceeded to repudiate all debts. This action temporarily antagonized Cicero for he feared the liquidation of all Dolabella's debts to him. Then, too, in 46 B.C. Dolabella's amours with Cecilia Metella, Lentulus Spinther's wife, became so flagrant that Tullia had no choice but to divorce him.⁷⁴ A few months after the divorce Tullia's second child was born.⁷⁵ This child, Lentulus by name, seems to have lived but a short time for there is very little information about him. After the birth of this infant Tullia never seemed to regain her strength. She passed away February

15, 45 B.C. at her father's villa in Tusculum.

Her death plunged Cicero into the deepest depression.⁷⁶ Even writing and planning an apotheosis for her did nothing to dispel the gloom.⁷⁷ Many were the letters of condolence from friends. Caesar wrote.⁷⁸ Servius Sulpicius wrote his memorable consolatio.⁷⁹ Dolabella wrote.⁸⁰

A few months after Cicero's bereavement Dolabella returned wounded from Spain. He spent much time with Cicero. As in the case of Crassipes the divorce did nothing to change their relationship. At this time Dolabella was anxious to have some personal commemoration in one of Cicero's works.⁸¹ Cicero seemed willing to grant this but was soon to grow impatient with Dolabella for making no effort to repay Tullia's dowry. By way of placation Dolabella offered him a legateship in his province of Syria.⁸² However, when Dolabella manoeuvred shortly after Caesar's death to get into favour with Antonius, Cicero severed relations with him.

Cicero's second child, Marcus, was born in July of 65 B.C.⁸³ Tullia was ten at the time and already engaged to be married. Cicero at different times referred fondly to his son as venustissimus and dulcissimus,⁸⁴ a boy with charming manners,⁸⁵ and a fine lad.⁸⁶ Yet Cicero seemed to have restrained his affection towards his son having even remarked that he was hard-hearted towards him.⁸⁷ Cicero felt concern for his treatment of his son. He wrote to Atticus in 49 B.C.:

My own son I control easily. He is quite tractable. My own policy has lacked vigour owing to my pity for him; and the more he wants me to be unflinching, the more I may prove cruel to him.⁸⁸

Young Quintus considered Cicero unduly harsh in his treatment of Marcus.⁸⁹ Yet that Cicero was a good father may be gathered from Marcus himself in the letter to Tiro in which he spoke of him as a kindly and well-loved father.⁹⁰

Marcus' constant companion from early childhood was his cousin Quintus. He was two years older than Marcus and was revered and loved as an older brother.⁹¹ Young Quintus seems to have been just as devoted to Marcus.⁹² Quintus and Marcus shared the same tutors and received most of their early education together. Little is known of their early lives except their intellectual pursuits. Cicero began the training of his son and his nephew. In 56 B.C. he saw fit to entrust them to the Greek grammaticus, Tyrannio,⁹³ the same Tyrannio who did much to improve Cicero's library.⁹⁴ Marcus apparently had his own freedman, Chrysippus. The only references Cicero made to him in his correspondence are the occasions on which he expressed displeasure at Chrysippus' bolting rather unexpectedly from Cicero's household.⁹⁵ Dionysius, the next teacher, seems to have been first in Atticus' employ. Cicero begged for him to come and teach in his household.⁹⁶ Dionysius was considered capable but according to his two young pupils was given to mad fits of temper.⁹⁷ The next was the rhetorician, Paeonios, who took over in 54 B.C. when Marcus was

Cicero seemed to have been completely mistaken about his son's tastes and abilities. Unlike his sister, Marcus was not interested in philosophy. He had the instincts of a soldier. Cicero tried in vain to make him a philosopher and an orator.

When Cicero left for Cilicia, he took Marcus and young Quintus with him. Marcus was about fifteen then and old enough to be able to appreciate the opportunities offered at the court of Deiotarus,⁹⁹ the visit to Rhodes, and the other advantages of a sojourn in a different land. Following the year in the province Marcus remained with his father during the early part of the eventful year of 49 B.C. There was some talk of sending him to Greece with his cousin to escape the dangers of the Civil War in Italy,¹⁰⁰ but the plans did not materialize. So unsettled were the conditions that in May of 49 B.C. Cicero in writing to M.Caelius, the curule aedile, declared that he had made arrangements for Marcus in case of any dire consequences to himself as a result of the country's unrest.¹⁰¹

In this same year Cicero met with Caesar and finally committed himself to Pompey's cause. Shortly afterwards, he took Marcus to Arpinum to the ancestral surroundings to invest him with the toga virilis. Rome was still out of bounds for Cicero because of his remaining hope for a triumph. The boy

was now sixteen.¹⁰² Marcus accompanied his father when he decided to join Pompey. Pompey put him in command of a squadron of cavalry. Tyrrell presumed this was an honorary command since it was given to one so young.¹⁰³ However, when Marcus was only seventeen he did command a cavalry corps at Pharsalus and acquitted himself valiantly. Afterwards he went with Cicero to Brundisium and remained with him during that long, dreary wait till Caesar welcomed him back. While in Brundisium Cicero thought of sending Marcus to Caesar with a defence against the calumnies of his brother and nephew, but gave up the idea when he heard that Caesar was in a dangerous position in Alexandria and could hardly escape.¹⁰⁴ A few days later he abandoned the idea.¹⁰⁵

In the next year, 46 B.C. Marcus, with his cousin and M.Caesius, was appointed aedile at Arpinum. This was managed in some way through Cicero's influence in the home community.¹⁰⁶

Marcus expressed the desire to join Caesar in Spain. The soldier's life was still very attractive to him. He discussed the matter with Atticus.¹⁰⁷ However, when he broached the subject to his father, Cicero gave him two good reasons for not going. For one thing, he would be adversely criticized for espousing the other side; for another, he would be annoyed if his cousin enjoyed Caesar's intimacy and general goodwill more than he did.¹⁰⁸

Cicero's opinion must have prevailed for Marcus, now twenty, was sent to Athens to study. His father provided him with ample resources.¹⁰⁹ In Athens Marcus fell under the influence of the rhetorician, Gorgias, who encouraged his wanton inclinations. Through Gorgias, Marcus acquired a lasting taste for wine, so much so, that he gained the reputation of being the hardest drinker of his day.¹¹⁰ Marcus quickly went through the funds his father thought so abundant.¹¹¹ However, for all Marcus' extravagance he begged his father, the next year, when Cicero was so financially hard-pressed and having difficulty making a payment on Terentia's dowry, to use his credit.¹¹²

At his father's insistence Marcus gave up Gorgias¹¹³ and for a year did make some progress with Cratippus, who took a fatherly interest in him.¹¹⁴ To Tiro, Marcus wrote freely of life in Athens. That he was the same Marcus, still needing the spur, the closing paragraph of a letter to Tiro reveals:

For taking such trouble about my commissions, I am grateful to you. But I beg of you to see that a secretary is sent to me as quickly as possible - best of all a Greek; for that will relieve me of a lot of trouble in writing out lecture-notes.¹¹⁵

Trebonius, the Trebonius whom Dolabella treacherously murdered in Smyrna in February of 43 B.C., wrote a good report to Cicero of Marcus' apparent progress. He invited Marcus, who expressed a desire to go, to visit him in his province of Asia. So that Cicero would not be concerned about

Marcus' neglecting his studies he offered to have Cratippus accompany him.¹¹⁶

Though Cicero heard commendable reports of Marcus he still had some misgivings about the boy's actual progress. He wanted to go to Athens to see for himself how Marcus was getting along.¹¹⁷ This was his alleged reason for leaving Italy at this crucial period.

About this time M.Brutus was conducting a recruiting campaign in Athens. He found a ready and willing follower in Marcus. The youth, as may well be imagined, was only too glad to throw off the student's yoke and join the soldier's camp once more. In April of 43 B.C. Brutus was able to write to Cicero in glowing terms about his offspring. He said that Marcus gave such a good account of himself in respect to his energy, his power of endurance, and his high spirits, in fact, in every helpful quality, that he never seemed to forget whose son he was. Brutus assured Cicero that Marcus would be well able to attain his father's high rank without poaching on his father's renown.¹¹⁸

Shortly after, Cicero assured Brutus he would like him to keep his son at his side as much as possible. He said, "He will never obtain a better training in the manly arts than by studying and imitating you."¹¹⁹ In July of 43 B.C. after Brutus had sent Marcus on to Macedonia with a cavalry unit Cicero even urged Brutus to keep Marcus in his camp

when the latter planned to return prematurely to Italy.¹²⁰ About this time Cicero wanted Marcus elected at Rome among the pontifices. He hoped this could be done even though the candidate was absent from the capital.¹²¹

Marcus was registered with the proscribed in 43 B.C. He is reputed to have stayed in the field and thus escaped his fate. In 42 B.C. he fought at Philippi. Probably, like Horace, he ran away during the battle when the odds were against their forces.¹²² When Brutus was defeated Marcus fled to Sextus Pompeius. He, in turn, appointed Marcus to a post in his army.

In 39 B.C. when a general amnesty was signed by the Triumvirate at Puteoli, Marcus was able to return in safety to Italy. His father's property was restored to him but public offices remained closed. Octavian, however, seemed anxious to heap honours on this young fellow. Soon he was made a member of the College of Augurs, a commissioner of the mint, and for the latter part of 30 B.C. consul with Augustus himself as colleague. During this term in the consulate it was his lot to announce in the Senate the tidings of the final defeat and death of Antonius and to decree the destruction of Antonius' statues and the legal abolition of his name.¹²³ Cicero had been avenged at last. Later Marcus was given the proconsulship of Asia Minor followed by the governorship of the province of Syria.

That such political plums should fall to Marcus who had no interest in politics seems ironical indeed. The very positions for which his father had striven so hard came to him easily from the hand of Octavian. To Marcus wine seemed of more interest than politics. It was rumored that one of his ambitions was to surpass the drinking prowess of M. Antonius. Perhaps he may have succeeded. At one drinking party following a formal dinner he is reputed to have hurled a goblet at Agrippa, Octavian's right hand man.¹²⁴

Marcus seems never to have married. It is generally concluded that he was the last of Cicero's family for there are no records of his having left any issue.

Cicero's brother, Quintus, was born in 102 B.C. He was the same age as Julius Caesar and four years younger than Marcus, his brother. In some ways Quintus was like his brother being very sensitive¹²⁵ and emotional by nature; but he had a barbarous streak which found a too frequent outlet particularly during his governorship of Asia. Absolute power seemed to go to his head.¹²⁶ In his province his violence resulted in cruel burnings and hangings.¹²⁷ He was outspoken, often injuring with his tongue; yet, he could be soft and yielding. That he was easily led may be seen by his wife's mastery over him as well as by Statius' control of him.¹²⁸ His greatest failing was his irascible temper. Once angered his tongue knew no curb. Sihler has summed up his disposition well:

Quintus had a temperament which the world readily condones in a woman but rarely tolerates in a man. His moods rather than any settled demeanour seem to have dominated him. He was morbidly sensitive, irritable, and equally ready for conciliation, like April showers.¹²⁹

Quintus received much the same education as his brother though he had no oratorical ambitions.¹³⁰ He did pursue for some years a political career, attaining in 62 B.C. the rank of praetor, having been first quaestor, then aedile. His political career was far from brilliant. He owed the offices more to the illustrious name of his brother than to his own merit. Furthermore, he seems to have done nothing to make himself worthy of them.¹³¹ His governorship of Asia from 61 to 59 B.C., as already mentioned, gave ample scope to his temper. Though Asia was a great and rich province there are no proofs that he enriched himself at the expense of the provincials as so many governors did, although this period saw him much occupied in buying houses and land or selling to buy. Many of the purchases seem to have been made through his brother.¹³² The charges of embezzlement in the province that were threatened never seemed to materialize. In 56 B.C. Quintus went to Sardinia as grain commissioner for Pompey. During this period the building and rebuilding continued.¹³³

Quintus on one occasion in 54 B.C. seems to have acted with some duplicity regarding a property negotiation. Cicero was piqued that his brother should carry on transactions with T. Anicius for some suburban property without

informing him who had always seen so willingly to his brother's interests.¹³⁴

It was as legate that Quintus won his distinction. He was basically and primarily a soldier and proved that during his service with Caesar in Gaul and Britain from 54 to 52 B.C. During the attack of the Nervii on the winter camp in his charge Quintus displayed unsuspected energy¹³⁵ and won Caesar's praise for his valour.¹³⁶ In the midst of populations which were revolting, in entrenchments hastily raised in one night, and with only a single legion, Quintus was able to defend the camp and to make head against innumerable enemies who had just destroyed a Roman army. This was indeed a signal event in the Gallic War.¹³⁷

Life in Caesar's camp had its lighter moments. Quintus, like the other lieutenants of Caesar, imitated his lavish dinners and enjoyed the literary atmosphere of the men of letters with whom Caesar was surrounded in Gaul.¹³⁸

The prowess Quintus manifested in the defence against the Nervii was shortlived. Shortly after he defected before the Sugambri. This defection did not incur the wrath from Caesar that might have been expected.¹³⁹ However, after that fiasco, no responsibilities seem to have been given to Quintus. It was after this particular defeat he found so much time for writing.

Quintus went to Cilicia in 51 B.C. as legate to his



brother. Cicero gave Quintus the responsibility of taking the army into winter quarters in Cilicia itself, in the most disturbed part of the province. Cicero returned to Laodicea.¹⁴⁰

At the end of the year Cicero hesitated to leave the supreme charge of the province to Quintus because of his uncontrollable temper;¹⁴¹ besides, Quintus himself did not want it.¹⁴² He was no more fond of provincial life than his brother. Through the years his temper had not improved; instead, it continued to alienate friend and relative alike.

Quintus was very fond of Cicero as Cicero was of him. Cicero called him the most unaffected of persons and the most affectionate,¹⁴³ the dearest and sweetest of brothers.¹⁴⁴ Cicero's fondness for his brother found a greater manifestation when separated from him by exile:

When I miss you, is it only a brother that I miss? No, it is one who in affections is almost a twin, in deference a son, in counsel a father. What has ever given me pleasure without your sharing it, or you without my sharing it?¹⁴⁵

Cicero willingly accepted Quintus' advice, as, for instance, the time he was seeking the consulship Quintus offered him much in his Commentariolum Petitionis Consulatus. His advice showed much shrewdness. He advised Cicero to be seen always with a multitude.¹⁴⁶ He encouraged him by reminding him that one who had ex-consuls for clients could not be deemed unworthy of consular honours.¹⁴⁷

Cicero was much pleased that Caesar took such an interest in Quintus.¹⁴⁸ Caesar, that judge of character, must have realized Quintus' many shortcomings; yet, he was always ready to help him and his son. No doubt he realized how vulnerable such attention would make Cicero. Apparently Cicero felt that Caesar wanted and needed his support.¹⁴⁹ Besides accepting positions from Caesar, Quintus, in his last extremity, sought funds from him, too. He must have been in some financial distress after rebuilding his house at Rome, buying a country house at Arpinum, and another in the suburbs, and furbishing his villa at Arcae with baths, porticoes, fish-ponds, and even constructing a fine road that was taken for a work of the state. When he could borrow no more from his creditors he thought of the last resource of embarrassed debtors - Caesar himself.¹⁵⁰

That Quintus and his son should break with Cicero after Pompey's decisive defeat at Pharsalus becomes more understandable when Quintus' true character is taken into consideration. Misfortune made him unjust and suspicious. His outbursts of temper and irrational accusations when he had followed Pompey in vain and seemed to have deserted Caesar for no good reason must have been dreadful to behold. He heaped abuses upon his brother and blamed him for not giving him funds from Cilicia.

It was not Cicero who had encouraged Quintus to

follow him to Pompey's camp but rather Quintus who begged to go with him. Now Quintus, when the tide had turned, probably feared Caesar's reaction and the probable or likely confiscation of his property.

Quintus went back to Caesar, condemning his brother most vehemently. He made peace separately with Caesar. It was not a joint effort with his son.¹⁵¹

Caesar condoned Quintus' actions. Young Quintus became again a strong party adherent. Apparently Cicero did not take the quarrel too seriously for he still hoped that Quintus and his son would clear him with Caesar, as he them, if he had been in their place.¹⁵² When he heard that Caesar was under the impression that Quintus might have instigated the departure he wrote to Caesar blaming himself for Quintus' following him. He said that Quintus was the companion not the leader in his following Pompey.¹⁵³

Quintus did not escape the proscriptions of 43 B.C. Through returning to Rome for the necessary travelling funds he and his son quickly felt the assassin's blow. His slaves, unlike those of his brother, were not ready to defend him but gladly turned him over to the enemy. It is quite likely that Quintus' property was confiscated at this time.

Quintus was married in 67 B.C. to Atticus' sister, Pomponia. Pomponia was a domineering, irritable, and waspish sort of wife. Both the Ciceros seem to have had marriage

partners who were domineering, though Pomponia was undoubtedly more disagreeable than Terentia. Almost from the beginning of the marriage she and Quintus had frequent "flare-ups". What the causes were is uncertain though it is believed by Sihler that finances might have been a contributing factor.¹⁵⁴ Statius' too powerful influence over Quintus might have been another. Pomponia was believed to have had considerable means. As Quintus disliked oratorical art and never became a pleader it is possible that Pomponia's dowry might have figured very prominently in his marital arrangements. On his own side, apart from his modest patrimonium, he could not contribute adequately towards the support of the establishment unless it was by provincial appointments or a career in the field.¹⁵⁵ Yet probably it was these same separations that delayed the eventual rupture which occurred in 44 B.C. after twenty-four years of turbulent domestic bickering.

After the divorce Quintus was hard-pressed to find the money for the repayment of the dowry. Unlike his brother, he was averse to contracting a second marriage to recoup his resources.¹⁵⁶ Statius maintained his influential position even during divorce proceedings. These matters, too, Quintus confided to him.

Cicero and Atticus did their best to conciliate Pomponia and Quintus in their many disagreements over the years. In the first extant letter that Cicero wrote to Atticus he mentioned their domestic difficulties. That must have been

very early in the marriage, indeed. Pilia, Atticus' wife, blamed Pomponia rather than Quintus for the trouble.¹⁵⁷

However, who possessed the greater share of undisciplined human nature which, no doubt, lay at the root of their unhappiness, is difficult to determine.

Young Quintus was the only son of this unhappy union. He was born in 66 B.C.¹⁵⁸ As he grew up he resembled his father in appearance.¹⁵⁹ In his youth he must have been much buffeted about in that very upset household. From time to time he did his best towards effecting reconciliations.¹⁶⁰ Usually he took his father's part, but might further excite their differences by suddenly switching with exaggerated loyalty to the opposite side if it suited him.¹⁶¹ This duplicity was apparent at the time he was anxious to have his father set him up in his own establishment after his return from Caesar's campaign in Spain.

Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, revealed that Quintus had declared that young Quintus was not getting along with his mother and he, Quintus, for that reason, was going to give his house up to his son. When Cicero heard this from Quintus he assured his brother that young Quintus had written an amiable letter to his mother. This naturally surprised Quintus.¹⁶²

Young Quintus had a strange, complex nature with varying characteristics.¹⁶³ Artfulness and duplicity seem to

to have been his way of getting on in the world.¹⁶⁴ His father spoiled him and frequently was rebuked by Cicero for his lax training of the boy.¹⁶⁵ Cicero declared that young Quintus had the defects of a spoiled person. He was surly, haughty, and aggressive.¹⁶⁶ Cicero realized how much he needed the rein.¹⁶⁷ He called him the bitterest disappointment of his life.¹⁶⁸

Quintus was accustomed to confide in his son. When he was angry at Atticus it was to young Quintus that he poured out his maledictions.¹⁶⁹ No doubt his frequent differences with his wife caused him to seek the same listener. It is not unlikely that the boy lost respect for this parent who had so little control of himself.

Cicero was not immune to his nephew's flattery. Once when his mother was out he came to dine with Cicero. He brought with him two letters from his father. In the second of these his father bade him cling to Cicero as a tutor. Young Quintus manifested pleasure. Cicero fell. It prompted him to write to Quintus:

How delighted he was with those letters, and so was I! He is the most charming boy in the world, and most devoted to me!¹⁷⁰

Young Quintus appears to have been a pronounced glutton from his early youth. Cicero exclaimed to Atticus on one occasion: "What senseless gluttony! Shame on his father!"¹⁷¹ On another he wrote to his father who was then

in Gaul:

I love your Cicero as you ask me to, and as he deserves, and as I am bound to do. But I am letting him leave me for two reasons; - so as not to take him away from his teachers, and because his mother never leaves Porcia's side, and when she is away the boy's voracity appals me. But for all that we have a great deal of each other's company.¹⁷²

First the gluttony manifested itself in food; later it showed itself in the demand for attention and notoriety.¹⁷³

Young Quintus came of age when he was in Laodicea with Cicero. Here he received the toga virilis on March 17 in 50 B.C.¹⁷⁴ His education like Marcus' was largely under the supervision of Cicero. The boy, at times, must have represented the more effective discipline of his uncle for he is reported to have complained at a later date about his uncle's harsh treatment of Marcus.¹⁷⁵

After Quintus' divorce, young Quintus spread the rumour that his father was marrying again. The bride was supposed to have been Aquilia. The couple was going to live on Cicero's property near the Lucrine Lake which Quintus desired to purchase from Cicero. There appeared to have been no foundation to the story. Quintus strenuously denied it.¹⁷⁶ The young rascal denied the truth of it also. Perhaps, as Carcopino thinks, he hoped by bringing the matter to the fore to give his father a distaste for the whole idea.¹⁷⁷

Atticus figured prominently in the arranging of the matrimonial plans young Quintus' parents had for him.¹⁷⁸

Their choice was the divorced daughter of Quintus Gellius Canus. The boy himself declared he had his fancy taken by Julia, another young lady who also was divorced.¹⁷⁹ The plans were never completed for Cana. Whether there was much truth to the boy's interest in Julia, Cicero very much doubted.¹⁸⁰

Political matters allowed young Quintus more scope for indulging his base nature. He was a pronounced Caesarophile¹⁸¹ and seems to have gone to great lengths to ingratiate himself with the despot. Caesar probably favoured him for the same reason he favoured his father. Both were dear to Cicero.¹⁸² Young Quintus in his effort to seek closer affiliation with the dictator had conferred with Hirtius, Caesar's confidant. He actually had a meeting with the great man himself. Cicero rebuked the youth with great severity for his actions; for, he discovered, to his dismay, that Caesar was using the boy as a source of information as to the political designs and sentiments of his uncle.¹⁸³ Quintus was much grieved by all this.

It is not known whether young Quintus went with his father and uncle the time they joined Pompey. The literature rather gives the impression that he joined them after Pharsalus and helped his father in his bitter attack on Cicero.¹⁸⁴ Quintus sent his son in advance to secure the dictator's pardon for himself and to accuse Cicero.¹⁸⁵ P. Terentius,

deputy to the collector of port dues in Asia, saw the lad in Ephesus. Young Quintus showed Terentius the manuscript of a speech denouncing his uncle which he planned to read to Caesar as soon as he got the opportunity.¹⁸⁶ Much more than Quintus, young Quintus vilified and condemned Cicero to all and sundry. He seems to have been most vocal at parties.¹⁸⁷

Cicero attributed his base speech to jealousy.¹⁸⁸ He asked Atticus how he should cope with this behaviour.¹⁸⁹ Apart from the unprovoked denunciation of his uncle his own personal conduct was deteriorating. Dolabella brought back from Spain accounts of young Quintus' behaviour that were so disgraceful that Cicero would not have dared to have repeated them except that everyone seemed to know about them.¹⁹⁰

In the midst of these scandalous matters young Quintus had the audacity to come to Cicero for funds. Cicero, for once, resisted the youth, and was not misled by his strategy. When the boy told his uncle he had no travelling money Cicero declared to Atticus that he borrowed something of his style of eloquence and held his tongue.¹⁹¹

After Caesar's assassination young Quintus attached himself to Antonius, having publicly avowed his devotion to Caesar's memory not long after the Ides of March.¹⁹² After

he joined Antonius' camp he sent to his father a most ungrateful and spiteful letter declaring he owed everything to Caesar, nothing to his father; and for the future, he looked to Antonius.¹⁹³ Antonius had made him his right hand man.¹⁹⁴

Only about five or six weeks later Cicero informed Atticus that Quintus was no longer able to put up with Antonius and had resolved to go over to Brutus and Cassius.¹⁹⁵ The motives puzzled the uncle: was young Quintus angry with Antonius about something? or was he looking for some new way of distinguishing himself?¹⁹⁶ Young Quintus seemed to be reforming but Cicero could not take him too seriously:

I must tell you my brother Quintus is jumping for joy. For his son has written saying that his reason for wanting to take refuge with Brutus is, that, when Antonius asked him to secure him the dictatorship and seize some fort, he refused, and the reason for refusal was that he did not want to hurt his father's feelings; and from that time Antonius has been his enemy Statius, however, says he wants to live with his father - which is a wonder - and my brother is delighted with it. Did you ever see a more thorough rascal?¹⁹⁷

Atticus was seldom taken in by Cicero's nephew. He managed to keep him at arm's length and view him realistically and dispassionately. He never seemed to trust him. This new turn left him unmoved.¹⁹⁸

Despite Cicero's misgivings, young Quintus seemed to have been sincere in wanting to join Brutus. Cicero brought him to Brutus. Brutus willingly took the youth and thought it unnecessary to hold Cicero responsible for him, so impressed by young Quintus was he.¹⁹⁹ Even yet Atticus' attitude towards

young Quintus remained unchanged.²⁰⁰

Like his father young Quintus was included in the proscriptions of 43 B.C. The noblest act recorded of his life appears to have been his last. He was actually willing to suffer at the hands of the assassins in order to shield his father. However, his screams of pain brought Quintus from his hiding-place. Each wished to die first. The assassins struck them down together,²⁰¹ glorious in death if inglorious in life.

Cicero's family group, small and closely knit as it was, would not be complete without a fuller consideration of Atticus, the family counselor and friend. In the next chapter an endeavour will be made to assess accurately this wise and devoted mentor.

CHAPTER II

FAMILY COUNSELOR AND FRIEND

Titus Pomponius, generally called Atticus, had studied with Cicero and Quintus in his youth. Like them he was a competent student and well versed in the Greek language. Twenty years of his adult life he spent in Athens. Here he remained far removed from the political strife of Rome. The rest of the time he lived either on the Quirinal in Rome or on his vast estate in Epirus. He was considered extremely adroit, cautious, and even-tempered. His great wealth indicates that he must have been an astute business man. He operated a successful banking and publishing business; and, in addition, inherited substantial legacies from his father and his uncle.¹ As well as maintaining a successful business he pursued a cultured and literary life. A recognized Epicurean, he was able to conceal as far as possible the success of his private life² by his prudence and his self-discipline, two fundamental virtues of Epicureanism.

Throughout his lifetime Atticus is reputed to have had no enemies. He managed to remain in the good graces of every political leader from Sulla to Brutus, whatever their political colour might have been. Even when enjoying the

friendship of Octavian he managed to keep up a steady correspondence with M. Antonius.³

When fifty-four years of age Atticus married a youthful wife, Pilia, who seems to have been a favourite with Tullia.⁴ Their daughter, Attica, was their only child. She later married the famed Agrippa, the boon companion of Octavian.⁵ A marriage of this kind, to a distinguished husband who ranked next to the emperor himself, was considered the best match in Rome at that time.⁶

Atticus died at the age of seventy-seven. Stricken with an incurable disease, he voluntarily starved himself to death. A true Epicurean to the end, he avoided all suffering but starvation.

Atticus was a faithful friend not only to Cicero but to his wife and children, and to his brother Quintus whom Pomponia his sister had married. At the time of Cicero's exile Cicero wrote to Atticus a letter which well epitomizes his great dependence on and devotion to his valued friend. He begged Atticus, in his pity, to help him, to support his brother Quintus, and to guard Terentia and the children. He wished Atticus to wait for him in Rome if he thought there were any chance of Cicero's returning there. If Cicero could not return to Rome he wished Atticus to come to him if possible.⁷

Terentia, too, turned to Atticus when Cicero was in

exile. She turned to him again when Cicero remained that long time at Brundisium following the disaster at Pharsalus. It was Atticus who made the dowry repayments following her divorce from Cicero.⁸ It was Atticus, urged by Cicero, who brought young Marcus to see Terentia after her divorce when she had no further claim on her children. Cicero realised it was expedient to his son's interest to appear to have wanted to do something to please his mother.⁹

Almost within the year Atticus had the added responsibility of arranging for the repayment of Publilia's dowry as well as fending off Publilia, her mother, and her brother, all of whom were eager for a reconciliation with Cicero.¹⁰

Tullia was fond of Atticus as he of her. When quite young she asked her father to remind Atticus of a gift he had promised her.¹¹ While Cicero was in Cilicia Atticus shared the responsibility of finding a third husband for Tullia. Dolabella was not his choice any more than it was Cicero's. Like Cicero he preferred Tiberius Nero. Cicero wrote to Atticus:

While in my province I show Appius every honour, suddenly I find myself father-in-law of Dolabella his accuser. You invoke heaven's benison. So say I, and you I know are sincere. Believe me, it was the last thing I had expected. Indeed I had even sent trusty agents to Terentia and Tullia about the suit of Ti. Nero, who had made proposals to me: but they arrived in town only when the betrothal was over. However I hope the better course has been taken. I understand that my women folk are highly pleased with the young man's obliging and courteous temper. As for the rest, don't pick holes in him.¹²

Later, when Dolabella was squandering Tullia's resources, it was Atticus who aided her and kept her out of dire straits.¹³

When Tullia died Cicero poured out his overwhelming grief in letters to Atticus:

I am dead and done for, Atticus, and have been this long while: but now I confess it, when I have lost the one link that bound me to life. So what I want is solitude. Still if in my despite anything drags me to Rome, I shall strive, if possible (and I will make it possible), to keep my grief from all eyes but yours, and, if it is anyhow possible, even from yours.¹⁴

Planning a shrine with Atticus' help seemed to be the means by which he assuaged his sorrow. Drusus' gardens were much discussed as a probable choice for the site of the shrine.¹⁵

Young Marcus, too, was devoted to Atticus. He was protected by him while his father was in exile.¹⁶ Later it was to Atticus that he first confided his desire to join Caesar in Spain.¹⁷ Finally when Cicero sent him to Athens to study it was Atticus who made the financial arrangements, controlled his father's generous allowance to him, and sent back reports on his academic progress. Cicero was pleased with Atticus' management of Marcus' affairs as correspondence at the time discloses.¹⁸

After Cicero's death, according to Carcopino, young Marcus figured prominently with Atticus in the compilation of Cicero's letters.¹⁹ What seems more likely, in the light of Marcus' innately lazy disposition,²⁰ is that he left the task to Tiro and Atticus.

The bond that should have united Atticus more closely to Quintus was a frequent cause of friction. Pomponia was indeed a difficult person with whom to live. From time to

time Cicero and Atticus did what they could to smooth over domestic difficulties. Cicero, particularly, must have felt badly about this unfortunate marriage for it was he who was largely responsible for bringing Quintus and Pomponia together. Quite early in the marriage, in 68 B.C., Cicero wrote to Atticus:

You mention your sister. She herself will tell you the pains I have taken to make my brother Quintus behave as he should to her. When I thought he was a little annoyed, I wrote to him trying to smooth matters down with him as a brother, to give him good advice as my junior and to remonstrate with him as in error. Judging by all the letters I have had from him since, I trust things are as they should be and as we wish them to be.²¹

However, it was not only Quintus who found fault with Pomponia. Terentia was not able to get along with her.²² Pilia came to the conclusion that it was Pomponia herself who was responsible for her marital difficulties.²³ Cicero complained about Pomponia, too. Her failure to tell him when there would be a letter carrier or messenger going to Atticus in Epirus irked him.²⁴

The oft-quoted example of Pomponia's difficult nature is in the letter Cicero wrote to Atticus describing Pomponia's rudeness to Quintus in the presence of company come to dinner.²⁵ Though Quintus remarked to his brother on this occasion that such conduct was what he had to put up with every day it seems more than likely that he was not so conciliatory towards her temperamental weaknesses when there was no outsider present.

Even though Atticus succeeded in remaining on good terms with his friends and acquaintances he did become embroiled

in some sort of disagreement with Quintus prior to the latter's departure for his province of Asia Minor. Before this their relations had been strained from time to time because of Pomponia. Quintus by his very nature seemed to have a propensity for quarrelling and creating ill-feeling. The correspondence intimates that Quintus had taken offence at something Atticus had possibly said or done. There is no definite information as to the real cause. Cicero played the role of mediator:

Though I often before sought to heal the wound, and redoubled my efforts after the allotment of his province, I could neither find that he was as much annoyed as your letter makes out, nor yet make as much headway with him as I wished. However, I used to console myself with the thought that he would be sure to see you either at Dyrrachium or somewhere thereabout. And I had quite made up my mind that when that occurred, all the difficulties between you would be smoothed over as much by the mere sight of one another and the pleasure of meeting as by conversation and discussion.²⁶

Cicero tried to encourage Atticus to make allowances for Quintus. He reminded his friend of Quintus' amiable and kindly nature, of how sensitive he was, and how ready both to take offence and to forget it.²⁷

Cicero did feel that Pomponia had had some part to play in this estrangement:

For the impression he [Quintus] has received from some designing persons has had more weight with him than either his duty or your old intimacy and affection which ought to have had the greatest weight of all. Where the blame for this unpleasantness rests, it is easier for me to imagine than to write. For I am afraid that in defending my relatives I may not spare yours. For my view is that, even if no wound was inflicted by members of the

family, they could certainly have healed the one which existed.²⁸

Though the cause of this alienation remained a mystery Atticus wanted to have himself and his character cleared and vindicated in Cicero's eyes. Cicero did not really seem to have blamed Atticus, as a further paragraph in the same letter reveals:

There is one good thing as regards the unpleasantness caused by his alienation and anger, that your determination not to go to the province was known to me and other friends of yours, as you told us some time before; so the fact that you are not with him cannot be attributed to your quarrel and rupture, but to your choice and plans already fixed. So amends will be made for the breach of friendship; and the ties between us, which have been so religiously preserved, will retain their inviolability.²⁹

In a letter written a few months later, March 15, 60 B.C., Cicero told Atticus that Quintus exonerated himself, that he declared he had never said a word against Atticus to anyone. Cicero added that that was a point they would have to discuss when they would meet.³⁰

The question arises: was Quintus accused of speaking against Atticus to others? or, did he vilify him directly? Here, indeed, a letter or two from Atticus could possibly clarify this one point. As it is, only a conjecture can be made.

Throughout the estrangement Atticus showed his usual forbearance and good sense:

And first I must say how delighted I am that you fully understood my opinion of you: next how very glad I am that you showed such forbearance with regard to the slights and unkindness which in my opinion you had

received from me and mine: and I count it a sign of affection more than ordinary and the highest sense and wisdom. Indeed your answer is so charmingly worded and with such consideration and kindness that not only have I no further right to press you, but I can never expect to experience such courtesy and forbearance from you or any other man. So I think it would be best for me to say no more about the matter in my letters. If any point arises, we will discuss it together when we meet.³¹

There the matter was closed.

Prior to this quarrel, when Cicero first learned of his brother's appointment to the Asiatic province he wrote to Atticus, anxiously begging his support for himself and for Quintus:

You have heard that that good brother of mine, Quintus, has Asia assigned as his province. I've no doubt a rumour of it has reached you before any of our letters. We have always had a keen regard for our reputation, and both are and are considered unusually Philhellenic, and our public services have won us a host of ill-wishers. So now is the time for you to "screw your courage to the sticking place", and help us to secure universal applause and approval.³²

While Quintus was away in his province Cicero needed Atticus even more:

Believe me, there is nothing I want so much at the present time, as a person with whom I can share anything that causes me the least anxiety, a man of affection and common sense, to whom I can speak without affectation, reserve, or concealment. My brother, who is the most unaffected of persons and most affectionate, is away.³³

This he followed with a statement that expresses rather succinctly his utter dependence on Atticus:

And you whose conversation and advice have so often lightened my load of care and anxiety, who have aided me in my political life, been my confident in my family affairs and shared my conversation and projects - where are you?³⁴

In 58 B.C. at the end of Quintus' governorship Cicero

urged Atticus to come to his brother's aid. Quintus' term in Asia had brought him some ill-favour, and he was threatened with impeachment. Since Cicero himself was in exile he could do nothing. He feared his own disgrace might cast undeservedly a shadow upon his brother.³⁵

Quintus, like his brother, seems to have sought financial aid from Atticus at different times. Both Ciceros found it easy to get into debt. This may be attributed partly to the peculiar Roman system of investment as well as to their natural extravagance. The Roman system of investment consisted largely of short loans and accommodation money, thereby causing the borrower to become quickly ensnared in a financial net.³⁶

Though Atticus was a counselor and friend to the entire Cicero family, it was Cicero himself who profited most from his staunch support. Atticus was a friend in good times as well as in bad. His sharp business acumen and readiness to lend money saw Cicero through many a difficulty. Cicero's propensity for getting into debt as well as his extravagances were well known. He had become famous for a citrus wood table for which he was reputed to have paid more than the sum total of Terentia's dowry. Cicero was particularly fond of books and pictures. He had many places for them in his home on the Palatine or in any of his numerous villas. While these residences afforded him much peace and solitude they greatly burdened his life with their upkeep. Atticus helped Cicero to obtain these many dwellings, as well as furnish them. On

many occasions he even financed the venture.³⁷

Atticus disapproved of Cicero's borrowing from his friend, Caerellia. In his eyes, such conduct was entirely unsuited to Cicero's rank and social standing.³⁸ He encouraged him, too, to pay up the debt he had with Caesar.³⁹

Atticus had in his employ an accomplished staff of slave copyists. He was considered, in his time, to be a literary critic of the first order. His literary criticism was such that even Cicero feared it. On one occasion in 44 B.C. he wrote:

I am glad you like my book, from which you quoted the very gems; and they seemed to me all the more sparkling for your judgment on them. For I was afraid of those red pencils of yours.⁴⁰

Perhaps the most necessary role that Atticus played was that of counselor. Cicero with his highly volatile, mercurial temperament needed someone calm and steady to whom he could turn in time of stress. His habit of vacillation made decisions difficult. It was to Atticus to whom he often appealed for guidance. One salient example of this weakness can be seen when Cicero could not decide whether to follow Pompey to Durazzo or ally himself with Caesar. Relatives and friends were tormented by his constant changes of mind. Again and again he appealed to Atticus:

It is this distraction in which we now find ourselves that is like death. For I have the alternative, either to take part in politics with a free hand among the disloyal, or to side with the loyal at all costs. I ought either to follow the loyalists in their rashness

or attack the other party in its daring. Either course spells danger: but my present action brings shame without safety.⁴¹

It was this same indecisiveness that cost Cicero his life during the proscriptions. Atticus with his usual aplomb outrode the storm. In fact, earlier, Atticus had made no secret to Caesar's party of his sympathy for Pompey. He performed only such individual and unobtrusive favours as he had granted to the Caesareans themselves. After Pharsalus he was received into the good graces of the victor.⁴²

No cloud ever marred the valued friendship Cicero had for Atticus. The only time he showed the least resentment was when he was in exile. He felt that Atticus was partly responsible for his plight. However, Cicero's general ill-temper and gloominess at that trying period must be taken into consideration:

Now, Pomponius, you used none of your wisdom in saving me from ruin - either because you thought I had enough common sense myself, or because you thought you owed me nothing but the support of your presence; while I, basely betrayed and hurried to my ruin, threw down my arms and fled, deserting my country, though all Italy would have stood up and defended me with enthusiasm. You looked on in silence, while I betrayed myself, my family, and my possessions, to my enemies It is my own folly in thinking that your affection for me was as great as I wished it to be, that I am finding fault with. If it had been so, you would not have shown more loyalty, but you would have taken more trouble, and you would certainly have prevented me from rushing to my fate, and would not have had all the trouble you are now taking to repair the shipwreck.⁴³

Yet despite these accusations Cicero made to Atticus, he seems almost to have retracted his criticism when he closed

the letter with this remark:

I hope you won't think it is you and not myself I am blaming in this letter.⁴⁴

There does not appear to have been any hard feeling on Atticus' part. No doubt he took into consideration Cicero's singularly unhappy position as well as his usual emotional response to a trying situation. Exile had made him particularly disconsolate. He had even thought seriously of suicide. It was Atticus who had made him go on living.⁴⁵ Atticus chided him for taking his troubles so seriously.⁴⁶ Cicero believed he had reached the depths. He asked Atticus if he had been spared any hardship in his misfortune. He doubted if anyone else had ever fallen from such a high estate in such a good cause. He did not feel he should be blamed for recalling what he was, and bemoaning the loss of his honour and fame, his children, his fortune, and his brother.⁴⁷

Throughout the period of Cicero's exile Atticus, aided by Quintus and Terentia, did all in his power to effect his friend's speedy return. Cicero was properly grateful. However, in his words of gratitude there was still just a hint of ill-feeling:

As soon as I reached Rome and there was anyone to whom I could safely entrust a letter to you, my first thought was to write and thank you for my return, since you are not here to receive my thanks. For I grasped, to tell you the truth, that though in the advice you gave me you showed yourself no wiser and no braver than myself, and indeed, considering my past attentions to you, you were none too energetic in defence of my honour, still, though at first you shared my mistake or rather my madness

and my unnecessary fright, it was you who took my exile most to heart and contributed most energy, zeal, and perseverance in bringing about my return.⁴⁸

In this same letter Cicero expressed pleasant surprise at having been quickly and completely reinstated at the Bar. It was his private property that had suffered irreparable damage. At that period it seems the domestic situation was becoming somewhat trying for Cicero; in this letter, too, he urged Atticus to come to him. "My monetary affairs," he said, "are in an awful muddle: and there are some private matters which I cannot commit to writing."⁴⁹ That the private matters had something to do with Terentia seems quite likely. No mention of her is found in this letter, just an expression of devotion to Quintus.⁵⁰

Cicero was obliged to accept the government of Cilicia in the year 51 B.C. He loathed the idea of being away from Rome, especially for a whole year. Repeatedly he urged Atticus to exert all his influence so that the governorship be not extended, even for an extra day:

Since you are staying in Rome, in heaven's name, do support and establish my plea to be let off with one year of office without additions to the calendar.⁵¹

Cicero had misgivings about leaving Quintus in charge of his province. He realized he was a good military leader but lacked the stability to govern well. Cicero felt besides that such a move might leave him liable to charges of nepotism. Atticus seems to have shared Cicero's misgivings and was largely responsible for helping Cicero finally decide that

his quaestor would be a better choice for the position.⁵² Atticus was particularly insistent that under no circumstances should young Quintus be left.⁵³ Never did he have any faith in his nephew, not even when he had apparently reformed and was accepted into Brutus' army.⁵⁴

At the time of the Civil War when Cicero was still at Brundisium he commissioned Atticus to see that the family possessions were put into safe-keeping:

For that other matter, I know of course that nothing can be put up for sale now, but things could be put away and hidden, so that they escape the crash which is threatening.⁵⁵

Family matters, too, were worsening. Terentia was becoming more difficult in money matters. She, as well as Philotimus, was purloining the funds. Cicero was losing faith in her:

You wrote to her to remit me by bill of exchange 12,000 sesterces, saying that was the balance. She sent me 10,000 sesterces, adding that that was the balance. If she purloins so trifling an amount from so small a total, you can see what she has been doing in the case of larger sums.⁵⁶

Another matter about which Cicero was concerned was Terentia's freedman, Philotimus:

The following point I will write to you in dark phrases: your cleverness will scent my meaning. My wife's freedman (you know whom I mean) seemed to me lately from casual words of his to have cooked his accounts on the sale of the goods of the Crotonian tyrannicide. I fear you have noticed something. Look into this matter yourself alone, and secure what is left. I cannot write all my fears.⁵⁷

Much to Cicero's annoyance Philotimus even asked for funds

from Atticus.⁵⁸

Cicero's estrangement from his brother Quintus was somewhat understandable to Atticus for, in many ways, this disagreement took the same form as his own earlier difficulty with Quintus. The first known mention which Cicero made of the quarrel was his statement to Atticus that Quintus showed the bitterest ill-feeling towards him at Patrae and that young Quintus came from Corcyra to join his father and Cicero. Since Quintus had stopped writing, Cicero asked Atticus to give him any news he might have had of his brother. "I think you have met my brother," he said, "so I am anxious to know what happened."⁶⁰ When later he learned to his great surprise that Quintus and his son were speaking against him and heaping all sorts of abuse on him he said to Atticus:

You know his way; indeed you may have had some personal experience of it. Now it is all turned on me.⁶¹

The trouble increased and caused Cicero much sadness. Atticus tried to mediate by writing to Quintus, but it was all to no avail.⁶²

There were other matters which were particularly trying at this time, too. Cicero, having just left Pompey's defeated camp, was confined to Brundisium. Terentia, according to nefarious reports from Philotimus, was deceiving him. Tullia's husband was philandering again; and, now, Quintus had betrayed him. There remained no one but Atticus to whom he could turn. Now, more than ever he valued his friend's letters.⁶³

Even amid these calamitous circumstances Atticus advised adaptability. Cicero did not possess his friend's equanimity nor was he able to surmount his difficulties:

You advise me to make my actions fit the times. I would, if circumstances permitted, and it were anyhow possible. But what with all my own mistakes and the wrongs inflicted on me by my family, there is nothing worthy of myself that I can do or even pretend to do.⁶⁴

It has been seen what an important role Atticus played throughout the adult life of Cicero and Quintus and their families. Atticus possessed certain qualities which made him particularly suited to his role. He had an infinite capacity for taking pains. No task was ever too much bother.⁶⁵ He was well-informed on the current events of the day and so his advice was almost sure to be suited to the times.⁶⁶ In business matters he was quick at figures, and could reckon with the best.⁶⁷ What was especially important, he could be trusted for he had the faculty of being able to keep silent and hold his tongue.⁶⁸ All in all Atticus was a valuable ally.

Carcopino maligns Atticus for his so-called violation of Cicero's wishes in publishing his letters.⁶⁹ He considered him faithless to Cicero's memory. It must be kept in mind that Atticus was an Epicurean. The Epicureans firmly believed that death was final, that there was no after-life. Since Atticus was a staunch follower of the sect he most likely believed in no after-life either. As Pierre Boyancé points out, a breach of faith towards a dead friend's memory was not an unreasonable concept for the majority of Atticus'

contemporaries, whether they were Epicureans or not.⁷⁰ Whatever may be said of the Letters, their value far outweighs any harm they might have done Cicero.

To conclude this discussion of Atticus perhaps it would be best to return to Cicero himself and see how he summed up Atticus' place in his affections:

But in the real glory which consists in uprightness, industry and piety, there is no one I place above you, not even myself, and as regards affection to myself, after my brother and my immediate connections, I give you the palm. For I have seen time after time, and have had thorough experience of your sorrow and your joy in my changing fortunes. I have often had the pleasure of your congratulations in times of triumph and the comfort of your consolation in hours of despondency. Nay at this very moment your absence makes me feel the lack not only of your advice, which you excel in giving, but of the interchange of speech, which I enjoy most with you. I hardly know if I miss it most in politics, where I dare not make a slip; or in my legal work, which I used to undertake for advancement's sake and now keep up to preserve my position through popularity; or in my private concerns.⁷¹

It was fitting indeed that Cicero chose to dedicate to Atticus his De Amicitia.

CHAPTER III

THE CAREER OF QUINTUS CICERO

Although Cicero and Quintus attended the same lectures and learned from the same masters, Quintus was destined to be outstripped by his brother. Quintus had no taste for oratory and always refused to speak in public. His plea was that one orator was enough in a family or even in a city.¹ He gave the impression of great energy but was soon discouraged. Though he affected to be master, he was led by those about him.² These faults along with his irascibility hampered his success in public life and harried him in his private life. He did not possess the drive and ambition that carried Cicero on to the consulship. His chief distinction was on the battlefield.

Quintus was four years younger than Cicero and the same age as Julius Caesar.³ Just four years after Cicero and, like Cicero, he assumed the quaestorship at an early age. He, too, would have been eligible for a place in the senate at the expiration of his term. It is not likely he took a vocal part in senatorial proceedings and it is just possible that like so many of his senatorial colleagues he did not attend the sessions too regularly. In a letter to Quintus, Cicero remarked on this general senatorial attendance:

The senate was better attended than I thought possible

in the month of December so near the holidays. Of us consulars there were P.Servilius, M.Lucullus, Lepidus, Volcatius, Glabrio, the two consuls designate, and the praetors. We made quite a full house, being about two hundred altogether.⁴

In 66 B.C. Quintus and Julius Caesar were elected to the aedileship along with two other men. This office gave Quintus the right to the curule chair, the sella curulis, and to the jus imaginum, or privilege of placing his waxen mask in his hall. As well as having the responsibility of caring for the public buildings, especially the temples as well as the streets and markets, the aediles had charge of policing the city. They supervised the price of bread and the grain supply. No doubt Caesar outshone Quintus in celebrating the great religious festivals at Rome as well as exhibiting the annual games in honour of different deities. This office could be very costly to the incumbent since no salary was attached to it. Whether Quintus managed as economically as Cicero is not known.

During Quintus' term as aedile, when Cicero was preparing for the consulship, Quintus wrote for him a long letter, almost a handbook of politics called Commentariolum Petitionis Consulatus. This was one way in which he endeavoured to aid his brother in canvassing for the coveted role of consul. In this treatise Quintus showed a canny and shrewd knowledge of necessary campaign tactics. He advised Cicero to enlist in his favour his neighbours, clients, freedmen, and even slaves, for, he said public report about a man generally

has its origin in domestic sources.⁵ He urged flattery for friends, which, though faulty and discreditable in other transactions of life, was necessary during the candidature.⁶ For enemies he preferred that, if possible, some new scandal be started against the competitors, either for crime, looseness of life, or corruption such as was in harmony with their characters.⁷ Quintus seemed to have few illusions about what won and lost elections. However, he did not recommend seeking votes by outright bribery nor did Cicero approve of it. Their joint plan of action seems to have been to try to prevent their opponents giving bribes by threatening their agents with all the penalties of the law.⁸

That Cicero appreciated this brotherly advice may be safely assumed. Frequently his letters to Quintus afford proofs that he sought and found a valuable counselor in Quintus. That he fully realized his worth as an adviser he mentioned in a letter written to Quintus when he was beginning his third year of governorship in Asia:

For why should I instruct one who, especially in this department, is, I well know, not inferior to myself in wisdom, and in experience my superior also?⁹

and then:

But if it was you who helped me more than any other living man to win a highly honoured name, you will surely also exert yourself more than others to enable me to preserve that name.¹⁰

That Cicero was successful in his candidacy redounds to his own credit and to that of Quintus. Cicero's popularity

had become so great that he was proclaimed consul by unanimous shouts rather than by resorting to ballots. His triumph, certainly, could not be attributed to his position of rank, wealth, or power; it can therefore only be explained by his popularity and the high regard in which his ability was held by the Roman citizens.

In 63 B.C., the year of Cicero's consulate, Quintus was elected praetor. Again his colleague was Julius Caesar. It was probable that Quintus acted as praetor urbanus during his term of office which extended from 62 to 61 B.C. In his capacity of judicial magistrate he would have decided cases of civil status .

Unlike his brother, Quintus was willing to accept a governorship on the completion of his term as praetor. He was assigned the province of Asia.¹¹ It was about this time that his relations with Atticus became strained. There had been some mention of Atticus' accompanying him to his province but the plan never materialized.¹² Statius, Quintus' freedman, went with him. Contrary to Cicero's advice, Quintus also arranged for his manumission about this time. Statius had all the authority of a vice-regent in the province and this Cicero felt was unbecoming to a person of Statius' rank.¹³

At the beginning of Quintus' third term of governorship Cicero sent him a long missive which proved to be none other than a treatise on the necessity of good government.

Though he commended his brother for his administration the subsequent threat of impeachment showed there must have been some shortcomings. No doubt Cicero had heard in Rome some unfavourable reports from the province.

Cicero sympathized on the extension of Quintus' term. Like Cicero, Quintus did not care for provincial life. Cicero blamed himself for the extension of his brother's term:

For it was entirely my fault - and you pleaded with me against it both on your departure and subsequently by letter - that you were not given a successor last year. And in that, in my anxiety to promote the interest of the allies, and to resist the shameless policy of certain dealers, and in my strong desire to see our country's glory enhanced by your excellent rule, I acted unwisely, especially since by my mistake I made it possible for that second year to bring a third also in its train.¹⁴

However, Cicero felt that Quintus, by exercising his virtue and self-control, should be able to maintain the peace and tranquillity of his civilized province:

And my personal opinion is, that those who govern others must gauge their every act by this one test - the greatest possible happiness of the governed And indeed it is the duty not only of one who governs allies and citizens, but also of one who governs slaves and dumb animals, to be himself a slave to the interests and well-being of those he governs.¹⁵

Cicero felt that self-control for Quintus, even without the education he had received, should be a comparatively easy thing.¹⁶ He felt that a man in possession of so vast a power as that of a governorship should conduct himself in such a way that his subjects should not regret that the governor was subjected to so few controls.¹⁷ The topic of self-control is mentioned several times. Towards the end of the letter

Cicero reprimands Quintus for his lack of self-control and his irascibility, Quintus' besetting sins:

There is one lesson I shall never cease to impress upon you, and (so far as in me lies) I am not going to allow your praises to be qualified by a single reservation. The fact is that all who come from your province, while they dwell upon your virtues, your integrity, and your kindness, do make one reservation, and that is your irascibility.¹⁸

Reports had reached Rome:

Well, what practically everybody reports of you is this - that, as long as you keep your temper, they find you the pleasantest person in the world; but when you are upset by some fellow's rascality or wrong-headedness, you become so exasperated that everybody sighs for your vanished kindness.¹⁹

Underlying these reprimands is that deep, brotherly affection:

And I do not speak thus to make it appear that my discourse has roused you from sleep, but rather that it has spurred you on in your career. For you will never cease to act as you have done, in such a way as to win all men's praise for your fairness, self-restraint, strictness, and integrity. Indeed, such is my extraordinary affection for you that I am possessed by a sort of insatiable desire for your glory; and yet it is my belief that since Asia ought now to be as well known to you as his own house is known to every man, and since so long an experience has now been added to the consummate wisdom you have always shown, it is my belief, I say, that there is nothing appertaining to a high reputation of which you have not the clearest apprehension, and which does not occur daily to your mind without the aid of anybody's exhortation.²⁰

As well as enjoying a fine province, Quintus was fortunate in his choice of legates. Cicero spoke well of them. They were L. Aelius Tubero, A. Allienus, and M. Gratidius, who possibly was a cousin. Though the quaestor was not mentioned by name, he, too, was thought to have been a good

choice.²¹

Cicero urged Quintus to avoid listening to false whispers, to take care in the use of his signet-ring, that is, that it should be obedient to his will and not to another's, and that his beadle and lictor should be dutiful.²²

The unlimited power of a governor was a severe test for one of Quintus' character. Despite his many fine traits he was more inclined to follow than lead. He was noted, too, for his violent outbursts of temper. There were murmurings that though he was honest he was arbitrary and cruel.²³ When he was threatened with impeachment at the end of his three-year term it was Atticus who was called upon to use his influence.

On May 29, 58 B.C. Cicero wrote to Atticus:

Now I am in great anxiety to know what is happening at Rome. It is true that in one letter dated May 15 you say you have heard that Quintus will be rigorously called in question, and in another that things are calming down: but the latter is dated a day before the former, to increase my perplexity. So what between my own personal grief, which racks and tortures me daily, and this additional anxiety, I have hardly any life left in me.²⁴

A few weeks later, on June 13, he wrote:

My brother Quintus left Asia at the end of April and reached Athens on May the 15th; and he had to hurry, for fear anything disastrous might happen in his absence, if there were anyone who was not yet contented with the measure of our woes. So I preferred him to hurry on to Rome rather than to come to me.

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The thing I most fear among all my misfortunes is my poor brother's business: if I knew the exact state of affairs, I might know what to do about it. I am following your advice and still staying at Thessalonica in hope of

the advantages you mention and of letters. When I get some news, I shall be able to shape my course of action.²⁵

The same day, in another letter, Cicero explained to his brother why he did not wish to see him when he was returning from his province to Rome. Cicero felt that it would have been harder for his brother than for himself to part after a meeting.²⁶ Quintus would not have found the Cicero he knew but "something resembling one dead, but breathing",²⁷ so changed and dejected was he from his sorry state in exile. Cicero regretted that he could not lend his brother his support in Rome:

But I call the gods to witness that the one argument which called me back from death was everybody's saying that no small portion of your life was vested in mine. And so I behaved like a fool and a criminal. For had I died, my death in itself would be sufficient proof of my brotherly affection for you. As it is, I have made the mistake of depriving you of my aid while I am yet alive, and causing you, while I am yet alive, to need the aid of others, so that my voice, which had so often been the salvation of the most complete strangers, should fail of all times in the hour of domestic danger.²⁸

On June 27, Cicero asked Atticus:

Lend a helping hand to Quintus, the best and kindest of brothers, and for mercy's sake let me have all the definite news there is.²⁹

However, in spite of Cicero's misgivings, events resolved themselves. No charge of impeachment was laid. Quintus was not prosecuted. Probably he embezzled less in his province than his colleagues did in theirs. His taste for extensive and elaborate buildings had led him, no doubt, to accumulate some wealth.³⁰ On September 4, Cicero was able

to write to Atticus:

All the news I have had about my brother Quintus from June 3rd to the end of August has been bad news without exception. But on the last of August Livineius, who had been sent by his former master, L. Regulus, came to me. He assured me that no notice whatever had been given of a prosecution though there was some talk of C. Clodius' son undertaking one: and he brought me letters from Quintus himself. But on the next day came some of Sestius' men, with some letters of yours which are not so positive and alarming as Livineius' conversation was.³¹

Since Quintus attributed his improved position to Atticus alone, Cicero was able to write:

My brother writes that you alone are his support. I need not urge you to efforts which you make of your own accord, nor will I offer my thanks, since you do not expect them. I only hope fate may allow us to enjoy our affection in safety.³²

In the interval Cicero discussed with Quintus his own precarious position:

As it is, now that you have been thrust into such a morass of grief and trouble as no man ever was before, if you, by exciting the compassion of the world, can be the means of mitigating our common misfortune, you will undoubtedly win a success of unimaginable importance; but if we are both irrevocably ruined (woe is me!), I shall prove to have brought destruction upon all my people, to whom previously I was no discredit.³³

Cicero suggested that Sestius and Lentulus, the consul-elect, were two men on whose help Quintus could depend.³⁴

By November Cicero's own situation had improved somewhat. To Atticus he wrote:

Though my brother Quintus and Piso have sent me careful accounts of what has been done, I am sorry you were too busy to write your usual full description of events and of your surmises. Plancius' kindness keeps me here still, though I have several times tried to go to Epirus. He is inspired with a hope, which I do not share, that we may return together: which he hopes would redound to his

honour. But now, as soon as news arrives of the approach of the soldiers, I shall have to make an effort to leave him. When I do, I will send word to you at once and let you know where I am. The courtesy which Lentulus shows in his actions, his promises and his letters, gives me some hope of Pompey's good will: for you have often mentioned that he would do anything for him. With Metellus, my brother tells me, you have had as much success as he hoped. My dear Pomponius, fight hard for me to be allowed to live with you and with my family; and send me all the news.³⁵

The following January Quintus informed Cicero that the Senate had passed a decree concerning the latter's fate.³⁶ Events moved slowly however. Cicero's enemies were still powerful and there was a further delay in effecting his release from banishment.

Cicero had paid dearly for his unlawful punishment of the Catilinarians. If he had not feared for his very life at the time of Clodius' pronouncement he might have demanded a trial for himself - the very thing he denied the conspirators and which in turn was inadvertently not his. If he had had a trial he might never have left Rome.

When Clodius, as tribunus plebis, brought the charges against Cicero it is not likely that the two triumvirs, Pompey and Caesar, would have stood idly by while events moved against Cicero if they themselves had not been personally displeased with him. Pompey had been enraged at Cicero's boastful claim of being the saviour of the state by the prosecution of Catiline's men. Caesar had been annoyed at Cicero's refusal of his offer of the legateship in Gaul.

Cicero's love for city life and Rome made banishment

a greater punishment. Having to stay outside the four hundred mile limit made him a veritable outlaw.

On January 25, when the matter of Cicero's recall came up again, Clodius with his gang occupied the Forum and the Comitium. Rioting and bloodshed ensued. Quintus was involved in this wild mêlée. Having been wounded he barely escaped with his life by feigning death among the bodies of the fallen slaves and freedmen.

By now, though, popular feeling was beginning to change. Clodius and his gang were being opposed by T. Annius Milo and his followers. Clodius had personally offended Pompey by criticizing his tactics in some of his conquered countries. Finally on August 4, the Senate had a bill passed ordering Cicero's recall. Cicero was promptly reinstated.

Quintus was now on Pompey's staff. He had been appointed one of his fifteen commissioners or lieutenants charged with the administration of the grain supply. His term extended from 57 to 56 B.C.

Cicero soon discovered that political conditions had changed somewhat when he proceeded to oppose Caesar's Campanian land bill. Later he wrote to Lentulus:

For when a decree of the Senate had been passed on the lines of my motion, Pompey, though he had shown me no sign that he was offended, set out for Sardinia and Africa, and on the journey visited Caesar at Luca. There Caesar took exception to my motion in many respects, - since at Ravenna also, before that, he had seen Crassus, who had roused his hot indignation against me. It was common knowledge that Pompey was greatly annoyed at my proposal, as I had been told by others,

but most particularly by my brother. When Pompey met him in Sardinia a few days after he had left Luca he said, "You are the very man I want to see! nothing could have happened more opportunely! Unless you remonstrate seriously with your brother, you must pay up what you guaranteed me on his behalf."³⁷

Some critics, Haskell for instance, have suggested, and indeed it seems likely, that Quintus had gone bail for Cicero's good conduct if he should be allowed to return from exile.³⁸ Williams has intimated that this was not necessarily a financial guarantee but rather a moral one.³⁹ There was no mistaking the meaning of Pompey's statement to Quintus, as Cicero told Lentulus. Cicero was obliged to reconsider his position and drop the attack on the land bill. Pompey had pledged himself to Caesar for Cicero, as Quintus had pledged himself to Pompey.

During Cicero's exile there must have been some financial aid, too, from Quintus, for Cicero declared on November 23, 57 B.C.:

My brother Quintus' liberality I shall repay, in spite of his protests, as the state of my finances compels me - by the aid of friends, so as not entirely to beggar myself.⁴⁰

Quintus must have been particularly generous for, in writing to him from Thessalonica, Cicero had this to say:

Why, then, did you write to me about a bill of exchange? As though I was not being supported as it is by your resources. And it is just there that I see and feel, alas, what a crime I have committed, seeing that you are forced to satisfy your creditors by drawing upon your own and your son's very life-blood, while I have squandered to no purpose the money I had received from the treasury on your account.⁴¹

While Quintus was on Pompey's staff he acted as his legate in Sardinia in 56 B.C. Cicero persuaded Pompey to allow Quintus to give up his post in Sardinia and return to Rome.⁴² Soon after his term as deputy in Sardinia Quintus joined Caesar in Gaul. He was appointed lieutenant-general on Caesar's staff - the position that Cicero had declined prior to going into exile. It was Cicero who persuaded Quintus to serve under Caesar. Caesar joyfully accepted the proposal but warned Quintus that he would be disappointed if he thought he was coming to a rich province.⁴³

That Quintus' military campaigning in Gaul was successful Caesar's commentaries attest. Quintus proved himself a particularly able commander against the furious onslaught of the Nervii, one of the Belgic tribes. This is Caesar's own appraisal of Quintus' defence of the winter quarters with the support of only one legion:

These having been entrapped, the Eburones, the Nervii, and the Aduatuci and all their allies and dependants, begin to attack the legion: our men quickly run together to arms and mount the rampart: they sustained the attack that day with great difficulty, since the enemy placed all their hope in despatch, and felt assured that, if they obtained this victory, they would be conquerors for ever.⁴⁴

In chapter forty of the same book Caesar said this of Quintus' bravery and courage:

Cicero himself, though he was in very weak health, did not leave himself the night-time for repose, so that he was forced to spare himself by the spontaneous movement and entreaties of the soldiers.⁴⁵

The seventh day of the Nervii's attack was the most

calamitous for the Romans, yet it resulted in the largest number of the enemy being wounded and slain. Reinforcements were sought from Caesar. When Caesar arrived he soon routed the enemy. He apprised Cicero's position thus:

He witnesses with surprise the towers, mantlets, and (other) fortifications belonging to the enemy: the legion having been drawn out, he finds that even every tenth soldier had not escaped without wounds. From all these things he judges with what danger and with what great courage matters had been conducted; he commends Cicero according to his desert and likewise the legion; he addresses individually the centurions and the tribunes of the soldiers, whose valour he had discovered to have been signal.⁴⁶

Following this successful defence Caesar put Quintus in charge of the fourteenth legion left as a guard for the baggage at Aduatuca in the midst of the Eburones.⁴⁷ At first Quintus obeyed Caesar's orders to keep the troops within the fortifications. Then, thinking that there was no immediate danger, he sent out five cohorts to forage. Other troops followed these. While the camp was thus unprotected the Segambri attacked.⁴⁸ When Caesar returned he complained that the cohorts had been sent away from the outposts and pointed out that room ought not to have been left for even the most trivial casualty.⁴⁹ Though in the Commentaries Caesar does not blame Quintus there must have been some loss of prestige. He was not commended again by Caesar for his military exploits, nor did he seem to have been entrusted with any command after that catastrophe. That same year while Quintus was in winter quarters he turned his attention to writing. He composed a

drama, the Erigona, and within sixteen days, four tragedies.⁵⁰

When Quintus went to Britain he found that that country lacked the lucrative potentialities he expected. Slaves seemed to be the only source of gain. This is what Cicero wrote to Atticus about it:

For it is proved that the approach to the island is guarded with astonishing masses of rock, and it has been ascertained too that there is not a scrap of silver in the island, nor any hope of booty except from slaves: but I don't fancy you will find any with literary or musical talents among them.⁵¹

Quintus had promised some slaves to Cicero for which Cicero was grateful because, as he said, he was short-handed both at Rome and on his estates.⁵² No word was mentioned of extending the benefits of Roman civilization and law to these backward areas. There was nothing about trading opportunities, nor even of the desirability of strengthening Rome's hinterland, just plain "smash and grab".⁵³

After Quintus' campaigning in Gaul and Britain the Cicero brothers seem to have been in better financial circumstances. Both had been in debt and the profits of soldiering as well as Cicero's forensic efforts in Rome had restored their solvency. Quintus was able to build on a more lavish scale. One of the estates which Quintus was building, the one at Arcanum, Cicero said was an edifice worthy of Caesar, or even of some "more fastidious connoisseur".⁵⁴ Cicero must have been in charge of the construction for he wrote: "But I shall visit them myself, and send men there, and give them

instructions".⁵⁵

While Quintus was in Gaul he must have complained to Cicero about his situation in Gaul for when Cicero wrote to him late in November of 54 B.C. he asked him to recall to mind the purpose they had in view when Quintus left Rome. Cicero reminded him that they were not aiming at petty or paltry advantages. What they sought was the strongest possible reinforcement of their whole political position by "enlisting the good will of a man of irreproachable character, and at the same time of unquestionable ascendancy".⁵⁶ Their investment was in hope rather than in cash.⁵⁷ Cicero encouraged Quintus to remain in the field:

So if you constantly throw your thoughts back to the purpose of our original policy, and what we then had in view, you will find less difficulty in enduring your military labours, and anything else that is obnoxious to you; and, after all, you can give up those duties whenever you please; but the hour for that has not arrived, though it is already approaching.⁵⁸

There was another reason for remaining. It was an excellent opportunity for Quintus to get rid of his liabilities and to gain some of that "opulence" he so desired,⁵⁹ even though Caesar held out no great hope of gain for him.

In 51 B.C. Cicero was appointed by lot to the governorship of Cilicia and its dependencies. Quintus and the two boys, Marcus and young Quintus, with their teacher, Dionysius, accompanied Cicero to his province. Cicero arranged that the boys pursue their studies at the court of Deiotarus.⁶⁰ Quintus was put in charge of the army which he was to take into winter

quarters in the more disturbed part of the province, Cilicia proper. Cicero planned to go back to Laodicea.⁶¹

Cicero persisted in his desire to remain only for the one year in his province. When the term was almost up and there was no sign of a successor the possibility of leaving Quintus in charge occurred to him. This choice was unsuitable to Cicero for two reasons: the first, Quintus was likely to refuse for political reasons as he hated provincial life as much as his brother; and second, Cicero could have been accused of nepotism. However, to Atticus he confided his private reasons. He said he would have been in constant anxiety for fear there might have been from Quintus some exhibition of temper or overbearingness or negligence. He feared, too, what young Quintus might have done since he probably would have remained with his father.⁶²

Atticus, too, disapproved of the province being left in Quintus' care:

There could have been no reason for doubts, if there had been grounds for leaving a brother and such a brother in charge. I took your doubts for dogmatic rejection. You warn me on no account to leave the young Quintus. Your words repeat my dream. The same vision came to us both, as though we had talked it over.⁶³

However, Cicero left the province to the care of his new quaestor, G. Caelius Caldus, whom he had drawn by lot. The choice seemed to please him.⁶⁴

Despite Cicero's economical management of the province he did succeed in collecting a sizeable fortune amounting to

2,200,000 sesterces.⁶⁵ This amount he left with the banker, Egnatius, in Epirus.⁶⁶

When the brothers returned to Italy the political situation in the country was extremely precarious. Civil war was imminent. The problem that faced Cicero was whether to throw in his lot with Caesar or remain faithful to Pompey. Both leaders were counting on his support. In fact, both had written to Cicero at this time with protestations of the highest esteem.⁶⁷ Cicero still felt towards Pompey a certain sense of loyalty. Pompey asked him to act as surveyor over the whole of the Campanian coast, "to superintend the levy and all important business".⁶⁸ Cicero accepted the position. He brought his family to Formiae to join him. A few days later Quintus and his family arrived.⁶⁹

Cicero was more and more perplexed whether to follow Pompey to Greece, or remain in Italy. At one time he appeared to be inclined to adopt the prudent course and follow Atticus' advice which was to remain until he saw the outcome of Caesar's campaign in Spain.⁷⁰ His family, too, favoured this course.⁷¹ At another he was filled with remorse that he was not sharing Pompey's fortunes. The energy and clemency of Caesar, and the incapacity and violence of the Optimate party, and even of Pompey urged him in one direction. His regard for public opinion, and his feelings of gratitude and duty towards Pompey urged him in the other.⁷² His ultimate decision was to follow Pompey. He wrote to Atticus:

"What shall I do then?" What the cattle do, who when scattered follow flocks of their own kind. As an ox follows the herd, so shall I follow the "right party", even if they rush to destruction.⁷³

In February of 49 B.C. Pompey sent a note to Cicero inviting him to join him at Luceria.⁷⁴ However, Pompey did not remain there long enough for Cicero to join him. Even before this letter was written Pompey had proceeded to Brundisium.⁷⁵

Cicero felt that both parties seemed to be headed for destruction. Actually he had no illusions about either of the leaders. He said, "Neither of them looks to our happiness. Both want to be kings."⁷⁶

It was not until June 49 B.C. that Cicero finally decided to join Pompey. With Quintus he started out on June 7 for Durazzo. Shuckburgh believed that what prompted Cicero to start out then were Caesar's comparative difficulties on the Segre near Ilerda.⁷⁷ At this time many waverers crossed over to Pompey's camp.⁷⁸ Cicero said this about his own decision:

The war was begun; I took no part in it; it was driven away from the shores of Italy, where I remained as long as I possibly could. But my sense of honour weighed more with me than my fears. I shrank from failing Pompey in his hour of need, considering that on a former occasion he had not failed me in mine. And so, yielding perforce to my sense of duty, or my fear of what good citizens would say, or the promptings of honour (call it what you please), like Amphiaras in the plays, I too, not blindly but knowingly, set forth for "the field of ruin spread before my eyes".⁷⁹

Subsequent events showed how much better it would

have been had Cicero remained in Italy. He was no soldier. His only military service was at the age of nineteen in the Marsian or Social War under Pompey's father. This was a compulsory training for that age. When Cicero reached Pompey's camp Cato asked him why he had come. Pompey seems to have given him no particular commission. Instead Cicero wandered about the camp grumbling or venting his caustic wit on anything and everything. He was not present at the actual defeat at Pharsalus in August 48 B.C. The Letters make no mention of Quintus' whereabouts. Following this decisive disaster the brothers arrived at Patrae. Young Quintus came from Corcyra to join them.⁸⁰ Here the bitter quarrel ensued. Cicero has said little about it. No doubt both brothers were embittered after Pompey's defeat. Quintus had the greater amount at stake for he had been one of Caesar's high-ranking staff officers in Gaul. There he had done well financially, too. As soon as Pompey had been hopelessly defeated Quintus angrily attacked Cicero for having misled him into deserting his former chief to follow the losing side. Yet it was Quintus' own fault that he was at Pharsalus. Cicero wrote to Atticus on March 6 of 49 B.C.:

I am the only one who could go or stay as I like. Besides there is my brother, whom it is not fair to involve in my trouble. With him Caesar will be even more angry, but I cannot induce him to stay behind.⁸¹

On March 11 he wrote:

As for my brother Quintus, whatever I thought right, he agreed to, and he followed my course with perfect contentment.⁸²

Quintus seems to have feared for his brother in the course he was following. Cicero told Atticus:

My brother is prostrate with grief, though he does not fear for his own life so much as for mine.⁸³

When they were at Patrae the first item of contention was that Quintus complained that Cicero had given him no money after Cilicia, that it was wasted on Pompey. Quintus had been in debt just before he joined Cicero in Pompey's camp. He did not, however, ask Cicero for any assistance at that time.⁸⁴ This was the first word Quintus had uttered about wanting any of the Cilician funds.⁸⁵

Later, when Cicero was in Brundisium, Quintus wrote to apologize to Cicero in terms much more irritating than those he used when he was abusing Cicero most violently. He explained with the greatest coarseness that he would never have shown his dislike for Cicero's behaviour, then or before, if he had not seen that everything was against his brother.⁸⁶ That statement is almost incomprehensible from one who was reputed to have loved his brother so dearly. Surely it cannot be taken too seriously but rather as an instance of his bitter ill-temper and angry thoughtless words. Yet to one of Cicero's sensibilities it would have been a heavy blow, especially, as at that time everything was crashing about him. His wife was deceiving him, his daughter was being mistreated by her philandering husband, Marcus was proving an unsatisfactory son, the political condition of the country was in a state of up-

heaval, and at the moment of writing he was languishing in the port of Brundisium.

Perhaps a truer appraisal of the situation might be that Quintus felt so dejected from defeat and lack of funds that he vented his spleen on Cicero. His irascible nature had turned finally on his nearest and dearest. Pomponia and Atticus had experienced his bitter tongue. Now Cicero himself was experiencing it. Young Quintus, a pronounced Caesarophile and one who had often embroiled his parents in disagreements, would not have been one to stand idly by when he saw a chance to embroil his uncle in a quarrel with his father. This would have been a fine opportunity to show his vindictiveness. At last he could, with support, vilify the uncle who, on many occasions, had been his stern critic.

A question of jealousy presents itself, too. Was Quintus jealous of Cicero for being asked to take charge of Pompey's forces after the disaster of Pharsalus?⁸⁷ Though Cicero was the only one of consular rank present, he was no soldier and Quintus had had successful experience in the field. Shuckburgh discounts Plutarch's reporting of the suggested command. He declares that Plutarch's narrative is suspiciously inaccurate, for it implies that Cicero went at once to Brundisium, whereas his letters indicate that he sailed by Corcyra to Patrae.⁸⁸ Cicero himself suspected Quintus' son was jealous for he remarked to Atticus:

He wants me to understand there is plenty to be said to

my discredit, but he does not agree with it You may read the rest (for I have sent it on) and judge for yourself. I fancy it is the daily and continual complimentary remarks which, as I hear from many, our friend Brutus is making about us, which have provoked him into writing something to me and to you.⁸⁹

Cicero journeyed back to Brundisium where he spent many weary months awaiting Caesar's return from Asia and a reconciliation with him. Dolabella had written to Cicero in Caesar's name.⁹⁰ In November of 48 B.C. Cicero wrote to Atticus that he had heard Quintus had set out for Asia to make his peace.⁹¹ About young Quintus he had heard nothing. In another letter to Atticus Cicero confided that he hoped since Quintus and his son would see Caesar first they would think fit to further his case with him, as he would theirs, if he were in their place.⁹²

Cicero did not seem to sense the full intensity of the quarrel or else he felt it was an episode that would quickly pass. He thought that when his brother saw Caesar he would commend him to him. How surprised and hurt he was when he wrote the following month to Atticus:

Quintus sent his son not only to make peace for himself, but to accuse me. He keeps saying that I am trying to set Caesar against him, though Caesar and all his friends deny it. And he does not cease, wherever he is, from heaping all sorts of abuse on me. It is the most surprising thing that ever happened to me and the bitterest of all my present sorrows. Those who reported the matter to me professed to have heard it from his own lips, when he was slandering me at Sicyon in the hearing of many.⁹³

This quarrel followed much the same pattern as Quintus' disagreement with Atticus. Cicero was quick to see

the similarity, for he said: "You know his way; indeed you may have had some personal experience of it. Now it is all turned on me."⁹⁴

It was shortly after this that Cicero opened the packet of letters Quintus had dispatched to some of his friends. These letters were filled with all kinds of abuse directed **against** Cicero. One of the recipients of the letters was so incensed that he told Cicero that, as far as he knew, Caesar detested Quintus and favoured him only out of regard for Cicero himself. To add to Cicero's utter dismay and despair at this time, Tullia was in desperate straits because of Dolabella. In utter despair he wrote to Atticus:

This I am writing on my birthday. Would that I had been left to die on the day of my birth, or that my mother had never had another child. Tears prevent me from writing more.⁹⁵

Young Quintus continued to be more bitter than his father. He seemed to be making the most of his opportunity to harm his uncle. This is what Cicero wrote to Atticus in January of 47 B.C.:

My friend P. Terentius was acting as deputy to the collector of port-dues and pasture tax in Asia, and he saw young Quintus at Ephesus on the 8th of December and gave him a cordial invitation on account of our friendship. And when he asked him something about me, Quintus told him that I was his deadliest enemy and showed him the manuscript of a speech which he said he was going to deliver before Caesar against me. Terentius said all he could to dissuade him from such folly. Afterwards at Patrae the elder Quintus talked freely to him in the same scandalous strain.⁹⁶

Though Atticus wrote to Quintus on Cicero's behalf, Quintus continued to slander his brother.⁹⁷ Cicero was

distressed to learn that Caesar believed Quintus "had sounded the bugle" for their departure to Pompey's camp.⁹⁸ He hastened to reassure Caesar that it was he, not Quintus, who was responsible. His magnanimous nature forbade him to allow Caesar to think ill of his brother. He wrote:

I am as much troubled about my brother Quintus as about myself; but under the present circumstances I do not venture to recommend him to you. One thing, however, I will venture to ask you - I beseech you to acquit him of doing anything to disturb my sense of your claims on me or to lessen my affection for you, and rather to regard him as the main factor of our union and the companion, not the leader, in my departure. And therefore in all other matters you will give him all the credit that your kindness and your mutual friendship demands. What I earnestly beg you again and again is, that you will not let me stand in his light with you.⁹⁹

Caesar was reputed to have been a good judge of character and, no doubt, by this time, realized the respective merits of Cicero and Quintus. That it was Cicero he favoured was quite clear. His generosity to Quintus was due to his esteem for Cicero. After all he must have known Quintus' shortcomings quite well after having had him campaigning with him in Gaul and in Britain.

During the next April Cicero heard that Quintus was going to join the Pompeian forces in Africa.¹⁰⁰ Young Quintus was seen a few months later with Hirtius in Caesar's train at Antioch.¹⁰¹ About September Cicero mentioned some letters that Caesar was circulating. He felt that Caesar did that, not so much to show his annoyance at Quintus' disgraceful conduct as to make Cicero's misfortunes better known.¹⁰² Cicero did not seem to trust Caesar fully.

Young Quintus followed Caesar to Spain and seemed to be on terms of intimacy and general good will with the commander. Quintus' relations with Caesar were so cordial that this was the chief reason Cicero had for dissuading his son from going to Spain to join Caesar. He encouraged young Marcus to study instead.¹⁰³

Black reports of young Quintus were coming from Spain. Later Dolabella brought more news of him:

Much of what he told me was unmentionable, unspeakable; but there was one thing so bad that, if the whole army did not know of it, I should not dare to dictate it to Tiro or even to write it down myself.¹⁰⁴

There does not seem to have been any expression of sympathy from Quintus on the death of Tullia; at least, Cicero made no mention of it. It is just possible that the death occurred during the period of estrangement. Some critics maintain that the quarrel lasted two years. When it terminated it is difficult to calculate exactly.

By midsummer of 45 B.C. matters with Quintus seemed to be better. Cicero wrote to Atticus that he was expecting to hear from Quintus for he had sent messengers to him from Tusculum.¹⁰⁵ In August of that year young Quintus was still speaking against his uncle; yet, later in that same month some reconciliation must have taken place for Cicero invited young Quintus to Tusculum after he had written to tell his uncle he was coming to Rome. Cicero told Atticus that Hirtius took his part most valiantly in arguments against young

Quintus:

The latter is raving about me everywhere, especially at dinner-parties, and then he falls back on his father: nothing he says is so likely to be believed as that we are utterly irreconcilable to Caesar; that we are not to be trusted, and that I ought to be held in suspicion, which would have been terrifying, if were I not aware that the king knows I have no spirit left. He says too that my son is being bullied by me: but that he may say as much as he likes.¹⁰⁷

It was fortunate, indeed, that Cicero was able to discount young Quintus' maledictions. He was more to be pitied than condemned. Brutus had written to Cicero that he wished Cicero could have had a taste of the young rascal's tales.¹⁰⁸ During this same period he was causing further trouble between his father and his mother. Cicero wrote in August 45 B.C.:

What incredible hypocrisy! To write to his father that "he had no home owing to his mother", and to his mother a letter full of affection.¹⁰⁹

Quintus was so angry at his son at this time that Cicero felt it necessary to remonstrate with him.¹¹⁰

Both Cicero and Quintus left their wives about this time. Cicero was divorced in 46 B.C. after more than thirty years of marriage and Quintus was divorced in 45 B.C. after twenty-four years of an unhappy, storm-tossed marriage. He did not consider remarrying even though young Quintus spread such rumours.¹¹¹

The Ides of March, instead of alleviating the existing unrest, precipitated disaster. Cicero wanted the Senate summoned immediately after the assassination.¹¹² This was

not done. Gradually Antonius wrested the power into his own hands till Cicero could truly say: "For though the tyrant is dead, I see the tyranny persists."¹¹³

Quintus was reputed to have retired to Tusculum with his brother to await there the course of events. When Octavian had to include the Ciceros in the proscription list to appease Antonius, Cicero and Quintus with Quintus' son planned to flee the country. Money, or rather the lack of it, drove Quintus and his son back to Rome; indecision kept Cicero on the Italian coast. All three of them perished under the assassins' blows.

Young Quintus had probably performed the one noble deed of his life when he tried to shield his father at this fatal hour. The two died together, followers of Cicero to the end.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE BROTHERS

Most of the pertinent facts pertaining to the relationship of the brothers Cicero both in public and private matters have been discussed in the course of earlier chapters of this study. There do remain, however, some facets of the relationship which merit further examination. In this chapter particular attention will be paid to the relative political significance of Cicero and Quintus, to their financial situations, to their love of learning, to their personal appearance, and above all, to an estimate of their respective characters with their prevailing strengths and weaknesses.

When it was no longer possible to refuse the office, Cicero became governor of Cilicia in 51 B.C. The five-year term between the expiration of the praetorship and the acceptance of a governorship made it necessary, because of the shortage of praetors, to call into service men such as Cicero. Cicero's term as governor lasted one year. He did all he possibly could to avoid any extension of it. Though he was a successful leader in the province he made no effort to enforce lasting reforms. His benefits continued only during his term of office. The next governor could easily revert to extortion, bribes, and oppressive taxation. There was no civil service

to maintain the status quo.

Throughout most of his life Quintus lived in the shadow of his famed and illustrious brother. He followed in Cicero's footsteps as far as the praetorship. Unlike Cicero he accepted the governorship as soon as he was eligible for it. He completed the customary three-year term, was about to be impeached for his conduct like so many of the governors, but narrowly escaped trial through his brother's influential friends.

His singular distinction was in military campaigns of which Cicero would have no part. Quintus was Caesar's valued lieutenant in Gaul. There he won his place of glory and merited praise from his commander in the pages of his Commentaries. This same lieutenant's post had been offered before to Cicero, but, he, since he had no taste for military life and did not wish to be in Caesar's camp, refused it.

It is difficult to get a picture of the financial situation of both Ciceros. Discussions in the Letters are often inconclusive. Though Cicero is known to have amassed a sizeable fortune during his lifetime he did not seem to have had recourse to the dishonest methods of some of his compatriots. His governorship of Cilicia left him an unblemished record for honest management; yet, he accumulated there the 2,200,000 sesterces he loaned to Pompey. In the financial arrangements subsequent to the divorce proceedings he was fair to his wife. He wanted her, above all, to have

her rightful share:

About Terentia I cannot say anything more suitable than you do in your letter. Duty must be my first consideration. If I have made a mistake, I would rather have to repent for her sake than for my own.¹

Quintus' campaigns enabled him to finance extensive and elaborate buildings in and around Rome. These proceeded sometimes under Cicero's surveillance.² Their magnificence placed Quintus in an embarrassing financial position.³ Like his brother he had a propensity for getting into debt.⁴

Cicero was first and foremost a lover of learning. This same love of learning was a quality he had appreciated in Caesar. A library was to him a valued possession. He declared books gave a soul to a house.⁵ He wanted very much to have Atticus' collection which was, no doubt, a very valuable one:

Be sure you don't promise your library to anyone, however ardent a suitor you may find for it. I am saving up all my little gleanings to buy it as a prop for my old age.⁶

In a letter sent shortly after he wrote:

Be sure you don't get rid of your books. Keep them for me as you promise. My enthusiasm for them increases with my disgust at everything else.⁷

Though Cicero's Letters are literary gems they are but a small representation of his prolific pen. Still extant are some speeches made at the Bar. The greatest of his writings were done when Caesar, as supreme ruler at Rome, ordered him back to his writing desk. Tullia's death further stimulated his literary output:

Those cheerful friends of yours who blame me cannot read as much as I have written. How well it is written is not to the point, but it was a kind of writing that no one whose spirit was broken could do. I have been thirty days in these gardens. Who has failed to get access to me or conversation with me? At this very moment I am writing and reading so much that the people with me find the holiday harder work than I find working.⁸

Not only did Cicero write during the day but his work stretched far into the night:

You wouldn't believe how much writing I get done by night as well as day, for I cannot sleep.⁹

Once when Atticus expressed admiration at the felicity of Cicero's vocabulary in translating some Greek work Cicero replied:

Make your mind easy about the Latin language. You will say, "What, when you write on such subjects?" They are copies, and don't give me much trouble. I only supply words, and of them I have plenty.¹⁰

Cicero's talent lent itself to prose rather than to verse. When Quintus was in Gaul he asked for some verses from his brother so it is likely he had some skill in that field, too. Cicero begged off the task with this excuse:

But come now, is it you who seek suggestions for what I myself do not succeed in attaining, even in imagination - you who have surpassed everybody in that kind of fluent and graphic expression? I would do your bidding to the best of my ability, but (as you are the last man to forget) the composition of a poem demands a certain sprightliness of mind, of which I have been completely robbed by the times we live in.¹¹

Cicero appreciated his brother's literary gifts.¹² He wrote that no muse-stricken poet took more delight in hearing his own verses read, than he did in reading his brother's letters on any subject.¹³ Quintus was fond of books,

too, and had a fine collection.¹⁴

While in winter quarters in Gaul Quintus wrote four tragedies in sixteen days. Cicero marvelled at the speed with which he turned out the tragedies and rather suspected they were translations when they were completed so quickly.¹⁵ The drama, Erigona, was lost on its way from Britain to Rome. As early as 59 B.C. Quintus had asked Cicero to touch up and edit his journal for him.¹⁶ Four of Quintus' letters to Tiro are still extant,¹⁷ as well as his treatise on how to canvass successfully for the consulate, Commentariolum Petitionis Consulatus, which he wrote to aid Cicero in seeking the consulate. At one time Quintus thought seriously of taking up the writing of history. Cicero encouraged him for he felt his brother had the necessary aptitude.¹⁸

Questions as to the personal appearance of the brothers naturally come to mind. There are several descriptions of Cicero but very little about Quintus. Statues probably afforded the most reliable records. Critics do not say whether the statue in Quintus' honour was ever erected.

Cicero, in his youth, was somewhat ungainly in appearance, being very thin with a long neck and somewhat spindly legs. However, after his sojourn in Athens and Asia he seems to have returned a much healthier man with a stronger voice and fuller figure, though still slim. His face with its broad forehead was reputed to have been handsome. He was, at all times, meticulously groomed, his beautiful hair carefully

combed and perfumed.¹⁹ In the Senate he must have been a distinctive sight, his dignity of bearing and commanding presence enhanced by the white toga with broad purple stripe and bright red sandals tied about his legs with red leather thongs.²⁰

Cicero's rather weak stomach made it necessary for him to exercise temperance at all times. By care he managed to maintain a state of health free from illness and strong enough to support much hard work and many calls upon his energy. His eyes, understandably, gave him trouble.²¹ Often writing in the half-light of early dawn or poring over vast manuscripts had, no doubt, exacted its toll.

Quintus was reputed to have had the appearance of a polished and civilized man. Whether his features resembled those of his brother does not seem to be known. However, considering the violence of his temper and the sudden flare-ups to which he was prone, it is more than likely that at times the civilized appearance was not so pronounced.

Most critics would probably agree that Cicero's nature permitted him to be loved best by those who knew him best. The great conflicts of his career were those with Catiline, Clodius, and M. Antonius. In these struggles Cicero considered himself to be the defending champion of great and noble principles,²² the preserver of his country which he called that most reverend and holiest of parents.²³

Quintus' lack of the qualities of a leader may be

attributed primarily to his lack of control over himself. His violent, abusive temper flared up frequently. Those upon whom it turned probably lost what respect they had for him. Cicero mentioned an instance of this when Quintus was with him in Cilicia:

Quintus however to my knowledge will often use bitter language on his private affairs, and often I have pacified his anger, as I think you know. On my late tour or military campaign I have seen him often fly in a temper and often calm again. I don't know what he wrote to Statius; whatever he meant to do, he ought not to have informed a freedman. However I will do my best to prevent any course contrary to our wishes and to propriety. In a case like this it is not enough for a man to make himself responsible for his own conduct only: and indeed the principal share of responsibility attaches to the boy, or young man as he is now, Quintus. This I am always telling him.²⁴

This temper was a cause of concern to Cicero years before during Quintus' own governorship.²⁵ Cicero considered the fault a serious one:

Now not only does that failing seem to betray a capricious and feeble mind, and in this private and everyday life of ours, but there is nothing so repulsive as this intrusion into supreme command of acerbity of temper.²⁶

Quintus' temper provoked many and bitter quarrels among friends and associates.

Cicero knew that he himself had faults, too. His greatest was vacillation. However, he considered it less evil than Quintus' own irascibility:

For where paroxysms of anger cannot be pacified, you will there find extreme harshness; where they yield to remonstrances, an extremely changeable mind; though of course the latter, as a choice of evils, is to be preferred to harshness.²⁷

Despite the proscriptions it was in reality these failings that cost both brothers their lives. Cicero had a chance to escape but returned to Formiae. He could not make up his mind whether to stay or flee. His servants did their best to protect him but it was to no avail. Quintus had returned to Rome for funds and was betrayed to the assassins by his servants. He must have been a harsh master and it is not likely his servants felt much compassion for him in this extremity.

Cicero had the honesty to blame himself for the misfortunes fate had dealt him. In regard to the Civil War he wrote in 47 B.C.:

My own fault is my ruin. Fortune has brought no ills upon me: I have brought them all on my own head. For when I saw what kind of war it was going to be, one side unprepared and weak and the other thoroughly well prepared, I had made my plan - not a very courageous plan perhaps, but one for which there were special excuses in my case.²⁸

Quintus did not look within himself for the cause of his misfortunes. He blamed his wife, he blamed Atticus, and after Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus, he blamed Cicero for taking him along with him.²⁹

Quintus did not seem to realize how unfair and unjust his bitter feelings could be. The quarrel with his brother provoked much talk to others and brought with it many false charges which later Quintus did not retract. Cicero seems to have treated him and his worthless son with singular magnanimity. His brotherly affection he placed above their dif-

ferences. As he remarked to Atticus the time he was annoyed with Quintus for manumitting Statius, he could never be angry with those he really loved. He could only feel sorrow, and very deep sorrow, too.³⁰ Therefore to be truly angry with Quintus was impossible for him.

Cicero lacked the courage to act effectively in time of crisis. He knew his failing. At the time of his exile he wrote to Atticus:

That there has occurred a more honourable and more advantageous moment for dying, I am well aware; but that is not my only sin of omission, it is but one of many; and if I am going to bewail past opportunities, I shall do no more than aggravate your grief and divulge my own folly.³¹

Cicero wasted his energy in thinking about what course to follow. The result was often complete indecision. He did not know whether to follow Pompey or turn to Caesar. He did not know whether to go to Athens or remain in Italy. He thought too much, and the result was action delayed too long, or some ineffective move as, for instance, when he left to join Pompey at Durazzo. It would have been better if he had stayed at home and waged an effective war with his pen. His absence from Pharsalus Plutarch blamed on illness.³² Carcopino follows Livy's theory that it was cowardice that kept him away.³³ Nevertheless, despite his many shortcomings in moral courage he did meet death bravely, thrusting forth his head to receive the executioner's blow.

Quintus showed great courage on the battlefield the

time he defended his besieged garrison against the onslaught of the Nervii. No written report has survived of his part in the later attack of the Sugambri. It has been suggested that likely he panicked as Roman soldiers were sometimes prone to do in time of great stress.³⁴

The saving grace of humour finds little place in Cicero's writings or in his life. He was usually serious about himself or about events that happened. Wit abounds but it is often caustic, seldom kindly. One example that strikes a note of levity is the reference to Caesar. "Is that so?" Cicero wrote. "Does Brutus really say Caesar is going over to the right party? That is good news. But where will he find them, unless, perhaps, he hangs himself?"³⁵

This wit frequently found an outlet at trials. Often it stung bitterly. Clodius and Antonius made Cicero pay dearly for the liberties his tongue took with them. Fulvia, too, had her revenge.

Quintus has shown little humour either. He was usually irate or offended at something or someone, or lashing out with his sharp, bitter tongue.

Both Cicero and his brother Quintus were the victims of their own inherent weaknesses. Each could have said with Cassius to Brutus: "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings."³⁶ Cicero with more determination and decisiveness could have led his country when the opportunity presented itself after Caesar's

assassination. Quintus, with more self-control and a less irascible temper, could have risen to the foremost ranks on the battlefield. He could have conquered with Pompey rather than having had to retreat with him.

CONCLUSION

In the course of this study an effort has been made to view closely and discuss at some length the reasons for some of the trials and difficulties that brought so much grief and misunderstanding to Cicero's domestic relations. Perhaps the greatest of these trials was the quarrel with Quintus. Other trials and difficulties included his divorce from Terentia, the unfortunate marriages of his daughter Tullia, the failure of his son Marcus, and the disappointment of his nephew Quintus. Atticus was the only one close to Cicero who was a source of constant joy and consolation.

It was difficult for Cicero to live at ease with Terentia. She was a sharp-tempered, disagreeable, ambitious, yet courageous woman who was more willing to share in Cicero's political perplexities than to communicate to him her domestic matters. Her unfortunate interference at the time of Clodius' trial for the Bona Dea incident cost Cicero Clodius' undying hatred and subsequent revenge. Cicero possessed an irresolute mind that made it possible for one of Terentia's determination to gain control. How sorely distressed she must have been at his constant vacillation at the time of the Civil War.

Terentia, despite her managing capabilities, did become embroiled in financial difficulties with Philotimus,

her freedman. In fact, it was Philotimus himself who complained of her to Cicero.

Terentia never seemed to share Cicero's intellectual interests or give at the times it was sorely needed, the comfort and solace a wife could offer. It was Tullia, their daughter, who filled this void.

Tullia's unfortunate marriages saddened her father. He felt always that she deserved more happiness than came to her lot. That she was so dearly loved and was so much a companion to her father must have been resented by a woman of Terentia's disposition.

Though Cicero blamed mismanagement of finances as the reason for his divorce from Terentia, incompatibility and jealousy of Tullia might have been contributing causes. Cicero's marriage of more than thirty years was a domestic achievement for his age when divorce was so widespread. That he failed to find happiness in his second marriage seems understandable, especially when he chose Publilia, a girl young enough to have been his own grand-daughter. It is easy to agree with Tiro that the reason he married her was to aid his financial situation.

Cicero took an unrealistic view of his son Marcus. Marcus from his youth wished to be a soldier and manifested some aptitude for the life at Pharsalus. His father tried to make him a philosopher and an orator. Marcus squandered his educational opportunities at Athens. Even note-taking was

too much bother; he wanted a secretary. The best reports his father received of him were those from Brutus after he joined his military camp. Marcus' chief distinction in life seems to have been his heavy drinking.

Though Quintus was sensitive and emotional like his brother he had a barbarous streak in his nature. This streak found an outlet in cruel burnings and hangings during his governorship in the province of Asia. He lacked qualities of leadership. He was led by those closest to him. He was the victim of a domineering, irritable, and waspish wife, Pomponia. Their twenty-four years of marriage were turbulent and storm-tossed. Finances were probably a cause of their frequent flare-ups. Pomponia was reputed to have been well-to-do and Quintus, except when away in his province or on a military campaign, was most likely not too financially competent. Unlike his brother he could not turn to the Bar.

Young Quintus was buffeted about by this dissenting couple. His character was artful and deceptive. Whether this was the result of his upbringing or his natural propensity will never be known. Though his gluttony was controlled somewhat by his mother, he was generally spoilt by both parents, his father particularly. He frequently aided or abetted his parents' quarrels. How experienced in disagreements he must have been by the time Quintus became embroiled with Cicero!

Statius was the freedman on whose leadership and advice Quintus depended. Not only Pomponia but Cicero, too,

disapproved of and condemned his influence.

Cicero and Quintus were close friends and companions from their youth. That events at Pharsalus should have precipitated a quarrel is regrettable indeed. It is the only blot on the entire friendship.

That a quarrel should have taken place then may be attributed to many factors. Quintus' irascible nature and lack of self-control, his constant bickering with his wife, his disagreement with Atticus prior to going to his province - all these things prepared the way for his eventual estrangement from his brother. To these factors may be added his embitterment after Pompey's defeat and his general indebtedness dating from the period before he joined Cicero in Pompey's camp. Quintus had much at stake too, for he had been one of Caesar's staff officers and could have stayed with him. Yet it was his own wish, his own desire, to follow Cicero to Durazzo. Cicero had been reluctant to involve his brother in his own troubles.

That Quintus accused Cicero of not giving him some of the funds from Cilicia was very unjust and surprising; for, from all accounts, this was the first time he had mentioned them. It is not likely that young Quintus, long experienced in family quarrels, stood idly by while his father maligned his uncle. It was too good an opportunity to avenge himself on his uncle for his past strictness with him.

When shortly after Quintus apologized for his conduct

the apology was worse than the harsh accusations; for, he said, he quarreled with Cicero because everything was against him. That there was an element of jealousy influencing the quarrel should be given some consideration. Quintus might have resented Cicero's being offered the command after Pharsalus, if such offer were really made; after all, even though Cicero was the only one present of consular rank, he was no soldier. Quintus had had experience in military campaigns.

When Quintus quarreled with Atticus Cicero blamed Pomponia for contributing to the trouble. This time he could only blame Quintus himself. Pomponia was far away.

Cicero could not have considered the quarrel as serious as Quintus did; for, he wrote to Atticus that he hoped that since Quintus and his son would see Caesar first they would plead for him as he would do if he were in their place. That they reviled him further, spoke to all and sundry in bitter terms against him, was to him heart-breaking. He, as he had once remarked, could feel only sorrow for those he truly loved. The quarrel left him broken in spirit. As his brother said, everything was against him. His wife was deceiving him; Tullia's dissolute husband was philandering again; Marcus was a disappointment; and now, even Quintus was against him.

The quarrel lasted nearly two years. Young Quintus kept up his harsh criticisms and outlandish tales a little

longer.

Like Shakespeare's tragic heroes Cicero and Quintus were victims of their own inherent weaknesses. Cicero, the advocate and statesman, through his vacillation and weakheartedness, failed to realize his potential. In his country's hour of crisis he could not grasp the reins of authority because he lacked the determination and strength to do so. Thinker that he was, he knew his failure was his own fault for, at one time, he said:

Fortune has brought no ills upon me: I have brought them all on my own head.¹

Even his death, though he was numbered by Octavian among the proscribed, might be attributed to his own weakness of will and his vacillation. He could have left his beloved Italy, yet he could not.

Quintus, the soldier and follower, had won distinction on the battlefield; but, in most of the important dealings of his life he had been hampered by his own irascible temper and lack of self-control. His temper did him harm in his province. It cost him the succession to Cicero in Cilicia; and, worst of all, it cost him the loss of friends and relatives. Quintus did not, like Cicero, blame himself for his misfortunes. On the contrary, he always blamed someone else. He blamed Pomponia, he blamed Atticus, and he even blamed Cicero.

In closing, a quotation from the writing of an English student of Cicero's history and career may be in order, since this writer seems to grasp the wide implications of the events

and at the same time to give Cicero his due place in the history of his own time:

There was no help for it. All alike seemed driven by some desperate necessity to their fate. Cicero, at least, one of the wisest and most intelligent senators, would not have known what to do had some miracle suddenly put him in the place of that enlightened ruler for whom he longed. Despite his inadequacy, he was on the side of the angels, for in comparison with his contemporaries, Julius Caesar included, he stood out as a great advocate of the eternal values of the human spirit.²

It is a saying of Bacon that great men have no continuance. In the case of Cicero it would seem to be so; for, Marcus, Cicero's son and avenger, was the last of that illustrious family.

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