

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE ROMAN FAMILY:
A PROFILE OF THE FAMILY OF M. TULLIUS CICERO

by

PATRICIA A. CLARK


B.A., University of British Columbia, 1963


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to the required standard


E.P. Tsurumi


K.R. Bradley (Supervisor)


D.A. Campbell


J.B. Oleson


C.M. Gaffield

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UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

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ABSTRACT

Supervisor: Professor Keith R. Badley

The goal of this thesis is to describe in depth personal relationships within the family of M. Tullius Cicero as they are revealed in his private correspondence, and to assess these relationships within the broader social context of late Republican Rome. Attention is directed to expressions of sentiment, the amount of affect perceptible in the relationships and the ways in which affection is moderated by societal prescriptions and expectations.

The introductory chapter begins by defining the Latin term familia, and then briefly surveys the recent scholarly interest in, and special problems associated with, study of family structure in classical antiquity. Despite a paucity of evidence and bias in the sources toward political and legal issues and the male viewpoint, a more personalized historical approach is emerging. A synoptic overview follows of the secular institution of Roman marriage; the ideals of marriage, wifely fidelity and submission and the eternal marriage bond, contrast with the realities of frequent serial political marriage alliances and widespread divorce and adultery. Attitudes toward childrearing meant that children of the Roman élite, from birth, were nurtured by a pool of servile child-minders and were confronted with a set of traditionally prescribed patterns for the course of their lives, together with the expectation that a contribution to familial prestige and power was the preeminent goal of adult life.

In Chapter II Cicero's relationships with his wives are assessed; the most detailed evidence is provided by his letters to Terentia. Their


time together was broken by Cicero's prolonged absences abroad which produced strains. The nature of their joint and separate decision-making spheres, Cicero's expectations of Terentia and the content of their communications are investigated. Finance, property, political events and the security and future of their children were primary shared concerns. Direct expressions of affection were rare, confined to the early letters from the exiled Cicero and largely consisted of praise for Terentia's performance in the role of materfamilias. The marriage seems to have a managerial rather than companionate character. Cicero's divorce and remarriage, which were undertaken for a mixture of social, financial and political reasons, are discussed finally.


In Chapter III Cicero's attitudes toward his children are examined. His son Marcus began to receive significant parental attention when consideration had to be given to his education. Throughout the correspondence Marcus' education and preparation for public life are constant elements. Marcus' early life was spent under the care of tutors and pedagogues, but at times his father's personal supervision is evident: Cicero instructed Marcus on vacation and took his son with him to his proconsular province for training. Cicero's expectations for Marcus governed their relationship in later years; Cicero carried out the traditional parental officium in preparing Marcus for a public career, and acquired for him a municipal aedileship during a time of severe political turbulence; further, Cicero arranged for Marcus' philosophical and oratorical training at Athens in a style appropriate to a scion of a consular family.


The nature of Cicero's relationship with Tullia is evident in the consistently affectionate language employed of her throughout the


correspondence. Tullia's early childhood relationship with Cicero is conjectural, but if we compare Cicero's relationship with young Attica, and with Tullia in later life, he appears to have been openly affectionate and concerned for her health and well-being. For most of Tullia's life Cicero's concerns centered upon her marital prospects and each of her betrothals, marriages and divorce(s) is discussed in detail. Family prestige, advancement, even survival, were key considerations in these alliances, but Tullia's personal feelings were not ignored. In her final years she enjoyed a close companionate relationship with her father. Her death precipitated a powerful reaction in him, and Cicero's modes of coping with this grief are examined in detail.

The Conclusion summarizes the nature of the several familial relationships and describes the kinds and degree of sentiment visible in each. Finally, some assessment of the typicality of the personal relationships in Cicero's family is attempted: although affection and sentiment are visible as elements in each relationship, less so with Terentia and more so with Marcus and especially Tullia, their expression is strongly channelled and moderated by socially prescribed roles and the omnipresent expectation that familial requirements are of paramount importance in the life of the individual.


K.R. Bradley


D.A. Campbell


J.P. Oleson


C.M. Gaffield



E.P. Tsurumi

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μητρὶ ἀγαπητῇ

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations follow those listed in the following works:

- i) Latin authors: Oxford Latin Dictionary. (Oxford, 1982), ix-xxi.
- ii) Greek authors: Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon. 9th ed. rev. H.S. Jones (1940; rpr. Oxford, 1968), xvi-xxxviii.
- iii) Periodical titles: L'Année Philologique (1924-). Vol. 50, 1979 (Paris, 1981), xli-lxii.
- iv) RE = Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft² (1894-).

The abbreviations followed throughout for Cicero's collected letters refer to the following editions:

- ad Brut. = D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero: Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M. Brutum. Cambridge: 1980.
- Att. = D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus. 7 vols. Cambridge: 1965-1970.
- Fam. = D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero: Epistulae ad Familiares. 2 vols. Cambridge: 1977.
- Q. fr. = D.R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero: Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M. Brutum. Cambridge: 1980.

PREFACE

We should ourselves be sorry to think that posterity should judge us by a patchwork of our letters, preserved by chance, independent of their context, written perhaps in a fit of despondency or irritation, divorced, above all, from the myriad little strands which colour and compose our peculiar existence, and which in their multiplicity, their variety and their triviality, are vivid to ourselves alone, uncommunicable even to those nearest to us, sharing our daily life.... Still, within our limitations it is necessary to arrive at some conclusions, certain facts do emerge.

V. Sackville-West,
Introduction
The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford
(Heinemann, 1923).

The goal of this study is to examine in depth the family life of Marcus Tullius Cicero, a man famous through history as an influential public figure in late Republican Rome, respected for his philosophical writings and renowned for his oratory. Cicero's public life has been of interest to scholars for generations, but his personal life has received considerably less attention.¹ Yet his private correspondence, now made preeminently accessible by the excellent editions of D.R. Shackleton Bailey, is a unique repository of information about the society of his day. His letters are of particular interest to historians of the family because they form the only body of private correspondence of any public figure in Republican Rome, and the information which Cicero provides in them about his family life is the only such information we possess.² The extant letters were written between 68 and 43 B.C.; they span a turbulent period in Roman history, the critical years of Syme's "Roman Revolution", a time of enormous political, social and economic change. Partly because

of the richness of the historical context and partly because of the unique nature of this body of evidence -- for this personal account of family life is the only one extant for the central period of Roman history -- it has been necessary to examine the relationships between the various family members in considerable depth of detail.³ Only by viewing the personal life of the family over a period of time and within the dramatically shifting context of the events impinging upon them, can the complexity of the personal relationships be appreciated and their significance be permitted to emerge.

It is vital to acknowledge several important limitations imposed by the evidence of Cicero's letters on our more general understanding of the Roman family. First, the information provided about family life is essentially idiosyncratic; it is not a class picture, and, although it may be possible to assess the typicality of Cicero's family life against a general background of known social realities, the inevitability of individual variation must always be recognized. Secondly, the letters reflect only the viewpoint of the paterfamilias. No letters to Cicero from his wives or children survive. And finally, although the correspondence is relatively spontaneous and often uninhibited in tone, a certain amount of selection and edition has taken place before publication; some by Cicero himself, some by his freedman and amanuensis, Tiro, and some too perhaps by his friend Atticus, the primary recipient of a large portion of the correspondence.⁴ Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, the letters undoubtedly offer the opportunity of glimpsing a Roman domestic interior.

Epistulas vero cottidianis verbis texere solemus.

Cicero, Fam. 188 (IX.21).1.

Notes to Preface

1. For biographical information on Cicero at large see RE 7, A 1, Col. 827-1280; cf. Broughton (1968), 627. There are numerous biographies of Cicero: Richards (1935), Smith (1966), Stockton (1971), Lacey (1978), and Mitchell (1979) have written, for the most part, political biographies. Dorey (1965) provides a more varied view. Generally, Petersson (1963), E. Rawson (1975) and Shackleton Bailey (1971) give somewhat more attention to the personal aspects of Cicero's life. Older works such as Fowler (1909) and Boissier (1925) retain some interest but their primary value is historiographic.
2. I do not discount the value to social historians of the letters of the younger Pliny from the first century A.D., but as discussed further below, Pliny's correspondence is primarily literary, designed for public consumption; Cicero's letters on the other hand are largely informal, familiar, relatively frank and unguarded.
3. Appendix III provides a synoptic overview of Cicero's family life in the context of contemporary historical events.
4. For Cicero's lifelong friend, financial and political advisor and connection by marriage (adfinis), T. Pomponius Atticus, see RE Suppl. 8, Col. 503-526 (R. Feger).

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Roman Family

The Latin word familia, which temptingly invites translation as 'family', in reality refers to a social unit which was completely distinct from the 'family' of the modern western tradition. "Neither Greek nor Latin has a word with which to express the commonest modern sense of 'family', as one might say, 'I shall spend Christmas with my family'".¹ Instead, the familia of the ancient Roman world encompassed a broad spectrum of social relationships, personal, historical, legal and economic. The term referred to the line of descent of people with the same name, the familia of the Claudii,² for example; and this usage was similar to ours in the term 'family tree'. In addition, familia was frequently used to refer to a body of slaves and freedmen, primarily the slaves and liberti of a specific domestic household; but the term was also extended to slaves owned, for example, by a tax farming group. Principally, however, familia meant a household, and this included the relatives who resided within and without the house and also those slaves and freedmen involved in its domestic activities. The Roman familia may perhaps best be visualized as a series of concentric rings, with the nuclear family, the father and mother together with their children (both legitimate and adopted), at the centre. The extended family came next and included blood relatives: grandparents, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews. What may be termed the extensive family was more peripheral: it comprised those attached by marriage, whose bond could be either very intimate or more remote depending upon a range of circumstances. Further down on the social scale and at the greatest social distance were the slaves, freedmen and freedwomen required

by the aristocratic elite for the efficient administration of their estates and domestic affairs.³ The latter might form a group of considerable size and some members might also be located in areas geographically quite dispersed.⁴ A social separation existed too within the hierarchy of slaves staffing a specific household, for in addition to the vast body of relatively untrained manpower which undertook the routine and simple drudgery there were slaves and freedmen who were specialized, such as nursemaids and wet-nurses, and some who were highly trained, for example, accountants, doctors, librarians, clerks, secretaries and bailiffs, pedagogues and tutors.⁵

But for the Romans of the classical period, as for us, the basic social unit was a single conjugal group, the 'nuclear family'.⁶ At its head was the paterfamilias whose legal authority over his household was virtually absolute.⁷ The legal authority of the paterfamilias consisted of three elements, schematically outlined by Finley: "potestas or power over his children (including adoptees), his children's children and his slaves, manus or power over his wife and his sons' wives, and dominium or power over his possessions."⁸ One unique element in the structure of the Roman family and one which is currently of great interest both to social historians and to students of Roman law, is the fact that the authority of the head of the family, patria potestas, extended over his descendants "not merely until they grew up and married and formed their own conjugal groups but (unless deliberately broken by certain legal procedures) until the day he died."⁹ Therefore the biological father, the 'head' of one nuclear family, was not necessarily the paterfamilias or head of the household, but could be subject in many ways to his father's or even his grandfather's authority. The institution of patria potestas was "strange and anomalous"

both with respect to the personal relationships it encompassed and with respect to property considerations.¹⁰ The social function of patria potestas has been and continues to be a profitable area for investigation; recent work by Gratwick has revealed its importance in connection with marriage and property arrangements in the late Republic.¹¹ The personal aspects of patria potestas continue to invite exploration by the social historian.

For the purposes of this study the term 'family' will be confined to the members of the 'nuclear family' which, even though it formed a part of the larger concept of familia, retained its own discrete boundaries in Roman social life. The study will concentrate on relationships within Cicero's intimate domestic circle, the specific conjugal group of which he was paterfamilias and which included his wife Terentia (and, briefly, his second wife Publilia), his son Marcus and his daughter Tullia. Included also, albeit in less depth, is some discussion of Tullia's three husbands.

B. Roman Family Life in Modern Social History

The history of the family has come to form an increasingly visible aspect of modern historical scholarship over the last twenty years. Distinguished works such as those of Lawrence Stone, who studied changes in affective attitudes within families in England between 1500 and 1800, and of Randolph Trumbach, who studied aristocratic kinship and domestic relations in 18th century England, indicate the increasing importance analyses both of internal and external family dynamics have come to hold among North American and European scholars.¹² In part as a result of the intellectual climate created by works such as these, and in part coincidentally, recent studies of the Roman family have come to incorporate some

of the same systematic approaches and thorough analytical methods.¹³

The Roman family has long been an object of intensive scrutiny in the sphere of political history, where the rise and fall of the fortunes of great Roman families have been of great use in tracing the concomitant rise and fall of various political 'factions'.¹⁴ In addition, the political and economic functions of marriage alliances have long been recognized as important social facts in studies of the Roman elite.¹⁵ The institutions of marriage and family have been shown conclusively to have been susceptible to manipulation by the elite "for reasons of self-preservation and self-perpetuation."¹⁶ Examples abound of the aristocratic proclivity for sequential political marriage-alliances; one may suffice here: Julius Caesar, after the death of his first wife, Cornelia, married Pompeia, daughter of Q. Pompeius and granddaughter of Sulla. He divorced her, ostensibly because of a scandal, in 62 and married Calpurnia, daughter of L. Piso (cos. 58). His daughter Julia, who was already betrothed to Servilius Caepio, he then betrothed to Cn. Pompeius for reasons of political adfinitas. Pompeius, for his part, divorced the wife who had borne him three children in order to marry Julia. When Julia died unexpectedly, Caesar offered as a replacement to Pompeius his sister's granddaughter Octavia, who was already married to C. Marcellus. At the same time he asked to marry Pompeius' daughter himself, even though she was already betrothed to Faustus Sulla.¹⁷

In addition to being studied from the political perspective, the Roman family has received attention from legal historians. Corbett's seminal work on the Roman marriage laws laid the foundation for the kinds of studies produced more recently by such scholars as Alan Watson and John Crook.¹⁸ The latter's concern has been directed particularly toward Roman

law in its social context, in an attempt to explain how various legal acts may have worked in practice. In recent decades scholars have increasingly come to adopt a sociological-historical perspective of this kind and have begun to approach questions about the Roman family from a more personalized point of view. The rise of interest in women's studies in western societies has directed the attention of historians, sociologists and classicists alike toward the internal structure of families in ancient societies, the nature of betrothals and marriages, and attitudes towards and methods for the rearing and educating of children, in an effort to appreciate the realities and consequences of these institutions within their society. One might note, for instance, S.M. Treggiari's use of inscrip-tional evidence to draw conclusions about family life among the household staff of the Volusii and her more recent study of betrothal customs among families of the Roman elite.¹⁹ Recently too, K. Hopkins has examined the social processes surrounding death in Rome, "the ways in which people re-acted to and coped with death."²⁰ Hopkins' earlier analysis of the age of Roman girls at marriage²¹ points to another area of current scholarly concern, the field of demography. His work, in particular his analysis of the probable age structure of the Roman population, has been followed by studies such as Frier's on Roman life expectancy and on fertility and family size; these studies pose further questions about contraception and the exposure of infants, and about infant and maternal mortality rates.²² Such data would be essential contributions to our understanding of the basic facts of everyday Roman family life. However, examinations of the internal dynamics of the family, until very recently, have been imbued with an emphasis upon social expectations and goals; political, legal, and economic institutions have remained a primary focus. Systematic investi-

gation of the element of sentiment and of the role of basic human emotional needs and motivations within the larger context of social needs has been neglected. Partly from a lack of solid evidence and partly perhaps for want of an adequately articulated conceptual framework, the inner life of the aristocratic Roman family has been relegated to the realms of assumption or conjecture, each, inevitably, reflecting the emotional biases and blind-spots of the historian's own psyche and social milieu.^{22a}

As Treggiari has concisely stated, the kinds of questions which the Roman social historian wishes to ask "tend to be the sort of questions the Romans did not ask."²³ The very nature of the Roman evidence makes it difficult to assess and measure in any meaningful way the kinds and degrees of sentiment felt in family relationships. In particular, the conventional literary sources explicitly ignore descriptions of a man's feelings for his wife or children. A fortiori, since practically all the literary evidence we possess for the Republican and early Imperial period is from male authors, it is even more difficult to comprehend what wives and mothers may have felt about their husbands and children, and children about their parents. In addition to the male bias, the literary evidence contains another significant social bias: it is almost exclusively concerned with life among the upper classes. The writers are either themselves of high social status, such as Tacitus and Suetonius, or else they represent in their writing the attitudes of the elite, as do, for example, Horace and Martial. For an understanding of the nature of family sentiment among the lower levels of society we can look to some exploitation of the inscriptions, but there exists very little of any substance in the literary record.²⁴

Nevertheless, in the personal correspondence of Marcus Tullius Cicero

we have a unique social document. It is richly satisfying in its abundance alone, comprising as it does fifteen books of letters to Atticus, sixteen books of letters ad Familiares, three books to his brother Quintus and a collection of twenty-six letters to M. Brutus. The total number of extant letters is 914²⁵ and they provide us with the only private body of correspondence of any Roman public figure from the time of the late Republic and Empire. Unlike the letters of Pliny, Cicero's were not written in the first instance with a view to publication (copies of 'political' letters which Cicero appended to some of his more personal communications to Atticus are naturally an exception).²⁶ As a result the tone of many is relatively frank and avoids the literary bias to which the letters of Pliny are subject. Although Pliny's letters too are extremely important social documents, they are carefully designed to prevent any glimpse of what might be called the 'negative' side of Pliny. The same cannot be said of Cicero's letters, many of which reveal his fears and frailties in addition to his hopes, enthusiasms, and successes.²⁷ In particular the information contained in his letters about his wives and children allows something to be perceived of his own personal feelings and of the kinds of sentiment involved in "the emotional fabric" of family life.²⁸ Accordingly, the purpose of this study is to describe and analyze in detail Cicero's relationships with his two wives and two children, as they are revealed in his personal correspondence. Such an examination can provide a case-study of the nature of Roman family feelings. Conclusions will be drawn cautiously and only insofar as it may be possible reasonably to generalize from such a body of individualized material. So as to provide a wider social context as a framework within which to view family relationships among the Cicerones, the study begins with the following synoptic overview of marriage practices

and approaches to childrearing evident in the Rome of the late Republic and early Empire.

C. General Characteristics of Roman Marriage

In his book on Roman women, Balsdon includes a vivid description of the ceremonials associated with a Roman wedding.²⁹ The account is important, for it provides a background setting for the institution which is redolent of ancient tradition and ritual. Symbolic superstitions and religious elements dictated procedures: for example, the bride surrendered her childhood toys to her household gods; she wore a special dress woven on an old fashioned loom and carried a spindle and distaff to symbolize her devotion to the home. Her hair, which was specially dressed and bound with woollen fillets, had to be parted with a bent iron spearhead.³⁰ Special knots were used in the wedding dress and symbolic herbs in the marriage wreath. The wedding procession from the bride's house to her husband's was conducted according to ancient formulae: there were songs, ribald shouts and insults directed at the groom, and numerous other ritualized acts and pronouncements; sacrifices were performed by both family members and onlookers, rituals which were designed to dispel evil influences, to appease beneficent spirits and, especially, to encourage fertility.³¹ But these ceremonies had by the late Republic lost much of their original religious significance and the marriage contract (tabulae nuptiales) was simply overseen by the auspex, a family representative, rather than a priest, and witnessed by a number of the wedding guests.³² This shift toward secularization of the institution, among the aristocracy at least, accompanied an increasing trend toward the marriage sine manu,³³ that is marriage in which the bride did not come under her husband's

control but remained within her father's jurisdiction; at times she was able to act independently of her husband and his relatives particularly in matters pertaining to her dowry. At the same time too, it seems that there was an increasing trend towards serial marriage and divorce among the politically active members of the aristocratic elite. The almost clinically manipulated marital couplings and uncouplings so prominent in the sources seem paradoxical when viewed in the context of the ideals of marriage expressed in Roman traditional language and ritual. And yet social paradoxes, as Crook asserts, "are phenomena that the historian ought to learn to live with and not attempt to argue away."³⁴ Accordingly a brief outline of some of the more important ideal concepts of Roman marriage will be followed by a description of some of the realities of marriage in Rome in the late Republic in the hope that the paradoxes, while still present, may be somewhat more comprehensible.

IDEALS:

A number of concepts reflected in the Roman marriage ceremony itself and recurring in Roman law and literature suggest the nature of the cultural values attached to the institution of marriage. Williams, in his illuminating article, "Aspects of Roman marriage ceremonies and ideals," refers to three features of marriage which were of central importance in Roman thinking: the ideals of a woman's fidelity to one man, of the eternal nature of the marriage bond, and of wifely compliance and submission.³⁵ The first concept, the ideal of fidelity to one man, is pre-eminently manifest in epitaphs, where the frequent use of terms such as solus and unus with respect to husbands is linked to the concept of univira, an epithet which was bestowed upon women who had known only one

husband and who had refrained from remarriage even after his death. "The ideal had its basis in religion, for only univirae were permitted to perform certain rites ...;"³⁶ but as Williams points out, over time the original religious link weakened even though the idea retained a tenacious life of its own. Univira is found inscribed on the tombs of a number of women and could be bestowed even on "the unworthy."³⁷ In one famous literary example Augustus' wife Livia, whom Augustus had lured from her previous husband Ti. Claudius Nero,³⁸ was described, imaginatively, by Horace (Od. 3.14.5), as unico gaudens mulier marito.³⁹ The strength of the ideal was represented above all in one of the paragons of Roman womanhood, Cornelia.⁴⁰ A daughter of Scipio Africanus, she was married to Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, with whom she had twelve children, three of whom survived to adulthood. Of these, her sons Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus were of course enormously influential in the political developments of the late second century B.C. After the death of her husband, Cornelia remained faithful to his memory, refusing offers of marriage (one, it was said, from a Ptolemy), and devoted herself to the management of her household and family. She herself was educated and politically active; her devotion to her children's education and later to their political careers was praised in antiquity⁴¹ and her reputation even survived the suspicion that she and her daughter Sempronia had smothered the latter's husband to prevent his opposition to the reform measures enacted by Tiberius Gracchus. Such paradigms of life-long commitment to husband and family were ancient inheritances for Roman women.

But the ideal was not reciprocal: "Very exceptionally the husband claims credit for faithfulness to one wife: cf. e.g. CIL 1, 2, 1221. But clearly the normal view was that such faithfulness was a becoming and

necessary virtue in women, not in men. So too the eternal nature of the marriage bond applies normally only to the wife."⁴² Logically the two concepts are connected. The ideal of marriage as a union lasting for a lifetime was assumed by Plutarch, who, when writing his compendium of advice to a couple about to marry (Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα) addressed it to τοὺς ἐπὶ βίου κοινωνίᾳ συνιόντας.⁴³ The eternal element, the concept of a union lasting beyond death, found literary expression in Vergil's Dido, who betrayed her faithful commitment to her dead husband Sychaeus with cataclysmic consequences.⁴⁴ One of the most interesting expressions of the ideal of an eternal union, paradoxically, can be found in Catullus' love poems to his amica, Lesbia. "Elegiac poets were wont to despise the marriage bond ... while using Roman marriage ideals to express their optative relationships with their mistresses."⁴⁵ Catullus presents his passionate desire for a partnership with Lesbia lasting into eternity (foedus perpetuum) in language which reflects the more formal commitments of a marriage contract, ut liceat nobis tota perducere vita / aeternum hoc sanctae foedus amicitiae.⁴⁶ A further ramification of the concept of a union lasting beyond death was the expectation that a woman ought not merely to refrain from marrying after her husband's death, but ideally ought to die together with or before him. This admittedly rather rare, but nonetheless laudable enactment of what Williams has called a "suttee-like" practice is attested in historical accounts of several notably heroic wives.⁴⁷ The exemplum primum is Arria, wife of A. Caecina Paetus, a man condemned to death for political reasons. Arria not only advised her own daughter to kill herself upon the death of her husband, but she herself is said to have thrust a dagger into her own breast, pulled it out and handed it to her husband saying, Paete, non dolet.⁴⁸ The combined

ideals of the univira, of the eternal nature of the marriage bond, and of wifely submission and compliance could be taken no further.

In turbulent political times there appear to have been many women, who, perhaps less tragically, but equally heroically, displayed aspects of the ideal wife akin to those displayed by Arria. Some were determined to follow their husbands into exile.⁴⁹ There were also a number of others (Cicero's own wife Terentia is an example) who stayed behind in Rome and exerted whatever familial, political and economic influence was within their power on behalf of their exiled husbands.⁵⁰ Dutiful obedience (obsequium), a virtue highly prized by Roman husbands, is manifest in yet another extreme exemplum, the so-called laudatio Turiae of the late first century B.C.,⁵¹ in which a husband tells of his wife's loyalty and heroic action on his behalf during the civil war, and bestows particular praise on her for her offer to divorce him. Their marriage, which had lasted forty-one years, had produced no children and the husband was the last of his family line. The wife had evidently suggested that she would continue to live with him as a sister and care for any future children he might have by another woman, a suggestion rejected by her affectionate husband.⁵² The proposal is a dramatic example of the mode of conduct which was assumed to be optimal for a Roman wife, faithful (fidelis), dutifully submissive (morigera) and bearer of children. Williams has suggested that the quality of deference, while sometimes used by later writers to describe the appropriate sexual response in a wife, was originally more closely tied to the concept of obsequium, obedience, especially to the filial obsequium of sons or daughters to their father.⁵³ He suggests that a wife's ideal relationship with her husband had as its basis the power relationship she experienced with her father. In the earlier and most common form of marriage

cum manu, she passed out of her father's control and into that of her husband; filial obsequium was thus transformed into uxorial obsequium and transferred to the husband.⁵⁴ Williams, linking the terms morem gerere and morigera with this ideal concept of wifely obsequium, suggests that the former phrase may have formed a part of the original traditional marriage ceremony.⁵⁵ Over time, and particularly in the late Republic and early Empire, when marriage sine manu became more prevalent,⁵⁶ the ancient womanly virtues of obedience and dutiful submission to one's husband's ways still continued to play a large part in the Roman expectations of a wife and the Roman ideals of marriage.⁵⁷

REALITIES:

The known realities of Roman marriage may be stated here with more brevity. Upper class men first married in their early or mid-twenties, just before they became eligible to hold the first senatorial magistracy, the quaestorship.⁵⁸ At that moment a 'good' marriage was a political and economic necessity; it provided a base for the successful man's climb upward through the increasingly competitive levels of the cursus honorum. Girls of the Roman elite, on the other hand, were married at a much younger age.⁵⁹ During the reign of Augustus the legal age of marriage for girls was set at twelve, but Hopkins has shown that the law was widely disobeyed, especially among the aristocracy, and that there was no "censure against marriage before twelve, and ... no teeth in the laws."⁶⁰ Hopkins suggests also that prepubertal marriage occurred in Roman society on a wide scale and that such marriages were usually consummated.⁶¹ He found the modal age, however, for a girl to marry to be between twelve and fifteen.⁶² Her husband therefore was usually at least ten years older than she was

and at times considerably more.

Earlier still came the process of betrothal, by which an agreement was compacted between the families of the prospective marriage partners. Betrothals were arranged by prudent parents as early as possible; an exceptionally early example was the betrothal which Octavian arranged between Tiberius and Vipsania, daughter of M. Agrippa and Caecilia Attica, when Vipsania was only one year old.⁶³ Treggiari's recent study of betrothals in the Roman upper classes suggests that apart from an alliance such as that of Tiberius and Vipsania, which involved a great heiress and a member of an important dynastic family, the usual time for parents to begin thinking about a betrothal was just before the age of menarche, that is before a girl's twelfth birthday.⁶⁴ We shall see below in more detail that betrothal arrangements for Vipsania's mother, Caecilia Attica, were a subject of great interest to Cicero and her father, Atticus, when she was between six and eight years old, and this timing seems to have been acceptable and unremarkable.⁶⁵ It was generally the province of the father to arrange the marriage alliance, but there is definite evidence that Roman mothers participated in the decision and, though perhaps not in first marriages, the bride herself had some say in some cases in subsequent marriages.⁶⁶ Legally a betrothal required the willing consent of both parties, but "the bride was allowed to refuse only if she could prove that the proposed husband was morally unfit. It is unlikely that girls of twelve ... were in fact able to resist a proposed marriage."⁶⁷ Key considerations when arranging a match were above all family and birth, closely followed by wealth and property. A marriage alliance was an alliance of families, and political considerations were paramount: "Matrimony stands in close nexus and relevance to a senator's advancement, furnishing decus

ac robur."68 A marriage created bonds of adfinitas between men, between the prospective husband and the girl's father and between the two fathers, for "in choosing a bride a man was choosing a father-in-law and other relatives."69 In actual fact it appears that often even the prospective groom had little real choice, especially a young man of a dynastic family. Tiberius, as we have seen, was betrothed to Vipsania when she was only a year old. The match seems to have been successful since, some years later when Augustus compelled Tiberius to divorce a pregnant Vipsania in order to become a third husband for Augustus' daughter Julia, it is said that Tiberius was distressed and reluctant, but obedient.70

Money was important in a match, sometimes indeed as important as birth and breeding.71 A woman's dowry was a subject for negotiation and even shrewd bargaining and, it appears, the resources of the potential suitors themselves were subject to careful scrutiny by a girl's father.72 A man could not become rich by marrying a wealthy woman, or even a sequence of them, for in the marriage sine manu, a woman and her father or guardian (tutor) retained rights to her dowry. As Gratwick clearly shows, however, a dowry could at least temporarily solve a man's cash-flow problem. "... a politically ambitious paterfamilias might be more interested in acquiring for himself or his son the use of a substantial dowry and of the extended bank-credit which a respectable alliance would confer. However, since dowries had usually to be repaid in whole or part on the occasion of a divorce, the rich male divorcee would find that he could not afford not to be married, as a person today with a mortgage cannot afford to be without a job."73 And the divorced woman with a handsome dowry would continue to remain a viable "vehicle for the forging of profitable alliances."74

Good looks and physical attractiveness were lesser, but, it seems, definite considerations in deciding upon a marriage partner, despite the fact that mere sexual attraction was condemned as an "irresponsible" basis for marriage by writers who believed that, in view of the aim of marriage, to produce abundant children (particularly required by the aristocracy to 'keep their stock up'), good health and physical stamina were more rational considerations.⁷⁵ Virginity in a bride and proven fertility in a matrona (fecunditas)⁷⁶ were of the highest importance in the marital stakes. So, too was a woman's character, reputation and virtue. "Pudicitia ... was tested in marriage, as was fertility, merely an embarrassment if unaccompanied by fidelity.... Tried chastity in a woman who had been married could be a qualification for marriage. Hard to substantiate for a divorcée, it could be proved by a widow's initial determination to remain single and univira."⁷⁷ A man's pudor, as might be expected, encompassed a somewhat wider latitude of permissible sexual activities, but lines were drawn. A man was expected to keep his overt behaviour within the confines dictated by gravitas and dignitas (and, when young, filial pietas).⁷⁸

Among the elite, divorce in the late Republic was widespread and serial marriage was common. Divorce was easy to obtain by mutual or unilateral decision and entailed no stigma.⁷⁹ Financial issues were, in law, fairly clear-cut (if sometimes involving protracted negotiation), as was the question of children; they remained, as a matter of course, in the legal custody of the father.⁸⁰ The political utility of such res domesticae is obvious: in tracing the rise of marriage sine manu and divorce in the late Republic Gratwick asserts: "The wealthy paterfamilias who had the disposal of his own or his son's daughters had a good deal to gain by retaining control over his daughters in marriage -- an entrée into

the affairs of other families, with influence and power over the daughters, including the right to end the alliance at any time, if they became politically or otherwise inconvenient. The only thing which he would be giving away would be his daughter's children...."⁸¹ Divorce was not perhaps always motivated by political expedience, although at the highest levels of society, among the dynasts and during the Principate, political factors undoubtedly dominated, and it is probable that even lower on the social scale family considerations, political, social and economic, were weighed first and foremost in any marital decisions. In some divorces, however, private dissatisfactions, frequently childlessness,⁸² but sometimes also simple personal unhappiness, may have been contributing factors. As Bradley has recently suggested, the apparently ubiquitous adulterous behaviour in late Republican Roman society probably reflects the "inability or failure of conventional marriage to cater adequately to individuals' emotional appetities."⁸³ Modern concepts such as romantic love, individual fulfillment and happiness seem to have formed no part of the Roman approach to marriage.⁸⁴ A union was arranged by others, when one, at least, of the partners was still a child. It could be dissolved by any member of the alliance, by either spouse or either father, with little ceremony. Affection, if it did exist, seems to have been something which, ideally, might develop after marriage. Pliny's letters describing his developing relationship with his young wife, Calpurnia, present a glimpse, albeit a one-sided one, of the kind of affectionate, companionable marital relationship which Roman men and women might achieve; after the marriage had been entered upon. It seems, however, that such companionable intimacy may have ranked high on a scale of marital affections at Rome. For Lucretius, writing on the dangers of romantic love and sexual passion,

clearly suggests that these emotions have no place in the marriage chamber, that they are, in fact, inappropriate between husband and wife.⁸⁵ How frequently, and to what degree then even affectionate companionship constituted a part of most aristocratic Roman marriages is unknown.

D. General Characteristics of Parent-Child Relations

A child born to aristocratic Roman parents was met from the first by a set of very high expectations.⁸⁶ In general a child was the family's investment in the future: he or she constituted a physical link between the ancestral generations and the generations to come. The family name, property and wealth would be preserved through the child and, above all, at maturity the male child would be expected to contribute to, even to enhance, the historical attainments of the family. Gloria et fama were vivid and dynamic concepts within the Roman upper class. Great stress was always placed upon the ancient tradition of historical achievements; and, whether in war or government, the accomplishments of distinguished forebears were never permitted to lapse from memory. Lifelike busts and masks of the ancestors adorned the entrance ways to Roman houses; at family funerals such imagines were either carried in the procession or were worn by the relative thought most closely to resemble the departed. The relative also adorned himself with the regalia appropriate to his distinguished ancestor's rank, and imitated the speech and mannerisms of the notable forefather.⁸⁷ According to Cicero, families even retained and reused traditional funeral orations extolling famous members and familial accomplishments.⁸⁸ The head of each household, the paterfamilias, was viewed as the living link between the present world and that of the ancestral family; his duty was to embody and hand on ancient virtues and

values, the mos maiorum, to the new generation.

The upper class son was expected to maintain, to emulate, and to surpass the glorious achievements of his ancestors, and Eyben has emphasized the Roman fondness for what he terms "the concrete ideal"⁸⁹ in the education of its youth. We can note Polybius' remarks on the role which the spectacle of the imagines played in instilling aspiration in young men: οὐ κάλλιον οὐκ εὐμαρὲς ἰδεῖν θέαμα νέῳ φιλοδοξῶ καὶ φιλαγάθῳ;⁹⁰ or observe that "Fabius Maximus and the great Scipio Africanus himself were only two of those who declared that the sight of such imagines had fired them with a determination to perform some comparable service themselves."⁹¹ The "concrete ideal" is visible again in Zonaras' account of a Roman triumph, in which we see the imperator qua paterfamilias at the height of his gloria: "And he would not be alone in his chariot, but if he had children or relatives, he would make the girls and the infant male children get up beside him in it and place the older ones upon the horses.... If there were many of them, they would accompany the procession on chargers, riding along beside the victor...."⁹²

Female children, although they too were made very much aware of the family's standing, were not required to be active accomplishers. Instead they were raised to become useful family representatives who through the institution of marriage could contract valuable social, political and economic alliances.⁹³ In their early years young girls were sheltered and protected; they were provided with attendants, security and comfort -- and a certain amount of education, until such time as they could be prudently, suitably and, it was hoped, profitably betrothed. As we have seen, marriage for a girl was usually accomplished between the ages of twelve and fifteen; at that point in her life the girl became a Roman

matrona and was expected to take her place in the long line of devotedly virtuous aristocratic matresfamilias.⁹⁴ Pliny's description of the short life of Minicia Marcella gives a sense of such a relatively idyllic (if idealized) preparatory girlhood.⁹⁵ Minicia, an aristocratic Roman girl, died at the age of thirteen after an illness. She had enjoyed a secure and happy childhood, closely attended by nurses, teachers and pedagogues, and she had also enjoyed a 'close' relationship with her father (at least in the latter years). When she became ill, private physicians cared for her. She had been engaged to marry, the wedding day had been set; but tragically her father now had to order the money "intended for clothing, pearls and jewels to be spent on incense, ointment and spices."⁹⁶

The Roman ideal of childhood prescribed a relationship between the child and his parents characterized by the concepts of filial pietas and obsequium.⁹⁷ These qualities if properly inculcated, would ensure that the life of such a child, whether boy or girl, would be devoted to serving "the functional interests of the family groups."⁹⁸ Outstanding success was attainable, but it was success within the canons of the aristocratic hierarchical traditions: for a man, military achievement and political prestige, capped by the consulship, for a woman, renown for her possession and exercise of the domestic virtues and the production of children. From the beginning through to the end, his or her life would be defined and directed by some form of family ties, whether inherited, adopted or acquired by marriage.

Particularly in the late Republic and early Principate, a great deal was made of the close personal relationships which seem to have existed in the simpler, sturdier families of the Early and Middle Republic. Writing at the end of a period of great social upheaval, Vergil and Horace

nostalgically reminded Romans of the virtuous domestic foundations of their present greatness, while much later Juvenal too wrote of their traditional duty to be examples to their sons.⁹⁹ Above all, Plutarch's life of Cato the Elder presents an archetypal image of the parent-child relationship, which included firm parental discipline, a strong parental example, active participation in the son's early education and omnipresent parental supervision.¹⁰⁰

Such an idealized relationship was probably exceptional in its time, and, by the late Republic was almost certainly atypical. By the turn of the first century B.C. at the latest, it had become common for an aristocratic child, as soon as it was born, to be entrusted to a wet nurse (nutrix), and often to a plethora of other attendants who cared for its practical day to day needs.¹⁰¹ Once a child had been weaned the nurse might continue to fill the role of a nanny, but more commonly both boys and girls came under the charge then of a paedagogus, educator or nutritor who might continue to supervise the child into its adult years.¹⁰² The province of the paedagogus was not merely instruction in the basic skills of reading and writing (especially of Greek), but seems also to have included etiquette and socially acceptable behaviour in general. It was customary for him to eat with the child and to accompany him constantly, but especially as a chaperon in public.¹⁰³ As the child grew, a succession of teachers might be employed to supplement the paedagogus' instruction, specialists in rhetoric, in grammar, music, mathematics or philosophy.¹⁰⁴ The result of this pattern was that the child's time from birth onwards was spent predominantly with people of the servile classes who carried out the tasks of child-rearing.¹⁰⁵ Such a situation does not necessarily mean that the ties of affection between parent and child were remote, and

certainly individual variation in relationships was always present. But one might legitimately query the nature of the sentiment which evolved in a situation where society in general had specific expectations of the child, where day to day contact between parent and child was minimal, and where the influences of nutrices and paedagogi may well have been substantial in moulding a child's character.¹⁰⁶ What emerges out of the manner in which upper class children in the late Republic were raised is not that the potential for affection between parent and child was closed off, but rather that it was likely to be of a 'moderated' kind, distinctly different from that found in the parent-child relationship ordinarily present in a modern Western context. Against this specifically Roman background, we may proceed to see how the expectation of 'moderated sentiment', both in the marital and the parent-child relationship is fulfilled in the case of Cicero and his family.

Notes to Introduction

1. Finley (1973), 18.
2. Crook (1967a), 98. The Roman family was organized according to agnatic principles; descent was patrilineal.
3. For an analysis of familial organization in Roman society see especially Weaver (1972); and for the lower classes, Rawson (1966) and Treggiari (1975a).
4. Freedmen acted as agents for their patrons in the provinces, and slaves and freedmen were dispatched by them regularly with letters to all corners of the Roman world. Most commonly, the multiplicity of villas, farms and estates which may have been owned by a single Roman aristocrat required numerous geographically disparate and often very large units of slaves, each of whom was a part of the owner's familia. For general references cf. Brunt (1971) and Finley (1973).
5. The latter were not necessarily highly educated men nor exclusively concerned with the intellectual and moral development of their charges. The pedagogue's role included inculcating acceptable social behaviour and accompanying the child in public. Cf. Bonner (1977), especially 37-39.
6. Crook (1967a), 98. For an important discussion of the historical development of the nuclear family in Roman society see Crook (1967b).
7. Crook (1967a), 107f.
8. Finley (1973), 19.
9. Crook (1967a), 99. Cf. Crook (1967b); Watson (1967), 77-101; Finley (1973), 19; and Pomeroy (1976).
10. Harris (1984), 102 (abstract from unpublished paper presented to the

APA panel on the Roman family). Cf. also Crook (1967b), 119f. Likewise a woman who married under the form of marriage sine manu remained in certain ways subject to her father's control and direction as distinct from her husband's. See further discussion below.

11. Gratwick (1984), *passim*, (esp. 31).
12. Stone (1977); Trumbach (1978). See also Rosenberg (1975); Shorter (1975); Jean-Louis Flandrin (1976); M. Mitterauer and Sieder (1977); and the survey of literature on children and the family in Pollock (1983). The extent to which a concept of childhood was absent from early modern European society and the extent to which parents before the modern age were indifferent to their children are questions raised recently by Linda A. Pollock, Forgotten Children (Cambridge 1983), in opposition to standard views presented by, among others, Stone and Shorter. Pollock urges the need for studying evidence which comes directly from parents and children themselves, rather than relying on such sources as child-rearing manuals. This point of view is especially relevant here, given that Cicero's letters are direct, not indirect evidence. Cf. MacMullen (1974), viii on the need for social historians to study people's "own words."
13. See Treggiari (1975b) for an assessment of recent directions in Roman social history and Pomeroy in Soliday (1980), 159-167 for a select bibliography of studies in the history of the family in Classical Antiquity. Forthcoming works reflecting current methods in social history are Hallett's study of Roman fathers and daughters and B. Rawson's edition of select studies of the family in ancient Rome.
14. Syme (1939), which utilizes the prosopographic methods pioneered by Groag and Münzer, remains the classic example of this approach. Cf.

- also Wiseman (1971).
15. See for example Syme (1979), 513, "Marriages were contracted as a pledge of political alliance, or a means of amassing property."
Cf. also Syme (1984), 1236.
 16. Bradley (1984), 487.
 17. Suet. Jul. 6.1; 6.2; 21; 26.1; 27.1; 50.1. For Julia see RE 10, 1, Col. 896-906. For C. Iulius C. f. C. n. Caesar see RE 10, 1, Col. 186-275.
 18. Corbett (1930); Watson (1967); Crook (1967a).
 19. Treggiari (1975a) and (1984). Cf. also B. Rawson (1966); (1974) and Pomeroy (1975).
 20. Hopkins (1983), 201-256, especially 202.
 21. Hopkins (1965).
 22. Hopkins (1966); Frier (1982) and (1984). The classic demographic work of contemporary Roman social history is P.A. Brunt's massive Italian Manpower (Oxford 1971), based on the older work of Beloch.
 - 22a. For example, Boissier's remarks on Cicero's daughter Tullia: "From what we know, we can easily admit that she was an accomplished woman; lectissima femina, is the praise Antony, who did not like her family, gives her. We should like to know, however, how she bore the education that her father gave her. We rather mistrust this sort of education, and we cannot help fearing that Tullia suffered somewhat from it."
 23. Treggiari (1975b), 149.
 24. See for example Lattimore (1942) and Hopkins (1983), 220f. on Latin funerary inscriptions.
 25. That is in the numbering system of D.R. Shackleton Bailey which I use

throughout.

26. E.g. Att. 161B (VIII.11B) to Cn. Pompeius Magnus and 178A (IX. 11A) to Julius Caesar. See also below.
27. Douglas (1968), 21: "Many of us would rather have Cicero's self-revelation than, say, the agreeable but always slightly unctuous and publicity conscious Younger Pliny." Douglas (p.22) goes on to point out that "where we need to be on our guard with Cicero is precisely when he has an eye on the public. It is easy enough to tell, often by the occurrence of formal rhythms, when Cicero is donning his public persona, as in the open letter to Lentulus, in which he seeks to justify his submission to the triumvirate after Lucca." (Fam. 20 [I.9]). For the most part passages used in this study are those which refer to domestic matters and the language used by Cicero in these instances is markedly unliterary. Cf. also Hands in Ferguson (1962), on the genuine and spontaneous elements in Cicero's correspondence, and Pieri (1967) on his style and personae (not available to me.)
28. Bradley (1984), 498.
29. Balsdon (1962), 181f.; cf. also Fowler (1909), 135-143.
30. Balsdon (1962), 183, relates that a spearhead with which a gladiator had been killed was considered to be particularly apotropaic.
31. Balsdon (1962), 182. Cf. Cat. 61, a Roman epithalamium, especially l. 207ff., in which fertility is greatly stressed.
32. Balsdon (1962), 182 and 183: "By the end of the Republic the ceremonial had lost its religious significance for the participants."
33. Discussed further below. For a discussion of the secular aspects of Roman marriage, see Gladigow (1976).

34. Crook (1974), 234. Cf. also Pomeroy (1975), 149, in a discussion of the changing role of women in late Republican society, "wealthy aristocratic women who played high politics and presided over literary salons were nevertheless expected to be able to spin and weave as though they were living in the days when Rome was young."
35. Williams (1958), 23-24.
36. Williams (1958), 23.
37. Williams (1958), 23.
38. According to Tacitus (A. 1, 5), Augustus married the pregnant Livia with rapidity and impropriety.
39. See Quinn, ad loc.
40. Pomeroy (1975), 149, 150 gives a sketch of Cornelia's exemplary life. Cf. also Plut. Ti. Grach. 1.2-2; C. Grach. 4, 19; App. BC 1, 20; Pliny, NH 34, 31.
41. Pomeroy (1975), 150 and 243 n.2, describes a statue erected to her by the Romans and restored by Augustus. Cf. note 40.
42. Williams (1958), 23 n.27.
43. Plutarch, Mor. 138, C.
44. Aen. 4, 28-9. See discussion of this and other relevant passages in Williams (1958), 23-25 and cf. Pomeroy (1975), 161.
45. Williams (1958), 25, discusses several interesting parallels in both Propertius and Catullus with respect to the marriage ideals inherent in the language they chose to express their romantic unions.
46. Cat. 109; cf. also Cat. 87; Cat. 64, 335 and 373.
47. Williams (1958), 24.
48. Pliny, Ep. 3.16. Cf. Martial I.13. For another exemplum see Pliny, Ep. 6.24, and cf. Lefkowitz and Fant (1982), 133-147 for praise-

worthy matronae.

49. Valerius Maximus, 6.7-13 provides several examples, e.g., Sulpicia, daughter of Julia, fled with her proscribed husband to Sicily in 42 B.C. Cf. Pliny, Ep. 3, 16 and Ep. 7, 19, for later examples.
50. Notably the wife of the exiled poet Publius Ovidius Naso.
51. CIL 6.1527, 31670 = ILS 8393. See also FIRA III, 69, p.212, cited in Williams (1958), 25.
52. Other husbands did not share such an attitude either toward their wives or with respect to the importance of children. The younger Cato, for example, divorced his wife Marcia, mother of his children, so that his friend Hortensius could marry her and produce heirs. After Hortensius' death Cato remarried Marcia; probably, as Pomeroy (1975), 158, suggests, the mother returned "motivated by a wish to look after her daughter by him." Cf. Plutarch, Cato 25; 52.
53. Williams (1958), 20.
54. Williams (1958), 21, 22.
55. For a discussion of the various meanings attached to morem gerere, morigera etc., see Williams (1958), Appendix, 28, 29.
56. See p.16.
57. Williams (1958), 25.
58. Syme (1979), 666, 672, 783, 807, 808; (1984), 1160, 1225, 1330 and for exceptionally early age at marriage, p.1232; abnormally late, p.1333, cited in Bradley (1984), 489, n.19. The ideal for marriage in the Principate appears to have been somewhat lower. Cf. Treggiari (1984), 421, 422.
59. Hopkins (1965), 309f., is the definitive work on age of Roman girls at marriage.

60. Hopkins (1965), 314 and 316, 317. Among the aristocratic elite Hopkins cites numerous examples of particularly early marriages attested in the literary tradition. He also cites a great deal of inscriptional evidence that confirms a social expectation of marriage for girls in early adolescence (cf. 317 n.41).
61. Hopkins (1965), 315, 316.
62. Hopkins (1965), 326. Among the elite, marriage appears to have taken place somewhat earlier than among the lower classes.
63. Phillips (1978), 70-73 gives a good account of the evidence for the involvement of mothers in the choice of a daughter's husband. Cf. also Dixon (1983), 105-108. See below n.66.
64. Treggiari (1984), 420. Cf. Hopkins (1965), 326.
65. See below, p.153 and n.34.
66. Nepos, Att. 19.4. See notes 63 and 72.
67. Pomeroy (1975), 157; cf. Crook (1967), 100.
68. Syme (1984), 1236. Cf. Tac. Agric. 6.
69. Treggiari (1984), 428.
70. Suet. Tib. 7, 2-3. This marriage is a good example of how convoluted Roman political marriage alliances could be, for in marrying Julia Tiberius was marrying the widow of Vipsania's father, the grandfather of his children and his own recent father-in-law. Julia had recently and briefly been his and Vipsania's (step)mother-in-law. For a more complete assessment of the matter of consent in Roman marriage, see Treggiari (1982).
71. Treggiari (1984), 430, "There is specific evidence in Suetonius that wealth might compensate for relatively undistinguished birth."
72. Cf. Atticus and Cicero conferring over a prospective match for

Caecilia Attica, Att. 299 (XIII.28).4, and Cicero's suspicions about Tullia's suitors in 51, Att. 126 (VII.3).12.

73. Gratwick (1984), 47.
74. Bradley (1984), 496.
75. Treggiari (1984), 433.
76. Cf. Tac. Ann. 14, 1, Formam scilicet displicere et triumphales avos, an fecunditatem et verum animum?
77. Treggiari (1984), 436, 437.
78. Cf. the exchange between Caelius and Cicero on Dolabella, Fam. 94 VIII.13).1; and Cicero in defense of Caelius himself in Cael. 6, 9, 30, 42.
79. Cf. Pomeroy (1975), 158-159. For detailed discussion see Humbert (1972) *passim*.
80. Pomeroy (1975), 158; Gratwick (1984), 43, 47.
81. Gratwick (1984), 47.
82. Pomeroy (1974), 158, 159.
83. Bradley (1984), 491, 492.
84. Bradley (1984), 491.
85. Lucretius, 4, 1058-1278, especially 1263.
86. Quintilian, 1.1, Igitur nato filio pater spem de illo primum quam optimam capiat....
87. Toynbee (1971), 47, 48 describes a Roman funeral and the use of funerary masks in detail. Cf. Polybius 6, 39; 53; 54; Pliny, NH 35, 6; Suet. Vesp. 19.
88. Cicero, Brut. 16, 62; cf. also Livy, 8, 9, 3-5.
89. Eyben (1972). Cf. also Bonner (1977), 7, 9.
90. Polybius 6, 53.
91. Bonner (1977), 9. Cf. Sallust, Iug. 4, 5-6.

92. Zonaras, Epitome, 7, 21; translation from Lewis and Reinhold (1951) I, 217.
93. Bradley (1984), 496.
94. Cf. Bradley (forthcoming review), for comments on the limitations which Roman hierarchical society placed upon individual aspirations, in which he stresses the prescriptive roles for both men and women, derived from the 'group ethos'.
95. Pliny, Ep. 5.16. Note that her epitaph gives 12 years, 11 months, 7 days as her age at death, not Pliny's thirteen. See Sherwin White ad loc.
96. Trans., B. Radice, Loeb edition.
97. Bonner (1977), 6, cites Seneca, Ben. 3, 38, 2 as the optional expression of pietas: Parentibus meis parui, cessi imperio eorum, sive aequum sive iniquum ac durum fuit, obsequentem submitsumque me praebui; ad hoc unum contumax fui, ne beneficiis vincerer. Cf. also Seneca, Ben. 3, 18, 3 and Clem. 1, 16, 2.
98. See note 94 and cf. Cicero, Off. 17.53-58.
99. Horace, Odes 3, 6, 33f.; Vergil, Geo. 11, 523, cf. Lucretius 3, 894-896 for a description of idyllic home life. Juvenal, Sat. 40-47; and cf. 11, 96-99 and 151, 155, for a description of the ideal of childhood.
100. Plutarch, Cato Maior, 20. Cf. Bonner (1977), 10f. for a discussion of Cato's role in educating his children and education within the Republican Roman family in general. Cf. Pliny, Ep. 8, 14.
101. See Bradley (1985) for a study of 'Wetnursing in Rome' which focuses on its social implications. In contrast to Cato the Elder's approval for his wife's nursing of her own child (Plutarch, Cato Maior, 20.3), it seems that the use of nutrices among the upper classes was

acceptable and widespread both for their own children and children bred for slavery.

102. See Bonner (1977), 20-33 for tutors within the family, and 34-46, especially 37f. on the paedagogus. Cf. Suet. Gramm. 23; Claud. 2.2; Aug. 67.2 for paedagogi and older charges.
103. Appian, BC, 4.30; Dio Cassius 48.33.1, Suetonius, Nero, 36.2; Aug. 44.2; Galba, 14.2; Martial, 11.39 and 9.27, l. 10-11; Epictetus, 3.19.5; Valerius Maximus, 3.1.2; Plutarch, Mor. 439, E.F.
104. Cicero's own education and that of his son Marcus and nephew Quintus provide good examples of the variety of specialists employed for appropriate disciplines, e.g. Q. fr. 23 (III.3).4; Att. 93 (VI.19). 2. and discussion below, pp.95ff. Cf. also Treggiari (1967b); Bonner (1977), 47-64 on grammatici and 65-75 on teachers of rhetoric; and Christes (1979) for biographies of known servile teachers of grammar and philology at Rome.
105. Bonner (1977), 46, cf. Cicero, De Amic. 20, 74; Seneca, Controv. 4.6.3.
106. A fact which was recognized by writers in antiquity; cf. Plutarch, Mor. 3C-5A; Cicero, Brut. 210, 211. Quintilian 1.1.4 and 5, 8-11, 16; 1.2.1-5 and 10. Seneca, Ira. 2.21.6-10; Ep. 11.8-9 present the ideal qualities of a moral tutor. Cf. 94.8-9 in which Seneca recognizes the inadequacy in reality of many paedagogi. For literary interest in the young child see Slater (1974); Manson (1978) and Carp (1980).

CHAPTER II: CICERO AND HIS WIVES

A. Terentia, General Remarks¹

In the modern Western world the institution of marriage is expected to yield specific social and personal benefits. We assume that the husband-wife relationship will endure to the extent that certain basic human and societal needs are met. For example, we have traditionally stressed financial and property needs, the need to provide for the propagation and maintenance of children, the need for political power and social status, and some basic emotional and physiological needs such as sexual satisfaction, companionship and, increasingly in contemporary life, some measure of autonomy for each partner in the marital relationship. Whether or not Roman marriage assumed such needs, however, is a question which needs to be examined in some depth,² and particularly through the medium of the correspondence between Cicero and Terentia, which provides considerable information about the bases of their relationship. Their marriage lasted for more than thirty years (longer than many marital alliances of their contemporaries) and although its early stages are unchronicled evidence is available for the majority of their years together. The collection Epistulae ad Familiares presents twenty-four letters written from Cicero to Terentia over a period of eleven years, from 58 to 47. Four letters are extant from 58, the time of Cicero's exile in Greece; one from 51, his year as governor in Cilicia; three from the beginning of the civil war period, 49; and sixteen from Cicero's semi-exile in Brundisium in 48/47.³ The letters were written under a variety of circumstances and they are not evenly distributed over time. They also vary greatly in emotional tone, although perhaps their range of

content is not very wide. In addition to these letters to Terentia, the Epistulae ad Atticum, written between 68 and 44, and the Epistulae ad Quintum fratrem, which cover the years between 60 and 54, provide a great deal of supplementary evidence about Cicero's relationship with Terentia.

In his intimate correspondence, Cicero refrains from making sweeping general statements about the place of wives or women in Roman life.⁴ From time to time he affirms the value he attaches to his own family life, through random statements such as, privata modo et domestica nos delectent, miram securitatem videbis, and ita sum ab omnibus destitutus ut tantum requietis habeam quantum cum uxore et filiola et mellito Cicerone consumitur.⁵ But to uncover more specifically the nature of his relationship with Terentia, it is necessary to look closely at what Cicero says both to her and about her in the letters. His attitudes are revealed in how he behaves toward Terentia, what he expects of her (and of himself toward her) and in the feelings he expresses directly at different times. Not only the factual scope of their partnership is of interest (who was responsible for which areas of family concern), but also the quality and quantity of affect visible between the two. Some gauge of affect can be achieved by attempting to assess how much time Cicero and Terentia spent together, upon what issues they conferred together (or did not communicate at all), the amount of autonomy evident in their decisions and activities, and the direct and indirect expressions of caring found in Cicero's letters. Once this information is presented, an attempt can be made to evaluate the extent to which the assumptions and attitudes apparent in Cicero's and Terentia's marriage are typical of Roman marriage in general.

PROPINQUITY:

The question of how much time Cicero spent with Terentia on a daily basis cannot be firmly answered. According to Plutarch, Cicero was a man of moderate habits and a fixed daily routine, but we lack details of that routine.⁶ From one of the letters sent to Terentia when they were geographically separated, however, it is evident that the two were normally accustomed to confer together at least on important matters, for as he was returning home from Cilicia in 50 to an Italy on the verge of war, Cicero wrote to Terentia: sed quoniam subeunda fortuna est, eo citius dabimus operam ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. (Fam. 119 (XIV. 5).1.) And later, after a long period of political indecision in 49, he wrote with relief,

omnis molestias et sollicitudines quibus et te
miserrimam habui, ... et Tulliolam ... deposui
et eieci. Fam. 155 (XIV.7).1.

Cicero's casual assumption of Terentia's interested participation in family decision-making implies that he did consult with her regularly and not merely in moments of crisis. But the issues normally discussed and the frequency with which they conferred on a day to day basis cannot be known.⁷

Fortunately there is more information available about the amount of time the two spent together over the years. Their life together was marked from the beginning by long periods of separation. Cicero and Terentia were married probably in 77 or early 76, upon Cicero's return to Rome after a two year absence in the Greek East where, he tells us, he had been improving both his health and oratorical skills.⁸ Cicero's return in 77 marked the beginning of a carefully orchestrated programme to create a successful political and social profile; the acquisition at such a time

of a wealthy, well-born wife was both accepted and expected.⁹ At the end of 76 Cicero was elected quaestor and, either shortly before or after the birth of his first child, Tullia, departed for a year in Sicily.¹⁰ He returned in 74 and for the next four years was actively involved pleading cases in Rome. We may reasonably assume that during these years absences from Rome were few and short-term, for Cicero was well aware that a man engaged in what was in effect "one long canvass -- for the Consulship,"¹¹ should remain as much as possible in the public eye.¹² In 70 Cicero left Rome for several months, again for Sicily, this time to collect evidence for his celebrated prosecution of Verres. But from 69 on Cicero's absences from Rome appear to have been largely confined to holiday visits, accompanied by his family, to those country villas located not too far from the capital.¹³ The ensuing years were particularly important politically and socially as Cicero's career progressed; he was curule aedile in 69, then praetor in 66.¹⁴ In 65 his son Marcus was born and Cicero was offered a position as legate under C. Calpurnius Piso in Cisalpine Gaul.¹⁵ It was an important opportunity to canvass votes for his forthcoming bid for the consulship, but it is not known whether Cicero actually left Rome at this time. Earlier, in 67, Cicero's daughter Tullia had been betrothed to another of the Pisones, the young nobleman, C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.¹⁶ Her marriage probably took place in 63, the year in which the Cicero family reached the pinnacle of success with the consulship.¹⁷

Cicero's absences from Terentia in 75, 70 and (possibly) 65 are undocumented, but a substantial period of separation for which there is documentation began in March 58, when Cicero was banished from Italy, and lasted until his return in the late summer of 57. From this period we have the first four surviving letters to Terentia, and they are highly

emotional, filled with Cicero's distress, regrets, anxiety for the future, and passionate affirmations of Terentia's importance to him and of his reliance on her.¹⁸ Mingled with these sentiments are general directives about household and political matters, but upon his return to Italy in early August there are hints of some marital strain. He was met at Brundisium only by Tullia¹⁹ and in the two letters to Atticus written immediately following his return to Rome, Cicero suggests that his private affairs are in turmoil and that some of the details are too intimate for a letter:

In re familiari valde sumus, ut scis, perturbati.
praeterea sunt quaedam domestica quae litteris non
committo.²⁰ Att. 73 (IV.1).8.

He trusted in his brother Quintus, insigni pietate, virtute, fide praeditum, and the affection of his daughter, but Terentia's name was pointedly omitted.²¹

Yet the next few years seem to embrace a return to family unity as Cicero worked to rebuild his houses and estates, re-engaged to some extent in his political and legal career and enjoyed, it seems, a measure of domestic harmony: domus me et rura nostra delectant ... privata modo et domestica nos delectent, miram securitatem videbis was written to Atticus in October 54.²²

A further important separation began six years later in May 51. Cicero, assigned Cilicia as his proconsular province, departed from Rome complaining of huius ingentis molestiae and hoping that the appointment would last only one year.²³ He was actually absent in the East for a period of eighteen months. From this period we have only one letter to Terentia, which was written from Athens just before Cicero returned to Italy in November 50.²⁴ This time Terentia travelled to meet Cicero on

his return, for shortly thereafter he wrote triumphantly both to Atticus and to his freedman Tiro that he and Terentia had entered Brundisium on the same day.²⁵

After this last separation, indeed even during his absence in Cilicia, Cicero's letters again indicate marital tensions of various kinds. Terentia's and Tullia's fait accompli with respect to the latter's marriage to Dolabella, caused Cicero some political embarrassment. But it was accepted with resignation: hoc spero melius.²⁶ With hindsight we can see serious marital strain foreshadowed in Cicero's suspicious references to financial transactions undertaken by Terentia's freedman Philotimus, which Cicero asked Atticus to investigate discreetly. For the sake of security and discretion in June 50, Cicero wrote to Atticus in Greek:

Illud praeterea μυστικώτερον ad te scribam, tu sagacius odorabere. τῆς δάμαρτός μου ὁ ἀπελευθέρως (οἶσθα ὃν λέγω) ἔδοξέ μοι πρώην, ἐξ ἧν ἀλογευσόμενος παρεφθέγγετο; πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους ἐκ τῆς ὥνης τῶν ὑπαρχόντων <τῶν> τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου τυραννοκτονίου. δέδοικα δὴ μὴ τι-νοήσεις δήπου. τοῦτο δὲ περισκεψάμενος τὰ λοιπὰ ἐξασφάλισαι.²⁷

There is no sign yet, however, of the reproaches against Terentia's financial management which were to absorb Cicero in the years following the civil war.²⁸

After Cicero and Terentia were re-united in Brundisium on November 25, 50, there was only a short interlude until once again they went their separate ways. They were together in December at Cicero's villa at Formiae and returned to Rome together probably for Cicero's birthday, January 3, 49.²⁹ But Terentia and Tullia remained in Rome, and then, as nervousness in the capital increased, joined Cicero and their other male relatives at Formiae on February 2, 49.³¹ Cicero and Quintus left the next day for Capua but returned after a short absence to spend the rest of

February and March with their families at Formiae. Terentia and Tullia probably returned to Rome at the end of March.³² After another interval during which Cicero moved from villa to villa, Terentia and Tullia re-joined him at Cumae in early May, where, on May 19 Tullia prematurely gave birth to a child.³³ Finally, on June 7, 49 Cicero made his decision to sail with his son Marcus to join Pompey in Greece.³⁴

From this turbulent period two letters to Terentia survive, in which Cicero advised Terentia and Tullia to consider leaving Rome for the refuge of one of his country villas. A further letter to Terentia was written from on board ship on his way to Greece, and then comes a long period of silence.³⁵ We have no letters from him until January 48, when he wrote to Atticus from Pompey's camp. The first letter to Terentia from this long period of separation is dated July 15, 48.³⁶ When he returned to Brundisium in October 48, Cicero discouraged Terentia from coming to welcome him, and he remained apart from his family until Tullia visited him at Brundisium in June 47.³⁷ Cicero wrote to Terentia at Rome during the long months at Brundisium; his last letter to her is dated October 1, 47 and was written from near Venusia to announce his proposed return to Tusculum on the Nones and to request Terentia to make appropriate domestic arrangements.³⁸

During this final year of separation signs of marital discord become more and more frequent in the letters, particularly in those to Atticus. In June 47, Cicero wrote: extremum est quod te orem, si putas rectum esse et a te suscipi posse, cum Camillo communices ut Terentiam moneatis de testamento.... auditum ex Philotimo est eam scelerate quaedam facere. (Att. 227 (XI.16).5) Not only was there friction over Terentia's will but Cicero's suspicions of her financial treachery at last surfaced and

appeared confirmed.³⁹ Their divorce apparently took place very shortly after his return to Rome in the winter of 47-46, by which time they had not seen each other for over two years.⁴⁰

Two observations can be made from this account of the absences of Cicero from Terentia. First, each period of prolonged separation is followed by evidence of domestic problems upon Cicero's return. These strains appear to have increased in intensity, if we may judge from Cicero's more and more specific allusions to them in his letters to Atticus, from the period of exile to the governorship of Cilicia, and they culminated in the divorce which followed his "third exile".⁴¹ We might compare, for example, Cicero's early discreet remarks to Atticus in 57, cetera quae me sollicitant μυστικώτερα sunt, and his requests for Atticus' assistance, non queo tantum quantum vereor scribere; tu autem fac ut mihi tuae litterae volent obviae⁴² with some of the more explicit passages in the letters from 47:

... si putas rectum esse et a te suscipi posse,
cum Camillo communicates ut Terentiam moneatis de
testamento. tempora monent ut videat ut satis
faciat quibus debeat. Att. 227 (XI.16).5. June 3, 47

Cicero wrote a few months later even more succinctly:

de Terentia autem (mitto cetera quae sunt
innumerabilia), quid ad hoc addi potest?
scripseras ut HS XII permutaret; tantum esse
reliquum de argento. misit illa [(I)] mihi
et adscripsit tantum esse reliquum. cum hoc
tam parvum de parvo detraxerit, perspicias quid
in maxima re fecerit.⁴³ Att. 234 (XI.24).3. August 6, 47

Secondly, although such matters are impossible to quantify, the three periods of separation covered several important episodes of the family's history in general. For example, Terentia and Cicero were apart, possibly when their first child was born, certainly very soon thereafter.⁴⁴

Cicero was absent when Tullia's first husband died, during times of real threat to his own life and to his family's safety, and also twice in times when confiscation of all their properties (58 and 47) was threatened.

Tullia's third marriage had to be arranged in Cicero's absence and, in turn, its long and complex denouement negotiated. In addition, the birth and death of Tullia's first child, the first Cicero grandchild, took place during the unsettled spring of 49. Communication between wives and absent husbands (always difficult), was even more so in those times of banishment and civil disorder. It must have been at best inadequate, at worst impossible. Conjugal and paternal absence, however, was not a phenomenon unique to Cicero's family; indeed Dixon has noted that it was not uncommon generally "in fathers of the magisterial and/or military type".⁴⁵ The extent to which such separations in themselves contributed to the frequency of marital breakdown in the late Republic is problematical. Certainly there is evidence of a number of divorces which took place upon the husband's return from abroad;⁴⁶ but whether the reasons were infidelity on the wife's part (a sufficient, but not necessarily a precipitating cause for divorce),⁴⁷ shifts in family political alliances, or dissatisfaction (as perhaps in Cicero's case) with the necessarily unilateral decisions made by the wife, is a subject which requires further investigation. It seems reasonable, however, that the long periods of separation Cicero and Terentia experienced during particularly difficult periods in their domestic lives weakened some of the bonds between them and contributed to the final dissolution of their marriage.

EXPECTATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES:

It is evident however that some bonds, though perhaps strained, held

fast. Divorce did come, but only after a long period of married life -- more than thirty years. In the late Republic premature death and a high divorce rate meant that marriages were often of short duration.⁴⁸

The bonds of mutual social obligation rather than those of emotional commitment emphasized in modern marriages were paramount as foundations for the Roman marriage, and "romantic love was of minimal significance in compacting a union...."⁴⁹ Affection and companionship may have come to assume a role in some unions after the marriage had occurred and may have strengthened the marital bond.⁵⁰ But affection aside, it is clear that the ties which held firm between Cicero and Terentia over the years were those of mutual social obligation. The letters provide a very clear picture of the nature of such obligation, predominantly of Cicero's expectations of Terentia but also to some extent of his expectations of himself. We can see which family responsibilities each undertook, separately and together, and to what extent their decisions were made in consultation with one another.

"Marriage is the normal device for advancement -- 'decus ac robur'."⁵¹ The choice of Terentia as a wife for Cicero in and of itself provides evidence for some of his expectations.⁵² All that is known of Terentia's background is that she was wealthy and the half-sister of a Vestal Virgin who was a member of the patrician Fabii.⁵³ Marriage with her was the acquisition of a considerable social resource, and the flavour of a functioning business partnership is particularly noticeable in Cicero's letters to her from exile, in which the root issue is the preservation rather than the advancement of the family: it becomes clear that Terentia's first loyalty at that time was to be to Cicero's family and this involved two expectations, she was to work to restore the head of the family, and she

was to safeguard the well-being and future security of the children.

Her responsibility was not to be with Cicero but to be for him. To this end she was expected first and foremost to keep herself well, a basic requisite for effective action. References to Terentia's health in the earlier letters are frequently more detailed than the formulaic cura ut valeas of the later letters and there are clear cases of real illness.⁵⁴ Cicero appears with reason to be concerned about Terentia's physical strength, valetudinem istam infirmam, si me amas, noli vexare.⁵⁵ That at least part of this concern was for health as the sine qua non for performance of family responsibilities is suggested by references to his own health: nunc, quoniam sperare nos amici iubent, dabo operam ne mea valetudo tuo labori desit.⁵⁶

In addition to staying well Terentia was expected to stay in Rome. We have seen that during his exile Cicero urged her to engage in whatever political or social tactics were open to her, and to take council with their friends and relatives.⁵⁷ From time to time she seems to have asked whether she should join him in exile. The response in each case was firm. She is asked to stay 'on the scene' and help in his cause as long as any hope remains:

si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves; sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes, ad me fac venias.⁵⁸ Fam. 6 (XIV.4).3.

Terentia's support at Rome for Cicero during his exile was a form of maintaining wifely fidelitas. She was demonstrating actively the kind of faithful devotion writers such as the younger Pliny and Seneca found praiseworthy in Rome's more legendary matresfamilia.⁵⁹

Terentia was also expected to report frequently, immediately and reliably on the progress of events in the capital and on her and the

children's activities.⁶⁰ This last duty did not arise simply out of the exigencies of exile. Cicero relied on Terentia's reports in all periods of separation. On his return from Cilicia in 51 he told her,

accepi tuas litteras, quibus intellexi te
vereri ne superiores mihi redditae non essent.
omnes sunt redditae diligentissimeque a te per-
scripta sunt omnia, idque mihi gratissimum
fuit. Fam. 119 (XIV.5).1.

So too in the later letters from the period of Cicero's political sojourn with Pompeius and in Brundisium he asked her to forward letters to him and to write even if he has no reason to expect it.⁶¹ Repeatedly he asks ad me de omnibus rebus quam saepissime litteras mittas.⁶²

Correspondence with Terentia was evidently important to Cicero. It was not mere reportage but a two way correspondence in which each party gave and received information, advice and a certain amount of support. What specifically were the concerns, the omnes res about which they communicated? Finances, in particular the fate of his own and Terentia's property, were one of the chief joint areas of concern in the letters from the exile period. In the first extant letter Cicero wrote, tu quid egeris nescio, utrum aliquid teneas an, quod metuo, plane sis spoliata. (Fam. 6 (XIV.4).4.) Subsequently he was distressed to hear that Terentia had been summoned before the tribunes on a financial matter, and even more distressed that she had chosen to use her own money for "necessary" expenses, when she was proposing to sell a row of houses (vicus).⁶³ He articulated his concern further; if Terentia were to deplete her fortune (which remained secure despite confiscation of his), quid puero misero fiet?⁶⁴ Her dowry properties were clearly earmarked for Marcus' future security.⁶⁵ Cicero several times urged Terentia to let "others", his amici, bear the financial burden. Terentia together with the amici were

given many financial responsibilities during Cicero's absences. In the later years of civil strife he again exhibits fear for the survival of her property as well as his own. In a market which makes the sale of property impossible he asks Terentia and 'the others' to solve the problem of meeting Tullia's dowry payments.⁶⁶ But it was not only in emergency situations that the two conferred over property and finance. Over the years Cicero regularly asked Terentia to see to business matters. This request has a casual, routine tone:

De hereditate Preciana, quae quidem mihi magno dolori est (valde enim illum amavi) - sed hoc velim cures, si auctio ante meum adventum fiet, ut Pomponius aut, si is minus poterit, Camillus nostrum negotium curet; nos, cum salvi venerimus, reliqua per nos agemus. Sin tu iam Roma profecta eris tamen curabis ut hoc ita fiat. Fam. 119 (XIV.5).2. November, 50.

In fact not only do financial matters form a significant portion of Cicero's letters to Terentia, a great many of his references to her in his letters to Atticus center on financial issues. This is of course to be expected since Atticus was his financial right hand. It might be suggested that Terentia was his left. Terentia's apparent economic independence and relatively free hand with her own and at times, even Cicero's wealth, may be accounted for by a number of factors. She was, according to Plutarch, a forceful personality,⁶⁷ more than ordinarily rich, and had access to some of the best legal and financial advice in Rome.⁶⁸ She appears to have operated largely independently of any tutor, although she does seem to have relied extensively on the services of her trusted freedman Philotimus.⁶⁹ Her position cannot have been unique in Roman society, but although evidence of women's political activities at Rome has become increasingly documented, their financial activities remain less visible.⁷⁰ However in the case of Terentia we see that Atticus was

frequently requested to talk things over with her, often her own financial affairs, sometimes Cicero's, atque hoc ipsum iam prope consumptum est. qua re id quoque velim cum illa videas ut sit qui utamur.⁷¹ And ultimately it was through Atticus that the financial debacle surrounding Cicero's and Terentia's divorce was investigated and resolved.⁷² Cicero, as we have seen, repeatedly urged Terentia to consult with Atticus. This course he himself followed, referring the bulk of his financial affairs to Atticus and consulting him on major political decisions.

Apart from recommending Atticus and his amici to her, Cicero rarely, in the letters which survive, gives Terentia specific directives nor does she appear to have sought his advice with any urgency. What is noticeable is Terentia's apparent independent jurisdiction over her own properties and financial decisions. The letters reinforce what Plutarch tells us of her: ἡ δὲ Τερεντία, (καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλως ἦν πραεῖά τις οὐδ' ἄτολμος τὴν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος γυνὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν ὁ κικέρων, τῶν πολιτικῶν μεταλαμβάνουσα παρ' ἐκείνου φροντίδων ἢ μεταδιδούσα τῶν οἰκιακῶν ἐκείνῳ) ... (Plut. Cic. 20, 3). When Cicero was banished we saw that Terentia undertook to sell a row of her houses to help with household expenses. She refused, Cicero tells Atticus, to pay rent for the common land in her possession.⁷³ She had dealings with the banking family, the Opii, of which Cicero was ignorant until Atticus illuminated him.⁷⁴ Even after the divorce, we hear that Terentia had been named co-heir with Cicero and others to an important estate.⁷⁵ Legally, Terentia could neither inherit nor transact business without a guardian to represent her interests. That such a guardian is never named in the correspondence seems to imply that he was a token figure, and Keith Hopkins suggests a general weakening of the function of legal guardians over women in the

late Republic.⁷⁶ Terentia appears to be an excellent example of a wealthy, relatively powerful Roman matron used to controlling her own fortune.

One final, obvious example of Terentia's financial autonomy and the one over which Cicero became increasingly concerned, was her freedom to make a will. Shackleton Bailey states that Terentia was able to do so by the legal process of coemptio.⁷⁷ Cicero's concerns in this matter were two-fold: that she dispose of her wealth fairly with respect to the children, particularly Tullia, and that some security be arranged by her for both Terentia and himself in view of the threats of confiscation he foresaw in 47. By then he voiced his doubts as to whether Terentia or her fortune would respond to his directions or to Tullia's needs.⁷⁸

In a number of other areas of household management Terentia acted under her own auspices. Decisions about her slaves and freedmen were her own: primum tuis ita promissum est, te facturam esse ut quisque esset meritus. (Fam. 6 (XIV.4).4.) Her freedman Philotimus was given a rather unrestrained hand with the household accounts during Cicero's sojourn in Cilicia, and possibly even before. Cicero only gradually became aware of his dishonesty (or bungling) and acknowledged to Atticus his own abstraction and inattention to domestic matters.⁷⁹

Another domestic realm in which Terentia exercised her autonomy was in the choice of her daughter's husband, most notably in Tullia's third marriage to Dolabella. Cicero had departed for Cilicia before a final decision could be made. He had been considering several suitors, had written to Terentia with his views and had even sent an intermediary to "the women" to discuss a marriage with Ti. Claudius Nero. The messenger arrived too late, factis sponsalibus.⁸⁰ Cicero explained with some

discomfort after the event, quibus ego ita mandaram ut, cum tam longe afuturus essem, ad me ne referrent, agerent quod probassent. (Fam. 75 (III.12).2.) It sounds a little face-saving. Regrettably, no letters between Cicero and Terentia survive from this period. To Atticus he wrote mulieres quidem valde intellego delectari obsequio et comitate adolescentis and accepted the fait accompli.⁸¹ Later when the marriage of Tullia and Dolabella was clearly over and divorce proceedings decided upon, Cicero was once again absent from Rome. He requested Terentia, in consultation with Atticus, to assess Dolabella's political power and to decide whether or not to risk enmity with him:

si metuendus iratus est, quiesces. tamen ab illo fortasse nascetur. totum iudicabis quale sit, et quod in miserrimis rebus minime miserum putabis id facies.⁸² Fam. 169 (XIV.13).

Those words point to a role frequently undertaken by Terentia. She was often asked to make ad hoc decisions and to judge appropriate timing for actions. Again it must be noted that our observations are of Terentia's activities while Cicero was away from her. Delays and uncertainties in communications surely contributed to making this role a necessity. But it must also be noted that Cicero quite evidently judged her capable of such responsibilities and assumed them of her. Examples abound. During his exile, Terentia was expected to cope with any problems arising in Tullia's marriage to Piso over dowry payments -- mihi deest consilium asserted Cicero. She was to monitor the success of her political efforts on his behalf and if she felt it to be necessary, she was to flee somehow (quoquo modo potes) and join him in exile.⁸³ During the civil upheavals in 49 when Cicero himself, torn politically, was debating action, he told Terentia and Tullia that it was up to them to observe and consider what

other women in their social position were doing and then decide whether (or not) to leave Rome and join him at one of his villas, vestrum iam consilium est, non solum meum, quid sit vobis faciendum. (Fam. 145 (XIV. 14).1. January 23, 49.)⁸⁴ Her assessment of political situations was also an expected benefit for Cicero, and beyond that her direct and indirect political involvement.⁸⁵ To whom should Cicero write to petition for his recall from exile? Terentia furnished the names.⁸⁶ She advised Cicero to pin his hopes on the new tribunes, information which he clearly accepted.⁸⁷ Even at a late date in their marriage, in 47, he referred to a mysterious incident between Terentia and Volumnia, the influential mistress of Antonius. Shackleton Bailey suggests that Terentia had approached Volumnia in an attempt to make some financial holdings secure, but it is equally plausible that Terentia had approached Volumnia for her political influence with Antonius in an attempt to assist Cicero, who was languishing in a kind of semi-exile in Brundisium, awaiting pardon from the Caesarians.⁸⁸ Terentia in this instance appears to have met with little success; Cicero was sympathetic and refrained from reproach. In fact, nowhere in the letters did Cicero give Terentia specific directives for political actions; the initiative and judgement seem to have been hers, no doubt in consultation with male relatives and amici.

This female role of intercessionary -- or even political watch-dog, informant and opinion moulder, was not unique to Terentia, and Cicero himself shows how women were typically involved indirectly in politics in those turbulent years. There are numerous examples in Cicero's letters of wives and mothers, notably M. Brutus' mother Servilia, actively attempting to influence events, or simply to help their husbands and sons, through private contacts.⁸⁹ Yet Cicero's portrait of Terentia in this

role possesses a curious dichotomy. On the one hand he calls her the one unde omnes opem petere solebant.⁹⁰ And to Terentia and Tullia he writes, cohortarer vos quo animo fortiores essetis nisi vos fortiores cognossem quam quemquam virum. (Fam. 155 (XIV.7).2.) On the other hand, although he nowhere apologizes for the kinds of activities he expects her to shoulder, he is concerned about the weight of the burden. Terentia is frequently assumed to be ill or frail: omnis labores te excipere video; timeo ut sustineas.⁹¹ The question of Terentia's ill-health has been referred to above, and certainly frequent illness was a reality in antiquity. Yet here another reality may be operating, the preconceived image of the frail woman.⁹²

In summary Cicero's expectations of Terentia can be subsumed under the broad rubric of conjugal loyalty. Her activities and spheres of independent decision-making centred on the preservation (and one may conjecture in less chronicled periods of their lives on the social advancement) of her husband, children, household and their respective properties. Cicero's own expectations of himself in this respect complement hers. He expresses distress when his performance falls below his own standards of conduct. During exile he felt he may have failed his wife and children and he suffered in his political impotence,

qua re cum dolore conficior, tum etiam pudore.
pudet enim me uxori [mae] optimaе, suavissimis
liberis virtutem et diligentiam non praestitisse.⁹³
Fam. 9 (XIV.3).2.

In some letters there occur occasional phrases and images that capture a sense of their community of purpose, an assumption of common concerns, quamquam alia sunt quae magis curemus, magisque doleamus; or mutual goals, satis magnum mihi fructum videbor percepisse et vestrae pietatis et meae;

and even once shared enjoyment of what may otherwise seem to have been a thirty year business merger; Terentiae saltum perspeximus. quid quaeris? praeter quercum Dodonaeam nihil desideramus quo minus Epirum ipsum possidere videamur.⁹⁴

Yet there were numerous areas of family decision-making in which Terentia was not consulted, and issues that Cicero did not discuss with her. Marcus filius was her concern when young; he remained under her care when Cicero was in exile, but when six years later Cicero departed for his proconsular province of Cilicia, young Marcus, now fourteen, accompanied his father.⁹⁵ From this time on it appears that Terentia was often merely informed of Marcus' activities:

Nobis erat in animo Ciceronem ad Caesarem
mittere.... Si profectus erit, faciam te
certiorem. Fam. 166 (XIV.11) June 14, 47.

Cicero speaks of 'his' villas and orders works of art for their decoration with no mention of Terentia.⁹⁶ For the most part too Cicero's movements from town to villa to villa seem to have been independently decided upon.⁹⁷ His slaves and freedmen were thought of as quite separate property. (Tiro was apparently an exception and considered to be attached to all the family members.)⁹⁸ But frequently there is a pervasive sense apparent in the letters of sub-households, formally united in very precisely defined relationships under a veneer of mutual assumptions and goals.

It was when this veneer of mutual goals began to wear thin that the marriage broke down. The fortunes of the family, children and property, became issues of contention instead of shared aims, as the letters to Atticus show in the later years.

There was panic and mistrust about confiscation of property, difficulties over Tullia's dowry, allegations of petty and not so petty pilfering

on Terentia's part, her "wicked" will and a long-term struggle over the children's inheritance. Even two years after the divorce Terentia and Cicero were still negotiating about the repayment of her dowry, Marcus' inheritance and the dower properties which Cicero had held back for him. He had probably still not paid Terentia by the time of his death.⁹⁹

In view of the real or alleged breach of faith by Terentia with respect to two key issues, children and property, it seems almost redundant to impute political sabotage to her as well in attempting to explain the divorce. Cicero's second marriage to his young ward Publilia was to a girl whose family was in favour with the Caesarians.¹⁰⁰ Shackleton Bailey suggests that the statement in Cicero's letter responding to wedding congratulations from Cn. Plancius intimates political treachery on Terentia's part.¹⁰¹ Whether this was the motive for his second marriage is unanswerable. It is only one of several motives suggested. Lust for Publilia's youthful beauty (ἔρωτι τῆς ἄρας) was Terentia's opinion, we are told, but Tiro explained the choice by the need to acquire money for the repayment of Terentia's dowry.¹⁰² The political motive cannot have been very urgent since Cicero felt able to divorce Publilia within three months. As for lust we have Cicero's own words: me vero nihil istorum ne iuvenem quidem movit umquam, ne nunc senem.¹⁰³ The money motive seems respectably Roman and plausible. It has been suggested that an opportune legacy enabled Cicero both to repay Terentia's claims more efficiently and to rid himself of the unwanted second wife.¹⁰⁴

DIRECT EXPRESSIONS OF CARING:

When it comes to considering the way in which the emotional ties between Cicero and Terentia were expressed, the one-sidedness of their

correspondence is particularly hampering. Two approaches are open. We can examine the words and phrases Cicero uses to, and to a lesser extent about, Terentia for some idea of the degree and type of affection that existed on his part. And we may also be able to make some reasonable conjectures about the degree of companionship they enjoyed. The latter can best be approached by comparing some of the more intimate and unguarded letters to Atticus with the extant letters to Terentia and by identifying subjects approached with Atticus but avoided with Terentia.

Cicero put a high value on the role of confidant. That this role was expected of his friend, but not his wife, is evident from remarks to Atticus:

Nihil mihi nunc scito tam deesse quam hominem
eum quocum omnia quae me cura aliqua adficiunt una
communicem, qui me amet, qui sapiat, quicum ego cum
loquar nihil fingam, nihil dissimulem, nihil
obtegam... Att. 18 (I.18).1. January, 60.

Cicero goes on to complain that he has no-one quocum aut iocari libere aut suspirare familiariter possimus, and his only relaxation is with his wife and children. While much of this unguarded communication would have been gossip and frank discussions about politics or legal matters, in addition the kinds of intimate discussions which we might consider a part of companionship would have been included; such areas as common enthusiasms, recollections of shared experiences, jokes and private allusions, philosophical and moral speculations or observations, and the open expression of feelings and reactions to events and people. A mere sampling of the many examples available in the letters to Atticus will suffice to demonstrate that Cicero was capable of and valued this kind of companionable intimacy. Cicero can be very funny, and was even able to tease Atticus with some family joke at the death of his grandmother. He can tell Atticus,

half-apologetically, of his real distress at the death of a slave. He can laugh at himself, delight in asking for gossip, look forward to strolls and talk with his friend, a good dinner, the bath and book borrowing. He openly and warmly tells Atticus how important his company is to him at various times in his life. He risks an "unconsular" joke, reveals inner doubts and philosophizes.¹⁰⁵

There are, however, very few indications of this kind of relaxed companionable intimacy in the letters to Terentia. One reason for this may be that the surviving letters to her were mostly written under less than relaxed conditions. Yet so were many of the letters to Atticus. The reason is not compelling.

The substance of the letters to Terentia is chiefly confined to 'housekeeping' communications. The later letters evince a sense of detachment on Cicero's part. Despite the informal address, the language is rather formal and the tone cool, with occasional touches of warmth.¹⁰⁶ It should be noted that in these letters the affectionate messages are addressed to both Terentia and Tullia, animae meae.¹⁰⁷

In contrast, the earlier letters from the exile period are more expressive and include protestations of love and grief which to the modern ear may have the ring of emotional extravagance. For example:

cum aut scribo ad vos aut vestras lego,
conficior lacrimis sic ut ferre non possim; or
te quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre et in
tuo complexu emori ... non queo plura iam
scribere, impedit maeror. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).1-3.

Two considerations may be relevant at this point. First, there is a common human tendency, very likely as prevalent in antiquity as now, to use rhetoric and cliché in moments of emotional crisis. (Indeed given Cicero's oratorical training the tendency may have been even more

pronounced in his case.) This propensity in no way diminishes the intensity or reflects on the genuineness of the emotion being expressed. Cicero was without doubt deeply moved by Terentia's letters to him and distressed by the 'loss' of his family. And admittedly the threats to his family were very real: his property had been destroyed and his brother attacked in an outbreak of mob violence.¹⁰⁸

Secondly, some of the highly emotional portions of these letters, when read in context, seem to carry a double message. Cicero's affection for Terentia is dependent upon her performance in the role of a Roman matron. His praise and sollicitude do not convey a sense of the personal, and seem to contain a manipulative element. The examples are clearer in the context of the whole letter, but these extracts contain the critical points:

sine te igitur sim? opinor, sic agam: si est
spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves.

Fam. 6 (XIV.).3.

Or later,

nam mihi ante oculos dies noctesque versaris.
omnis labores te excipere video; timeo ut sustineas,
sed video in te esse omnia. quare ut id quod speras
et quod agis consequamur: servi valetudini.

Fam. 7 (XIV.2).3.

If there was a manipulative element in Cicero's emotional messages to Terentia it may well have been unconscious. But he was the supreme advocate. It must have been second nature to him to utilize the resources available in dramatic displays of grief, longing and despair to motivate and galvanize into action those on whom his life and security depended.

So too the choice of adjectives with which Cicero praises Terentia reflects his expectations of her as much as his appreciation. She is his fidissima atque optima uxor. a te quidem omnia fieri fortissime et aman-

tissime video, nec miror ... te ista virtute, fide, probitate, humani-
tate....¹⁰⁹ These, particularly the virtue of faithfulness (fides), are

important female virtues, but they are in effect stock phrases and role descriptions. What is lacking in the letters is any recognition of Terentia as a person with ideas or interests of her own, though some characterization may be present in Cicero's reference to her piety.¹¹⁰

Certainly the nearest approach to any criticism of Terentia's personality (apart from the later monetary complaints) is in a revealing conversation Cicero had with young Quintus which he relayed to his brother: multum is mecum sermonem habuit et perhumanum de discordiis mulierum nostrarum. quid quaeris? nihil festivius ... (Q. fr. 10 (II.6 [5]).2.)

Despite the very incomplete record of their correspondence there are some general observations which can be made about the level of affect in Cicero's and Terentia's marriage. The letters which have survived were all written during critical periods. At one end of the scale are the very emotional 'crisis' letters written from exile and after his decision to join Pompey. At the other end of the scale the later letters from Brundisium in 48 and 47 are noticeably unemotional. The middle three letters written in 50 and 49 contain affectionate messages to Terentia and Tullia but are predominantly concerned with circumstantial matters. In the exile letters it is apparent that the warmth and affection, even longing, expressed by Cicero for Terentia was primarily for her as a support and ally. There is little personal affection (and certainly no erotic passion) visible in the domestic partnership.¹¹¹ Terentia was neither a companion nor confidant in the sense that Atticus or even Quintus was. From the limited information we have, the two do not appear to have shared interest other than their property, children, and

perforce political events.

Although his marriage cannot be called companionate, the capacity for companionship was certainly part of Cicero's character. The Epistulae Ad Atticum provide a rare portrait of friendship between two men lasting the full lifetime of one of them. Previous discussion has demonstrated the wide-ranging and intimate nature of their communications. Companionship, or at least an informal relaxed intimacy, is evident too in some of Cicero's gossipy, good-humoured letters to L. Papirius Paetus and to M. Caelius Rufus.¹¹² But companionship with women was not absent from his life. Dio Cassius refers to letters no longer extant from Cicero to Caerellia, an older woman mentioned several times in the letters.¹¹³ These letters evidently reflected shared literary and philosophical interests and a free and open friendship. For Cicero, women could be friends. But either because of Terentia's limitations or because of their joint perceptions of a wife's role, the emotional fabric of their marriage apparently lacked the strands of companionship.¹¹⁴

Notes to Terentia

1. For Terentia see RE 5A, 1 Col. 710ff. (S. Weinstock).
2. Gladigow (1976), 105, for example, begins his study of Roman marriage and the family by stating that "Ehe im allgemeinsten Sinne keine primär sexuelle Institution ist, sondern eine Fürsorgegemeinschaft für die Nachkommen und eine ökonomische Einrichtung, ein 'Betrieb'."
3. In the Shackleton Bailey numbering system Fam. 6-9 are from the exile period; 119 is from 50; 144, 145 and 155 are from 49 and 158-173 are from 48/47.
4. In his public speeches, however, generalizations are more common, see for example Mur. 27, Mulieres omnes propter infirmitatem consilii maiores in tutorem potestate esse voluerunt.
5. Att. 92 (IV.18).2, October-November 54; 18 (I.18).1, January 60. Significantly in the latter passage Cicero names all three members of his family. He rarely, if ever, speaks affectionately of Terentia alone to Atticus.
6. Cic. 8, 4-6.
7. The younger Pliny's descriptions of the ideal behaviour exhibited by his young wife Calpurnia show that he expected of her a high level of interest in and awareness of his daily affairs. Cf. e.g. Pliny, Ep. 4, 19. Pliny's descriptions are, however, literary, and possibly idealized. In contrast Cicero's brief references to Terentia as consultant have an authentic ring.
8. Brut. 313-315. For a discussion of the dating of Cicero's marriage to Terentia and Tullia's subsequent birth, see Appendix II. Shackleton

Bailey (1971), 12 discounts the suggestion in Plutarch, Cic. 3, 6 that Cicero's sojourn in the East was undertaken to avoid Sulla's displeasure.

9. Bradley (1984), 488, "... men would expect to marry in the early to mid-twenties, shortly before tenure of the quaestorship (the operation is virtually mechanical) ..." Cicero at 29 was slightly older than usual, but his career had been interrupted by the events surrounding Marius' and Sulla's struggles for power and his own subsequent absence abroad. For Cicero's early political career see Stockton (1971) and Mitchell (1979).
10. RE 7A 1, Col. 839-840. Balsdon (1965), 174, suggests that normally women did not go overseas with their husbands and in view of Tullia's age (or impending birth) in 75 it is reasonable to assume that Terentia remained in Rome. But some families did travel abroad with their patresfamilias; see Raepsaet-Charlier (1982).
11. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 13.
12. Cf. Fam. 95 (II.12).2, and Cic. Planc. 64-6.
13. Cf. Att. 6 (I.10).6; 24 (II.4).5; 28 (II.8).2; 35 (II.15).4. Cicero had purchased Tusculum, the first of a series of beloved country villas by the beginning of his correspondence with Atticus in 68. Tusculum, Formiae and Arpinum appear to have been favourite retreats over the years. For general reference on Cicero's country properties see Bruno (1960); D'Arms (1970), especially 39-72 and 198-200; Shackleton Bailey (1971), 26; E. Rawson (1976) and Treggiari (1979).
14. RE 7A 1, Col. 852-855.
15. Att. 11 (I.2).1. Broughton (1968), II, Additions and Corrections,

64. Cf. Att. 10 (I.1).2; For Piso see Broughton (1968) II, 142.
16. Att. 8 (I.3).3. For Piso see below pp.158ff.
17. RE 7A 2, Col. 1329.
18. Fam. 6-9 (XIV.1-4), dated April 29, 58; October 5, 58; November 25, 58 and November 29, 58. For a discussion of Cicero's three long absences from Rome, see Herescu (1959). She outlines three kinds of 'exile' for Cicero: his exile proper in 58/57, the Cilician "depaysement" in 51/50, and the psychological estrangement from Roman life ("émigré de l'intérieur" is Herescu's phrase) in 48/47.
19. Att. 73 (IV.1).4. No explanation is offered for Terentia's absence.
20. Cf. Att. 74 (IV.2).7, written shortly after 73 (IV.1), cetera quae me sollicitant μυστικώτερα sunt. For a more detailed discussion of the nature of Cicero's concerns at this time see Neubauer (1909), 215-218; Bruno (1958), 261ff.
21. Att. 73 (IV.1).8; 74 (IV.2).7 and n.
22. Att. 92 (IV.18).2.
23. Att. 95 (V.2).3. For an account of Cicero's activities in Cilicia see Sherwin-White (1983), 290-297. Cf. also Syme (1979), 120ff. for general information on Cilicia.
24. Fam. 119 (XIV.5).
25. Fam. 127 (XVI.9).2; Att. 125 (VII.2).2.
26. Att. 121 (VI.6).1. Cf. Fam. 75 (III.12).2.
27. Att. 118 (VI.4).3; cf. 119 (VI.5).1 and 2; 123 (VI.9).2; 124 (VII.1).9.
28. Cf. Att. 234 (XI.24).2, August 6, 47.
29. Att. 128 (VII.5).3; 129 (VII.5).
30. Att. Vol. 4, 428ff., Appendix I, 'Ephemeris: 18 January-19 May 49,'

is an invaluable guide to the families' movements at this time.

31. Att. 135 (VII.12).6; 142 (VII.18).1.
32. Att. 191 (X.1a).1, April 4, 49; 195 (X.4).12, April 14, 49.
33. Att. 201 (X.13).1; 208 (X.16).5; 210 (X.18).1.
34. Fam. 155 (XIV.7).
35. Fam. 144 (XIV.18); 145 (XIV.14); 155 (XIV.7).
36. Att. 211 (XI.1); Fam. 158 (XIV.6).
37. Fam. 159 (XIV.12); 166 (XIV.11).
38. Fam. 173 (XIV.20).
39. Att. 234 (XI.24).2.
40. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 177.
41. Herescu (1959), 140ff.
42. Att. 74 (IV.2).7, October 57; 118 (VI.3).3, June 50. Cf. also 119 (VI.5).1 and 2; 123 (VI.9).2; 126 (VII.3).7.
43. Cf. also 236 (XI.21).1; 237 (XI.22).2.
44. He may also have been absent for some months shortly after Marcus' birth, cf. above and n. 15.
45. Dixon (1983), 106.
46. For examples see Fam. 92 (VIII.7).2, written to Cicero in April 50: Paula Valeria, soror Triari, divortium sine causa, quo die vir e provincia venturus erat, fecit; nuptura est D. Bruto. <quae> nondum rettuleram multa in hoc genere incredibilia te absente acciderunt. Cf. also Dixon (1983), 102, 103, on Lucullus' divorce upon his return to Italy in 66 and Pompeius' divorce of Mucia which took place by letter as he journeyed home in 61.
47. Cf. Dixon (1983), 102.
48. Bradley (1984), 488-490 and cf. n. 46.

49. Bradley (1984), 491 and cf. Dixon (1983), 102.
50. See further below and cf. Chapter I, p.17.
51. Syme (1984), 1085.
52. It is not known whether Cicero's marriage was arranged for him by his and Terentia's family during his sojourn in the East between 80 and 77, nor the extent to which Cicero himself participated in the choice of a wife. For general discussion of the various roles possible for sons and daughters and fathers in the establishment of a marriage see Treggiari (1982).
53. RE 5A, 1, Col. 710. Numerous references to Terentia's properties in the correspondence (e.g. Att. 24 (II.4).5; 35 (II.15).4; 271 (XII.32).2; 394 (XV.17).1; 397 (XV.20).4; 409 (XVI.1).5; Fam. 8 (XIV.1).5, and Plutarch's Cic. 8, 2 assertion that Terentia's dowry was 100,000 denarii, provide evidence for her wealth. Sallust, Cat. 15 describes Terentia's sister Fabia as virgo nobilis. Cf. also Plutarch, Cat. min. 19, 3. Wiseman (1971), 55 suggests that Terentia may have belonged to the Varrones. Cf. Mitchell (1979), 99. For a listing of Terentia's properties see Wiseman (1971), 191, Appendix III and n., and cf. Shatzman (1979), 413f.
54. Cf. Fam. 163 (XIV.16); 164 (XIV.8); 166 (XIV.11) from 47 with Att. 1 (I.5).8; Fam. 157 (IX.9).1 from 68 and 48.
55. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).3; cf. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).3 rogam te ut venias, mulierem aegram?; 9 (XIV.3) et infirmitas valetudinis tuae.
56. Fam. 8 (XIV.1).2. For a discussion of Cicero's concern about Terentia's health as a projection of his own valetudinarianism see Lacey (1978), 17. Cf. also Boissier (1925), 95 who suggests that Cicero's concern was superfluous since, according to Pliny, NH 7,

- 158, Terentia lived to be 103. This fact does not, however, invalidate Cicero's concern.
57. See below, Fam. 6 (XIV.4).3 and cf. Fam. 8 (XIV).1).3 and 5; 9 (XIV.3).5.
58. Cf. Fam. 9 (XIV.3).5 Quod scribis te, si velim, ad me venturam, ego vero, cum sciam magnam partem istius oneris abs te sustineri, te istic esse volo.
59. Cf. Seneca, Ad Helviam 16; Pliny, Ep. 3, 16; Valerius Maximus 6, 7, 1-3. See also Chapter I, pp.11f.
60. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).4; 8 (XIV.1).6; 9 (XIV.3).4 and 5.
61. Fam. 160 (XIV.19); 163 (XIV.16).
62. Fam. 164 (XIV.8); cf. 165 (XIV.21); 168 (XIV.10).
63. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).2 and 3; 8 (XIV.1).5.
64. Fam. 8 (XIV.1).5.
65. Cf. Treggiari (1979), 66f.
66. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).2 and 3, October 58; 158 (XIV.6) July 48; Att. 220 (XI.9).3, January 47.
67. See quotation below.
68. Gratwick (1984), 40-44 discusses clearly and in detail the mechanics of property control, both for women and for men in potestate.
69. For Terentius C. l. Philotimus see Treggiari (1969a); (1969b), 263f. For a complete discussion of the issues involved in tutela mulierum see Watson (1967), 146-154; cf. also Crook (1967a), 115.
70. See however Wiseman (1971), 191 and Dixon (1983), 96, 97, 104. See also Dixon (1984).
71. Att. 222 (XI.11).2; cf. Att. 68 (III.23).5; 72 (III.27); 124 (VII.1).9; 276 (XII.37).3.

72. Att. 257 (XII.19).4; 276 (XII.37).3 Apud Terentiam <tam> gratia opus est nobis tua quam auctoritate.
73. Att. 35 (II.15).4 sed tamen tu aliquid publicanis pendis, haec etiam id recusat.
74. Att. 136 (VII.13).5; 137 (VII.13a).1; 146 (VII.22).2.
75. Att. 338 (XIII.46).3.
76. Hopkins (1983), 90, 94, n. 80; cf. Pomeroy (1975), 151.
77. Att. 227 (XI.16). 5 n.
78. For Tullia and Terentia's will see Att. 231 (XI.25).3; 232 (XI. 23).1; 234 (XI.24).2; 236 (XI.21).1; 237 (XI.22).2; Fam. 165 (XIV.21) and possibly a gentle hint in 166 (XIV.11). Cicero's fears are clearly expressed in Att. 234 (XI.24).3.
79. Att. 126 (VII.3).7. Richards (1935), 29 says that Cicero was "haphazard at finance". Certainly he preferred to leave many matters to Atticus.
80. Att. 118 (VI.4).2; 121 (VI.6).1. Ti. Claudius Nero, Praetor in 42, is best known as the husband of Livia (later wife of Octavian), and father of the Emperor Tiberius. He is discussed in more detail below, Chapter III, p.180. See also Treggiari (1984), 444-447.
81. Att. 121 (VI.6).1.
82. Cf. 168 (XIV.10).
83. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).3 and n.
84. Cf. also Fam. 144 (XIV.18).2.
85. In Fam. 155 (XIV.7).1 Cicero appears to be aware that he has exhausted her with his indecisive discussions (what Bozić (1951), 18, has called "endless dithering" or alternatively, (p.16) ("the scrupulous indecision of a mature mind").

86. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).4; 8 (XIV.1).5; 9 (XIV.3).5.
87. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).2; 9 (XIV.3).3.
88. Fam. 163 (XIV.16) and n.
89. For a lucid account of women's role in patronage and politics in late Republican Rome see Dixon (1983); cf. Pomeroy (1975), 185-189 and Hopkins (1983), 93. For Servilia in Cicero's correspondence see especially Att. 388 (XV.10); 389 (XV.11).1; 394 (XV.17).2; 416 (XV.13).4; ad Brut. 2 (3 [II.3]).3. For other women intermediaries see Fam. 151 (IV.2).1 and 4; 226 (VI.12).3; 228 (VI.14).2, propinqui would have included women.
90. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).2; cf. 8 (XIV.1).1 incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse teque nec animi neque corporis laboribus defatigari.
91. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).3; cf. 6 (XIV.4).3 mulierem aegram, et corpore, et animo confectam ...
92. Mur. 27. The key term here is infirmitas. Admittedly in this speech Cicero is referring primarily to infirmitas consilii, yet in each of the above passages he speaks of Terentia's frailty with respect both to her animus and her corpus. I suggest that the concept of women's infirmitas was able to be attached to any aspect of her person as occasion might require. Cf. Galen, 14, 6 "The female is less perfect than the male ..." (Trans. M.T. May).
93. Cf. also Fam. 6 (XIV.4).5; 7 (XIV.2).1; 8 (XIV.1).3.
94. Fam. 163 (XIV.16); 8 (XIV.1).3; Att. 24 (II.4).5.
95. Q. fr. 3 (I.3).3; Fam. 6 (XIV.4).3; cf. Att. 102 (V.9).3.
96. Att. 6 (I.10).3. Legally Terentia's only property was her dowry, or a portion thereof, and there appears to have been no sense of

shared property beyond the reference to Terentia's saltus cited above.

97. Fam. 171 (XIV.23); 173 (XIV.20).
98. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).4; and for Tiro Fam. 127 (XVI.9); 122 (XVI.3); 143 (XVI.11) and especially 337 (XVI.21); 338 (XVI.24). For Tiro see Trèggiari (1969a); (1969b), 259-263; McDermott (1972b).
99. Att. 267 (XII.28).1; 271 (XII.32).2. n.
100. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 201-203; E. Rawson (1975), 224.
101. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 201-203; Fam. 240 (IV.14).3 n.
102. Plut. Cic. 41, 4-5.
103. Fam. 197 (IX.26).2.
104. Lacey (1978), 135. Cicero's marriage to Publilia is discussed further below.
105. Att. 8 (I.3).1 n.; 12 (I.12).4; 24 (II.4); 14 (I.14).3; 34 (II.14); 23 (II.3).4; 92 (IV.18).2; 17 (I.17).5-7; 21 (II.1).5; 343 (XIII.40).2; 125 (VII.2).4. For Cicero's humour see Hands (1962); McDermott (1972).
106. Cicero used his nomen Tullius, only to members of his family and to Tiro, cf. Fam. 6 (XIV.4), n. Neubauer (1909), 218-224 provides an insightful analysis of the shifts in tone in Cicero's letters to Terentia. Cf. also Allen (1960) and Petersson (1963), 519 for the suggestion that Cicero's later brusque letters to Terentia do not necessarily reflect emotional estrangement, rather the circumstances (haste) or their subject-matter (domestic arrangements). Adams (1978), 163 has found that "after Cicero became estranged from his wife he ceased addressing her in the vocative," and Shackleton Bailey's note for Fam. 163 (XIV.16) further points out that "none

of the four letters to Terentia from exile has the prefix s.v.b.e.v. or ends with a phrase like cura ut valeas, as those of 48-47 commonly do. Changes of tone it seems are corroborated by linguistic features.

107. Fam. 144 (XIV.18).1; February 49. Cf. also 145 (XIV.14) duabus animis suis. In 119 (XIV.5).1 Cicero does address Terentia singly, mea suavissima et optatissima Terentia.
108. Plut. Cic. 33, 1 and 4. Briot (1968) has written an account of Cicero's exile from a psychoanalytic point of view. My feeling is that such an approach is severely limited by our lack of information about Cicero's very early life. However other works of this type which may be consulted are: Desmouliéz (1958); Briot (1963), (1966), (1969), (1973), (1977); Rolin (1979/80) gives an account of some of the turbulent events early in Cicero's life.
109. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).6; 7 (XIV.2).2; 8 (XIV.1).1.
110. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).1; 155 (XIV.7).1. But piety may also be a role dictated attribute or stock epithet. Cf. Fam. 6 (XIV.4) n.
"... Cicero seems to have thought religious emotions especially attach to women' (T.P. on Att. 336 [XIII.44].2)."
111. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 20-22 discusses Cicero's habitual sexual reticence.
112. See for example Fam. 196 (IX.15); 197 (IX.26) to Paetus and Fam. 85 (II.9); 86 (II.10) to Caelius. L. Papirius Paetus was a wealthy resident of Naples and a friend and correspondent of Cicero. M. Caelius Rufus was a young protégé of Cicero and became tribune in 52, curule aedile in 50, praetor in 48. His correspondence with Cicero is gossipy and relatively informal.

113. For Caerellia see Austin (1946). Cf. also Dio Cassius 46, 18, 4.

M. Antonius' response to Cicero's Philippics included insinuations that Cicero's relationship with Caerellia was less than respectable.

114. Lacey (1978), 116 suggests Terentia's lack of intellectual interests as one reason for their divorce.

B. Cicero and Publilia

Immediately after divorcing Terentia, Cicero began to consider the possibilities open to him as far as the prospects of a new wife were concerned.¹ He appears to have been much sought after as a prospective husband to judge from a letter to Atticus written toward the end of 46:

... Caesonius ad me litteras misit Postumiam Sulpici domum ad se venisse. de Pompei Magni filia tibi rescripsi me nihil hoc tempore cogitare. alteram vero illam quam tu scribis, puto, nosti: nihil vidi foedius. Att. 249 (XII.11), November (?) 46.

This letter and another to Atticus of May 44, in which Cicero suggests that he is now so old that he will not be attractive to women, provide a rare glimpse of Cicero's awareness of the element of sexual attraction in personal relationships, and of his own evidently considerable attractiveness to women.²

There is no record in the correspondence of Cicero's decision to marry Publilia. She was evidently very young, possibly about fifteen, when they married.³ Her father, probably a wealthy eques, was dead at the time of the wedding, and she is described by Plutarch as being Cicero's ward.⁴ The wedding arrangements, if they followed the same pattern as the reconciliation attempts after Cicero's and Publilia's rapid estrangement, were probably made by Publilia's mother and brother.⁵

Cicero's motives for marrying her were the subject of dispute even in antiquity. Terentia, as we have seen, alleged that Cicero married her out of lust for her youthful beauty (ἔρωτι τῆς ὄρας).⁶ And in M. Antonius' response to Cicero's Philippics he too sneered at Cicero for casting off the wife with whom he had grown old and marrying a young girl.⁷ Even the coarse joke attributed to Cicero on his wedding day implies a sexual motivation for the marriage: taunted for marrying a virgin at sixty, he

is said to have replied, "she won't be one tomorrow".⁸ Tiro, however, Cicero's faithful amanuensis, staunchly defended him and asserted a much more respectable reason for the marriage: Cicero married Publilia for her money (εμπορίας ἕνεκεν πρὸς διάλυσιν δανείων).⁹ There are reasons to believe that this may have been part of the motivation, for Cicero was undergoing a certain amount of difficulty in repaying Terentia's dowry, and was still haggling with Dolabella for the return of Tullia's.¹⁰ A handsome dowry from a new wife may have seemed the traditional and appropriate way to cover what Gratwick calls a "cash-flow problem".¹¹ But financial considerations do not seem to have been of great concern for Cicero: there is no sense in his letters of any real monetary urgency, and although money may have played its part, more probably a stronger motive is the one which Cicero himself discreetly alludes to in a letter of response to betrothal or marriage felicitations sent by his friend Cn. Plancius.¹²

Quod autem mihi de eo quod egerim gratularis, te ita velle certo scio. sed ego tam misero tempore nihil novi consili cepissem nisi in reditu meo nihilo meliores res domesticas quam rem publicam offendissem. quibus enim pro meis immortalibus beneficiis carissima mea salus et meae fortunae esse debebant, cum propter eorum scelus nihil mihi intra meos parietes tutum, nihil insidiis vacuum viderem, novarum me necessitudinum fidelitate contra veterum perfidiam muniendum putavi. Fam. 240 (IV.14).3.

Shackleton Bailey suggests that Publilia's familial connections were possibly of a nature to counteract any political intriguing which Terentia may have embarked upon.¹³ There is little substantive evidence, beyond this letter of Cicero's, to support such conjectures. They appear reasonable, but equally reasonable is the supposition that Cicero was referring merely to the domestic "treachery" of Terentia and Philotimus (and who knows how many other members of her familia) while he was so

long away from Rome.¹⁴

The marriage was brief. It took place probably in December 46.¹⁵ In January, Tullia's child was born and at the end of January she and Cicero went to Tusculum where, in February, she died. Publilia's name or even existence is never mentioned in the letters until after this time and indeed after the marriage had in effect come to an end. In a letter of March 28 from Astura, Cicero wrote to Atticus in consternation about an impending visit from Publilia and her relatives. Publilia had written to Cicero entreating him to let her, together with her mother and brother, come to see him. Cicero's response was typical of his general response at that time to anyone who threatened to invade the privacy of his grief; he took refuge in illness:

orat multis et supplicibus verbis ... rescripsi me etiam gravius esse adfectum quam tum cum illi dixissem me solum esse velle; qua re nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire. putabam si nihil rescripsissem illam cum matre venturam; nunc non puto. apparebat enim illas litteras non esse ipsius. illud autem quod fore video ipsum volo vitare ne illi ad me veniant, et una est vitatio ut ego <evolem>. nollem, sed necesse est. te hoc nunc rogo ut explores ad quam diem hic ita possim esse ut ne opprimar.

Att. 271 (XII.32).1.

Again, several days later, he seems to have been equally concerned not to "get caught" by them and decided to leave Astura and flee to the security of Atticus.¹⁶ Atticus, always the tactful go-between; was once more called in to smooth things over. At some time during the summer Publilia's dowry was repaid by Atticus to Publilia's brother, and Cicero, whose life was now devoid of female relatives, entered into no further matrimonial contracts.¹⁷

Two reasons have been proposed for the short duration of the marriage. A timely inheritance facilitated any difficulties there may have been with

respect to returning Publilia's dowry, and this fact, coupled with Tullia's death and Cicero's consequent violent depression, made the progression from estrangement to ultimate divorce inevitable.¹⁸ Plutarch relates a slightly different story: Cicero divorced Publilia because she did not grieve enough over Tullia's death.¹⁹ The real reason remains elusive. From Cicero's letters, the fleeting image of the Publilia episode is of a young girl, reluctant to be divorced, and an old man, emotionally exhausted by his daughter's death, who, while fleeing from any personal confrontation with his wife or her family, still desired that the whole affair be dealt with temperate, gently.²⁰

Some parallels may be drawn between Cicero's behaviour toward Publilia and toward Terentia at the close of each of his marriages. The same desire to avoid direct confrontation is clearly evident with respect to Terentia in the letters to Atticus:

De Terentia, quod mihi omne onus imponis, non cognosco tuam in me indulgentiam. ista enim sunt ipsa vulnera quae non possum tractare sine maximo gemitu. moderare igitur, quaeso, ut potes.

Att. 261 (XII.22).1, March 18, 45.

De Terentia ita cura ut scribis, meque hac ad maximas aegritudines accessione non minima libera.

Att. 262 (XII.23).2, March 19, 45.

Evident too is Cicero's desire to behave toward Terentia with fairness and equity; it was consideration of a kind, although perhaps without the affectionate overtones suggested in his use of temperate for the treatment of Publilia.²¹ Cicero was determined to do the 'right thing' with respect to Terentia's dowry repayment; De dote ... turpe est rem impeditam iacere.²² Dignitas was of the first importance, and Cicero's dignitas was founded upon the just and honourable performance of officium:

vides et officium agi meum quoddam, cui tu es

consciis, et, ... Ciceronis rem. me quidem id
multo magis movet, quod mihi est et sanctius et
antiquius ... Att. 257 (XII.19).4.

De Terentia ... officium sit nobis antiquissimum.
si quid nos fefellerit, illius malo me quam mei
paenitere.²³ Att. 260 (XII.21).3.

It is apparent that Cicero, while preferring to avoid any personal involvement in emotional matters, was scrupulously careful to see that each of his wives received the respect and rights due to a Roman matrona.

Notes to Publilia

1. Att. 249 (XII.11) and n.; Shackleton Bailey suggests a possible date of early in 46 for Cicero's divorce. Because of the scarcity of letters surviving from late 47 and early 46, Cicero's divorce and subsequent remarriage cannot be dated with any certainty. Att. 249 may have been written considerably earlier than the assigned date of November 29, 46 (by the sun), cf. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 202 and Fam. 240 (IV.14), n.
2. Att. 377 (XV.1).4.
3. For Publilia see RE 23, 2, Col. 1918 (Hoffmann). For her father see Col. 1909, Publilius (3) and her brother, Col. 1909-10, Publilius (4). Little is known of the family outside of Cicero's letters.
4. RE 23, 2, Col. 1909; Plutarch, Cic. 41, 4-5. Publilia's age is suggested by his term παρθένος, maiden or virgin. Marriage between tutors and their wards was outlawed in the 2nd C. A.D., B. Rawson (1974), 282. Crook (1967a), 116, states that "Guardians, like stepmothers, were proverbially wicked, and people were forever complaining and demanding their removal." In Cicero's case the marriage to his ward does not appear to have been perceived by her or her family as an abuse of his authority, cf. Att. 271 (XII.32).1.
5. Cf. Att. 271 (XII.32).1.
6. Plutarch, Cic. 41, 4. See above p.52.
7. Plutarch, Cic. 41, 6-7; Cassius Dio, 46, 18, 3. Antonius did, however, suggest that Cicero's motives were mercenary, not carnal.
8. Quint. 6, 375, as cited in Shackleton Bailey (1971), 202. This anecdote probably tells us more about Roman marriage customs, which included ritual ribald jibes and insults hurled at the groom, than

it does about Cicero's character. It does however suggest that even the Romans found such an age discrepancy between bride and groom something to remark on.

9. Plutarch, Cic. 41, 4 and 5. Shatzman (1975), 414 suggests Publilia's dowry may have amounted to HS 1.2 million. Cf. Dio. 46, 18, 3; Att. 412 (XVI.2).1.
10. Cf. Att. 257 (XII.19).4; 259 (XII.12).1; 260 (XII.21).3; 262 (XII.23).2; 265 (XII.26).2; 267 (XII.28).1; 276 (XII.37).3; Fam. 218 (VI.18).5.
11. Gratwick (1984), 49. See above Chapter I, p.15. Scholars are divided on the question of Cicero's financial motives for marrying Publilia. Balsdon (1962), 219; Humbert (1972), 100; and Gratwick (1984), 37, agree that it was a mariage d'argent. Saller (1984), 204, n. 49, with Shackleton Bailey (1971), 202f. and Rawson (1975), 224f., asserts the impossibility of knowing whether Cicero was after her dowry (or her personal fortune); but points out that, even if Cicero was motivated by money, "the dowry was small enough to be repaid without great discomfort (one instalment being repaid before the due date, according to Ad Att. 16.2.)".
12. Cn. Plancius was a friend of Cicero's from the period of his exile in Macedonia in 58. Plancius was quaestor in 58 and curule aedile in 54. In 45, as a Pompeian, he was in exile on Corcyra.
13. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 202-203 and cf. Fam. 240 (IV.14).3. n.
14. See above p.47.
15. Att. 271 (XII.32).1. n.
16. Att. 273 (XII.34).1, March 30, 45.
17. Att. 350 (XIII.34), c. August 26, 45. Cicero betrays a certain

embarrassment about the marriage 'fiasco': de quo quae fama sit scribes. 'id populus curat scilicet!' non mehercule arbitror; etenim haec decantata erat fabula.

18. Rawson (1975), 251; Lacey (1978), 135; and cf. Att. 337 (XIII.45). 3; 338 (XIII.46).3; 364 (XIV.10).3.
19. Plutarch, Cic. 41, 8.
20. Att. 271 (XII.32).1. For suggestions about Publilia's career after her marriage with Cicero see Syme (1984), 1085-1087; 1362; 1426 and 27, and Rowland (1968).
21. Distress at the end of his marriage is evident in the quotation above (Att. 261.1.). But the pain Cicero experienced was probably due less to affection for Terentia than to a more complex response compounded of wounded pride, betrayed trust and an all-pervasive anguish occasioned by Tullia's recent death. (See Chapter III, p.211.) Cf. Emilie (1944), 537f.
22. Att. 259 (XII.12).1.
23. Cf. Att. 261 (XII.21).1.

CHAPTER III: CICERO AND HIS CHILDREN

A. General Remarks

Cicero valued his children highly, and at times ranked them among the most enjoyable of his pleasures. During his exile in 58, at a time when he was particularly aware of his losses, he wrote to Atticus:

possum oblivisci qui fuerim? non sentire qui
sim, quo caream honore, qua gloria, quibus
liberis, quibus fortunis, quo fratre?¹
Att. 55 (III.10).2.

At a later period, in contrast, when he was enjoying a peaceful, or at any rate well-protected year in 54 (tranquillus aut certe munitissimus), he wrote to his brother Quintus in Gaul, extolling his current pleasures, litterae me et studia nostra et otium villaeque delectant maximeque pueri nostri.² For in his brother's absence Cicero's 'children' included the young Quintus Cicero. The boys were raised and educated together during many of their early years,³ and within the family circle the young Quintus and Marcus were often referred to as pueri nostri or Cicerones nostri.⁴ Tullia too was called filia mea et tua by her father when he commended her to his brother's care while he himself went into exile.⁵ This use of language reflects not only the fact that the children formed a distinct group, but also that the collective children of the Cicerones were acknowledged to be a treasured family resource for whom all of the adult members assumed some degree of responsibility. Further, it seems that the younger generation, who represented the future of the family, merited a high standard of conduct on the part of their elders.

In the spring of 49, when Cicero was struggling to resolve his duty to the Republic with his sense of personal obligation to Pompeius, two

concerns with respect to the young Cicerones were uppermost in his thoughts. He was distressed at the probability that their political inheritance was to be a tyranny, and secondly he was particularly desirous that he himself should do the 'right thing'. It was important that he provide an exemplum of right conduct with respect to the state, to one's family and to the abstract realm of ethical values. Writing to Atticus in February 49, Cicero placed equal weight upon the officia required by each.⁷

Such an idealized view of the integral relationship between the family, the state and moral law is expressed again in a completely different context in some of the letters of 43 between Cicero and M. Brutus.⁸ Brutus had written to Cicero in Rome from his camp in northern Greece appealing for his efforts to help protect the children of Brutus' half-sister Junia.⁹ Junia, who with her mother Servilia had herself already appealed to Cicero, was married to M. Lepidus, who was then in the process of forming an alliance with M. Antonius. As a consequence, Brutus expected the Senate to declare Lepidus a public enemy of Rome, that his property would be made forfeit to the state and his children's futures put in jeopardy. Cicero, though distressed, refused outright to intercede on behalf of the children.

... nihil tui gravius quam me non posse matris
tuae precibus cedere, non sororis; nam tibi,
quod mihi plurimi est, facile me satis facturum
arbitrabor. ad Brut. 21 (20 [I.12]).1.

With his customary rhetorician's logic Cicero predicted no reciprocal compassion should Lepidus and Antonius prevail and defended his own position by an appeal to the fundamental laws of society:

... Nec vero me fugit quam sit acerbum parentum
scelera filiorum poenis sui. sed hoc praeclare
legibus comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum
amiciores parentis rei publicae redderet. itaque
Lepidus crudelis in liberos, non is qui Lepidum
hostem iudicat. ad Brut. 21 (20 [I.12]).2.

Later, Cicero continued to uphold the theoretical justification for the senate's seizure of Lepidus' property and the consequent hardships of Junia's children. In a subsequent letter he wrote:

in qua videtur illud esse crudele, quod ad
liberos, qui nihil meruerunt, poena pervenit.
sed id et antiquum est et omnium civitatum, si
quidem etiam Themistocli liberi eguerunt....
Habet rationem mearum sententiarum de hoc genere
dumtaxat honoris et poenae. ad Brut. 23 (23 [I.15]).¹¹

But at the end of this letter, in what was possibly a postscript, a notably personal and contradictory view is glimpsed.

Sororis tuae filiis quam diligenter consulam
spero te ex matris et ex sororis litteris
cogniturum. qua in causa maiorem habeo rationem
tuae voluntatis, quae mihi carissima est, quam,
ut quibusdam videor, constantiae meae.
ad Brut. 23 (23 [I.15]).¹³¹⁰

Some tension is apparent here between Cicero's conceived public duty and the demands of friendship. What is particularly notable is the triumph of sentiment, the fact that Cicero's personal relationship with Brutus ultimately came to dictate his actions toward Junia's children.¹¹ Cicero may well have strongly believed that "the fatherland took precedence of all ties of amity or kinship", yet in his practical conduct, albeit at a private level, the sentiments of friendship and family held sway.¹²

Cicero was a man of strong sentiment; that is how he saw himself, and not without a certain pride.¹³ In assessing his relationships with his children we may reasonably anticipate that Cicero's expressions of affection or concern will be as informative as the roles he ascribed to or the expectations he held of them.

According to some scholars Cicero's feelings toward his two children differed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Shackleton Bailey says that "it is of Tullia" rather than of his son Marcus that Cicero "writes

with real emotion" and he describes Cicero's love for Tullia as being "at an altogether more radical level." In contrast Marcus f., a rather "commonplace" young man, meant comparatively little to him. E. Rawson states that Cicero's son was "unable to inspire his father to any continuous interest." Yet according to Balsdon both children were "adored and consistently spoilt by their father."¹⁴

In order to assess properly the degree of truth in these judgements it is necessary to evaluate and compare not only Cicero's direct expressions of affection for his children but also the time he spent with them, the kinds of decisions he made concerning them and their own degree of involvement in these decisions. Clearly significant factors in the analysis will be differences in attitude dictated by age and sex. The fact, for instance, that Marcus was born about eleven years after his sister Tullia surely influenced the amount and kinds of attention each received during specific times in Cicero's life. The picture which can be reconstructed of Cicero's relationships with his children is necessarily fragmentary, but assessed in the light of our general knowledge about the institution of the Roman family it may contribute to our understanding of its emotional life.

Notes to Cicero and His Children

1. Cf. Cic. Red. Quir. 1, 2. Quid dulcius hominum generi ab natura datum est quam sui cuique liberi? Mihi vero et propter indulgentiam meam et propter excellens eorum ingenium vita sunt mea cariores....
2. Q. fr. 19 (II.15 [14]).2; 27 (III.7).2.
3. See below pp.88, 95 and 98f.
4. Note for example Att. 110 (V.17).3; 111 (V.18).4 Cicerones nostros; 115 (VI.1).12 Cicerones pueri; 161 (VIII.11D).1 cum liberis nostris; 172 (IX.6).4 uxor, filia, Cicerones pueri ...; 195 (X.4).5 propter pueros; 201 (X.10).6 iuvenem nostrum. Cf. also Shackleton Bailey (1971), 162 on Cicero's use of the first person singular for decisions about the two boys.
5. Q. fr. 3 (I.3).10.
6. Att. 195 (X.4).5.
7. Att. 152 (VIII.2).4 quod ego nec rei publicae puto esse utile nec liberis meis, praeterea neque rectum neque honestum. Cf. Off. 1, 17, 55.
8. M. Junius Brutus, "an austere intellectual with a deep interest in Greek philosophy;" Shackleton Bailey, trans., Cicero's Letters to his Friends 2, (Harmondsworth 1978), 341. At this time Brutus, one of the 'Liberators,' was in the East with his army while Cicero (and others) urged his return to Italy to save the Republic.
9. This is the Junia Tertia (or Tertulla) of Att. 374 (XIV.20). Brutus' plea to Cicero is both dignified and resourceful:

oro atque obsecro te, Cicero, necessitudinem nostram tuamque in me benevolentiam obtestans, sororis meae liberos obliviscaris esse Lepidi filios meque iis in patris locum successisse existimes. hoc si a te

impetro, nihil profecto dubitabis pro iis suscipere. aliter alii cum suis vivunt: nihil ego possum in sororis meae liberis facere quo possit expleri voluntas mea aut officium.... quid ... ego matri ac sorori puerisque illis praestaturus sum, si nihil valuerit apud te reliquumque senatum contra patrem Lepidum Brutus avunculus? ad Brut. 20 (21 [I.13]).1.

10. Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes for this passage.
11. See Brunt (1965), 19 and 20, 2 and 3 for the best discussion of Cicero's attempts to reconcile moral and political principles with the obligations of friendship. Wagener (1936) and Emilie (1944) are useful, and particularly B. Rawson's (1978) study of Cicero's friendship with Pompeius.
12. Brunt (1965), 12; cf. Phil. 5.6.
13. Att. 287 (XII.46).1 and note. Cf. MacMullen (1980), 255 "It was good to be a person of feeling...."
14. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 164 and 22 n. 1; cf. Att. 11 (I.2).1 n.; E. Rawson (1975), 223; Balsdon (1965), 173.

B. Cicero's Relationship with Marcus f.

THE EARLY YEARS:

Cicero's son Marcus was born in Rome c. July 17, 65.¹ The father's communication to Atticus announcing Terentia's safe delivery of a son, an event which one would expect to have given rise to great hopes and intense paternal pride, is peculiarly terse and understated in tone:

Iulio Caesare C. Marcio Figulo consulibus
filiolo me auctum scito, salva Terentia.
Att. 11 (I.2).1.2

But the understatement may be deliberate, for Cicero's juxtaposition of Marcus' birth with the results of the consular elections suggests an awareness of hopes both for himself and for sons to come. In the letter immediately preceding this one Cicero had outlined at length to Atticus his own decision to stand for the consulship.³ If he were to succeed, and with Atticus' help his chances looked promising, he and his descendants would be elevated to the nobility: a future letter might be dated M. Tullio Cicerone consule.⁴ It is possible that the son Marcus was born on the day of the consular elections for 64, an impressive omen for the family's future.⁵ Me auctum scito is a compact and powerful expression of Cicero's joy, relief and anticipation, and the text as a whole may imply humour: a subtle blend of humour and dignity is a not infrequent achievement of Cicero's style, well suited to express this amalgam of personal delight and paternal satisfaction.⁶

When Marcus f. was born his father was forty-one, his mother probably in her late twenties, and his sister Tullia, eleven years older, was already betrothed to C. Calpurnius Piso.⁷ We know very little about Marcus' earliest years. The letter announcing his birth is the last of

the eleven letters to Atticus dated before Cicero's consulship in 63. Atticus returned to Rome c. January 64, in order to support Cicero's campaign for the consulship, and their correspondence did not resume until January 1, 61, when Atticus departed for a lengthy visit to his estates in Epirus.⁸ The first of the letters in the collection Ad Fam. belongs to 62, when Marcus was nearly three, and his name does not appear in the collection until the end of April 58, in the first of Cicero's letters from exile. Therefore the first specific reference to Marcus, after the announcement of his birth in 65, comes in a letter to Atticus from Rome, January 20, 60 when Marcus was four and a half.⁹

The first few years of Marcus' life will have passed in comfort and luxury; his father was well aware of the role which a conspicuously high standard of living could play in achieving the gravitas, dignitas and auctoritas required of an ambitious Roman senator.¹⁰ Young Marcus would certainly have received from the first sufficient physical care, although we have no way of knowing the extent of his contact with his parents. As noted in Chapter I, among the upper classes early infant care was regularly consigned to the hands of wet-nurses (nutrices), baby-minders (nutritores) and paedagogi. Both his parents were involved in the social and political demands of their upward climb.¹¹ Late in 65 we hear that Cicero was contemplating a sojourn in Cisalpine Gaul as legate under the governor C. Calpurnius Piso in order to canvass votes for his bid for the consulship in the following year.¹² The possibility exists then that Cicero was absent from Rome for some of the fall and winter months of 65. Even at Rome he faced the demands of canvassing, of the elections, and of the consulship itself, which was assumed in a year memorable for the civic upheaval of the Catilinarian conspiracy. Tullia's

marriage too, a socio-political event in itself, probably took place in 63. We may reasonably conjecture, therefore, that the early years of young Marcus' life were spent very much on the periphery of his politically ambitious father's existence.

Although we have no direct evidence of Cicero's early relationship with Marcus, we do have one glimpse of his brief relationship with another young male heir. In 45, twenty years after Marcus' birth, Tullia gave birth to P. Cornelius Lentulus, the son of her (by then) ex-husband P. Cornelius Dolabella. The situation is not directly comparable, for Tullia's child was born in January 45 and she died soon after in February. We must acknowledge that Cicero was obsessed with his grief for her. Nonetheless it is striking that her child was almost completely ignored by Cicero -- even in the period before Tullia's death, when, indeed, Cicero had reason to believe that she had recovered from the experience of childbirth.¹³ The grandson's birth was not recorded in the correspondence, although Cicero very quickly rewrote his will to make provisions for him.¹⁴ Cicero seems to have had no contact with the child at all: he expressed no real interest in him beyond a desire to ensure that he be adequately provided for. He wrote to Atticus:

et velim aliquando, cum erit tuum commodum,
Lentulum puerum visas eique de mancipiis quae
tibi videbitur attribuas. Att. 267 (XII.28).3.

And three days later again to Atticus:

quod Lentulum invisis valde gratum. pueros
attribue ei quot et quos videbitur.
Att. 270 (XII.30).1.

The baby is not mentioned again, although the extant correspondence to Atticus at this time is particularly rich, giving at times almost a daily record. Thus it has been assumed that Lentulus soon died. Yet although

Cicero's lack of interest in his grandson may have been particularly marked due to the grief caused by Tullia's death, it also seems likely that it reflects a more general poverty of affective interaction between the adult members of Roman aristocratic families and their very young children. As we see later with young Attica, parental (and avuncular) interest was notably aroused only later in her development when she had reached the age for decisions to be made about her betrothal.¹⁵

Such an apparent lack of parental involvement may be accounted for to a great extent by the fact that "[i]nfant death in antiquity was a part of everyday reality."¹⁶ Bradley has suggested that among the Roman upper classes generally there was "a reluctance to over-invest emotionally in children whose survival was in doubt or jeopardy."¹⁷ Delegation of infant care from birth to a series of parent surrogates meant that the biological parents were protected both from the physical requirements of child-rearing and, to some degree, from the emotional demands. But, in fact, such delegation of parental responsibility and concomitant emotional distancing may in themselves have contributed to the high rate of infant death. Trumbach, in his study of aristocratic families in 18th C. England, suggests that the unprecedented sharp drop in infant mortality among the aristocracy in the latter half of that century was due in large measure to a change in the "mothering role of aristocratic women."¹⁸ Citing evidence from a variety of past and present populations, Trumbach asserts that a child who has formed a strong early bond of attachment to a single mothering figure is "not only ... happier but healthier as well, and more likely to live."¹⁹ Certainly a strong bond of attachment may have formed between a child and his or her nurse, but the extent to which such a relationship might endure undisrupted is open to question.²⁰ What

is notable in the Cicero family is the variety of pedagogues and tutors employed over the years and the telling reference above to the number of servants to be given to the baby Lentulus.²¹

HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS:

Marcus f. first assumed a prominent place in Cicero's correspondence in January 60, when he was four and a half.²² At this time, Cicero seems to have been very much aware of the pleasure of retreating into domesticity, away from the rough and tumble of the political scene, and particularly valued the company of his wife and children:

tantum quietis habeam quantum cum uxore et
filiola et mellito Cicerone consumitur. nam illae
ambitiosae nostrae fucosaeque amicitiae sunt in
quodam splendore forensi, fructum domesticum non
habent. Att. 18 (I.18).1.²³

One of Cicero's more enjoyable domestic pastimes of this period was undoubtedly the task of organizing the early phases of Marcus' education.²⁴ Cicero was an enthusiastic educator of young men, and he had inherited from his father a firm belief in the value of education. It had been his own personal passport to a career successful beyond all reasonable expectations of an equus from Arpinum.²⁵ Moreover, education, the degree to which he exhibited litterae and humanitas, was Cicero's measure of a man.²⁶ Cicero was able to look beyond political and class barriers and to form close personal attachments with men as socially disparate as Caesar and a variety of freedmen. In each case the bond was based simply on mutual esteem for civilized learning.²⁷ Education seems to have been a family value. At his brother's request, Cicero undertook for a few months in 54 the rhetorical education of his young nephew Quintus.²⁸ Even though Cicero's own methods seemed not to be appropriate for Quintus and the

project was subsequently abandoned, Cicero still saw himself in the role of educator for the difficult young man, and he was "passionately convinced that virtue can be taught."²⁹ Some years later, in May 49, when Quintus was rebelliously, even treacherously, working against his uncle by maligning him to Caesar, Cicero maintained to Atticus:

sed erit curae et est ut regatur. mirum est enim ingenium, ἡθους ἐπιμελητέον. Att. 201 (X.10).6.

Cicero's relish for the role of teacher is evident up to the last years of his life. In 46 he reported to his friend L. Papirius Paetus:³⁰

Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cenandi magistros; puto enim te audisse, si forte ad vos omnia perferuntur, illos apud me declamitare, me apud illos cenitare. Fam. 190 (XI.16).7.

As might be expected then, both early in his son's life and late in his own, Cicero's interest in Marcus centred on his education.³² The earliest references to Marcus in the letters to Atticus are a series of four postscripts in the spring of 59, messages from the "mellitus Cicero"³³ who was not quite six. In the first, the young Marcus asked Atticus to give his tutor the same sort of excuse for his absence as quod de fratre suo, sororis tuae filio, respondisti.³⁴ It appears that in Rome, for a time at least, the two young Cicerones shared the same famous teacher, Aristodemus of Nysa, tutor to the great Pompeius' sons.³⁵ The two young Cicerones spent much of their youth together, sometimes living in adjacent houses, sometimes under one roof.³⁶ In a letter to his brother Quintus, Cicero described the cousins' relationship in these early years:

quid vero <quod> tuum filium, [quid] imaginem tuam, quem meus Cicero et amabat ut fratrem et iam ut maiorem fratrem verebatur? Q. fr. 3 (I.3).3.

Aristodemus, who apparently taught only grammar at Rome, was probably

teaching the young boys Greek, and Cicero was adding his own supervision to young Marcus' studies while the family vacationed in their house at the sea-side resort of Antium. W.S. Watt has demonstrated the validity of Wieland's delightful suggestion that young Marcus was encouraged by his father to add messages in Greek at the bottom of the letters to show off his progress to Atticus.³⁷ In the first he writes merely: ... καὶ

Κικέρων ὁ μικρὸς ἀσπάζεται Τίτον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον (Att. 29 (II.9).41).

But two other postscripts whimsically play on the 'like father like son' theme:

... καὶ Κικέρων ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν πολιτικὸν Τίτον ἀσπάζεται. Att. 30 (II.12).4.

... Κικέρων, ἀριστοκρατικώτατος παῖς, salutem dic[it]. Att. 35 (II.15).4.

This last epithet was a facetious reference to Cicero's own political allegiance, and is best translated by Watt's suggested optimatum studiosissimus, "of the soundest optimate principles."³⁸ Paternal pride and affection are unmistakably evident in these tiny snippets of domestic life.

EXILE:

In the following year, however, Cicero suddenly found himself banished from the Italian peninsula and young Marcus, now six years old, was left behind in Rome with his mother. He was probably too under the supervision of Atticus, who during the first part of this year was overseeing his nephew (and Marcus' cousin), the young Quintus Cicero, while Quintus pater was in Asia.³⁹ Atticus' wealth, his secure life out of the mainstream of politics, and his personal commitment to education made him an ideal guardian for the young Cicerones.⁴⁰

It was not, then, out of concern for his son's survival that Cicero composed the anguished letters from exile. He knew that Marcus' basic requirements would be taken care of by the relatives to whom he wrote with such urgency. Again and again he stressed his complete reliance on Atticus, writing variations of tibi meos commendo (Att. 51 (III.6).1, April 58).⁴¹ And when Quintus returned from his province to Rome in the spring of 58, Cicero wrote:

Filiam meam et tuam Ciceronemque nostrum quid
ego, mi frater, tibi commendem? quin illud maereo
quod tibi non minorem dolorem illorum orbitas
adferet quam mihi. sed te incolumi orbi non erunt.
Q. fr. 3 (I.3).10, June 13, 58.

Even when he was assured of the support and care his children would receive from Atticus, Quintus, Terentia, Tullia's husband Piso and phalanxes of friends, Cicero continued to express very real distress.⁴² At its root were two kinds of feelings: Cicero wrote of the amor, or affection, which he felt for each member of his family, and in addition of his officium, best understood as "family feeling".⁴³

Cicero's feelings of affection for Marcus are clearly apparent in the letters from exile. He included the loss of his children in a litany of lamentable deprivations. To Quintus he maintained: meus ille laudatus consulatus mihi te, liberos, patriam, fortunas tibi vellem ne quid eripuerit praeter unum me (Q. fr. 3(I.3).1), and to Atticus he wrote: possum ... non sentire qui sim, quo caream honore, qua gloria, quibus liberis, quibus fortunis, quo fratre? (Att. 55 (III.10).2, June 17, 58). The theme of the loss of his children was not merely a rhetorical device, for in the same letter to Quintus Cicero conveyed a personal and detailed account of the members of his family and what he missed in each of them.⁴⁴ Of Marcus he wrote:

quod filium venustissimum mihi que dulcissimum?
quem ego ferus ac ferreus e complexu dimisi meo,
sapientio rem puerum quam vellem; sentiebat enim
miser iam quid ageretur. Q. fr. 3 (I.3).3.⁴⁵

The same kind of sentiment is visible in a later letter to Terentia:

nam quid ego de Cicerone dicam? qui cum primum
sapere coepit, acerbissimos dolores miseriasque
percepit. Fam. 8 (XIV.1).1.

In another letter to Terentia, Cicero's sadness revealed not only the
depth of his affection for Marcus but also the other source of his distress:

quid? Cicero meus quid aget? iste vero sit in
sinu semper et complexu meo. non queo plura iam
scribere; impedit maeror. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).3.

To the direct pain and loneliness of the separation was added the awareness
that his son's future was in jeopardy.

His fears for Marcus' prospects and indeed for those of the whole
family express Cicero's very real sense of having failed in the realm of
officium. To Terentia he repeatedly assumed a guilt-ridden stance:

pu det enim me uxori [mae] optima e, suavissimis
liberis virtutem et diligentiam non praestitisse. ⁴⁶
Fam. 9 (XIV.3).2.

And when Cicero became aware of the full extent of the implications of his
banishment for the members of his more extensive family he wrote in dis-
tress to Atticus a letter in which the same sense of having destroyed the
family's prospects is visible:

sin ... spei nihil est, oro obtestorque te ut
Quintum fratrem ames, quem ego miserum misere
perdidi, neve quid eum patiare gravius consulere
de se quam expediat sororis tuae filio ...⁴⁷
Att. 68 (III.23).5.

He articulated his awareness of this failure most clearly to Quintus:

ego omnibus meis exilio fuero, quibus ante dedecori
non eram. Q. fr. 4 (I.4).4.

The family unit, and in particular the young sons of the family, required

from Cicero officia which he was unable to perform; Cicero as pater-familias was expected to provide a living link for the new generation with the mos maiorum, the traditions and values of the fathers of the past.

More practically he was to be an example for them to follow:

Aus dieser Belandtheit mit ehrwürdiger und verbindlicher Tradition beziehen die römischen Väter ihre Autorität, ihre Würde und ihre Verantwortung, ihr Amt oder ihre cura, ... Auctoritas, gravitas, cura oder providentia, das dürften auch die Hauptbegriffe sein, die ein Römer der Republik ... mit der in Rom immer ehrwürdig gebliebenen Vorstellung des Vaters verbunden hat.⁴⁸

In exile and disgrace Cicero regretted that he had chosen to live on for his family's sake, since, more than any financial deprivation, dishonour and sullied gloria were catastrophic threats to them all.⁴⁹

In writing to his brother Quintus, Cicero tactfully stressed his concern for the communal family. He did not dwell on his own children but spoke of the disaster that had befallen all of them, specifically including young Quintus.⁵⁰ He informed Quintus pater, who was on his way back to Rome from Asia, that he had left Terentia behind in his flight into exile:

ut esset quae reliquias communis calamitates,
communis liberos tueretur.... Q. fr. 3 (I.3).3, June 5, 58.

And it is in this letter that Cicero requested his brother to take in his own children as if they were orphans (orbi).

However, Cicero's specific hopes and fears about Marcus were expressed in more detail to Terentia and Atticus. And it is here that we see the reciprocal nature of the officium, which is both family feeling and duty. That Cicero had failed, in his own eyes at least, to live up to his expectations of a father is evident; but visible too are his filial expectations of Marcus. Marcus' obligations of course lay in the future. All

that Cicero could hope for his young son at this time was that he survive, and that he eventually reach the age at which his attainments would add lustre to the gloria et fama of the Cicerones.

When Terentia wrote to Cicero in the middle of 58 that she was proposing to sell some of her own property to meet the family's needs, Cicero's intense negative reaction indicated how much he was relying on Marcus to restore the family honour. Her property was expected to remain inviolate, in effect in trust for Marcus as the foundation for his career, and this seems to have been assumed from the beginning by both Terentia and Cicero.⁵¹ He responded to her proposal:

... quid, obsecro te (me miserum!), quid futurum est? et si nos premet eadem fortuna, quid puero misero fiet? ... per fortunas miseras nostras, vide ne puerum perditum perdamus. cui si aliquid erit ne egeat, mediocri virtute opus est et mediocri fortuna ut cetera consequatur. Fam. 8 (XIV.1).5.

Marcus' duty to his family required that he assume the role of a living link between the past gloria and the future. It was he alone who could rescue the family name and reputation from ignominy -- or oblivion. To Atticus in November 58 Cicero wrote:

... meum Ciceronem, cui nihil misello relinquo praeter invidiam et ignominiam nominis mei tueare quoad poteris ... Att. 68 (III.23).5.

Even if we put Cicero's considerations of suicide to one side, it seems that early in his exile he had contemplated the necessity of leaving his son with the male relatives in Rome on a long term basis. His first letter to Terentia from exile in April 58 had outlined potential arrangements for each of them: if all hope was lost Terentia was to join him; Tullia's marriage must be a first consideration (presumably if it held she was to stay in Rome); but when he came to discuss Marcus he was overcome by grief and could only hope that his son might always be able to be in

sinu semper et complexu meo.⁵² The closing lines of the letter suggest that in the event that there was no reversal in Cicero's own fortunes; future glory, even the survival of the family rested in Marcus, spes reliqua nostra.⁵³

EDUCATION WITHIN THE FAMILY, FORMAL AND INFORMAL:

1. In Italy

Fortunately the tide of popular opinion was reversed and Cicero was able to return home to his wife and children and to a life of increased luxury as he set about restoring the family dignitas.⁵⁴ Marcus, who may have spent much of the exile period with his cousin Quintus, probably noticed very little change in his life upon his father's return. He does not figure in the correspondence to any great extent over the next few years; and when he does it is usually either because he is ill or because of some concern with arrangements for his education. Paternal concern during periods of childhood illness is very noticeable in the correspondence. It was a topic of acute mutual interest for each of the three fathers: Cicero, Quintus and Atticus. From time to time various plans were deferred because of a child's illness and occasionally the fathers conferred over the quality of medical treatment or the right sort of medicine. At one stage, Atticus and Cicero argued over the respective merits of dandelion or wine for five year old Quintus.⁵⁵ There are vivid glimpses in the letters of the relentless presence of disease and the relative helplessness of parents in antiquity.

Educational arrangements for young Marcus continued to be a primary and ongoing subject for paternal concern. Marcus seems to have continued for a time to share a tutor with his cousin Quintus. For while Quintus

pater was away from Rome again for part of 57-56 as legate for Pompeius in Sardinia, Cicero was in close touch with Quintus f. and his mother Pomponia as he supervised their temporary house rental, the rebuilding of Quintus' house and villas, and the education of the young Quintus.⁵⁶ He reported to his father in March 56: Quintus, filius tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. (Q. fr. 8 (II.4).2.) He had made this observation, he said, since Tyrannio of Amisus, the learned scholar whom we see later supervising the restoration of Cicero's library at Antium, was teaching in his household.⁵⁷

The two boys continued to live in close proximity to one another. In fact, after Cicero's and Quintus' houses on the Palatine had been rebuilt they were once more contubernales.⁵⁸ Their lessons in grammar and literature under Tyrannio, who was a man of diversified scholarly interests and much in demand, were thus most efficiently accomplished in one locale.⁵⁹ Cicero's house was the obvious choice in Quintus' absence.

By 54, however, the boys' educational needs had diversified. Quintus f. was two years older than Marcus f., and at thirteen was ready to begin instruction in rhetoric. He began studies under the tutor Paeonius, and Cicero's correspondence provides us with a fairly full description of his progress in 54.⁶⁰ Once again our evidence about young Marcus' stage of development depends upon the fact that Quintus pater was absent, this time in Gaul and Britain with Caesar, and his brother Marcus supervised and reported on the boys.

Cicero himself participated in his son's early education, primarily it seems in times of relaxation and recuperation at one of the family's country villas.⁶¹ He wrote in May 54 to Quintus reassuring him about the care he would give his son:

maximae vero mihi curae erit Ciceronem tuum
nostrumque videam scilicet cottidie sed
inspiciam quid discat quam saepissime; et
nisi ille contemnet, etiam magistrum me ei
profitebor, cuius rei non nullam consuetudinem
nactus sum in hoc horum dierum otio Cicerone
nostro minore producendo. Q. fr. 17 (II.13 [12]).2.

That such direct paternal involvement in the education of the boys was largely confined to sojourns in the country is clearly apparent. Complaining that Romae respirandi non est locus, Cicero repeatedly told Quintus that he would like to have young Quintus with him on vacation to introduce him to his own style of rhetorical instruction.⁶² He followed the same pattern with Marcus, taking him away to Tusculum at the end of October 54 for a working vacation:

Haec scripsi a.d. viii Kal. Nov., quo die
ludi committebantur, in Tusculanum proficiscens
ducensque mecum Ciceronem meum in ludum discendi,
non lusionis ... Q. fr. 24 (III.4).6.

It was clear that he enjoyed such a task: in the last extant letter to his brother Quintus at the end of 54 Cicero wrote:

litterae me et studia nostra et otium villaeque
delectant maximeque pueri nostri.
Q. fr. 27 (III.7 [9]).2.

But leisure was precious, there were limits to be set to the demands of the young; Marcus f. required a full time tutor.⁶³ Evidence is lacking for the period between Tyrannio's tutelage in 56 and the winter of 54. But at this time Cicero wrote to Atticus, who was in Asia on business, eagerly expressing his wish to acquire Atticus' learned freedman M. Pomponius Dionysius as a tutor for young Marcus, and, he added, for himself.⁶⁴

Dionysius is a figure unknown outside of Cicero's letters, but within them he is well chronicled. We first hear of him in November 56 when he

appears to have been staying with Cicero at Antium or Tusculum and delighting him with his erudite literary conversation.⁶⁵ The following year he seems to have been a regular literary companion for Cicero on his visits to his country villas.⁶⁶ At this time, although clearly a frequent and intimate member of the household, there is no evidence that he was there in his capacity of tutor; his name is not linked with either of the two boys. His presence, probably connected with Cicero's libraries and research, seems to have provided Cicero with a good measure of personal enjoyment: ego mecum praeter Dionysium eduxi neminem nec metuo tamen ne mihi sermo desit; ab isto <tanto>pere delector. (Att. 86 (IV.11).2.)

By mid-May of 54 Dionysius had returned to Atticus' household and set out with his patron for a trip to the East.⁶⁷ It was during this period, while Atticus and Dionysius were away, that Cicero referred to an arrangement which must have been discussed previously, that upon Dionysius' return he was to join Cicero's household as a tutor to Marcus:

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

Att. 90 (IV.15).10, July 27, 54.

Cicero had missed his erudite resource and was still insisting on his need for Dionysius in the late fall of 54.⁶⁸ He had even built a place for him in Rome:

Dionysio plurimam salutem; cui quidem ego
non modo servavi sed etiam aedificavi locum....

Att. 93 (IV.19).2.

2. Cilicia

The letters to Atticus ceased for a time at the end of 54 and resumed again in the spring of 51. For the intervening years we have no evidence

as to whether Dionysius joined Cicero's household immediately upon his return from Asia or at a somewhat later stage. We do see him, however, early in 51 setting off for Cilicia in Cicero's retinue, which also included Cicero's brother Quintus, appointed legate for duration of the proconsular commission, and the two younger Cicerones, Marcus, nearly fourteen and Quintus, about two years older.⁶⁹ Dionysius was in charge of the two boys who were also provided with companions, one of whom was Cicero's literary freedman Chrysippus.⁷⁰ The trip to the East was undoubtedly expected to be an important educational experience for the boys. They would observe at first hand Roman government in action abroad: the workings of provincial administration, the reception of embassies and delegations, military decision-making and action, the physical reality of the taxation system in operation, the assessment of strategies both military and political. And most importantly this experience of what Eyben has termed "the concrete ideal" was embodied in their own fathers, one the governor, the other his legate and ultimately the man in charge of all military operations in the province.⁷¹ Such an opportunity was irreplaceable. Cicero, never slow to estimate the educational value of life's experiences, was certainly very much aware of the importance for both boys of this expedition.

After a leisurely departure from Italy, the entourage reached Actium and travelled from there overland to Athens for a ten-day stay. One of the objectives of the journey was to acquaint the two young boys with the famous historical and cultural centres of the East.⁷² In Athens the schools and teachers of Cicero's and Quintus' youth were contrasted unfavourably with the present state of affairs; sed mu<tata mu>lta: philo-
sophia sursum deorsum (Att. 103 (V.10).5.). From Athens the party sailed

for Ephesus, stopping at several islands en route, notably Delos and Samos, where large crowds received them. They spent a few days in Ephesus where Cicero attended to some business for Atticus, and then travelled inland to Laodicea, in Cilicia, arriving in July 51; from this time Cicero dated his one year of proconsular command.⁷³

It is evident that the respective fathers were very much aware of the demands on their own time and energies which the posting involved. They made and continued to make ample provision for the care of Marcus and Quintus, so that while the boys were able to profit from their experiences abroad, their exposure to the very real dangers of the command were minimized. Together they continued to travel eastward, hastening to join the army, which by mid-August was two days' journey away from them.⁷⁴ At this point the young Cicerones were sent away into safety. They and their tutor Dionysius were taken by the younger Deiotarus, qui rex a senatu appellatus est, into his court in the kingdom of Galatia.⁷⁵ As Cicero and his brother had feared, the military situation had worsened by September. The Parthians had crossed the Euphrates in huge numbers and were in the part of Syria nearest Cicero's province.⁷⁶ Cicero, while awaiting instructions from the senate, and more particularly the onset of winter to extricate himself from the situation, meantime made provisions with Deiotarus (with whom he was in regular correspondence) that in the event of a worsening situation the boys would be sent to Rhodes.⁷⁷

Sadly, none of the letters between the fathers and sons during this winter have survived. Life at an Eastern court for two young Roman boys must have been a bewitching experience. Possibly some aspects of Asiatic culture went to their heads, for when they were brought back to Laodicea by Deiotarus in the early spring to be re-united with Cicero, there are

indications that Dionysius as chief pedagogue had had trouble controlling them:

Cicerones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur; sed alter, ut Isocrates dixit in Ephoro et Theopompo, frenis eget, alter calcaribus.... Dionysius mihi quidem in amoribus est. pueri autem aiunt eum furenter irasci; sed homo nec doctior nec sanctior fieri potest nec tui meique amantior. Att. 115 (VI.1).12, February 20, 50.

This passage is significant from several points of view. It demonstrates the contrast in the temperaments of the two boys, a contrast which seems to have echoed the differences in the characters of the two older Cicerones; one peace-loving, diplomatic, reflective, the other more impulsive, inclined to irascible outbursts and to judge from his military successes, more physically orientated.⁷⁸ Marcus f. had been described by his father as they set out together for Cilicia in June 51, as a modestissimus et suavissimus puer (Att. 102 (V.9).3.). He seems to have been an obedient and affectionate son, whereas Cicero several times implies that young Quintus is headstrong and in need of a firm hand.⁷⁹ Certainly Cicero seems to have had a soft spot for his bright, amusing but fairly unpredictable young nephew.⁸⁰ But this does not indicate that Quintus f. was the more gifted of the two boys or that Cicero in reality preferred him.⁸¹ The letters do tell us more of his feelings for and reactions to Quintus than to Marcus; in fact there is almost a sense of restraint in Cicero's remarks about Marcus.⁸² Qualified praise for his own adult son might have been appropriate in a paterfamilias; the social conventions in this respect are not clear. Cicero's remarks about Quintus, however, although less moderate in tone are also qualified; it was a young man's character which was of chief concern to Cicero. As a consequence Quintus' frequent appearance in the correspondence can readily be seen as a case

of "the squeaky wheel", for his conduct continued throughout his life to merit censure from his uncle. For the most part, however, such a perceived discrepancy in attitudes to the two boys may be explained by the fact that Cicero's letters were very often reports to his brother or to uncle Atticus, and would naturally be written with the emphasis inclined toward their respective focus of interest, Quintus f.

Cicero's affection for his own son is evident throughout the letters, but it is never obvious. When Marcus was a child Cicero wrote of him in openly affectionate language, he was mellitus Cicero and filius venustissimus mihi que dulcissimus.⁸³ But, in contrast with Cicero's references to Tullia, Marcus' name never occurs in the diminutive and affectionate epithets were attached to it only in early childhood. In 51, when Marcus was fourteen, he was described by his father more moderately as modestissimus et suavissimus puer, and increasingly, fond paternal remarks came to be less simple expressions of affection, but to have more the flavour of character references.⁸⁴ In 49, for example, when Marcus was sixteen, Cicero wrote nihil est enim eo tractabilius, and described him, in contrast with his cousin, as fortior and maiore pietate.⁸⁵ As with Terentia and to some extent Tullia too, prescribed stock virtues played an important role in Cicero's expressions of praise and affection. And as noted above, social conventions may well have constrained parental praise for adult sons; they did not however entirely eliminate expressions of personal preference and enthusiasm. Certainly at a later stage, in 44, when the two boys were no longer together, and Marcus was a student in Athens, Cicero's enthusiastic response to a well-phrased letter from his son reveals a depth of pride and affection which it appears was not normally permitted direct expression.⁸⁶ Such a reaction reflects the intensity of

Cicero's hopes for his son, which were that he follow in his father's footsteps and achieve a brilliant career as an orator.⁸⁷ Rhetorical promise, it seems, far more than military achievements, elicited Cicero's paternal delight.

But the references to frena and calcaria, in addition to reflecting a difference in temperaments and natural gifts, may also suggest a difference in the manner in which the boys respectively perceived themselves and reacted to parental expectations of them. Quintus f. was able to pattern himself on (and even surpass) the rather obstreperous image of his father. But Marcus f., perhaps temperamentally less volatile to begin with, was confronted with a father whose standards of civilized attainment were almost beyond emulation. "His emotional response to growing up in the shadow of the consul of 63"⁸⁸ cannot be perceived because of inadequate evidence. It may be reasonably conjectured, however, that confronted with such formidable competition, the alternatives to which were rebellion or capitulation, Marcus appears to have chosen the role of submissive and obedient son. Thus Cicero wrote of him in 49, ego meum facile teneo; nihil est enim eo tractabilius. (Att. 202 (X.11).3.) His youthful 'laziness' or 'slowness', his later 'undistinguished' career, even the tendencies to alcoholism and debauchery attributed to him by late biographers, may comprehensibly be viewed as, in part, the self-destruction inherent in the son's adoption of a passive-aggressive stance with respect to his father.⁸⁹

THE RETURN TO ITALY: CIVIL WAR, AND ADULTHOOD:

Cicero and his entourage returned from Cilicia in late November 50, to a country on the verge of civil war, and for the next six months the

family itself hovered indecisively away from Rome in their country retreats, uncertain where their interests and the future lay. For a time they remained completely outside the city itself; Cicero was still hoping that his triumph might yet be secured.⁹⁰ The daily life of young Marcus and Quintus at this time was probably highly irregular, as rumours and threats and "endless dithering"⁹¹ made it necessary to live on a day-to-day basis. The boys had been abandoned by their companion-tutors before they had reached Brundisium, and their chief pedagogue, Dionysius, to Cicero's intense irritation, chose on their return to leave Cicero's household and to return to his former master Atticus.⁹² The correspondence with Atticus from this period is very rich. In the references to Marcus, most of which are references to the two boys together, two themes dominate. The first is a concern for the boys' safety, which became very marked after Caesar crossed the Rubicon on January 11, 49. At the news of his advance there was a massive exodus from Rome. It included Cicero, his brother Quintus and their two sons, for they had returned to the outskirts of Rome in early January to attend urgent meetings with Pompeius and the senate, at which Cicero had been given a command under Pompeius.⁹³ When the male Cicerones departed for the villa at Formiae, they left Terentia, Tullia and Pomponia in Rome, anticipating adequate protection for them from Tullia's Caesarian husband Dolabella and from Atticus.⁹⁴

During the rest of January and all of February communications with Pompeius were completely disrupted, and Cicero and his brother were unsure both of his intentions and his expectations of them. The boys were a problem. Quintus f. was now about eighteen and had received his toga virilis; Marcus, two years younger, was still technically a child.⁹⁵ For a time Cicero considered sending both boys away to Greece, safely away

from the impending civil conflict. He considered too taking the rest of the family to Spain for the duration of the anticipated hostilities.⁹⁶ However, once Caesar was clearly in the ascendancy and established at Rome, and once Cicero felt himself moderately secure in his self-appointed role as political neutral, even erstwhile peace-maker, his anxieties about the physical safety of the boys abated. He told Atticus on February 13, 49 that the boys would very probably be spending the winter at Formiae and began to consider employing their former tutor Dionysius once again.⁹⁷

Cicero himself, having dealt with his primary concern, τὸ ἀσφαλές,⁹⁸ was now increasingly torn by his second concern, one somewhat more complex. Very simply it amounted to what kind of world, what kind of political system did he wish his son to inherit? And what was his best way of achieving it? The question was not purely ideological, it was very personal, for the future for a senator's son was a political future. This major source of distress for Cicero is articulated most clearly in a letter to Atticus written in April 49, in a rare mood of detachment. At this point Cicero's plan was to leave Italy to go to Malta, there to wait on events in safety in the belief that he had done all he could to save his country from self-destruction:

hac igitur conscientia comite proficiscar, magno equidem cum dolore, nec tam id propter me aut propter fratrem meum, quorum est iam acta aetas, quam propter pueros, quibus interdum videmur praestare etiam rem publicam debuisse. Att. 195 (X.4).5, April 14, 49.⁹⁹

His own personal desire was always for peace at almost any cost, equidem ad pacem hortari non desino; quae vel iniusta utilior est quam iustissimum bellum cum civibus (Att. 138 (VII.14).3).¹⁰⁰ And yet he abhorred Caesar's autocratic seizure of power.¹⁰¹ He repeatedly alluded to the very real distress he felt at the prospect of his son and nephew growing

up in the shadow of tyranny. He debated at length to himself and with Atticus over the limits which honour entailed to his resistance to Caesar and support of his amicus Pompeius.¹⁰² In January he told Atticus:

... nec solum civis sed etiam amici officio
revocor, etsi frangor saepe misericordia
puerorum. Att. 135 (VII.12).3.

Again in February he wrote to Atticus suggesting that much as he himself valued Pompeius, the latter was not the Republic's only hope of salvation. If Pompeius were to leave Italy, Cicero would not feel impelled to follow him:

quod ego nec rei publicae puto esse utile nec
liberis meis, praeterea neque rectum neque honestum.
Att. 152 (VIII.2).4.

However, by the next day Cicero was again considering flight from Italy and this time whether to take his brother and son too.¹⁰³ Ten days later he wrote to Pompeius that they had indeed all set out to join him in Apulia but had been cut off by Caesarian troop movements.¹⁰⁴ Pompeius was now at Brundisium and increasingly Cicero began to conceive that his duty lay with him there. In this he was encouraged by some members of his family, who, it seems, preferred a more active participation in the optimate cause:

... praesertim cum ii ipsi quorum ego causa timidus
me fortunae committebam, uxor, filia, Cicerones
pueri, me illud sequi mallent, hoc turpe et me
indignum putarent. Att. 172 (IX.6).4, March 11, 49.

Here and increasingly in the late spring there is evidence that the boys themselves were beginning to participate in the decisions facing the family. Perhaps influenced by the example of his older cousin, perhaps, according to Neubauer, at his mother's instigation, and perhaps too with the official assumption of manhood at the beginning of April when he

received his toga virilis, young Marcus Cicero appears to have begun to take a more active role in family politics.¹⁰⁵ In May, Cicero, having resolved to leave for Malta and to stay clear of civil conflict, was under pressure from the Caesarians not to leave Italy. Caesar himself, Marcus Antonius, and Caelius Rufus all wrote strongly worded letters warning him to take no action that might be politically misconstrued.¹⁰⁶ Cicero persevered in his decision:

sed utinam meo solum capite decernerem! lacrimae meorum me interdum molliunt precantium ut de Hispaniis exspectemus. M. Caeli quidem epistulam scriptam miserabiliter, cum hoc idem obsecraret ut exspectarem, ne fortunas meas, ne unicum filium, ne meos omnis tam temere proderem, non sine magno fletu legerunt pueri nostri; etsi meus quidem est fortior eoque ipso vehementius commovet, nec quicquam nisi de dignitatione laborat.

Att. 200 (X.9).2, May 3, 49.

Again, a little later, Cicero referred more directly to Marcus' pressure on him to take a stronger stand politically. Cicero admitted that it was partly pity for his son that had hitherto influenced him:

cuius quidem misericordia languidiora adhuc consilia cepi et quo ille me certiozem vult esse eo magis timeo ne in eum existam crudelior.

Att. 202 (X.11).3, May 4, 49.

Young Quintus too was showing signs of independent thought and action during these tumultuous months. Now a young man of eighteen and described by his uncle as ferox, adrogans, et infestus, Quintus f. briefly defected from the family alliance in April, travelled to Rome and claimed to have denounced to Caesar his uncle's intention of leaving Italy.¹⁰⁷ After attempting unsuccessfully to follow Caesar to Spain, Quintus was collected by Atticus and returned to the family at Cumae where Cicero, in the face of his indulgent father, tried to keep his nephew under a tighter rein.¹⁰⁸

In the midst of the almost total breakdown of normal life, Cicero had

decided to give Marcus his toga pura, perhaps a little early.¹⁰⁹ Marcus was not yet sixteen when he received it at Arpinum on April 1, 49.

Arpinum, the family's patria, was a logical choice for the ceremony to take place. Rome of course would have been optimal, but Rome was impossible in the political climate of the day.

Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potissimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus nostris fuit gratum. Att. 189 (IX.19).1.

Arpinum was not only pleasing from the point of view of tradition and sentiment, its choice was also a good political move. Cicero never forgot his roots and the many familiares acquired from his municipal background. For Marcus too these would form an important element of support in any future political career. And, in fact, a few years later in 46 it was with a further eye to Marcus' career that Cicero wrote to M. Brutus, then governor of Cisalpine Gaul, asking him to assist his own Arpinate familiares, all of whose corporate income depended upon rents from their properties in Gaul:

... mihi vero eo etiam gratius feceris quod cum semper tueri municipes meos consuevi tum hic annus praecipue ad meam curam officiumque pertinet. nam constituendi municipi causa hoc anno aedilem filium meum fieri volui et fratris filium...

Fam. 278 (XIII.11).3.¹¹⁰

The decision to proceed with this preliminary step toward Marcus' adult career before leaving Italy demonstrates Cicero's continuing concern for the future of his son; in the event of peace, civil war or voluntary exile (and in turn each of these prospects appeared equally probable), he had carried out his paternal officium as best he could. And so, finally on June 7, 49, Cicero and Marcus f. set sail from the harbour of Caieta.¹¹¹ They had evaded and out-waited the spies of the Caesarians, the series of

calms in the weather and Cicero's inner doubts.¹¹² Whether Marcus' desire for action and the prospect of military gloria played a part in their decision ultimately to sail to Thessalonica and rendezvous with Pompeius and the expatriate senators cannot be known.¹¹³ No letters survive from the early period of their sojourn with Pompeius. We know however that this journey was a milestone for young Marcus, who left home just on the threshold of manhood and was thrust into the realities of a military campaign. Cicero feared for his son's safety and hesitated to entrust him to an open boat, yet allowed him to be appointed to a military post under Pompeius; at barely sixteen Marcus f. was in command of a cavalry regiment.¹¹⁴ According to Cicero later, he carried himself with distinction:

Quo tamen in bello cum te Pompeius alae
[alteri] praefecisset, magnam laudem et a
summo viro et ab exercitu consequere equi-
tando, iaculando, omni militari labore tolerando.

Off. 2, 13, 45.

Marcus' military successes, the first stage in the Ciceronian (and Roman) hierarchy of recommendations for achieving gloria, were achieved under the most discouraging of conditions.¹¹⁵ Only five letters to Atticus and one to Terentia survive from this period.¹¹⁶ As they are primarily concerned with financial affairs, notably a problem with Tullia's dowry, no accounts of the war or of Marcus are included. But letters written after his return to Rome in the summer of 46, and Plutarch's account of Cicero's presence at Pompeius' camp, suggest that disenchantment, disarray and the weariness of cumulative defeat surrounded the fathers and sons.¹¹⁷

After Pompeius' defeat at Pharsalus, on August 9, 48, Cicero and his son declined further participation in the Republican cause and departed for Patras where they again awaited events. There the brothers and their respective sons went their separate ways, Quintus aversissimo animo.¹¹⁸

Cicero's son-in-law, Dolabella, wrote conveying Caesar's invitation to return home. "With a haste which he afterwards regretted, Cicero complied, and landed at Brundisium about the middle of October."¹¹⁹

The ten months spent in Brundisium were very nearly as miserable for Cicero as his year of exile. He had Marcus for comfort and support but was beset by political, financial and domestic strains. Because of political enmity they did not dare leave Brundisium and approach Rome without a specific pardon from Caesar, and as he was delayed in Egypt, their position remained equivocal.¹²⁰ Cicero's health was poor, the climate disagreeable, and he was short of money.¹²¹ Tullia's marriage was extremely unhappy and Cicero's relationship with Terentia was nearing its termination.¹²² In addition reports reached him that his brother and nephew were maligning him to Caesar.¹²³ By June 47 he was considering sending Marcus, accompanied by Cicero's friend Cn. Sallustius, to Caesar as a special envoy to plead for his clementia and permission to leave Brundisium. But the project was rethought and cancelled.¹²⁴

In the end Caesar, having written Cicero litterae satis liberales,¹²⁵ returned in triumph from the East and was met on the road to Brundisium by a Cicero

οὐ πάνυ μὲν ὦν δύσελπις, αἰδούμενος δὲ πολλῶν
παρόντων ἀνδρῶς ἐχθροῦ καὶ κρατοῦντος λαμβάνειν
πεῖραν.
Plutarch, Cic. 39, 4-5.

Readily pardoned by Caesar, Cicero and Marcus returned to Rome in October 47. Very little information is available for the succeeding months, and the next references to Marcus in the correspondence are not until a year later.

In October 46 Marcus approached his father indirectly through Atticus with a plan to go to Spain with Caesar. His cousin Quintus had succeeded

in his second attempt and was off to Spain to fight with the Caesarian army.¹²⁶ Marcus' life may have been lacking in direction at this time, for since he and his father had returned to Rome, Cicero appears to have lived quietly in the country, enjoying an active social life but little direct involvement in the affairs of the moment.¹²⁷ Marcus was too young to marry, but at the ideal age for a military campaign, particularly with his successful experiences under Pompey in Greece urging him on.¹²⁸ His father appears to have given some thought to his son's career during these months, for it was in 46 that he wrote to M. Brutus in Gaul stating his own intention to have Marcus f. and Quintus f. elected aediles in their home town of Arpinum.¹²⁹ Perhaps too this was a gesture toward family solidarity, for during 47 and 46 relations between the two branches of the Cicero family had become extremely strained.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, the necessary steps were taken to provide the young boys with a suitable take-off point for their public careers. Cicero was determined not to fail in the exercising of his own officia, however his brother and nephew might choose to act.

Marcus' petition to his father was mediated by Atticus. Two years later we have another very pronounced example of Marcus' use of an intermediary to negotiate with his father in another situation of some delicacy.¹³¹ It appears that there was definite potential for domestic friction in any direct confrontation between father and son. His use of a 'neutral' third party also suggests that young Marcus had developed a significant level of skill in strategies for handling difficult and important people; a gift displayed par excellence (on occasion) by his father.

In this instance Marcus was requesting parental approval in two areas: the expedition to Spain and the granting of a substantial allowance.

Cicero's reaction to the allowance requested seems to have been thoughtful and generous. There is no sense of the high-handed autocratic paterfamilias in the account to Atticus of his own conversation with Marcus:

locutus sum cum eo liberalissime; ... exposui te ad me detulisse et quid vellet et quid requireret: velle Hispaniam, requirere liberalitatem. de liberalitate dixi, quantum Publius, quantum flamen Lentulus filio. Att. 244 (XII.7).1.

Marcus' social position, and his burgeoning dignitas, required that he receive an income commensurate with those received by the sons of Rome's noblest senators.¹³² Cicero's frequently expressed interest in the son of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was not merely affection for the son of a good friend, but also contained an element of comparison and competition -- it was an assessment of what was due and appropriate in the realm of education and financial support to adulescentes primarii.¹³³ As a successful novus homo Cicero had his own firm ideas on the best route to success; supreme skill in oratory was the key.¹³⁴ Nevertheless he appears to have continually tested his own notions against those of the fathers around him whom he respected, most notably his friend P. Lentulus Spinther.¹³⁵

Cicero's reaction to Marcus' other request was more interesting.

de Hispania duo attuli, primum idem quod tibi, me vereri vituperationem. non satis esse si haec arma reliquissemus? etiam contraria? deinde fore ut angeretur cum a fratre familiaritate et omni gratia vinceretur. Att. 244 (XII.7).1.

This "adroit remark", as Stinchcomb has indicated clearly, shows the manner in which a clever father could utilize the climate of intense rivalry in which young Roman men operated for his own manipulative ends.¹³⁶ The companionable, brotherly, early years shared by Marcus and Quintus and their joint candidature for the aedileships at Arpinum reflect one aspect of Roman family life: the performance of mutually beneficial officia. Yet

the quest for family gloria seems to have entailed another aspect, the element of competition, which was never completely absent from the boys' relationship (although it was perhaps less overt in the early years).¹³⁷ Rivalry then, in conjunction with officia, extended into the heart of Roman family life. And so with this manipulative twist Cicero gave Marcus his permission to go to Spain, yet still somehow left the decision open. To Atticus he concluded:

ego etiam atque etiam cogitabo teque ut idem
facias rogo. magna res; et simplex est manere,
illud anceps. verum videbimus. Att. 244 (XII.7).1, October 7, 46

In the following letter Cicero appears to have made provision for Marcus to go to Spain; he had found him a suitable companion and multis res placet.¹³⁸ But in the event, for reasons which are not stated, Marcus remained at Rome. Domestic upheavals occupied the family in the winter months of 46. Cicero and Terentia were divorced within a year of his return from Brundisium and Cicero married his young ward Publilia in November or December.¹³⁹ Tullia, pregnant, divorced Dolabella in November, bore his child in January and died in February.¹⁴⁰ Cicero was consumed with grief and, while its first intensity was abating, divorced his new wife, retreated from public life and attempted to find reason and consolation in his philosophical writings.¹⁴¹ A new solution had to be sought for the problem of what to do with Marcus f. He himself proposed to his father that he set up a house for him in Rome.¹⁴² Evidently this idea did not meet with Cicero's approval, for nothing came of it.

ADULT STUDIES:

As an alternative to a life of independence in Rome, the idea was first clearly proposed in March 45 that Marcus should go to Athens to study.¹⁴³ In suggesting this course Cicero was guided by the pattern which he, Quintus, had Atticus had followed in their youth, one which was part of a larger tradition

which had grown up in the late Republic. Service abroad had brought leading Romans into contact with the great intellectual and cultural centres of the East and particularly with scholars at Athens, Rhodes and the ancient Greek cities of Asia Minor.¹⁴⁴ As a result of these contacts it had become a Roman custom for young men to travel to centres of learning and to study for a time with distinguished men of letters. Such philosophers and rhetoricians provided the equivalent of a university education for wealthy and intelligent young Romans. Cicero is said to have wished Marcus to study with the eminent Peripatetic philosopher Cratippus in Athens, whom he held in high regard and for whom he had both obtained Roman citizenship from Caesar and had urged a decree be passed requesting him to remain in Athens and discourse with the young men, ὡς κοσμοῦντα τὴν πόλιν.¹⁴⁵

1. Financial Considerations

Whether the original idea of going to Athens came from Cicero or Marcus, some of the arrangements for the journey appear to have been left to Marcus, while Atticus in his role of banker and business manager acted as the expediter. Cicero asked Atticus to give thought to the timing, means and provisions for Marcus' journey and to look into a method of paying his allowance to him in Athens.¹⁴⁶ Atticus replied suggesting that the timing be left to Marcus; Cicero concurred and authorized his expenses.¹⁴⁷

Finance dominated the early stages of discussion of the Athens project, and indeed continued to play a major role in the correspondence during Marcus' entire stay. Cicero prided himself on his liberalitas, and this quality is evident in his continued concern that Marcus be

suitably provided for.¹⁴⁸ Terentia too was involved in Marcus' financial future to a great degree, although the precise nature of the arrangements which were made with her and of her attitude to Marcus elude us. We know that in March 45, a number of months after Cicero's divorce and remarriage, negotiations were still being held with Terentia of which Cicero told Atticus it would be in Marcus' financial interest to appear to please his mother (eius aliquid interest videri illius causa voluisse.... Att. 267 (XII.28.1.)).¹⁴⁹

As it turned out Marcus' education at Athens was to be paid for entirely from the income on properties which Cicero had kept back from Terentia upon their divorce, the same properties he had so earnestly begged her to hold for their son's future when disaster confronted the family in 58.¹⁵⁰ Marcus' allowance proposed by Cicero (and subject to the approval of Atticus) was to be the total amount of the rents collected from these insulae of Terentia, a lavish sum of HS 80,000 per annum.¹⁵¹ Cicero's acute social sensibility was again comparing and assessing what might be appropriate for the dignitas of his son:

praestabo nec Bibulum nec Acidinum nec Messallam,
quos Athenis futuros audio, maiores sumptus facturos
quam quod ex eis mercedibus recipietur.
Att. 271 (XII.32).2.¹⁵²

Familial and parental pride required that Marcus' standard of living equal, if not surpass that of other senators' sons. As a consequence Cicero may in fact have been over-providing for Marcus; his impulses were generous and he had earlier expressed a preference for excessive liberality toward Marcus: vel nimia <malim> liberalitate uti mea....

(Att. 244 (XII.7).1, October, 46.)¹⁵³ Cicero's attitude was constant:

Marcus must be financially comfortable, the companions who went with him

to Athens must be financially disembarassed,¹⁵⁴ and even when disquieting considerations intruded, suggesting that Marcus was extravagant, the importance of maintaining a prosperous family image remained paramount.¹⁵⁵

By the spring of the following year it seems clear that Cicero's liberalitas responded with equal generosity to both favourable and unfavourable reports on Marcus' progress. In April he received a pleasing letter:

A Cicerone mihi litterae sane περιωμμένα, et bene longae.... nunc magno opere a te peto ... ut videas ne quid ei desit. id cum ad officium nostrum pertinet tum ad existimationem et dignitatem ... quaeso, da operam ut illum quam honestissime copiosissimeque tueamur.

Att. 361 (XIV.7).2.

Atticus responded appropriately and Cicero was grateful:

De Cicerone quae scribis iucunda mihi sunt; velim sint prospera. quod ver<o cur>ae tibi est ut ei suppeditetur ad usum et cultum copiose, per mihi gratum est, idque ut facias te etiam rogo.

Att. 365 (XIV.11).2.

On the other hand, in May Cicero received from Atticus' Athenian friend Leonides what to him was an unsatisfactory report and one full of foreboding.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless at the foot of the same letter and again on the following day Cicero requested more money to be sent to Marcus; it was a matter of officium and existimatio, reputation.¹⁵⁷

Some of this paternal concern for Marcus' financial situation had a practical basis. The arrangements which Atticus made for the transfer of monies to the young man in Athens were complex and subject to mishap and delay. Atticus was to receive the rent from the dowry properties from the collector, Cicero's freedman Eros. The sum "was then transferred to a certain Xeno in Athens, with whom Atticus had dealings, for payment to Marcus. But as, in the first instance, Xeno owed Atticus money, Atticus

arranged for him to liquidate his debt by direct transfer to Marcus."¹⁵⁸
As may be imagined, despite Cicero's precautions, Xeno proved dilatory with the payments to Marcus, and Atticus ran into difficulties collecting the full amount for the rental properties.¹⁵⁹

2. Parental Attitudes

Cicero's insistence that Marcus receive a handsome and liberal allowance reflected not merely family pride combined with the caution of the worldly-wise. There was equally evident a strong element of paternal pride and affection in Cicero's impulses toward liberality. Certainly when Marcus' behaviour was not quite up to par, Cicero ensured that at least he had the means to live in style. But when Marcus began to display some of the desired attributes of a Roman man of letters, then his father's personal delight became clearly visible, and a specific need to reward him was openly expressed. After the conflicting impressions of Marcus' progress were received in April and May, several good reports from a variety of sources reached Cicero in June 44. First a long letter from C. Trebonius written from Athens at the end of May effusively praised Marcus' devotion to his studies, his exemplary character and his universal popularity in Athens.¹⁶⁰ Then Herodes, one of Marcus' tutors, wrote an enthusiastic report (although Leonides was still grudging in his pronouncements).¹⁶¹ M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, a distinguished fellow student who had returned home, added his voice to the supporters of Marcus.¹⁶² And finally Marcus himself sent another carefully composed letter to his father and a second, probably framed with equal care, to Tiro which has not survived, in which he revealed some degree of financial embarrassment.¹⁶³ Cicero's response to what appears to have been a well-

orchestrated onslaught was enthusiastic:

Tandem a Cicerone tabellarius; sed me hercule litterae πεπινωμένως scriptae, id quod ipsum προκοπήν aliquam significaret, itemque ceteri praeclara scribunt. Leonides tamen retinet suum illud 'adhuc'; summis vero laudibus Herodes. quid quaeris? vel verba mihi dari facile patior in hoc meque libenter praebeo credulum.

Att. 391 (XV.16).

Two days later Cicero had arranged to borrow money and sent Tiro to Rome to secure the financial backing Marcus required.¹⁶⁴

Cicero noster quo modestior est eo me magis commovet. ad me enim de hac re nihil scripsit ad quem nimirum potissimum debuit; scripsit hoc autem ad Tironem, sibi post Kal. Apr. (sic enim annum tempus confici) nihil datum esse. <scio> tibi pro tua natura semper placuisse teque existimasse id etiam ad dignitatem meam pertinere eum non modo perliberaliter a nobis sed etiam ornate cumulateque tractari. qua re velim cures ... ut permutetur Athenas quod sit in annum sumptum ei.

Att. 393 (XV.15) .4.

The important role played by third parties in the relationship between Cicero and his son is noteworthy. We have already discussed Marcus' approach to his father through Atticus when he wished to join his cousin Quintus with Caesar in Spain.¹⁶⁵ Further examples of Marcus' direct use of a mediator are evident in the passage above and again in the extant examples of Marcus' later letters to Tiro in one of which he referred to Tiro's own request to be the bucinator of Marcus' refurbished reputation.¹⁶⁶ Marcus, in his avoidance of direct confrontation with his father and his use of mediators, displays considerable manipulative and persuasive skills.¹⁶⁷ It is possible to see in the climate in which young Roman boys were raised a number of factors which could contribute to the early development of such skills. From an early age upper class boys were subject to the authority of a succession of pedagogues and tutors who were

often members of the servile classes.¹⁶⁸ The ambiguous power relationships which resulted could furnish potential for exploitation and manipulation as the child grew and developed. Paternal absences also frequently dictated that boys be governed by a 'panel' of fathers. We have seen that in Quintus pater's absence Cicero and Atticus acted together in caring for Quintus f. and, in turn, during Cicero's exile the care of his family, and of young Marcus in particular, was assigned to Quintus and Atticus.¹⁶⁹ There was potential here too, for a young man to learn to capitalize upon the conflicting or inconsistent advice of his elders. One further element which should be considered in examining this aspect of the socialization of the young Roman involves attitudes toward familial responsibilities and communication. Within the individual Roman family the boundaries between matters considered private or familial, between what was termed interference or assistance, seem to have been drawn in a manner not easily comprehensible to the modern western observer. For example, it appears that in Cilicia Cicero regularly read his brother Quintus' letters before sending them on to him and encouraged Quintus f. to do so as well, once with disastrous results when one of the letters proved to contain a discussion of his parents' threatened divorce.¹⁷⁰ There is no hint that such reading of the letters was at all irregular, simply of regret at the mischance with respect to the contents and their discovery by Quintus f. Similarly, in 47 when Cicero had good reason to suspect his brother was writing hostile letters about him to mutual amici, he opened a number of letters, forwarded them to Atticus for him to assess, and instructed him to send them on to their intended recipients if Atticus thought they would not harm the Cicero name. The broken seals on the letters caused no problems: habet, opinor, eius signum Pomponia.¹⁷¹ In a social context

which emphasized competition and achievement, the cumulative influences of a variety of figures in authority, the requirements of filial pietas and the perhaps conflicting demands of individual and familial honour may have provided an opportunity for a young man to develop useful expertise in the arts of persuasion, and manipulation.¹⁷² This kind of socialization may have worked particularly well for a young boy such as Marcus whose natural temperament tended towards affability. That the system seemed to produce the negative corollary, duplicity, deceit and dishonesty in Quintus f., suggests either deficiencies in the system, in Quintus' impulsive and volatile nature, or in both.¹⁷³

By July 44, Cicero had finally ensured that financial arrangements were under control for the coming year and that Marcus would be comfortably off. With this Cicero seemed content, although he was beginning to feel apprehensive about the nature of Marcus' financial requirements when he returned to Rome and to the marriage prospects which were under discussion.¹⁷⁴ Cicero's financial responses to Marcus demonstrate some of his attitudes toward his son, but other parental concerns and interests are apparent too, and were expressed in other ways. Very early on, when Marcus had been in Athens with his two companions for a little over a month, Atticus wrote each of them what appear to have been letters of general advice and admonition.¹⁷⁵ Cicero was grateful for his shared concern and for the manner in which it was conveyed to the young men:

Ad Ciceronem ita scripsisti ut neque severius
neque temperatius scribi potuerit nec magis [quam]
quem ad modum ego maxime vellem;....

Att. 296 (XIII.1).1.

Character-building was an integral part of Cicero's and Atticus' very Roman conception of education, which was assumed to be a life-long process

founded on a broad base of experience. "Cicero fully subscribed to ... two fundamental ideas.... The first, that the educated man was an orator, was implicit in the Roman system; the second that the educated man should also be a man of good character, was an idea which the Romans might not always carry out in practice but which their best thinkers accepted in theory...."¹⁷⁶ Cicero's concerns about Marcus' character development are revealed in his decision in April 44, to visit him personally in Athens despite the discomforts and unpleasantnesses of such a journey at his age.¹⁷⁷ He felt that his presence would be a "steadying influence" on his son:

... quod sentio valde esse utile ad confirmationem
Ciceronis me illuc venire.

Att. 367 (XIV.13).4, April 26, 44.

And even though he really wanted to stay at home and enjoy the ocelli Italiae, villulae meae,¹⁷⁸ he comforted himself that it was paternal officium which impelled his departure:

consolantur haec: aut proderimus aliquid
Ciceroni aut quantum profici possit iudicabimus....

Att. 413 (XIV.3).4, July 17, 44.

Indirectly too there was evidence that Gorgias, one of Marcus' teachers of rhetoric, was actively encouraging Marcus in a life of dissipation and drunkenness. According to Plutarch, Cicero wrote a blistering letter to Gorgias in Greek¹⁷⁹ and in a letter from Marcus to Tiro from the summer of 44 we hear that Cicero had written one equally straight from the shoulder to his son:

De Gorgia autem quod mihi scribis, erat quidem ille in cottidiana declamatione utilis, sed omnia postposui dum modo praeceptis patris parerem; διαρρήδην enim scripserat ut eum dimitterem statim. tergiversari nolui, ne mea nimia σπουδή suspicionem ei aliquam importaret. deinde illud etiam mihi succurrebat, grave esse me de iudicio patris iudicare. tuum tamen studium et consilium gratum acceptumque est mihi.

Fam. 337 (XVI.21).6.

It is clear that Cicero was perturbed by some of the reports he received about Marcus' activities, but equally evident is his unwavering affection and Marcus' speedy reformation.¹⁸⁰ Marcus' letter to Tiro expressing his own glee at the new impression he was creating and his firm resolve to persevere in the path of rectitude is vividly evocative of a young man noisily turning over a new leaf:

tantum enim mihi dolorem cruciatumque
attulerunt errata aetatis meae ut non solum
animus a factis sed aures quoque a commemoratione abhorreant.

Fam. 337 (XVI.21).2.

Cicero's sympathy for young men seems to have held with respect to his son.¹⁸¹ His letters written to Atticus subsequent to Marcus' 'conversion' betray no alternation in his attitude; he is jocular, avi tui pronepos scribit ad patris mei nepotem (Att. 425 (XVI.14).4) and affectionate too in his references to Marcus, pudentissime hoc Cicero petierat ut fide sua (Att. 426 (XVI.15).5.).

When, somewhat to Cicero's relief, the political turn of events in August 44 made his trip to Athens inadvisable and called him back to Rome,¹⁸² he decided very shortly thereafter to write for Marcus what has come to be one of the most enduring of his philosophical and moral works, De Officiis:¹⁸³

Nos hic φιλοσοφοῦμεν (quid enim aliud?) et
τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθ'ἕκαστου magnifice explicamus
προσφωνοῦμενque Ciceroni. qua de re enim potius
pater filio? Att. 417 (XV.13a).2. c. October 28, 44.

The work was designed "to build character as well as instruct the mind" and is a further elaboration of Cicero's basic assumption that the aim of education is the creation of a vir bonus.¹⁸⁴

By the fall of 44, however, Marcus' philosophical and rhetorical education came to an abrupt end. M. Iunius Brutus arrived in Athens in

September 44 and many Roman students, Marcus Cicero among them, joined the army of the Liberators.¹⁸⁵ Commentators have unanimously assumed that Marcus f. was not slow to leave his studies for the renewed opportunity of military gloria.¹⁸⁶

The letters exchanged between Cicero and M. Brutus from the beginning of April until the end of July 43, provide some final glimpses of Cicero's attitudes toward his son. Marcus f. was now nearly twenty-two, he had been given the command of a squadron of cavalry, and he had performed well.¹⁸⁷ Brutus composed a perceptively phrased commendation to his father in April 43,¹⁸⁸ to which Cicero responded with grace and restraint:

De Cicerone meo et, si tantum est in eo quantum scribis, tantum scilicet quantum debeo gaudeo et, si quod amas eum eo maiora facis, id ipsum incredibiliter gaudeo, a te eum diligi.

ad Brut. 4 (4 (II.4)).6.

But Cicero was not a man to miss an opportunity and even in the midst of this further round of civil war he exerted himself to ensure that traditional values and societal roles still functioned. He chose to regard Marcus' alliance with Brutus as another stage of his son's training in the virtues required for a successful public life; an informal relationship between an aspiring, talented young man and an older, experienced and distinguished one, somewhat akin to the informal pedagogic relationships which trained young men in law, oratory and government.¹⁸⁹ Here again was the "concrete ideal" at work.¹⁹⁰ Cicero's next letter, in May 43, followed up on Brutus' high opinion of young Marcus:

Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas. virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet. nullam quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui.

ad Brut. 5 (5 (II.5)).6.

Consequently Cicero requested Brutus' assistance and support in another

step toward the public career of Marcus f.:

Ciceronem nostrum in vestrum collegium cooptari volo. existimo omnino absentium rationem sacerdotum comitiis posse haberi; nam et factum est antea.... hac de re scripsi ad eum ut tuo iudicio uteretur sicut in rebus omnibus....

ad Brut. 9 (13 (1.5)).3

Brutus' response was gratifying, indeed he was more accommodating than Cicero desired. He had already sent Marcus on his way to Rome for the elections when Cicero wrote to tell him that he himself had arranged for them to be delayed in the interests of Marcus and other young men in the Liberators' forces.¹⁹¹ This was the final officium performed by Cicero for Marcus. Both father and son were proscribed in the edict issued in November by the Triumvirs and Cicero was put to death on December 7, 43.¹⁹²

Although the early years of Marcus' childhood are not well documented, certain consistencies over time are apparent in the relationship between Cicero and his son. Simple affection and pride were acknowledged and expressed most openly when Marcus was young. Cicero himself in a number of contexts alludes to the natural affection which parents have for their children: ... natura ingenerat ... in primis praecipuum quendam amorem in eos, qui procreati sunt ... (Off. 1.4.12).¹⁹³ Such affection is evident in Cicero's epithets for Marcus, mellitius, venustissimus and dulcissimus.¹⁹⁴ But as Marcus grew, Cicero's sentiments seem to have increasingly been channelled by social roles, responsibilities and expectations. Two dominant themes are evident in the correspondence of later years, Marcus' education and his public career; which served as the foci for Cicero's paternal pride, affection and concern. Throughout Cicero's exile, periods of civil wars, and "the vicissitudes of politics", -he

consistently exerted great efforts to ensure that Marcus' future was cared for.¹⁹⁵ Marcus was taught by established, reputable tutors, he travelled with his father, and was introduced into the world of Roman government abroad. Cicero ensured an early entry for his son into public life by securing for him the office of aedile at Arpinum. He facilitated Marcus' early military career with Pompeius and later encouraged his association with M. Brutus in the hope that not only military gloria, but social and political prestige (in the form of a priesthood) might accrue to Marcus from Brutus' patronage. Strong familial expectations appear to dominate the relationship between father and son, yet paternal concern and affection are evident, particularly in Cicero's responses to the letters sent by Marcus from Athens, letters in which he displayed his growing mastery of language.¹⁹⁶ Strong familial expectations, then, did not preclude affection; they do, however, seem often to have overlaid it.

Notes to Marcus

1. Att. 11 (I.2).1. For the date of birth see below, n. 3. For M. Tullius Cicero, see RE VII A, 2 Cols. 1281-1286 (R. Hanslik). See also Testard (1962), 198-213 for a discussion of the relationship between father and son with respect to the De Officiis; Boissier (1903), 100-108; Stinchcomb (1932-33), 441-48 for an outline of the lives of Marcus f. and Quintus f.; Bozić (1951), 11-25; Bradley (a), 1-4.
2. Some editors have questioned the text (Gurlitt, Constans).
3. Att. 10 (I.1).1 and 2., dated shortly before July 17, 65. The tribunician elections were to be held on July 17 (#1), and the consular elections probably followed soon thereafter; Att. 11 (I.2) n. Cf. Taylor (1966), 141 n. 12.
4. Att. 11 (I.2).2. Cf. Stockton (1971), 73.
5. So Shackleton Bailey speculates, Att. 11 (I.2).1. n.
6. Shackleton Bailey interprets the controversial opening lines of Att. 11 (I.2) as a joke; its function, he suggests, is to present a solemn "mock-pompous" announcement, reinforced by the use of the "serio-comic" verb augeo. He compares Plautus, Truc. 384 and Thes. II.1355.2. It may be noted too that family events are often formally announced in Cicero's letters by isolated sentences which express no reaction and which are relatively unadorned by personal comment. E.g. Pater nobis decessit a.d. VIII Kal. Dec. (Att. 2 (I.6).2); Tulliolam C. Pisoni L. f. Frugi despondimus. (Att. (I.3).3); Dederam ad te litteras antea quibus erat scriptum Tulliam nostram Crassipedi prid. <Non.> Apr. esse desponsam (Q. fr.

- 10 (11.6 (5)).1; ... De fratre, confido ita esse ut semper volui et elaboravi. multa signa sunt eius rei, non minimum quod soror praegnans est. (Att. 6 (I.10).5. For a humorous parody of the formal family announcement cf. Att. 8 (I.3).1 Aviam tuam scito desiderio tui mortuam esse....
7. Att. 8 (I.3).3, end of 67. Terentia's age estimate is based on her probable age at marriage, c. 15, (modal age being 12-15, see Appendix II), and the assumption that her marriage to Cicero took place in 77, with Tullia's birth following in 76.
 8. Shackleton Bailey, Att. Vol. I, 4; Att. 12 (I.12).
 9. Att. 18 (I.18).1.
 10. Cf. his remark at a later stage in his career (56), when some restoration of dignitas was required; Q. fr. 9 (II.5 (4.3-7)).1 (3) vivo paulo liberalius quam solebam. opus erat.
 11. A consul's wife had duties and responsibilities, both official and semi-official. Terentia's role in resolving some of the decisions surrounding the Catilinarian conspiracy in 63 was noted in antiquity. In her capacity as wife of the consul she offered sacrifice at the Bona Dea rites in her house and received a decisive sign which she conveyed to her husband; Plut. Cic. 19.4-20.3.
 12. Att. 10 (1.1).2; Broughton (1968), Additions & Corrections, 64. For C. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 67 see Broughton (1968), 142, 3. It is not known whether Cicero went to Gaul or not.
 13. Fam. 218 (VI.18).5., January 45.
 14. Att. 256 (XII.18a).2., March 13, 45.
 15. Cf. below pp.152ff. The same paucity of references is evident too with young Quintus, who only begins to figure in the letters in

61 and 60 when he was about six years old. It should be noted, however, that during Marcus' and Quintus' earliest years the correspondence is lacunose.

16. Bradley (1985).
17. Bradley (1984), 497.
18. Trumbach (1978), 190; "biological mothers became nurturing mothers".
19. Trumbach (1978), 188.
20. Octavian (Augustus) is said to have maintained contact with his pedagogue later in life but in his case the relationship may have been strengthened by the fact that his father had died when Octavian was four. Dio Cassius 48.33.1; Suet., Aug. 8.1. Cf. also Cic. Amic. 20.74 for a description of the appropriate relationship to be maintained later in life between an adult and his childhood nurses and pedagogues.
21. See further below. For Lentulus cf. Att. 270 (XII.30).1.
22. Att. 18 (I.18).1.
23. Cf. Att. 17 (1.17).5 and 6, December 5, 61. The adjective mellitus, 'delightful as honey, honey sweet', is a sentimental epithet found in poetry (cf. Catul. 3.6), prose (Petr. 48.1; 1.3) and on inscriptions (CIL 12.1014 Marito Mellitissimo).
24. Cf. Bonner (1977), 16, 79, 304 for a summary of Cicero's involvement in Marcus f.'s education.
25. Cicero's father moved to Rome from Arpinum when his sons were of an appropriate age to reap the benefits of the excellent educational opportunities in the capital. For Cicero's early aptitude see Plut. Cic. 2.1-3.3. Cf. also Smith (1966), 30f.; Stockton (1971), 4, 5; Wiseman (1971), 36f.; Mitchell (1979), 2, and especially

- McDermot (1970), 146-48; (1971), 704; and Eyben (1977), 299-304.
26. Cf. Brunt (1965), 5, 6, 10.
27. For Caesar see Brunt (1965), 10: "a community of cultural interests seemed to transcend differences of political outlooks." Cf. Att. 21 (II.1).6; 38 (II.8).3; 39 (II.19).4 and 5; 353 (XIII.52). For pertinent comments on slaves and freedmen cf. Att. 125 (VII.2).3 adulescentem ... <doctum et diligentem>; and 8 Chrysippum vero, quem ego propter litterularum nescio quid libenter vidi, in honore habui.... Wagener (1936), 366-369 is also relevant.
28. For Cicero's instruction of Quintus f. in 54 cf. Q. fr. (II.13).2; 23 (III.3).4; 27 (III.7).9. For an example of Cicero's continuing interest in the educational process see Fam. 20 (I.9).24, December 54, in which Cicero asks his friend P. Lentulus Spinther (then in Cilicia about his son, tu me de tuis rebus omnibus et de Lentuli tui nostrique studiis et exercitationibus velim....
29. Bozić (1951), 18.
30. L. Papirius Paetus was a wealthy resident of Naples with whom Cicero corresponded in an intimate, invariably humorous manner. Cf. Fam. 114, 188-89, 190-91, 193-98, 362 (IX.15-IX.26) for their correspondence. For a lucid essay on Cicero's lifelong commitment to education see McDermott (1970), 145-153.
31. Cf. also Fam. 19 (IX.18.1; 192 (VII.33).2; 178 (IX.7).2. n. and Att. 339 (XIII.47).
32. van den Bruwaene (1933), 53-63 (not available to me); Bradley (a), 3.
33. Att. 18 (I.18).1. For the postscripts, cf. Att. 27 (II.7).5; 29 (II.9).4; 30 (II.12).4; 35 (II.15).4.
34. I follow Shackleton Bailey's interpretation of Att. 27 (II.7).5.
35. Att. 27 (II.7).5. n. Aristodemus' later pupil Strabo is our source;

(Strabo, XIV.1.48).

36. See below n. 58.

37. Watt (1961-62), 258.

38. Watt (1961-62), 258 and Shackleton Bailey Att. 35 (II.16).4. n.

39. Atticus returned to Italy in the summer of 61 after Quintus pater had left for the province which he was to govern for three years.

Cicero (with a pun) had commended young Quintus to his care on his return (Att. 22 (II.2).1 and 3.). Cura, amabo te, Ciceronem

nostrum. ei nos θεῖοι videmur. The text has been emended by

several editors, but Shackleton Bailey's notes convincingly suggest that no correction (apart from ei nos for cinos) is needed here.

Cf. Att. 24 (II.4).7; 27 (II.7).5.

40. Nep., Att. 6, 7, 13 and 16.

41. Cicero often referred to "our children" when he addressed Atticus and Quintus. Cf. above p.77, and Att. 60 (III.15).4. For Cicero's direct requests for Atticus' domestic supervision during his exile cf. Att. 64 (III.19).3; 65 (III.20).1; 68 (III.22).5; 72 (III.27).

42.. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).2; 8 (XIV.1).4 and 5; 9 (XIV.3).3 and 4.

43. Q. fr. 4 (I.4).5, August 5, 58. Shackleton Bailey's translation.

Officium is applied both to the sense of moral duty and to the dutiful act itself. Family expectations involved pietas and obsequium,

attitudes of dutiful respect which accompanied the carrying out of officia. See Chapter I and further discussion below. For Cicero's

pietas see Emilie (1944), 537f. (who emphasizes, however, pietas erga patriam). For a general discussion of obsequium and pietas

between parents and youth see Bonner (1977), 95 and nn. 38-40;

Eyben (1977), 526-530 (abstract only available to me).

44. Cf. Cic. Sest. 145; RE 7 A, 2 Col. 1281.
45. The puer-senex topos in Roman thought has been outlined by Carp (1980), 736-739; cf. Eyben (1973), 237.
46. Cf. also Fam. 7 (XIV.2).1; 8 (XIV.1).1.
47. Shackleton Bailey suggests that here Cicero is warning Atticus of the possibility that Quintus might commit suicide.
48. Wlosok (1978), 18.
49. Fam. 8 (XIV.1).5; Att. 68 (III.23).5. For Cicero's thoughts of suicide see also Q. fr. 3 (I.3).1 and 2; 4 (I.4).4; Att. (III.3); 49 (III.4); 52 (III.7).2; 54 (III.9).2; Fam. 6 (XIV.4).1 and 5. Cicero's language in the letters from exile is strikingly emotional and his judgements therefore have been assumed to be less than dispassionate. Cf. e.g. Cicero's response to a scolding by Atticus and an obijuration to show more fortitude, Att. 60 (III.15).1, August 17, 58; and especially 59 (III.13).2 nam quod scribis te audire me etiam mentis errore ex dolore adfici, mihi vero mens integra est. But as noted above (Chapter II, p.55, and n. 108), the dangers to Cicero's own life, to his properties and to his entire family were very real, and at Rome the political turn of events was proving to be increasingly unpredictable.
50. For an account of the upbringing of the two younger Tullii which emphasizes the quality of familial solidarity see Stinchcomb (1932-33), 441-48; Shackleton Bailey (1971), 179-185, emphasizes the divisive aspects in Cicero's relationship with his brother and family.
51. It should be noted that thirteen years later when Terentia's and Cicero's marriage had ended, some of Terentia's dower properties were kept back and used to finance Marcus' educational sojourn in

- Athens. Cf. Att. 267 (XII.28).1; 271 (XII.32).2. n; 394 (XV.17): 1; 397 (XV.20).4. (Between March 45 and June 44.) See also Dixon (1984), 94.
52. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).1 and 3.
53. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).6.
54. Q. fr. 9 (II.5 (4.3-7)).1, March 56.
55. Att. 22 (II.2).3. For Marcus f. and Quintus f. see also Q. fr. 10 (II.6).2; 12 (II.9 (8)).1; 26 (III.6).2; and Att. 77 (IV.7).1 and 3. Concern about young Attica's health is discussed further below, but cf. Att. 269 (XII.33).2.
56. Cf. Q. fr. 6 (II.2).1 and 2; 7 (II.4).7; 8 (II.4).2; 10 (II.6).2 and 3; 11 (II.7).2.
57. Bradley (a), 2. For Tyrannio of Amisus (originally Theophrastus) see Att. 26 (II.6).1. n. where in 59, Cicero first mentions him as a literary colleague. See also Treggiari (1969), 116, 254-55; Bonner (1977), 28-30; Christes (1979), 27-38.
58. Q. fr. 8 (II.4).2. mid-March 56, spero nos ante hiemem contubernalis fore. Cf. Q. fr. 7 (II.4).7. According to McDermott (1971), 714-715 the Cicero brothers lived at Rome in the same house up to 62 when Marcus gave the house to Quintus. Thereafter their houses on the Palatine were adjacent, cf. Att. 24 (II.4).7. The boys were therefore accustomed from the beginning to growing up together almost as brothers, cf. Q. fr. 3 (I.3).3. For a discussion of joint families attested in Republican Rome see Crook (1967b), 117.
59. Bonner (1977), 30.
60. For Paeonius see Q. fr. 23 (III.3).4. n.; Bonner (1977), 30. Cicero calls him valde exercitatus et bonus but finds his own method of

- instruction paulo eruditius et θετικώτερον than the more modern declamatory style favoured by Paeonius and Quintus f. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1961-62), 162 for θετικός and Cicero's method.
61. Cf. Bonner (1977), 10-19 and especially 16 for the role of parents and relatives in the education of Roman youth during the Republic.
62. Q. fr. 21 (II.1).7; 23 (III.3).4. Cf. Bonner (1977), 16.
63. Cf. Q. fr. 27 (III.7).9: Ciceronem et ut rogas amo et ut meretur et debeo. dimitto autem a me et ut a magistris ne abducam et quod mater tporcia nonf discedit, sine qua edacitatem pueri pertimesco.
64. Att. 90 (IV.15).10; 92 (IV.18).5; 93 (IV.19).2. For Dionysius see Treggiari (1969), 119-121; Bonner (1977), 30-32; Christes (1979), 107-115. A learned freedman of Atticus, he was given Cicero's praenomen on manumission as a mark of respect to Cicero and to the scholarly friendship the three men shared. (Att. 90 (IV.15).1).
65. Att. 82 (IV.8a).1. Cf. Att. 79 (IV.8).2. There is the possibility that Dionysius was one of the two librarioli sent to help Cicero's scholarly friend Tyrannio repair and rearrange his library early in June 56. This has been the subject of controversy; Shackleton Bailey notes that the name Dionysius was common and the capacity too humble for Atticus' friend and freedman. Christes (1979), 108, n. 10, dissents: "Es ist aber kaum anzunehmen, dass Atticus in seiner familia den gleichen Namen zweimal vergeben hätte. (Vgl. die Namen der Freigelassenen des Atticus bei Treggiari im Index II unter Caecilius und Pomponius.)" I agree with the latter; that Atticus had two experts in 'library science' available for loan, both with the same name, is too coincidental. In addition, beyond knowing that Dionysius and his companion with Tyrannio worked mirifica opera upon

Cicero's books, we do not know their relative statuses.

66. Att. 86 (IV.11).2, June 55; 87 (IV.13).1, November 55.

67. Att. 88 (IV.14).2.

68. Att. 92 (IV.18).5, October 24–November 2, 54; Att. 93 (IV.19).2, end of November 54.

69. Att. 96 (V.3).3, May 11, 51.

70. Att. 125 (VII.2).8. n. Cf. Q. fr. 24 (III.4).5; 25 (III.5).6.

For Chrysippus see Treggiari (1969), 257, 258.

71. Eyben (1972); and cf. Eyben (1971); Att. 118 (VI.4).1. For Cicero in Cilicia see Syme (1979), 125ff.; Sherwin-White (1983), 290–297.

72. Stinchcomb (1932–33), 443. Cf. Fam. 117 (II.17).1, with respect to his plans for the return journey to Rome Cicero wrote: Rhodum Ciceronum causa puerorum accessurum puto, ...

73. Att. 105 (V.12); 106 (V.13).1 and 2; 107 (V.14).1; 108 (V.15).1 give the details of the itinerary from Athens to Laodicea. See also Hunter (1913), and Shackleton Bailey, Att. Vol. 5, 313, Appendix I.

74. Att. 109 (V.16).4.

75. Att. 110 (V.17).3, August (?) 15, 51. For Cicero's long-term friendship with Deiotarus see Rowland (1972), 456f.; Syme (1979), 124, 131.

76. Att. 111 (V.18).1.

77. Att. 111 (V.18).1 and 4; 113 (V.20).9.

78. Cf. Att. 121 (VI.6).4, August 3, 50, in which Cicero confides to Atticus his misgivings with respect to the Quinti, pater et filius: numquam essem sine cura, si quid iracundius aut contumeliosius aut neglegentius, ... Quintus f. is puer bene sibi fidens, and Cicero

- is apprehensive about the outcome of his activities. Cf. also Att. 123 (VI.9).3; Fam. 96 (II.15).4. to M. Caelius Rufus and Q. fr. 1 (I.1) passim. For Cicero's peace-making temperament see Johnson (1912-13), 164; Bozić (1951), 21; Shackleton Bailey (1971), 162; and ad M. Brut., p.5. For Quintus pater's military career see Wiseman (1966); McDermott (1971), especially 712, n. 45, for a contrasting glimpse of Cicero's early military career.
79. Att. 113 (V.20).9; 116 (VI.2).2; 121 (VI.6).4; 203 (X12).3, 204 (X.12a).4; cf. Bozić (1951), 11, 15, 16.
80. Cicero's word for Quintus f. in 49 was ἀνηθοποίητος, 'unprincipled', cf. Shackleton Bailey (1961-62), 201f. However, Bozić (1951), 21 suggests perceptively that Cicero's "sympathy towards young people was never quite extinguished by moral indignation." Cf. Att. 116 (VI.2).2; 117 (VI.3).8; 120 (VI.7).1; 201 (X.10).6 and 204 (X.12a).4 for Cicero's sympathetic appraisals of Quintus f.
81. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 95. "His own son was not intellectually privileged, and one suspects that Cicero would gladly have exchanged him for his lively and precocious cousin Quintus...." Cf. also Rawson (1975), 142, 223.
82. Compare Cicero's formal response to a letter praising Marcus, received from M. Brutus in 43, ad-Brut. 4 (IV or 11.4).6. quoted below p.122.
83. Att. 18 (I.18).1. and cf. n. 23. Q. fr. 3 (I.3).3, June 58.
84. Att. 102 (V.9).3, June 14, 51.
85. Att. 202 (X.11).3; 195 (X.4).5; 200 (X.9).2, May 49.
86. Att. 361 (XIV.7).2.
87. Stinchcomb (1932-33), 445.

88. Bradley (a), 4. Cf. Bonner (1977), 45.
89. Plut., Cic. 24, 8; Pliny, N.H. 14, 147; Sen., Suasoria 7, 13.
Dio Cassius 46, 18.
90. Att. 124 (VII.1).5.
91. Bozić (1951), 18.
92. Att. 125 (VII.2).8; 127 (VII.4).1. For the ups and downs of Cicero's highly charged relationships with Dionysius see Att. 130 (VII.7).1; 131 (VII.8).1; 142 (VII.18).3; 150 (VII.26.3; 156 (VIII.4).1 and 2; 157 (VIII.5).1; 159 (VIII.10).1; 179 (IX.12).2; 183 (IX.15).5; 192 (X.2).2; 208 (X.16).1; 304 (XIII.2b).
93. Fam. 143 (XVI.11).2, January 12, 49; The Ephemeris in Shackleton Bailey's Appendix I, Att. Vol. 4, 428-437 is invaluable for January 18 to May 19, 49. Cf. also Appendix II, 438f. 'Cicero's Command in 49'.
94. Fam. 144 (XIV.18); 145 (XIV.14), January 22 and 23, 49. Cf. Att. 135 (VII.12).6; 136 (VII.13).3; 138 (VII.14).3.
95. Att. 113 (V.20).9; 115 (VI.1).12. Cicero, at his brother's request, gave Quintus f. his toga pura in Laodicea at the Liberalia, March 17, 50. Marcus was to receive his in April 49 at Arpinum. Cf. Att. 189 (IX.19).1.
96. Att. 136 (VII.13).3; 141 (VII.17).1 and 4; 143 (VII.19).1.
97. Att. 150 (VII.26).3. For Cicero's 'peace-making', see e.g. Att. 138 (VII.14).2 and 3; 141 (VII.17).2-4; 152 (VIII.2).1. Cf. Geweke (1937), 470.
98. Att. 136 (VII.13).3.
99. Cf. also Fam. 154 (II.16).4 and 5, May 2 or 3, 49 to Caelius Rufus, filio meo, quem tibi carum esse gaudeo, si erit ulla res publica,

satis amplum patrimonium relinquam in memoria nominis mei....

100. Cf. also Att. 153 (VIII.3).3; 161D (VII.11D).7.
101. Att. 134 (VII.11).1 and 2.
102. Att. 133 (VII.10); Fam. 144 (XVI.20).2; 153 (VIII.3) set out the pros and cons of Cicero's decision about whether to leave Italy with Pompeius. Geweke (1937), 470-473. Cf. Brunt (1965), 18-20; B. Rawson (1978), 158f.
103. Att. 153 (VIII.3).5.
104. Att. 161D (VIII.11D).1. To Pompeius from Formiae, February 27, 49.
105. Att. 186 (IX.17); 189 (IX.19).1. Hanslik RE 7 A, 2 Col. 1283, citing Neubauer (1909-10), 228, suggests that Terentia influenced Marcus to become a strong supporter of Pompeius and in turn to push his father into a more committed stance. My impression is that Neubauer's assumption that Terentia found Cicero's hesitation in 49 to be 'unmännlich' is unsupported by any evidence in the letters. Her speculations perhaps reflect the spirit of the period in which she was writing rather than that of Rome's convoluted political scene in early 49. For a discussion of the 'adult' role Roman society prescribed for youths from 15-30 see Eyben (1981). Cf. also Eyben (1977), 229-30; 242-44 for a discussion of youth in support of Pompeius and the Republican cause. (Abstract only available to me.)
106. Att. 199A (X.8A), May(?), 49; 199B (X.8B); 200A (X.9A), c. April 16, 49.
107. Att. 202 (X.11).3; 195 (X.4).6 and 11.
108. Att. 197 (X.6).2; 198 (X.7).3; 201 (X.10).7; 202 (X.11).3; 203 (X.12).3; 204 (X.12a).4; 207 (X.15).4. Cf. Bozić (1951), 17, 18; Stinchomb (1932-3), 444; Eyben (1977), 534-36.

109. RE 7 A, 2, Col. 1282.
110. Shackleton Bailey's notes point out that Marcus in 46 was between eighteen and nineteen, and that Cicero appears to assume "the posts were entirely his own to dispose of". Cf. Eyben (1981), especially 344 and n. 44 on exceptionally young candidates for municipal office.
111. Fam. 155 (XIV.7).
112. Att. 207 (X.15).2 and 3; 208 (X.16).2 and 4; 210 (X.18).1.
113. Cicero's various alternatives for action in the spring of 49 (both documented and conjectured) are discussed in Shackleton Bailey Att., Vol. IV, Appendix VI, 460-69. It appears that the decision to join Pompeius in Greece was very late, just before the departure from Italy.
114. Att. 202 (X.11).4. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 167. Cf. Cic., Off. 2, 13, 45. The command may have been nominal only; cf. Stinchcomb (1932-33), 444; Bradley (a), 3.
115. Cic., Off. 2, 13 and 14.
116. Fam. 158 (XIV.6); Att. 21 (XI.1); 212 (XI.2); 213 (XI.3); 214 (XI.4a); 215 (XI.4), dated between January 48 and November 48.
117. Att. 217 (XI.6).2; Fam. 181 (IX.6).3 to M. Terentius Varro; 183 (VII.3).2 to Marcus Marius. Plut., Cic. 38, 2-8; 39, 1-3. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 168, 69 aptly summarizes Cicero's role in Pompeius' camp, "a dismal and sarcastic spectator ... a presser of unwelcome counsel and a prophet of calamity."
118. Att. 216 (XI.5).4; 217 (XI.6).7. The cause of the quarrel may have been political: Quintus had been with Caesar in Gaul and Britain in 54 and had perhaps, belatedly, been drawn by old loyalties. Financial considerations too may have been operating. They were all, including

Pompeius, short of money, the economy was critically affected by the civil war, yet Cicero lent Pompeius a large sum from an account at Ephesus which he had retained since his proconsulship in 51. Cf. Bozić (1951), 18 and 19; Att. 213 (XI.3).3. For a detailed analysis of the breach between the two brothers see Shackleton Bailey (1971), 179-185.

119. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 171. Cf. Fam. 159 (XIV.12); Att. 218 (XI.7).1 and 2.
120. Att. 217 (XI.6).3; 218 (XI.7).2 and 5.
121. Att. 237 (XI.22).2; 222 (XI.11).2.
122. For Tullia cf. Fam. 166 (XIV.11); 168 (XIV.10); 169 (XIV.13); cf. Att. 213 (XI.3).1; 214 (XI.4a). The tone of Cicero's letters to Terentia from Brundisium is cool and there are several references to her unjust financial dealings. Cf. Att. 211 (XI.1).2; 227 (XI.16).5; 234 (XI.24).2 and 3. See also Chapter II, p.51f.
123. Att. 219 (XI.8).2; 220 (XI.9).2; 221 (XI.10).1.
124. Fam. 166 (XIV.11); 167 (XIV.15); Att. 229 (XI.17a).1; 230 (XI.18).1.
125. Fam. 171 (XIV.23) August 47.
126. Att. 244 (XII.7).1.
127. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 193. Cf. Att. 238 (XII.2).2; 246 (XII.9); Fam. 197 (IX.26).
128. The usual age for a Roman male to marry was shortly before he was eligible for the quaestorship, in his mid-twenties. Syme (1979), 646, 783, 807, 808. For early marriages see Syme (1984), 1232; for late, 1333.
129. Fam. 278 (XIII.11).3. Cf. above p.107 and n. 110.
130. Stinchcomb (1932-3), 444; cf. Att. 242 (XII.5).1, July or August 46.

131. I refer to Marcus' letters from Athens in 44 to the family's valued freedman Tiro, Fam. 337 (XVI.21); 338 (XVI.25), see below p.120f.
132. Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was consul in 57 and led the movement to restore Cicero from exile. He was governor in Cilicia 56-54, a Pompeian and good friend of Cicero's; he was killed in 46 in Africa. L. Cornelius Lentulus Niger was Flamen of Mars, died in 55 leaving a son L. Cornelius Lentulus. See also below p.114f. for Cicero's concern that Marcus' income be respectable while he studied in Athens in 45-44. Cf. Crook (1967), 110 for a discussion of the institution of peculium.
133. The phrase was used by S. Sulpicius Rufus to describe Tullia's husbands, Fam. 248 (IV.5).
134. To this end in 46 Cicero began a work designed as a text-book specifically for the instruction of his son Marcus in the art of oratory, De Partitione Oratoria. See also Bonner (1977), 76-89, "Cicero and the ideal of oratorical education."
135. Cf. Fam. 18 (I.7).11; 20 (I.9).24.
136. Stinchcomb (1932-33), 445.
137. It is visible, for example, in Att. 195 (X.4).5; 200 (X.9).2; 202 (X.11).3.
138. Att. 245 (XII.8).n. Shackleton Bailey suggests that the plan referred to in this letter is the Spanish one of 244 (XII.7) and not the later decision to send Marcus to Athens.
139. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 201, 202.
140. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 203, 204.
141. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 204-207.
142. Att. 271 (XII.32).2.

143. Att. 263 (XII.24).1.
144. Bonner (1977), 90, 91.
145. Plut., Cic. 24, 7.
146. Att. 263 (XII.24).1; 27 (XII.32).2; 346 (XIII.37).1. Cf. Shatzmann (1975), 423.
147. Att. 266 (XII.27).2.
148. Cf. Att. 244 (XII.7) in which the Spanish proposal is discussed (liberalitas and liberalissime recur four times in nine lines), vel nimia <malim> liberalitate uti mea quam sua libertate. See Shatzmann (1975), 97, 98 for Cicero and his standard of living; 403-425 for a detailed assessment of his economic condition generally.
149. Cf. 257 (XII.19).4 and n. Shackleton Bailey suggests that Terentia may have been offering to alter her will in Marcus' favour or grant him an allowance if Cicero met her claims with respect to the return of her dower properties.
150. Cf. above p.44; Att. 271 (XII.32).2.
151. Att. 271 (XII.32).2; 409 (XVI.1).5; cf. Bonner (1977), 92.
152. L. Calpurnius M.f. Bibulus was the sole surviving son of the consul of 59 and Porcia, Cato's daughter. Acidinus may be a descendent of the patrician Manlii Acidini. Shackleton Bailey's notes suggest the cognomen may have been a revival in the gens Aemilia and that if so the young man may have been Horace's friend Torquatus Acidinus. The third youth was M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, son of Messalla Niger, cos. 61.
153. Cf. Bonner (1977), 92.
154. Att. 294 (XII.52).1 and n. Tullius Marcianus, a client or a relative of Cicero and L. Tullius Montanus accompanied Marcus f. to Athens in

- 45, cf. Att. 255 (XII.17). n.; 295 (XII.53); 296 (XIII.1).1; 370 (XIV.15).4; 371 (XIV.17).6; 426 (XVI.15).5 and n.; Fam. 350 (XVI.24).1. and n.
155. Att. 339 (XIII.47) ... turpe est enim nobis illum, qualiscumque est, hoc primo anno egere. post moderabimur diligentius. (August 13, 45).
156. Att. 370 (XIV.16).3. ... numquam ille mihi satis laudari videbitur cum ita laudabitur, 'quo modo nunc est'. non est fidentis hoc testimonium, sed potius timentis.
157. Att. 371 (XIV.17).5. ... Ciceroni meo, mi Attice, suppeditabis quantum videbitur meque hoc tibi onus imponere patiere. quae adhuc fecisti mihi sunt gratissima.
158. Bonner (1977), 92.
159. For Atticus' problems and Cicero's caution: Att. 271 (XII.32).2; 393 (XV.15).1 and 3; 394 (XV.17).1 and 2; 397 (XV.20). For Xeno: 346 (XIII.37).1; 370 (XIV.16).4; 409 (XVI.1).5; 413 (XVI.3).2.
160. Fam. 328 (XII.16). C. Trebonius, friend and correspondent of Cicero was tribune in 55, legate to Caesar in the Gallic and civil wars, praetor in 48, governor in Spain in 47-46 and consul suffect in 45. He joined the conspirators and in 44 en route to Asia as governor stopped in Athens where he visited Marcus. In response to Marcus' interested request he invited him, with his tutor Cratippus, to visit Asia with him. Marcus did not accompany him at this time.
161. Att. 391 (XV.16).1, June 11, 44.
162. Att. 394 (XV.17).2, June 14, 44. See note 149.
163. Att. 393 (XV.15).3, June 13 (?), 44.
164. Att. 393 (XV.15).3.
165. See above p.110.

166. Fam. 337 (XVI.21).2.
167. There is no hint of the heavy-handed paterfamilias in Cicero's responses to or remarks about his son; Marcus' strategies may well have been redundant.
168. Bradley (1984), 495.
169. See above p.77, 90, and note Atticus' letter of advise to Marcus in Athens (Att. 296 (XIII.1).1.). This 'communal parenting' may reflect a larger social reality. Bonner (1977), 7, has noted that the older citizens in the community "benefitted from a wide extension of parental respect" and were looked upon as "the common parents of the community." The concepts of filial pietas and paternal officium thus had wider social applicability.
170. Att. 117 (VI.3).8.
171. Att. 220 (XI.9).2.
172. Because the focus of discussion here is upon Marcus and, to a lesser extent, Quintus f., I have restricted my remarks to the socialization of young Roman men. There is no reason, however, to assume that young Roman women were immune to some of these same influences.
173. Cf. Bozić (1951), 1 and 12; Stinchcomb (1932-33), 444.
174. Att. 397 (XV.20).4; 409 (XVI.1).5. Cicero's apprehension extended also to the mother-in-law in prospectu.
175. Att. 296 (XIII.1).1 and n., May 23, 45.
176. McDermott (1970), 148, 149.
177. Att. 413 (XVI.3).4, July 17, 44.
178. Att. 414 (XVI.6).2.
179. Plut., Cic. 24, 8.
180. Bonner (1977), 94.

181. Bozić (1951), 21.
182. Att. 415 (XVI.7).1 and 2.
183. For an assessment of Cicero's purposes in writing this work see Testard (1962). Cf. McDermott (1970), 150-53; Bonner (1977), 94-96.
184. McDermott (1970), 150, 151.
185. Plut., Cic. 45, 3; Brut. 24, 2.
186. Cf. Stinchcomb (193-33), 447; Tyrell-Purser (1915), V², cvii; Shackleton Bailey (1971), 277.
187. ad Brut. 11 (XII or I.4a).4, May 15, 43; 12 (XIV. or I.6).1, May 19, 43. Cf. Fam. 405 (XII.14).8.
188. ad M. Brut. 2 (3 (II.3)).6, Cicero, filius tuus, sic mihi se probat industria, patientia, labore, animi magnitudine, omni denique officio ut prorsus numquam dimittere videatur cogitationem cuius sit filius. qua re, quoniam efficere non possum ut pluris facias eum qui tibi est carissimus, illud tribue iudicio meo ut tibi persuadeas non fore illi abutendum gloria tua ut adipiscatur honores paternos.
189. McDermott (1970), 148.
190. Eyben (1972), especially 201 and 216; Cf. Eyben (1971), 77-104.
191. ad Brut. 12 (14 (1.6)).1, May 19, 43; 22 (22 (1.14)).1 and 2, July 14, 43; ego autem, cum ad me de Ciceronis abs te discéssu scrip- sisses, statim extrusi tabellarios litterasque ad Ciceronem ut, etiam si in Italiam venisset, ad te rediret; nihil enim mihi iucun- dius, nihil illi honestius.... Qua re omni studio a te, mi Brute, contendo ut Ciceronem meum ne dimittas tecumque deducas; quod ipsum, si rem publicam, cui susceptus es, respicis, tibi iam iamque facien- dum est.
192. Plut., Cic. 46, 3; App., BC 4, 19-20. Marcus survived his father's

death and remained with Brutus' army to fight at Philippi and again later under Sextus Pompeius (App., BC 5, 2; 4, 51). In 39 he returned to Rome, was pardoned by Octavian, received a priesthood, held the consulship with him in 30 and a subsequent proconsular office in Syria (Plin., N.H. 22, 13; App., BC 4, 51; Plut., Cic. 49, 6; Dio 51, 19, 4). For Fasti cf. RE 7 A, 2 Col. 1285 and cf. Broughton (1968), 627. With Marcus' death it appears that the Cicero family came to an end. See Shackleton Bailey (1971), 277f., cf. however RE 7 A, 2 Col. 1286, "Ob T. Nachkommen gehabt hat oder ob er der letzte seines Stammes gewesen ist, lässt sich nicht mit Bestimmtheit entscheiden".

193. Cf. Att. 125 (VII.2).4., and Q. fr. 4 (I.4).5.

194. Att. 18 (I.18).1; Q. fr. 3 (I.3).3.

195. Bradley (a), 3.

196. Cicero's self-pride too lay in oratorical skill, ... Nec vero hoc arroganter dictum existimari velim.... quod est oratoris proprium, apte, distincte, ornate dicere, quoniam in eo studio aetatem consumpsi, si id mihi assumo, videor id meo iure quodam modo vindicare. (Off. 1, 1, 2.). See discussion above, p.102, 119ff.

C. Tullia, Father and Daughter

In a letter to his brother Quintus from Thessalonica in 58 the exiled Cicero wrote, quid quod eodem tempore desidero filiam? qua pietate, qua modestia, quo ingenio! effigiem oris, sermonis, animi mei.¹ Cicero's love for his daughter Tullia has been appreciated through the centuries. Her death at the age of thirty-one was (according to Seneca) one of the most severe blows in Cicero's life.² M.I. Finley has stated categorically that Tullia was the only member of Cicero's family whom he loved.³ True or not, the statement points to the existence of some special qualities in the relationship between Tullia and her father.

No letters addressed specifically to Tullia have survived. The letters to his family which Cicero wrote during exile in 58 were addressed to Terentia, Tullia and Marcus together, but beyond the first sentence and the valete the main substance of these letters was intended for Terentia alone.⁴ In contrast, two letters are extant from a later period, January 49, which Cicero wrote jointly to Terentia and Tullia,⁵ and in which he consistently addresses both throughout. However, the fact that they are joint letters and that their content is almost completely concerned with circumstantial matters (he is urging the two women to decide whether to stay in Rome or retreat to one of the family villas) diminishes their value as sources for Cicero's feelings toward Tullia. Yet the two letters do provide information about some of Cicero's attitudes to Tullia -- for example his confidence in her political judgement and the degree of freedom of movement she enjoyed⁶ -- and they betray some sense of Cicero speaking to Tullia. For the most part, however, our understanding of Cicero's feelings and attitudes toward his daughter is necessarily based on remarks and concerns expressed to others, primarily to Atticus and

Terentia.

LANGUAGE AND EXPRESSIONS OF AFFECTION:

Cicero uses the name Tullia in isolation only occasionally. More frequently her name occurs in conjunction with the possessive adjective (Tullia mea), in the diminutive (Tulliola nostra), or with a noun-adjective phrase in apposition (Tullia, lux nostra).⁷ She is first mentioned in the earliest of Cicero's extant letters. To Atticus in November 68, Cicero sent a message from Tulliola, deliciae nostrae. A little later, in 67 she is Tulliola, deliciolae nostrae, a phrase which combines all three modes of affectionate possessive reference.⁸ When these letters were written Tullia was between nine and ten years old and about to be betrothed to her first husband, C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. It might be expected that Cicero's language would reflect Tullia's gradual transition from a beloved little girl to a Roman matrona, but no clearly demonstrable change of expression is evident. True, Tullia was deliciolae only when she was young, but at nineteen she was still frequently referred to in the diminutive, mea carissima filiola; she was a pusilla in her mid-twenties and still Tulliola nostra when she was nearly thirty.⁹ Cicero's affection for her and his expressions of affection seem to have remained constant throughout her life, whether the feelings were implicit in a simple phrase such as Tulliola mea or explicit as in [Tullia], quae nobis nostra vita dulcior est.¹⁰

The nature of some of Cicero's direct expressions of affection and caring clearly derived from the context in which he was writing. For example, almost exclusively in the years 48-47 and once in the letters from exile in 58, Cicero's terms for Tullia are illa misera, miserrima

or misella, the reason each time being his deep concern about her ill health, marriage and dowry problems or general unhappiness.¹¹ Some of his most affectionate epithets occur in letters addressed to both Terentia and Tullia. At times he refers to them together: mea desideria, or animae meae, but at other times he singles out Tullia with special fondness: si tu et Tullia, lux nostra, valetis ...; or, Tullius Terentiae suae et pater suavissimae filiae ...¹² In one of the letters to Terentia from exile in 58 Cicero speaks regretfully of his eighteen year old daughter who had been married for more than four years, Tulliolum nostram, ex quo patre tantas voluptates capiebat, ex eo tantos percipere luctus. (Fam. 8 (XIV.1).1). The relationship between Cicero and Tullia was particularly close, even from a very early stage, to judge from Cicero's remarks to Atticus about Atticus' delight in his own baby daughter:

Filiola tua te delectari laetor et probari tibi
φυσικὴν esse τὴν <στοργὴν τὴν> πρὸς τὰ τέκνα.
etenim si hoc non est, nulla potest homini esse
ad hominem naturae adiunctio; qua sublata vitae
societas tollitur. Att. 125 (VII.2).4.¹³

TULLIA'S CHARACTER:

In addition to the recurring affectionate epithets, more specific descriptions of Tullia, her virtues, her character and her role in Cicero's life are evident in the following passages written to different people at different times. The first is the one cited at the beginning of this chapter which Cicero wrote to his brother Quintus from exile in 58. In May 49, Cicero wrote to Atticus from Cumae detailing his many current political concerns and thanking Atticus for his care of Tullia, presently in Rome:

valde eo ipsa delectata est, ego autem non minus.

cuius quidem virtus mirifica. quo modo illa fert publicam cladem, quo modo domesticas tricas! quantus autem animus in discessu nostro! est στοργή, est summa σύντηξις. tamen nos recte facere et bene audire vult. Att. 199 (X.8).9.

The quality of animus noted here, in the sense of a courageous spirit, was also mentioned in connection with Tullia in an earlier letter which Cicero wrote to Tullia and Terentia jointly in 49 as he was leaving them behind in Italy while he and Marcus embarked for Greece and Pompeius' camp. Then, in rather a rallying tone Cicero had written, cohortarer vos quo animo fortiores essetis nisi vos fortiores cognossem quam quemquam virum. (Fam. 155 (XIV.7).2.). Strength of spirit, then, was evidently a quality she shared with her mother, or rather a quality attributed by Cicero to both of them. Some other key attributes are shared by the mother and daughter. Cicero praises Terentia's virtus, fides, probitas and humanitas in a letter from exile in 58. Similarly in two letters written in June 47, one to Atticus and one to Terentia, Tullia's virtus, humanitas and pietas are commended in the midst of domestic, financial, and political upheaval. These sound like family virtues, prescriptive rather than necessarily descriptive. The fact that the humanitas, virtus and amor of Tullia's husband C. Calpurnius Piso were also extolled in the letter from exile cited above underscores the familial, umbrella-like quality of these epithets.¹⁴

But one final description of Tullia which does reveal something more of her personal qualities and of her role in Cicero's emotional life is in the letter Cicero wrote after her death in 45 in response to a letter of condolence from his friend Servius Sulpicius Rufus. In this letter Cicero pointed out that he had lost already the honour and satisfaction that comes from an active and successful public career, yet in Tullia's

companionship he had found comfort and delight.

unum manebat illud solacium quod ereptum est....
habebam quo confugerem, ubi conquirerem, cuius in
sermone et suavitate omnis curas doloresque deponerem.

Fam. 249 (IV.6).2.

Here, as in the letter to Quintus cited above, Cicero stressed the value he had placed on Tullia's intelligent, articulate conversation. This raises a subject about which there is no information, the question of Tullia's education. Since the letters of Cicero are extant only from 68 on, the first substantive information about Tullia concerns her betrothal in 67 to C. Calpurnius Piso. At this stage in a young aristocratic girl's life (age 10) the question of her marriage assumed a high profile and her basic education was of less consequence.¹⁵ But we do know that the daughter of Atticus and Pilia, Caecilia Attica, was in the charge of a paedagogus at the age of six and even after her marriage was given literary training by a tutor employed by her father.¹⁶ In light of the long-term domestic intimacy between the two households and Cicero's known penchant for clever women it is not improbable that Tullia, like Attica, benefitted from some formal education.¹⁷ We know also that Cicero's boyhood teacher, the Stoic philosopher Diodotus, with whom he later (85) studied dialectic, was also a teacher of music and geometry. Aged and blind, Diodotus lived in Cicero's house for some years before his death in 59. We have no precise information about the length of his stay, but conceivably, since he made Cicero his principal beneficiary, it was prolonged, and he may have played an important role in the intellectual life of the household while Tullia was growing up.¹⁸ In addition, Cicero himself was an enthusiastic educator of the young, although with some members of his family, notably young Quintus and Marcus, he met with mixed success.¹⁹ It does seem likely, however, that a daughter described as effigies oris, sermonis, animi mei had bene-

fitted, at least, from Cicero's own personal, though probably informal, teaching.

Educated and accomplished women were not a rarity in late Republican Rome. In fact, Cicero publicly praised the sermo and elegantia of notable matronae of his time and earlier; some, like Cornelia, whose letters he had read, and others whom he himself had heard speak.²⁰ Clever women, it seems, were admired, condemned and depending upon the scope of their political machinations, feared. "Notorious for their pretensions were Servilia, Cato's sister, and the mother of Brutus, and Fulvia, married in succession to Clodius Pulcher, to Scribonius Curio, and to Marcus Antonius."²¹

Servilia was influential among the Liberators in 44 and even undertook to get a senatorial decree modified. "Fulvia fomented civil war in Italy for the benefit of the absent Antonius."²² But it is in Sallust's portrayal of Sempronia that the ambiguous attitudes toward accomplished women are most clearly evident; Sempronia was:

litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere et
saltare elegantius, quam necesse est probae,
multa alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt.
Sall., Cat. 25, 2-3.

Sallust proceeds to list the immoral, even criminal activities of Sempronia, but ends his description with a hint of reluctant admiration:

Verum ingenium eius haud absurdum; posse versus
facere, iocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel
molli vel procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque
lepos inerat. Sall., Cat. 25, 5.

These allusive and elusive references to Tullia's ingenium and to her sermo and the sermones so valued by Cicero throughout her adult life are perhaps more striking to the modern ear than the frequent, customary praises of her modestia, pietas or even suavitas.²³ For in these

"intellectual" qualities we glimpse a Tullia who was possibly the companion for Cicero's later years which Terentia so clearly was not. Certainly it is true that Cicero, just as was his custom with Terentia, consulted Tullia, attended to her suggestions on political and domestic matters and asked her to undertake certain business-related activities for him. Yet over and above this help-meet relationship there is a constant and pervasive impression in the letters that Cicero valued Tullia's company for its own sake, that she was above all a person he enjoyed.²⁴

On the basis of Cicero's continuing expressions of affection and his descriptions of Tullia's qualities, it is evident that their relationship was warm and valued by Cicero throughout Tullia's life. But more specific information is required to enable a better assessment of the nature of the emotional bonds between father and daughter. Although the letters can often provide only incomplete answers, the kinds of questions which should be attempted are these: at the various stages in Tullia's life, what were the hopes and concerns Cicero held for her? What roles were assumed to be hers, what expectations did she have? When and under what circumstances did Cicero spend time with Tullia? What sorts of issues might their sermones have included, and to what extent and at what age was Tullia permitted an active choice in decisions involving her own life?

EARLY CHILDHOOD:

For Tullia's early years the letters yield no direct information. she was born in late 77 or early 76 which means that she was already eight or nine when she appears as Tulliola, deliciae nostrae in the first extant letter to Atticus, November 68.²⁵

When she was very young Cicero's career was in its early stages.

Apart from a year's absence as quaestor in Sicily in 75, and a further two months in 70 when he returned there to gather evidence for his prosecution of Verres, Cicero appears to have been concerned to stay close to the capital, in touch with events, and to concentrate his efforts on the climb to the consulship which he was to hold in 63.²⁶ For Tullia, therefore, family life in these early years was presumably routine and peaceful. But how much time she actually spent with her father is a question which cannot be answered.

Although we have no glimpses of Tullia's early childhood, we can perhaps achieve some idea of Cicero's feelings and attitudes toward her at that stage from some letters written much later, letters sent to Atticus during the years when the latter's daughter, Caecilia Attica, was small. References to Attica are included in many letters covering the years from her birth c. 51 to the last surviving letters of 44/43, when she was about eight years old. This is the age span for which we lack any references to Tullia. And although Cicero was writing after an interval of twenty-five years, we may conjecture that his basic attitudes toward very young daughters had not altered significantly.

In the letters of 51 to 44 Cicero very often writes about Attica in a whimsical vein which lifts his greetings beyond the merely formal and customary.²⁷ For example, since Attica was born at about the time Cicero left Rome for his governorship of Cilicia in 51, Atticus wrote to him to report her birth. Cicero replied, filiolam tuam tibi iam Romae iucundam esse gaudeo, eamque quam numquam vidi tamen et amo et amabilem esse certo scio. (Att. 112 (V.19).2.)²⁸ But further, after Atticus in a subsequent letter had presumably conveyed the conventional greetings from his whole family, Cicero responded,

filiola tua gratum mihi fecit quod tibi
diligenter mandavit ut mihi salutem adscriberes,
gratum etiam Pilia, sed illa officiosius quod me,
quem iam pridem <amat>, numquam vidit; igitur tu
quoque salutem utrique adscribito.

Att. 115 (VI.1).22.

He referred fondly to the child as puella Atticula or puella Caecilia
bellissima and it is at this time too that he wrote the passage cited pre-
viously in which he affirmed that affection for young children produces a
fundamental natural bond and constitutes one of the foundations for human
society.²⁹

After this initial period Attica is not mentioned again in the letters
until May or June 46, when she would have been five or six years old. Her
name then occurs fairly frequently until the letters to Atticus cease in
44. The absence of references to Attica after the first flurry surrounding
her birth is noteworthy. It may well be attributable to the fact that
Cicero and Atticus were very preoccupied by the uncertain and shifting
political scene in Italy and their own security from the years 49 to 46;
and indeed, for more than half of 48, when Cicero was with Pompeius in
Greece, there are no extant letters at all. The omission of Attica, and
Pilia too, from Cicero's letters during these years may also merely
reflect his own lack of contact with them, for as soon as he had returned
to Rome in 46 and the two households were again in close proximity, he
included the two women in his notes to Atticus.³⁰ But the lack of refe-
rences to Attica and her mother during these years may also be a function
of another social fact. Certainly the birth of a child was an event to be
celebrated in the Roman upper class. Cicero himself in his choice of the
verb used to announce the birth of his son Marcus in 65, filiolo me auctum
scito (Att. 11 (I.2).1), underscores a fundamental reality in the life of

the Roman elite, the need to keep up the stock. So too in one of his notes to Atticus Cicero mentions with regret that Junia Tertia has miscarried (he uses the familial diminutive of her name): Tertullae nollem abortum. tam enim Cassii sunt iam quam Bruti serendi.³¹ "Much was at stake when a child of aristocratic status was born at Rome."³² But it appears that after the celebration of his arrival the Roman child, at least as far as his father was concerned, retained a certain "invisibility" during his earliest years. Cicero's own son Marcus only began to figure in the correspondence to any extent in 59, when he was nearly six years old. At this point his scholarly progress was of interest to Cicero and Atticus -- Marcus was learning Greek and added postscripts to Cicero's letters.³³ Some similar processes may be seen operating in the relationships between father and son and father (or father-figure) and daughter; interest and involvement in the child evidently increased when he or she had reached the age of rational speech, and more importantly when the father was able to take some responsibility for the child, for a son, in supervising his education and preparation for a career, and for a daughter when the matter of her betrothal became significant.³⁴

From 46 to 44, when she was between six and eight years old, Attica's name occurs relatively frequently in Cicero's letters to her father. Three major threads can be traced in these references. One is the recurrence of the wry or whimsical tone noted in the letter cited above.³⁵ Cicero pretends, for instance, that he is afraid of her anger at his prolonged absence, istam quam tu excipis metuo.³⁶ On another occasion he jokes that the results of an election in which one of her kinsmen is involved are of acute concern to the six year old girl: et scire sane velim numquid necesse sit comitiis esse Romae. nam et Piliae satis

faciendum est et utique Atticae. (Att. 245 (XII.8)). And at another time he gently laughs at his own and Atticus' constant worries about Attica's frequent childhood illnesses. He writes dryly, de Attica pergratum mihi fecisti quod curasti ut ante scirem recte esse quam non belle fuisse. (Att. 370 (XIV.16).4).

Cicero's repeated concerns about the state of Attica's health form the second recurrent theme in the letters of 46 to 44. Attica appears to have been subject to a number of prolonged feverish attacks and Atticus was frequently alarmed. So too was Cicero to judge from the many solicitous enquiries, sympathetic wishes and occasional jubilant rejoicings over her recoveries.³⁷ He took an interest in the advice of Craterus her doctor,³⁸ and Cicero himself even prescribed the "mental lift" to be gained if she were taken to see some games: de Attica probo. est quidem etiam animum levare cum spectatione tum etiam religionis opinione et fama. (Att. 336 (XIII.44).2.) At one stage Cicero even went so far as to suggest the possibility of negligence on the part of those who cared for Attica, although he hastened to reassure her father, sed et paedagogi probitas et medici assiduitas et tota domus in omni genere diligens me rursus id suspicari vetat. (Att. 269 (XII.33).2.), 26 March 45.³⁹

Finally the third leitmotif in the references to Attica is simply Cicero's direct and open expression of his affection for her. Just as he had written very early in her life about the social and philosophical importance of human affection for young children, so he continued to affirm his own particular pleasure in her young company. When she was five or six he wrote to Atticus,

... utinam continuo ... ad osculum Atticae possem currere! quod quidem ipsum scribe, quaeso, ad me ut, dum consisto in Tusculano, sciam quid garriat,

sin rusticatur, quid scribat ad te; eique interea
aut scribes salutem aut nuntiabis itemque Piliae.

Att. 248 (XII.1).1.

And again when she was eight, in some of the last extant letters to Atticus in 44, Cicero refers to Attica and her mother Pilia as deliciae and amores mei; he sends Attica kisses:

Atticam nostram cupio absentem suaviari. ita mi
dulcis salus visa est per te missa ab illa.
referes igitur ei plurimam itemque Piliae dicas
velim.⁴⁰

His last surviving reference to her is rather poignant: Atticae, quoniam, quod optimum in pueris est, hilarula est, meis verbis suavium des volo.

(Att. 420 (XVI.11).8.)

Cicero's whimsical teasing, companionable concern, and expressions of affectionate enjoyment in these letters to Atticus may appear at one level to perform the function of cementing the bond of friendship between the two men. But at another level it is apparent that this bond was based on a very real shared experience, upon a specific understanding on both Cicero's and Atticus' part of what it meant to have a young daughter. Cicero did not merely know what was appropriate or desired by a Roman father in the way of avuncular comments, for his remarks about Attica go beyond polite observations and indicate genuine interest and sentiment. The amusement, worry and delight occasioned by the activities of young Attica very probably evoked for Cicero similar earlier experiences with the young Tullia. Admittedly, this is a speculative and necessarily subjective reconstruction of their possible relationship. But, in fact, in the extant letters which cover Tullia's life from the age of eight or nine to her death at thirty-one the same three major themes that characterize Cicero's references to Attica can be traced in his references to Tullia.

When Tullia was younger we see the elements of amusement and whimsy, throughout her later years he shows recurrent concern about her health, and always there is evident an open expression of affection, which for the older Tullia came to include Cicero's admiration and approval.⁴¹

THE ADULT YEARS:

A new dimension in the affective relationship between Cicero and Tullia arose when she was between six and nine from the thought which Cicero had to give to her betrothal. As previously mentioned, fatherly care, concern and responsibility came to focus upon an all-important Roman social institution, the betrothal of and marriage arrangements for a daughter. "Collocare filiam, giving a daughter in marriage and establishing her in life: it was the equivalent of launching a son on a career."⁴²

As we have seen there are no extant letters concerning Attica after the end of 44 when she was seven or eight years old. But by this time the significant matter of her future husband had been the subject of discreet discussion between Cicero and Atticus for more than a year.⁴³ Coincidentally the extant correspondence from which our information about Tullia is drawn began in 68, when she too was around eight years old, and one of the earliest items it contains is the announcement to Atticus at the end of 67, Tulliolum C. Pisoni L. f. Frugi despondimus. (Att. 8 (I.3).3.).

The betrothal announcement follows immediately upon two letters in which Cicero had playfully reminded Atticus, in a parody of law court language, that he had promised a present for little Tullia who was growing impatient; Tulliola, deliciolae nostrae, tuum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsorem appellat. (Att. 4 (1.8).3; cf. 6 (1.10).6). This juxtaposition

within the same year of Tullia the demanding little girl and Tullia the prospective bride provides the modern reader with a vivid glimpse of one of the realities of Roman family life. As discussed in Chapter I it was common in Roman society generally, but among the upper classes particularly, for betrothals to occur when girls were no more than children. Tullia's father, as a responsible, prudent and affectionate parent, must as early as possible ensure the future security and advancement in life of each of his children. For his daughter this meant that "all she had to look forward to as an adult was marriage to a man of appropriate standing and the bearing of children for him."⁴⁴ Since she was required to fulfill only one role, and to achieve only narrowly circumscribed goals, a daughter's future could be settled (as much as any future can be) when she was very young indeed.

The announcement of the betrothal of Tullia and Piso was the first reference to an issue which was to figure repeatedly in Cicero's correspondence, the question of Tullia's marriage -- or rather, marriages. For the choice of a husband, Tullia's marital unhappiness, the negotiations for divorce, and the payment or recovery of her dowry were inter-related domestic matters which pervaded the letters to Atticus and Terentia, particularly in the years between 51 and 45. The continuing importance of a daughter's marriage in Roman family life is well attested by the recurrent need for Cicero's involvement in such matters, long after Tullia had come to maturity.⁴⁵

TULLIA'S FIRST MARRIAGE:

"Marriage and the roles and responsibilities associated with it ... constitute[d] by far the major element in a Roman definition of female

adulthood."⁴⁶ Tullia's entry into the adult world, anticipated by her father in 67, probably took place late in 63, the year of his consulship, when she married a young nobleman, C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.⁴⁷ Very little specific information can be drawn from the letters about the background to the marriage. Clearly for a man in Cicero's position, a provincial eques reaching for the consulship, a marriage alliance with a prominent patrician family was eminently desirable. Cicero had formed close personal and political ties with a number of conservative nobiles; prominent among these were his friendships with three members of the Pisones.⁴⁸ C. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 67, as governor of the Gallic provinces offered Cicero a legateship in 65 with the vital opportunity to canvass an influential voting district comprising numerous tribes.⁴⁹ Another Piso, M. Pupius, the future consul of 61, had been Cicero's fellow student at Rome in the eighties and again at Athens in the early seventies.⁵⁰ His brother, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, was the praetor of 74 who had vigorously opposed Verres, and was also Cicero's friend; it was his son, the nephew of M. Pupius and probably also of the consul of 67, to whom Cicero betrothed Tullia.⁵¹ Piso appears to have been an ambitious and capable young man and an "admirable" son-in-law, who had risen to the rank of quaestor by 58.⁵² His name occurs a few times in the correspondence: in the announcement of Tullia's betrothal in 67; briefly in connection with some false accusations aimed at Pompeius' supporters in 59; in a letter to Atticus from exile in 58, in which Cicero commended Piso and Quintus for sending him news from Rome; and in the four letters to Terentia from exile.⁵³ Only in these last letters was there any personal expression of Cicero's feelings toward Tullia's husband. Piso had loyally stayed in Rome in 58 rather than travel in his capacity as quaestor to Bithynia and Pontus.

During that year he exerted all his influence in an effort to ensure Cicero's recall to Rome.⁵⁴ Cicero's first extant letter to his family after his banishment was from Brundisium, April 29, 58. In it he betrays a measure of uncertainty about the extent to which his sentence might have repercussions upon Tullia's marriage. His financial position was still unclear to him, he was not sure whether Terentia too had been stripped of her property and the possibility must have been very real that Piso might divorce a wife whose father was under a political cloud and whose dowry payments were unreliable. And so Cicero was guarded and concerned:

sed quid Tulliola mea fiet? iam id vos videte:
mihi deest consilium. sed certe, quoquo modo se
res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et
famae serviendum est.... Pisonem, ut scribis,
spero fore semper nostrum.

Fam. 6 (XIV.4).3.4.

His concern, even panic, about family matters in these early months of exile, is reflected too in letters to Quintus and Atticus. In June 58 he wrote to his brother at length stressing how much each member of his family meant to him and commending his 'orphaned' Tullia and Marcus to Quintus' care:⁵⁵

Filiam meam et tuam Ciceronemque nostrum
quid ego, mi frater, tibi commendem? quin
illud maereo quod tibi non minorem dolorem
illorum orbitas adferet quam mihi. sed te
incolumi orbi non erunt.

Q. fr. 3 (I.3).10.

Even earlier, within the first month of his exile, Cicero had commended his family to Atticus' care, and he continued regularly over the ensuing years to urge him to watch over their interests.⁵⁶

But by October and November of 58, reports of Piso's loyal efforts on his behalf had reassured Cicero, and his gratitude to him was expressed

with increasing exuberance as hopes for the success of their petition rose:

Pisonem nostrum merito eius amo plurimum.
eum, ut potui, per litteras cohortatus sum
gratiasque egi, ut debui.

Fam. 7 (XIV.2).2.

Pisonis humanitas, virtus, amor in omnis
nos tantus est ut nihil supra possit. utinam
ea res ei voluptati sit! gloriae quidem video
fore.

Fam. 8 (XIV.1).4.

Pisonem nostrum mirifico esse studio in nos
et officio et ego perspicio et omnes praedicant.
di faxint ut tali genero mihi praesenti tecum
simul et cum liberis nostris frui liceat!

Fam. 9 (XIV.3).3.

The acute concern which he had specifically felt for the fate of Tullia's marriage had been allayed by Piso's demonstrated goodwill and also no doubt by assurances from Atticus, Quintus or Terentia that Tullia's dowry payments would be met. And so in a letter to Quintus, August 5, 58, Cicero refers only to the encouragement he has received from Piso.⁵⁷ And in a letter to Atticus written in a despairing mood at the end of November 58 Cicero asks him, if there is truly no hope for his own restatement, to care for Quintus, Marcus and Terentia; Tullia's name is omitted. Presumably Cicero's confidence in Piso's mirificum studium et officium, which he had extolled in another letter to Terentia that same day, was now complete. But his initial reactions of fear and distrust, or perhaps only uneasy uncertainty, with respect to Piso's anticipated behaviour are in keeping with the social climate of late Republican Rome. As Pomeroy has noted, there was "a general tendency for blood ties to take precedence over marital ties in Roman family life." Women returned or were returned to their father's authority and care according to the dictates of perceived political, economic and social advantage: "a husband's authority [was] more ephemeral."⁵⁸ Cicero's concern to protect the marriage and good name

of Tullia did not necessarily indicate that her marriage was an unhappy one or that his own relationship with Piso was strained, merely that upper class family alliances depended to a very great extent on political and economic interests and were subject to their fluctuating fortunes. It seems that the ties of amicitia and adfinitas held in this case and Piso remained staunchly allied with the ranks of Cicero's supporters in Rome.⁵⁹ But sadly, Piso died suddenly in 57 before the triumphant return of his father-in-law.⁶⁰

Piso's relationship with Cicero provides a clear demonstration of the fact that "in choosing a bride, a man was choosing a father-in-law." Tullia's marriage survived to a great extent because "the male network" held.⁶¹ The durability and utility of such male networks is evident too in the notably (or, for Carcopino, notoriously) amicable relationships Cicero enjoyed with Tullia's subsequent two husbands: with Crassipes after he and Tullia were divorced, and with Dolabella after her second divorce, and after her death.⁶² Even the connection with his first son-in-law, Piso, was sufficiently strong twelve years after his death when Cicero began a letter of recommendation for C. Flavius to the proconsul M. Acilius Caninus (?) c.45 with the words:

 fuit enim generi mei, C. Pisonis,
 pernecessarius ... Fam. 302 (XIII.31).1.

We have very little more information about Tullia's first marriage, or about Cicero's relationship with her during these years. Cicero wrote to Atticus in January 60 that his only relaxation was at home, cum uxore et filiola et mellito Cicerone (Att. 18 (I.18).1.). And in April 59 he wrote to tell Atticus of a proposed itinerary for himself and his family which included some games at Antium which Tullia particularly wanted to

watch.⁶³ Relations between the two households, it seems, remained close. Probably Piso and Tullia lived near Cicero, for several of the Pisones, including L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, owned houses and enclaves of land on the Palatine.⁶⁴ And Tullia may simply have found it agreeable to spend much of her time in her family home. It is possible, though unlikely, that the two families lived together. Joint families are attested in Republican times and we have seen that on occasion Cicero and his brother Quintus lived with their respective families as a joint household.⁶⁵ But Crook's study of family structure and property devolution in Republican Rome indicates clearly that the phenomenon of joint families was closely connected with the need to avoid splitting up family property.⁶⁶ Such an arrangement may have played a transitional role in the life of a family, the heirs living together until such time as sufficient property had been amassed to permit a separation of the families. In all cases cited by Crook the joint families comprised brothers and their wives and in some cases brothers and sisters with their respective spouses.⁶⁷ Examples of multigenerational joint families are lacking; thus it seems reasonable to assume that it was unlikely that Tullia and Piso lived with Cicero and Terentia. On the other hand, when Cicero was exiled and his house on the Palatine looted and burned,⁶⁸ Terentia may well have sought refuge for herself and Marcus in her daughter's household. During Cicero's exile Tullia wrote to him, perhaps jointly with her mother since Cicero's letters in response were usually addressed to Terentia, Tullia and Marcus together.⁶⁹ Piso himself was referred to in the third person in these letters; any separate correspondence between him and Cicero has not survived. The only personal glimpse from their lives comes from a later anecdote in Macrobius which probably contributes more to the tradition of

Cicero's humour than to our knowledge of personalities and relationships:⁷⁰

Cicero [inquam], cum Piso gener eius mollius
incederet, filia autem concitatus, ait filiae:
ambula tamquam vir. Sat. 2.3, 16.

TULLIA'S SECOND MARRIAGE:

When Cicero returned from exile on August 5, 57, he was met on his arrival at Brundisium by the recently widowed Tullia. Terentia appears not to have accompanied her and we are not told why. Despite the recent bereavement, it was a joyful and auspicious reunion. Cicero reports that jubilation greeted his return and general celebrations marked the start of his "second life" along with the birthdays of Tullia, the colony of Brundisium and, in Rome, of the Temple of Salus.⁷¹

There are no references in the letters to the death of Piso or to any grief on Tullia's part, although Cicero alludes to them briefly elsewhere.⁷² But domestic matters in general absorbed his attention for some time after his return. We hear in the letter to Atticus written shortly after Cicero's arrival in Rome in September 57, that his property and financial resources are fracta, dissipata and direpta, and later in the same letter he alludes to more personal matters in need of attention which he hesitates to put in a letter:

in re familiari valde sumus, ut scis, perturbati.
praeterea sunt quaedam domestica quae litteris
non committo. Quintum fratrem insigni pietate,
virtute, fide praeditum sic amo ut debeo.

Att. 73 (IV.1).8.

And in a letter a few weeks later Cicero repeats,

Ac forensium quidem rerum haec nostra consilia
sunt, domesticarum autem valde impedita ...
cetera quae me sollicitant μυστικώτερα sunt.
amamur a fratre et a filia.

Att. 74 (IV.2).7.

As we have seen these allusions probably refer to Terentia's freedman Philotimus and his suspicious financial activities.⁷³ Conceivably, however, the particularly private concerns may have included the search for a new husband for Tullia, a matter of some delicacy, always discussed by Cicero and Atticus with a measure of circumspection and even secrecy.⁷⁴ The fact that Quintus Cicero's name follows immediately upon the references to private domestic problems indicates that the brothers have been conferring over a variety of family financial matters, some of which very likely concerned Tullia.⁷⁵

By December 57 Quintus Cicero had left Rome for Sardinia where he was to serve as a legate of Pompeius, and Cicero was left alone to rebuild his properties, his fortune and his career. He eagerly awaited Atticus' return to Rome from mainland Greece where they had shared the last months of Cicero's exile on Atticus' estates at Buthrotum.⁷⁶ Cicero required his friend's financial and political advice, and very probably consulted with him too about the matter of Tullia's second marriage. Although there are no letters extant from Cicero to Atticus from the time he returned to Italy until after the date of Tullia's betrothal, we know that Atticus himself married Pilia during this time (February 12, 56) and was therefore in touch with the marriage market. And we know too that when it became necessary in 51 to find another husband for Tullia, Atticus was repeatedly consulted on the matter by Cicero.⁷⁷

Tullia's betrothal to Furius Crassipes, a wealthy nobleman of an ancient (though minor) patrician family, was virtually settled as early as March 56.⁷⁸ Cicero wrote to his brother Quintus in Sardinia:

de nostra Tullia tui mehercule amantissima spero
cum Crassipede nos confecisse ...

Q. fr. 8 (II.4).2.

and in subsequent letters informed him of the accomplished fact:

Dederam ad te litteras antea quibus erat scriptum
Tulliam nostram Crassipedi prid. <Non.> Apr. esse
desponsam ... Q. fr. 10 (II.6).1.

Cicero gave a dinner for Crassipes on April 6 to celebrate the engagement and two days after that Crassipes reciprocated with a dinner for Cicero.⁷⁹ Dinners, in fact, seem to feature very highly in the few extant references to Crassipes. Again, in two successive letters to Atticus which Cicero wrote from his house at Antium shortly before returning to Rome in June 56, he speaks of dining at Crassipes' suburban villa on his journey home and deferring Atticus' proposed "welcome home" dinner to the following day. Crassipes' villa was notably elegant; it was in one of the luxurious pleasure gardens on the outskirts of Rome, which seemed to have acquired a reputation for housing what Crook has termed "Roman night club" society, and was evidently situated on the Via Appia; for during the floods in November 54 along the Via Appia Cicero wrote to Quintus that Crassipes' promenade (ambulatio) had been swept away.⁸⁰ Crassipes' dinners too, were evidently luxurious affairs: Cicero speaks of "cheating" the sumptuary laws by dining at home with Crassipes rather than publicly.⁸¹ It must be noted that the cena, or Roman dinner party, was more than simply a friendly social convention: it was an important aspect of contemporary political and social life.⁸² The high incidence of references in the letters to Crassipes in connection with dinner parties is not evidence, as Carcopino has suggested, that Cicero had taken up a life of dissipation and gluttony.⁸³ Rather it reflects very accurately the type of relationship which existed between Cicero and the obscure Crassipes; it was a bond based on their mutual support for Pompeius. The political manoeuvring of this period was apparently very largely conducted in such

informal social gatherings. News was assessed and communicated and decisions were made frequently in the context of after-dinner conversations.⁸⁴

Cicero refers to Crassipes' dinners as part of a sequence of other legal and political business affairs. After one particular dinner Cicero went immediately to meet with Pompeius. In reference to another he says he planned to dine with Crassipes and then return home so as to be ready for Milo.⁸⁵ Even much later in their relationship, when Tullia had married another young man, a disillusioned Crassipes visited Cicero at Formiae to report on the state of the Pompeians he had left behind in Brundisium.⁸⁶

Most notably Cicero tells us of another political dinner, one at which he appears to have been host or co-host (apud <me>) and to have entertained the powerful M. Licinius Crassus. This was a type of semi-public reconciliation dinner held at the instigation of both Pompeius and Caesar. Crassus had offered to dine with Cicero, with whom he had waged a long series of political battles, and Cicero, after re-assessing his situation and his feelings (ratio temporum et naturae) invited Crassus to the suburban villa of his gener Crassipes:

Crassusque, ut quasi testata populo Romano
esset nostra gratia, paene a meis laribus in
provinciam est profectus; nam, cum mihi con-
dixisset, cenavit apud <me> in mei generi
Crassipedis hortis. Fam. 20 (I.9).20.

The dinner took place before mid-November 55,⁸⁷ that is before Crassus set out for Syria and his campaign against the Parthians, although Cicero's account of it was written in December 54. The relationship between Cicero and Crassipes therefore appears to have been amicable, even intimate, at least up to the end of 54. It did however deteriorate, and we know that by the end of 52 or early 51 Cicero was again looking for a

new husband for his daughter.

Tullia herself is rarely mentioned in the correspondence from the time of Cicero's return to Rome in 57 until his departure in 51 to his proconsular province of Cilicia. As a result, all that can be known of Cicero's relationship with her in this period derives from indirect references to her betrothal and to Crassipes, a meagre body of evidence. Our information about Cicero's private life during these years suffers from the fact that the infrequent letters to Atticus came to a complete stop in November 54 and only began again when Cicero had departed for Cilicia in 51. During the intervening years the two men were together either in or near Rome.⁸⁸ The Epistulae Ad Familiares contain some letters from these years but they are largely letters of recommendation; family matters do not figure in them to any great extent.⁸⁹ Most of the letters Cicero wrote to his brother Quintus are dated between 57 and 54. They contain the news of Tullia's betrothal, as we have seen, but give little more specific evidence on her or on her marriage situation.

We are left with a handful of oblique references to Tullia and Crassipes from well before 51, an interesting problem in dating Cicero's letter to Crassipes when he was quaestor in Bithynia, and an open question as to when, for how long, or even if Tullia and Crassipes were married.⁹⁰

Tullia's marriage to Furius Crassipes is generally assumed to have taken place sometime in 56 or 55. Treggiari, stating that "a long period of celibacy is unlikely," concludes that the marriage followed soon after the betrothal on April 4, 56.⁹¹ Shackleton Bailey says only that "the marriage followed within a year or so" and is even more unspecific about its duration.⁹² Of the marriage itself and the ensuing divorce we have

no direct evidence. But two pieces of evidence on Tullia suggest the strong possibility that the marriage did not take place at all. First, Plutarch states:

γήμεντι δ' αὐτῷ μετ'

οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἡ θυγάτηρ ἀπέθανε τίκτουσα
παρὰ Λέντλων. τοῦτω γὰρ ἐγαμήθη μετὰ τὴν
Πείσωνος τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς τελευταίην.⁹³
Cic. 41, 7, 8.

And secondly Asconius, perhaps Plutarch's source, states:

Cicero filiam post mortem Pisonis generi
P. Lentulo collocavit, apud quem illa ex partu
decessit. Asc., Pis. 4, 9-11.

From June and July 56, there are indications that the relationship between Crassipes and Cicero was close. Tullia, however, still appears to have been within her father's household. On June 20, 56 she was with Cicero at his townhouse in Antium where she was hoping for a visit from Atticus and his young wife Pilia.⁹⁴ Also in late June or July 56 Cicero wrote a long letter to P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, then governor of Cilicia,⁹⁵ and at the end of it he remarked:

Quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede gratularis,
agnosco humanitatem tuam speroque et opto nobis
hanc coniunctionem voluptati fore.
Fam. 18 (I.7).11.

A coniunctio may refer equally to a betrothal, that is to an agreement of intent to marry, or to the formalized marriage alliance. In this passage the stress is clearly on the future (spero, opto, fore); an engagement is being discussed.⁹⁶

When Cicero decided to return to Rome for the Kalends of July 56 he spoke of dining at Crassipes' on his way home: Kalendis cogito in hortis Crassipedis quasi in deversorio cenare. (Att. 81 (IV.12)). We are not told whether Tullia returned with Cicero to Rome or stayed behind in the

family house at Antium. In fact she is not mentioned at all. Nor is she mentioned in the next reference to Crassipes, the description of the politically strategic dinner with Crassus in November 55, described in a letter of December 54. Crassipes here, and here only, is called meus gener. As is clear from other usages, the term gener could be and frequently was applied to sponsi, to sons-in-law in prospectu.⁹⁷ Cicero's use of the term here was distinctly politically motivated. He wished to stress unequivocally the very personal, intimate footing on which he had received M. Licinius Crassus -- his phraseology is rhetorical and exaggerated, as for example in the statement that Crassus has set out for Syria paene a meis laribus. Voigt has suggested, "Wie das paene a meis laribus eine starke Uebertreibung in sich birgt, so braucht auch gener nicht durchaus auf eine schon geschlossene Ehe dieses Mannes mit Tullia zu gehen. Es könnte damit nur der zukünftige, praesumptive, aber noch nicht der Tochter angetraute Schwiegersohn bezeichnet sein...."⁹⁸

The brief references to Tullia in 54 suggest that Cicero regularly discussed his day to day undertakings with her: he tells Atticus that Tullia will be pleased at his negotiating some of Pilia's business affairs in Atticus' absence, and at another time he confides that he refrained from making some politically provocative comments because Tullia was unwell and he did not want to distress her further by incurring the anger of his old adversary P. Clodius Pulcher.⁹⁹ We cannot definitely infer from these few remarks that Tullia was still at home, but it does seem possible. At the end of 54 Cicero, who was at Tusculum, remarked casually in a letter to Quintus that in Rome there was exceptionally heavy flooding, and that a great many residences and shops had been swept away, including Crassipes' promenade.¹⁰⁰ There is no mention again of Tullia, although

one might expect some paternal concern if she were in the midst of such an apparently large-scale disaster area. Perhaps, again, she was still within Cicero's own household at the end of 54.¹⁰¹

Shackleton Bailey has suggested the possibility that Crassipes himself may have been absent from Rome at this time. He has concluded that Cicero's letter to Crassipes as quaestor in Bithynia (Fam. 139 (XIII.9)) should be dated before the traditional date of 51. It has usually been considered part of the correspondence of Cicero's proconsulate. The letter asks for Crassipes' support, as quaestor, for the socii Bithyniae, a consortium of tax-farming companies, whose members were familiares of Cicero. Cicero mentions that he had previously recommended the socii to Crassipes in person, and it is from this remark that the difficulty with assigning the letter to 51 or 50 has arisen.¹⁰² Shackleton Bailey suggests 54 as a more probable date for Crassipes' quaestorship, but finds a year earlier or later feasible. If Crassipes is assumed to have departed for his province no earlier than March and to have remained until at least April of the following year,¹⁰³ his quaestorship could have been from 55-54, 54-53, or 53-52. But if it had been any later, he would not have returned before Cicero left for Asia in May 51. In addition a letter from Cicero to Atticus suggests that Crassipes was in Rome in the spring of 50.¹⁰⁴ The redating of the letter to Crassipes in Bithynia to an earlier period makes Cicero's subsequent relationship with him more comprehensible. We see a still functioning camaraderie, an intact adfinitas, in the years around 55 and 54, followed by the years 54 to 51 for which we have unfortunately very few relevant letters. Then when the correspondence with Atticus resumed in 51 we find that Cicero had been looking for a husband for Tullia for some time and with some urgency. In

addition, tension is evident between Cicero and Crassipes -- he deliberately avoided writing to Crassipes for his support for a triumph in 50.¹⁰⁵ Relations recovered and reached a level of superficial amiability, with perhaps a veiled hint of animosity, in 49 when Crassipes visited Cicero with his report on Pompeius' troops.¹⁰⁶ And finally in 48 there is one last possible reference to Crassipes: this time he has become an outright enemy and joined the ranks of those in Caesar's camp who are slandering Cicero.¹⁰⁷

The traditional interpretation of this sequence of events is that there had been a divorce. Voigt however suggests that the marriage to Tullia may have been delayed because of Cicero's very strained financial circumstances in the years immediately following his return from exile.¹⁰⁸ Cicero gives the definite impression of a man struggling to get back on his feet and to reestablish his finances on a sound footing, for which purpose he repeatedly requests Atticus' advice:

...valde laboramus, tuarumque non tam facultatum,
quas nostras esse iudico, quam consiliorum ad
colligendas et constituendas reliquias nostras
indigemus. Att. 73 (IV.1).3.¹⁰⁹

Both he and Quintus were badly in debt, but partly as investments and partly to restore their respective dignitas each embarked on a vast programme of building, rebuilding and the acquisition of new properties. Between 56 and 54 workmen were continuously engaged on the Cicerones' properties both in Rome and in the country. Cicero describes one of his houses as draughty and full of carpenters and wrote to his brother in March 56:

tribus locis aedifico, reliqua reconcinno. vivo
paulo liberalius quam solebam. opus erat.
Q. fr. 9 (II.5 (4.3-7)).1 (3).

In 54, Quintus joined Caesar in Gaul and Britain, for motives which were in part political but which also reflected a continuing financial embarrassment.¹¹⁰

In view of the definite financial strains of re-establishing himself in his "second life", it is quite conceivable that Cicero might have deferred the additional demands of Tullia's dowry for as long as possible. If to these financial considerations we add Crassipes' departure from Rome for Bithynia, perhaps as early as 55, Tullia's ambiguous position in her father's household and the uncertain political climate from which Cicero attempted to extract himself in the years following 54,¹¹¹ then it is far from inconceivable that the proposed match for Tullia did not come about.¹¹² Cicero may have decided in the end that it was simply not worth his while for Tullia to marry Crassipes: considerations of sentiment may well have been completely irrelevant. Neither marriage nor divorce is specifically attested, only the apparently deteriorating relationship between Cicero and Crassipes and the fairly pressing concern to find a husband for Tullia in early 51. Asconius and Plutarch may have been accurate when they wrote that Cicero's daughter married Dolabella, after Piso.

TULLIA'S MARRIAGE TO P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA:

When in early May 51 the correspondence between Cicero and Atticus resumed, Cicero had already left Rome with his son Marcus for the journey to his province of Cilicia. They were to spend the following eighteen months in the East, and one of Cicero's chief fears as he set out was that his stay might prove to be longer. His brother Quintus, who, with his own son, was a member of Cicero's entourage, had endured a three year

term as proconsul in Asia ten years before, and Cicero was determined to forestall a similar fate.¹¹³ He was unhappy if too long away from Rome. Despite his intermittent pursuit of the delights of solitude, peace and philosophy, it was vitally important for Cicero that he be, if not at the centre of events, at least on the periphery.¹¹⁴

But political disorder in Rome after the death of Crassus in 53 had become increasingly turbulent as alliances shifted and anarchy or dictatorship loomed, and even Cicero found his freedom of speech gone, as Pompeius and Caesar in turn pressured him into supporting causes and advocating men he despised.¹¹⁵ As a result he had voluntarily withdrawn from the centre of the political stage after 54. As a legate of Pompeius with nominal duties, he stayed closely in touch with events and continued to attend to the interests of his own necessarii and familiares, but he was able in particular to enjoy private and domestic pleasures.¹¹⁶ And when Pompeius' law of 52 specifying a five-year interval between the holding of a magistracy and a promagistracy resulted in a shortage of available provincial governors, and the province of Cilicia was assigned to Cicero, his feelings were clear. He called it a colossal nuisance (ingens molestia) and wrote to the current governor of Cilicia, Appius Claudius Pulcher, asking for his assistance in effecting a smooth change of administration and expressing in no uncertain terms his own annoyance at the disruption of his life:

Cum et contra voluntatem meam et praeter opinionem
accidisset ut mihi cum imperio in provinciam pro-
ficisci necesse esset, in multis et variis molestiis
cogitationibusque meis haec una consolatio occurrebat,...
Fam. 65 (III.2).1.

One rather pressing responsibility which Cicero was compelled to leave unresolved in 51 was that of finding a new husband for Tullia. She was

nearly twenty-five at this time and the matter of her future was once again under active consideration. The issue was high on Cicero's list of priorities to judge from his continued preoccupation with it in the letters to Atticus written during the early months of his travels.¹¹⁷ Part of the urgency was that he knew Atticus himself was due to be away from Rome for an extended period in the near future. Cicero probably hoped to settle the matter expeditiously while Atticus, his agent in all things, was still on the spot. In two later letters which he wrote when Atticus was in Epirus, he confers with him about Tullia's marriage; in one he says regretfully, sed vellem adesses, and in the second suggests that Atticus use a mutual amicus to convey their decision about a candidate to Rome, adding, ne tu me sollicitudine magna liberaris.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless Tullia's marriage continued to be of concern to Cicero throughout the whole of his absence, that is from May 51 until November 50. The final decision on a suitable husband was still open in June 50, at least in Cicero's view, although in fact as we shall see, his information was not up to date. For at this time he wrote a letter to Atticus, whom he expected now to be safely back in Rome, asking him yet again to attend to Tullia's marital prospects;¹¹⁹ indeed the only references at all to Tullia in Cicero's letters during the years 51 and 50 are in connection with her marriage. Since only one letter to Terentia survives,¹²⁰ and none to Tullia, although we know that many were written, once again our understanding of the relationship between Tullia and her father is illuminated only by the glimpses of his attitudes which the arrangements he made about her marriage allow.

A number of people besides Cicero and Atticus were involved in the protracted procedure. We hear of the participation of two of Cicero's amici in Rome, P. Sestius and M. Caelius Rufus, a variety of go-betweens

for the various candidates for Tullia's hand, including an obscure Pontidea and Servilia, the mother of Brutus,¹²¹ and one suitor in particular who at a later stage travelled to Cilicia and presented himself in person to Cicero.¹²² In addition to these third parties Terentia and Tullia herself seem to have taken part in the process of selection from the outset.¹²³ Even though a large number of people participated in the negotiations, an air of partial secrecy prevailed; there were guarded allusions to mea domestica et maxima cura, illo domestico scrupulo, and illud ἐνδόμυχον.¹²⁴ Partly because dignitas required that the matter of a daughter's betrothal be handled with discretion, and partly because Cicero was far away and not always supplied with trustworthy couriers, he often refrained from naming possible bridegrooms directly.¹²⁵

We do know however that before Cicero had left for the East, three men in particular had been proposed as candidates for Tullia's hand. While he was still travelling through Italy, Cicero wrote to Atticus from Beneventum on May 12, 51. The letter briefly assessed the merits of the three suitors and indicated that Cicero was inclining more toward one of the young men, though not very enthusiastically, sed inopia cogimur eo contenti esse (Att. 97 (V.4).1). The inopia of candidates, as Treggiari has clearly outlined, cannot be attributed to any deficiencies in Cicero's position or Tullia's reputation, but rather to a combination of factors which encompassed the climate of political uncertainty, the amount of dowry Cicero was prepared to offer, the financial and family standing he required of a son-in-law, and very probably the constraints imposed by Tullia's age, her apparent infertility and her own wishes on the matter.¹²⁶

Tullia may well have participated in the decisions surrounding her earlier possible marriage to and divorce from Crassipes. Her age, her

previous marital status and her relationship with her father strongly suggest so, although there are no specific details of negotiations with Crassipes in the letters.¹²⁷ But here, in 51, we do have clear evidence that Cicero was considering Tullia's preferences in the elaborate matrimonial deliberations which were absorbing the family:

de illo altero quem scribis tibi visum esse non
alienum, vereor adduci ut nostra possit, et tu
<a>is δυσδιάγνωστον esse.

Att. 97 (V.4).1.

And so of the three young men initially under consideration one, whose name we do not know, was dismissed because Tullia would not consider him. Two possible suitors remained; one of them was Servius Sulpicius Rufus the younger, son of the eminent jurist Servius Sulpicius Rufus, cos. 51. A marriage alliance with the son would no doubt have been eminently desirable, for his family was patrician on both sides and Cicero was on good terms with its members.¹²⁸ The negotiations, however, which were to be conducted through Servilia, one of Rome's most influential grandes dames and a friend of Atticus, were evidently expected to be long and complex.¹²⁹ In anticipation of this and knowing that not only he himself but Atticus too would be absent from Rome for a lengthy period, Cicero hesitated to pursue the connection with Sulpicius:

Nam posset aliquid, si utervis nostrum adesset,
agente Servilia Servio fieri probabile. nunc, si
iam res placeat, agendi tamen viam non video.

Att. 97 (V.4).1.

The remaining candidate was the one toward whom Cicero was beginning, perforce, to incline. For him too no name is given, but Collins has persuasively demonstrated that he was the young man referred to in subsequent letters as "Pontidia's candidate" (hunc a Pontidia).¹³⁰ Pontidia is likewise unknown, as is her relationship to the young man. The scholarly

consensus is that he was very probably the son of an equestrian family with a municipal background, in fact that he may have come from Cicero's own native Arpinum. "The gens Pontidia does not figure in any lists of magistrates or other historically known persons" at Rome.¹³¹ Yet there are two references in Cicero to a certain M. Pontidius, municeps noster.¹³² It appears that Cicero's preferences were for a good solid eques as a son-in-law rather than the more politically vulnerable patrician Sulpicius. And Atticus, it seems, agreed with him, for when over the succeeding months Pontidia appeared not to be negotiating in good faith (Pontidia nugatur, Att. 114 (V.21).14) and Cicero returned to the possibility of Servius Sulpicius Rufus, Atticus reluctantly agreed but wrote that he wished Cicero had gone back to his "old gang" (in tuum veterem gregem, Att. 115 (VI.1).10). Shackleton Bailey suggests that this colloquial use of grex indicates both a return to Cicero's natural social milieu, the equestrian order of which he had been a proud member, and more specifically a return to the people of his native Arpinum with whom he continued all his life to nourish close ties.¹³³

From the opening words of a long letter to Atticus on February 20, 50, it seems that by the early spring of 50 the difficulties with Pontidia had been overcome and with a certain relief her candidate accepted.¹³⁴ But two problems combined at this point to frustrate the outcome of Cicero's decision. The first was one he had anticipated: the fact that his absence was long, the distance of separation was great and communication within the family consequently severely hampered.¹³⁵ When he had left Rome Atticus too, his alter ego, was planning to be away in Epirus for an extended stay and left Rome in mid-summer 51, only a few months after Cicero's departure. Cicero had commented to Atticus almost

prophetically at the outset of his journey on the difficulties he foresaw for the marriage negotiations: sed tu aberis et me absente res thabebis mirationem† (Att. 97 (V.4).1.). Although this line is corrupt, the consensus is that the sentence implies that in his absence Cicero's advice will carry less force with his family, and other factors (and individuals) will be more influential.¹³⁶ The second, concomitant problem was one which he had perhaps not foreseen.-- it was a case of 'too many cooks'. Not only had Cicero commissioned Atticus to find a husband for Tullia, he had it seems given a similar mandate to others. P. Sestius, the tribune of 57, in some capacity had conferred with Atticus c. July 51 over the problem and reported the conclusions to Cicero.¹³⁷ And Cicero's young protégé M. Caelius Rufus, detailed by him to report diligently on all aspects of the political scene (including the gossip), was also instructed to give thought to the matter of a husband for Tullia.¹³⁸ The commission was very probably a general one: to survey the possibilities and report to Cicero. At the same time it appears that Cicero left equally general instructions with Terentia and Tullia to take steps in the matter as they saw fit. Much later, after Tullia and Terentia had proceeded unilaterally to arrange a betrothal to P. Cornelius Dolabella, Cicero wrote a dignified explanation to his friend and Dolabella's enemy, Claudius Pulcher, an explanation which was probably substantially true.

in quo unum non vereor, ne tu parum perspicias
ea quae gesta sint ab aliis esse gesta; quibus
ita mandaram ut, cum tam longe a futuris essem, ad
me ne referrent, agerent quod probassent.

Fam. 75 (III.12).2. ¹³⁹

The outcome of this combination of wide-flung net and erratically delayed communications was inevitably chaotic. For while in February 50 Cicero, having settled on Pontidia's candidate, was writing to Terentia

and Tullia with his approval, two other suitors were in the process of lobbying for acceptance. The first, P. Cornelius Dolabella,¹⁴⁰ was initially reported to Cicero by Caelius as an interested person in a letter no longer extant but which probably reached Cicero at about the time he was endorsing Pontidia's candidate in February 50.¹⁴¹ Caelius followed this letter with another, also written in February, in which he referred to his previous suggestion and added some second thoughts:

Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter postulationem et nominis delationem uxor a Dolabella discessit. quid mihi discedens mandarum memini; quid ego tibi scripserim te non arbitror oblitum. non est iam tempus plura narrandi; unum illud monere te possum, si res tibi non displicebit, tamen hoc tempore nihil de tua voluntate ostendas et exspectes quem ad modum exeat ex hac causa denique.... de Dolabella integrum tibi reserves suadeo....

Fam. 88 (VIII.6).1 and 5.

Dolabella's political activities were of a kind to antagonize two of Cicero's most influential amici, Pompeius and M. Brutus, for he was currently prosecuting de maiestate Cicero's rather touchy predecessor in Cilicia, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, a man only recently reconciled to Cicero, and two of whose daughters were married to Brutus and Pompeius respectively.¹⁴² As the outcome of the trial was not easy to foresee, Caelius quite rightly warned Cicero not to play with fire. Cicero evidently heeded Caelius' warnings about Dolabella, and above all he wanted to maintain the newly restored accord between himself and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who also had written to Cicero at some length about the rumour current in Rome that Dolabella was a possible candidate for Tullia's hand.¹⁴³ Cicero was at pains to dispel any suggestion of a link between his family and the rash Dolabella. Immediately on receipt of the letters from Caelius and Pulcher he wrote describing Dolabella's talk of such a

marriage as sermo stultus et puerilis and assuring Pulcher that his own loyalty was unswerving:

ego autem citius cum eo qui tuas inimicitias
suscepisset veterem coniunctionem diremissem quam
novam consiliassem.... Fam. 73 (III.10).5.

Caelius' warning was unnecessary, as far as Cicero was concerned, for another strong reason. Shortly after the dispatch of Caelius' letter to him from Rome and his own to Atticus in Epirus confirming the Pontidean candidate, a new suitor had presented himself in person in Cilicia to ask for Tullia's hand. Ti. Claudius Nero, a young nobleman, travelled to Laodicea partly on business and partly to offer himself as a son-in-law to Cicero with whom he met in late March or early April 50.¹⁴⁴ Cicero was delighted with the proposed match and wrote immediately to the mulieres in Rome.¹⁴⁵ We do not know whether Cicero endorsed Nero over the Pontidean candidate or whether he simply conveyed his own enthusiasm and left the final decision in the hands of Terentia and Tullia. No doubt flattered by Nero's efforts to reach him personally, Cicero was also aware of both his individual and his familial qualities. Nero was indeed the finest of the candidates, a young man nobilis, ingeniosus and abstinens as Cicero described him in a letter of recommendation written to the governor of a province adjacent to Cilicia.¹⁴⁶ Later Nero served and flourished under Caesar, and became quaestor in 48, and praetor in 42. He was altogether a more desirable son-in-law than either Dolabella, whose personal reputation and political volatility were decidedly detrimental, or even the young man from Arpinum, whose character and fortune may have been sound but who could not compete in rank and family with Nero. By the end of April then, Cicero no doubt felt secure in the expectation that Tullia's marital prospects were well on their way to being resolved.

Two of the proposed candidates, the Arpinate equus and Ti. Claudius Nero had suited Cicero sufficiently for him to send his approval to Terentia and Tullia. In good faith he could assure Pulcher that an alliance with Dolabella was not under consideration. We have no information as to whether Cicero responded specifically to put an end to Dolabella's suit or whether he surmised that any negotiations which may have been in progress at Rome would be protracted and inconclusive in his absence and thus could safely be ignored in the face of his successive direct endorsements of the Pontidean candidate and Nero.

In either case the only further reference to Dolabella in the letters to Caelius is a passing one: in a letter of early May Cicero refers to Dolabella's temeritas in attacking Appius; of Tullia there is no word.¹⁴⁷ Cicero evidently remained ignorant of the outcome of events through May and into June, for as the end of his one year term in Cilicia approached he wrote to Atticus with a certain urgency. Expecting that Atticus was planning to return to Rome in June (although in fact he did not arrive until September), Cicero was anxious that Atticus immediately involve himself in his affairs.¹⁴⁸ Several major areas requiring Atticus' attention are listed, but at the top of the list, significantly even above a request that he set to work pressing for a triumph for the returning Cicero, was a request that Atticus sort out Tullia's matrimonial affairs:

Tu quando Romam salvus (ut spero) venisti,
videbis, ut soles, omnia quae intelleges nostra
interesse, in primis de Tullia mea, cuius de
condicione quid mihi placeret scripsi ad
Terentiam cum tu in Graecia esses.

Att. 118 (VI.4).2.

The letter to Terentia to which Cicero refers here is not extant, and we do not know whether Cicero was referring to his endorsement of Ti. Claudius Nero, dispatched probably in late April, or whether he was

referring to an updated version of Treggiari's suggested "balance sheet of what Cicero would ideally like ... and of the candidates who he thought were still in the running."¹⁴⁹ Therefore we do not know with any certainty what sort of arrangement for decision-making Cicero, Terentia and Tullia had evolved. It seems clear that in June and July 50, despite his lack of up-to-date information, Cicero still expected to play a decisive role in the final stages of the decision about Tullia's new husband, even if it was to be through the good offices of Atticus.

His surprise was completely genuine therefore when he arrived at the port of Side on August 3, 50 en route to Rome and received letters both informing him of and congratulating him upon Tullia's engagement to P. Cornelius Dolabella. Among others he received letters from Caelius, Atticus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, and presumably also from Terentia and Tullia (a meis).¹⁵⁰ The betrothal had been celebrated in late May, shortly before Cicero's messengers bearing his endorsement of Ti. Claudius Nero had reached Rome and more than two months before Cicero himself, whose mail had probably been delayed by a change of itinerary, received the news.¹⁵¹ Clearly Terentia and Tullia, in the absence of both Cicero and Atticus, had chosen to proceed independently with the first stages of a match. This much at least Cicero had entrusted to them before his departure from Rome.¹⁵² Collins has pointed to Cicero's presentiments, expressed in a letter to Atticus from Beneventum of May 12, 51, that in their joint absence any decision about Tullia's marriage would have an unpredictable outcome; Collins suggests that the wishes of Terentia and Tullia were the decisive factors Cicero had in mind.¹⁵³ We have also seen that Cicero intended to consult Tullia on her wishes with respect to a new husband,¹⁵⁴ and therefore that such a general commission to Terentia

and Tullia as Cicero described to Appius Claudius Pulcher seems perfectly in keeping with what we have seen of his relationships with his wife and daughter:

ego mandaram ut, cum tam longe afuturus essem,
ad me ne referrent, agerent quod probassent.

Fam. 75 (III.12) 2 and 3.

His surprise therefore was perhaps not so much that Terentia and Tullia had made the betrothal arrangements, but rather that they had chosen someone whom, as far as we can tell, they had not discussed with Cicero at all and that they had proceeded with the arrangements at a speed which may have seemed to him excessive. Three letters have survived which Cicero wrote immediately in answer to the news from Rome. They exhibit some basic similarities of attitude but differ significantly in the degree of openness with which Cicero expressed his feelings. He was of course writing to three very different people and his reactions to the announcement were complex. One was a very careful response designed to soothe the prickly but influential Appius Claudius Pulcher and at the same time to preserve his own dignitas. He thanked him for his kind wishes, expressed his own embarrassment (haesitatio) and explained that the betrothal had been arranged by his wife and daughter without his specific knowledge (me insciente) but with, of course, his more general permission. Cicero very clearly told Pulcher that although he himself had not been able to be consulted, had he been present and had the two women proposed the same match he would not have refused them. He would merely have requested that the announcement and celebration of the coniugium be postponed to a more suitable time, one less politically embarrassing to both Pulcher and himself.¹⁵⁵

To Atticus he echoed the suggestion that his own role had been cir-

cumvented and that he had been completely surprised by the turn of events:

Ego dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno,
subito sum factus accusatoris eius socer. 'id
quidem' inquis 'di adprobent!'. ita velim, teque
ita cupere certo scio. sed crede mihi, nihil
minus putaram ego, ... Att. 121 (VI.6).1.

Cicero's use of the passive voice here is in keeping with his protestations in the passage above to Pulcher in which he emphasized that the decision had been made me insciente.¹⁵⁶ But to Atticus Cicero is more frank and reveals the misgivings underlying the optimistic facade of his acceptance of the situation:

sed hoc spero melius. mulieres quidem valde
intellego delectari obsequio et comitate adulescentis.
cetera noli ἐξασπασθίζειν.

Att. 121 (VI.6).1.

Shackleton Bailey translates ἐξασπασθίζειν (to deck with thorns) as "paint in black colours".¹⁵⁷ Cicero may have been referring to some earlier correspondence with Atticus in which Dolabella's character flaws had been under discussion. The cetera in this letter is most certainly paralleled by the cetera in the letter of congratulation from M. Caelius Rufus which Cicero had also just received and which was no doubt very much in his mind:

cetera porro, quibus adhuc ille sibi parum
utilis fuit, et aetate iam sunt decussa et
consuetudine atque auctoritate tua, pudore
Tulliae, si qua restabunt, confido celeriter
sublatum iri. non est enim pugnax in vitiis
neque hebes ad id quod melius sit intellegendum....

Fam. 94 (VIII.13).1.

With Atticus Cicero had hoped for the best (di adprobent!) and kept his private thoughts for the most part in check. To M. Caelius Rufus, a close friend of Dolabella, his answering letter was even more tactfully euphemistic in its references to Dolabella's vices:

nam ea quae speras Tulliae meae prudentia
temperari posse, scio cui tuae epistulae respondeant.
quid si meam legas quam ego tum ex tuis litteris misi
ad Appium? sed quid agas? sic vivitur. quod actum
est di approbent! spero fore iucundum generum nobis,
multumque in eo tua nos humanitas adiuvabit.

Fam. 96 (II.15).2.

But Cicero's diplomatic suggestion that Caelius' humanitas might exert a good influence on Dolabella's behaviour indicates the extent of his own underlying unease. Once again he repeats, uncharacteristically, di approbent!¹⁵⁹

To the external world therefore Cicero painted a picture of acceptance of the marriage alliance initiated by his wife and daughter -- but his acceptance was tinged with a reluctance visible according to the level of intimacy he enjoyed with his correspondents. Unfortunately there is no evidence about the way in which Cicero responded to his family. Nor, in fact, are the full implications of that news very clear. We do not know when the marriage between Tullia and Dolabella took place nor to what extent Cicero himself was involved in matters subsequent to the betrothal announcement. It is evident that the betrothal was arranged and accomplished exclusively by the women of the family. Some scholars have presumed that the marriage then followed soon after the betrothal, that is in the summer or early fall of 50 and before Cicero returned to Rome in late November 50.¹⁶⁰ The question of the chronology of the marriage and of the extent to which Cicero may have been involved in the decisions surrounding it is important; for Terentia's and Tullia's precipitate and "disastrous choice" has seemed to some a classic example of mature Roman women acting independently and to some extent in contravention of the traditional patriarchal norms of Roman Republican society.¹⁶¹

It is necessary, however, to examine in greater detail whether such

a picture is entirely accurate. The extant letters which contain information about Tullia's betrothal date from early June to October 16, 50, and from them no clear statement emerges of when the marriage might have occurred.¹⁶² Part of the problem is that the terms used to describe the father-in-law or son-in-law relationships may be used in prospectu, just as a consul-designate may be called consul.¹⁶³ Therefore, when Cicero describes himself as Dolabella's socer or Dolabella as his gener, the usage does not indicate whether the marriage itself has taken place or merely the betrothal rites (sponsalia). Nor do the terms coniugium, coniunctio, or adfinitas, each of which may be translated as 'marriage-alliance' or 'marriage-connection', clearly tell us whether the compact has been completed or is still in the form of an agreement of intent to marry.¹⁶⁴ Such an agreement could be and frequently was terminated by either party with very little difficulty.¹⁶⁵ When, therefore, Cicero thanked Atticus' wife Pilia for her remarks de coniugio Tulliae meae in a letter from Ephesus, dated October 1, 50, this is not necessarily evidence that the marriage had now taken place, merely that such an alliance had been undertaken and recognized.¹⁶⁶

Another factor which must be considered is what appears to have been a significant hiatus in the sequence of letters from Cicero to Terentia. Cicero's correspondence with his family is represented by one letter which survives from late in this period and which was written to Terentia from Athens on October 16, 50. We know that Terentia and Tullia had written to Cicero announcing the betrothal in May, and that this news reached him first on August 3, 50 when, after a change of travel plans which may have delayed his mail, he arrived by sea at Side.¹⁶⁷ He presumably responded to their letter(s); we know that he immediately answered those of

Atticus, M. Caelius Rufus and Appius Claudius Pulcher.¹⁶⁸ During his subsequent journey via Rhodes and Ephesus to Athens, Cicero seems to have written few letters, perhaps because of the difficulties imposed on communication by the strong Etesian winds which he mentions as causing his own delay on several occasions.¹⁶⁹ One letter from this journey is extant (Att. 122 (VI.8)), to Atticus from Ephesus, dated October 1, 50, in answer to one Cicero had received the day before. Apart from this, Cicero's next large-scale receipt and dispatch of mail after the flurry at Side in early August appears to have been at Athens in mid-October.

Having arrived in Athens on October 14, Cicero received a letter from Terentia which had left Rome at the end of the third week in September and in which Terentia expressed concern that none of her earlier letters had reached him.¹⁷⁰ Such concern seems to indicate either that Cicero's replies had not reached her, or that he had not replied at all. His response indicates the latter. He tells her merely:

accepi tuas litteras, quibus intellexi te vereri
ne superiores mihi redditae non essent. omnes sunt
redditae diligentissimeque a te perscripta sunt
omnia, idque mihi gratissimum fuit.

Fam. 119 (XIV.5).1.

There is no substantive comment on any of the contents of her letters, no mention of Dolabella or of Tullia's marriage, only the customary greetings to her and an expression of his and Marcus' eagerness to see them both again. At no point does he refer to any letters of his which may have gone astray or been delayed, although this was his custom in similarly uncertain circumstances.¹⁷¹

It seems from Cicero's letter that Terentia and Tullia had written extensively and regularly over an unspecified period of time, but at least up to the end of September, and that Terentia was concerned that

the letters may not have been reaching her husband.¹⁷² We can perhaps infer from this concern that in some way Cicero's approval or consent was being sought before the marriage arrangements were concluded. Such an interpretation is further suggested by a postscript to one of the letters from Caelius to Cicero despatched from Rome at the end of September 50.¹⁷³ Unfortunately the text remains in doubt. Shackleton Bailey has conjectured scis domi tuae teri diem; tu morae es for the obelized scis †domitio diem tumorae est†, and suggests that the passage indicates that Tullia's wedding had not yet taken place.¹⁷⁴ The women may well have been waiting to hear from Cicero, perhaps in connection with the dowry arrangements, or to ascertain the probable dates of his journey with a view to celebrating the marriage upon his triumphal return. Possibly they were simply waiting to obtain his blessing and legal consent to the match. Certainly a father's permission was a central feature in Roman marriage.¹⁷⁵ Under normal circumstances it would have been sought by the prospective bridegroom before the betrothal was arranged. Ti. Claudius Nero managed to attain the consent of Tullia's father even under adverse conditions.¹⁷⁶ Possibly Cicero's apparent lack of response to Terentia's letters indicates that he was not yet ready to give a final opinion on the match. Cicero may indeed have required time to become accustomed to the idea of Dolabella, a prize with substantial drawbacks, as a son-in-law. The specific nature of Dolabella's political affiliations at this early stage in his career are not clearly evident, but his activities were of a kind to cause trepidation in conservative hearts. Dolabella had been elected to the Quindecimviri in the summer of 51, defeating L. Cornelius P. f. Lentulus Crus, cos. 49, a firm optimate, and surprising many people, including himself.¹⁷⁷ This success coupled with his subsequent attacks on Pulcher

in late 51 and early 50 must surely have made him appear too politically volatile for Cicero's comfort, particularly since Cicero himself at this time was carefully trying to balance his own conflicting political alliances. On occasion Cicero exhibited a pronounced tendency to deliberate at length over critical matters and to defer decisions or commitments; this may well have been such a time.¹⁷⁸ Hesitation to commit himself irrevocably to one specific political course is apparent in letters to Atticus from this period, in which Cicero debated at great length about the various possibilities for action open to him on his return because of his good relationships with both Pompeius and Caesar.¹⁷⁹ In any case, in a letter from Athens, dated October 15, 50, Cicero wrote urgently to Atticus, who had just returned to Rome after his long stay in Epirus, asking him to write back with up-to-date information on the situation at Rome. First and foremost he requested:

tu mihi, ut polliceris, de Tulliola mea, id
est de Dolabella, perscribes ...

Att. 123 (VI.9).5.

That this was a request for accurate information about the stage to which the marriage arrangements had progressed is quite probable.¹⁸⁰

The first indication that the marriage may have taken place is in Cicero's letter to Atticus of December 9, 50. He had arrived in Brundisium, after many delays, on November 24 and had met Terentia, also just arrived, in the market square.¹⁸¹ There is no mention of Tullia or Dolabella until Cicero and Terentia had journeyed north as far as L. Pontius' house at Trebula which Terentia had visited on her journey south to Brundisium and where the family appear to have gathered to greet Cicero on his return.¹⁸² It is from this house that Cicero wrote to Atticus:

Quid superest? etiam: gener est suavis mihi,

Tulliae, Terentiae; quantumvis vel ingeni vel
humanitatis †satis†; reliqua, quae nosti, ferenda.
scis enim quos †aperierimus†; qui omnes, praeter
eum de quo per te egimus, reum me facerent. ipsis
enim expensum nemo ferret. sed haec coram; nam
multi sermonis sunt. Att. 126 (VII.3).12.

"Presumably they were married by now"¹⁸³ -- but perhaps only very recently.

In view of the normal social expectation that a father's consent was a vital element in a marriage contract, and in view too of the apparent silence and delay on Cicero's part, of the ambiguity in the terms gener, socer and coniugium, and the lack of any clear attestation of the marriage until after Cicero's return, it seems likely that his permission was sought by the women and perhaps granted as late as after his return to Italy. Tullia and Dolabella's marriage which, under ordinary circumstances would have been celebrated at Rome, of necessity may have taken place elsewhere. It may perhaps have been celebrated at one of Cicero's country villas, for Cicero persevered in his optimistic determination to secure a triumph for many months after his return to Italy, and consequently Rome was to be avoided, even for significant familial and social events.¹⁸⁴ It seems, then, that contrary to first impressions, Cicero may well have been more involved in Tullia's third marriage than is generally assumed.

The motives for compacting this match are unclear. Syme says they were mercenary on Dolabella's part (his wealthy, older wife had recently left him) and snobbish on the part of Terentia and Tullia.¹⁸⁵ Shackleton Bailey too infers that Dolabella was selected on "purely social and personal grounds",¹⁸⁶ a position challenged recently by Dixon and by Treggiari; "Dolabella's charm is mentioned as a redeeming feature of the match rather than as the motive for it. Cicero is not accusing his women-folk of falling for mere sex appeal."¹⁸⁷ Political considerations can

never be assumed to be absent from marriages contracted among the Roman elite, and Dixon asserts that a marriage described as "social" may be so only in so far as we lack confirmation about its possible political implications.¹⁸⁸ We should not underestimate Terentia's own political acumen. Indeed she has been accused of plotting with the Caesarian faction against her husband only a few years after these events.¹⁸⁹ There is evidence that Tullia too was politically acute; her assessments and advice were noted by Cicero as early as 54 and certainly in the following politically convoluted years she played a visible role in family decision-making.¹⁹⁰ Perhaps while Cicero struggled in 51 and 50 to uphold the bonds of amicitia between his family and the family of the Pompeian, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Terentia's and Tullia's combined foresight recognized the potential additional value of strengthening the Cicerones' connections with the Caesarians through the patrician adventurer Dolabella.¹⁹¹

Cicero too was very much aware of the important role young men played in the furtherance of his own public career.¹⁹² And like Caesar, Cicero, it seems, had a predilection for the ancient aristocracy.¹⁹³ Shackleton Bailey asserts that despite his surprise and embarrassment Cicero was not really displeased by the alliance with Dolabella.¹⁹⁴ Support for the interpretation that Cicero responded at least in part positively to the acquisition of Dolabella as a son-in-law is provided by a letter from Cicero to P. Volumnius Eutrapelus, sent from Cilicia in the spring of 50.¹⁹⁵ A passage from this letter has in the past been interpreted to suggest that as early as February Cicero was in reality striving to secure Dolabella for Tullia.¹⁹⁶ Cicero wrote:

praeterea Dolabellam, quem ego perspicio et iudico cupidissimum esse atque amantissimum mei, cohortare et confirma et redde plane meum; non

mehercule quo quicquam desit, sed, quia valde
cúpio, non videor nimium laborare.

Fam. 113 (VII.32).3.

But Collins' alternative interpretation suggests that Cicero did indeed write this letter after he had heard from Caelius that Dolabella was desirous of a match with Tullia, yet more importantly, after he had already sent his letter to Terentia and Tullia informing them that he had accepted Nero's offer. "Fam. 7, 32 represents his attempt to smooth things over with Dolabella, and to provide for the contingency that (as things actually worked out) the Nero negotiation would fall through."¹⁹⁷ It is apparent that Cicero desired all along to remain on good terms with Dolabella even if he did not choose him as his next son-in-law. In the event, finding that Dolabella had after all been accepted by Terentia and Tullia, a mixed reaction on Cicero's part in which some pleasure surely featured, is most probable. In addition, Cicero's long and at least superficially amicable relationship with Dolabella during his and Tullia's divorce proceedings, throughout the protracted negotiations for the return of her dowry and even for some time after Tullia's death in 45, indicate that he continued fully to appreciate the political desirability of maintaining good relations with the young man.¹⁹⁸ He may even have regarded him with some degree of affection.¹⁹⁹

More than once in the letters to Atticus, Cicero noted that Tullia found Dolabella attractive; he was charming, clever and agreeable (suavis, ingenuus, humanus). She was evidently delighted with his attentiveness and engaging manners (obsequium et comitas).²⁰⁰ Such an emphasis on the personal reaction of a third party was unusual for Cicero, who normally described family events by brief observations.²⁰¹ These references to Tullia's feelings suggest not only the existence of an element of personal

attraction between Tullia and Dolabella, but also Cicero's own recognition of the importance to him of Tullia's happiness. Cicero may very well have refrained from accusing "his womenfolk of falling for mere sex-appeal" as Susan Treggiari has suggested,²⁰² but he does appear to have recognized the role of attraction in compacting the union and the importance of it as a component for Tullia's future happiness.

Tullia, at the age of twenty-seven, bore her first attested child on May 19, 49 after a long period of apparent infertility. The child was puerum septemmensium and described by Cicero as very weakly (perimbecillus).²⁰³ If the description of a "seven-month child" is accurate, it would imply that the marriage of Tullia and Dolabella took place no later than mid-October 50, that is, more than a month before Cicero's return from Cilicia. In the light of previous discussion and if we assume that Tullia and Dolabella were still unmarried when Caelius sent his letter of September 23, 50, to Cicero, suggesting that the wedding arrangements were being delayed by his slow return, it seems improbable that the wedding then proceeded to take place within the following two weeks.²⁰⁴ Cicero was expected home at any time; he had been unexpectedly delayed by bad weather.²⁰⁵ Terentia had received no communication giving a certain date for his return and was anxiously concerned to hear from him.²⁰⁶ Indeed, she apparently departed from her usual custom and came in person to meet him when he arrived at Brundisium on November 25, 50.²⁰⁷ It may be possible to consider then, in view of Tullia's evident attraction to Dolabella, a man close to her own age, and in view too of his murky reputation and the probable delay of the marriage ceremony until Cicero's return, that Tullia's child may have been conceived before the final ceremony took place.²⁰⁸ Evidence at Rome of premarital sexual relations and pregnant brides is even rarer than sug-

gestions of illegitimacy.²⁰⁹ But there was at least one very important marriage which took place at the end of the Republic in which the bride was known to be carrying a child, that in 38 of Livia, the wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero, to Octavian. The child was publicly recognized as Nero's but, according to Cassius Dio, there was gossip.²¹⁰ Unfortunately details of other scandalous examples elude historians; in a world of serial marriages and widespread adultery, there was an amazingly effective conspiracy of silence about the arcana of the aristocracy, what Syme has called the "deeds of virile audacity".²¹¹ Tullia's 'interesting condition' must remain an area for speculation.

CICERO AND TULLIA: THE LAST FOUR YEARS:

Evidence about the relationship between Cicero and Tullia is most abundant from the period between Cicero's return to Italy at the end of 50 and the months surrounding Tullia's death in the spring of 45. In the letters from this period there is a shift in focus from Tullia's marriage to Tullia herself. She becomes visible almost for the first time as a real person and a force in Cicero's daily life. There are a number of factors which account for this heightening of her profile. First, increased documentation for these years naturally results in a more detailed picture of family life. From November 50 until after Tullia's death in 45, more than one hundred and twenty-five letters to Atticus alone survive, and this series encompasses a period of complete silence for eight months from the end of May 49 to January 48. From Tullia's death until the winter of 44, when both she and Dolabella disappear as important topics in the correspondence, more than one hundred and eighty letters to Atticus survive.²¹² Moreover, in the collection Ad Familiāres for the

same time interval more than two hundred letters are extant. Only the last two years of Cicero's life, 44 and 43, are more richly chronicled.

Tullia and Cicero seem also to have spent more time together during these years. The insecurities of the civil war in 49 brought the entire family together for many months. In addition, Dolabella's absences with Caesar required Tullia to return to her own family for long periods of time, and frequent periods of marital unhappiness drew Tullia back to her father's care and protection. She required his financial, legal and, one suspects, moral support, while at the same time Cicero's own failing marriage seems to have prompted him increasingly to look to his daughter for solace and companionship.

A brief outline of the chronology of these years will help to clarify what was in reality a complex sequence of shifting family dynamics.²¹³ At the beginning of the year in 49, Cicero and his family had returned to the vicinity of Rome for urgent meetings of the senate. When Cicero, his brother and their sons left (on January 18, 49) for one of their country villas as part of a mass exodus in the face of Caesar's advances, Dolabella had already gone to join Caesar. Tullia and Terentia remained behind in Rome where Cicero initially considered them to be safe: cum autem Dolabellae venit in mentem, paulum respiro. (Att. 136 (VII.13).3.)²¹⁴ He immediately wondered, however, if their decision to remain in Rome had been right, and wrote asking both Terentia and Tullia to consider the matter further.²¹⁵

By February 2, he himself had concluded and had convinced Terentia, Tullia and Pomponia that it would not only be safe, but more seemly for them to join him and Quintus in the country where they would be on land which was clearly under their own control.²¹⁶ His feelings about Dolabella

were mixed: on the one hand he considered him to be a valuable link with Caesar and potential protection in the event of a savage attack on Rome; on the other hand he was an embarrassment for Cicero among his optimate amici. This realization influenced his decision to urge the women to join him at Formiae:

nam si quid offendimus in genero nostro, quod
quidem ego praestare non debeo -- sed id fit maius
quod mulieres nostrae praeter ceteras Romae reman-
serunt. Att. 138 (VII.14).3, January 25, 49.

Tullia, pregnant, remained with her mother at Formiae until the end of March, at which point she seems to have returned to Rome for a time.²¹⁷

Conceivably she was with Dolabella, for Caesar had returned and had visited Cicero en route in a vain attempt to persuade him to accompany him to the senate.²¹⁸ By April, Caesar had again departed for Spain, Dolabella had been placed in charge of Caesar's fleet on the Adriatic, while Tullia remained in Rome, perhaps under the care of Atticus.²¹⁹ However, by May 7 she was once again with Cicero and Terentia in the country villa at Cumae, where on May 19 she gave birth prematurely to her first child, a son; perimbecillus, who did not survive.²²⁰

In the correspondence from these months Tullia's personality begins to emerge more clearly. In January and February, in the critical early stages of the civil war, she was spoken of merely as one of the mulieres, valuable property to be safeguarded, or a symbolic representative of Cicero's auctoritas. He alternately worried about the women's security or about the way in which their presence in one place or another might be politically construed.

Mihi veniunt in mentem haec: Romae vos esse tuto
posse per Dolabellam eamque rem posse nobis adiumento
esse si quae vis aut si quae rapinae fieri coeperint;
sed rursus illud me movet, quod video omnis bonos abesse
Roma et eos mulieres suas secum habere....²²¹
Fam. 144 (XIV.18).1.

But it became increasingly evident a little later, when the first panic had subsided, that Cicero viewed Tullia as a well-informed young woman who held definite views on political strategy and who occasionally conveyed political information. In March, Cicero wrote in distress to Atticus regretting that he himself was not with Pompeius and the optimates at Brundisium. He felt dedecus in the eyes of Tullia and others:

praesertim cum ii ipsi quorum ego causa timidus
me fortunae committebam, uxor, filia, Cicerones
pueri, me illud sequi mallent, hoc turpe et me
indignum putarent. Att. 172 (IX.6).4.

She relayed to Atticus what may have been a judgement about the current state of feeling among some of the young men, an assessment which Atticus evidently felt required Cicero's confirmation.²²² In May, she wrote to Cicero from Rome repeatedly advising him to remain politically uncommitted pending new developments in Spain, and conveying Atticus' own agreement in the matter. In addition it appears that she kept Cicero informed about other events, including Atticus' own decisions and inclinations at a time when he most earnestly required his friend's moral support and when apparently Atticus was most reluctant to commit himself to any one political group.²²³ Cicero appears to have shared information readily with his daughter. When she had rejoined him in May at Cumae he told Atticus, Epistula tua gratissima fuit meae Tulliae et mehercule mihi. (Att. 205 (X.13).1). She was clearly both a confidante and a support for him during this time of vacillation and indecision. While she was in Rome he wrote to Atticus:

quantus autem animus in discessu nostro! est
στοργή, est summa σύντηξις. tamen nos recte
facere et bene audire vult.
Att. 199 (X.8).9.

To what extent Tullia was directly involved in maintaining the link

between Cicero, Dolabella and Caesar is a matter for conjecture. But her name figures significantly in several letters written in late April and early May, letters which were concerned with the pressure being exerted by the Caesarians on Cicero to remain in Italy. In a letter, c. May 1, 49, a letter whose civilized style barely masked the tone of veiled menace, Marcus Antonius wrote to Cicero:

trans mare <te iturum esse> credere non possum,
cum tantí facias Dolabellam <et> Tulliam tuam,
feminam lectissimam, tantique ab omnibus nobis
fias.... Att. 199A (X.8a).1.

At the same time, Cicero received letters from Caelius Rufus and Caesar himself, urging strongly that he do nothing temere or imprudenter.²²⁴ Caelius particularly stressed Cicero's duty to consider his liberi, his domus and his unicus filius in his decision.²²⁵ Both he and Cicero's "excellent son-in-law", he said, strongly desired him to refrain from joining Pompeius:

Qua re si tibi tu, si filius unicus, si domus,
si spes tuae reliquae carae sunt, si aliquid apud
te nos, si vir optimus, gener tuus; valemus,
quorum fortunam non debes velle conturbare, ut eam
causam in cuius victoria salus nostra est odisse
aut relinquere cogamur aut impiam cupiditatem contra
salutem tuam habeamus....

Att. 200A (X.9a).2.

Both Cicero's reply to Caelius and his comments to Atticus on the letter are revealing. To Atticus, to whom he sent a copy of Caelius' letter, he confessed that his feelings for the opinions of his family were indeed undermining his confidence in the rightness of his own ultimate decision to leave Italy. And Cicero acknowledged, in what may have been an unconscious slip,²²⁶ the role which Tullia had come to assume in the conflict; she was in effect the pivotal point in a divided family. Caelius, in the passage cited above, had referred to Marcus, Cicero's unicus filius. But

Cicero, when he described the contents of the letter and their effect on his family to Atticus, appears to have written:

M. Caeli quidem epistulam scriptam miserabiliter,
cum hoc idem obsecraret ut exspectarem, ne fortunas
meas, ne unicam filiam, ne meos omnis tam temere
proderem.... Att. 200 (X.9).2.227

Shackleton Bailey suggests that Cicero may have had the letter from Antonius in mind when he wrote to Atticus (the letters from Caesar, Caelius and Antonius were all received within two days).²²⁸ At any rate the slip, if that is what it was, combined with the other reference to her at this time seems to indicate not merely as Shackleton Bailey has suggested that Cicero was more fond of Tullia,²²⁹ but that she was important either as an influential intermediary or as a pawn -- or perhaps both -- in the struggle to influence her father's political decisions in 49. Roman wives were expected to be loyal to their husbands as a matter of course, and yet were still considered, since the majority of marriages among the aristocracy at that time were sine manu, to be full members of their father's household.²³⁰ In Tullia's case she was also physically in her father's care for much of the time during her husband's absences. Although it was perhaps not common to have a father and a husband on opposing sides in such an extreme situation as civil war, divided loyalties were not infrequently experienced by Roman women.²³¹ Cicero, Tullia and Dolabella present a classic case of one such domestic schism.²³²

Cicero's reply to Caelius makes it clear that he was aware of, but would not be pressured by, the emotional and political blackmail inherent in his and Dolabella's importunities. The threat to Marcus was met by an appeal to higher principles:

filio meo, quem tibi carum esse gaudeo, si
erit ulla res publica, satis amplum patrimonium

relinquam in memoria nominis mei....

Fam. 154 (II.16).5.

But with respect to caring for his son-in-law's welfare, and, indirectly, for Tullia's, Cicero subtly pointed to Dolabella's obviously mercenary motives for joining Caesar, while at the same time emphasising his own desire to remain on agreeable terms with a gener so usefully politically connected:

nam quod rogas ut respiciam generum meum, adulescentem optimum mihi que carissimum, an dubitas, qui scias quanti cum illum tum vero Tulliam meam faciam, quin ea me cura vehementissime sollicitet.... velim quaeras quos ille dies sustinuerit in urbe dum fuit, quam acerbos sibi, quam mihi met ipsi socero non honestos....
<de> Dolabella quod scripsi suadeo videas tamquam si tua res agatur. Fam. 154 (II.16).5.

This is clearly an admonition to Caelius not to expect the unprincipled, debt-ridden Dolabella to provide any effective moral pressure on Cicero's own political decision-making. Yet Caelius' assumption, evidently shared by Marcus Antonius, that Tullia and Dolabella combined could to some extent be used to manipulate Cicero's actions, was a natural one in the context of late Republican Rome.²³³ In fact, Tullia does seem to have done her best, for a time at least, to prevent Cicero from leaving Italy until the outcome of the struggles in Spain was known. However, she clearly supported him when he had finally reached some kind of inner decision to join Pompeius in early May; in his mind at least, Tullia was allied with his fundamental and enduring desire to do the right thing, tamen nos recte facere, et bene audire vult.²³⁴ And this element in their relationship is significant. Her intelligent and sympathetic support for Cicero and belief in his moral worth seem to have been important to him at many times in his life, but were valued by him particularly now when

pragmatic advice such as Caelius' prevailed.²³⁵

Dolabella's information may have been welcome to Cicero, but Tullia's counsel was evidently valuable in a deeply personal way. Dolabella, as much due to external circumstances as his own efforts perhaps, seems to have been an effective public relations liaison between Cicero and Caesar, as early as February 49.²³⁶ His letters regularly kept Cicero informed about the progress of the war,²³⁷ but more importantly, he conveyed Caesar's reactions to Cicero's decisions and his current frame of mind with respect to Cicero personally.²³⁸ Caesar himself evidently found Dolabella useful as a go-between and expressed his appreciation of Cicero's son-in-law in a letter of March 23, '49:

Dolabella tuo nihil scito mihi esse iucundius.
hanc adeo habebo gratiam illi; neque enim aliter
facere poterit. tanta eius humanitas, is sensus,
ea in me est benevolentia.

Att. 185 (IX.16).3.

Cicero's personal and political relationship with Dolabella himself from the end of 50 until his own death in 43 is a subject worthy of separate study.²³⁹ Here we are focussing on Cicero's relationship with Tullia and necessarily must be content to observe Dolabella's role primarily in the context of Tullia's family life.

There is an eight month hiatus in the letters to Atticus after Cicero's announcement on May 19, 49 of the birth of Tullia's first child at Cumae and of his own intention to leave for Formiae.²⁴⁰ From there he sailed with his brother and their two sons on June 7, 49 for Greece.²⁴¹ The source of this delay of nearly three weeks until the actual departure has not been satisfactorily explained; perhaps it was the "extraordinarily calm weather"²⁴² or perhaps some domestic complications such as the death of Tullia's very weak and prematurely born son. Cicero's letter to

Terentia written shortly after embarkation suggests that they had all been together until very recently, that is at Cumae in all probability, in view of Tullia's recent parturition.²⁴³ Cicero probably then left for Formiae just prior to June 7.

Tullia no doubt stayed on at Cumae with Terentia for some time. Of the events during the winter of 49/48 we have little evidence. The next references to Tullia are in a letter to Atticus from Epirus c. March 48.²⁴⁴ It is the first of a series of letters in which a number of worries about Tullia converge; her financial position, her marriage and her health are a source of continuing distress for Cicero over the next two years. In January, Atticus wrote to Pompeius' camp to Cicero, who was experiencing financial difficulties, to reassure him that his credit was once more sound. At the same time he informed Cicero that Tullia, now it seems in Rome and in her husband's or in-laws' household, was destitute, cui quidem deesse omnia.²⁴⁵ It seems that her husband had not adequately provided for her, but more to the point, HS 60,000 had been deducted from her dowry, probably by Terentia, a fact of which Cicero was in total ignorance.²⁴⁶ It was at this time apparently only one of a series of unilateral financial decisions undertaken by Terentia which Cicero increasingly came to find to be treacherous and disloyal, but which may, in fact, have been grounded in reasonable, on-the-spot assessments.²⁴⁷ In the next letter, written in June from Pompeius' camp to Atticus who was waiting to hear what to do about the payment of Tullia's second dowry installment (due July 1, 48), Cicero's (and Tullia's) difficult position is openly expressed:²⁴⁸

... quod ad Kal. Quint. pertinet, quid vellem.
utrumque grave est, et tam gravi tempore periculum
tantae pecuniae et dubio rerum exitu ista quam scribis
abruptio. qua re ut alia sic hoc vel maxime tuae
amicitiae benevolentiaeque permitto et illius consilio

et voluntati; cui miserae consuluissem melius, si tecum olim coram potius quam per litteras de salute nostra fortunisque deliberavissem.

Att. 213 (XI.3).1, June 13, 48.

Divorce was already definitely under consideration, but obviously an open break in relations with Dolabella was undesirable in view of Pompeius' hazardous current position under siege by Caesar's army at Dyrrachium. A letter from Dolabella, also at Dyrrachium at this time but in Caesar's camp, exhibits no evidence of any awareness of domestic strain. It begins:

S.v.g.v. et Tullia nostra recte v. Terentia minus belle habuit, sed certum scio iam convaluisse eam. praeterea rectissime sunt apud te omnia.

Fam. 157 (IX.9).1, May 48.

Cicero must have decided that Tullia's position could be made tolerable by means of a quick financial injection and that the marriage should continue. This was a matter, after all, primarily for him as paterfamilias to decide, although he does appear in the passage cited above to have consulted Tullia's thoughts and desires on the matter.²⁴⁹ And so in a letter to Terentia, the first extant since his departure over a year before, he asked her to consult with "the others" (including Atticus), quo modo satis fiat ei cui scitis me satis fieri velle.²⁵⁰ Dolabella was to be paid the second installment, albeit late. Cicero also alluded to what was probably a loan or gift of money Terentia made to Tullia, possibly on his own instructions in a letter no longer extant, quod nostra tibi gratias agit, id ego non miror te mereri ut ea tibi merito tuo gratias agere possit. (Fam. 158 (XIV.6), July 15, 48).²⁵¹

Dolabella himself returned to Rome in 48 after Pharsalus, and after he had negotiated informal permission from Caesar for Cicero and his son to return to Italy.²⁵² Dolabella and Tullia were re-united at Rome, for during the winter of 48/47 we hear that both suffered from prolonged and

serious illnesses.²⁵³ The illness did not, however, prevent Dolabella from pursuing his political career. He had himself adopted into a plebeian family, the Lentuli, in order to be eligible for election as tribunus plebis for 47.²⁵⁴ Tullia's financial situation appears to have remained uncomfortable. Atticus, having assured Cicero that he would take care of Tullia's business affairs, was apparently besieged by her creditors.²⁵⁵ In addition Cicero, helpless in Brundisium, feared for his own financial security and felt threatened by the imminent confiscation of his and Terentia's properties.²⁵⁶ But his concern was focussed for the most part on Tullia. Clearly he felt that his responsibilities as paterfamilias required that she receive ongoing financial protection from him. He was particularly aware that Tullia had no one else to depend on; Dolabella, unreliable and in debt, was not even mentioned as a factor in her future well-being. Nor could Terentia be trusted; even if her properties were to remain intact, there is clear evidence that the will she was currently making seemed to Cicero to be seriously to Tullia's disadvantage.²⁵⁷ Atticus and Atticus' beneficent efforts toward softening Tullia's estranged uncle Quintus were Cicero's only hopes.²⁵⁸

Dolabella's conduct, both political and moral, during the spring and summer of 47 merited Cicero's censure.²⁵⁹ Not only did he, as tribunus plebis, immediately propose social reform measures which included debt cancellation,²⁶⁰ but in his personal life too he reembarked on a career of adulterous liaisons with several well-known Roman matrons, notably the wife of Marcus Antonius, and Metella, the wife of P. Lentulus Spinther the younger.²⁶¹

It is not surprising then to find Tullia in the early summer of 47 travelling to Brundisium to stay with her father, the two of them partners

in misery, tanto in communi maerore.²⁶² Tullia herself, it seems, had decided to leave Dolabella and had come to her father for assistance, perhaps when she was well enough to travel.²⁶³ Divorce, long advocated by Atticus and considered by Cicero, finally appeared to be the only solution.²⁶⁴

illud quoque vellem antea, sed omnia timuimus.
melius quidem in pessimis nihil fuit discidio.

Att. 232 (XI.23).3.

The timing, however, was critical. To Terentia Cicero entrusted the final decision about proceeding with the notice of divorce:

Quod scripsi ad te proximis litteris de nuntio
remittendo, quae sit istius vis hoc tempore et quae
concitatio multitudinis ignoro. Si metuendus
iratus est, quiesces. tamen ab illo fortasse
nascetur. totum iudicabis quale sit, et quod in
miserrimis rebus minime miserum putabis id facies.

Fam. 169 (XIV.13) July 10, 47.

Matters had been delayed, and now it seems Dolabella himself was threatening to divorce Tullia.²⁶⁵ Key considerations for Cicero were perhaps a typically Roman blend of the financial, political and personal.²⁶⁶ But although he was concerned about the dowry payments and their recovery, and that his own safety not be jeopardized by antagonizing Dolabella, significantly a prevailing factor in Cicero's decision-making was Tullia's unhappiness. Cicero's distress at Tullia's continuing misery is frequently evident in the letters from 48 to 45.²⁶⁷ The cause of her suffering is never precisely indicated: at times Cicero alludes to the financial discrimination which Tullia is presumed to have endured at the hands of her mother;²⁶⁸ at times he stresses his own culpability in neglecting her interests (whether financial or marital is uncertain),²⁶⁹ and at other times he seems to refer to her general marital unhappiness.²⁷⁰ Crook suggests that "the frequency of upper-class divorce in the late Republic

testifies to the political rather than the moral weakness of Roman society."²⁷¹ But in Tullia's and Dolabella's long drawn out divorce (perhaps an exceptional case), just as in their marriage proceedings, human sentiment seems to have played a decisive role.

The reasons which Cicero suggested Atticus might use to serve Dolabella with a notice of divorce were various, and the very fact that neither one nor another seemed of more importance suggests that they were simply that: reasons evoked to terminate with dignitas an untenable personal state of affairs:

vel tabularum novarum nomine vel nocturnarum
expugnationum vel Metellae vel omnium malorum ...
Att. 232 (XI.23).3.

Additional evidence for this view of the collapse of Tullia's marriage is also provided by the indecisive, on-again, off-again, nature of the relationship over the following year. For a time the exigencies of politics appear to have determined the turn of events (although we might surmise in view of Tullia's last pregnancy some ambivalence in Tullia's and Dolabella's feelings for one another); ultimately the decision to end the marriage was the outcome of personal factors, not political.²⁷² Cicero's 'political' alliance with Dolabella brought with it, in fact, both political stress (from Dolabella's demagoguery) and political advantage. Although political considerations may be seen to have delayed the decision to divorce Dolabella, they cannot be said to have dictated events entirely. Further, Cicero and Dolabella's amicable relationship continued for many months after the divorce visibly unimpaired; this was one divorce which did not "uncement" an alliance.²⁷³

The last phases of Tullia's marriage are puzzling, partly because of lack of documentation and partly because interwoven elements both of

political expediency and of personal feelings were operative and are difficult to disentangle. Tullia, by her own preference, stayed with Cicero at Brundisium into August 47 and perhaps even until his return to Rome with Caesar's pardon in September.²⁷⁴ Her divorce proceedings seem to have been placed temporarily in abeyance. Probably this was a decision resulting from warnings by Atticus to both Cicero and Tullia that it would be imprudent to antagonize Dolabella at this time.²⁷⁵ Cicero vented his impotent rage to Atticus at having to bear with Dolabella's indignities without recourse.²⁷⁶ We do not know whether Tullia rejoined Dolabella on her return to Rome; but if so it would have been only a brief interlude, for Dolabella departed with Caesar to Africa at the end of 47. Tullia was probably again with Cicero at Tusculum in May and June 46.²⁷⁷ However, in a letter to Atticus of mid-June she and her divorce arrangements were once again a matter for discussion.²⁷⁸ Dolabella had returned from Africa in early June, and was expected at Tusculum for deliberations with Cicero, Tiro and Atticus. Tullia was an issue of the highest priority, her status (whether financial or marital at this point is unclear) was carefully described by Atticus to Cicero's satisfaction.²⁷⁹ Nevertheless whatever the intended outcome of this conference in June, it was not until a subsequent one in October that arrangements were made for the return of Tullia's first dowry installment.²⁸⁰ In the earliest of the intervening months some brief period of reconciliation was presumably enjoyed by Tullia and Dolabella, for their second child, P. Cornelius Lentulus was born in mid-January 45: he was probably conceived very soon after Dolabella's return from Africa in June 46.²⁸¹ Tullia's and Dolabella's reunion lasted only a few months at most, and the divorce seems to have finally taken place formally in October or November 46, shortly before

Dolabella's departure with Caesar for Spain.²⁸² Tullia, once more unmarried, and now pregnant, returned again to her father's household.²⁸³

Cicero's own divorce had only recently taken place and Tullia's return was an undoubted source of comfort and delight for him. While he was on a tour of his country villas, Cicero wrote longingly to Atticus of his own eagerness to return home, ad complexum meae Tulliae, ad osculum Atticae ... (Att. 248 (XII.1).1, November 46.) His appreciation of her warm companionship, an appreciation which was more fully articulated only after her death, is evident in passing references such as this. Her presence too was useful; another illuminating glimpse of Tullia in the matronly role of intermediary is dated to the end of 46. In a letter to M. Fabius Gallus,²⁸⁴ Cicero recounts how upon leaving his house one morning he had commissioned Tullia to conduct some unofficial probing to see if a certain house might be available for sale to Gallus. The account has a lively, informal air and provides us with a direct impression of the everyday interchange between father and daughter:

Quod ad me de domo scribis iterum, iam id ego proficiscens mandaram meae Tulliae; ea enim ipsa hora acceperam tuas litteras.... ut redii autem, priusquam tuas legi has proximas litteras, quaesivi de mea Tullia quid egisset. per Liciniam se egisse dicebat (sed opinor Cassium uti non ita multum sorore); eam porro negare se audere, cum vir abesset (est enim profectus in Hispaniam Dexius), illo et absente et insciente migrare.

Fam. 209 (VII.23).4.

There is some question as to whether Tullia had returned to the house of the Lentuli for the birth of her child in January 45. They were the adoptive parents of Dolabella and therefore the grandparents and guardians of any legal issue from his marriage.²⁸⁵ Tullia may have remained in Cicero's household at Rome, but she may well have preferred to avoid it after Cicero's remarriage at the end of 46 to his young and wealthy ward

Publilia, a woman undoubtedly younger than Tullia.²⁸⁶ In contrast to the relationship between Tullia and Pilia, the only evidence for that between Publilia and Tullia suggests that it was unamiable.²⁸⁷ In any case, a concerned Cicero remained in Rome until her confinement was over, and, when she appeared to be recovering, he brought her to Tusculum with him.²⁸⁸ There, Tullia died a month after the birth of her son, presumably from the puerperal fever that was the grim accompaniment to childbirth for so many women in the ancient world.²⁸⁹

TULLIA'S DEATH:

One final factor which contributes enormously to the more vivid image of the relationship between Cicero and Tullia in these later years is the fact of her death. For Cicero's anguished, yet articulate, responses to this event provide a kaleidoscopic picture of the very real process of grief and mourning evoked in one Roman father at the loss of his beloved daughter.²⁹⁰ Cicero's grief was initially devastating. The earliest stages of it are undocumented since he appears to have stayed with Atticus and his family immediately after Tullia died.²⁹¹ His letters to Atticus began again on March 7, 45, about three weeks after Tullia's death. For the next five months, until Cicero once again was able to incorporate a more normal level of public activity into his life, his letters to Atticus were very frequent and reveal a multiplicity of reactions to his loss.²⁹²

Tullia's death, as noted by Seneca, was one of the most severe blows in Cicero's life.²⁹³ His responses to other deaths during the course of his life seem to have been characterized by that philosophical detachment and measured restraint which one expects of senatorial decorum.²⁹⁴ It is probable that the context in which Tullia's death occurred accounts to

some extent for Cicero's profound reaction to it, for it was in many ways the culmination of a series of losses. Cicero mentions some of these in his reply to the letter of condolence received from his old and valued friend Servius Sulpicius Rufus.²⁹⁵ In a conventionally Roman manner, Cicero compares his own suffering with that of other notable fathers, exempla of dignitas and auctoritas, and concludes that their honourable standing and active public life had helped alleviate their mourning, whereas he himself had no longer such consolations available to him:²⁹⁶

mihi autem, amissis ornamentis iis quae ipse
commemoras quaeque eram maximis laboribus adeptus,
unum manebat illud solacium quod ereptum est.

Fam. 249 (IV.6).2.

In addition to the loss of the past gloria et fama of his public career, other circumstances, some perhaps too intimate to be included in this letter, were affecting Cicero's equilibrium. His oldest political ally, leader, and friend, Pompeius Magnus, had been vanquished and murdered in 48; his death was felt not merely politically but personally.²⁹⁷ The loss of Pompeius was one particularly visible example of a process inevitably experienced by the surviving elderly in any society, a general and progressive attrition in affective relationships.²⁹⁸ In addition, in his sixty-second year Cicero was confronted by a family life now devoid of the woman who had been his wife for over thirty years, and he rapidly seems to have felt under some compulsion to disembarrass himself of the new young wife, Publilia, to whom he had been married only a matter of weeks. This procedure was emotionally demanding, since the girl and her family were reluctant to be summarily dismissed and Cicero was compelled to ask Atticus to defend him from their importunities.²⁹⁹ So too Cicero's relationship with his brother Quintus, which had been throughout their

lives extremely close (until the debacle surrounding Pompeius' defeat in 48), had been almost destroyed in recent years by the hostility and political treachery exhibited by both Quinti, pater et filius.³⁰⁰ An uneasy truce may now have begun between the brothers, but indeed Quintus' own family life was also in process of dissolution. His son played off his embattled parents against one another while the two proceeded toward a long-awaited and unlamented divorce.³⁰¹ Perhaps too Cicero's own son Marcus' agitation to join his reprehensible cousin Quintus in Spain with Caesar's troops³⁰² contributed one further element to what could have seemed to Cicero to be a private world disintegrating around him much as the political realm, his beloved Republic, had done.³⁰³ Tullia, the young woman in whose company he had latterly found comfort, repose and delight had, as we have seen, come to assume an increasingly important place in his life.³⁰⁴ Her death alone would have been a significant loss, but coming as the culmination of public and private griefs, it was a disaster.³⁰⁵

Three major aspects of Cicero's manifold reactions to Tullia's death are clearly evident in the letters to Atticus from the spring and summer of 45. Cicero first expressed a need to retreat even further from public life, to avoid acquaintances, and to seek solitude.³⁰⁶ In an attempt to rationalize the overwhelming emotional experience of grief he also sought consolation in philosophical thought, both in reading the works of eminent thinkers and in composing his own treatise on mourning.³⁰⁷ And finally he became completely caught up by an irrational obsession. He felt compelled in some way to create a lasting memorial for Tullia and devoted a great deal of time and energy (his own and Atticus') to the minutiae of land deals and speculations in order to locate an appropriate setting for her shrine.³⁰⁸ Each of these processes provides evidence of both universally

human techniques for coping with the trauma of death and specifically Roman cultural attitudes toward mourning. Hopkins has described death as "a protracted social process"³⁰⁹ and has carefully elucidated the difficulties historians face in their attempts to comprehend expressions of grief and rituals of mourning in other cultures and ages.³¹⁰ But Cicero's moving and articulate descriptions of his own attempts to master his grief are sufficient evidence that on an individual level it is possible to close "the gap between expression and experience".³¹¹ Cicero himself appears to have been puzzled by the overpowering quality of his experience; the stock consolations which he had handed out to bereaved friends proved, in the event, to be completely inadequate, except perhaps the one panacea he had once recognized in a letter to Atticus: time.³¹² One further healing element, and one which Cicero himself may not have recognized, was the fact that the process of writing about grief and death was in itself part of the process of coping with them. Hopkins rightly notes that Cicero's letters "are literary compositions, products of art as well as feeling," but he acknowledges the basic fact of Cicero's suffering.³¹³ It is undeniable. What remains to be examined in greater detail is the nature of his suffering and, in addition, the psychological techniques and cultural strategies Cicero was able to use to absorb and overcome his grief.

Primarily to Atticus but to his friend Servius Sulpicius Rufus too, Cicero articulated the stages of his bereavement. He was at first subject to uncontrollable fits of grief in which he felt overwhelmed by emotion and was overcome by weeping. To Sulpicius he confessed, sed opprimor interdum et vix resisto dolori ... (Fam. 249 (IV.6).1). And to Atticus, ... in ea mihi omnis sermo est cum litteris. eum tamen interpellat fletus; cui repugno quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus. (Att. 252 (XII.15)).

His nights were sleepless.³¹⁴ Painful memories of Tullia persisted.³¹⁵

Paradoxically he felt the need both to escape from them and to be alone with them. Obscure feelings of guilt arose, whether he resisted his emotions or surrendered to them: ... idque faciens interdum mihi peccare videor, interdum peccaturus esse nisi faciam. (Att. 251 (XII.14).3.).

Cicero became aware too of some lessening of affect in his own personality.

He lamented to Atticus: quamquam <id> ipsum doleo. non enim iam in me idem esse poteris. perierunt illa quae amabas (Att. 251 (XII.14).3.).

And again a few days later in answer to Atticus' attempt to lure him back to Rome he wrote: occidimus, occidimus, Attice, iam pridem nos quidem, sed nunc fatemur postea quam unum quo tenebamur amisimus. (Att. 262 (XII.23).1.).

And later to Dolabella: ... sed tamen hilaritas illa nostra et suavitas, quae te praeter ceteros delectabant, erepta mihi omnis est ...

(Fam. 250 (IX.11).1.).³¹⁶ Cicero, it seems, was confronting the bitter psychological truth inherent in Donne's "Any man's death diminishes me."³¹⁷ Life held little allure and seemed too long.³¹⁸

Cicero's primary reaction was to withdraw, to retreat from Rome and to avoid all acquaintances. Avoidance, one of the alternatives for coping with stress, is evident also in other areas at this time. From the time of her death on, Tullia's name is never directly included in any letter.

She is alluded to, but always periphrastically:³¹⁹ she is illud solacium quod ereptum est, or else the one to whom he could flee, or the one with whom he found repose.³²⁰

He tried to escape the memories of Tullia by avoiding his house at Tusculum where she had died. Only after several months did he again feel able to master his feelings, contudi enim animum et fortasse vici ... (Att. 285 (XII.44).3.), and to return there for a visit.³²¹

So too Tullia's child was very largely ignored. Apart from ensuring that

he was included in a new will, Cicero appears to have avoided him, and to have requested Atticus to visit Lentulus puer to see that he was adequately attended by sufficient nurses and servants.³²² Whether this avoidance may have been because the child was a painful reminder of Tullia, or because he was at the house of Dolabella's adoptive parents in Rome, or was simply the customary attitude on the part of a paterfamilias toward new-born babies cannot be established.³²³

But Cicero's need to withdraw from social and political activities brought criticism, both from himself and others. He felt ashamed of the outward display of his grief. When it became legally necessary for him to appear in Rome he asked Atticus to see that he was excused on the grounds of illness (morbi causa): cum enim mihi carendum sit conviviiis, malo id lege videri facere quam dolore (Att. 250 (XII.13).2.) He repeatedly acknowledged that his feeling of grief was something to be disguised and apologized for his inability to control it:

ardor tamen ille idem urget et manet, non mehercule
indulgentem me sed tamen repugnante.

Att. 250 (XII.13).1.

... omniaque nitor non ad animum sed ad vultum ipsum,
si queam, reficiendum ...

Att. 251 (XII.14).3.

... enitar, si quo modo potero ..., ut praeter te nemo
dolorem meum sentiat, si ullo modo poterit, ne tu
quidem.

Att. 262 (XII.23).1.

But for the feelings themselves he did not apologize -- on the contrary, his own suffering seemed to him to be something he owed to Tullia:

... non paenitet me quantum profecerim. maerorem
minui, dolorem nec potui nec, si possem, vellem.

Att. 267 (XII.28).2.³²⁴

Atticus and others appear to have written to Cicero criticizing the inappropriate lengths to which his mourning was being taken. In May, his

amicus Luceius wrote a letter politely chastising Cicero:³²⁵

Te requisivi saepius ut viderem. Romae quia postea non fuisti quam discesseras miratus sum, quod item nunc miror. non habeo certum quae te res hinc maxime retrahat. si solitudine delectare, cum scribas et aliquid agas eorum quorum consuisti, gaudeo neque reprehendo tuum consilium....

Sin autem, sicut <ante quam> hinc discesseras, lacrimis ac tristitiae te tradidisti, doleo quia doles et angere, non possum te non, si concedis quod sentimus ut liberius dicamus, accusare.

Fam. 251 (V.14).1 and 2.

On several occasions Cicero acknowledged to Atticus receipt of similar criticism:

quod me hortaris idque ceteris desiderari scribis ut dissimulem me tam graviter dolere....

Att. 258 (XII.20.1).

And again:

Quod scribis te vereri ne et gratia et auctoritas nostra hoc meo maerore minuatur, ego quid homines aut reprehendant aut postulent nescio. ne doleam? qui potest? ne iaceam? quis umquam minus?

Att. 281 (XII.40).2.³²⁶

E. Rawson has suggested that Cicero's grief was seen by his contemporaries as transgressing the socially accepted norms for mourning for a lost woman.³²⁷ There may be some truth in her assessment, but nowhere in the letters does Cicero or any of his correspondents distinguish between sons and daughters as objects of mourning.³²⁸ Parents, in the Roman élite at least, held a great many expectations with respect to their adult sons and daughters.³²⁹ And, although these expectations will have differed in kind according to gender, when a prominent young man or woman died, the frustration of the parents' hopes and the loss of their emotional investment may have been for some Romans a recognizably equivalent experience. Romans did, however, distinguish between the mourning appropriate to a bereaved man or woman and here perhaps Cicero was more open to criticism. Although

no one asserted directly to him that his feelings were "womanish and weak",³³⁰ such an implication probably underlay Cicero's own apologetic attitude for his inability to control emotion. Indeed in a letter of condolence to a friend who had lost two or more sons, written not long before Tullia's death, Cicero himself suggests that extravagant mourning was the province of women:

etenim si nulla fuit unquam liberis amissis
tam imbecillo mulier animo quae non aliquando
lugendi modum fecerit ...

Men however were beneficently provided with the rational faculty:

... certe nos, quod est dies adlatura, id consilio
ante ferre debemus neque exspectare temporis medi-
cinam, quam repraesentare ratione possimus.
Fam. 187 (V.16).6.³³¹

Very soon Cicero angrily began to counter his detractors, justifying the decision to retire from active life by pointing to his involvement in philosophical research. In the early stages of grief he had read voraciously in Atticus' excellent library all the works in which he had hoped to find counsel and relief. In the next stage he had determined to write his own philosophical treatise on mourning, and revealed a certain pride in this decision:

quin etiam feci, quod profecto ante me nemo, ut
ipse me per litteras consolaretur.
Att. 251 (XII.14).3.

Such an activity, he felt, socially justified his withdrawal from Rome, and was personally too justifiable. Cicero was very much aware that his mourning was a process; he recognized the healing quality of time and the necessity of choosing his own path back to stability.³³² To Atticus' criticism he responded:

ne me quidem contemno meoque iudicio multo stare
malo quam omnium reliquorum. neque tamen progredior

longius quam mihi doctissimi homines concedunt;
quorum scripta omnia quaecumque sunt in eam sententiam
non legi solum, quod ipsum erat fortis aegroti,
accipere medicinam, sed in mea etiam scripta transtuli,
quod certe adflicti et fracti animi non fuit.

Att. 260 (XII.21).5.³³³

He recognized that the activity of writing was able to bring him distraction but not solace, (me scriptio et litterae non leniunt sed obturbant) and described his work, quasi fovebam dolores meos.³³⁴ But he became effectively absorbed in the work. On a number of occasions he wrote to Atticus requesting information for his treatise on mourning, sometimes in order to confirm chronologies or correctly to specify who indeed had survived the death of whom.³³⁵ And he was not dissatisfied with the results of his self-diagnosis and treatment:

si qui me fractum esse animo et debilitatum putant
sciunt quid litterarum et cuius generis conficiam,
credo, si modo homines sint, existiment me, sive ita
levatus sim ut animum vacuum ad res difficilis
scribendas adferam, reprehendum non esse, sive
hanc aberrationem a dolore delegerim quae maxime
liberalis sit doctoque homine dignissima, laudari me
etiam oportere. Att. 279 (XII.38a).1.³³⁶

While he was in the process of rationalizing the devastating emotions buffeting him Cicero encountered an idea (and support for it in his readings), which seemed to offer yet another avenue of release from his pain.³³⁷ He began to conceive an elaborate plan to acquire some property which would be suitable as a holy place or fanum, and on which he proposed to create a shrine to Tullia: his intent appears to have been some form of deification for her, germanem ἀποθέωσιν.³³⁸ Cicero approached Atticus for his approval and assistance; he had already asked him, in the first extant letter after Tullia's death, to secure funds so that he could purchase latibulum et perflugium doloris mei.³³⁹ Approval was not forthcoming, although it appears that Atticus attempted to understand Cicero's feelings

on the matter and gave what practical assistance he could with respect to finding out about available properties and prospective sellers.³⁴⁰ The project was not a typically Roman one but had its religious roots either in the Hellenistic East or in the Greek practice of hero worship.³⁴¹ E. Rawson's description of Cicero's motives is succinct and plausible:³⁴²

... Cicero doubtless did not envisage future generations praying to Tullia's spirit; he was not even a firm believer in a future life, and certainly he never mentions its possibility in the letters of this time. Nor, to do him justice, did he wish to erect a monument to his own grief -- that grief of which, as we have seen, his society did not approve. Rather he wished to give Tullia the only immortality he was certain of, the immortality of glory, and to pay the highest honour he could to her transcendent qualities, to assert in all seriousness that they were transcendent.

Cicero felt strongly that he had in some way vowed this monument to Tullia.³⁴³ For some time plans for the project consumed him. He had lost interest in money and possessions, except insofar as they could be used to acquire land for Tullia's shrine.³⁴⁴ Gradually, however, his interest in sharing the fanum as a retreat for his old age lessened. And his interest began to rise in the world of politics, literature and social intercourse. Obstacles recurred to the proposals for land acquisition, and the final straw was a vast project of Caesar's to enlarge the city, which Cicero heard about just in time to withdraw his bid for the estate he had ultimately settled upon,³⁴⁵ one situated in the heart of Caesar's proposed redevelopment area. By July 45 the shrine obsession had subsided; one solitary passing reference a year later to money put aside for it ends the subject.³⁴⁶ Cicero slowly returned to a more normal equilibrium, nam etsi minus urgeor, meque ipse prope modum collegi ... (Att. 274 (XII.35)). His grief diminished enough for him to say, nam dolor idem manebit; tantum modo oc<cul>tius, and to proceed with plans to return to Tusculum.³⁴⁷ There he

found the memories of Tullia more painful, but not unbearably so: ubicum-
que sum, illa sunt mecum (Att. 290 (XII.45).1, May 17, 45); it was a
suitable sentiment for the memory of a daughter who had been closer to
him than any other member of his family.

Notes to Tullia

1. Q. fr. 3 (I.3).3.
2. For Tullia's age see Appendix II. Plut., Cic. 41, 8; cf. Seneca, Suasoriae 6.17 (7): magnis interim ictus vulneribus, exsilio, ruina partium pro quibus steterat, filiae morte, exitu tam tristi atque acerbo, omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit praeter mortem ...
3. Finley (1981), 159.
4. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).1 note; 7 (XIV.2).1 note; 8 (XIV.1) note.
5. Fam. 144 (XIV.18); 145 (XIV.14).
6. See below for further discussion of these two letters.
7. Fam. 44 (XVI.16).1; 8 (XIV.1).1; 119 (XIV.5).1. Diminutives were employed not merely to denote 'smallness' but, in a related usage, to denote affection. They were used of Tullia throughout her life as terms of endearment.
8. Att. 1 (I.5).8; 4 (I.8).3.
9. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).6, 29 April, 58; Att. 90 (IV.15).4, 27 July, 54; Fam. 155 (XIV.7).1 and 2, 7 June 49; Att. 123 (VI.9).5, October 15, 50.
10. Fam. 155 (XIV.7).1, June 7, 49. A contrast may be observed here with a shift in Cicero's form of address which reflects his dwindling affection for Terentia over the years. As noted by Adams (1978); 163, the later letters to Terentia after Cicero became estranged from her, no longer contain "the intimate form of address mea Terentia", but Cicero does not address Terentia by name in the body of the letters at all. Tullia's name without any form of modification occurs rarely

- in the correspondence: never in the Epistulae ad Familiares or the Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem, and only ten times in the Epistulae ad Atticum (in one additional reference the text is questionable). In these instances Tullia is either peripheral to the central focus of the passage: e.g. Att. 78 (IV.4a).2; 234 (XI.24).1; 191 (X.1a).1, de iuvenibus quae ex Tullia audisti vera sunt; or her name occurs in conjunction with Terentia's as in Att. 126 (VII.3).12; 135 (VII.12).6; 136 (VII.13).3; 140 (VII.16).3; 239 (XII.3).2.
11. Fam. 6 (XIV.4).3; Att. 212 (XI.2).2; 213 (XI.3).1; 220 (XI.9).3; 231 (XI.25).3; 234 (XI.24).2; 236 (XI.21).2.
 12. Fam. 7 (XIV.2).4; 144 (XIV.18).1; 145 (XIV.14).1; 119 (XIV.5).1; dated 58, 49, 49 and 50 respectively.
 13. I agree with S.M. Treggiari (1984), 450, 451, that Cicero was thinking of his relationship with Tullia when he wrote these words to Atticus. The suggestion by M.A. Sollmann (1960), 57, that Cicero was teasing Atticus by "pretending" his affections had philosophical significance seems to me to miss the central point.
 14. Fam. 8 (I.3).1 and 4, November 58; Att. 228 (XI.17).1; Fam. 166 (XIV.11).
 15. Hopkins (1965), 317; cf. Treggiari (1984), 420-422.
 16. Att. 269 (XII.33).2 and note; E. Rawson (1975), 197; Bonner (1977), 32. For an important discussion of the role of pedagogues and other surrogate parents in the socialization of children of the Roman elite see Bradley (1984), 494-499.
 17. For discussion of Cicero's correspondence and friendship with Caerellia see above p.57. Cf. also Best (1970), 200, for a somewhat far-fetched suggestion that Cicero's mother influenced his

- literary skills. Pomeroy (1975), 170-71, discusses the role of fathers and the education of young girls in the home.
18. Att. 40 (II.20).6 and note. Shackleton Bailey says he lived many years with Cicero, citing Acad. 11.115 and Brut. 309. For an account of Cicero's early education and his life-long loyalty to his teachers cf. Clarke (1968), 21. For Diodotus see Treggiari (1969), 126; Christes (1979), 130f.: "Wenn das „a puero“ keine Übertreibung ist -- im Bildungsgang folgt Philosophie in der Regel erst auf Grammatik und Rhetorik --, so hat Diodotus, der bis zu seinem Tode in Jahre 59 V. Chr. in Ciceros Hause lebte, vermutlich nicht nur philosophische Unterweisung erteilt, sondern in mehr oder minder allen Bildungsfächern unterrichtet."
19. For Cicero's attempts to educate Quintus f. see Q. fr. 17 (II.13).2; 21 (II.1).7 and 19; 23 (III.3); 27 (III.7). For references to Marcus f. and Quintus f. in Cilicia, cf. Att. 115 (VI.1).12 Cicerones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur; sed alter, ut Isocrates dixit in Ephoro et Theopompo, frenis eget, alter calcaribus. For education within the family see Bonner (1977), 10-33; on daughters see especially 27, 28; 135-36.
20. Cic., Brut. 58, 211. Cf. Pomeroy (1975), 170-76; Lefkowitz and Fant (1982), 131-33; 157-63; 205-08.
21. Syme (1984), 1371.
22. Syme (1984), 1371.
23. Text cited at note 1 above, and Fam. 249 (IV.6).2.
24. Tullia's decisions and duties are discussed more fully below but cf. Att. 90 (IV.15).4; 97 (V.4).1; 199 (X.8).9 and 10; Fam. 209 (VII.23).4. For Tullia's importance cf. Att. 248 (XII.1).1, November 27,

46, atque utinam continuo ad complexum meae Tulliae, ... possum currere etc. The qualities of sermo and humanitas which Cicero ascribes to Tullia should not be underestimated. In his perceptive analysis of amicitia, P.A. Brunt (1965), 5, 6 and esp. 2, and note 2, points to the high value these qualities held for Cicero when they were allied with affection and formed the basis for special friendships. Brunt also discusses the idea of alter ego, a phrase Cicero used for kindred spirits such as Atticus, me alterum, (Att. 60 (III. 15).4); for Caesar, Fam. 26 (VII.5).1; and for Brutus, ad Brut. 23 (23 (I.15)).2. See also Att. 73 (IV.1).7, in which Pompeius uses the phrase of Cicero.

25. See Appendix II.

26. RE 7 A, 1, Col. 839; Shackleton Bailey (1971), 16; Mitchell (1979), 100.

27. His whimsy even extends to "jingles" according to Shackleton Bailey, Att. 117 (VI.3).10, note, Piliae et filiae; cf. also 122 (VI.8).5. Whimsical greetings from Tullia and Marcus included in Cicero's letters to Atticus are discussed below.

28. It is noteworthy that Cicero's announcement of the birth of his son Marcus was much more terse than his response to Atticus' news. See above, Chapter III B, n. 6.

29. Att. 118 (VI.4).3; 119 (VI.5).4 and text cited at note 13 above.

30. Att. 239 (XII.3).2, May or June 46 (??).

31. Att. 374 (XIV.20).2; Junia Tertia was a half-sister of M. Brutus, and her husband was C. Cassius. Her sister was married to Lepidus the triumvir (see above Chapter III A). On the use of the diminutive cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes.

32. Bradley, (1984), 496. Cf. Bradley (a) passim, for a discussion contrasting the expectations of parents and children in upper class Roman society with those of the lower classes.
33. Att. 27 (II.7).5; 29 (II.9).4; 30 (II.12).4, April 59. The correspondence during Marcus' early years is lacunose; no letters to Atticus survive between July 65 and January 1, 61. This gap also accounts in part for the fact that Quintus f., who was born sometime early in 66, does not figure in the correspondence until the end of 60 (Att. 22 (II.2).1.).
34. Betrothal and marriage concerns in Cicero's letters are discussed in more detail below. For general discussion see Treggiari (1984).
35. Att. 115 (VI.1).22.
36. Att. 408 (XV.29).1, and note. Shackleton Bailey suggests that ista is Pilia or Attica. I feel Attica is more likely in view of the frequent references to her anger in the preceding letters, cf. 405 (XV.28) and 406 (XV.27).3.
37. Cf. e.g. Att. 239 (XII.3).2; 243 (XII.6a).2; 248 (XII.1).2; 249 (XII.11); 262 (XII.23).3; 320 (XIII.12).1; 321 (XIII.13-14).3; 326 (XIII.19).1.
38. Att. 250 (XII.13).1, commovet me Attica; etsi adsentior Cratero; and 251 (XII.14).4, de Attica doleo, credo tamen Cratero.
39. Note that Attica, aged six, is in the charge of a pedagogue. Some degree of fatherly interest in her development at this age may be indicated by such an arrangement. In addition, for several weeks in May of 44 Attica's mother, Pilia, visited Cicero's villa at Cumae without Attica, much to Cicero's distress. Attica was not ill at that time but remained in Rome with her father and tutor, presumably

carrying on with her education.

40. Att. 414 (XVI.6).4; 413 (XVI.3).6. Pilia and Attica receive similar 'daughterly' greetings perhaps because Pilia was Tullia's friend and about the same age (Att. 78 (IV.4a).1; 89 (XIV.16).4.). Tullia had died the year before these letters were written and it may reasonably be conjectured that Cicero's affection for Pilia and Attica, evident here, played some role in his eventual recovery from the initially devastating grief.
41. For whimsy cf. Att. 4 (I.8).3, Tulliola, deliciolae nostrae, tuum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsorem appellat. mihi autem abiurare certius est quam dependere; and Att. 6 (I.10).6, Tulliola tibi diem dat, sponsorem non appellat. For concern about Tullia's health cf. Att. 90 (IV.15).4, July 54; 236 (XI.21).2, August 47; Fam. 160 (XIV.19), November 48. Cicero's affectionate expressions for the adult Tullia have been discussed at length above.
42. Treggiari (1984), 419.
43. Att. 299 (XIII.28).4, May 45; Att. 327 (XII.21a).4, June 30 or July 1, 45.
44. Bradley (a), 1.
45. For general discussion of the institution of marriage and the expectations of women in upper class Roman life see Balsdon (1962), 173-221; Pomeroy (1975), 149-170; Finley (1965), 57-64; Bradley (forthcoming review).
46. Phillips (1978), 70.
47. RE 7 A, 2, Col. 1329. For Piso see RE 3, 1, Col. 1391. Piso was triumvir monetalis in c.64, quaestor in 58. His father and Cicero's colleague (RE 3, 1, Cols. 1395-96) was praetor with Verres in 74.

His grandfather was praetor in 112 and his great-grandfather consul in 133. If he attained the quaestorship at the earliest permissible age, thirty, Piso would have been twenty-five or -six when he married Tullia in late 63 or 62. See also Broughton (1968), Vol. 2, 197, 434, 542.

48. Mitchell (1979), 170. Cf. McDermott (1971), 713 who speculates that Quintus Cicero in 70 may have been quaestor to M. Piso (cos. 61) in Spain.
49. Mitchell (1979), 170; cf. Wiseman (1971), 139. RE 3, 1, Cols. 1376-1377; Broughton (1968), 541. Cicero defended him successfully in 63 on a charge brought in connection with his governorship of the Gallic provinces. Mitchell (1979), 219.
50. Mitchell (1979), 170. Cf. Syme (1979), 500-503; Broughton (1968), 542; Cic., De Orat. 1, 22; Brut. 90, 310. See also McDermott (1971), 706 and n. 17.
51. RE 3, 1, Cols. 1395-96; Broughton (1968), 610; Syme (1979), 500-503. Cf. Cic., Caec. 35.
52. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 95; Att. 8 (I.3).3, notes.
53. Att. 8 (I.3).3; 44 (II.24).3; 67 (III.22).1; Fam. 6 (XIV.4).3, 4; 7 (XIV.2).2; 8 (XIV.1).4; 9 (XIV.3).3. It should be noted that there are very few extant letters dated before Piso's death in 57 so that his infrequent mention is primarily a result of insufficient documentation. His name also appears in a letter written about twelve years after his death (Fam. 302 (XIII.31).1), which is discussed further below.
54. RE 3, 1, Col. 1391.
55. Q. fr. 3 (I.3).3.

56. Att. 51 (III.6).1; 64 (III.19).3; 68 (III.23).5; 72 (III.27), dated April 58, September 58, November 58, and February 47 respectively.
57. Q. fr. 4 (I.4).2.
58. Pomeroy (1975), 153-159, especially 154; cf. Phillips (1978), 80, n. 8; Pomeroy (1976).
59. Not all Pisones were allied with Cicero; L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, cos. 58, was unfriendly to Cicero despite the pleas of his relative, Cicero's son-in-law Piso. Cf. Cic., Red. Sen. 7, 17: tu meum generum, propinquum tuum, tu adfinem tuam, filiam meam, superbissimis et crudelissimis verbis a genibus tuis reppulisti.
60. Cic., Sest. 63, 131.
61. The phrases are from Treggiari (1984), 428-29; see 427-30 on adfinitas and betrothals generally.
62. Carcopino (1947), 177f. For more perceptive discussion of Cicero's relationship with Dolabella cf. Balsdon (1950) and (1965), 174; Enk (1961), 59.
63. Att. 28 (II.8).2.
64. For a detailed discussion of the Pisones' land and wealth see Shatzman (1975), 314ff.
65. See above, p.95 and n. 58.
66. Crook (1967b), 115, 117.
67. Crook (1967b), 117.
68. Plut., Cic. 33, 1.
69. Att. 64 (III.19).2. Cf. Fam. 6 (XIV.4); 7 (XIV.2); 8 (XIV.1); 9 (XIV.3).
70. For discussion of Cicero's humour see McDermott (1972), 17-25; Hands in Ferguson (1962); Sollman (1960), 51-3.

71. Att. 73 (IV.1).4, 5, 8, alterius vitae quoddam initium ordimur. Cf. Att. 65 (III.30).1 diemque natalem; 121 (VI.6).4, propter hanc παλιγγενεσίαν nostram.
72. Sest. 63, 131, February 10-March 11, 56. Since the context is rhetorical, the depth of Tullia's grief cannot be ascertained.
73. Cf. above, p.38ff. For an outline of Cicero's domestic concerns at this period see Bruno (1958), 258-266; (1960), 123-27. One of the major issues confronting him was the need to have his house in Rome rebuilt. On Clodius' initiative, the house, and some of Cicero's country villas had been torn down and part of the land consecrated for a temple. Senatorial cooperation was required by Cicero. Cf. De Domo Sua, delivered in 57 before the College of Pontiffs; Plut., Cic. 33, 1.
74. For discussion of the customary delicacy surrounding the task of looking for a husband see Treggiari (1984), 431, 432.
75. Cicero was repaying Quintus for loans incurred during the period of exile Att. 75 (IV.3).6. Cf. Att. 73 (IV.1).; 74 (IV.2). The years following Cicero's return were marked by expenses and debts for both brothers: Quintus' expedition with Caesar to Gaul and Britain in 54 was to some extent motivated by a need to refill the family coffers. Cf. Q. fr. 3 (I.3).7; 9 (II.5).1; 19 (II.15).2 and n.; Att. 89 (IV.16); 92 (IV.18). For Quintus' political motives cf. Q. fr. 26 (III.6).1 with Wiseman (1966), 108.
76. Q. fr. 5 (II.1).3; Att. 72 (III.27) notes; 73 (IV.1).3; 74 (IV.2).5; 75 (IV.3).6; 76 (IV.4).
77. Q. fr. 7 (II.3).7; Att. 97 (V.4).1; 107 (V.14).3; 110 (V.17).4; 114 (V.21).14; 115 (VI.1).10; 118 (VI.4).2.
78. For Furius Crassipes, praenomen unknown, see RE 7, 1, Cols. 351, 352.

His quaestorship is traditionally dated 51, on the evidence of Fam. 139 (XIII.9), cf. Broughton (1968), II, 242, 569; but Shackleton Bailey's notes convincingly redate the letter and quaestorship to c.54. See further discussion below.

79. Q. fr. 10 (II.6).2 and 3. The previous letter to Quintus referred to in #1 is not extant.
80. Crook (1967), 104. Q. fr. 25 (III.5 (5-7)).8. For horti see Shackleton Bailey's notes for Att. 130 (VII.8).6, "horti may imply a closer proximity to a town but the term appears to have been used interchangeably with suburbanum, a country property." Cf. also Fam. 20 (I.9).20, n.; Att. 80 (IV.5).4, n., "... horti perhaps through Clodia's notorious Tiberside playground (Cael. 36, etc.), had come to sound a little 'dashing' in respectable ears ..."
81. Carcopino (1951), 157, 58. Att. 80 (IV.5).4; 81 (IV.12). Note however that Shackleton Bailey's Corrigenda (Epistulae ad Atticum, Vol. VII) delete paragraph 4 from 80 (IV.5).
82. For an illuminating account of the various social and political aspects of the cena see D'Arms (1984).
83. Carcopino (1951), 157, 58. For an eloquent response to Carcopino see Enk (1961), 59.
84. Att. 82 (IV.8a).4; c. November 17, 56; 86 (IV.11).1, June 26, 55, further demonstrate the juxtaposition of political activities with the dinner-party and the gladiatorial munus.
85. Q. fr. 10 (II.6).3; Att. 81 (IV.12).
86. Att. 178 (IX.11).3.
87. Att. 87 (IV.13).2. from Tusculum c. November 14. For Cicero's 'officially' good relations with Crassus cf. Fam. 25 (V.8), January 54.

- Cf. Plu., Cic. 26, 1; Brunt (1965), 9.
88. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 96. RE 7 A, 2, Col. 1330, "da Atticus in den Jahren 53-51 Rom nicht verliess."
89. Cf. Stockton (1971), 222-224 on Cicero's withdrawal from the political centre of activity after late 54 and the "paucity of the surviving letters." He describes the extant collection as lightweight, inconsequential, trivial and unexciting. The letters to Tiro (Fam. 40-43, Shackleton Bailey's numbering) in April 53 yield no information about other members of the family.
90. Fam. 139 (XIII.9), usually placed with the correspondence of Cicero's proconsulate, 51 or 50. Voigt (1903), 352-357 presents arguments suggesting that in fact Tullia did not marry Crassipes. They are plausible but not accepted by Münzer, RE 7, 1, Col. 352, cf. however, Petersson (1963), 524, "It is not certain that they were married."
91. Treggiari (1984), 442, n. 102.
92. Shackleton Bailey, Att. 80 (IV.5).4, n. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 95, 125.
93. Lentulus was the name of Dolabella's adoptive parents; his name after adoption was presumably Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Dolabella. Dixon (1983), 104 refers to Tullia's marriage to Dolabella as her 'second' marriage. It is not clear whether she has considered Tullia's relationship with Crassipes in her assessment since she does not discuss it. Plutarch, according to some scholars, may not have been correct about where Tullia died (see discussion below), and conceivably he may have been equally in error with respect to Tullia's husbands; the alternative, however, is worth consideration.
94. Att. 78 (IV.4a).2.

95. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, cos. 57, friend and leading advocate for Cicero's restoration in 57, supported Pompeius until his death in Africa in 46.
96. 'Engagement' is the usual translation in this passage. I follow Shackleton Bailey; see also the Loeb translation (W.G. Williams).
97. The OLD definition includes the use of the term for prospective relationships. Voigt (1903), 356 cites Horat., Epod. 6, 13; Verg., Aen. 2, 342; 12, 658; and Ulp., Dig. 38, 10, 6, generi et nurus appellatione sponsus quoque et sponsa continetur. See also Watson (1967), 18; and Treggiari (1984), 450, n. 125, on the use of gener for Dolabella.
98. Voigt (1903), 356. Cf. Cicero's stress on the personal nature of his fides amicitiae in his letter to Crassus, Fam. 25 (V.8).2.
99. Att. 89 (IV.16).4; c. July 1, 54; Att. 90 (IV.15).4; July 27, 54. P. Clodius Pulcher, trib. 58, was responsible for Cicero's exile and thus his chief target for many years. Supporter and activist for Caesar in his absence, Clodius (or Publius in Cicero's letters) incited mob violence in Rome from c. 56 until his death in an affray with Cicero's friend, the Pompeian, Milo, in 52.
100. Fam. 139 (XIII.9) notes.
101. Quintus Cicero writing in 53 from Gaul (Fam. 44 (XVI.16).1.) wrote to his brother Marcus, meumque Ciceronem et meam Tulliolam tuumque filium as though they were all in the same household.
102. Shackleton Bailey's notes to Fam. 139 (XIII.9) outline clearly the details of the problem in dating this letter to 51 and cogent reasons for re-assigning it to c. 54.
103. Rowland (1968), 213, cited in Shackleton Bailey, Fam. 139 notes.

104. Att. 124 (VII.1).8, October 16, 50. Cicero wrote at the end of 51 and early in 50 to his friends in Rome asking for their support in honouring his military successes in Cilicia, e.g. Fam. 109 (XV.13) to L. Paulus and 110 (XV.4) to Cato. The debate was to be in April 50. Cf. Fam. 91 (VIII.11) n. He told Atticus that Crassipes and Hirrus were the only contacts to whom he did not write; strained personal relations are implied.
105. Att. 124 (VII.1).
106. Att. 178 (IX.11).3; n. Shackleton Bailey interprets the obelized †qui prudentia potius† attendere as "quod (or quoad) sua prudentia potuit attendere, so far as his sagacity enabled him to take it in" implying that "too much in the way of accurate rapportage was not to be expected from this young man."
107. Att. 219 (XI.8).2, December 48 from Brundisium. The name of Cicero's enemy †Furnius† is corrupt in the texts. Tyrrell and Purser suggest Furius (Crassipes). Shackleton Bailey's notes agree that the suggestion is tenable, although he offers M. Fulvius Nobilior as an admittedly "longer shot". Marek (1972), suggests a reference to Cicero's brother Quintus is implied here.
108. Voigt, (1903), 356, 57.
109. For Cicero's and Quintus' need for money see Shackleton Bailey (1971), 72, 92. Cf. Att. 74 (IV.2).7; 75 (IV.3).6.
110. Q. fr. 19 (II.15).2. etc. Cicero's letters to Quintus about their building projects are: Q. fr. 8 (II.4).2, March 56; 9 (II.5).1; 10 (II.6).3, April 9, 56; 12 (II.9 (8)).2 and 3; 21 (III.2).1-7, September 18, 54; 22 (III.2).3, October 11, 54; 23 (III.3).1, October 21, 54; 27 (III.7).7, December 54.

111. Geweke (1937), 467-69 discusses Cicero's changes in political attitudes in 56 and subsequently.
112. Betrothals were terminated frequently and with relative ease by either party at this time in the late Republic, usually from political motives; see Dixon (1983), 107.
113. Q. fr. 1 (I.1).1. Cf. Att. 94 (V.1).1; 95 (V.2).1; Fam. 80 (II.8).3, to M. Caelius Rufus Cicero writes, tibi cum omnia mea commendatissima esse cupio tum nihil magis quam ne tempus nobis provinciae prorogetur. in eo mihi sunt omnia.
114. Planc. 64-6. Cf. Fam. 77 (VIII.1).1 and 2; 80 (II.8).1 and 2; 90 (II.11).1; 93 (II.13).3, miro[que] desiderio me urbs adficit ...; 95 (II.12).2 Urbem, urbem, mi Rufe, cole et in ista luce vive!, and Att. 92 (IV.18).2; 93 (IV.19).1 and 2; 82 (IV.8a).4; 87 (IV.13).1; 108 (V.15).1, lucem, forum, urbem, domum, vos desidero.
115. Fam. 24 (VIII.1).4, August 4, 55; Att. 83 (IV.6).2 and 3, April 19, 55.
116. The letters in Fam. 27-64 (Shackleton Bailey numbering) describe the kinds of activities Cicero engaged in during these more politically restrained years. Cf. Stockton (1971), 222-23. Cf. also Att. 92 (IV.18).2, October/November 54 and Q. fr. 25 (III.5).4, November 54.
117. Letters to Atticus on the subject of Tullia's marital prospects: Att. 97 (V.4).1; 107 (V.14); 110 (V.17).4; 114 (V.21).14; 115 (VI.17).10; 118 (VI.4).2; 121 (VI.6).1; 122 (VI.8).1; 123 (VI.9).5. To and from Caelius Rufus: Fam. 88 (VIII.6).2 and 5; 94 (VIII.13).1; 96 (II.15).2; 98 (VIII.12).4. Cf. also Fam. 73 (III.10).5; 75 (III.12).2 and 3 to Appius Claudius Pulcher.
118. Att. 114 (V.21).14; 115 (VI.1).10; both written in February 50, from Laodicea.

119. Att. 118 (VI.4).2.
120. Fam. 119 (XIV.5).1.
121. For a summary of P. Sestius' career see Broughton (1968), II, 620. Probably praetor in 50 he succeeded Cicero in Cilicia in 49. Cf. Att. 110 (V.17).3. For M. Caelius Rufus see RE 3, 1, Cols. 1266-72. Broughton (1968), II, 540; Caelius was tribune in 52 and elected curule aedile in 51. Youthful protégé and friend of Cicero, he was detailed to report to Cicero in his absence on all aspects of life at Rome. See below, n. 138. For Servilia see below n. 129.
122. Tiberius Claudius Nero travelled to Cilicia in 50, presented himself to Cicero as a prospective son-in-law and was encouraged if not accepted outright (Att. 121 (VI.6).1.) Cf. Dixon (1983), 107 "candidates do not offer themselves, they are suggested -- by relatives or friends of the family..." Doubtless generally true, but there were, apparently, exceptions.
123. For general discussion of women's roles in arranging their own or their daughters' marriages see Pomeroy (1975), 157; Dixon (1983), 101-108; cf. Crook (1967), 108; Phillips (1978), Treggiari (1982), 40ff.; Treggiari (1984), 439f. For Tullia and Terentia specifically see also Shackleton Bailey's notes, Collins (1952), and Watson (1967), 44, 45.
124. Att. 106 (V.13).3; 107 (V.14).3; 110 (V.17).4; 114 (V.21).14.
125. Treggiari (1984), 431, 432, 441, 446, 447.
126. Treggiari (1984).
127. Tullia was between twenty and twenty-two during the period for which we have references to her coniunctio with Crassipes, (56-54). Cf. Att. 90 (IV.15).4, July 27, 54 for Cicero's attention to her political

evaluations and personal feelings. Cf. Treggiari (1982), 41, "upper class women who had already been married and had moved in society clearly by the late Republic exercised a good deal of choice about their subsequent marriages."

128. For Servius Sulpicius Rufus cf. Att. 97 (V.4).1. n. and RE 4 A, 1, Cols. 860-862.
129. Servilia was born c.100, the daughter of Q. Servilius Caepio and Livia, and the half sister of Livius Drusus. By her mother's second marriage she became Cato's half-sister. Reputed to be Caesar's mistress she bore children to three husbands. She was the mother of M. Brutus and of her activities on his behalf we hear a great deal in Cicero's letters to Atticus and to M. Brutus himself; cf. Att. 388 (XV.10); 389 (XV.11).2; ad Brut. 2 (III or II.3).3; Fam. 367 (XII.7).1. She was probably a friend of the mother of Servius Sulpicius Rufus f., Postumia (Att. 97 (V.4).1. n.). See also RE 2 A, 2, Cols. 1817-21, and Syme (1984), 1371, 1238-1243.
130. Collins (1952), 165, 66.
131. Collins (1952), 166.
132. M. Pontidius municeps noster multas privatas causas activitat, Brut. 70, 246. Cf. also Cic. De Orat. 2, 68, 275; Collins (1952), 166; Att. 115 (VI.1).10, n.
133. Att. 115 (VI.1).10, n. For Cicero's links with Arpinum cf. Att. 32 (II.11).2; 186 (IX.17).1; 189 (IX.19).1; Fam. 278 (XIII.11) and note. Cf. Wiseman (1971), 37-39 and Treggiari (1984), 427 on the importance of shared local background in match-making. Shackleton Bailey's suggestion ([1960], 267) that "Tullia's husbands seem to have been selected on purely social and personal grounds" as distinct

from politically significant motives seems, at least in the choices of Crassipes and the Arpinate candidate, to hold true. But see contra Dixon (1983), 102-104 and nn. 41 and 51, "If it came to a scoreboard, with 'political' marriages to one side and 'social' marriages on the other, the social marriages might still be there by default, because of our ignorance of a possible political connection."

Cf. my note 188 below on this possibly unnecessary distinction.

134. Att. 115 (VI.1).10, De Tullia mea tibi adsentior scripsique ad eam et ad Terentiam mihi placere....
135. Letters between Rome and Cilicia normally required six to eight weeks for delivery (Collins (1952), 167). Cicero noted an extraordinarily rapid delivery of one from Rome to Cybistra in eastern Cilicia in 46 days in late summer (Att. 112 (V.19).1). In contrast, note Caelius' discovery that a slave had taken more than forty days after receiving a letter for delivery to Cilicia before even setting out from Rome (Fam. 98 (VIII.12).4).
136. For a discussion of the various readings for the corrupt passage in the Codex Mediceus, res habebit mirationem, see Collins (1952), 166 and Shackleton Bailey's notes to Att. 97.1.
137. Att. 110 (V.17).4. We do not know in what capacity he was involved -- consultant, prime force or go-between. He is not mentioned in the extant letters in connection with Tullia after this.
138. On M. Caelius Rufus see above, n. 121. His letters to Cicero are filled with vivid glimpses into the personal lives, hopes, fears and embarrassments of some of the most notable Roman senators of the day. Young and politically ambitious he was well acquainted with a number of promising young men (including P. Cornelius Dolabella) and

was thus a natural match-maker for Cicero to commission.

139. For Dolabella and Appius Claudius Pulcher see below, nn. 140 and 142. The alii were undoubtedly Terentia and Tullia (Collins (1952), 168) as Cicero had earlier in the passage implied, ea quae me insciente facta sunt a meis.
140. For P. Cornelius P.f. Dolabella see RE 4, 1, Cols. 1300-1308; Broughton (1968), II, 552; Att. 121 (VI.6) n.; Syme (1984), 1244-48. Described by Syme as "pseudo-dynamic" Dolabella rose to the consulship by an unorthodox route under Caesar. His personal reputation placed him among the perdita iuventus at the end of the Republic; cf. Caelius' underlying hesitation about his character in Fam. 94 (VIII.13), and Cicero's own in Fam. 73 (III.10).5; 96 (II.15).2; and Att. 121 (VI.6).1. Cicero had twice defended Dolabella on capital charges some time previously. We do not know the nature of the charges. A nobleman of obscure parentage (Syme suggests he may have been an illegitimate son of Caesar), he was an opportunist whose career profited from the political insecurity surrounding the civil war (Fam. 81 (VIII.4).1, August 1, 51).
141. Collins (1952), 167, "There is nothing to show that Cicero had received this letter at the time he wrote to Atticus, closing, as he supposed, with the proposals of Pontidia's candidate." Even if he had received it, the possibilities of a coniunctio with a controversial man still living with his wife (as far as Cicero knew at this time) probably had distinctly less appeal for Cicero than one with the less dazzling but more stable Arpinate eques.
142. Appius Claudius Pulcher was a promagistrate in Sardinia in 56, consul 54, proconsul in Cilicia 53-51 and censor in 50; Broughton

(1968), II, 547. Fam. 64-76 (III.1-13) illustrate the permutations of Cicero's delicate relationship with him. Cf. also Fam. 93 (II.13) to Caelius Rufus in which Cicero speaks of his own friendships with Pompeius and Brutus.

143. Fam. 73 (III.10).5, early April 50.

144. Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Nero, like Dolabella and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus was a patrician. Cf. RE 3, 2, Cols. 2777-2778, and Att. 121 (VI.6).1., n. "Nero, prevented from marrying Tullia, married Livia Drusilla by whom he became the father of Tiberius, the grandfather of Germanicus and the emperor Claudius, and the great-grandfather of the emperor Gaius Caligula and Claudia Octavia, the wife of the emperor Nero." Collins (1952), 168. Nero lost his wife Livia to Octavian in 39 and died shortly afterwards (Suet., Aug. 4; Dio 48, 44, lf., but cf. Suet., Aug. 6 in which it is implied that Nero died when his son was nine years old).

145. Att. 121 (VI.6).1, dated August 3, 50; this is presumably the first time Cicero has mentioned Nero's name to Atticus although the agreement with him was concluded at least four months earlier. The need for discretion was evidently great. Cf. Treggiari (1984), 446, 447.

146. Fam. 138 (XIII.64). Shackleton Bailey suggests that this letter is improperly addressed and was really intended for the governor of Asia, Q. Minucius Thermus, for cogent reasons summarized in his notes.

147. Fam. 93 (III.13).2. Collins has suggested that it was at this stage, that Cicero wrote Fam. 113 (VII.32).3, a controversial letter discussed further below, in which Cicero asked a friend at Rome to ensure that Dolabella remain well disposed toward the former: perhaps Cicero feared some repercussions from his denial of Dolabella's suit. Cf.

- Collins (1952), 186.
148. See quotation below, and Att. 122 (VI.8).1; 123 (VI.9).1.
- 149 Treggiari (1984), 446.
150. Fam. 75 (III.12).4; 94 (VIII.13).
151. Att. 12 (VI.6).1. n. Cf. Fam. 94 (VIII.13).1 from Caelius to Cicero congratulating him on the adfinitas with Dolabella, dispatched early June 50 and received by Cicero at Side, August 1 or 2, 50.
152. Fam. 75 (III.12).2 and 3. Cf. discussion below.
153. Collins (1952), 165, 66; cf. Att. 97 (V.4).1.
154. Att. 97 (V.4).1.
155. Fam. 75 (III.12).2 and 3.
156. Collins (1952), 168.
157. Att. 121 (VI.6).1. n. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1961/62), 162.
158. The letter from Caelius to which Cicero refers is unfortunately not extant. It is the one mentioned in Fam. 88 (VIII.6).2. His own letter to Pulcher is Fam. 73 (III.10) of April 50 in #5 of which Cicero dismissed the idea of an alliance between his own family and Dolabella as sermo stultus et puerilis.
159. Treggiari (1984), 449: "Both the conventional pious prayer (unusual in the letters and surely inspired by a realistic estimate of the chances of this marriage) and the allusion to 'other things' are recurrent features."
160. For example Boissier (1925), 100. Pomeroy (1975), 157, 158 implies that the marriage was concluded in Cicero's absence; cf. also RE 7 A, 2, Col. 1331; Collins (1952), 164; Phillips (1978), 72. Treggiari (1984), 450 is more cautious: "presumably they were married" by the time Cicero met them on his way to Rome. Shackleton.

- Bailey (1971), 127 also leaves the question open, stating that their marriage took place "in the autumn". His notes to Fam. 98 (VIII.12).4 and Att. 122 (VI.8).1 suggest the possibility of a date very late in the autumn, perhaps even after Cicero's return. Cf. n. 166.
161. Syme (1984), 245 and n. 70. Balsdon (1962), 179. Dixon (1983), 106f., suggests that Terentia and Tullia's role was not unusual in late Republican society and cannot be accounted for by Cicero's exceptional complaisance. She rightly stresses that prolonged paternal absence was a common feature in the family lives of "magisterial and/or military" men and asserts that only the degree of documentation of the negotiations for Tullia's marriage was exceptional.
162. Caelius' letters to Cicero, Fam. 94 (VIII.13) and 98 (VIII.12) provide both the first (early June) and last (September 23) overt reference to the subject of Tullia's marriage. But Cicero's letter to Terentia, Fam. 119 (XIV.5), October 16, 50 is also relevant to the discussion.
163. Att. 121 (VI.6).1. n.
164. The OLD definition of gener and socer include the use of the terms for prospective in-law relationships. Cf. Watson (1967), 18 and n. 3; Sumner (1971), 258, n. 30; Treggiari (1984), 442, n. 102; 450 n. 125. Cf. also Cicero's use of coniunctio with reference to Tullia's engagement to Crassipes, Fam. 18 (I.7).11, June/July 56; and above n. 97.
165. Dixon (1983), 107.
166. Att. 122 (VI.8).1. n.; cf. Shackleton Bailey (1961), 88.
167. Fam. 75 (III.12).4; Att. 121 (VI.6) n.; cf. Treggiari (1984), 447.

168. Att. 121 (VI.6); Fam. 96 (II.15); 75 (III.12).
169. Att. 120 (VI.7).2; 122 (VI.8).4.
170. Fam. 119 (XIV.5).1.
171. Compare this response with Att. 124 (VII.1).1 also dated October 16, 50, from Athens, in which Cicero recapitulates at the beginning of the letter the main points of his prior letter to Atticus to ensure that nothing is omitted from their communications. Cf. also Att. 68 (III.23) in which Cicero reviews a sequence of letters received in a batch from Atticus, and similarly Q. fr. 21 (III.1).
172. Fam. 119 (XIV.5).1.
173. Fam. 98 (VIII.12).14. On the dating of this letter and the previous one from Caelius (97 (VIII.14)) see Shackleton Bailey's notes which cite Sanford (University of Nebraska Studies 11 (1911), 293ff.).
174. Fam. 98 (VIII.12).4. n. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1961), 87, 88.
175. For a father's power with respect to consent for marriage cf. Crook (1967a), 100, 108. Cf. also Crook (1967b), 113-122 for a detailed analysis of the concept of patria potestas during the Republic. Wlosok (1978), 18-54 presents a study of the evolving role in Roman life and literature of the paterfamilias through early Republican times into the Empire. See especially pp.19-28, Der römische Hausvater, seine Stellung, Rechte und Pflichten. Cf. Treggiari (1982).
176. Att. 121 (VI.6).1; cf. Collins (1952), 167.
177. Fam. 81 (VIII.4).1.
178. Briot (1977), 475-81, has presented a series of studies in which he undertakes a Freudian psychoanalytic interpretation of some of Cicero's decision-making. Cf. also Briot (1973), 595-605; (1963), 261, 6; (1969), 1040-49. I agree with Rowland (1966), 51, that our

lack of information about Cicero's youth severely limits the usefulness of the psychoanalytic approach. Explanations for Cicero's indecision are more accessible in the revolutionary social, economic and political climate of the late Republic.

179. Att. 124 (VII.1).2-8, October 16, 50; 126 (VII.3).1-5, December 9, 50. Further examples of Cicero's recognition of his own difficulty in making a decision may be found in Att. 59 (III.13).2; 152 (VIII.3); 231 (XI.25).3; 232 (XI.23).3; 234 (XI.24).2; Fam. 155 (XIV.7).1; 169 (XIV.13).
180. Cf. Cicero's phrase, quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede gratularis (Fam. 18 (I.7).11), in reference to their engagement in late June 56. Cicero is more likely to have asked Atticus for a report on substantive issues such as financial arrangements or legal status rather than a more personal assessment.
181. Att. 125 (VII.2).2.
182. L. Pontius, not otherwise identified, appears several times in the correspondence as entertaining Cicero and Terentia en route to and from Brundisium. Cf. Att. 95 (V.2).1 and n.; 96 (V.3).1; 125 (VII.2).2; 126 (VII.3).12.
183. Treggiari (1984), 450.
184. Cf. Att. 189 (IX.19).1, April 49 in which Cicero states that because Rome was impossible he had given Marcus his toga virilis at Arpinum.
185. Syme (1984), 1247; Fam. 88 (VIII.6).2; Quint., Inst. 6, 3, 73.
186. Shackleton Bailey (1960), 267.
187. Treggiari (1984), 449, 450.
188. Dixon (1983), 102 and 104. The distinction between "social" and "political" is, I think, really only a matter of degree and specifi-

- city; the motives for such an alliance are basically the same, the enhancement of familial and personal prestige and power.
189. Fam. 240 (IV.14).3. n. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 201f. who suggests that Cicero's marriage to Publilia was in part undertaken to provide a defensive network of family connections in the face of Terentia's machinations. Cf. Chapter II above and E. Rawson (1975), 224.
190. For examples of Tullia's role in political and domestic decisions see: Att. 90 (IV.15).4, July 54; 172 (IX.6).4, March 49; 191 (X.1a).1, April 49; 199 (X.8).9 and 10, May 49; 213 (XI.3).1, June 48; Fam. 144 (XIV.18).1, 145 (XIV.14).1, January 49. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 213.
191. Syme (1984), 1244-1248 suggests that Dolabella was an illegitimate son of Caesar. He was indeed a great favourite with Caesar in 49. Cf. Att. 185 (IX.16).3. Cf. also Pomeroy (1975), 157, on women's initiation of marriage alliances and choice of lovers.
192. Allen (1938), 357-9; Balsdon (1965), 187; cf. Treggiari (1984), 448.
193. Syme (1984), 1248.
194. Att. 121 (VI.6).1. n. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 126.
195. Fam. 113 (VII.32) and n.; cf. Att. 385 (XV.8).1. n. P. Volumnius Eutrapelus was a Roman eques, and a noted wit. A friend of Cicero and of Caesar he transferred his allegiance to Antony after Caesar's death. Shackleton Bailey dates the letter to February or March 50. Collins (1952), 186, sees no indication placing it earlier than April or May.
196. Cf. RE 7 A, 2, Col. 1332.
197. Collins (1952), 186.

198. In the one letter in which Cicero exhibits real anger with respect to Dolabella's treatment of Tullia (Att. 234 (XI.24).1, August 6, 47), he openly acknowledges his inability to express it for fear of repercussions, quod mihi non modo irasci gravissima iniuria accepta sed ne dolere quidem impune licet. Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 213 for the suggestion that Tullia influenced Cicero to remain on amicable terms with Dolabella, the father of her child, even after her death.
199. Cf. Balsdon (1965), 174 and n. 16. Cicero's attitude toward M. Caelius Rufus and others, and indeed on occasion toward his nephew Quintus and son Marcus, has led Treggiari (1984), 448, to suggest that he "had a taste for pleasant and not necessarily dependable young men." Note Cicero's letter to Dolabella in Spain early in 45 (Fam. 217 (IX.10)). Friendly, chatty, charming, it completely ignores the divorce, Tullia, the child she is carrying, or any dowry issues. Cf. also Fam. 250 (IX.11); 263 (IX.12); 311 (IX.13); 326 (IX.14) (= Att. 371A (XIV.17A)) and Att. 402 (XV.14), Cicero's letters to Dolabella. For Dolabella's to Cicero cf. Fam. 157 (IX.9).
200. Att. 121 (VI.6).1; 126 (VII.3).12.
201. See Chapter III B, n. 6.
202. Treggiari (1984), 450. She suggests perceptively (p.451) that Cicero's remarks in Att. 125 (VII.2).4., written as he returned home to meet Tullia's new husband, reflect his own feelings of affection for Tullia and his concern for her happiness in her new marriage: "Nowhere does this motive emerge explicitly, but neither does Cicero claim that the advancement of the Cicerones is his chief object."
203. Att. 210 (X.18).1.

204. Fam. 98 (VIII.12).14. See above discussion of the possible chronology for Tullia's wedding.
205. Att. 122 (VI.8).4, October 1, 50.
206. Fam. 119 (XIV.5).1, October 16, 50.
207. Att. 125 (VII.2).2; Fam. 127 (XVI.9).2. When Cicero returned from exile September 10, 57 Tullia was at Brundisium to meet him; Terentia is not mentioned. So too in the fall of 48 when Cicero and Marcus returned from Pompeius' army in Greece, Terentia did not meet him. Tullia came for a visit in June 47 but Terentia, whether on instructions (Fam. 159 (XIV.12), November 4, 48) or by choice, stayed in Rome.
208. For Dolabella's reputation for immorality see: Fam. 94 (VIII.13).1; 96 (II.15).2; Att. 121 (VI.7).1; 126 (VII.3).12; 232 (XI.23).3 and Cicero's own suggestive letter to Dolabella, Fam. 263 (IX.12) and n., December 45(?). See also Syme (1984), 1246, 7. For Dolabella's age see Syme (1984), 1245.
209. For illegitimacy among the aristocracy see Balsdon (1962), 197f.; Syme (1979), 510-517; Syme (1984), 1236-1250.
210. Tac., Ann. 1.10; Suet., Aug. 62.2; Dio, 48.44. Ovid's Dido (not Vergil's) was pregnant too when Aeneas left Carthage (Heroid. 7, 133).
211. Syme (1979), 510, 514. For one engaging account of the sexual antics current among some of Cicero's contemporaries see Caelius' gossipy letter of April 50 (Fam. 92 (VIII.7)).
212. In March and May 45 particularly, the letters to Atticus, which include Cicero's obsessive plans to build a shrine to Tullia, are very frequent. "... scarcely a day goes by without an anguished letter addressed to Atticus, sometimes two." (Gratwick (1984), 38).

213. See Appendix I for a more detailed chronology and Shackleton Bailey, Att. Vol. IV, Appendix I, Ephemeris: 18 January-19 May 49.
214. Cf. Fam. 144 (XIV.18).1.
215. Fam. 144 (XIV.18).1; 145 (XIV.14).1. Cf. Att. 136 (VII.13).3; 137 (VII.13a).3; 138 (VII.14).3; 140 (VII.16).3; 141 (VII.17).5; 142 (VII.18).1.
216. Att. 138 (VII.14).3.
217. Att. 191 (X.1a).1. Cf. Shackleton Bailey, Att. Vol. IV, Appendix I, 435.
218. Att. 187 (IX.18), March 28, 49. That Dolabella had returned with Caesar, and had found himself financially embarrassed in Rome in April 49 is implicit in Fam. 154 (II.16).4 and 5, May 2 or 3, 49 to M. Caelius Rufus. Münzer, RE 4, 1, Col. 1301 suggests this interpretation; however Shackleton Bailey's notes assume the period referred to was early January when the family first returned and before Dolabella left to join Caesar. I prefer Münzer's reading, particularly since Cicero refers to Tullia's courage and patience in the face of public disaster and domestic worries and to Atticus' recent kindness to her in a letter of May 2, 49 (Att. 199 (X.8).9.). (Note also that Caesar gave Dolabella command of a new fleet in the Adriatic while he was in Rome at this time. Appian, BC 2.41.)
219. For Dolabella see Att. 198 (X.7).1, and above n. 218. In Att. 199 (X.8).9, May 2, 49, Cicero speaks of Atticus' care of Tullia who was beset by public and domestic worries, quod meam Tulliam suavissime diligentissimeque coluisti. Tullia was a close friend of Atticus' young wife Pilia and may have stayed with them after Dolabella's departure.

220. Att. 205 (X.13).1; 208 (X.16).5; Att. 210 (X.18).1.
221. Cf. Att. 138 (VII.14).3 cited above, and note 215.
222. Att. 191 (X.1a).1, April 4, 49. Cf. Eyben (1977), 229f. and 242f.
for an account of the support for Pompeius among the Roman youth.
223. Att. 192 (X.10).2, April 5 or 6, 49; 199 (X.8).1 and 9, May 2, 49.
For Atticus' fence-sitting see Att. 198 (X.7).1. Cf. Geweke (1937),
472f.
224. Att. 199 (X.8b); 200A (X.9a).
225. Att. 200A (X.9a).1, 2 and 5.
226. The manuscript tradition has unicam filiam in #3 l.6 of the passage
cited below. This was corrected by Corradus to unicum filium in
order better to reflect Caelius' letter (Att. 200A (X.9a).2).
Shackleton Bailey notes (Att. 200 (X.9).2 n.), "... I do not feel
quite certain that C. himself did not make the substitution uncon-
sciously." He cites the similar slip in Att. 331 (XIII.23).3 n.
discussed below, p.213, n. 319.
227. My emphasis.
228. Att. 200 (X.9).2 n.
229. Att. 200 (X.9).2 n.
230. Cf. Balsdon (1962), 179, 180; Crook (1967), 103, 104; Pomeroy (1975),
150-155; Gratwick (1984), 30-53, for Tullia especially 32-38.
231. Gratwick (1984), 44, 45.
232. Cicero, Tullia and her first husband C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi present
another variation on this kind of inter-familial tension. In 58 when
Cicero was exiled, his son-in-law pleaded on his behalf and, at some
cost to his own career, remained in Rome to fight for his father-in-
law, in this case in opposition to his own family, particularly his

uncle, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus. Cf. above p.159f. It is of interest that both marriages survived this political tension; Tullia's to Dolabella endured at least during the critical phases of the civil war (largely because of Cicero's determination and Caesar's own inclinations to remain on good terms), and seems to have collapsed on primarily personal and financial grounds later. See further discussion below.

233. And it was an assumption Cicero would have shared, cf. Dixon (1983) 96, 97, "His assumption is, clearly, that wives and close female relations can, if they wish, alter the political actions of leading men at Rome."
234. Att. 199 (X.8).9 and 10; cf. Att. 172 (IX.6).4.
235. Cicero's earlier description of Tullia, effigiem oris, sermonis, animi mei, seems still apposite (Q. fr.3 (I.3).3, June 58). Cf. Att. 199 (X.8).9, May 49; Fam. 249 (IV.6), April 45, for other expressions of appreciation for Tullia's support. Caelius' advice is epitomized in Fam. 97 (VIII.14).3, Illud te non arbitrór fugere, quín homines in dissensione domestica debeant; quam diu civiliter sine armis certetur, honestiorem sequi partem; ubi ad bellum et castra ventum sit, firmiorem, et id melius statuere quod tütius sit.
236. Att. 145 (VII.21).2, February 8, 49, sciebat nemo praeter me ex litteris Dolabellae.
237. Att. 180 (IX.13).1 and 2; 181 (IX.13a). Dolabella was also an obvious asset in his military capacity; Cicero expected clear sailing in the event of his departure from Italy, Adriano mari Dolabella (Att. 198 (X.7).1.).
238. Att. 145 (VII.21).3, ipse me Caesar ad pacem hortatur, . . . Dolabella,

Caelius me illi valde satis facere. Cf. also Att. 195 (X.4).11,
April 14, 49.

239. See Stockton (1971), especially 256-306 for a political account of Dolabella's and Cicero's relationship. Cf. Syme (1984), 1247 for Cicero's volte-face in 44.
240. Att. 210 (X.18).
241. Fam. 155 (XIV.7).1 and 2.
242. Att. 210 (X.18).1.
243. Fam. 155 (XIV.7) n.
244. Att. 212 (XI.2).2.
245. Treggiari (a), states that the surplus income from a woman's dowry properties was normally used to maintain the wife in the marriage, "but not necessarily in the lifestyle she demanded." Cf. Saller (1984), 202, 205. Tullia's degree of 'destitution' is therefore difficult for us properly to assess. But the fact that Atticus, noted for the relative simplicity of his tastes and living standard, reported desse omnia, must suggest that Tullia was in reality in a difficult position. (Nepos, At. 13, 6 and 7).
246. Att. 212 (XI.2).2.
247. See Chapter II, p.45ff. Cf. Neubauer (1909), 221, 222 and especially 228 in which she suggests that Terentia's action was not motivated by greed but, "dass sie in der richtigen Erkenntnis, über kurz oder lang werde die Scheidung Tullias von Dolabella doch unvermeidlich und dann das Geld, wenn man die Rate zahlte, verloren sein, eine Ansicht, die übrigens auch Atticus geteilt zu haben scheint...." Cf. Att. 213 (XI.3).
248. See Watson (1967), 71, 72 for a legal analysis of Cicero's dowry

quandary.

249. Cf. Gratwick (1984), 37; Treggiari (1984), 451.
250. The omission of Dolabella's name is in keeping with the anonymous tone of this letter, written and dispatched under siege conditions. (Cf. Shackleton Bailey's notes to Fam. 158.) In the interval between Att. 213 (XI.13), June 13 and Att. 215 (XI.4), July 15, Atticus evidently undertook to sell some of Cicero's properties in order to meet the dowry payments. Due to the effect of the civil war on the market these remained unsold when Cicero wrote to Atticus and Terentia in mid-July asking them to arrange some method of financing the payment to Dolabella, Att. 214 (XI.4a); 215 (XI.4).1; Fam. 158 (XIV.6).
251. Cf. Dixon (1984), 90f.
252. Att. 218 (XI.7).2; 420 (XVI.11).2; Fam. 161 (XIV.9).
253. Fam. 160 (XIV.19), November 48; 161 (XIV.9), December 48; Att. 217 (XI.6).4.
254. Att. 267 (XII.28).3 and n. Cf. also Voigt (1903), 241f.; Syme (1984), 1244 and n. 65; Broughton (1968), II Corrections, 19.
255. Att. 218 (XI.7).6 and n., December 17, 48.
256. Att. 220 (XI.9).3, January 3, 47.
257. Att. 227 (XI.16).5 and n. For Terentia's will cf. Att. 231 (XI.24).3; 232 (XI.23).1, 3; 234 (XI.24).2; 236 (XI.21).1; 237 (XI.22).2. Dixon (1984), 96f. discusses aspects of Terentia's will in some detail. Strained relations with Terentia over her will and over Tullia are evident in the letters, but the actual issue is not clear. Boissier (1903), 96, and Sollman (1952), 257 allege jealousy on Terentia's part over Cicero's fondness for Tullia. Evidence for

such an interpretation is lacking. Cf. Neubauer (1909), 225-28 for a comprehensive defence of Terentia's relationship with her daughter. The breach, if one existed, between Tullia and Terentia was not necessarily a deep one, for when Tullia visited Cicero in June at Brundisium he spoke of returning her to her mother as soon as Tullia herself was willing to leave. (Att. 229 (XI.17a).1.)

258. Att. 220 (XI.9).3. ... quod istam miseram patre, patrimonio, fortuna omni spoliata relinquam ... alium enim cui illam commendem habeo neminem....

259. Att. 223 (XI.12).4; 225 (XI.14).2, March 47; 226 (XI.15).3.

260. Att. 221 (XI.10).2 and n.; 232 (XI.23).3; cf. Dio, 42, 29f.

E. Rawson (1975), 205 has suggested that Dolabella's clash with Marcus Antonius, a consequence of his political demagoguery and personal misconduct, caused Cicero to fear that Dolabella's influence with Caesar would be seriously undermined and disposed him more favourably toward a divorce for Tullia. His concern was only passing it seems, since the divorce idea was apparently abandoned in August, before Caesar's return (Att. 234 (XI.24).1.).

261. Plutarch, Ant. 9; Syme (1984), 1247 and n. 82. Cf. Att. 226 (XI.15).3 and n.; 232 (XI.23).3 and n.

262. Att. 228 (XI.17); 229 (XI.17a).1.

263. Since Cicero in a subsequent letter speaks of returning Tullia to her mother at Rome, itaque matri eam, cum primum per ipsam liceret eam remissurus, it seems that Tullia had left her mother's care to come to visit Cicero at Brundisium and therefore at some unspecified prior time she had already left Dolabella.

264. Att. 228 (XI.17); 232 (XI.23).3; 234 (XI.24).1.

265. Att. 232 (XI.23).3, July 9, 47.
266. Cf. Gratwick (1984), 47 with respect to marriage decisions: "The girl had to be in someone's manus; in whose was the subject of shrewd bargaining in which the girl's attitude and potential happiness were only one consideration. The girl's father would be satisfied if he thought he had done the best he could both for the girl and for the family interest; whether he had or not would of course remain to be seen."
267. See above, p.146 for reference to Cicero's language about Tullia at this time, the frequent recurrence of misera and miserrima.
268. E.g. Att. 212 (XI.2).2; 231 (XI.25); 232 (XI.23).3; 234 (XI.24).2.
269. E.g. Att. 213 (XI.3).1; 220 (XI.9).3; 228 (XI.17); 234 (XI.24).1.
270. The references to Tullia in Att. 228 (XI.17); 229 (XI.17a).1; 231 (XI.24).3; 236 (XI.21).2, imply by their content "Tullia's long suffering ... under her husband's (and mother's ?) injuries...." (Shackleton Bailey, Att. 231 (XI.25) n.)
271. Crook (1967), 106.
272. Cf. Treggiari (1985), 451.
273. Crook (1967), 105; cf. also above note 199.
274. Att. 229 (XI.17a).1; Att. 236 (XI.21).2.
275. Att. 234 (XI.24).1 and n.
276. Cf. above, n. 198.
277. Att. 239 (XII.3).2. The traditional date (May or June 46) for this letter has been disputed by Shackleton Bailey. In his commentary he suggests redating the letter to May 30, 45. If the redating is accepted, the final sentence, tu Atticam, quaeso, cura, et ei salutem et Piliae, Tulliae quoque verbis, plurimam, cannot stand (Tullia died

- in February 45). The MS tradition supports such an emendation.
278. Att. 241 (XII.5c).1.
279. Att. 241 (XII.5c).1.
280. Att. 245 (XII.8) late October (by the sun) 46. Extracting Tullia's dowry from Dolabella proved to be a lengthy procedure. In January 45, Cicero was still awaiting the first installment (Fam. 218 (XI.18).5).
281. Fam. 218 (VI.18).5, January 45. Att. 241 (XII.5c). n. The alteration of the calendar in 46 and the addition of two extra months between November and December makes speculation about the date of conception difficult; at any rate sometime during the early summer months is required, whether the child was full term or not.
282. Att. 245 (XII.8).n.
283. Fam. 209 (VII.23).4, December 46.
284. M. Fabius Gallus was an Epicurean friend and correspondent of Cicero, an author, and a connoisseur of art. Fam. 209 (VII.23).4.
285. Plut., Cic. 41, 7, states that Tullia died in child-birth παρά Λέντυλλῶ, meaning the house of Dolabella, whose adopted plebeian name was Lentulus. Voigt (1903), 359, suggests that Dolabella might have provided Tullia with a house as partial payment or as security for his eventual reimbursement of Tullia's dowry. More probable is the interpretation preferred by Gratwick (1984), 37, that Tullia's child was born in the house of Dolabella's adoptive parents, the Lentuli, in Rome. Her death has been established as having occurred at Tusculum where she had travelled with her father to recuperate. (Voigt (1903), 359).
286. Voigt (1903), 359.

287. Plut., Cic. 41, 8.
288. Att. 250 (XII.13) n.; Fam. 218 (VI.18).5.
289. Pomeroy (1975), 169; Gratwick (1984), 37. Statistics on the average life expectancy of Roman women are misleading (cf. Hopkins (1966), *passim*) and can only provide a general picture which suggests an average expectancy for both sexes at birth of between twenty and thirty years. Specific statistics on the mortality rate of women of the Roman élite in their child-bearing years are not presently attainable. For recent estimates of life expectancies, family size, and fertility see Frier (1982), 233-238; Table 2; and Frier (1984).
290. For Cicero's reactions to Tullia's death see especially Shackleton Bailey (1966), Vol. V, Appendix III, 404-413; Shackleton Bailey (1971), 201-215; Rawson (1975) 225-227; Lepage (1976), 245-250; Hopkins (1984), 220f.; Gratwick (1984), 38.
291. Att. 281 (XII.40).2.
292. Att. 250 (XII.13), March 7, 45 up to Att. 331 (XIII.23), July 10, 45 encompass the majority of references to Tullia and plans for a memorial to her (except for a single late reference to monies set aside for her shrine in June 44, Att. 393 (XV.15).3).
293. Seneca, Suas. 6, 17. Quoted above, n. 2.
294. See for example his announcement of the death of his father, Att. 2 (I.6).2; his beloved cousin Lucius, Att. 1 (I.5).1; his joking announcement to Atticus of the latter's grandmother's death, Att. 8 (I.3).1; his response to the death of Pompeius, Att. 217 (XI.6).5; and various letters of consolation written to grieving friends, e.g. Fam. 187 (V.16), 221 (VI.22); Att. 247 (XII.10); 377 (XV.1).1; 379 (XV.2).4. One exceptional instance is Cicero's half-ashamed

- admission of the grief he was experiencing at the death of a slave, Att. 12 (I.12).4. For a useful, if brief, discussion of Roman attitudes to public displays of grief see MacMullen (1980), 254f.; 5. Hopkins (1983), 217-226 discusses private emotions of the Romans and the problem of cultural relativism in our comprehension of them in some detail.
295. On whom see RE 4 A, 1, Cols. 851-860; Broughton (1968), 624; Syme (1984), 1415ff. For Sulpicius' letter to Cicero cf. Fam. 248 (IV.5), mid-March 45.
296. It is interesting and perhaps illuminating to note that Cicero in these explicit examples without exception cites fathers who have lost sons: Q. Maximus, qui filium consularem, clarum virum et magnis rebus gestis, amisit, et L. Paulus, qui duo septem diebus, et vester Galus et M. Cato, qui summo ingenio, summa virtute filium perdidit. (Fam. 249 (IV.6).1.). Cf. also Att. 258 (XII.20).2; 261 (XII.22).2; 263 (XII.24).2 and 3, for Cicero's use of the loss of sons in his treatise on mourning. He seems to make no distinction between the degree of loss suffered in the death of a son and of a daughter. Tullia's exceptional personal qualities and Cicero's high regard for them may be inferred from such an implicit comparison.
297. Cf. Att. 217 (XI.6).5 and 6. See also B. Rawson (1978) especially pp.1-17 for discussion of the personal relationship between Cicero and Pompeius (she asserts that Cicero expressed no political and little personal regret for his death; I disagree with the latter). Cf. also Brunt (1965), 17-20.
298. For a discussion of the elderly in antiquity see Finley (1981), 156-171.

299. Att. 271 (XII.31).1, March 28, 45.
300. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 185, suggests that Cicero's reactions to Tullia's death and to other events in his later years were deeply influenced by the dissolution of his relationship with his brother, "his oldest emotional attachment".
301. Att. 202 (X.11).1 and 2, May 49 is in sharp contrast to 216 (XI.5).4, November 48; 219 (XI.8).2 and 221 (XI.10).1, January 47; 222 (XI.11).2; 223 (XI.12).1 and 2; and 224 (XI.13).2 and 4, March 47; 226 (XI.15).2, May 47. Signs of some strained attempts to reestablish communications between the two brothers are evident in 227 (XI.16).4, June 47; 232 (XI.23).2, July 47; 242 (XII.5).1, August 46; 248 (XII.1).1, November 46. For Quintus' domestic affairs cf. especially Att. 341 (XIII.38).1, August 45; 342 (XIII.39).1; 343 (XIII.40).2; 344 (XIII.41).1; 346 (XIII.37).2, August 45; 354 (XIII.42).1 and 2, December 45; 364 (XIV.1).4; 367 (XIV.13).4 and 5, April 44.
302. Att. 244 (XII.7).1, October 46.
303. Cicero's friend Servius Sulpicius Rufus expressed their common sense of desolation at the collapse of the political order in his letter of condolence: at vero malum est liberos amittere. malum, nisi hoc peius est, haec sufferre et perpeti. (Fam. 248 (IV.5).3.). And again in #5 he admonishes Cicero to consider that Tullia omnibus bonis prope perfunctam esse, cum res publica occideret, vita excessisse. Cicero's agreement with respect to the political sentiments is evident in his response (Fam. 249 (IV.6).1-3). Cf. also Fam. 187 (V.16).3, autumn 46 (before Tullia's death); ... cum beatissimi sint qui liberos non susceperunt, minus autem miseri qui his

temporibus amiserunt quam si eosdem bona aut denique aliqua re publica perdidissent. See also Wagener (1936), 367 on the emotional effect on Cicero of his forced withdrawal from political life in 46/45. Stockton (1971), 275-279 has an excellent summary of Cicero's political despair at this time.

304. Cf. especially Att. 267 (XII.28).2 and Fam. 249 (IV.6).2. Young Attica too seems to have figured more importantly in Cicero's personal life during these later years. References to her and to his pleasure in her company are frequent and in the letters following Tullia's death his constant concern about young Attica's health and well-being is marked. As discussed above, very likely his fondness for Attica provided some emotional solace during the early stages of his bereavement.
305. Gratwick (1984), 38 while emphasizing that Tullia's life was "unremarkable from the Roman point of view in its chronology" and that Cicero's family as a whole in many respects was typical of late Republican nobility, concedes that it was exceptional with respect to having five broken marriages out of six within the immediate family (Cicero's marriages with Terentia and Publilia, Quintus' with Pomponia and Tullia's with Crassipes and Dolabella). Four of these divorces occurred within a two year period.
306. Cf. Att. 250 (XII.13).2; 251 (XII.14).3; 252 (XII.15); 253 (XII.16); 254 (XII.18).1; 260 (XII.21).5; 262 (XII.23).1. His initial desire for solitude included even Atticus among those whose company he avoided. Obscurely he missed Atticus and longed for the relief only his companionship could bring, but at the same time he found himself unable to be with him nisi me plane nihil ulla res adiuveret

(Att. 253 (XII.16). And when Atticus proposed to visit him, Cicero politely implied his own hesitation: ... est enim longum iter discedentemque te, quod celeriter tibi erit fortasse faciendum, non sine magno dolore dimittam ... (Att. 254 (XII.18).4).

307. Cf. Att. 251 (XII.14).3; 252 (XII.15); 253 (XII.16); 254 (XII.18).1; 258 (XII.20).1 and 2; 260 (XII.21).5; 261 (XII.22).2; 263 (XII.24).2; 279 (XII.38a).1. A fragment of Cicero's Consolatio survives in Lactantius Div. Inst. I 15, 18. Cf. E. Rawson (1975), 227; Lepage (1976), 255-258.
308. For a comprehensive discussion of Cicero's project see Shackleton Bailey, (Att.), Vol. 5, 404-13, Appendix III, 'Tullia's Fane'. Cf. also E. Rawson (1975), 227-229; Lepage (1976), 250-255; Toynbee (1971) and Hopkins (1983), 226-232 provide general discussion on Roman monuments to the dead.
309. Hopkins (1983), 217.
310. Hopkins (1983), 221-226.
311. Hopkins (1983), 221.
312. Att. 247 (XII.10, November 21(?) (by the sun) 46. Cf. also Fam. 187 (V.16).5 and 6, to a certain unidentified Titius, autumn, 46: nam quod adlatura est ipsa diuturnitas, quae maximos luctus vetustate tollit, id nos praecipere consilio prudentiaque debemus.
313. Hopkins (1983), 220. Cf. Gratwick (1984), 38.
314. Att. 286 (XIII.26).2, May 14, 45.
315. Cf. Att. 254 (XII.18).1, Dum recordationes fugio quae quasi morsu quodam dolorem efficiunt....
316. Cf. Att. 281 (XII.40).3.
317. J. Donne, Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions, Meditation 17.

318. Att. 254 (XII.18).1.
319. Cicero's habitual circumlocution in referring to Tullia after her death may help to clarify a passage in Att. 331 (XIII.23). Cicero complained that his possessions were more a source of annoyance than gratification, magis enim doleo me non habere cui tradam quam habere qui utar. Shackleton Bailey notes that Cicero had certainly not decided to disinherit Marcus and scholars are puzzled by the implications. If we bear in mind Cicero's periphrastic references to Tullia, the emphasis then might shift from, "it pains me more to lack (some)one to whom I can pass them on ..." to "it pains me more not to have Tullia than it pleases me to have enough for my wants." The issue of Marcus is irrelevant; it is the loss of Tullia and not the niceties of the distribution of property which is uppermost in Cicero's mind. His rather clumsy phraseology invites misinterpretation. Cf. Treggiari (1979), 66, 67.
320. Fam. 249 (IV.6).2, quo confugerem, ubi conquiescerem, cuius in sermone et suavitate omnis curas doloresque deponerem. Cf. also Att. 262 (XII.23).1, unum quo tenebamur amissimus; 267 (XII.28).2; erat enim ubi acquiescerem.
321. Att. 282 (XII.42).3; 285 (XII.44).3; 286 (XIII.26).2; 287 (XII.46).1.
322. Att. 256 (XII.18a).2; 267 (XII.28).3; 270 (XII.30).1.
323. Cf. Gratwick (1984), 37 and 43 on Tullia's child and the Lentuli. For attitudes toward babies among the Roman elite see Bradley (1985) and discussion above pp.21f.; 152f.
324. Cf. also Att. 251 (XII.14).3. quoted above p.213, and 287 (XII.46).1. Cf. MacMullen (1980), 255, "It was good to be a person of feeling."

325. L. Lucceius (son of Quintus) was an intimate friend of Pompeius. Like Cicero, with whom he was on friendly terms, he was pardoned by Caesar after Pharsalus. Praetor in 67, he unsuccessfully bid for the consulship in 60.
326. Cf. also Att. 286 (XIII.26).2.
327. E. Rawson (1975), 225.
328. See above, n. 163. Note also Cicero's sympathetic consideration for Caesar's luctus in September 54. Cicero refers twice in a letter to Quintus to the blow (casus) inflicted on Caesar by the death of his daughter Julia. Q. fr. 21 (III.1), 17 and 25.
329. Bradley (forthcoming review) suggests that parental investment in their offspring included expectations that the grown child would add to the family's "reputations and earlier accomplishments," play a part in ensuring familial survival and property control, and be available to care for them in their old age.
330. MacMullen (1980), 255.
331. This was advice proffered before Cicero had experienced Tullia's death. In the event Cicero himself very rapidly became aware of the limitations of the rational faculty in absorbing emotional trauma. See below and n. 332.
332. See especially Att. 252 (XII.15) "adhuc"; 253 (XII.16) "adhuc"; 254 (XII.18).1; 260 (XII.21).5; 264 (XII.25).2; 267 (XII.28).2; 274 (XII.35); 279 (XII.38a).1 and 2.
333. Cf. Att. 258 (XII.20).1; 267 (XII.28).2, quod me ipse per litteras consolatus sum, non paenitet me quantum profecerim...
334. Att. 253 (XII.16); 254 (XII.18).1. Medical imagery recurs, cf. Att. 260 (XII.21).5.

335. Att. 258 (XII.20).2; 261 (XII.22).2; 263 (XII.24).2.
336. Cf. Att. 267 (XII.28).2; 281 (XII.40).2 and 3.
337. Att. 254 (XII.18).1.
338. Att. 259 (XII.12).1. I do not propose to deal in any detail with the protracted exchange of letters on the subject of Tullia's fanum. Shackleton Bailey's account is outstanding in Att. Vol. 5 Appendix III, 404-413. Cf. also E. Rawson (1975), 227-229; Lepage (1976), 250-255 and Treggiari (1979), 67.
339. Att. 250 (XII.13).2; cf. Att. 254 (XII.18).1. The two ideas, a shrine for Tullia and a retreat for Cicero's old age, merged for a time while Cicero sought the perfect site to fit the requirements of both.
340. For Atticus' attitude to Cicero's self-confessed aberration (error meus), see Att. 264 (XII.25).2; see 283 (XII.41); 284 (XII.43).
341. Shackleton Bailey, Att. Vol. 5, 404 n. 1, refers to a shrine erected in Babylon by Harpalus to his mistress Pythionice as a relevant precedent. The story was discussed in a work by Theopompus which Cicero was reading certainly two months after the shrine project was conceived and possibly earlier, cf. Att. 281 (XII.40).2. Rawson (1975), 227, cites Greek hero cults as a possible source for Cicero's idea. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that the two major activities in which Cicero sought solace, his composition of a self-consolation and his plan to create a shrine for Tullia, appear to have been unique, independently conceived strategies. As countering evidence to the extreme position outlined by Hopkins (1983), 222, the view that "rites do not merely express, they also mold feelings," Cicero's self-generated, novel (or at least newly adopted) rituals

of mourning may suffice. For Roman burial practices in general see Toynbee (1971).

342. E. Rawson (1975), 227.

343. Att. 254 (XII.18).1; 262 (XII.23).3; 279 (XII.38a).2; 283 (XII.41).4.

344. Att. 255 (XII.17); 257 (XII.19).1; 331 (XIII.23).3 and n.

345. Att. 330 (XIII.33a).1. Caesar proposed to divert the Tiber, build over the Campus Martius and turn the old Campus Vaticanus into the new Campus Martius. The estate Cicero had decided to purchase, the horti of Scapula, was in the Campus Vaticanus.

346. Att. 393 (XV.15).3.

347. Att. 287 (XII.46).1.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to describe in detail and to analyze in depth the personal relationships between Marcus Tullius Cicero and the members of his immediate family. The focus of attention has been concentrated on the assumptions, expectations and sentiments which may be perceived in Cicero's correspondence, and an effort has been made to view these attitudes in the wider social context of late Republican Rome.

From the preceding discussion it is evident that Cicero's relationship with his wife, Terentia, was enduring, but that it underwent significant periods of strain and that these were most clearly apparent upon each of Cicero's returns to Rome after a prolonged absence. The domestic and financial maladministration which Cicero ascribed to Terentia appears to have been a significant factor underlying their marital tensions. Terentia was not a totally passive wife; she exercised considerable powers of independent judgement, particularly with respect to her own dower properties and financial interests, which were regarded as separate property but in times of crisis, and to some extent for purposes of the children's futures, were also considered as part of the family's collective resources and security. Terentia's participation in decisions which involved the preservation, security or advancement of the family was an expectation which she appears to have shared with her husband. Clearly, at many times in their married life Cicero relied upon Terentia's reportage, administrative assistance in domestic matters, her ad hoc assessments and political and financial intervention. Terentia's efforts on Cicero's behalf to achieve his political restoration during the exile in 58 provide the most striking evidence of her conjugal loyalty and of her independent activities. The

fact that at the end of their relationship she was accused of demonstrating the opposite qualities, financial treachery and political disloyalty, clearly indicates the potential conflict inherent in the roles which upper class Roman women could assume. A wealthy, politically active matrona with deep allegiances to both her own (her father's) family and her husband's, might readily find herself in situations of conflicting loyalties; and this probability was undoubtedly heightened by the sequences of dramatically shifting political alliances prevalent in Rome of the late Republic.

With respect to Cicero's second wife, the young Publilia, the short duration of the marriage and the paucity of specific references to her in the letters make any conclusions about their relationship extremely tenuous. Their marriage appears to have been undertaken for reasons of a typically financial and perhaps political sort, for Cicero himself clearly states that the purpose of the match was to form a new and more powerful marriage alliance. Apart from the facts that Publilia did not wish to be divorced and that Cicero himself did not wish to incur her family's ill will by doing so, little else of a personal nature can be gleaned from their brief relationship.

The relationship between Cicero and his son Marcus appears to have been consistently equable, although perhaps not noticeably close. Throughout his life Cicero's concern for Marcus focussed on his safety and physical well-being and on the educational and related requirements necessary to prepare him for a successful public career. Cicero's attitudes toward Marcus reflect his strong desire to carry out correctly the traditional parental officium; central to this concept for Cicero was a consistent commitment best expressed in his avowed aim in writing the De

Officiis for Marcus: to build character as well as to instruct the mind. Cicero was careful to provide his son with physical and financial security; he personally supervised his education and sought reputable tutors for him. When Marcus became a young man Cicero encouraged his association with men of rank who would be fine exempla and would provide him with an education in the broadest sense, for example, the philosopher Cratippus and M. Iunius Brutus. In turn his expectations of Marcus were that he should succeed in his training and become not only a skilled orator but a vir bonus. Marcus was expected always to exhibit dignitas and to uphold the reputation of the Cicero family and ultimately, it was hoped, he was to contribute to its gloria et fama.

It is evident that Cicero's relationship with Tullia was consistently close throughout her life and was in many ways the most complex of all Cicero's familial relationships. Cicero's concerns about Tullia centered on her physical well-being, her financial security and above all on her marital situation -- and this included his concerns not only for the arrangements of the marriages, but over and above them, his concern for her personal happiness too. Considerations of marriage prospects, betrothals, marriage alliances, dowry and divorce dominate the references to Tullia during most of the years covered by the correspondence. This fact reflects the on-going nature of a Roman paterfamilias' social, political and economic involvement in his daughter's adult life. Cicero and Tullia seem also to have enjoyed an enduring personal relationship which encompassed Tullia's active participation in political, financial and domestic matters. She appears to have taken on a practical, help-meet role in Cicero's later years, perhaps in place of her mother, and in addition to have provided some of the companionship which Cicero's marital relation-

ships so clearly lacked.

Because the letters are a literary record and because the references to family matters are fragmentary and elusive, it is difficult to assess realistically the kinds of sentiment and the degree of affection comprised in the various personal relationships. There is abundant evidence that sentiment and affection were present, yet clearly their expression was markedly controlled and constrained by the nature of Roman marriage and by the traditional cultural expectations of children.

By modern standards it is apparent that between Cicero and Terentia the degree of affection was not outstanding. Clearly their interchange was primarily controlled by considerations of property, politics and finance; in short, the mechanics of preserving and promoting the family. Terentia's role as materfamilias dominated the relationship and her personal qualities remained subordinate. Although terms of endearment are present in some of the letters, they often seem rather to express familiarity than affection. So too at the end of the marriage, familiarity rather than affection may have underlain Cicero's evident feelings of distress about the divorce. With the exception of the letters from exile, in which Cicero's emotional language was at least in part manipulative, a cool, even clinical aspect is visible in much of the correspondence and this seems to imply that his relationship with Terentia was not predicated on a deep emotional commitment, but rather on the shared concerns of managers of a social enterprise.

Affection for Marcus is only occasionally indicated by the use of terms of endearment, and in fact their use was confined exclusively to Marcus' earliest years. In later years Cicero's expressions of pleasure in his son came to acquire something of the flavour of letters of recom-

mentation. Yet Cicero's affection for and pride in Marcus is readily apparent in the care which he invested in his upbringing. It is evident that his paternal affection was heavily constrained by the preconceptions of and hopes for children prevalent among the Roman élite. Strong familial expectations and goals channelled Cicero's sentiments with respect to Marcus into an over-riding concern for his physical, mental and moral development and scrupulous attention to the details of his education and training for a successful senatorial career. Affection and pride were closely allied always with a consistent emphasis on Marcus' performance of traditional familial requirements.

Cicero's sentiments with respect to Tullia are more immediately evident than those of his other relationships. Tullia was in many ways the most important family member in Cicero's emotional life. Certainly his affection for her was constant throughout her life and, to judge from the epithets in the letters, it was an affection consistently and openly expressed. Cicero did not necessarily love Tullia more than Marcus, but he does seem to have been able to express his feelings about her more openly and directly. And his affection for her, just as for Marcus, is apparent in his attentive performance of parental officium and in his pride in her reciprocal performance of socially prescribed roles and expectations. The fact that Tullia was married to adulescentes primarii was a source of satisfaction to Cicero. However, his appreciation of Tullia as a person and his delight in her companionship is clearly evident at many times throughout her life. By his powerful reaction to her death Cicero betrays the importance to him of the strong bond of sentiment particularly notable between him and his daughter during his later years. The existence of such an affective bond, moreover, may well be a function of

the relatively flexible nature of the expectations held by a Roman father with respect to his daughter. In contrast to the expectations of a wife or of a son, familial requirements of a girl were only that she marry well; a simpler role and one which could have been perceived to be less pervasively demanding. Consequently, there may have been less tension inherent in father-daughter relationship and a concomitant opportunity available for both sides to openly express their affection and enjoyment.

These conclusions with respect to Cicero's personal relations are solid and unassailable. What is finally required is a putative statement about the typicality of Cicero's family life. From the general background information presented in Chapter I we can see that Cicero's marriage to Terentia was both usual and unusual: unusual in that it lasted for more than thirty years and was in sharp contrast to the very high rate of spousal turn-over prevalent in the late Republic. Its endurance may be accounted for not so much by any element of emotional commitment as by the fact that a continuing association was mutually convenient over the course of time. Certainly when Cicero judged that the time was ripe there is no evidence of any hesitation to sever the connection. An additional factor which assuredly contributed to the duration of Cicero's and Terentia's marriage is that despite Cicero's celebrity in politics he was never one of the prime politico-military figures of his day. He could not be expected to alter the course of historical development in the way of more aristocratically powerful figures such as Pompeius or Crassus, men whose careers created the compelling capacity to forge and reforge marriage alliances. The duration of Cicero's marriage, then, does not imply a deep emotional bond, but rather an absence of any continuing need to acquire new adfinitates. Yet it must be noted that in Cicero's correspondence

there are no signs of any extra-marital relationships, a social phenomenon widely prevalent in his age, nor do later sources betray indications of infidelity on either Cicero's or Terentia's part. We can perhaps infer from this that in some way Cicero's emotional and sexual needs were adequately met within the institutional framework of Roman marriage. But it is necessary to acknowledge once again the idiosyncratic nature of our evidence: Cicero's companionship with his daughter may have met some of his emotional requirements and his sexual needs may not have been particularly strong. Shackleton Bailey (1971), 21, has noted Cicero's "aesthetic fastidiousness in matters of sex" and his more general disparagement of sexual liaisons. Cicero's marital and extra-marital arrangements with respect to sexuality may indeed have been atypical. The marriage was usual or representative in that, as far as we can tell, it was not compacted or maintained on the basis of romantic love. A sense of distance permeates the relationship and the dominant impression prevails of two separate households merged into a long-term social and financial enterprise.

In contrast to Terentia, Cicero's children may well have formed a closer emotional bond with him. But their earlier years were spent in the conventional life-style of the late Republican upper classes. Both children were carefully provided for by their parents, but in all probability were not catered to directly by them, so much as by a constant pool of servants comprising nurses, pedagogues and tutors. Although we have no direct evidence for Tullia's early years, from a comparison with Attica's childhood there is every reason to believe that her mother's role was minimal and that paternal interest in her became significant only when she had reached the age at which her betrothal was an issue requiring

familial attention. The existence of such a typical pattern is supported by abundant evidence from Marcus' childhood and by a comparison with Quintus f. and Tullia's baby Lentulus. It is apparent that a sequence of servile child minders and teachers provided the greater part of the children's supervision and care. Therefore, the presumption has been that to some extent an element of distance would be evident in the relationship between Roman parents and their children; not that affection of necessity would be absent, but that sentiment would be overlain, channelled and moderated to some degree by traditional expectations of how the child's life would unfold. Indications show that the preparation of Marcus for a brilliant career in public life was an omnipresent aspect of Cicero's relationship with his son from his earliest years. So too young Marcus' facility with the use of intermediaries to sustain a good relationship with his father is further evidence that the affection between the two was of a moderated kind. With Tullia, visibly, primary expectations were that by subordinating herself to the interests of the family and to the wishes of her father especially, she would compact a splendid marriage which would enhance the family's social profile and maintain its fine standing. Although the question of her personal happiness was not ignored, it was acknowledged by her father to be only one minor element in the complex amalgam of political, social and financial assessments required by marriage considerations.

One result of this examination of Cicero's family life has clearly emerged: that any statement on the emotional character of family relationships in Roman society has to be controlled by an understanding of the conventions of upper class marriage at Rome and the traditional expectations of Roman children: that they perpetuate the family's historic

accomplishments for the sake of prestige and glory. The "emotional fabric" of Roman family life was far removed from its modern counterpart.

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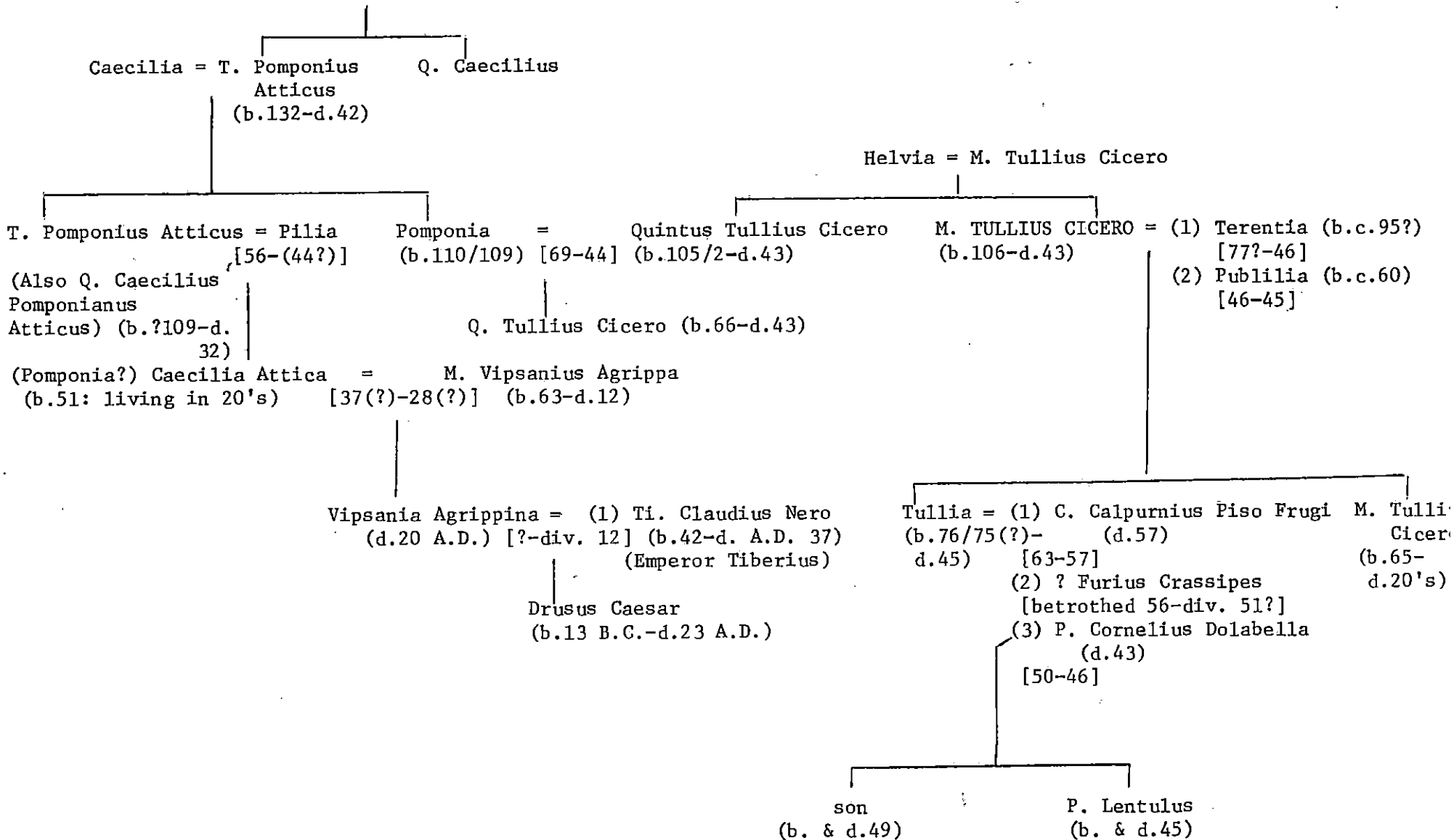
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APPENDIX I

THE FAMILY OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO*



* Square brackets enclose marriage and betrothal dates.

APPENDIX II

The Dates for Tullia's Birth and Cicero's Marriage

Tullia's precise date of birth is a subject for speculation; Cicero reveals only her birthday, August 5 (Att. 73 (IV.1).4) but not the year of her birth. Moreover we have no evidence for the date of Cicero's marriage to Terentia, which has only been inferred from reasonable conjectures about Tullia's age when she was betrothed in 67 and married in late 63 or 62.¹ A number of scholars concur with Drumann-Groebe and place Cicero's marriage c.79, with Tullia's birth soon afterwards, probably after Cicero had left for a two year sojourn in the Greek East in the middle of 79.² E. Rawson, although she accepts 80/79 for Cicero's marriage, seems to prefer a date near 76 for Tullia's birth and indeed this is now the more generally accepted date.³ The conjectured dates have depended, as Weinstock has indicated, on scholars' perceptions of the credible age at which Tullia could have been betrothed and married. Hopkins suggests that previous research and "deeply rooted cultural ideas" had indicated an average age for Roman girls at marriage much higher than that which now appears to have been the case. He has shown that the usual age range for girls from the Roman upper classes to marry was between twelve and fifteen, and Treggiari has recently pointed to the very early betrothal arrangements customary in Roman society.⁴ Sumner's influential argument for adopting 76/75 as the date of Tullia's birth depends heavily on Hopkins' statistics for its force.⁵ Tullia would thus have been about nine when betrothed to Piso in 67 and near thirteen when she was married. These ages seem now to be both credible and probable to scholars, and accordingly here I have adopted 76/75 for the date of Tullia's birth. Cicero's and Terentia's

marriage may well have taken place in 80/79 when Cicero was twenty-six or seven and before he left for his Greek tour. But more probable is the conjecture outlined above, Chapter II, A, that Cicero married Terentia very shortly after his return to Rome in mid 77. He would then have been twenty-nine and of an age to stand for public office.⁶ His marriage to Terentia, possibly arranged for him in his absence, was very likely part of a carefully orchestrated programme, instituted upon his return to Rome, to create a successful social and political profile.

Notes

1. See for example E. Rawson (1975), 25; cf. S. Weinstock, RE 5 A, 1, Col. 710, "wir wissen nicht einmal genau, wann Cicero sie geheiratet hat: nach Drumann VI² 604 im J. 80 oder 79 vor seiner Reise nach Griechenland, nach O.E. Schmidt N. Jahrb. I 175 spätestens in J. 77, nach seiner Heimkehr (massgebend sind hierbei Erwägungen über das Alter der Tullia, das sie bei ihrer Verlobung bzw. Verheiratung mit Piso nach damaliger Sitte haben musste)."
2. Groebe, RE 7 A, 2, Col. 1329; Balsdon (1962), 179; Balsdon (1965), 173; Hopkins (1965), 317; Shackleton Bailey (1971), 22; and Att. 1 (I.5).6 n. (But cf. his introduction to the Penguin edition of Letters to Atticus (1978), 17, in which he gives 76/75 for Tullia's birthdate.)
3. E. Rawson (1975), 25 and 47. Oddly she describes Tullia as a "little over ten" when she was betrothed to Piso in late 67. This would mean that Tullia was born early in 77, that is before Cicero had returned to Rome after his two year absence with Quintus and Atticus in the east. Surely just under ten is more probable. 76/75 for Tullia's birth is also used by Lacey (1978), 17; Richards ((1975) 1970), 30; Sumner (1971), 258 n. 30; Treggiari (1984), 442f., n. 102 and Shackleton Bailey (1978), 17 (see previous note). Stockton (1971), 63 dates Cicero's marriage to 77 and so by implication concurs with the 76/75 suggestion for Tullia's birth. See also Syme (1984), 1247, n. 88.
4. Hopkins (1965), 310 and 316ff.; Treggiari (1984), 420-422.
5. Sumner (1971), 258, n. 30. As noted by Treggiari (1984), 442f., n.

102, Sumner's citation of the Fourth Catilinarian adds nothing to the discussion.

6. Mitchell (1979), 94 and Shackleton Bailey (1971), 13. Cicero was elected quaestor for 76 at 30, the earliest permissible age for the office.

VITA

Surname: CLARK Given Names: PATRICIA ANN

Place of Birth: VANCOUVER, B.C. Date of Birth: March 14, 1942

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA 1959 to 1963
(Victoria College)

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA 1979 to 1983

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA 1983 to 1985

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

B.A. 1963 University of British Columbia

B.A. 1983 University of Victoria

Honors and Awards:

University of Victoria President's Scholarship, 1981-1983

University of Victoria Graduate Fellowships, 1983-1985

Publications:

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Title of Thesis

Personal Relationships in the Roman Family:

A Profile of the Family of M. Tullius Cicero

Author

Signature

PATRICIA A. CLARK

Name

April 10, 1985

Date

APPENDIX III

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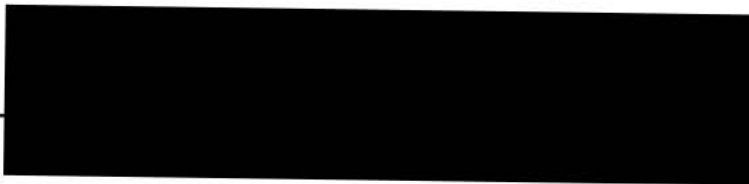
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