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Doctoral Dissertations, 2011-2026 Classics

2020

# Cicero’s Marital Strategies: Some Case Studies

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Princeton, NJ : Princeton University

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# Cicero's Marital Strategies: Some Case Studies

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A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY
OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE BY
THE DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

Adviser: Dan-el Padilla Peralta

June 2020

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## Abstract

It has often been suggested that for Roman politicians, marriage was a tool of advancement and a way of forging alliance among the influential and wealthy. This dissertation is intended to enhance our picture of how exactly Roman politicians made use of marital alliance to good advantage. The focus will be on Cicero, because he provided us with a relative abundance of evidence for himself and for the society he was living in. At the same time, studying him can give us a better understanding of how he achieved impressive success, even though his *novus* background placed at a disadvantage. This project consists of six case studies. Chapters 2-4 examine Tullia's three marriages. They argue that while Cicero did consider political concerns as vitally important when choosing a son-in-law, he also took other factors into account. Particularly noticeable is the fact that he allowed his wife and daughter to enjoy some say in the decision-making process. Chapter 5-7 examine the trio consisting Cicero, his brother Quintus and his friend Atticus. By proposing a marriage between Quintus and Atticus' sister Pomponia, he expected to deepen their relationships and to help Quintus advance his career. He made great efforts to ensure that the members in this circle were on friendly terms with each other. After Atticus married Pilia, Cicero also sought to develop an affectionate relationship with her. These chapters argue that Cicero thought emotional rewards of marriages to be important, too.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1. Topic

Münzer's *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* had remained influential for at least half a century since its publication in 1920.[1] In that study, Münzer portrays Roman politics in the Republican period as a competitive arena where aristocrats struggled for power and domination of the state through success in elections to offices, especially to the highest one on the *cursus honorum*, i.e. the consulship. He then argues that electoral success was both the major reason for and ultimate aim of "parties," which could be either based on the community of blood or established by other means, notably marital ties.

Although Münzer's work has long been criticized for oversimplifying the link between individuals' family connections and their political stances and above all for overestimating the solidarity of "parties", nowadays scholars still agree with him that Roman politicians used marriage as a tool of advancement and as a way of forging alliances among the influential and wealthy.[2] This view does not need to be refuted, but it does need to be elaborated. First, how exactly did political figures do so? It was probably not an easy task and required strategic planning. We can further ask: How did a politician assess his own situation and objectives to find a match that could best suit his needs? How did he negotiate to bring the marriage proposal to fruition? How did he maintain the

[1] The book was originally published as Münzer (1920) and translated into English as (1999) with an introduction by the translator Thérèse Ridley. For strong criticism of this work, see Hölkeskamp (2001).
[2] For examples, Syme (1986), Dixon (1985), Haley (1985) and Marshall (2009).

established marital relationship so as to profit from it continually? And how did he use divorce also as a strategy? Second, did women play a role in male politicians' efforts to seek gains from marriage? After all, we have many examples of elite women who, instead of being were simply pawns in political games monopolized by men, were assertive in the domestic sphere and active in the public sphere.[3] Third, while it is certainly true that political concerns remained the binding force behind political figures' marriages, were there other things that mattered? For instance, it has been suggested that competition for political honors was so keen in the republican period as to have suppressed the development of affectionate relations within the family.[4] Is it true and are we justified in dismissing affection as worthless to politicians?

This dissertation, therefore, is intended to enhance our picture of how Roman politicians made use of marital alliance to good advantage by trying to provide answers to the questions raised above.[5] While in the foregoing project Münzer ambitiously endeavored to cover almost every aristocrat known to us, the present work has a much humbler goal and focuses only on Cicero, in the hope that we can thus have a more in-depth and nuanced discussion. The first reason for choosing Cicero is quite obvious: there is an abundance of evidence for him as well as the society in which he was living, and much of it comes from his own works. Of course, this is not to say that we have no gap in

[3] For an overview of women's role in Roman politics, see Bauman (1992). Some of the notable women include Servilia, Clodia Metelli and Fulvia: all of them were born distinguished families, were married to aristocratic politicians and were themselves politically active. See Treggiari (2019) for Servilia; Skinner (2011) for Clodia Metelli; and Hallett (2006), Welch (1995) and Babcock (1965) for Fulvia.

[4] Veyne (1978), who further argues that it was not until this competition was destroyed by the imperial system that affectionate relations began to develop within the family.

[5]

our knowledge. Yet we are still better (often times much better) informed about him than about any of his contemporaries and predecessors.

Another reason is the need to account for Cicero's impressive success. As mentioned above, the competition for magistracies and political honors in the Republic was fierce. In fact, even many descendants of senior magistrates (consuls and praetors) seem to have failed in their ambitions to match a father's or grandfather's position.[6] There can be little doubt that Cicero was at a grave disadvantage at the elections, because he could not boast about outstanding military achievements, did not enjoyed the patronage of a powerful family, and above all was a *novus* (in every sense of the word) with no political background or famous ancestors.[7] However, he managed to hold every office on the *cursus honorum* at the youngest possible age, including the consulship, which was always jealously guarded.[8] Eventually Cicero became one of the most prominent statesmen in his day. It would be interesting to know to what extent his strategies for capitalizing on marital alliance contributed to his achievements.

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[6] The quantitative study by Hopkins (1983, 31–119) indicates, for example, that throughout the last two centuries of the Republic, only one third of consuls had consular descendants and no more than one sixth of all consuls had consular grandsons. But we do not know how many failed or did not try.

[7] During the Social War Cicero served under the command of Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo (father of Pompey the Great), and contributed to Pompeius Strabo's capture of Asculum Picenum in late 89. This victory was recorded on the so-called Asculum Bronze (*ILS* 8888 = *ILLRP* 515 = *CIL* 6.37045 = *CIL* $1^2$.709), which also acknowledges Cicero's role. Yet Cicero certainly had no interest in military affairs. After completing that very short term of service, he began to build his career almost exclusively on his oratorical skills, which he displayed first in the law courts and later in the senate and the *contio*. For such a nonstandard career path, see van der Blom (2016, 1–2).

[8] Wiseman (1971a, 105–7). He was the first new man with no political background whatsoever to become consul since 94. Hopkins (1983, 32 and 58) suggests that fewer than 35% of all consuls elected between 249 and 50 were new men.

We have to admit that Cicero's career was the exception in the late Republic. It thus makes one wonder whether analyzing his case can shed light upon anything general. On the one hand, what has to be pointed out here is that the present study is not specifically aimed at comparing the ways in which Cicero leveraged marital alliance for his benefit with the ways in which other political figures did in that same regard, let alone at ascertaining how representative his maneuvers were. It is surely conceivable that his *novitas*, to name one example, compelled him to adopt tactics different from those often employed by the *nobliles*. Yet on the other hand, we should not overemphasize Cicero's uniqueness. As a newcomer who strove to be accepted by members of the nobility, he would have come under considerable pressure from them to follow well-established social norms and adhere to traditional values. This can be illustrated by his application of personal *exempla* in his oratory, which was by no means at odds with the culture of looking to the ancestors for guidelines on appropriate behavior or with the culture of borrowing authority from ancestral precedents.[9] Therefore, we cannot assume that how Cicero made use of marriage must have been nothing but unique.

## 2. Overview

The main body of this project consists of six chapters, each of which represents a case study. The first three case studies form the first half of this dissertation, and the remaining three case studies form the second half. While these two parts perhaps seem only loosely connected to each other, they speak in different but complementary ways to how Cicero capitalized on marital alliance for his benefit.

[9] Van der Blom (2010, 8).

The first half examines the three marriages of Cicero's daughter Tullia. Although it would have appeared to make more sense to study Cicero's marriage to Terentia, this topic will not be the focus here because it has already received much excellent treatment (though it will certainly form part of the discussion).[10] By contrast, in current scholarship the significance of Tullia's marriages has not yet fully acknowledged. What is especially interesting about them is the fact that they overlapped with three rather different stages of Cicero's life. Therefore, examination of the making and dissolution of each of the three marital alliances will allow us a better understanding of how Cicero's political career affected his daughter's marriages and was affected by his daughter's marriages.

Tullia was betrothed to Gaius Calpurnius Piso Frugi in late 68, shortly after Cicero's election to the praetorship for the next year. It is perhaps the Pisones Frugi who proposed this alliance, for they were impressed at Cicero's electoral success and thought that connections with him would help themselves retain their family honors. Of course, Cicero must have found ties to noble families important for him, too. At the same time, Gaius' talent for oratory and the existing familiarity between Cicero and the Pisones Frugi also seem to have helped with the making of this marriage. Gaius and Tullia were likely affectionate towards each other, given his devotion to Cicero both before he went into exile and when he was in exile. Unfortunately, Gaius' death in the fall of 58 ended this harmonious marriage.

Cicero returned to Rome from exile in the fall of 57. After that, he was busy with rebuilding his *auctoritas* and finding a husband for Tullia again. While his banishment

[10] For discussions of Cicero's marriage to Terentia, see Treggiari (2007a) and Ermete (2003a). Although both authors cover both Terentia and Tullia in their respective books, the treatment of Tullia is yet to be improved.

must have exerted a negative impact on her prospects on the marriage market, his achievements in politics and in the courts could have remedied the family's situation to some extent. Tullia became engaged to Crassipes in April of 56. There could be three reasons for the decision on him. First, Crassipes' wealth and patrician status were attractive. Second, Cicero's deeds in the months following his restoration indicate a strong intention not to take sides in the conflict between the *popularis* force and the conservative force, and Crassipes' family does not seem to have actively engaged in it. Given Tullia's advice for her father in the civil war, she probably agreed with her father on the importance of caution and neutrality and thus was inclined towards Crassipes, too. Third, Cicero's family might well have been impressed at Crassipes' enthusiasm for this marriage. As for Crassipes, he would have been attracted by Cicero's fame. It seems logical to assume that Tullia and Crassipes married sometime after the engagement and divorced no later than early 51. The cause of their breakup remains obscure; one can only guess that it might be related to their childlessness. After it, Cicero still remained on good terms with Crassipes.

When Cicero was about to go to Cilicia to hold the governorship in the spring of 51, the family started to look for a new husband for Tullia. Because of Cicero's absence, he let Terentia and Tullia be in charge of the search. Two prospective candidates in the first phase were Sulpicius Rufus the Younger and a man supported by Pontidia (probably of Arpinate origin). Then Publius Cornelius Dolabella entered into the competition in either late 51 or early 50 and attracted the two women's attention. Cicero did not like him, but his attempt to prevent the women from choosing him failed. It seems likely that Terentia and Tullia selected Dolabella because of his connections with Caesar. They even

arranged an engagement in June without properly informing Cicero. This marriage proved a disaster for Tullia, because it was negatively affected by the civil war and Dolabella's debt problem. It ended in late 46, not long after the dissolution of Cicero's marriage to Terentia. Tullia gave birth to her baby with Dolabella in February of 45, but both the mother and the son died soon. Cicero continued to be friendly towards Dolabella and asked him several favors until they eventually fell out in late 44 when Dolabella sided with Mark Antony.

In the second half, we will move our attention from Cicero's core family to the trio consisting him, his brother Quintus and his friend Atticus. The probably began to develop close connections since the late 90s when they studied together. In the late 70s, Cicero proposed a marriage between Quintus and Atticus' younger sister Pomponia, and the two did get married. It is interesting to see that instead of making new connections, Cicero intended to deepen the existing connections by means of Quintus' marriage.

Chapter 5 studies why this marriage was made and argues that money played an important role. Atticus moved from Rome to Athens in the mid-80s and Cornelius Nepos specifically mentions that Atticus gave the Athenians free food and interest-free loans. It is possible that he made such huge profits there in other ways (grain trade and real estate investment?) that he was willing to be generous to local residents to some extent. His father might have done business in Athens and established many social ties there, which he later passed down to Atticus. These existing ties could be another reason for Atticus' generosity. Pomponia would have been able to benefit from both her father and brother financially. As a young man with political ambitions, it made sense for Quintus to marry a wealthy woman who was able to support him in his public career.

Chapter 6 discusses how Cicero resolved conflicts in this trio. As a wealthy woman who was probably older than Quintus, Pomponia was likely to expect more autonomy and be quite assertive. Quintus, on the other hand, had a bad temper. So discord seems to have at least occasionally arisen between Quintus and Pomponia. Quintus also had a fight with Atticus over the issue of provincial government in the late 60. The couple's son, Quintus the Younger, was a trouble-maker who clashed both with Cicero and with his own parents. Cicero's efforts to maintain peace and harmony between members within this circle are particularly noticeable.

Chapter 7 analyzes Atticus. Because he had no interest in pursuing a political career, his marriage serves as a contrast with the marriages in the families of Cicero and Quintus, both of whom were politicians. Atticus seems to have remained a single man for a long time, perhaps because he preferred to devote time and energy to business affairs and intellectually development. After his adoptive father/paternal uncle died and left him with a large inheritance, the need for an heir motivated him to marry. In early 56, he married Pilia, a woman who was probably born into a wealthy, elite family in a local town. Cicero remained on intimate terms with her.

## 3. Methodology and Sources

### 3.1 The Use of Prosopography

One of the most characteristic features of Münzer's *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien* is its use of prosopography (literally "study of persons"), a historical method that applies onomastic evidence to identifying regional origins of individuals as

well as family connections, notably the ones forged by marriage alliances.[11] Under his influence, many other scholars of the Roman Republic became interested in the prosopographical approach, including Syme, Claude Nicolet and Broughton.[12] Although Münzer oversimplifies the link between individual politicians' family connections and their political stances, prosopography *per se* should not be held responsible for his problem. Rather, Münzer's contribution demonstrates that the prosopographical method is of significance to the study of elite marriage. As far as the Roman upper-class is concerned, conventional criteria for choosing a spouse include the person's birth, rank, wealth and so forth.[13] Therefore, the more we know about the backgrounds of two individuals and their families, the better we can reconstruct the reason, or at least part of it, why they decided to forge a marital alliance. In the following discussion, we will also use prosophography.

Like the use of other approaches, the application of prosopography also calls for caution and sophistication.[14] As noted above, onomastic information is at the core of this technique. In fact, however, it is not always easy to tell to what extent names can serve as reliable indicators of origin, geographical and social mobility and above all kinship. For example, it has been hypothesized on the basis of a linguistic analysis of the name Pileus

[11] For an overview of prosopography, see Eck (2010).
[12] To name three examples. Syme (2016a) studies Catiline's three marriages. Nicolet (1970) studies people who moved from Italian towns to the city of Rome. Broughton (1972) studies the senators. For a fuller review of Münzer's influence upon other scholars, see Hölkeskamp (2001, 94–96).
[13] For a detailed study of those conventional criteria, see Treggiari (1991, 83–124). See also Syme (1986), which specifically focuses on marriages among Roman aristocrats.
[14] Carney (1973, 161–64) considers Badian's work on clientela as a "splendid illustration of how to use prosopography."

that the *gens* Pilia, to which Atticus' wife belonged, originated from Picenum.[15] While this is not impossible, to prove such a theory remains a big challenge, not least because it is supported by neither literary sources nor inscriptions. Likewise, we need to be cautious about establishing relationships between people with the same *nomen* (and sometimes also the same *cognomen*). Since we know only a few Furii Crassipedes, it is tempting for us to suppose that Tullia's second husband Furius Crassipes was the son of the Furius Crassipes who held the aedileship in the early first century. The possibility cannot be ruled out, though the risks of wishful thinking need to be acknowledged.[16]

### 3.2 The Use of Cicero's Correspondence

The basis of the current study is Cicero's correspondence. But a fruitful exploitation of this rich body of sources requires us to understand it in context in the first place. It should not come as a surprise that Cicero wrote letters. We can easily imagine what a typical day in his life was like: he would begin the early morning by receiving visitors who came to his house for the sake of *salutatio*, then leave home to handle various kinds of affairs in the Forum or somewhere else, and spend the evening in attending social gatherings. In other words, personal contact was of vital significance. Yet physical distance as a result of, for example, taking vacations in local towns and holding official positions abroad, was bound to make face-to-face exchanges impossible. Under those circumstances, writing epistles naturally served for Cicero as an alternative

[15] Chase (1897, 129). See chapter 7.
[16] See chapter 3. Carney (1973, 173–76) provides some guidelines for using the prosopographical method. But most of them (for example, warnings against the chain of "Might-be's" and inference from non-circumstantial evidence) are applicable to the use of other types of evidence, too.

method for communication. To be sure, it would be safe to suppose that such a practice was pervasive among Cicero's contemporary elite fellows of both genders, even though very few of their letters have come down to us.[17]

The existing Cicero's epistolary corpus is composed of four groups.[18] The largest one is correspondence between him and *familiares*, including both members of the household (e.g. Terentia and Tiro) and friends, with a total number of 435 letters. Smaller than that is the collection known as *Ad Atticum*, but it still comprises 426 epistles arranged in chronological order. On the other hand, the remaining two assemblages of Cicero's letters to his brother Quintus as well as those to Marcus Iunius Brutus the assassin of Caesar are far from big: each of them contains only a couple dozen or so.[19] What we have now, therefore, amounts to a little over 900 letters.

It is noticeable that many surviving letters date to the several months following the outbreak of the civil war. In the second half of January of 49 and the entire months of both February and March, Cicero wrote to Atticus almost every day. Of special interest is February 22, when he dispatched two epistles, one before the daybreak and the other in the evening.[20] Moreover, on certain days such as January 22 and 23, he contacted both

[17] It seemed common for literate women of the elite class to write letters as their male counterparts did. For example, Terentia must have written to Cicero. As we will see below, there is indirect evidence for the communication between Pomponia and her brother Atticus as well as between Atticus' wife Pilia and Quintus via correspondence.
[18] Rossi (2010, 13–29) offers a convenient overview of previous scholarship on the typographical issues with regard to Cicero's epistolary corpus.
[19] Now scholars agree that *Ad Brut.* 1.16=SB 25 (from Brutus to Cicero) and 1.17=SB 26 (from Brutus to Atticus), are not authentic and the *Epistula ad Octavianum* is a rhetorical exercise probably by an author of the third or fourth century CE.
[20] *Att.* 8.4=SB 156 and 8.5=SB 157.

Atticus and Terentia via letter-writing.[21] Since the state had been thrown into utter chaos, it made perfect sense for Cicero to have a urgent need for communication during that period to obtain information and to express concern for others. Yet it raises the question of whether this was the case in other times. In fact, there is even a speculation that on average Cicero wrote ten letters daily in the course of his political career.[22] However, this is open to doubt, because doing so would have required so much time and energy on Cicero's part and imposed unbearable burdens on his staff responsible for delivery.

While we cannot make a reliable estimate of the frequency of Cicero's letter-writing, it still seems highly likely that Cicero engaged in this activity quite often, if not on a regular basis.[23] Yet this would at the same time mean that the current epistolary corpus may only account for a fraction, probably a small one, of the collection Cicero originally produced. Indeed, there is ample evidence for the loss of letters. For example, on many occasions Cicero cross-referenced the letters he had written earlier, but not all of them have survived to us.[24] Moreover, indirect sources (such as quotations of Nonius Marcellus, a Roman grammarian of the fourth or fifth century CE) suggest that the original collection may have contained at least 79 books. If correct, more than half have been lost.[25]

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[21] January 22: *Att.* 7.12=SB 135 and *Fam*. 14.18=SB 144; January 23: *Att*. 7.13=SB 136 and *Fam*. 14.19=SB 145.
[22] Achard (1991, 139).
[23] Hall (2009, 16).
[24] Some examples of the letters containing cross-references to letters not extent include *Qfr*. 2.1=SB 5, 2.3=SB 7, 2.6=SB 10, 3.5=SB 25; *Att.* 11.16=SB 227, 13.41=SB 344, 13.21=SB 351; *Fam.* 16.27=SB 352. For a brief discussion of the missing letters, see White (2010, 34–41).
[25] But Nicholson (1998, 76–79) is surely correct in reminding us of the possibility that we can be misguided by those indirect sources about the real extent of the lost material.

In addition to the loss of epistles, another problem we have to face has to do with the period they cover. We may take for example the *Ad Atticum*, which is of the most significance for our study.[26] The earliest extant letter dates to late 68. Since Cicero and Atticus already became friends in the late 90s when they studied under the augur Quintus Mucius Scaevola, we may be justified in supposing that the starting point of their exchange of correspondence was earlier than the early 60s.[27] On the other hand, the last letter dates to late 44. Although the two men's relationship might have begun to sour from that point onwards because of their different attitudes towards Mark Antony, it still seems safe to assume that they kept writing to each other in the final year of Cicero's life, albeit less frequently and less cordially.[28]

In short, the surviving letters to Atticus do not cover the entire span of time in which Cicero communicated with Atticus by means of letter-writing, let along the entire span of Cicero's or Atticus' lifetime. What is worse, then, these letters are unevenly distributed. As can be easily observed, the epistles dating to the 40s vastly outnumber those dating to the preceding two decades.[29] In fact, there are even several gaps in our evidence for the long period between the early 60s and the late 50s. For instance, we have no letter at all for 63, the year of Cicero's consulship. The reason is simple: both men were in the city of Rome and able to have face-to-face conversations. Yet it is more

[26] For a short discussion of the same problem with other collections, see Rossi (2010, 17).
[27] In the early 70s, Cicero stayed in the East for three years, during which period he spent 6 months studying rhetoric and philosophy along with Atticus in Athens. It is possible that they began to communicate via letters after Cicero returned to Rome upon completion of this trip. It is even possible that they began to write each other epistles after Atticus relocated from Rome to Greece in the mid-80s.
[28] For this issue, see chapter 8.
[29] Only 132 existing letters to Atticus were composed before the end of 50,

curious that while Cicero might have written rather frequently to Atticus in the mid-50s when his political inactivity presumably gave him a lot of leisure time, no epistle belonging to this period has come down to us, with the result that we are poorly informed about, among other things, Tullia's relationship with Crassipes.

Two more issues needed to be taken into account. One of them has to do with chronology. It is worth remembering that not every letter is dated, and some carry wrong dates (most likely due to mistakes in the transmission of the texts). Overall, such a problem is not very serious with the epistles to Atticus, Quintus and Brutus, because except for a few exceptional instances they seem to have been organized following a chronological order. But this is not true of the collection *Epistulae ad familiares*. A case in point is *Fam.* 13,9=SB 139, which Cicero sent to Crassipes on behalf of the Company of Bithynia. We are not in a position to know for sure when Cicero composed it and this makes it hard for us to date Crassipes' quaestorship.[30]

The other question is how well we can understand Cicero's letters. As we can notice, he sometimes chose not to write as straightforwardly as we may expect. There can be two main reasons for such a choice and they can certainly be at play simultaneously: he did not think that his correspondents would have difficulty in figuring out his messages and/or he tried to prevent others from figuring out his messages. The use of allusion, whether to display wittiness or to encode sensitive information, is particularly common in the *Epistulae ad Atticum*. To give one example. In judging one of Tullia's suitors, Cicero accepted Atticus' opinion that if he should select that person, he would

[30] See chapter 3.

return to his "old gang" (*veterem gregem*; *Att.* 6.1.10=SB 115.10).[31] But what the phrase means remains unclear to us. It is highly probable that Atticus actually explained it in an earlier letter to Cicero. Then this example illustrates how the loss of the letters from Atticus (and also from Cicero's other addressees) can impede our understanding of Cicero's letters to them.

We have no reason to doubt that the Roman elite was concerned with self-representation, whose impact could be detected in most (if not all) media including written texts, works of art, monuments, coins and inscriptions, with the result that we only have a partial and biased picture of the ancient Roman world and its people.[32] It thus follows that Cicero must have paid attention to how to portray himself in the correspondence so that he could come across to his audience—both the immediate audience (that is, his correspondents) and the wider audience—in a way he intended.[33] Indeed, many scholars have attempted to treat Cicero's letters more as rhetorical texts than as historical texts. To put it differently, they care about what Cicero said and, more importantly, how he said that.[34] Although their studies differ in topic, approach, scope and so forth, they all point to Cicero's efforts at self-representation.

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[31] See chapter 4.
[32] Flower (2011, 271).
[33] In a letter to Atticus dating to 61, Cicero specifically instructed him not to pass it to anyone else (*Att*. 1.16=SB 16). It thus seems that it was common for Atticus to share Cicero's letters with members in his coterie and Cicero often approved of such a practice.
[34] It is impossible to give a comprehensive review of the literature here, though some important works are worth mentioning. For example, Hutchinson (1998) analyzes the literary techniques Cicero employs in his letters; Hall (2009a) examines from a social linguistic perspective how Cicero expressed politeness, a value of vital significance for the Roman elite, in his letters; Leach (1999) considers how Cicero took the role of the addressee into account when taking part in the dialectical process of subject formation; Damon (2010) is concerned with how Cicero portrayed himself as a man who conformed to the Roman value of *verecundia*; White (2010, 137–65) studies Cicero's letters

Seventeen months before the end of his life, Cicero for the first time expressed an explicit intention to select, edit and publish his own letters.[35] But the scarcity of opportunity (between the fall of 44 and summer of 43 he was very busy with attacking Mark Antony) and his death in the triumvirs' proscriptions in late 43 would have prevented him from carrying out that task on a large scale. Instead, the majority (if not all) of his epistles only came into circulation after he was assassinated. What also merits our attention is a piece of information from Cornelius Nepos. In his *Life of Atticus*, he states that certain letters (apparently those from Cicero to Atticus) that he read and admired had yet to be unpublished.[36] Since Nepos began to work on the first edition of this biography no earlier than the mid-30, it seems safe to believe that Cicero's letters were issued to the public slowly after his assassination. There could even be an interval of a few years between Cicero's death and the publication of his correspondence, though we cannot be sure.

If the process was indeed slow, it would probably suggest that Cicero left a large corpus that was far from ready for direct release and it took the person or people responsible for the final publication a long time to edit the original corpus on Cicero's behalf. For this reason, we have to bear in mind that the image of Cicero that emerges from the current epistolary collections may well be a result not simply of his own efforts

composed in the aftermath of Caesar's assassination to show his attempts to assert leadership in a chaotic time. In addition, all the articles collected in the special issue of *Arethusa* (Vol. 49, No.3, Fall 2016) are also devoted to reading Cicero's letters in a new light.

[35] For the intention, see *Att.*16.5.5=SB 414.5 with discussions in Edwards (2007, 273) and White (2010, 31–32).

[36] Nep. *Att.* 16.3. For an insightful discussion of this piece of evidence, see White (2010, 32) with the endnote on p. 188 in that book.

to represent himself but also of the efforts by others to represent him. Who, then, might have engaged in this editorial task? An obvious candidate would be Atticus, since he was the recipient of hundreds of letters Cicero either wrote or forwarded to him.[37] Another possible publisher would be Marcus the Younger, who as Cicero's heir was entitled to his property. Cicero's freedman Tiro also appears to be a plausible editor, because he was already in charge of the letters during his patron's lifetime and survived him by thirty years. Meanwhile, this theory can help to explain why we can find a collection of letters from Cicero to Tiro in the *Ad Familiares*.[38] Of course, there is no reason to assume a single publisher. Instead, all these people could have collaborated with each other.

We have already mentioned that a number of letters are missing. So the editorial work surely involved deleting the ones considered by as inappropriate for public reading. In addition, the editor(s) probably made internal deletions: that is, he or they kept the letter in the collection but removed part of it (from a few words to a few paragraphs).[39] For there are occasions where Cicero seems to have ended his topics rather abruptly. A case in point is a passage about Quintus the Younger.[40] Although Cicero signaled to Atticus that he was about to talk about one deed their nephew had done, in the current version of the texts the next sentence is "but so much for that" (*sed haec hactenus*). In other words, the details of the younger Quintus' action were suppressed.

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[37] For a discussion of the enclosed letters, see White (2010, 43). For a list of the enclosed letters in the Ad Atticum, see White (2010, 191). For a detailed analysis of Atticus' role as a publisher, see Carcopino (1951, 467–81).

[38] White (2010, 34). White also suggests that Nepos might have had a hand in publishing Cicero's letters. Given Nepos' familiarity with both Cicero and Atticus, the possibility certainly exists.

[39] White (2010, 41–43) gives four examples that very likely indicate the existence of internal deletions.

[40] *Att.* 13.9.1=SB 317.1.

The editor(s) did not directly reveal to us his identity/their identities, let alone his/their criteria for deletions. An analysis of what we now have, however, can still shed some important light upon the editorial process. First, we can find a clue by examining Cicero's correspondents. True, it is not surprising at all that Cicero frequently wrote to fellow members of the governing class, especially to prestigious individuals of that group (e.g. Pompey, Caesar, Brutus, Servius Sulpicius Rufus and Cato the Younger). Yet it is rather curious that the surviving *Epistulae ad Familiares* contains only a few epistles to non-senators. There can be little doubt that Cicero strove to establish ties with men of the equestrian order, in particular *equites* from Italian towns, so as to win their support at the elections. But the addresses of the extant epistles do not duly reflect his efforts to cultivate those people.[41] At the same time, also missing are Cicero's exchanges with certain Greek intellectuals with whom he remained on familiar terms, including Nicias and Tyrannio. We may be justified in supposing that in selecting/deleting letters the editor(s) favored the exchanges between Cicero and people of high social rank.[42] It appears reasonable to further argue that the editor(s) expected to highlight Cicero's remarkable success in transitioning from a new man to a man who stood at the topmost stratum of Roman society. It would be interesting to know whether Cicero would prefer to show a variety of different social relations if he had had an opportunity to work on his correspondence for publication.

[41] As we will see in chapter 4, Cicero was particularly interested in the affairs of his native town Arpinum and must have developed connections with the local elite. But none of the extant letters was sent to an Arpinate.
[42] White (2010, 59).

Moreover, we can get a sense of the way in which the editor(s) worked by looking at the topics discussed in the existing letters. Apparently, political issues were of the most significance to Cicero and his interlocutors; and this was certainly true of the original corpus as well. But here we may focus on the presence of issues related to the household, with which this dissertation is concerned. It is noticeable that the editor(s) of the *Ad Familiares* deleted a number of letters from Cicero to Terentia. Among the surviving 24 letters to Terentia, four were composed during Cicero's exile (or to be more exact, during the first half of his exile between May and November of 58). Yet Cicero must have written to her throughout the entire period of his banishment and more frequently (probably at least once every month) to obtain information about, among other things, his family members and domestic finances.[43] Meanwhile, it is unthinkable that Cicero only sent one letter to his wife between his departure from Rome to govern Cilicia in the spring of 51 and his return to Italy in the fall of 50, because they surely had several rounds of exchange of opinions about Tullia's suitors.[44] However, we are not in a position to tell whether there were more specific reasons for the editor(s) to remove certain epistles to Terentia.

As we will see below, the majority of our evidence for Cicero's, Quintus' and Atticus' households is derived from the *Ad Atticum*. This most likely indicates that for this corpus' editor(s), discussion of familial affairs *per se* did not constitute a sufficient reason for deletion of a certain letter, unless the contents were judged to be unsuitable for

[43] As we will see in chapter 3, Cicero had some disagreements with Terentia over the management of domestic finances. These issues would have prompted them to communicate with each other frequently.
[44] See chapter 4.

a wider audience or unless that letter needed to be deleted in its entirety. To be sure, it is even possible that the editor(s) sought to retain information about those affairs. No one would fail to notice that Cicero's letters to Atticus reveal an interest in and concern for a broad range of matters, ranging from politics and finances to literature and philosophy. So we are tempted to think that the rationale behind editing this epistolary collection was different from that behind editing the *Ad Familiares* (regardless of whether the editorial work on the two collections was done by the same hand) because it was to portray Cicero as a man with various roles: a statesman, a businessman, an intellectual, a brother, a husband, a father, a friend and so forth. It seems safe to assume that Cicero originally intended to represent himself in such a way to Atticus, or he would not have chosen to discuss a variety of topics with Atticus.

## 2. Marrying Tullia Off (I): Gaius Calpurnius Piso Frugi

Tullia's "marital career" began with her engagement to Gaius Calpurnius Piso Frugi in December of 67, which is what the current chapter attempts to explore. At the core of the following discussion will be an overview of Gaius' family as well as an overview of Cicero's, since both of them are essential to answering the question of how this marriage contract between the daughter of a new man (though doubtless an exceptional one) and a member of a prominent clan in Rome was made. We will then pay particular attention to Gaius, examining both the benefits he reaped from and the contributions he made to the marital alliance in question.

### 1. The Calpurnii Pisones: A Sketch

For the sake of completeness, let us start from the clan to which Gaius belonged: the *gens* Calpurnia.[45] Whether it had, as several scholars have suggested, an Etruscan origin or not, there can be no doubt that it had already risen to prominence in Roman politics by the end of the third century. The earliest member known to us is Gaius Calpurnius Piso, great-great-great grandfather of Tullia's betrothed. As Livy specifically mentions, during his term of office as urban praetor in 211, he requested the senate to hold once again the Apollonian Games (*Ludi Apollinares*), which were first instituted in the preceding year partially to appeal for the god's help with expelling the Carthaginians from Italy. The senate not only agreed to his proposal but even took a step forward by

[45] Hofmann-Löbl (1996) is a detailed study of the Calpurnii from the Middle Republic to the Principate.

turning that festival into an annual one.[46] For this reason, the link between the Calpurnii Pisones and the games in honor of Apollo was remembered by posterity.[47]

The descendants of Gaius Calpurnius Piso (*pr. urb.* 211) had a remarkable record of office-holding throughout the remainder of the Middle Republic and in the Late Republic.[48] In 180, his homonymous son became the first recorded Calpurnius to obtain the consulship and both of his sons, one natural (Quintus Calpurnius Piso) and one adopted (Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus), were elected consuls: the former in 135 and the latter in 148. On the other hand, Lucius, the younger brother of the consul of 180, was only able to serve as a legate on the staff of Lucius Quinctius Flamininus in 198, since shortly afterwards he was deprived by a premature death of the chance to run for magistracies on the *cursus honorum*.[49] This legate's son, however, was arguably the most distinguished member of the clan during the second century, and our information about him is abundant. Also named Lucius, he is known to have introduced a law, during his tribunate in 149, to establish a permanent court (*quaestio*) for the recovery of foreigners' property that had been misappropriated by Roman magistrates (i.e. the *lex Calpurnia de pecuniis repetundis*).[50] As consul in 133, he campaigned against the rebel slaves in Sicily

[46] Livy, 25.41.12–3.
[47] As will be discussed below, when Gaius Piso and his father Lucius Piso served as mint masters in the first century, both issued coins that bear images associated with the Apollonian Games.
[48] See the appendix for a stemma of the Calpurnii Pisones. Moreover, Frontinus mentions a Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso who was defeated by the Carthaginian general Mago in the Second Punic War (*Str*. 3.6.5). He might have been Gaius Calpurnius Piso's brother or cousin.
[49] Livy 32.19.11. That year he went to Greece as a Roman ambassador and addressed the Achaean League on behalf of Flaminius.
[50] Cic. *Brut*. 106 and *Verr*. 2.3.195.

and earned a reputation by executing thousands of the captured ones.[51] His political career culminated with the censorship in 120.[52] In addition, he was renowned for producing an annalistic history of Rome that covers, based on the forty-eight or so surviving fragments, the entire period from the city's beginnings to his own time.[53]

It was from this consul of 133 that Tullia's first husband, his father and gradfather inherited their agnomen Frugi. How this name was obtained remains unclear, so we have some difficulty in interpreting its exact meaning. In Plautus' and Terence's comedies, *frugi* often means "capable," and this use is similar to that of the Greeks, who tended to equate *frugi homines* with χρήσιμοι (Cicero's Latin translation of χρήσιμοι was *utiles*). Yet on another occasion Cicero points out that *frugi* had a lot to do with one's ability "to control and check the impulse of the mind as well as to always preserve a moderate steadiness in every situation to oppose inordinate desire."[54] Regardless of whether the agnomen Frugi was intended to recognize Lucius Calpurnius Piso's services to the state or his moral uprightness, there can be no doubt that it was a clear testimony of his eminent position in Roman society.

The annalist's namesake son showed great promise at the beginning of his career. According to Valerius Maximus, he fought gallantly in the forces commanded by his father against Sicilian runaway slaves, for which he was later rewarded a golden crown

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[51] Liv. *Per.* 58; Oros. 5.9.6.
[52] Plin. *HN* 13.87; Censorinus, *DN* 17.11.
[53] Forsythe (1994) is a comprehensive study on Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi and his *annals*. See also *FRHist* for a brief introduction to him as well as fragments of his work with translations and commentaries by Mark Pobjoy.
[54] Cic. *Tusc*. 3.17: *motus animi appetentis regere et sedare semperque adversantem libidini moderatam in omni re servare constantiam.* For a discussion of Frugi as a agnomen, see Forsythe (1994, 25–26).

weighing three pounds.[55] Around two decades later in 112, he succeeded in being elected praetor. Unfortunately, however, he was killed that same year when crushing local revolts in Hispania Ulterior.[56] Although he could still be considered as an illustrious statesman, his untimely death led him to stop short of attaining the same political achievements as his distinguished father. This example shows one reason why consuls failed to produce consular descendants. Indeed, a statistical study on the inheritance of consular status has revealed that during the late Republic, the rate of such a failure was high.[57]

It was from the praetor of 112 that Tullia's father-in-law (again, with the praenomen of Lucius) descended. He started his career off by serving as one of the three annual moneyers responsible for minting a variety of coins, though the date of his term of office is still under debate.[58] As a minor post, *monetalis* only formed part of the so-called *vigintisexvirate* but not of the *cursus honorum.* Nor did it guarantee its holders future membership in the Senate. According to an old view, throughout the late Republic this post tended to be held by young men of senatorial families. Yet close examination of the available evidence suggests that at least in the earlier decades of that same period mint masters of obscure background vastly outnumbered those from prominent families.[59] So the decision by the Lucius in question to be a moneyer should not be taken for granted.

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[55] Val. Max. 4.3.10. The golden crown is also mentioned at Plin. *NH.* 33.38.
[56] Cic. *Verr*. 2.4.56; App. *Hisp*. 99.
[57] Hopkins and Burton (1983) suggest that during the late Republic, no more than one third of all consuls had consular sons and no more than one sixth of all consuls had consular grandsons.
[58] Michael Crawford dates it to 90 (*RRC* 340); Hamilton to 91 (1969); Mommsen to 89 (Hofmann-Löbl 1996, 113). Hofmann-Löbl does not offer a definite date (1996, 113).
[59] Hamilton (1969).

When in office, Lucius minted coins of various types. Many were certainly still in circulation in the decades following the initial issuance, and some have come down to us. Of particular interest for our purposes is the design of his coins. Despite occasional variations, the majority of them bear on the obverse the laureate head of Apollo and on the reverse a naked racer on horse with a whip in hand.[60] These two images, when combined together, would have prompted the viewer to link them to the Apollonian Games. At the same time, it seems safe to assume that the name Piso inscribed on the coins served as a reminder aimed at the public that it was the moneyer's great-grandfather, the urban praetor of 211, who helped to turn the *Ludi Apollinares* into an annual celebration. In other words, Lucius treated Apollo and the festival in honor of this god as family motifs and used his coins as a medium for displaying them.[61]

Traditionally the iconography of Roman coinage was drawn from that of the Greek counterpart and underwent little change over time, but a tendency appears to have arisen among mint masters to struck coins with ancestral themes since the 130s.[62] Although it is difficult to tell whether such a trend could be directly associated with the introduction of the secret ballot in 139 as a result of the *lex Gabinia*, it makes sense to think that given the new voting system, candidates for offices felt a more pressing need to advertise themselves and win popularity since it had become harder for them and their

[60] See *RRC* 340.
[61] Hölscher (1982) stresses the significance of coins with ancestral themes in conveying political messages to the public audiences. Flower (1996, 79–88) gives an overview of the use of ancestral themes on late Republican coins. In fact, the public audiences' understanding of numismatic iconography could well have been enhanced by monuments, historical dramas, statues, inscriptions and so forth, because aristocratic families also tended to use such media to advertise themselves.
[62] Howgego (1995, 67).

supporters to exert overt influence or even pressure on voters. This surely helps to explain why men of very good birth like Lucius were interested in holding the office of moneyer.

While many mint masters had no known subsequent political career, Lucius became *praetor peregrinus* in 74 and happened to be a colleague of Verres, who was *praetor urbanus*. Yet with the right of veto as a magistrate of equal power, Lucius blocked many of the decisions made by Verres on the grounds that those decisions were inconsistent with Verres' own edicts. He even compiled notebooks of multiple volumes to record those interdicted cases, as Cicero reveals in his speeches against that corrupt former governor of Sicily.[63] Lucius' hostility towards Verres might have had something to do with the latter's connection with Sulla, since he is also known to have prosecuted another Sullan associate, Publius Gabinius Capito (pr. 89), in the 80s.[64] But it is significant to note that Lucius did not intend to align himself with popular demagogues, either, as can be seen from his defense of Gaius Junius against the tribune Lucius Quinctius.[65] Cicero's mention of Lucius in a speech delivered in 69 appears to indicate that he was still alive then, though he was never elected consul after his praetorship. Presumably he lost to others in the competition for that post, which was always jealously guarded.

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[63] *Verr*. 2.1.119: *L. Piso multos codices implevit earum rerum in quibus ita intercessit, quod iste aliter atque ut edixerat decrevisset* ("Lucius Piso completed many accounts of those cases in which he exercised his veto, because that person [Verres] had made decisions inconsistent with his own edicts").
[64] Cic. *Div. in Caec*. 64.
[65] Schol. Gronov. 351, Stangl: *Iunium praepositum Quintius accusavit, contra Pisone Frugi posito*. Gruen (1974, 43) has argued that Lucius used his legal activities not so much to show political stance as to attract public attention.

As the above discussion shows, the Calpurnii Pisones had extraordinary achievements in repeatedly producing senior magistrates since the late third century. But by no means should it come as a surprise that one of the members ended up marrying the daughter of a new man. First of all, during the late Republic it was not uncommon for noble families, especially those that had sunken into obscurity after a short-lived period of prominence as well as those on the brink of dying out, to forge marital alliances with people who did not belong to Roman nobility, though some very celebrated aristocratic families, including the Caecilii Metelli, the Servilii Caepiones and the Domitii Ahenobarbi, might be exceptions.[66] In fact, Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, the son of the homonymous consul of 112, provides us with another example of a marriage between a Calpurnius Piso and a non-noble woman.

All we know about this Lucius Piso's political career is his quaestorship in 100 with responsibility for the purchase of grain.[67] Although he continued to live at least until the Social War, there is no information about other offices held.[68] As for his marriage, Asconius tells us as follows: "There was a certain Insubrian, who was a trader and auctioneer. When he came to Rome with his daughter, he dared to approach a young man of good birth—the son of the very thievish Caesoninus—and entrusted his daughter to him for marriage. The man is said to be called Calventius."[69] Asconius must be correct in

[66] Wiseman (1971, 53–59).
[67] See *RRC* 330 for numismatic evidence of his quaestorship. Although some historians believe that he held the quaestorship in 103 (*MRR* 3.47), the dating of 100 is supported by a piece of evidence at *Rhet. Her.* 1.21.
[68] Cicero (*Pis.* 87) mentions that Piso was engaged in manufacturing weapons during the Social War period.
[69] Asc. *Pis*. 5C: *Insuber quidam fuit, idem mercator et praeco: is cum Roman cum filia venisset, adulescentem nobilem, Caesonini hominis furacissimi filium, ausus est*

asserting that Piso's wife was a woman named Calventia, because Cicero nicknamed his homonymous son as Caesoninus Semiplacentinus Calventius and Calventius Marius.[70] In describing the formation of the marriage alliance, Asconius evidently intends to emphasize Calventius' ambition to marry his daughter off to a member of a noble Roman family. But it would be very surprising if he was unfamiliar with the Pisones Caesonini when he made that marital proposal, even though we have no evidence for how they came into contact.[71]

What makes the marriage in question worthy of special attention is the fact that Calventius' social standing was far inferior to that of the Culpurnii Pisones. Not only did he, a man of provincial origin, take no part at all in Roman politics, but he even had a disreputable profession. Auctioneers (*praecones*) were often regarded as merely a minor order of tradesmen and could be banned from holding office in local government, as the *Tabula Heracleensis* attests. Yet their connecting role within economic networks enabled some to accumulate such great wealth as to establish ties with influential individuals. One notable example is that of Quintus Granius, who originated from a business family in

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*appellare, eique filiam concolavit. Calventium aiunt eum appellatum*. The above Latin text is that of Lewis (2006).

[70] *Pis*. 14 and *Qfr*. 3.1.11=SB 21.11. Placentia (modern-day Piacenza) was in the region of Insubria.

[71] The Roman conquest of northern Italy was largely completed in the mid-second century and led to the establishment of numerous Latin and citizen colonies as well as the building of roads (e.g. the via Aemilia and via Postumia). For an overview of the process, see Roncaglia (2018, 19–38). Conceivably, the abundance of natural resources including precious metals and the increasing trade as a result of improved communication in norther Italy attracted the attention of Roman elites who wanted to make profits there. It seems logical to suppose, therefore, that in the late second century some members of the Pisones Caesonini were doing business in that region and developed connections with Calventius. As we will see in chapter 7, Atticus' wife Pilia and her family might have been Romans (presumably of equestrian status just like Atticus) living in Cisalpine Gaul.

Campania and made friends with both Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica (cos. 111) and Lucius Licinius Crassus the orator.[72] So there is good reason to assume that Calventius had a substantial fortune, which was what primarily motivated Piso to marry his daughter. We do not know with certainty whether this indicates that Piso's family was in bad financial conditions at the turn of the first century, though economic problems can certainly help to explain why he was not elected to higher magistracies following the quaestorship. At any rate, Piso's marital strategy worked well, since his son had a successful political career that culminated with the consulship in 58 and became Caesar's father-in-law.

What, then, was the financial situation of the Pisones Frugi? Although direct evidence is lacking, we may take a closer look at the adoption of Marcus Calpurnius Piso Frugi, biological brother of Lucius Piso Frugi (pr. 74), by an aged senator Marcus Pupius.[73] This adopter was otherwise obscure, and in the century following Gnaeus Pupius' praetorship in 183 none of the Pupii is known to have become a senior magistrate of the state. Apparently, it cannot be the case that Marcus Piso agreed to have himself adopted because he was enticed by Marcus Pupius' influence in Roman politics. Rather, the primary motivation for that decision was most likely his adoptive father's property. We are tempted to suppose that the death of Lucius Piso Frugi during his praetorship in Hispania ulterior in 112 weakened the family's financial condition to such an extent that

[72] Cic. *Planc.* 33. Cf. *Brut.* 172 for Granius' relationship with Gaius Lucilius the satirist. A recent study on *praecones* in Roman society is that of Sarah Bond (2016, 21–58).
[73] Cicero mentions this adoption at *Dom.* 35. There is no clear evidence for when this adoption took place, but it is tempting to date it to the mid-80s when Marcus Piso Frugi was about to enter into a senatorial career (he held the quaestorship in 83). His name changed to Marcus Pupius Piso Frugi Calpurnianus after the adoption.

it could not fully support both Marcus Piso's and his elder brother Lucius' political ambitions simultaneously, with the result that the former decided to seek adoption as a strategy for overcoming the obstacle.[74]

Of course, we should not go so far as to think that the Pisones Frugi were having serious money problems in the early first century. Instead, their pressure could have stemmed mainly from the need to make preparations for the generations to come. Some of Cicero's letters to Atticus in the mid-40s attest to his anxiety over whether Marcus the Younger had sufficient money at his disposal and whether he was making progress in the study of rhetoric in Athens. Ultimately, Cicero was anxious about his son's future public career, for which both wealth and proper training were essential.[75] Lucius (pr. 74) would have been concerned about his son Gaius in like manner after his birth no later than the early 80s.[76]

## 2. The Tullii Cicerones: The Family of a New Man

To elucidate Tullia's marriage to Gaius Piso Frugi, it is also necessary to discuss her family. Although a detailed account of Cicero's life is certainly beyond the scope of the current study, some of his notable achievements prior to the betrothal in question

[74] Hofmann-Löbl (1996, 130–31). On the other hand, Marcus Pupius would have preferred an adoptee like Marcus Piso who could not only inherit his possessions but also enhance his family's prestige. The adoption resulted in a win-win situation: Marcus Pupius Piso became the first member of the *gens* Pupia to hold the consulship in 61.
[75] See Späth (2010a, 154–55) for Cicero's anxiety over his son in 45.
[76] It is noticeable from the stemma that for both the Pisones Frugi and the Pisones Caesonini Lucius was the preferred *praenomen*. One may thus wonder whether Gaius had an elder brother who did not survive long enough to be recorded. As can be easily imagined, Lucius (pr. 74) would have felt greater anxiety if he had two or even more sons.

need to be examined. There can be no doubt that Cicero was regarded by others and regarded himself as a *homo novus*, no matter what his contemporaries took this flexible term to mean.[77] Newcomers to the arena of Roman politics were at a grave disadvantage, because they had no ancestral or family honors to boast of at the extremely competitive elections for office.[78] Yet despite such an obstacle, Cicero managed to have himself elected to every magistracy on the *cursus honorum* at the youngest possible age, and his speech again Catiline demonstrates that he took great pride in this achievement.[79] Also worth noting is that Cicero's route to political office was somewhat less standard: it was based not so much on military accomplishments or patronage from some noble family as on his success as an advocate.[80] He made his first appearance in the courts in 81 by defending Publius Quinctius and rose to fame the next year by helping Sextus Roscius of America, who was charged with patricide, secure an acquittal.

Shortly after returning to Rome from the East, Cicero held the quaestorship in 75, serving on the staff of governor of Sicily. Five years later he prosecuted Verres on behalf of the Sicilians, who suffered from Verres' extortion when he was governing the province between 73 and 71. Cicero had never undertaken a prosecution before, so this one attests to his ambition to attract public notice as well as to win popularity. While Verres had the support of some illustrious figures including members of the Caecilii Metelli and Quintus

[77] See van der Blom (2010, 35–59) for a discussion of the multiple definitions of *homo novus* in the existing scholarship as well as of Cicero's use of this term.
[78] At *Ver*. 5. 180–2, Cicero speaks with bitterness of how men of noble birth gained a massive advantage over men who did not belong to nobility in obtaining public honors. For a discussion of new men's disadvantages at elections, see Wiseman (1971a, 100–107).
[79] *Cat.* 1.28.
[80] Van der Blom (2016, 1–22).

Hortensius Hortalus, Cicero cleverly frustrated their attempts to delay the trial and finally succeeded in having Verres convicted in September of 70.

This victory had profound implications for Cicero. He eclipsed Hortensius and became Rome's foremost advocate; he turned the Sicilians into his lifetime clients; and his remarks about the senatorial juries with a popular tone could well have won him support of the plebeian assembly, which later elected him to the plebeian aedileship for the following year.[81] At the same time, the great caution Cicero exercised in the course of this prosecution should be noted.[82] Despite speaking against Verres, a senior member of the senate, Cicero took pains to present himself as a faithful ally of that institution. After the trial, Cicero refrained from seeking further fame by prosecuting senators (with the exception of the case of Titus Munatius Plancus Bursa in 51) in order not to make enemies.

In 67, Cicero was busy with campaigning for the praetorship for the following year. The elections did not fare smoothly and were twice interrupted by unfavorable omens. In writing to Atticus in August, Cicero expressed his anxiety over having no knowledge of when the next election would be held.[83] Nevertheless, it turned out that he was unanimously proclaimed to be the first among the candidates.[84] Once again, this was

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[81] Mommsen believed that the prosecutor was allowed to move one step up the ladder of social status if the convicted defendant was of a higher status (*Röm. Strafr*. p. 509). Following such a view, L. R. Taylor (1949, 112–16) holds that Cicero received the *toga praetexta* (the mark of the curule status) and the right to speak among the *praetorii* in the senate. But according to Alexander (1985, 30), there is no evidence to suggest that successful prosecutors received such rewards in extortion courts in Cicero's time.
[82] Mitchell (1979, 147–48).
[83] *Att.* 1.11.2=SB 7.2.
[84] Cicero boasts of this honor at *Pis*. 2 (*cunctis suffragiis*; "with a unanimous vote") and *Brut.* 321 (*primus et incredibili populari voluntate sum factus*; "made first among the

a remarkable triumph for Cicero in his daring adventure of climbing up the *cursus honorum* as a new man. In addition to the prestige and influence he had at the moment, the recent change in the voting population was another important contributing factor.[85] The censors of 70 registered for the first time a group of Italian voters in the Centuriate Assembly, and this was likely to give Cicero an opportunity to reap the reward of his previous efforts to cultivate municipal elites.[86]

Tullia was betrothed to Gaius Piso Frugi only a few months after Cicero was elected praetor for 66, so it may appear at first glance that Cicero tried to use his daughter's marriage to win the Pisones Frugi's support for his campaign for the praetorship. But was it really the case? First of all, it is worth examining the epistolary evidence. We now have 7 letters written to Atticus prior to the engagement in question, the earliest of which dates to late 68. They cover a variety of topics, and a recurring theme is family affairs, including the marriage between his own brother Quintus and Atticus' sister Pomponia, the death of his own cousin Lucius, Terentia's rheumatic pains, the death of his own father, the poor health of Atticus' mother as well as the death of Atticus' grandmother.[87] Not surprisingly, Cicero did not forget to mention his daughter.

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candidates due to great popular favor"). The result is also mentioned at Plut. *Cic*. 9.1 and Asc. 85C.

[85] Rawson (1983, 51).

[86] Cicero himself apparently knew the vital importance of cultivating the municipal elite (e.g. *Planc*. 21-2 and *Phil*. 2.76).

[87] Problems in Quintus' marriage to Pomponia: *Att*. 1.5.2=SB 1.2, 1.6.2=SB 2.2 and 1.10.5=SB 6.5; Lucius' death: *Att*. 1.5.1=SB 1.1; Terentia's rheumatism: *Att*. 1.5.8=SB 1.8; death of Cicero's father: *Att*. 1.6.2=SB 2.2; health problem of Atticus' mother: *Att*. 1.7=SB 3 and 1.8.1=SB 4.1; and the death of Atticus' grandmother: *Att*.1.3.1=SB 8.1. Whether Cicero's father died within this period has been debated. The mainstream view, endorsed by Robert Tyrrell and Loius Purser (*TP* I.132–3) as well as Shackleton Bailey (*CLA* 1.281–2) is that he died on November 23 of 68. However, W. S. Watt (editor of Cicero's letters for the OCT version) and Nino Marinone (*Cronologia ciceroniana*[2] p.70

She is said to have become disappointed at Atticus' failure to send her the promised gift.[88] It seems reasonable to assume that if Cicero had been planning to find a fiancé for Tullia in that period, he would have discussed the issue with Atticus, who was affectionate towards her and was able to help with the search by suggesting and commenting on candidates. Indeed, Cicero and Atticus exchanged their views about the suitors with each other when Tullia was looking for a third husband.[89] But Tullia's marriage does not feature as a subject for discussion in the surviving letters of the early 60s. Of course, it is hard to say whether references to it never existed or have all been lost.

What also deserves attention is Tullia's age at the time of the engagement. Unfortunately, the exact year in which she was born is not directly attested in our ancient sources, and it has been subject to various discussions.[90] One group of scholars suggest that Terentia had already become pregnant right before Cicero left for the East in 79 to study philosophy and rhetoric. Yet if this was the case, it would be difficult to believe that the birth of Tullia did not lead Cicero to terminate his stay in Greece immediately. Another popular hypothesis, therefore, seems to be more plausible: Tullia was conceived and born after Cicero returned to Rome in 77. That is to say, she was at most ten when engaged to Gaius Piso Frugi. Although she had reached the minimum age for betrothal recorded by the jurist Modestinus, there is still the question of why Cicero took action as

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and n.1) read *frater* at *Att*. 1.6.2 instead of *pater*, and argue that Cicero in fact reported the death of his cousin Lucius twice to Atticus.

[88] *Att*. 1.8.3=SB 4.3 and 1.9.2=SB 5.2.

[89] See chapter 4.

[90] For a discussion of various hypotheses about the dating of Tullia's birth, see Treggiari (2007, 27) and Ermete (2003, 126–28 and 215).

early as 67.[91] For one thing, given the tendency among daughters of upper-class families to get married in their late teens, it seems a bit premature for Cicero to find her a fiancé at that point. For another thing, it would make more sense for Cicero to wait a few additional years because the more successful his career was, the more attractive Tullia would become on the marriage market.

For the two reasons mentioned above, we cannot simply assume that it was Cicero who proposed the marital alliance in question to the Pisones Frugi. While such an assumption correctly reflects Cicero's desire to connect himself to the nobility as a way to make up for the disadvantage he suffered due to his family background, it downplays the extent of the pressure that fierce competition in Roman politics exerted on the Pisones Frugi. To maintain their standing, they had to win renewed and higher office. For consular descendants, such a challenge might not necessarily be less formidable than the one with which new men with political ambitions had to deal. It is thus possible that the proposal was put forward by Lucius Piso Frugi (pr. 74) after he saw Cicero's victory at the elections, which placed Cicero on an equal footing with him in terms of rank.

Cicero's financial situation was probably also on a par with, if not better than, Lucius'.[92] He inherited both a house on the Carinae and an agricultural estate at Arpinum from his father, who died in late 68.[93] Shortly before that death Cicero's dear cousin

[91] The third-century CE jurist Modestinus (*Dig*. 23.1.14) observes that the engaged couple should exceed seven years old so that they could understand what betrothal meant to them. But what has confused scholars is the same jurist's contradictory claim that engagement was not subject to any age requirement. Fayer (2005, 74–75) has suggested that one of the two statements was attributed to Modestinus by the *Digest*'s compilers.
[92] For a detailed discussion of Cicero's wealth, see Shatzman (1975, 403–25).
[93] The debate over the death of Cicero's father has been treated before. Cicero and his family lived in the house on the Carinae till 62 when he transferred it to his brother

Lucius passed away prematurely, so Cicero most likely received an inheritance from him as well.[94] His marriage to Terentia brought him a dowry—the figure Plutarch records is 100,000 denarii (400,000 sesterces) —and two *insulae* (on the Aventine and the Argiletum).[95] As the biographer implies, that dowry got Cicero's career off to a good start. Those two apartment complexes, on the other hand, were let out and supposedly provided the family with an extra source of monthly income. Furthermore, although the *lex Cincia* of 204 forbade any advocate in the courts to receive fees or gifts from his clients, Cicero still managed to profit by offering legal service. For example, the livestock and presents the Sicilians brought him in 69 in return for his prosecution of Verres and defense of their interests certainly helped to reduce the costs incurred by the games he organized as aedile that same year.[96] Meanwhile, Cicero apparently exploited the loophole in the law and enriched himself through his clients' legacies.[97]

Roman aristocrats tended to lead a lavish lifestyle as a way of maintaining their social standing. Cicero was no exception. In the early 60s, he bought two villas in the early 60s. The one at Tusculum was equipped with a library, gymnasium, portico and exedra, and to decorate it, Cicero paid Lucius Cincius over 20,000 sesterces for a group

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Quintus after purchasing a house on the Palatine. Cicero might have let out the estate at Arpinum (or part of it) to tenants.

[94] *Att*. 1.5.1=SB 1.1. Lucius' homonymous father died prematurely at the beginning of the first century (Cic. *De or.* 2.2-3). As Champlin (1991, 89) suggests, it was common for one to leave inheritance to one's paternal uncles and their children (i.e. first cousins). In fact, those people were entitled to a portion of possessions even in intestate situation.

[95] Plut. *Cic*. 8.3.

[96] Plut. *Cic*. 8.1.

[97] Towards the end of his life, Cicero boasted about having received more than 20 million sesterces in this way (*Phil*. 2.40).

of statues around February 13 of 67.[98] On the other hand, we do not know much about the so-called *Formianum*. Although it was certainly less luxurious than the *Tusculanum*, there is no reason to doubt that it was still a decently fancy villa. The state's compensation in late 57 for their restoration—both of them were destroyed soon after Cicero withdrew into exile—suggests that the *Tusculanum* was at least worth 500,000 sesterces and the *Formianum* 250,000 sesterces. Those two purchases were probably partially funded by loans, just like the purchase of the Palatine house in 62.[99] Indeed, it would not be surprising that Cicero had a habit of borrowing money for the sake of his high living standard.[100] While this fact does warn us to be cautious about assessing Cicero's financial condition, we should not simply take it to mean that he was constantly having money problems. First, Cicero's preference to make investments in real estate accounts in part for his need to borrow. Second, as long as he had political success, his creditors would have faith in him and he would be able to keep his finances in good shape.

In 67 Tullia was probably still too young to have a full understanding of what an engagement would mean to her. Yet Terentia was a thirty-year-old wife and mother.[101] When notifying Atticus of Tullia's engagement, Cicero said: "we have betrothed…"

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[98] *Att*. 1.8.3=SB 4.2. McCracken (1935) offers a detailed discussion of Cicero's Tusculan villa.

[99] As we will see in the next chapter, following his consulship Cicero took out a loan of 2 million sesterces from Publius Sulla (his legal client and nephew of the former dictator) to buy his Palatine house.

[100] Caesar was another notable example of a Roman politician who led an extravagant lifestyle with borrowed money. See Frederiksen (1966) for a discussion of Cicero's and Caesar's debt problem.

[101] Treggiari (2007, 168) hypothesizes that Terentia was born in 98 and thus 8 years Cicero's junior.

(*despondimus*). True, in the correspondence we frequently observe Cicero employ first-person plural forms simply to refer to himself. But the use here more likely indicates that Terentia took part in the decision-making process. After all, Tullia's marital affairs mattered to her a lot, too. At the same time, her past experiences of being betrothed as a young girl/woman would have qualified her to play an important role in finding a match for her daughter, even though the ultimate legal authority over whom Tullia should marry still rested with Cicero, who became the head of the family after his father's death in late 68.[102] There is no sign that Terentia disagreed with her husband on a marriage between their daughter and Gaius Piso Frugi. Nor is there good reason to think that she did.

### 3. Gaius Piso Frugi: A Young Aristocrat

Holding the quaestorship in 58, Gaius Piso Frugi might have been born in or sometime before 88 and was around twenty years old at the time of the engagement. In a speech addressing the Senate on December of 63, Cicero not only called Gaius his son-in-law but recognized him as a fully integrated member of his family by listing him along with Terentia, Tullia and Marcus the Younger.[103] While Servius Sulpicius Rufus, a legal expert contemporary with Cicero, suggests that betrothal is sufficient to establish in-law relationships, it still appears plausible that by then Gaius and Tullia had already married,

[102] For the mother's role in the daughter's marital affairs, see Dixon (1988, 215–20).
[103] *Cat*. 4.3: *Neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor et abiecta metu filia et parvolus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei, neque ille qui exspectans huius exitum diei stat in conspectu meo gener* ("Neither my troubled wife, nor my terror-stricken daughter, nor my little son, whom I think the state is embracing like a hostage of my consulship, nor that man who is standing within my sight expecting the end of today, my son-in-law, often fails to recall my mind home"). Rather than standing in Cicero's sight, Gaius must have joined the crowd in waiting outside the Senate.

otherwise the interval between their engagement and marriage would seem too long.[104] In other words, Gaius is likely to have not followed the general trend among aristocrats to get married when they were about to launch a senatorial career.[105]

Why did he marry earlier than many of his male peers did? As mentioned above, Cicero's electoral victory in the fall of 67 could have directly motivated the Pisones Frugi to propose a marital alliance. But we may wonder whether a demographic factor was also at work. A piece of information from Dio Cassius is worth noting here: Augustus is said to have allowed "those who wished, except the senators, to marry freedwomen and ordered their offspring to be legitimate" because he found that men vastly outnumbered women among the well-born.[106] To be sure, the views on Dio's claim concerning the skewed ratio of the female to the male at the beginning of the Principate are devided. Some scholars doubt it on the grounds that the Greek author was writing two centuries after the emperor and supporting evidence for his statement is lacking, while others accept it.[107]

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[104] *Dig.* 38.10.8 (Pomponius). Treggiari (2007, 43) thinks that Gaius waited until the end of the Catilinarian conspiracy to marry Tullia. For a more detailed discussion of the length of the gap between engagement and marriage, see the next chapter.

[105] However, not every scholar agrees with that trend. For example, Lelis et al. (2003, 103–19) argues that noble men tended to marry in the late teens and early 20s. Syme (1987) is more cautious about drawing any firm conclusion from sporadic and insecure evidence and only goes so far as to suggest that a predilection for early marriages may be attested among patricians.

[106] 54.16.2: ἐπειδή τε πολὺ πλεῖον τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦ θήλεος τοῦ εὐγενοῦς ἦν, ἐπέτρεψε καὶ ἐξελευθέρας τοῖς ἐθέλουσι, πλὴν τῶν βουλευόντων, ἄγεσθαι, ἔννομον τὴν τεκνοποιίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι κελεύσας. Although εὐγενοῦς literally means "well-born," Brunt (1971, 558) and Rich (1990, 196) interpret it as "freeborn" here.

[107] Evans Grubbs (2013, 92) doubts Dio's statement but McGinn (2004), Brunt (1971, 558) and Treggiari (*CAH*$^2$ X.888) accept it.

Writing in the first century CE, the Stoic author Gaius Musonius Rufus mentioned a tendency among elite families to limit the number of legitimate children.[108] Indeed, it made some sense for them to use such a strategy to safeguard their future political, economic and social status. For instance, a huge risk of having many legitimate descendants may lie in the division of the family's landed property.[109] Although for aristocrats daughters could be important assets, the majority seem to have placed a higher value on sons.[110] Such a preference might have led to greater reluctance to raise daughters, if a choice was to be made.[111] If so, it might have further caused an imbalance between the two genders, with the final result that elite women became more valuable for marriage purposes as the competition among men on the lookout for wives grew fiercer.[112] We cannot tell with certainty whether this phenomenon existed in the late

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[108] *Muson*. 15.

[109] Hin (2013, 205–8), who follows Brunt (1971, 142–43). She further argues that the fertility behavior of the masses was different from that of the elite because ordinary people were less concerned about the preservation of their political, economic and social status.

[110] In reviewing Hallet (1984), Treggiari (1986) suggests that this work overestimates the affection expected between fathers and daughters in Roman society while underestimating the strong bond between fathers and sons. One example noted by Treggiari is worth noting here: when Cicero was researching into paternal bereavement after losing Tullia in early 45, he asked Atticus for information about the lament of certain influential figures (e.g. Crassus and Lepidus) for their deceased sons. Although this is certainly not to say that the elite did not mourn their daughters' deaths, the fact that those examples were not readily available may provide us with a clue about Roman parents' attitude towards children. In addition, a preference for sons can partially explain why the adoption of women was far less common than that of men. Kunst (2005, 126–29) is an overview of instances where women were adopted. The earliest known case is the adoption of Octavia, the daughter of the emperor Claudius, because Claudius attempted to prevent a marriage between siblings (Cass. Dio 61.33). The jurist Gaius (*Inst*. 1.101) notes that it was not until the end of the second century CE that the adoption of women become more frequent.

[111] McGinn (2004), Brunt (1971, 558) and Treggiari (*CAH*$^2$ X.888) conjecture that a number of girls either died of malnutrition or were abandoned.

[112] McGinn (2004, 206–7).

Republic. If it did, it can partially explain why the Pisones Frugi preferred to take early action when it came to Gaius' marriage.

In addition to Cicero's success in office-holding, what else aroused the Pisones Frugi's interest in a marriage between Gaius and Tullia? The following passage from the *Brutus* is suggestive:

> "I have known no one with more zeal or of greater industry than my son-in-law, nor would it even be easy for me to name a person who surpassed him in talent. He never took a moment off from speaking in public or practicing at home, from writing or thinking. Thus he kept making such great progress that he seemed to fly rather than run. His selection of words was elegant and his speech was well arranged with periodic structure. Not only were the arguments he used to make varied and strong to prove his cases but his thoughts were sharp and neatly put together. His bodily action was so naturally graceful as to display certain studied technique and movement, which in fact did not exist. I am afraid that it seems that due to my affection for him, I am crediting with him more than he actually possessed, though this is not the case."[113]

[113] Cic. *Brut*. 272: *Studio autem neminem nec industria maiore cognovi, quamquam ne ingenio quidem qui praestiterit facile dixerim C. Pisoni genero meo. Nullum tempus illi umquam vacabat aut a forensi dictione aut a commentatione domestica aut a scribendo aut a cogitando. Itaque tantos processus efficiebat ut evolare, non excurrere videretur; eratque verborum et dilectus elegans et apta et quasi rotunda constructio; cumque argumenta excogitabantur ab eo multa et firma ad probandum tum concinnae acutaeque sententiae; gestusque natura ita venustus ut ars etiam, quae non erat, et e disciplina motus quidam videretur accedere. Vereor ne amore videar plura quam fuerint in illo dicere; quod non ita est; alia enim de illo maiora dici possunt.*

The composition and publication of the *Brutus* dates to 47/6, by which time Gaius Piso Frugi was dead for more than a decade.[114] The commemoration in the above excerpt, therefore, is a strong testimony to Cicero's genuine and deep affection for his late son-in-law. As can be easily observed, Cicero praises Gaius' oratorical skills in glowing terms and stresses the fairness of his judgment. We do not need to be surprised at Gaius' enthusiasm for public speaking and diligence in practicing it. For he probably had the intention of using oratory as one of the strategies for boosting his own career, in the same way as some other elite young men in his day did, including his distant cousin Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58).[115] From this perspective, the decision by his family to betroth him to the daughter of Cicero, the greatest orator in Rome, made perfect sense. Gaius might even have studied rhetoric under Cicero before Cicero became his father-in-law.

Another contributing factor might be the good relationship (at least in the public sphere) between Lucius the praetor of 74 and Cicero. In the course of preparing to prosecute Verres, Cicero is very likely to have received assistance from Lucius, who kept a written record of Verres' misconduct during his term of office as praetor.[116] Probably in return for this favor, Cicero referred to Lucius as an *amicus* when defending Aulus

[114] Robinson (1951) argues that Cicero began to work on the *Brutus* in the fall of 47 and published the work in early April of the following year.
[115] Contrary to Cicero's derogatory remarks in the *In Pisonem* that Lucius Piso Caesoninus had no personal merit at all and won offices only by taking advantage of the fame of his ancestors, some evidence actually shows that part of his political success was built on his decent, if not excellent, faculty for oratory. For an assessment of the oratorical skills of Lucius Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58), see van der Blom (2016, 181–203).
[116] Lucius' written record of Verres' misconduct is mentioned at *Verr*. 2.1.119.

Caecina in 69.[117] Yet in fact, Cicero had a more intimate connection with Lucius' brother Marcus Piso (cos. 61). According to Asconius, while still young, Cicero was sent by his father to be educated by Marcus Piso, who was famous for living a life in the ancient way, having a wide knowledge of literature and above all being a good practitioner of oratory.[118] Cicero himself also admits in the *Brutus* that he used to prepare and practice declamations with Marcus Piso.[119] During the early 70s, they were in congenial company in Athens, where they attended Antiochus' lectures together in the School of Ptolemy.[120] Although in 67 Marcus Piso had long been a member of the Pupii through adoption, he could still have made a contribution to the making of a match between his biological nephew and good friend's daughter.[121]

What role Gaius Calpurnius Piso (cos. 67) played in that betrothal is more difficult to tell. For one thing, we do not know exactly how he was related to the Pisones Frugi. For another thing, Cicero's interactions with him prior to the engagement are not attested in our sources. However, two men were surely on familiar terms during the mid-60s. In the early summer of 65, upon learning that Cicero was finding ways to pass the upcoming period when the courts at Rome would be temporarily closed, Gaius Piso, who was governing Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, invited Cicero to become his legate.[122] This job offer was a gesture of goodwill because it could have allowed Cicero to gain

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[117] *Caecin.* 35: *monet amicus meus te, L. Calpurnius, ut…* ("my friend, Lucius Calpurnius, warns you that…").
[118] Asc. 15C.
[119] *Brut.* 310.
[120] Cic. *Fin.* 5.1.
[121] For Cicero's relationship with Marcus Pupius Piso in the late 60s and early 50s, see below.
[122] Cic. *Att.* 1.1.2=SB 10.2.

honor while only requiring him to perform nominal duties.[123] In addition, Gaius Piso supported Cicero's candidacy for the consulship. Cicero later paid his debt of gratitude by defending Gaius Piso against an extortion charge pressed by Caesar in 63.[124] It would not be surprising if the consul of 67 helped with the betrothal and it in turn strengthened his tie with Cicero.

Little is known about the way in which Gaius Piso Frugi prepared himself for a senatorial career, except that like his father Lucius, he had been a mint master. Scholars generally date his moneyership to 67, thinking that he was appointed by his kinsman, the consul of 67.[125] This dating, however, is problematic. First, the evidence from hoards is hardly of help. The earliest hoard where Gaius' coins were excavated, the Gradistea hoard in present-day Romania, is commonly thought to have been closed in 67, but this closing date was actually determined with the unsubstantiated assumption that Gaius was moneyer that year.[126] Second, it is doubtful whether people as young as twenty could expect to hold the office of *monetalis*. Most importantly, since Gaius must have intended to use the office of *monetalis* as a convenient step towards the quaestorship, it did not

[123] Despite Cicero's interest in the position, it seems safe to suppose that the birth of Marcus the Younger at the end of the summer prevented Cicero from taking it.
[124] Cic. *Flac*. 98; Sall. *Cat*. 49.2.
[125] Michael Crawford (*RRC* 408), Hamilton (1969), Ermete (2003, 217) and Hofmann-Löbl (1996, 152). Hersh (1976, 8), however, dates Gaius' office of *monetalis* to 63 when Cicero was consul.
[126] Since the Licuriciu hoard contains coins issued by Lucius Aemilius Lepidus Paullus (mint master of 63 or 62) but none by Gaius, Harlan (1995, 47) argues that Gaius was more likely to hold the office after Lepidus Paullus did. Regardless of whether the conclusion is correct, the reasoning here is flawed, for we have no reason to expect the two mint masters' coins to appear in the same hoard simply because their issue dates were close.

make much sense for him to leave a decade-long gap between the two magistracies.[127] In any case, although we cannot know for sure when Gaius was mint master, it is clear that he adopted the design of his father's coins: the head or bust of Apollo on one side and a horseman on the other.[128] Once again, he had every intention of highlighting and publicizing family honor.

Gaius was elected quaestor in 58 and, despite being assigned to the province of Pontus and Bithynia on the day of assuming the office, chose to stay in the city of Rome for the sake of Cicero, who was about to lose in his struggle against the tribune Clodius. Right before Cicero went into exile in the spring, Gaius accompanied him to the house of Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58) in order to entreat his kinsman to stop cooperating with Clodius. But instead of obtaining the support they expected, the two men suffered from Piso's insulting words and were then driven out.[129] He also attempted to intercede with the other consul of 58, Aulus Gabinius, as well as with Pompey, though to no purpose.[130] After Cicero fled to the East, Gaius continued his strenuous efforts to have his father-in-law recalled. It is thus no wonder that once restored, Cicero lavishly praised Gaius on many occasions for his services. For example, Cicero portrayed the young man as his "unyielding champion and defender with the highest degree of courage and loyalty" when

[127] By contrast, the career path of Marcus Brutus seems to make more sense: he held the office of *monetalis* in 54 and was quaestor in 53.
[128] *RRC* 408. For a more detailed study of Gaius Piso Frugi's coins, see Hersh (1976).
[129] *Red. sen.* 17 and *Pis.* 12–3. Of course, Cicero's accounts must contain exaggeration and distortion.
[130] Plut. *Cic.* 31.2-4.

speaking to the Senate and highlighted Gaius' "divine and unparalleled influence and courage" in the speech addressing the populace.[131]

In a letter dispatched to Terentia at the initial stage of his exile, Cicero expressed deep anxiety over Tullia's marriage.[132] Apparently, he feared then that Gaius Piso Frugi would divorce her, but this did not happen. So why did Gaius remain faithful to Cicero, even though he would have been aware of the risks of doing so? First, there can be a real possibility that Cicero had provided Gaius with such whole-hearted career support during preceding years that Gaius did not want to be ungrateful and, for more practical reasons, felt it difficult to for him, a young man who had just entered Roman public life, to find the same kind of backing elsewhere if he were to separate himself from Cicero. In the early 50s, he had perhaps already lost his parents to death and could no longer expect to count on the kinsmen on whom he had presumably counted earlier. To name one notable example: his biological uncle Marcus Pupius Piso. Towards the end of the 60s, Pupius Piso began to advocate Clodius' cause and incurred the wrath of the people who opposed the *popularis* force, including his own good friend Cicero. Due to their obstruction, the assignment of the governorship of Syria, which Pupius Piso was supposed to hold

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[131] Cic. *Red. sen.* 38: *propugnator mearum fortunarum et defensor adsiduus, summa virtute et pietate*; *Red. pop.* 7: *divina quaedam et inaudita auctoritas atque virtus*. Moreover, in a letter to Terentia written amidst his misfortune (*Fam*. 14.1.4=SB 8.4), Cicero says: "*Pisonis humanitas, virtus, amor in omnis nos tantus est ut nihil supra possit*" ("Piso's kindness, virtue and love for all of us is so great that nothing can surpass it"). At *Brut*. 272, Cicero says: "*nam nec continentia nec pietate nec ullo genere virtutis quemquam eiusdem aetatis cum illo conferendum puto*" ("I do not think that any peer could be compared with him when it comes to self-control, sense of duty or any other virtue").

[132] *Fam*. 14.4.3=SB 6.3, written in late April of 58.

following his consulship in 61, was nullified and in this way his political career came to a de facto end.[133]

Another reason may be Gaius' passionate love for Tullia. Admittedly, for Roman elites the primary function of marriage was to seek political and/or economic gains. However, it is wrong to believe that the sentimental value of marriage was of no significance. Instead, there is ample evidence for spousal affection in the late Republican period.[134] Of particular interest is the attachment developed between Pompey and Julia, because this match was arranged, at least according to our ancient sources, merely to reinforce Caesar's alliance with Pompey. It thus makes some sense to think that their fondness for each other was a "fortuitous dividend, welcome but unanticipated."[135] Yet the case of Tullia's marriage to Gaius is most likely different. Given Cicero's deep for his daughter, we are justified in supposing that in finding a son-in-law he took her happiness into account. Of course, we have no good reason to deny that Terentia did the same.

Customarily Tullia would have started to live with the Pisones Frugi once she married Gaius. Therefore, when Clodius dispatched a mob of followers to demolish Cicero's Palatine house, she was probably not at the scene. But her mother and younger brother might have been compelled to evacuate and witnessed the destruction of the family's residence by fire.[136] After this terrible misfortune, they are likely to have taken refuge in Gaius' house at least for some time. Alternatively, they might have also sought

[133] Previously Gaius Piso Frugi might also have received support from Gaius Piso the consul of 67, but he is likely to have died soon after 59.
[134] For a comprehensive study of spousal affection both in the elite and in the ordinary marriage, see Treggiari (1991, 229–61).
[135] Gruen (1974, 450).
[136] Cicero's villas at Tusculum and Formiae were destroyed, too.

shelter in the house of the Vestal Virgins, because Terentia's half-sister was one of the priestesses of Vesta.[137]

Although Tullia's marriage to Gaius was conceivably a harmonious one, it was unfortunately also a short-lived one, terminated by Gaius' premature death. In August of 57, Tullia was reunited with Cicero, who had just returned to Italy from the East, at Brundisium, where they celebrated both her birthday and the anniversary of the founding of the town. Since Tullia would have observed the traditional custom that people in mourning should abstain from festivals for ten months, it is highly probable that her husband died no later than October of 58, towards the end of his quaestorship.[138] Indeed, Cicero's praise for his son-in-law's devotion in two letters written to Terentia in the late fall that year was likely occasioned by Gaius' death.[139] This death might well have saddened Tullia and Terentia, but evidence for their reactions is nowhere to be found.

**4. Conclusion**

Gaius Calpurnius Piso Frugi was born into an illustrious noble Roman family that was able to repeatedly produce holders of high offices since the late third century. It is thus extraordinary that Cicero, a new man of municipal background, succeeded in betrothing his daughter to him. This engagement attests to Cicero's remarkable achievements in public life between the late 70s and the early 60s. Although this marital alliance was certainly to the benefit of Cicero and his family, we cannot simply assume that it was they who proposed that marital alliance. For the Pisones Frugi were also under

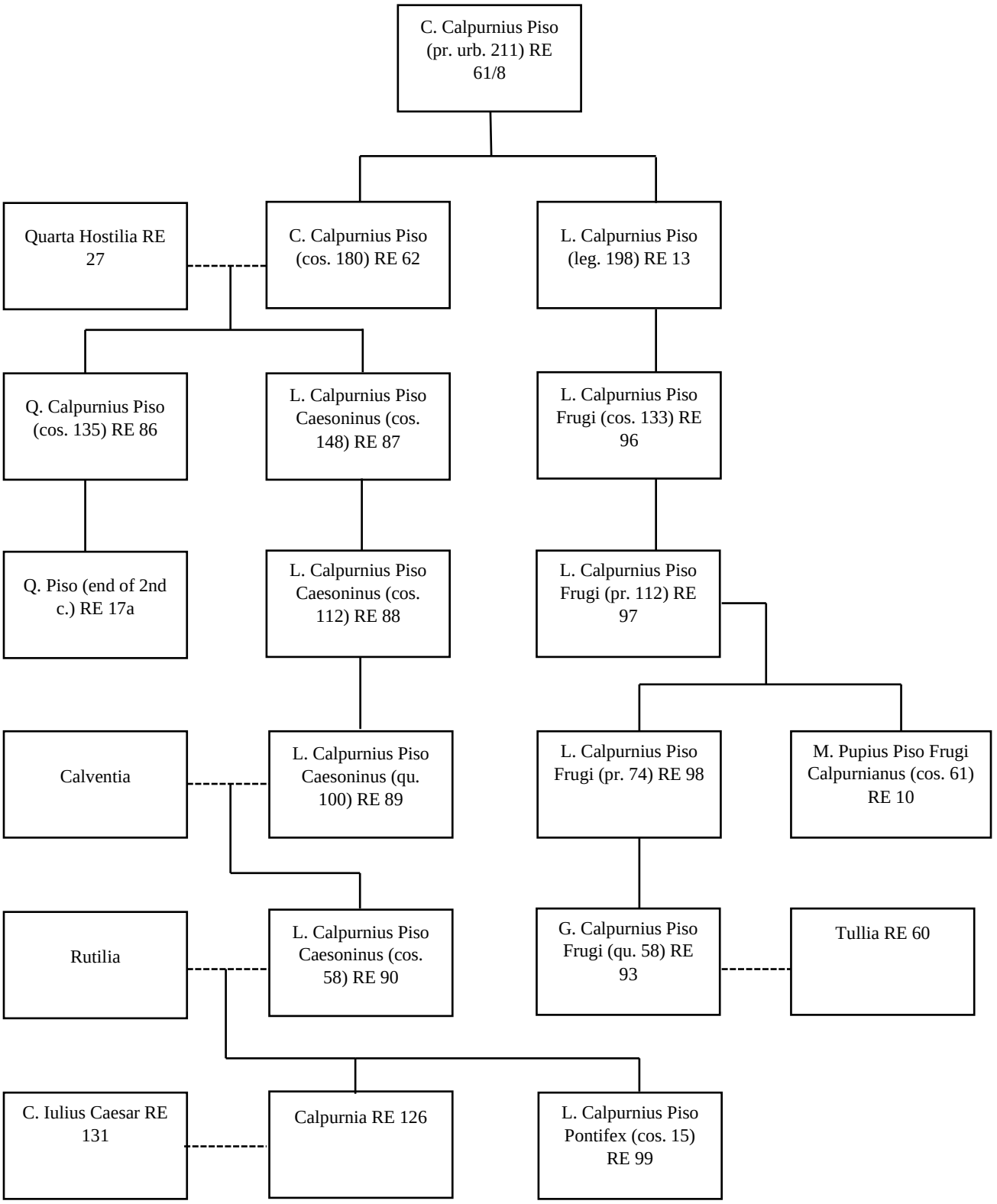
[137] Treggiari (2007, 61) raises this possibility.
[138] See also the discussion in the next chapter.
[139] *Fam.* 14.2=SB 7 and 14.3=SB 8.

considerable pressure to retain their family's honor by winning renewed magistracies in the highly competitive arena of politics. In fact, the pressure might have even intensified if their financial conditions somehow began to weaken since the early first century and if an imbalance between the two genders placed women at an advantage on the marriage market. This can help to explain why Gaius was betrothed at a young age of twenty years old. Meanwhile, there are other factors that contributed to the making of this match, notably the familiarity Cicero and Gaius' relatives including father and uncle.

Gaius and Tullia perhaps married a couple of years following their engagement. While there is almost no direct evidence for their marital life, it seems very likely that they lived in harmony, given Gaius' strenuous efforts to prevent his father-in-law from going into exile and to have him recalled after he was banished. In that difficulty period, he would have not only comforted Tullia but also sheltered Terentia and Marcus the Younger, as their house on the Palatine was destroyed by Clodius' gang. Unfortunately, Tullia's marriage to him came to an end in 58 as a consequence of his premature death.

**Appendix: Stemma of the Calpurnii Pisones (Part)**

The following chart is adapted from Appendix I in Hofmann-Löbl (1996)



# 3. Marrying Tullia Off (II): Furius Crassipes

As we learn from a letter to Quintus, Cicero betrothed his daughter Tullia to Furius Crassipes on April 4 of 56.[140] This chapter will focus on two main issues, namely the establishment of this marital alliance and its sequel. We will begin by examining the situation of Cicero's family during the months between Cicero's return from exile and the betrothal in question and its impact on Tullia's prospects on the marriage market. Then turning to Furius Crassipes, we will discuss why he was interested in Tullia as well as why Cicero's family was interested in this young man. In the end, we will rely on the scanty evidence available to us to explore what might have happened in the mid- and late 50s that led to the couple's separation.

## 1. The Tullii Cicerones: The Reunited Family

### 1.1 Cicero and His Second Life

Any Roman who went into exile must have felt disgraced, and for Cicero such a feeling was probably even stronger because his banishment was preceded by a short-lived moment of glory. However, what matters for our purposes is not Cicero's experiences during his exile but his situation after he was restored. The restoration process began in early July of 57, when the senate unanimously decided to have a law put to the popular assembly to rescind the banishment imposed on Cicero. Both the people and the majority of the magistrates—except for one praetor (Clodius' brother Appius Claudius Pulcher) and two tribunes (Quintus Numerius Rufus and Sextus Atilius Serranus Gavianus)—

[140] *Qfr.* 2.6.1=SB 10.1.

buttressed the bill. By that time, some influential figures such as Metellus Nepos, Caesar and Crassus had at least stopped supporting Clodius. In short, the recall indicates that even though Cicero was never able to fully justify his previous illegal execution of Roman citizens, he was given a pardon.

After living in exile for more than one year, Cicero finally returned to Italy at the beginning of August of 57. His first stop was Brundisium, where he was reunited with Tullia, who had taken the trouble to travel a long way there from Rome. Her journey could have been fraught with perils: for one thing, bandits scattered in the Italian countryside, waiting to robbing travelers who were not well protected; for another thing, accompanied by neither Terentia nor her uncle Quintus, she relied only on a staff of servants.[141] The day of their reunion happened to be Tullia's birthday and the founding anniversary of the town, so they celebrated together with the local residents.[142] According to Roman tradition, the widowed Tullia was expected to abstain from social or religious festivals and to wear black clothes for ten months.[143] Her participation in the celebration, therefore, indicates that she had already finished her mourning period by then. In other words, Gaius probably died in the late fall or early winter of 58, before his term of office as quaestor ended. Yet nothing about his death can be found in the existing correspondence.

In discussing how Cicero fared in the aftermath of his exile, it is significant to bear in mind the limitations of our sources. Here Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* provides us

[141] Osgood (2014, 13) takes *Asc.* 31C as indicating that travelling through the Italian countryside without armed protection would have been dangerous.
[142] Cic. *Att.* 4.1.4=SB 73.4.
[143] Treggiari (1991, 493–95).

with minimum help, since his narrative is rather sketchy and the resulting gaps cannot be filled by his biographies of other people. For this reason, we have no choice but to rely on Cicero's own accounts, found mainly in his correspondence, to reconstruct what he saw, experienced and did. As can be easily observed, the letters he wrote within that period are imbued with optimism, and the image he endeavored to present to Atticus is that of a person who had recovered "public prestige," "authority in the senate" and "favor of the *boni*" and who "was beginning some sort of a second life."[144] His description of himself to Quintus is similar: "full of dignity and favor."[145]

Cicero told Atticus that he was saluted by people from local towns when travelling in Italy, and then received an even warmer welcome from the residents of Rome, whose vociferous greetings and applause accompanied him the entire path from the city's outskirts up to the Capitol Hill and finally to the site of his house on the Palatine.[146] While such depictions must contain exaggeration, there is no reason to believe that the exile caused him to lose popularity with the masses. Meanwhile, Cicero also took pains to rebuild his standing among the elite. The day following his arrival he delivered a speech—the so-called *Post reditum in senatu*, which is extant—in front of the senators and expressed a deep gratitude to the individuals and groups for their

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[144] *Att*. 4.1.2=SB 73.2: *Nos adhuc in nostro statu quod difficillime recuperari posse arbitrati sumus, splendorem nostrum illum forensem et in senatu auctoritatem et apud viros bonos gratiam, magis quam opta<ra>mus consecuti sumus.* Then *Att*. 4.1.8=SB 73.8: *alterius vitae quoddam initium ordimur.*

[145] *Qfr.* 2.3.7=SB 7.7: *plena dignitatis et gratia*.

[146] *Att.* 4.1.4-5=SB 73.4-5. Also Cic. *Ses.* 131. According to Appian, "all people gave Cicero a splendid welcome at the gates, and it is said that the entire day was spent on greeting him, just like it was when Demosthenes came back" (*BCiv*. 2.16: λαμπρῶς δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑποδεχομένων πάντων, φασὶ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην, οἷόν τι καὶ Δημοσθένει συνέβη κατιόντι, ἀναλῶσαι).

contribution to his restoration.[147] Since the occasion for the speaking was a formal, ceremonial one, Cicero had every intention of using that opportunity to reinforce his allegiances to his advocates as much as possible. Unsurprisingly, his account of the events leading to his exile is colored by his own interests and concerns, and its focal point is that banishing himself was a voluntary decision made to avoid any violence that could have been launched on his behalf. In other words, Cicero attempted to convince his audience that he was a martyr to the greater interests of the state.

Of course, Cicero wasted no time in easing himself back into politics. At the time of his arrival in Rome, the capital city was being plagued by the problem of rising grain prices, and this gave Clodius a pretext for placing the blame on him. In a senatorial meeting, Cicero delivered a speech and recommended that Pompey be commissioned to take charge of the food supply, in the hope of thanking Pompey for supporting his recall. The speech appears to have been so forceful that both the senators and people decided to approve Cicero's proposal immediately.[148] In return for such a gesture of goodwill, Pompey invited Cicero to serve on his staff and Cicero accepted the offer. The exchange of favor thus deepened the relationship between the two men.

Cicero also shone in the courts as before. While we are poorly informed about his legal activities in late 57, he secured four victories during the early months of 56. In February, he successfully defended the former aedile Lucius Calpurnius Bestia against a charge of electoral corruption (*ambitus*).[149] In March, he spoke on behalf of Publius

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[147] For a rhetorical analysis of this speech, see Nicholson (1992).
[148] Cic. *Att.* 4.1.6=SB 73.6.
[149] However, Bestia was later tried for a second time and sentenced. Interestingly, it was Marcus Caelius Rufus who brought the *ambitus* prosecution against him. For these two trials, see *TLRR* nos. 268 and 269. Cicero mentions at *Sest.* 79 that Bestia saved Sestius'

Sestius, who was prosecuted by a certain Marcus Tullius (by no means a close kin of Cicero) for both *ambitus* and violence (*vis*).[150] The former charge was linked to Sestius' candidacy for the tribunate in 58 and the latter to his support for Cicero's recall when he was tribune of the plebs in 57. The legal services, therefore, can be seen as Cicero's repayment of his debt of gratitude.[151] In court, he gave a high-minded speech with a long account of the events leading to and following up his exile.[152] To put it differently, Cicero turned the trial into a grand public performance with a twofold objective: to defend not only Sestius but also himself. His show impressed the jurors, and the defendant was unanimously acquitted on March 14.

Soon afterwards, Cicero obtained two more acquittals for Publius Asicius and Marcus Caelius Rufus.[153] Perhaps by no sheer coincidence, both trials were partially associated with the murder of the ambassador Dio from Alexandria and reflected on a deeper level a struggle among the Romans over control of Egypt, a land of enormous wealth that had not yet been incorporated into the empire as a province.[154] Yet what is particularly interesting here is no doubt the fact that Caelius was also accused of

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life when Sestius was being attacked by Clodius' followers in 57. This may be part of the reason for Cicero's decision to defend Bestia.

[150] *TLRR* nos. 270 and 271.

[151] Sestius also aided Cicero's friend Milo in his conflict with Clodius in late 57. It is worth noting that Cicero considered himself as Sestius' *patronus* (*Qfr*. 2.3.5=SB 7.5).

[152] That account covers the chapters between 14 and 71 with a total number of 6600 Latin words. For a commentary on this speech, see Kaster (2006). But Alexander (2002, 206) reminds us of the possible discrepancies between the published speech and what Cicero actually said in court.

[153] Asicius' trial: *TLRR* no. 267; Caelius' trial: *TLRR* no. 275.

[154] Dio came to Rome to complain about the conduct of their ruler, King Ptolemy XII Auletes. In fact, at that time Ptolemy XII was residing in the city of Rome as an exile in order to plead with the Roman state to reinstate him. The issue of who should be assigned the task of restoring Ptolemy XII dominated the Roman politics in the early months of 56. See below for further discussion.

attempting to poison Clodia, his former lover and the sister of Clodius. This charge gave Cicero a personal interest in the case, and he did use the opportunity to defame her by asserting that she engaged in prostitution, had incest with Clodius and poisoned her ex-husband Quintus Caecilius Metellus Celer, who died suddenly in 59. However, there seems little credibility in such claims.[155]

Of course, Cicero's condemnation of Clodia is only one episode of his conflict with Clodius, which escalated in the period following his restoration, even though by then Clodius had lost several of his supporters, including Caesar. We have already mentioned the destruction of Cicero's Palatine house by a mob of Clodius' followers. The ground was later confiscated by the state and sold at a public auction. Clodius acquired that plot of land and dedicated it, along with the adjoining colonnade put up by Quintus Lutatius Catulus, to the goddess Liberty. While the law on Cicero's recall decreed that all of his properties be restored, it did not specify whether what was now holy space should be reverted to Cicero's ownership. Not surprisingly, Clodius took pains to prevent Cicero from reclaiming it. To that end, he exploited the strange noise which arose not long after Cicero's return and which was identified by the *haruspices*—a group of distinguished Etruscan diviners—as a sign of gods' displeasure. When speaking at a mass meeting (*contio*), he said that Cicero's attempt to rebuild his residence had profaned that sacred land.[156]

In this way the two men got into a fierce dispute and both appeared before the judges—members of the College of the Pontiffs—to make their cases. Indeed, it seems

[155] For a convenient discussion of the trial of Caelius, see Alexander (2002, 218–43).
[156] Beard (2012, 20–21). Sometime in 56 Cicero delivered a speech in the senate—*De Haruspicum responso*—specifically to refute such allegations.

that other exiles rarely needed to face such a problem after they were restored. But by delivering a speech commonly known as *De domo sua*, Cicero managed to convince the jury that Clodius' dedication was invalid because he had never been empowered by any specific law to make it. As a result, the state granted Cicero the permission to remove the sanctuary and rebuild his own house at public cost while thwarting Clodius' various attempts to block such a decision. This victory is of vital significance for Cicero. Because the shrine was erected specifically to the goddess who functioned as a symbol of civic freedom, it served as a reminder to the public of Clodius' accusations that Cicero behaved like a tyrant in 63.[157] Therefore, it is only by having sanctuary removed that Cicero could dispel such an extremely negative image his archenemy strived to associate with him.[158]

Clodius refused to admit his failure and started the second round of his confrontation with Cicero by sending an armed gang, on November 3 of 57, to harass the workmen who were rebuilding Cicero's Palatine house. A week later, Clodius dared to launch another attack on Cicero on the street in the daytime, but Cicero avoided it easily by withdrawing into Tettius Damio's forecourt.[159] To strike a further blow at his foe, Clodius also made Cicero's friend Milo a target. He first attempted, on the late morning of November 12, to set Milo's house on fire, only to be repelled by force. Then in January of 56 when he assumed the office of the quaestorship, he accused Milo of

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[157] For Cicero as a tyrant figure, see Cic. *Att.* 1.16.10=SB; *Cat.* 1.30, 2.14 and 4.11; *Pis.* 14; *Sull*. 22; *Dom*. 75 and 94; and Plut. *Cic*. 23.4.
[158] According to Plutarch, in the early months of 61 Clodia was thinking about marrying Cicero and the jealous suspicions of Terentia were partially responsible for the hostility between Cicero and Clodius (*Cic*. 29.1–5). This rumor will be further discussed below.
[159] Cicero gives a detailed account of Clodius' various attacks on him and his friends (especially Milo) in *Att*.4.3=SB 75.

disturbing the peace, though this charge represents a fine irony because it is Clodius who kept terrorizing the city of Rome. What is even more ironic is the fact that the many disturbances both Clodius and his gangsters caused to the trial prevented the completion of the trial, with the result that they failed to have Milo indicted. There can thus be little doubt that despite occasional and temporary success, Clodius was not able to gain the upper hand over Cicero after Cicero's return.

Of course, Cicero suffered some setbacks, too. What merits notice is his complaints about the state's compensation for his properties destroyed while he was in exile: he received 500000 sesterces for his Tusculan villa and half that amount for his estate at Formia.[160] One possible reason why Cicero thought the compensation to be ungenerous may be that many luxurious items (e.g. artwork and furniture) he kept there and lost to plundering were deliberately not taken into consideration. The valuation was carried out by a group of people under the command of the two consuls of 57, Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Quintus Caecilius Metellus Nepos. Metellus Nepos was likely the one to blame. After all, he had once been on Clodius' side, and on the issue of recalling Cicero he was not so much an active supporter like Lentulus Spinther as a passive follower of an irreversible political trend.[161] On the other hand, Cicero does not appear to have taken issue with the assessment of his residence on the Platine Hill, for which he received two million sesterces.[162]

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[160] Cic. *Att.* 4.2.5=SB 74.5.

[161] For a brief history of the relationship between Cicero and Metellus Nepos, see Nicholson (1992, 60–62).

[162] *Att.* 4.2.5=SB 74.5. Cicero paid 3.5 million sesterces in 62 for this house on the Palatine Hill (*Fam.* 5.6.2=SB 4.2), 2 million of which is said by Gellius (*NA.* 12.12) to have been borrowed from Publius Sulla, the nephew of the former dictator. This price covered both the ground and the building, but the state's compensation was only for the

The above discussion examined some notable moments of Cicero's life between his arrival at Rome and Tullia's betrothal in early April, but they are basically the ones Cicero chose to highlight in the letters to Atticus. We are justified in suspecting that Cicero was very careful with the selection of the material and likely to distort in accordance with his needs either by glorifying his achievements or by downplaying the seriousness of his failures. As demonstrated by the problem of the compensation for Cicero's demolished houses and by Clodius' election to quaestorship in 56, there were still members of the senatorial class who bore grudges against Cicero, whether it was because they refused to forgive him for his execution of the conspirators without due process of law or for his previous excessive boasts that he saved the fatherland.[163] Significantly, the recall did not enable Cicero to fully recover the standing he had enjoyed during his term of office as consul. Yet it is no doubt an overstatement to say that he was still in a desperate situation in the months following the return. As a former exile, he seems to have done a remarkable job in regaining influence.

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building since the ground had already been reverted to Cicero's ownership. Shatzman (1975, 403) may be correct in suggesting that the compensation indicates that the land and building were worth 1.5 million sesterces and 2 million sesterces respectively is plausible.

[163] Plutarch claims that the latter was the real reason why Cicero began to lose popularity and was finally forced to go into exile (*Cic.* 24.1–2): πολλοῖς δ᾽ ἐπίφθονον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν ἀπ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ, τῷ δ᾽ ἐπαινεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ μεγαλύνειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ πολλῶν δυσχεραινόμενος. οὔτε γὰρ βουλὴν οὔτε δῆμον οὔτε δικαστήριον ἦν συνελθεῖν ἐν ᾧ μὴ Κατιλίναν ἔδει θρυλούμενον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ Λέντλον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ βιβλία τελευτῶν κατέπλησε καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν ἐγκωμίων ("Cicero had made himself unpopular not because of any specific wrongdoing but because he kept annoying others with continuous praise for and boast of himself. It was impossible for the senate, popular assembly or court to convene without being forced to listening to his repeated talks about Catiline and Lentulus. He even filled his books and writings with his accomplishments and eulogy").

## 1.2 The Women and Their Second Lives

Although the recall allowed Cicero to be reunited with his family in the early fall of 57, it seems curious that he rarely mentions other members in his post-exile letters to Atticus and Quintus. For this reason, we know virtually nothing about how Terentia, Tullia or Marcus the Younger fared after the reunion. But one fact worth noticing is that Terentia did not join Tullia in going to Brundisium to welcome Cicero. Was it because she was prevented by important matters from leaving Rome or her displeasure at Cicero made her unwilling to take the trouble to travel? Four of the letters Cicero wrote to her during his banishment have survived. While they surely have an affectionate tone (especially when compared with the letters sent to Terentia during the 40s), they also disclose that the couple had disagreements over the management of household finances.[164]

For example, in April of 58 there arose the issue of manumitting slaves, about which Cicero says as follows: "Nothing would worry you. First of all, it has been promised to your slaves that you would treat each person on his/her merits; but Orpheus has been offering good service so far, though no one else particularly so. The situation of other slaves is that if the property should be taken away from me, they would be my freedmen, if they would be able to maintain that status. Yet if they should belong to me, they would be slaves, except for very few of them. But these are trivial matters."[165] As a

[164] For a classic analysis of the disagreements between Cicero and Terentia over family finances, see Dixon (1984, 80–87). Also see Ermete (2003, 144–46).
[165] *Fam.* 14.4.4=SB 6.4: *nihil est quod te moveat. primum tuis ita promissum est, te facturam esse ut quisque esset meritus; est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus, praeterea magno opere nemo. ceterorum servorum ea causa est ut, si res a nobis abisset, liberti nostri essent, si obtinere potuissent; sin ad nos pertinerent, servirent, praeterquam oppido pauci. sed haec minora sunt.*

consequence of Cicero's exile, his property could be confiscated and sold at public auction. So he planned to emancipate slaves beforehand, probably with the intention of selling them (or most of them) to an ally through a false sale and recovering them upon his restoration.[166]

It makes sense to suppose that the cause of the discord was that a number of the slaves picked by Cicero belonged to Terentia's dowry. As a matter of fact, while Cicero had no legal recourse to his wife's personal possessions, in principle he could do whatever he liked with her *dos* as long as they were married.[167] For this reason, Terentia's displeasure is noteworthy, not least because it shows that her position in the marital relationship was far from weak.[168] Conceivably, this had much to do with her wealth. However, it did not seem unreasonable for her to be unhappy, since Cicero's decision on how to deal with the slaves was bound to directly and immediately affect her and their son's lives: no doubt they needed servants to perform a variety of tasks. Probably she had expected Cicero to consult her before taking action.

Another problem came up in the fall that same year when Terentia informed Cicero of her plan to sell a row of houses, which would have belonged solely to her. Not only did Cicero disapprove, but he reacted strongly in the epistle: "What, I beseech you (poor me!), what is going to happen? And if no change of fortune befalls me, what will

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[166] Cicero intended to help Milo in this way when the latter was exiled in the late 50s (*Att.* 5.8.2=SB 101.2).

[167] This is of course is based on the assumption that Cicero and Terentia did not enter into a *cum manu* marriage, or Terentia would not have been able to have her own assets. But in the late Republic the *sine manu* marriage was the mainstream type within the elite class. For a detailed discussion of the dowry in the Roman marriage, see Treggiari (1991, 323–64).

[168] Plutarch describes her as "not generally submissive" (*Cic.* 20.3).

happen to the poor boy? … I say just this: If my friends are in good faith, there will be no lacking of money. Yet if not, you will not be able to achieve desired results with your money. In view of my miserable fortune, see to it that we would not ruin our desperate son."[169] The above passage implies that Terentia's financial situation was a major factor in prompting her to make that decision.

We do not know how Terentia responded to her husband's interference with her management of her personal property. Following the dissolution of their marriage, Cicero accused her of mishandling the household finances during his banishment and even of committing crimes such as theft and embezzlement. Such allegations, if true, would point to some serious problems. But given Cicero's need to justify his decision to divorce Terentia, there is good reason to dismiss them as false.[170] When asking Terentia to reconsider the transaction she had in mind, Cicero made a good point that she was responsible for their son's current well-being and, perhaps more importantly, future career. Needless to say, their marital relationship led the couple to share common interests and above all the goal of protecting the family's finances, on which every member's standing depended.[171] From this perspective, their conflicts merely lay in how to achieve that objective. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a juxtaposition of Cicero's

[169] *Fam.* 14.1.5=SB 8.5: *quid, obsecro te (me miserum!), quid futurum est? et si nos premet eadem fortuna, quid puero misero fiet?… tantum scribo: si erunt in officio amici, pecunia non deerit; si non erunt, tu efficere tua pecunia non poteris. per fortunas miseras nostras, vide ne puerum perditum perdamus.*
[170] For those accusations, see e.g. *Att.* 11.2.2=SB 212.2, 11.24.2-3=SB 234.2-3 and Plut. *Cic.* 41.2-3. Cicero mentions to Atticus at the time of return that his fortune was "diminished, dissipated and plundered" (*Att.* 4.1.3=SB 73.3: *fracta, dissipata, direpta*).
[171] Dixon (1984, 83–84).

letters to Terentia with those to Atticus shows that their marriage to some degree resembled the partnership and friendship between him and Atticus.[172]

So even if the fact that Terentia did not welcome Cicero at Brundisium indicates that their relationship was strained at that time, their reunion presumably provided them with an opportunity to settle the disagreements and to make joint efforts to improve the family's overall financial situation. For instance, they would have collaborated in getting Tullia's dowry back from the Pisones Frugi, because they certainly needed it to marry their daughter off for a second time. Signs of improvement soon appeared. First, in late November of 57 Cicero was able to pay off his debts owed to Quintus, even though Quintus actually did not ask him for immediate repayment at all.[173] Second, Cicero later gave up his plan, first conceived in October, to sell his villa at Tusculum to solve his liquidity problem.[174] Moreover, by the early spring of 56 Cicero had already started leading a lavish lifestyle again: not only was he then carrying out a massive rebuilding program including houses on the Palatine Hill, at Tusculum and at Formiae, but he even purchased a lovely new site by the Lucrine Lake at Cumae.[175]

Reconstructing Tullia's experiences proves to be more challenging, because information about her in Cicero's epistles to Terentia is quite limited and, curiously enough, she is not mentioned in the current post-exile correspondence until her

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[172] Jeppesen-Wigelsworth (2013).
[173] *Att.* 4.3.6=SB 75.6.
[174] *Att.* 4.2.7=SB 74.7.
[175] Cic. *Qfr.* 2.5.1=SB 9.1: *tribus locis aedifico… vivo paulo liberalius quam solebam*. The villa at Cumae is mentioned at *Qfr*. 2.6.4=SB 10.4. Pliny the Elder (*NH* 13.29) mentions that Cicero owned a table of citrus wood from Mauretania that was worth half a million sesterces. Treggiari thinks that Cicero might have purchased it shortly after his return (2007b, 75). If this is the case, then the valuable table can further attest to Cicero's wealth.

engagement to Crassipes in April of 56. As noted earlier, Tullia and Gaius most likely lived in harmony during the years they were together. So she might well have been saddened by the misfortune of Gaius, which took place when Cicero's family was already in difficulty. Yet on the other hand, she would have known, just as daughters from other upper-class families did, that marriage was primarily a tool for producing legitimate descendants as well as forming alliances.[176] For this reason, she perhaps refrained from letting her sorrow impede her effort at remarriage.

But when did the search of a second match begin? It appears that young widows normally started looking for new husbands while still in mourning so that they could get married again as soon as the period of mourning was over. However, this was unlikely to be the case with Tullia, since the situation of her family—a father in exile and a mother in financial difficulty—would have put her at a grave disadvantage on the marriage market. It is more probable that she waited at least until Cicero's restoration. In any event, what is particularly difficult to explain is the complete absence of any reference to such a search in the existing correspondence: the matter should have been important enough to become a subject of discussion. Did all the epistles containing information about it fail to survive to us by a very unfortunate coincidence? Or were they edited out of the corpus? Writing to Atticus in late January of 56, Cicero suggested that they deal with certain issues in person.[177] There is a good possibility, then, that Tullia's marriage was one of the topics about which Cicero planned to consult him in their meeting.

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[176] See, for example, Dixon (1985).

[177] *Att.* 4.4=SB 76. At that time, Atticus was on his way back to Rome, where he must have arrived in early February. The wedding ceremony celebrating his marriage to Pilia was held on February 13.

## 2. The Furii Crassipes

Furius Crassipes belonged to the *gens* Furia, an ancient patrician clan that, according to epigraphic evidence, might have originated from Tusculum.[178] Sextus Furius Medullinus Fusus was the earliest known member of that clan to reach the consulship (in 488). In the three centuries that followed, the Furii were frequently elected consuls and consular tribunes. Livy even describes Furius Camillus as a dominating figure in Roman politics in the early fourth century, though not all of the recorded achievements attributed to him can be safely considered as historically credible.[179]

In fact, like Camillus, other Furii of the Middle Republic also seem to have been objects of the so-called "the expansion of the past."[180] Some of the efforts at distortion were made by several late Republican Furii, presumably with the intention of reviving their clan's prominence, which was greatly diminished in their day.[181] During the last one and a half centuries of the Republic, only two people managed to hold the consulship (Lucius Furius Purpureo in 196 and Lucius Furius Philus in 136) whereas many even had no record of a subsequent political career after their terms of office as *monetalis*. Of course, the Furian *gens* was by no means the only patrician clan to suffer from such a falling off of power over time.

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[178] Ariño and Pi (2010). A family grave of the Furii has been found at Tusculum, with the inscriptions collected in the *CIL* $1^2$.50-8 = *ILLRP* 895-903. Variant forms of Furius include Fusius and Fourios. According to Livy (6.25-6), when Tusculum revolted against Rome in 381, two Furii of prominent standing in Roman politics—Marcus Furius Camillus and Lucius Furius—intervened, with the result that the town agreed to make peace and became the first *municipium* to receive full Roman citizenship.
[179] Bruun (2000).
[180] Badian (1966, 11–13) coined this term and Wiseman (1979, 57–139) used it in his study of the legends of the Claudii.
[181] Bruun (2000, 62–63) suggests Aulus Furius the poet, Marcus Furius Bibaculus and Lucius Furius Philus.

The Furii Crassipedes belonged to a relatively new branch of the clan, and Marcus Furius Crassipes was the earliest man known to bear that cognomen, which literally meant "thick-footed" and was perhaps derived from the shoes commonly worn by soldiers. According to Livy, he held the praetorship twice (in 187 and again in 173) and was assigned to Gallia Cisalpina and Sicily, respectively.[182] His desire to establish a reputation for himself was so strong as to lead him to disarm the Cenomani (a Celtic tribe) unlawfully when serving as praetor in Gaul. For this reason, he was punished by the consul and might have even been denied membership in the senate for a period of time.[183] Two inscriptions—one written in Greek and discovered at Peiraieus and the other composed in Latin and found at Samothrace—attest to a certain Lucius Furius Crassipes who was a magistrate in Greece, probably around the middle of the same century.[184] We also know of a Publius Furius Crassipes living in the early first century.[185] Numismatic evidence indicates that he held the quaestorship in Sicily. He again minted coins during his curule aedileship later in the 80s, and the surviving denarii feature heads of Cybele and small boots on the obverse and curule chairs on the reverse.[186] Such a design shows his attempt to allude to both his cognomen and magistracy. The exact relationships

[182] *RE* Furius 56. Brennan (2000, 1:170–71) suggests that the passage of *the lex Baebia* and the *lex Villia Annalis* in the late 180s intensified the competition for the consulship, with the result that some ex-praetors came back to hold the praetorship again in the 170s, including Publius Aelius Tubero (pr. 201 and 177), Aulus Atilius Serraus (pr. 192 and 173, cos. 170) and Gnaeus Sicinius (pr. 183 and 172).
[183] Liv. 39.3.1–3; Diod. Sic. 29,14. Brennan (2000, 1:200).
[184] *RE* Furius 55. For the Greek inscription, see *BCH* 6.278ff. For the Latin one, see *CIL* 3.12318 = *CIL* 3.13709 = *CIL* 1.665 = *ILS* 4054 = *IG*12.8 = *ILLRP* 213 = Theoroi 73 = Epigraphica 1965.47 = EDCS-24900083.
[185] *RE* Furius 53 and 57.
[186] Broughton designates him as a patrician and tentatively dates his curule aedileship to 82 (*MRR* 2.68). Crawford thinks that he held the office in 84 (*RRC* 356).

between all these Furii Crassipedes remain obscure. When compared with many other contemporary Furii, they could be said to be more successful in office-holding. Yet there is still little evidence to suggest that they played a pivotal role in Roman politics, especially during the late Republic.

Tullia's betrothed held the quaestorship in Bithynia and Pontus sometime in the second half of the 50s.[187] So he was most likely to be born in the mid- or late 80s and might be the son of Publius, the ex-curule aedile. Their family seemed a wealthy one and owned a villa near the Temple of Mars in Clivus. According to Cicero, the heavy floods that happened there in the late fall of 54 also destroyed Crassipes' promenade (*ambulatio*).[188] Because the house was located in a dominant position on the valley, it must have offered a panoramic view of the city of Rome. This may help explain why it was a popular place for Cicero to hold both family gatherings and dinner parties to which his political friends (such as Crassus) were invited.

## 3. Tullia and Crassipes

### 3.1 Why the Engagement?

Despite the shameful exile and its long-lasting negative effect, Cicero was still able to find a wealthy young man of patrician blood for his daughter. This can be seen as a sign of his success in rebuilding his standing in Roman society. But what were some of

[187] Cic. *Fam*. 13.9=SB 139. The traditional dating of this letter to 51 has led Broughton to believe that Crassipes was quaestor that same year and served under the propraetor Publius Silius (*MRR* 2.242). Although Shackleton Bailey has suggested two reasons for rejecting the dating of 51, he does not fully explain why he supports the dating of 54 (*CEF* 1.477-8).
[188] *Qfr*. 3.5.8=SB 25.8.

the specific factors that contributed to the making of the match in question? First, it seems that in choosing a son-in-law, Cicero preferred men whom he knew well. For example, we have already mentioned in the previous chapter that Cicero was on friendly terms with both Gaius Piso Frugi's father and his uncle. Meanwhile, as will be discussed in the following chapter, Tiberius Claudius Nero, whom Cicero tried to recommended to Tullia but failed for logistical reasons, was probably one of his clients. While there is no direct evidence for Cicero's familiarity with the Furii Crassipedes, it is not inconceivable.

At the same time, it is significant to note that Cicero was restored in the context of growing tensions between conservative politicians and individuals who tended to adopt popular strategies for increasing personal power, notably Pompey and Caesar.[189] Overall, the political environment at Rome during the early 50s was delicate, and that was especially the case for Cicero, who owed figures on both sides a debt of gratitude for advocating his recall. As a consequence, he was cautious about every move in the post-exile period in case any tendency to lean towards one force should cause him to be out of favor with the opposing force. His selection of Crassipes as his son-in-law may well have reflected such a principle of dealing with politics.

Let us begin by examining the way in which Cicero handled Pompey's affairs. As mentioned above, in return for Pompey's previous support Cicero suggested that the senate choose Pompey to tackle the problem of the rising food prices. Admittedly, this proposal was to Pompey's advantage. Yet Cicero refrained from requesting that extensive powers be bestowed upon Pompey, while the tribune of the plebs Gaius Messius

[189] But as many scholars including Gruen (1974, 50) have already correctly pointed out, it is wrong to reduce Roman politics in that period to a contest between the *optimates* and the *populares*. Neither term identifies a political group.

recommended the conferment of total control over money, a fleet and an armed force as well as the right to override provincial governors.[190] It is clear from this comparison that Cicero was not only fully aware of the senatorial leaders' anxiety about Pompey's potential to become too powerful but also wary of provoking them for Pompey's sake. In the end, it was his bill, rather than Messius', that was accepted in the senate.

Another instance offers stronger evidence for Cicero's caution and, perhaps to a larger extent, dilemma. At the beginning of 56, there was much debate over who should be assigned the task of reinstating King Ptolemy XII, who had been ousted by his subjects in Egypt and come to Rome to beg for help. As his recommendation of Lentulus Spinther indicates, Cicero this time was even more circumspect about the resistance to Pompey among senators. He was correct: in the senatorial convention held in the afternoon of February 7, Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, Gaius Scribonius Curio, Marcus Favonius and Servilius Isauricus all attacked Pompey (in his absence) for having undue ambition in this Egyptian affair. In fact, Cicero avoided attending that meeting. As he told Quintus, he wanted neither to offend the *optimates* by standing for Pompey nor to infuriate Pompey by berating him along with the *optimates*.[191]

Caesar was absent from Rome throughout the mid-50s due to his campaigns in the north. Yet this did not make Cicero slack when it came to handling his relations with Caesar. Although Cicero must have remembered well Caesar's role in his misfortune, he

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[190] Cic. *Att.* 4.1.7=SB 73.7.

[191] *Qfr*. 2.3.2=SB 7.2. To prevent his relationship with Pompey from fizzling out because of his reluctance to give full support to Pompey, Cicero sought to have more social interactions with Pompey. Such attempts are mentioned at *Fam.* 1.2.3=SB 13.3 and *Qfr.* 2.6.3=SB 10.2.3. Although Cicero failed to acquit himself entirely of suspicion of disloyalty, he and Pompey were at least on good terms with each other publicly.

abstained from openly condemning Caesar. Even his occasional complaints about Caesar were implicit. For example, in addressing the senate upon his return to Rome Cicero said: "I do not say that he was hostile towards me, though I know that he stayed silent when he was being called my enemy."[192] Not only is Caesar's name not mentioned here, but the denial of Caesar's enmity serves to soften his criticizing tone, at least on a superficial level. Likewise, in the defense of his house, Cicero merely grumbled that the adoption of Clodius by a plebian family created the conditions for his banishment, without pointing out Caesar's approval of that adoption. On the other hand, Cicero was not forgetful of Caesar's (passive) support for his restoration. So taking the opportunity of celebrating Caesar's recent military achievements, Cicero proposed that he be honored by a special fifteen-day *supplicatio* and granted extra legates as well as funds for his troops. Again, Cicero did not go so far as to request inappropriate awards for the victorious general.

In 59 Caesar strived to have the public land in Campania redistributed by means of an agrarian law. At the end of 57, the tribune Rutilius Lupus questioned its validity when speaking in the senate at Pompey's instigation. It has been often assumed that Cicero then collaborated with Rutilius in opposing Caesar's law. True, Cicero did think that there were some procedural issues associated with the way in which Caesar had his bill passed. In addition, Cicero himself did agree to the senate's decision to preserve the Campanian land as state property on the grounds that land distribution would result in loss of revenue and disturbances to the tenants there. However, there is nothing to suggest that Cicero took action against Caesar. On April 5 of 56, Caesar's law again became a

[192] Cic. *Red. sen*. 33: *quem ego inimicum mihi fuisse non dico, tacuisse, cum diceretur esse inimicus, scio*.

subject for heated debate. While Cicero surely participated in the discussion, we have no clear evidence that he did anything else other than recommending that the matter be transferred to a *frequens senatus* (to be held a month later) for further examination.[193]

One possible objection to minimizing Cicero's role in the preliminaries leading to the conference at Luca is that it cannot explain Caesar's anger at Cicero.[194] But what needs to be noted is that fact that Caesar learnt about Cicero's actions in the senate from Crassus, who was hardly on friendly terms with Cicero. For example, he refused to help when Cicero was on the brink of exile and did nothing particularly notable for his restoration. We may thus be justified in thinking that Crassus gave Caesar a distorted report and led Caesar to believe that Cicero intended to strike a blow at his agrarian law. Even Cicero himself suspected that Crassus attempted to sow dissension between him and Caesar.[195]

As the above discussion shows, in the months following his return Cicero took pains to handle political affairs with great delicacy so as not to fall out of favor with the *optimates*, Pompey or Caesar. It is highly probable that such a principle was at play in his selection of a son-in-law. To put it differently, for Cicero an ideal candidate would be someone with no clear-cut alignments with either the conservative elite or the *popularis* force. As far as the existing evidence is concerned, Furius Crassipes and his family did not have a specific political stance. On top of that, his patrician status and the previous

[193] Cic. *Fam.* 1.9.8=SB 20.8. The above discussion is mainly based on Mitchell (1969). There are other scholars who hold the same view, including Manuwald (2018, xviii–xix).
[194] Cicero acknowledges Caesar's anger at *Fam.* 1.9.9=SB 20.9. This objection is raised by Gruen (1992), which is a review of Mitchell (1991).
[195] *Fam.* 1.9.9=SB 20.9.

achievements of the Furii Crassipedes in holding office must have made him more attractive.

According to the third-century jurist Marcianus, the *paterfamilias* was primarily responsible for the matchmaking.[196] Yet it would be mistaken to think that he always possessed total control over whom his child should marry.[197] Given Terentia's economic power and Tullia's maturity, they would have had some say in the decision-making process. But did they read the political scene in the same way as Cicero and agree on his strategy for choosing a candidate?

Let us examine Terentia first. Although Cicero's sources do not shed much direct light upon her involvement in politics, some information can be gleaned from Plutarch. He notes that after learning about bad omens from the Vestal Virgins (presumably including her half-sister Fabia), she returned home and sharpened Cicero's resolve to execute Catiline's fellow conspirators summarily for the sake of the fatherland.[198] The biographer also stresses her responsibility for the conflict between Cicero and Clodius: she suspected in the late 60s that Cicero was having an affair with Clodius' sister Clodia and thus compelled Cicero to acquit himself by testifying against Clodius when Clodius was tried for the Bona Dea scandal.[199] The image of Terentia emerging from Plutarch's

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[196] *Dig*. 23.2.19.

[197] The search of a third husband for Tullia, which will be discussed in the next chapter, is a case in point.

[198] Plut. *Cic.* 20.1–3, though it is also worth noting that Cicero received the same advice from his brother Quintus and Publius Nigidius, who was both a statesman and an intellectual.

[199] Plut. *Cic.* 29.1–4. Although Clodius had several sisters named Clodia, it is most probable that the biographer is referring to Clodia Metelli. Following the lead of de Benedetti, Epstein (1986, 232–33) has suggested that Terentia's hatred for Clodius dates back to 73 when Clodius accused Catiline of *incestum* with Fabia. Although Fabia

account is that of a woman who was eager for political influence (even to the extent of swaying her husband) but seemed to lack great political acumen due to her inclination for bold moves without fully considering the consequences.

If such a judgement is fair, it does make us wonder whether she was content with Cicero's principle of playing safe in searching for a second son-in-law. Yet Plutarch's evidence here is open to doubt, not least because it is not corroborated by other sources. In the episode the Catilinarian conspiracy, the Greek biographer clearly intends to highlight Cicero's leniency (as crude brutality was often frowned upon by cultured members of the elite) without making him appear too soft.[200] This raises the question of whether he imaginatively allows Terentia to play a role in encouraging Cicero to treat the conspirators harshly for that historiographic purpose. Meanwhile, there is little credibility, if anything, in the rumor that Clodia planned to divorce her husband Quintus Caecilius Metellus Celer and marry Cicero instead.[201] So Terentia's jealousy and hatred of Clodia can hardly explain Cicero's decision to destroy Clodius' alibi in the courts.[202]

But even if Plutarch were correct in depicting Terentia as having a tendency to act impetuously, she could have learnt a lesson from her husband's exile, a lesson on the necessity of proceeding with caution in political matters. After all, the misfortune in the 50s is the strongest evidence that Cicero was far from dominating Roman politics in the

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narrowly escaped conviction because of Cato's efforts, her reputation was seriously damaged. But Tatum (1990, 203–4) is correct in rejecting this view.

[200] Lintott (2013, 159).

[201] Skinner (2011, 9): "Patent inequalities in birth and wealth between Clodia's own husband, Celer, then governor of Cisalpine Gaul, and Cicero, an ex-consul but still a small-town parvenu, make the story absurd."

[202] Tatum (1990) argues that the primary motive behind Cicero's decision was his "sense of public responsibility" and "loyalty to senatorial authority."

period, no matter how distinguished he had been in the year of his consulship and at the time of receiving the title "father of the fatherland" (*pater patriae*), which was a great honor awarded to leading citizens who had rescued the state from either internal or external crises.[203]

Like her mother and other grown-up women of office-holding families, Tullia must have also paid attention to and participated in politics in one way or another.[204] However, we only catch a glimpse of her engagement during the civil war. As is shown by Cicero's letter to Atticus dating to May 2 of 49, while Tullia supported his decision to leave Italy, she requested him to wait until he became fully aware of the situation in Spain, where Caesar was fighting against the Pompeians.[205] Given such advice, it is highly probable that she was cautious about dealing with political affairs and made her father's safety a top priority. So there can be a good possibility that she willingly accepted Cicero's plan to find a man who had a neutral political stance.

Atticus would have supported this plan, too. In fact, it might even be him who advised Cicero to do that. For he had a reputation for neutrality, which Cornelius Nepos duly highlights in his biography.[206] Atticus returned to Rome at the very beginning of February of 56.[207] From then on, it would be convenient for Cicero to consult him about

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[203] Cicero mentions the bestowal of the title upon him for his achievement in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy at *Pis*. 6: *me Q. Catulus, princeps huius ordinis et auctor publici consili, frequentissimo senatu parentem patriae nominavit* (Quintus Catulus, the chief of this body and leader of the public council, named me "father of the fatherland" at a very full senatorial meeting). The title had previous been awarded to Camillus (Livy 5.49.7) and Marius (Cic. *Rab. Post*. 10.27). Augustus received it in 2 BCE (*RG* 35.1).
[204] For a general discussion of the role played by elite late Republican women in politics, see Dixon (1983).
[205] Cic. *Att.* 10.8.1=SB 199.1.
[206] Especially at Nep. *Att*. 2.2. This topic will be further discussed in following chapters.
[207] As we will see in chapter 7, he returned to Rome at that time to marry Pilia.

the search. As a well-connected *eques*, Atticus could offer information about at least some of the candidates. Since he stayed in the capital city for a few months, he was perhaps involved in the final round of negotiation between Cicero's family and Crassipes', which was completed in the middle of March that year.[208]

On April 6 of 56—two days after Tullia's betrothal—Crassipes held an engagement ceremony in his house in the suburban area of the capital city. Two additional days later, he gave a farewell dinner party to Cicero, who was leaving for vacation in local towns.[209] On the first day of July when Cicero returned, Crassipes again hosted a family get-together, which both Atticus and his new wife Pilia might have attended at Cicero's invitation.[210] Doubtless, Crassipes was at pains to strengthen his relationship with his father-in-law. It is easy to imagine, therefore, that in pursuing Tullia he showed great enthusiasm for marrying her, which could be another reason why he was chosen in the end. Despite some success in holding office, Crassipes' family seemed to have little influence in Roman politics. For this reason, he did not have much to lose if his marriage to Cicero's daughter turned out to be a bad choice and could expect to reap a lot of benefits (e.g. a share in Cicero's influence as well as his support for electoral campaigns) if it worked out well. While we cannot tell with certainty whether Cicero counted Crassipes as a full member of his family as soon as Tullia was betrothed, his positive responses to his son-in-law's efforts to please him attests that he was satisfied with the match.[211]

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[208] Cic. *Qfr.* 2.4.2=SB 8.2.
[209] Cic. *Qfr*. 2.6.2-3=SB 10.2-3.
[210] Cic. *Att.* 4.12=SB 81.
[211] Building on some anthropologists' view, Bettini (1991, 10–11) suggests that in ancient Rome sons-in-law were not considered merely as liminal figures for the families they

## .2 What Happened Afterwards?

The question of what happened afterwards is complicated by the nature of our evidence. Regardless of whether Asconius and Plutarch shared a common source (some scholars believe it to be the biography of Cicero written by his beloved freedman Tiro), both authors only mentioned Gaius Piso Frugi and Dolabella as Tullia's husbands without any reference to her relationship with Crassipes.[212] In addition, correspondence is of little help to us. Not simply is the number of the letters dating to the mid- and late 50s quite limited, but Tullia's affairs are hardly a subject for discussion in the surviving ones.[213] All we know for sure is that she and Crassipes had already separated by the middle of 51: she reentered the marriage market and he was still alive.

In November of 55 Cicero dined with Crassus in Crassipes' house because he was advised by both Caesar and Pompey to be reconciled with Crassus. In describing that dinner to Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther towards the end of 54, Cicero referred to Crassipes as his son-in-law (*gener*).[214] If *gener* here is not being used in its strictest sense, it would mean that the couple had been engaged for more than two years by then. It has been suggested that Crassipes postponed marrying Tullia because he was uncertain about

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joined but as being fully absorbed into them. Mireille Corbier (1991, 77) argues that the bond between the father-in-law and the son-in-law was among the closest kinships. Gowers (2019, 9–22) discusses the representation of the relationship between the father-in-law and the son-in-law in Cicero's works. Her emphasis is on the representation in the treatises, including *De Oratore*, *Brutus* and *De Amicitia* rather than in the letters, with the result that she only discusses in passing Cicero's description of Dolabella while paying no attention at all to Crassipes.

[212] Asc. 5C; Plut. *Cic.* 41.7-8.

[213] For a more detailed overview of the sources available to us, see Clark (1991, 29–30).

[214] *Fam.* 1.9.20=SB 20.20: *in mei generi Crassipedis hortis*. Crassipes would have co-hosted that dinner unless he had held the quaestorship in 54 as Shackleton Bailey suggests. Clark (1991, 35) argues that Cicero chose that place because it was a "neutral territory."

Cicero's situation in the 50s.[215] To be sure, during this period of time when Roman politics was dominated by the so-called "First Triumvirate", Cicero was once again at a low ebb. Instead of engaging in public affairs, he devoted his energy primarily to intellectual studies. As demonstrated by his defense of his former enemy Aulus Gabinius (cos. 67) in 54, he was under great pressure from those three powerful figures. Moreover, a faltering political career was likely to Cicero's financial conditions. To maintain an extravagant lifestyle, which was an indicator of his status, Cicero must have been in the habit of borrowing money, and his ability to do so depended much on his success in politics.[216] For Cicero, a direct consequence of financial issues could have been failure to pay Tullia's dowry to Crassipes on time.[217]

The reasoning outlined above surely makes sense. However, one question arises: given Crassipes' efforts to ingratiate himself with Cicero immediately after the engagement, wouldn't he have preferred to marry Tullia sooner rather than later, for example, within a few months after the engagement? In that period Cicero might still have been faring well, as the profound implications of the Luca conference for his political career had yet to emerge. What complicates matters further here is that we do not know the common length of betrothal: as our sources indicate, the duration could range from several days to a couple years.[218] But prolonged intervals between

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[215] Clark (1991).
[216] Cicero's purchase of his Palatine house after his consulship serves as a good example. As mentioned in the previous chapter, he borrowed 2 million sesterces from Publius Cornelius Sulla the former Dictator's nephew for that house, with the intention of allowing his clients to visit him more easily.
[217] Although there can be little doubt that Quintus' decision to join Caesar's campaigns in Gaul was to a great extent motivated by an urgent need for money, it seems rash of Clark (1991, 35–36) to take it as direct and clear evidence for Cicero's financial problems.
[218] Treggiari (1991, 153–55).

engagements and marriages were presumably rare and tended to occur under special circumstances caused by, for instance, health issues of the *sponsus* or *sponsa*, deaths of parents, capital charges and compulsory long trips abroad.[219]

More scholars still think that Crassipes did take Tullia to wife sometime after they were engaged. Yet there is no consensus on when they divorced. One school of thought is that the couple's marriage lasted only for one or two years.[220] But this view cannot explain why Tullia waited until 51 to find another match. As a woman in her twenties, she was highly unlikely to remain unmarried for such a long time. An alternate theory is that the couple separated shortly before Tullia's reappearance on the marriage market. If this was the case, the cause of this divorce is curious. Indeed, Cicero had a more successful public career during the late 50s than in the middle of the decade. In the courts he secured acquittals for both Marcus Saufeius and Publius Sestius and managed to have Titus Munatius Plancus Bursa convicted. Since Pompey was at pains to save his adherent Plancus from conviction, Cicero's victory in that trial is particularly remarkable and attests to a higher degree of independence.[221] Moreover, in early 51 he received the governorship of Cilicia, which heralded a new phase in his political career. That same

[219] *Dig.* 23.1.17 citing Gaius. There is no evidence to suggest that any of these reasons is applicable to Crassipes' case.

[220] For instance, Shackleton Bailey (*CEF* 1.477-8). The reasoning behind his view is that the formal tone of the only surviving letter from Cicero to Crassipes, which he dates to late 54, indicates that their relationship at that time was not that between a father-in-law and a son-in-law. The letter in question (*Fam*. 13.9=SB 139) is a "recommendation letter," by which Cicero requested Crassipes to help the tax farmers in Bithynia. It is not clear whether Cicero uses a formal tone simply to conform to the stylistic convention of recommendation letters. Meanwhile, as mentioned above, the dating of that letter to 54 cannot be confirmed.

[221] Mitchell (1991, 203) makes a good point in contrasting Cicero's success in prosecuting Plancus with his defense of Gabinius in 54, which was forced by Pompey.

year Crassipes also seemed full of promise because he was either holding the quaestorship or on his way to a higher office.

What needs closer examination here is the hypothesis that failure to procreate was mainly responsible for the dissolution of the marital relationship between Tullia and Crassipes.[222] To be sure, she was not sterile. Rather, her fertility in the several years of her marriage to Dolabella is noteworthy. Two sons are recorded: one was born in May of 49 after seven months of conception (by that time the couple were married for less than one year) and the other in February of 45 (shortly after their divorce).[223] So how can we explain the fact that she is not known to have given birth in the course of her first two matrimonies?

As mentioned in previous chapter, there appeared to be a tendency among the wealthy to restrict the number of their children. Yet it made little sense that Tullia and/or her husbands tried to do so when they had no existing descendant. Moreover, it was possible that Gaius Piso Frugi and Crassipes were infertile, though whether this was actually the case cannot be confirmed. Of course, the answer could simply be that she did make some efforts at reproduction between the 60s and 50s, but evidence for them is lost. If correct, none of her attempts probably succeeded, either because she miscarried during pregnancy or because the baby did not survive long enough to be recorded. After all, infant mortality in ancient Rome was high.[224]

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[222] Treggiari (2007, 77).
[223] The first child: Cic. *Att.* 10.18.1=SB 210.1; the second: *Att.* 12.28=SB 267 and 12.30=SB 270. However, neither of them survived long after birth, and Tullia herself died around the same time as her second child. See the next chapter.
[224] Rawson (2003, 103–4) and Hin (2013, 118–19).

We have two examples from the Republican period to show the use of childlessness—the blame for which tended to be placed, not surprisingly, on women—as an excuse for ending a marriage. The first one, which ancient authors often wrongly believed to be the earliest instance of divorce in Roman society, concerns a man of the upper class named Spurius Carvilius Ruga. In 231, he sought to terminate his marital relationship on the grounds that his wife's incapability of giving birth as a result of some physical defect made him unable to fulfill the oath the censors had compelled him to take, that he would marry a wife for the purpose of begetting children.[225] In addition, Sulla is also said to have divorced his third wife Cloelia for barrenness.[226]

There could thus be a possibility that Tullia's unsuccessful reproductive efforts prompted Crassipes to end their marriage. However, it is worth noting that a wife's inability to procreate was not considered as legitimate a cause of her husband's proposal for divorce as some other causes, notably her sexual misconduct.[227] As Valerius Maximus and Dionysius specifically point out in their versions, Carvilius Ruga was criticized by people because they thought it more appropriate to place conjugal loyalty above desire for children. Gellius, who directly quotes Sulpicius Rufus' sources, mentions that Carvilius Ruga was brought by his ex-wife's family to court, where they demanded the return of her dowry. It seems that they refused to fully accept his excuse.

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[225] As far as we know, the first author tells this story is Servius Sulpicius Rufus, a legal expert contemporary with Cicero; he recorded it in his lost treatise on the dowry. The story can also be found in the works of Valerius Maximus (2.1.4), Aulus Gellius (*N.A.* 4.1.2–3), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.25.7) and Plutarch (*Moral.* 267B-C). A brief discussion can be found in Dixon (1985, 357).
[226] Plut. *Sull.* 6.11.
[227] For a discussion of the causes of divorce, see Treggiari (1991, 461–65).

From the so-called *Laudatio Turiae* we learn that the woman eulogized in this speech ("Turia") requested her husband to divorce her since she felt very sorry for their childlessness.[228] In principle, it was not impossible for Tullia to do the same. But how often women made such a proposal is difficult to tell. In fact, the case of "Turia" may not be universal and needs to be seen against the background of the establishment of the Principate following two decades of civil war.[229] To revive Roman society, Augustus passed laws to encourage people within certain age groups to marry and beget children.[230] At the same time, penalties (including loss of partial right to inherit and eligibility for office) were imposed upon those who failed to conform, especially members in the upper class. In other words, "Turia" was under direct and considerable pressure from the emperor's legislation, which was not exerted on women of the late Republic.

As a final point, Cicero's relationship with Crassipes after the end of the latter's marriage to Tullia merits some attention. In the fall of 50, Cicero was on the way back to Rome from Cilicia, with the expectation of a triumph to recognize his military achievements in the province, though some senators—for instance, Cato, Marcus Favonius (pr. 49) and Gaius Lucilius Hirrus (tr. pl. 53)—refused to vote for it.[231] As Cicero claims in a letter to Atticus, to enlist his supporters' help and change his opponents' minds, he had written to everyone (in the senate?) except Hirrus and

[228] For the newest version of this inscription, see *CIL* 6.41062 (the text is that of Flach).
[229] This point is raised by Osgood (2014, 65–86).
[230] There has been extensive scholarship on Augustus' marriage legislation. For a convenient recent discussion with bibliography, see Evens Grubbs (2019). We will also return to the topic of Augustus' marriage legislation in chapter 7.
[231] For a discussion of Cicero's application for a triumph, see Beard (2007, 191–96).

Crassipes.[232] It appears that on the issue of whether the senate should grant Cicero a public thanksgiving, Crassipes and Hirrus adopted the same stance.

Hirrus' opposition was understandable.[233] He was bearing a grudge against Cicero at that time, which probably arose from his defeat in the competition with Cicero for membership in the College of Augurs in 53/2.[234] Yet the rationale behind Crassipes' decision remains less obvious. Moreover, Cicero's juxtaposition of them leaves us with the impression that Crassipes associate himself with Hirrus. Why? In 53, Hirrus was elected tribune of the plebs as a follower of Pompey and remained loyal to him until Caesar's victory at Pharsalus.[235] Given that Crassipes also advocated Pompey's cause in the civil war, we are tempted to think that common support of Pompey drew them together. Of course, Hirrus' wealth could have been an important factor, too.[236]

If true, we may further wonder whether the end of his marriage to Tullia had something to do with his support of Pompey. An interesting and important aspect of the search of a third husband for Tullia, which will be discussed in the next chapter, is the fact that not only did it attract suitors who had connections with Caesar (by contrast, no

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[232] *Att.* 7.1.8=SB 124.8. While some manuscripts have *ad eum enim solum et ad cassi(i) fidem*, Shackleton Bailey changed it to *ad eum enim solum et ad C<r>assipedem non scripseram*. His reading makes more sense.
[233] For more information about Hirrus, see Gruen (1974, 111 and n.75).
[234] Cicero acknowledges Hirrus' grudge against him at *Att.* 7.1.7=SB 124.7. It seems that Cicero did not think highly of Hirrus but was willing to maintain a working relationship with him. In a letter to Caelius (*Fam*. 2.10.1=SB 86.1, dating to November of 51) Cicero makes fun of Hirrus' speech impediments by calling him "Hillus."
[235] In fact, Hirrus was a cousin of Pompey's. After the triumvirs put him on the proscription list, he escaped to Sicily, where he supported Pompey's son Sextus Pompeius.
[236] Hirrus possessed large estates (as Varro mentions at *Rust.* 2.1.2, those in Bruttium were used to raise herds of cattle) and fishponds. But they were auctioned off in the proscription.

candidate having ties with Pompey is attested), but most importantly she and her mother, who were in charge of it, chose in the end Dolabella, a Caesarian. Could it be, therefore, that the women proposed to terminate the marital relationship because they preferred a man on Caesar's side? The possibility cannot be ruled out, though the existing evidence does not allow us to go too far with regard to this conjecture. First, we do not know when exactly Crassipes became a follower of Pompey. Second, by the time of the divorce in early 51 or earlier, there does not seem to have arisen an urgent need for the Romans to choose between the two dynasts.[237]

While Crassipes' marriage to Tullia was over and he most likely did not vote in favor of Cicero in the senate, Cicero had no intention at all of ending their relationship, at least the one on the public level.[238] Nor did Crassipes intend to do so. On March 19 of 49, Crassipes arrived at Formiae from Brundisium (where Caesar's forces were besieging Pompey's) to meet with Cicero. It is clear from the letter Cicero wrote to Atticus the next day that they a long discussion of the current situation, which prompted Cicero to praise Crassipes' good judgement (*prudentia*).[239] We are justified in supposing that in addition to bringing Cicero news about Pompey, Crassipes also aimed to strengthen Cicero's resolve to advocate Pompey's cause. But as noted earlier, Tullia discouraged her father

[237] With a detailed analysis, Gruen (1974, 449–97) argues that despite uneasiness, the coalition established between Pompey and Caesar remained more or less functional until the late summer of 50.

[238] It is also significant to note that Cicero remained on good terms Dolabella for about a year following Dolabella and Tullia's divorce. Treggiari (1991, 470–71) is surely correct in arguing that the dissolution of a marriage did not necessarily mean an end of social relationships between the divorced or between their respective families.

[239] *Att.* 9.11.3=SB 178.3. It is interesting that at that time, Cicero's current son-in-law Dolabella was also at Brundisium (though in Caesar's camp) and kept sending Cicero the news (*Att.* 9.13.1–2=SB 180.1–2 and 9.13a=SB 181).

from taking action before he received reports on Caesar. Interestingly, she had been staying in the *Formianum* since February, pregnant with Dolabella's baby. Yet whether there was any encounter between her and her former husband is unclear. What happened to Crassipes after the meeting is not known, either.

## 4. Conclusion

The context of Tullia's engagement to Furius Crassipes is in sharp contrast with that her engagement to Gaius Piso Frugi, mainly because Cicero was an ex-magistrate who had just returned from exile rather than a rising statesman. That disgraceful banishment no doubt exerted a negative impact upon Tullia's likelihood of finding a good match. However, he did achieve some success in regaining influence, and betrothing his daughter to a young, wealthy man from an office-holding patrician clan serves as a testimony to it. What deserves particular attention concerning this search is Cicero's caution. In handling political affairs in the post-exile period, he took pains to avoid irritating either conservative aristocrats or powerful *popularis* figures such as Pompey and Caesar. He probably applied this principle to the selection of a husband for Tullia, too, with the result that the chosen Crassipes did not seem to have clear-cut political alignments. Both Terentia and Tullia would have agreed to Cicero's preference, and might have been especially impressed by Crassipes' youthful charm. On the other hand, Crassipes was enthusiastic about the match. Since his family was hardly illustrious in the middle of first century, he must have had a lot to expect from a marital alliance with Cicero's family while having little to worry about.

The scanty evidence makes it difficult for us to know the sequel to Tullia's engagement to Crassipes. Her reentry into the marriage market in the spring/summer of 51 demonstrates that the couple had separated by that time, though what exactly happened during the years in between remain obscure. It seems most likely that the two did not wait too long to get married after their engagement (perhaps a few months?) and divorced in early 51 or slightly earlier. The fact that both Cicero and Crassipes fared well in politics in the late 50s makes one wonder at the cause of the divorce. It might have had something to do with the couple's childlessness. At any rate, Cicero and Crassipes maintained a functional relationship that lasted at least till the spring of 49.

## 4. Marrying Tullia Off (III): Publius Cornelius Dolabella

The search of a third husband for Tullia, which started in the late spring of 51, was different from the first two searches in important ways. Most notably, Cicero was away in Cilicia, where he was serving as provincial governor, and was thus unable to take an active part in that family affair. As a result, he left Terentia and Tullia in charge of it. At the same time, because of his absence from the scene, we are fortunate in catching some valuable glimpses from the correspondence of what the women thought and did in their attempt to find a match. This chapter, therefore, aims to elucidate the hunting process. The first two sections are primarily concerned with the construction of a linear narrative based on Cicero's perspective. In the third section, however, we will pay closer attention to Terentia and Tullia's roles.

### 1. Phase One (Mid-51 to Early 50): Narrowing Options Down

It is in the letter Cicero sent Atticus on May 12 of 51 from Beneventum that for the first time we find references to Tullia's suitors.[240] Three men are recorded, though two of them are anonymous. The text of Cicero's description of one of the unnamed is so corrupt that only a short clause remains: *sed inopia cogimur eo contenti esse*.[241] Cicero seems intended to say that although he did not feel satisfied with that person, he was

[240] *Att.* 5.4.1=SB 97.1.

[241] The problematic passage reads: *ac †me ille illud quod labat†, non quo—, sed inopia cogimur eo contenti esse*. As can be seen, the reconstruction of the first clause is not secure [Shackleton Bailey's translation is "About my little girl (?), I am inclining that way (?), not that—"] and the words between *quo* and *sed* are lost. It is possible that some other candidates are mentioned in the corrupt text.

compelled by *inopia* to consider him carefully (or more literally, "to be content with him"). In addition, the textual problem leads to difficulty in interpreting *inopia*: its basic meaning is clear ("scarcity, lack"), but what does it refer to?

As indicated by Shackleton Bailey's translation of the above sentence ("but *faute de mieux* we must make the best of him"), he believes that Cicero means to point to a shortage of good men from whom Tullia could choose. This view no doubt makes sense, since several factors could have harmed her prospects on the marriage market. For example, as a woman around thirty years old she had not proven her fertility. Meanwhile, although her father was about to recover his influence by governing the province of Cilicia, his political success was limited during the entire 50s.[242] However, we should avoid exaggerating her disadvantages. After all, she was able to attract two patrician suitors whose families succeeded in producing senior magistrates. So there could be another explanation for the limited number of candidates: the information about her availability only recently began to spread, with the result that many did not know that she was looking for a husband and the eligible men who had received the news were still considering whether it would be in their interests to marry her.[243] In other words, the temporal gap between Tullia's divorce and her re-entry into the marriage market would have been a small one.[244]

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[242] Treggiari (2007, 84) has a brief analysis of Tullia's position on the marriage market.
[243] As the economists Angelucci and Bennett (2017, 154) observe, "asymmetric information is a key feature of the marriage market." They are of course referring to the marriage market in contemporary society, but there is no good reason to deny that it was also the case with the one in ancient Rome.
[244] In fact, it was even possible for one to begin to look for a new spouse before finalizing divorce arrangements. This might be true of Dolabella, as Treggiari (2007a, 92) conjectures.

Alternatively, we can interpret *inopia* as indicating a lack of wealth. This use is quite common, especially when the noun does not take an objective genitive.[245] In recalling the search towards the end of 50, Cicero told Atticus that he would have been heavily in debt, had Tullia not chosen Dolabella. This indicates that Cicero did not have enough money on hand to prepare a dowry for his daughter. Given the timing of the end of Tullia's marital relationship with Crassipes, it seems highly likely that Cicero was under financial pressure because she had not yet fully recovered her *dos* from her former husband when she began to look for a new spouse. If correct, the main reason why the suitor in question appealed to Cicero may be that he did not ask Cicero's family for a substantial dowry.

"As for the other man, whom you wrote you didn't think unsuitable, I doubt whether our [lady] can be persuaded, and you said it was δυσδιάγνωστον."[246] Although such a description gives us little information about the second candidate *per se*, it nevertheless sheds important light upon how the search was being conducted. First, Atticus was no doubt involved in it by sharing his opinions on the suitors with Cicero, which Cicero took seriously. If Atticus had remained in Rome instead of returning to Epirus, he might even have played a more active role by acting as a matchmaker.[247] Second, rather than being a bossy *paterfamilias*, Cicero saw it necessary to respect

[245] *OLD* s.v. *inopia* 1.
[246] *Att.* 5.4.1=SB 97.1: *de illo altero quem scribis tibi visum esse non alienum, vereor adduci ut nostra possit, et tu <a>is δυσδιάγνωστον esse*.
[247] As we will see in chapter 6, Atticus probably proposed a marriage between Quintus the Younger and Cana, daughter of Atticus' friend Quintus Gellius Canus in 45 when Quintus and Pomponia were looking for a match for their son.

Tullia's own wishes when it came to her marriage. Of course, this should not come as a surprise, since she was then around thirty years old and had already had two marriages.

What is somewhat confusing, however, is the presence of code-switching in the above sentence. Although fascination with Greek culture "cultural markedness" can in a general way explain why Atticus chose δυσδιάγνωστον instead of a word or phrase in his native language, it is difficult to tell whether there is a more specific reason for that use, not least because his letter does not survive.[248] At the same time, Cicero might have decided to quote Atticus' Greek word simply for convenience's sake.[249] In fact, it may even be Atticus who coined the adjective in question, which does not seem to have appeared in earlier works.[250] By translating it as "there's not much to choose," Shackleton Bailey aims to highlight the point once again that only a few men were courting Tullia. Yet δυσδιάγνωστον literally means "hard to distinguish," and it is also in this sense that Dionysius of Halicarnassus employs the word to liken the bucklers manufactured by Mamurius on Numa's instructions to those sent by the gods. There is a possibility that Atticus is meant to suggest that he was not in a good position to judge who was better between the two candidates whose identities remain unknown to us.

Another young man Cicero mentions in the letter as having taken action to woo Tullia was Servius Sulpicius Rufus the Younger, who belonged to an illustrious branch of

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[248] Adams (2003, 412) uses "cultural markedness" to explain code-switching into Greek by educated Romans.

[249] Elder and Mullen (2019, 111–74) is a detailed analysis of Cicero's code-switching into Greek in his correspondence.

[250] *LSJ* s.v. δυσδιάγνωστος lists three examples, including Cicero's letter in question, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities* (2.71) and Galen's medical writing (9.433).

the distinguished patrician *gens* Sulpicia.[251] Given the background of this person, one can further doubt the notion that Cicero's daughter was facing a shortage of eligible men. Rufus the Elder was a prominent jurist in his day, though he started his career by serving as a court orator like Cicero. Unfortunately, all of his many legal writings such as *On the Dowry* (*De dotibus*) and *On the Annulment of Sacred Rites* (*De sacris detestandis*) are lost. Meanwhile, his praetorship in 65 and consulship in 51 are a testimony to his success in Roman politics.[252] As demonstrated by the evidence from the correspondence, Cicero was on good terms with both the father and the son.[253] Once again, the familiarity between them can partially explain Cicero's eagerness to see the younger Rufus pursuing his daughter. Needless to say, it also helps to explain the Sulpicii Rufi's keenness. However, Cicero worried that his physical absence would noticeably affect the making of a marital alliance with them.

Cicero told Atticus that had he remained in Rome, he would have approached the Sulpicii Rufi by using Servilia as an agent.[254] Of recognized as one of the most influential women in the late Republic, she was probably the mastermind behind all of her four children's marital affairs, including Brutus' two marriages (to Claudia Pulchra Major and then to Porcia Catonis) and three daughters' respective marriages to Publius Servilius

[251] Some known Sulpicii Rufi include a Servius who held multiple consular tribunate in the early fourth century (*MRR* 1.99, 1.102-3, and 1.108), a Publius who was tribune of the plebs in 88 (*MRR* 2.71-2) and his namesake son who was praetor in 48 and censor in 42 (*MRR* 2.273 and 2.358-9).
[252] His praetorship may suggest that he was about the same age as Cicero. The age difference between his son and Tullia, therefore, might be a small one.
[253] Five letters from Cicero to the younger Rufus have survived, namely *Fam.* 4.2=SB 151, 4.3=SB 202, 4.4=SB 203, 4.5=SB 248 and 4.6=SB 249. The earliest letter (*Fam.* 4.2=SB 151) dates to April of 49.
[254] Cic. *Att.* 5.4.1=SB 97.1: *agente Servilia*.

Isauricus, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus the triumvir and Gaius Cassius Longinus.[255] But why did Cicero think that he needed Servilia's help and she would be interested in facilitating a match between Tullia and Sulpicius Rufus the Younger? This is hard to say.

What Servilia and the Sulpicii Rufi shared in common was their connections with Caesar. On the one hand, Servilia had a love affair with Caesar, which seems to have started no later than the late 60s (when her second husband Decimus Iunius Silanus had not yet died) and lasted till the dictator's death. It has been conjectured that at Terentia and Tullia's request, she pled with Caesar to advocate Cicero's restoration from exile.[256] On the other hand, as consul in 51 the elder Rufus frustrated the attempt by his colleague Marcus Claudius Marcellus to deprive Caesar of his provincial governorship, and according to Dio, it was because he considered it inappropriate to remove a magistrate who had not done wrong during his term of office.[257] While we do not know whether the elder Rufus was then a supporter of Caesar, it is at least clear that he had no opposition to Caesar.[258] There is more evidence to show that the younger Rufus leaned towards Caesar: in April of 49, he joined Caesar's army in besieging Brundisium, where Pompey's forces were stationed.[259]

But of more interest might be Postumia, wife of Rufus the Elder and mother of Rufus the Younger. As Suetonius tells us, she also had a love affair with Caesar and is

[255] For a comprehensive study of Servilia, see Treggiari (2019).
[256] Treggiari (2019, 123).
[257] Dio Cass. 40.59. See also Suet. *Iul.* 29.1.
[258] But as Saunders (1923) has pointed out, the elder Rufus gradually became an opponent of Caesar after the civil war broke out.
[259] Cic. *Att.* 9.9.1=SB 176.1, 9.18.2=SB 187.2 and 19.2=SB 189.2.

thus believed by some scholars to have encouraged her son to side with Caesar.[260] It is not clear, however, whether being Caesar's mistress made Postumia and Servilia intimates. Cicero mentions Postumia several times in the correspondence. In mid-49, she met with Cicero in Cumae in order to consult him about her husband's future plans. So they must have been on familiar with each other by that time.[261] Indeed, regardless of whether Servilia was eventually involved, Postumia herself took such an active part in canvassing that Cicero sometimes referred to the younger Rufus simply as Postumia's son or man.[262]

Presumably Postumia found it more convenient for her than her husband to communicate with Terentia and Tullia. As women of similar social background, they must have had numerous opportunities to interact prior to that point and could even have established an interpersonal network of their own.[263] One particular occasion would be the Bona Dea, a secret female-only rite held in December in the house of a consul or praetor.[264] Terentia, in fact, hosted the one in 63, the year of Cicero's consulship, and

[260] Suet. *Iul.* 50.1. Cicero, however, describes Postumia as a faithful wife at *Phil.* 9.2. *TP* 4.79. Saunders (1923, 111) calls this hypothesis as "interesting" without explicitly denying or accepting it. Treggiari does not mention it in her discussion of Postumia (2019, 105–6).
[261] E.g. *Fam.* 4.2.1=SB 151.1 (to Sulpicius Rufus), *Att.* 10.9.3=SB 200.3 and 10.10.4=SB 201.4.
[262] *Att.* 5.21.14=SB 114.14 and 6.1.10=115.10.
[263] For example, elite women were often invited to dinner parties where their husbands gathered together and could even help their own husbands host those gatherings. A case in point is the banquet Cicero planned to organize in the summer of 46, to which he invited a woman called Tertia (*Fam.* 16.22.1=SB 185.1). According to Treggiari's conjecture (2007a, 131), she was Junia Tertia, the wife of Cassius.
[264] For two comprehensive studies of the Bona Dea, see Brouwer (1989) and Mastrocinque (2014).

must have entertained many magistrates' wives, including Servilia and Postumia.[265] Of course, even in instances where men were in charge, women most likely still participated in and contributed to matchmaking.

In a letter dating to mid-February of 50, Cicero refers to a suitor supported by Pontidia (again, a female canvasser). Some scholars have identified him as the above-mentioned man whom Cicero was compelled by *inopia* to take into consideration, but no evidence backs this hypothesis and they could well have been two separate candidates.[266] According to Atticus, if Cicero should choose Pontidia's person as son-in-law, he would go back to his *veterem gregem*.[267] Although the basic meaning of *grex* is "a group of people", the context does not give us enough information about what Atticus means by "old" here. Two most common explanations are either a return to Cicero's previous social status (that is, the equestrian rank) or a return to Cicero's birthplace Arpinum.[268] Yet they do not need to be mutually exclusive. Of special interest is the Marcus Pontidius whom Cicero depicts in the *Brutus* as a native of Arpinum and an avid orator in the courts.[269] The impression we have is that this Pontidius came to Rome as an *eques* to pursue a

[265] Plutarch gives some information about Terentia's holding the Bona Dea in 63 (*Cic*. 20.1–3). For modern discussions, see Brouwer (1989, 361–63) and Treggiari (2007, 45–46).
[266] Collins (1952) and Späth (2010) think that Cicero is referring to the same person. Treggiari (2007a, 83) disagrees with them.
[267] Cic. *Att.* 6.1.10=SB 115.10.
[268] Shackleton Bailey (*CLA* 3.195) and Treggiari (2007, 88).
[269] *Brut.* 246. Information about this Marcus Pontidius cannot be found elsewhere. Sumner (1973) excludes him from his prosopographical study of the orators mentioned in the *Brutus*.

public career and studied oratory under Cicero. There can thus be a possibility that he courted Tullia with the support of a kinswoman (paternal aunt?).[270]

An abundance of evidence attests to the ambitions harbored by the elite of Arpinum to take part in Roman politics in the late Republic.[271] Notable families within that group included the Marii, the Gratidii and, of course, the Tullii Cicerones, and they were connected with each other by marriage ties.[272] A term that often appears in Cicero's works but is not very common in Latin literature as a whole is *vicinitas*, "a geographically bounded concept" derived from *vicinus*, which literally refers to someone from the same district (*vicus*).[273] In reality, we do see Cicero retain an interest in local affairs and make efforts to cultivate a local network, even though he moved to Rome with his family at a very young age.[274] For example, one of Cicero's quaestors in the year of his consulship in 63 was an Arpinate named Titus Fadius, who as tribune of the plebs in 57 supported the recall of Cicero.[275] Moreover, he used his influence to boost the chances

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[270] Collins (1952, 166) hypothesizes that Pontidia was Marcus Pontidius' daughter or niece and recommended another *eques* from Arpinum to Tullia. It is unclear why he fails to consider the possibility that Pontidia was Marcus Pontidius' paternal aunt and recommend her nephew to Tullia.

[271] Syme (2016b, 137–39) offers a brief discussion of some known elite men from Arpinum who took part in Roman politics.

[272] For example, Cicero's grandfather married Gratidia, the sister of Marcus Gratidius; Marcus Gratidius's wife Maria was a sister of Marius and one of his sons was later adopted into the *gens* Maria (probably by his maternal uncle Marius). Marcus Gratidius prosecuted Gaius Flavius Fimbria (consul of 104 as Marius' colleague) for extortion, probably in early 102. Later that year, he went as *praefectus* with Marcus Antonius (pr. 102) on his campaign against the Pirates. His sister's son Lucius Tullius Cicero (that is, Cicero the orator's paternal uncle) also served on Antonius' staff.

[273] Lomas (2012, 198–99). But in Cicero's use, *vicinus* or *vicinitas* is not always restricted to people from the same *minucipium*.

[274] The *Commentariolum Petitionis*, which is often attributed to Quintus Cicero, stresses that it was important for a new man who was seeking elections to cultivate his vicini (e.g. 24.2, 30.2, 31.3 and 32.7).

[275] *Red. Sen.* 21; *Qfr.* 1.4.3=SB 4.3; *Att.* 3.23.4=SB 68.4.

of his son, his nephew and a close friend (Marcus Caesius) being elected to the aedileship in the town.[276] Therefore, if Pontidia's candidate was from Arpinum, it would not be surprising that his origin was one of the reasons why Cicero showed favor to him.

Sulpicius Rufus the Younger and the man canvassed by Pontidia were the only candidates who appear in Cicero's letters dating to the winter of 50. Writing to Atticus on February 13, Cicero said: "I approve of Postumia's son as you do, since Pontidia was trifling."[277] Cicero made that comment on Pontidia's behavior most likely on the basis of some earlier reports from Terentia and Tullia, since Atticus was still in the East. It is unclear what exactly Pontidia did that caused her to make a negative impression on Cicero's women, though one may guess that her description of the person she supported had been found to be grossly distorted.

It should be pointed out that whatever information Cicero received in his province was far from being up-to-date. Rather, the long distance between Rome and Cilicia surely led to considerable delays in the delivery of messages. In August of 50, Cicero responded to Caelius' letter of congratulation, which was presumably sent immediately after Tullia's engagement to Dolabella in early June.[278] It thus seems that in general, a period of two months was needed for letters to be delivered. Of course, what weather was like, who the

[276] *Fam.* 13.11.3=SB 278.3. Cicero wrote this letter to Marcus Brutus sometime in 46. In it he also asked Brutus to help some Arpinate *equites* collect rents from their property in Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus was then holding the governorship. Marcus Caesius is not otherwise known, but he was presumably related to Lucius Caesius, who seems to have served on Quintus Cicero's staff when Quintus was governor of Asia (*Qfr.* 1.1.14=SB 1.14 and 1.2.4=SB 2.4).
[277] *Att.* 5.21.14=SB 114.14: *probo idem quod tu, Postumiae filio, quoniam Pon<t>idia nugatur*.
[278] Caelius' letter of congratulation: *Fam.* 8.13=SB 94; Cicero's response: *Fam.* 2.15=SB 96.

courier was, how convenient it was for couriers to reach Cicero were additional factors that would affect the speed. A fast messenger of Atticus was able to travel from Rome to Cybistra in the lower central part of the Anatolian Peninsula in only 46 days during the summer of 51, but Cicero's surprise demonstrates that this fast speed was unusual.[279]

Therefore, what Cicero described to Atticus in that letter dating to mid-February of 50 most likely reflected the situation towards the end of 51. As is reasonable to assume, the search that had lasted for about half a year by then was about to be completed, and Terentia and Tullia inquired about Cicero's opinion on the shortlisted candidates. Curiously enough, an epistle dispatched a few days later on February 20 indicates that both Cicero and Atticus switched sides: "About my Tullia I agree with you and have written to her and Terentia to say that I approve…there was no difficulty once Memmius' letter was corrected. Indeed, I much prefer Pontidia's man to Postumia's."[280] It has been suggested that the women withdrew their previous negative comments on Pontidia, and accordingly Cicero and Atticus changed their preference.[281]

Although there is no reason to dismiss such an explanation, it is unsatisfactory because it does not address the question as to why the two men's impression of Pontidia's

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[279] *Att*. 5.19=SB 112, which is noted by both Shackleton Bailey (*CLA* 3.222-3) and Treggiari (2007, 189 n.16). For a brief and general discussion of the delivery of Cicero's letters, see Nicholson (1994). Stanford University's ORBIS (http://orbis.stanford.edu/) provides a simulation model of travel and transport in the Roman world. For example, it suggests that the fastest journey from Rome to Side (on the southern Mediterranean coast of present-day Turkey), which covers about 2,500 kilometers, takes 15.4 days in July and 15.6 days in January by sea. But there is doubt as to whether a Roman courier could travel this fast in reality.

[280] *Att.* 6.1.10=SB 115.10: *De Tullia mea tibi adsentior scripsique ad eam et ad Terentiam mihi placer…correcta vero epistula Memmiana nihil negoti fuit; multo enimmalo hunc a Pontidia quam illum a Servilia.*

[281] Treggiari (2007, 87).

candidate improved so much that they began to favor him over Postumia's son. As noted earlier, at the initial stage of the search in May Cicero worried that his absence might frustrate his attempt to marry Tullia to Rufus the Younger. Meanwhile, while no secure information about the person canvassed by Pontidia is available to us, it is highly unlikely for him to have been on a par with the younger Rufus in terms of social and family backgrounds. If we are correct in conjecturing that he belonged the *gens* Pontidia in Arpinum, the gap between them would appear to be quite wide, since the Pontidian clan was so obscure that very few members are known and none of them was ever an office-holder. One may wonder, therefore, whether this time again Cicero and Atticus intended to find someone not directly involved in Roman politics.

In writing to Appius Claudius Pulcher in August of 50, Cicero claimed that "I had told them [i.e. Tullia and Terentia] not to consult me because I was going so far away but to do what they thought right."[282] Yet the fact that Cicero recommended Pontidia's candidate to his wife and daughter suggests that he still expected to assume a role in that search, even though he did allow the women very high degree of agency in the decision-making process. Unfortunately, their opinions are hardly revealed in the letters. Given the backgrounds of Tullia's two former husbands Gaius Calpurnius Piso Frugi and Furius Crassipes, it would be logical to suppose that she and her mother leant towards Rufus the Younger.[283]

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[282] *Fam*. 3.12.2=SB 75.2: *quibus ego ita mandaram ut, cum tam longe afuturus essem, ad me ne referrent, agerent quod probassent.*

[283] Späth (2010, 164–65) claims that it would have been a "social demise" for Tullia if she had married Pontidia's candidate. This may be an overstatement, because though definitely outshone by Rufus the Younger, that person conceivably still had a decent background, or he would not have been approved by both Cicero and Atticus.

**2. Phase Two (Early 50 to Mid-50): Finding Dolabella**

As it turned out in the end, Terentia and Tullia chose neither Rufus the Younger nor Pontidia's candidate. Instead, they selected Publius Cornelius Dolabella. Like Rufus the Younger, Dolabella was also born into an office-holding family of a prominent scion of the patrician Cornelian clan. As far as the existing evidence tells us, it was in 283 that the branch produced its very first consul, though whether his praenomen was Gnaeus or Publius is unclear. He is often believed to be the earliest member to taken on the cognomen Dolabella, which literally means "hatchet," because of his victory over the Gauls who were then invading Rome. The second holder of the consulship did not appear until 159: it was a Gnaeus whose homonymous father had been *rex sacrorum* during his lifetime. Of some interest is the fact that two Gnaei Cornelii Dolabellae happened to be holding office during Sulla's dictatorship in 81. The one who descended from the consul of 159 was elected praetor, and his distant kinsman was appointed consul, most likely because of long-time loyalty to Sulla. As a young man eager to promote his career, Caesar made an abortive attempt to prosecute the latter on a charge of extortion in the province of Macedonia in 77.[284] His brother Lucius was the grandfather of Tullia's third husband, whose praetorship dates around 100. Tullia's father-in-law became praetor in

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Nevertheless, Späth is right to think that Rufus the Younger's family background made him a better choice for Tullia.

[284] It is worth noting that the praetorian Dolabella, who had previously advocated Marius, was brought to trial by Sulla's stepson in 78. Abandoned on all side, he was found guilty in the end. For a study of these two Gnaei Dolabellae in the aftermath of Sulla's dictatorship, see Gruen (1966), who argues that they "did not cooperate politically."

69.[285] The decision by Terentia and Tullia on Dolabella is further evidence that in judging candidates, they attached vital significance to one's social background.

Some of our information about Dolabella comes from Marcus Caelius Rufus, whom Cicero defended successfully against a charge of political insurrection (*de vi*) in 56 and whose many letters exchanged with Cicero during Cicero's term of office as provincial governor have survived to us. When updating Cicero on the political situation in the city of Rome in August of 51, Caelius mentioned that he and Gaius Scribonius Curio helped Dolabella get admitted into the College of the Fifteen for the performance of sacred rites (*quindecimviri sacris faciundis*).[286] The examples of Cato the Younger and Marcus Valerius Messalla Messalinus indicate that this priesthood was open to young men of noble families (in fact, both were below twenty at the time of installation), though senior senators might aim for it, too.[287]

There can be little doubt that becoming a member of the *quindecimviri* was an honor for applicants for that position, and Dolabella's victory was all the more impressive because he defeated Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus, who held the praetorship in 58 and whose failure Caelius made fun of in the letter to Cicero. However, an important question to be raised here is why Dolabella was elected. Caelius boasted about his and Curio's assistance, but the fact that neither of them was a senior, influential statesman makes it

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[285] For a brief overview of the Cornelii Dolabellae in the Republican period, see Badian (1965). See Appendix for a stemma.
[286] Cic. *Fam*. 8.4.1=SB 81.1. For an overview of the *quindecimviri*, see *RE* s.v. *quindecimviri* by Gerhard Radke.
[287] For Cato's admission, see Plut. *Cat. Min*. 4.1 and Drogula (2019, 26). Tibullus wrote a poem to celebrate Messalinus' admission (2.5), and Messalinus later appeared on the list of *quindecimviri* in the *acta* of the *Ludi Saeculares* held in 17 along with Augustus and Agrippa (*CIL* 6.32323 = *ILLRP* 5050). Syme (1989, 230) postulates that Messalinus, who was born in the mid-30s, was admitted in 20 BCE.

hard for us to believe that to be a major factor. In the case of the younger Cato, his entry into the College of the Fifteen has been attributed to the support of his uncle Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus Livianus (cos. 77) and perhaps also that of Sulla, whom Plutarch mentions as being well-disposed toward Cato.[288] It is logical to suppose, therefore, that Dolabella had a powerful patron, too.

Was Caesar his *patronus*? For one thing, Dolabella advocated Caesar's cause during the 40s and associated himself with others in Caesar's circle, including the equestrian Volumnius Eutrapelus, whose friendship with Dolabella dates at least from February of 50.[289] Of course, the two men who supported Dolabella's admission into the College of the Fifteen, namely Curio and Caelius, followed Caesar after the outbreak of the civil war. In fact, they already showed goodwill towards him in the late 50s. As tribune of the plebs in 50, Curio proposed a bill concerning the distribution of the Campanian land (which was certainly to Caesar's benefit) and also made efforts to prevent Pompey from putting an end to Caesar's expiring command.[290] During his tribunate in 52, Caelius was one of the magistrates who voted to allow Caesar to stand for the consulship in absence.[291] For another thing, Caesar was clearly well-disposed to

[288] Plut. *Cat. Min*. 3.2 and Drogula (2019, 26–27).
[289] *Fam*. 7.32.3=SB 113.3. Treggiari (2007, 89–90), whose view is accepted by Jeppesen-Wigelsworth (2013, 75).
[290] Cic. *Fam*. 8.4.2=SB 81.2 and *Fam*. 8.6.5=SB 88.5.
[291] But it would be rash to consider either Curio or Caelius as Caesar's ally at the very end of the 50s. Lacey (1961), Steel (2013, 192–93) and Gruen (1974, 470–83) all argue that later historians such as Plutarch, Appian and Dio are mistaken in claiming that Caesar bought Curio's allegiance with a huge sum of money—though Wiseman (*CAH*$^2$ IX.418) thinks that bribery may well have existed—and that although Caesar could benefit from some of Curio's *popularis* bills, Curio ultimately was working for his own cause without great determination to Caesar. Caelius initially opposed the law allowing Caesar to run for the consulship in *absentia* but was persuaded by Cicero to abandon that

Dolabella. In early 49, he praised Dolabella in glowing terms in a letter to Cicero, and the lavish compliments do not seem indicative of recent acquaintance.[292] In 45 and despite fierce opposition from Mark Antony, Dolabella was elected suffect consul for the next year under Caesar's auspices and thus became the latter's successor in office. While all the evidence available to us only attests to a close relationship between Caesar and Dolabella in the 40s, there is still a possibility that it started to develop since the late 50s, if not earlier.

Indeed, Dolabella's appointment to the consulship was an anomaly. First, there was an issue in his age. We surely cannot accept Appian's claim that Dolabella was only 25 in 45, and the Greek historian seems to have carelessly mistaken the year of Dolabella's father's praetorship (i.e. 69) for Dolabella's year of birth.[293] In writing to Atticus after receiving the news about Dolabella's engagement to his daughter, Cicero described him as an *adulescens*.[294] Although we should avoid taking this word at face value, it still seems reasonable to suppose that Dolabella was young at the very end of the 50s (a man around thirty?) and did not meet the age requirement at the time of the consular election.

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position. Rosivach (1980) and Clauss (1990) disagree with each over whether Caelius' advocacy of Caesar's cause was consistent.

[292] Cic. *Att.* 9.16.3=SB 185.3: "May you know that I am fond of nothing more than your Dolabella. I will owe him a debt of gratitude on this account; he will be able to do otherwise. He has so much kindness, affection for and goodwill towards me" (*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*). Of course, it is possible that Caesar simply tried to please Cicero, who was Dolabella's father-in-law.

[293] *BCiv*. 2.129.

[294] *Att*. 6.6.1=SB 121.1.

Second, Dolabella is not known to have held any magisterial position on the *cursus honorum* before becoming suffect consul. This can hardly be explained by an unfortunate loss of evidence, since we are far from poorly informed about the magistrates in the last two decades of the Republic (despite the holes in our knowledge). Nor can Dolabella's membership in the *quindecimviri* be the reason, because it did not affect its holder's eligibility for political offices.[295] It thus appears that Dolabella did not pursue a senatorial career, even though for the sake of his noble family's prominence he should not have done so.[296] We may wonder whether that had anything to do with his financial condition. He is likely to have been leading a lavish lifestyle.[297] What may also be of our interest is his adoption by a Lentulus in 48. Scholars often stress the political motivation behind this adoption and compare this adoption to that of Clodius', as both underwent a change from patrician status to plebeian status and in the following year assumed the tribunate, which allowed them to win favor with the populace.[298] Yet although we have no information about Dolabella's adoptive father, it is still plausible that Dolabella was attracted by his possessions.

What role did money play in Dolabella's determination to marry Tullia? Presumably he felt an urgent need to enrich himself at that time, because his divorce

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[295] Cato the Younger, for instance, was quaestor in the mid-60s (either 65 or 64; *MRR* 2.163 and 3.170) and then praetor in 54.
[296] Elvers' view that initially Dolabella had no political ambition (*BNP* s.v. Cornelius I29) does not make sense.
[297] Cicero mentions Dolabella's debt problem at *Att.* 16.15.2=SB 426.2. He may well be justified in attacking Dolabella for his lust at *Phil*. 11.9.
[298] The adoption of Dolabella is mentioned by Dio (42.29.1). As Plutarch also points out (*Cic*. 41.7), Tullia gave birth to her son and died at the house of Lentulus. That son was called Lentulus, but Dolabella did not permanently change his name. See Shackleton Bailey (1991, 72), Kunst (1996, 90), Kunst (2005, 156) and Lindsay (2009, 173).

shortly before he became Tullia's suitor would surely have required him to repay his former wife's dowry. However, Cicero told Atticus in December of 50 that he found Dolabella a good choice for his daughter from a financial perspective, since unlike other candidates except the one canvassed by Pontidia, Dolabella did not ask for so large a dowry that would cause him to fall into debt.[299] This can partially explain the women's decision on Dolabella as well as Cicero's support for Pontidia's candidate. But it is still curious that Dolabella was willing to do that. Did he intend instead to capitalize on Cicero's connections to borrow money, as has been suggested?[300] There can be some truth in such a notion. Meanwhile, he might have realized that it would not be to his benefit to drain the finances of his in-laws' family; after all, the match led him to share financial interests to a great extent with them. Unfortunately, Cicero at that time misjudged Dolabella's financial situation. Insofar as the existing evidence is concerned, he did not return Tullia's dowry after their divorce in 46.

The letter Caelius sent Cicero in February of 50 is very informative for our puposes:

> "It occurred to me that between his application for a prosecution and the laying of a charge Dolabella's wife left him. I remember what you asked me to do when leaving. I don't think you have forgotten what I wrote to you. Now is not the time to say more. I am able to give you one piece of advice: if it does not displease you, do not show your eagerness at this time but wait to see in which way he comes out of this case in the end. It will make you unpopular if it is exposed.

[299] *Att.* 7.3.12=SB 126.12.
[300] Jeppesen-Wigelsworth (2013b, 81).

> Moreover, if any sign appears, it will become more pronounced than it is fitting or advantageous. Nor will he be able to remain silent on the matter which will happen so opportunely for his own hope and which will become plainer to the public as he deals with it, especially given that he is a kind of person who hardly shuts his mouth up even if he knew it'd be harmful for him to talk about it."[301]

As the above passage clearly shows, Dolabella had at least had one marriage before he married Tullia. Quintilian mentions a wife of Dolabella named Fabia, though we cannot tell with certainty whether she was Tullia's predecessor or successor.[302] Caelius' phrasing—*uxor a Dolabella discessit*—seems to suggest that it was Dolabella's wife who put forward a proposal for divorce. The dissolution of their marriage, regardless of its reason, no doubt gave Dolabella an opportunity to court Tullia no later than the winter of 50. In fact, it may even be possible that Dolabella's pursuit of Cicero's daughter was a major cause of that divorce.

Of some interest is Caelius' reference to Cicero's request for him at the time of his departure for the East. While what it was about is not revealed in the letter, we are

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[301] *Fam*. 8.6.2=SB 88.2: *Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter postulationem et nominis delationem uxor a Dolabella discessit. quid mihi discedens mandaris 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. invidiosum tibi sit si emanarit. porro, <si> significatio ulla intercess<er>it, clarius quam deceat aut expediat fiat. neque ille tacere eam rem poterit quae suae spei tam opportuna acciderit quaeque in negotio conficiendo tanto illustrior erit, cum praesertim is sit qui, si perniciosum sciret esse loqui de hac re, vix tamen se contineret.*

[302] *Inst.* 6.3.73. The mainstream view is that she, a patrician and a kinswoman of Terentia's half-sister who served as a Vestal Virgin, was married to Dolabella before he took Tullia to wife. Treggiari (2007a, 92) further suggests that Fabia might have been older than Dolabella and their marriage might have produced a son, who was at Alexandria with Octavian in 30 (*PIR*$^2$ C1345 and C1348).

justified in suspecting that Cicero asked Caelius to help with Tullia's search of a husband. Given their friendship, Caelius most likely encouraged Dolabella to court Tullia.[303] Meanwhile, there is clearly something Caelius refrains from mentioning to Cicero either explicitly or in detail, something that in his opinion may please Cicero but calls for careful observation at the moment. One convenient explanation is that Caelius had a feeling in February of 50 that Cicero had already received the news about Dolabella's courtship of his daughter and thus advised Cicero against making any decision immediately. If such a hypothesis is correct, Dolabella might have taken action towards the very end of 51, since delivery of messages, as discussed above, could take about several weeks.[304] In fact, more time was needed in winter because rough sea conditions led to more difficulties in voyaging on the Mediterranean.

Dolabella's pursuit of Cicero's daughter coincided with his attempt to prosecute Appius Claudius Pulcher. Here we have another example of a young person expecting to earn a reputation by seeking to have a senior magistrate convicted.[305] Apparently, Dolabella's decision not to embark on a senatorial career does not mean that he harbored no political ambitions. Yet what makes his daring legal action against Appius particularly interesting for our purposes is that Cicero's relationship with Appius, who held the governorship of Cilicia between 53 and 51 as Cicero's predecessor, was rather

[303] Jeppesen-Wigelsworth (2013b, 80–81).
[304] But both Treggiari (2007a, 92–93) and Jeppesen-Wigelsworth (2013b, 81) think that Dolabella's courtship began as early as January of 50.
[305] We have mentioned earlier that in 77, the 23-year-old Caesar prosecuted Gnaeus Dolabella (cos. 81) after the latter's provincial governorship in Macedonia was over. But Caesar failed to have him indicted.

complicated, especially during the 50s.[306] In the first half of that decade, Appius collaborated with his younger brother Clodius in opposing Cicero relentlessly. A change took place around 54 when Appius was consul, as he was asked to be reconciled with Cicero by Pompey, who on the one hand became well-disposed towards Cicero again and on the other hand married his son to Appius' daughter. From then on, both Appius and Cicero made efforts to be on friendly terms, at least so on the surface.

Thirteen epistles from Cicero to Appius, collected in the third book of the corpus known as *Letters to Friends*, have survived to us. All written in the late 50s, they offer us valuable lenses through which to examine the two men's relations in that period. As can be easily noticed, at the time of the transition of power an obvious strain arose due to two problems. First, since Cicero failed to persuade the senate to recruit additional soldiers to assist the legions stationed in Cilicia and Syria, he requested Appius for help, only to find out later that far from keeping his promise of support, his predecessor was even unable to tell the whereabouts of the three troops previously under his charge. Second, while they agreed to have a meeting presumably to ensure a smooth transfer of official responsibilities, it did not happen in the end because Atticus kept changing his travel plans without notifying Cicero properly and shifted the blame onto Cicero.[307]

Among Cicero's epistles to Appius, the earliest reference to Dolabella's legal action against Appius can be found in a letter dating to the first half of April of 50.[308] It is plausible that by then the message Caelius sent in February had finally been delivered to

[306] For a detailed analysis of the relationship between Cicero and Appius, see Constans (1921) and Schuricht (1994). But for a succinct discussion, see Hall (2009a, 139–41).
[307] Hall (2009a, 141–53) offers a rhetorical analysis of how Cicero manages his conflict with Appius that resulted from these two problems in the letters.
[308] *Fam*. 3.10=SB 73.

Cicero, though Cicero could also have received the news from his family members and/or other friends in Rome. On the other hand, Cicero did not mention the prosecution when writing to Appius in February.[309] So Dolabella most likely made his attempt at the very end of 51 or at the beginning of 50.

Dolabella sought to have Appius tried for treason (*maiestas*).[310] But why didn't he choose the charge of extortion (*repetundae*)? For one thing, it might be easier for the prosecutor to prove a former provincial magistrate guilty of extortion than of treason. After all, whether one extorted money from his province was essentially a question of fact, whereas whether one damaged the state's *maiestas* was often a question of interpretation of the vague treason law.[311] For another thing, the juries seemed less willing to decide on the treason case than the extortion case because the former was a more serious crime. Dio uses this to explain the result of Aulus Gabinius' trials in 54: he was acquitted of *maiestas* and convicted of *repetundae* when his role in the restoration of Ptolemy XII Auletes led him to be prosecuted for both in 54.[312] According to Cicero, the success rate of *maiestas* prosecutions was far lower than that of *repetundae* prosecutions.[313] So the challenge could be exactly what motivated Dolabella to indict

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[309] Two epistles date to February of 50: *Fam.* 3.8=SB 71 and 3.9=SB 72.
[310] For a detailed discussion of the charge of *maiestas*, see Bauman (1967).
[311] Morrell (2017, 136). But it can also be argued that the treason law was so ambiguous as to allow the prosecutor more freedom to interpret it and use it to strike a blow at the target.
[312] Cass. Dio 39.63.2. For a discussion of the trials of Gabinius, see Fantham (1975).
[313] *Clu*. 116: *maiestatis absoluti sunt permulti quibus damnatis de pecuniis repetundis lites maiestatis essent aestimatae* ("very many people have been acquitted of *maiestas* for whom, after being convicted of extortion previously, penalty was assessed under the title of *maiestas*"). As can be seen from Cicero's statement, it was common to prosecute a former provincial governor for both charges (this is not surprising, given the overlap between them) and the extortion prosecution usually preceded the *maiestas* prosecution. It thus seems that Dolabella had no intention of having Appius tried for *repetundae*.

Appius for treason: should he succeed, he would win more fame. Alternatively, it was possible that Dolabella cared not so much about whether he could obtain a victory as about whether he could draw public attention.[314]

Appius does appear to have violated the *lex Cornelia maiestatis* promulgated by Sulla during his dictatorship in 81. This law required every retired provincial governor to leave the province within thirty days of his successor's arrival. But on August 29 of 51, which was the 29th day of Cicero's entry into Cilicia, Appius probably had not yet departed. Feeling somewhat concerned, Cicero gently advised him against breaching Sulla's law in the letter dispatched that day.[315] Appius is likely to have held this reminder against Cicero when he was brought to trial. That is, he might well have suspected that Cicero reported his misconduct to Dolabella in order for Dolabella to prosecute him on that account. Needless to say, Dolabella's pursuit of Cicero's daughter made Appius more convinced of a plot hatched by those two against him.

Dolabella perhaps did not know that Appius disobeyed the treason law. The mere fact that Appius was a senior magistrate of the state might have been sufficient for him to think it worthwhile to attempt a prosecution. We cannot be certain whether Dolabella was aware of Cicero's fragile friendship with Appius. But even if he did, it did not seem likely for him to care much about whether his actions would drive a wedge between them. Indeed, the impression emerging from Caelius' description in the above passage is that Dolabella tended to act on a whim. Such a tendency to be rash could have

[314] At *Phil.* 11.9, Cicero condemns Dolabella for taking delight in notoriety. For young men with ambitions, having a bad reputation might still be better than having no reputation.
[315] *Fam.* 3.6.6=SB 69.6.

partially accounted for two capital charges he faced earlier (though the exact nature of them remains obscure). Interestingly, it was Cicero who defended him against those charges.[316] In other words, Cicero actually had some experiences of interacting to with Dolabella. Probably his defense also made both Terentia and Tullia acquainted with Dolabella.

There is no reason to believe that Cicero conspired with Dolabella to strike a blow at Appius's political career. First, it would be too easy for such a conspiracy to be exposed and backfire. As can be easily noticed from the correspondence, Cicero made strenuous efforts to acquit himself of Appius' suspicion. Second and more importantly, Cicero did not want Dolabella to become his son-in-law: conceivably, Dolabella's rashness could be one factor.[317] Since Cicero did not have up-to-date information about how Terentia and Tullia were coping with the search, he sought to prevent them from choosing Dolabella by recommending Tiberius Claudius Nero to the women.[318]

Like Sulpicius Rufus the Younger and Dolabella, Tiberius Nero was also born into an office-holding branch of a prominent patrician clan. While in the late Republic the Claudii Nerones did not enjoy as much glory as they used to do as no one became consul, some members still managed to be elected praetor. It seems from Sallust's account of a debate in the senate over how to resist the Catilinarian conspirators that Tiberius Nero's

[316] Cic. *Fam.* 3.10.5=SB 73.5.
[317] In writing to Atticus after receiving the news about Tullia's betrothal to Dolabella, Cicero claimed: "It was the last thing I expected" (*Att.* 6.6.1=SB 121.1: *nihil minus putaram ego*).
[318] Cic. *Att.* 6.6.1=SB 121.1.

homonymous father was a *praetorius* in 63.[319] Tiberius Nero himself also had a successful career during the 40s: he was quaestor in 48 and praetor in 42, and was admitted into the College of the Pontifices around 46. Most interesting, of course, is his marriage to Livia Drusilla in the middle of that same decade, which produced a son on November 16 of 42 who ended up becoming the second emperor.[320]

Tiberius Nero was no doubt a decent choice for Tullia, though it is hard to tell whether he was Cicero's favorite candidate.[321] An important reason for Cicero's recommendation of him is that in April of 50 Cicero was in urgent need of a man to avoid a match between his daughter and Dolabella, and Tiberius Nero happened to visit him in Cilicia at that time. As revealed by Cicero's letter of reference to Quintus Minucius Thermus (governor of Asia) that month, the purpose of Tiberius Nero's visit was to ask Cicero for help with his clients in the cities of Tralles and Nysa, whom he most likely received from his ancestors.[322] This suggests that Tiberius Nero might well have been Cicero's protégé. Given such a relationship between them, it made more sense for Cicero to prefer him as a son-in-law.

On the other hand, it does not appear likely that his long trip to Cilicia had anything to do with pursuing Tullia. He apparently did not need Cicero's permission to

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[319] Sall. *Cat.* 50.4–5. Broughton registers him as Pompey's legate in 67 (*MRR* 2.148) but does not mention his praetorship. There was a Gaius Claudius P. f. Nero who might have been praetor in 81 (*MRR* 2.76). He was probably the legate's father.
[320] For a brief discussion of this marriage, see Levick (1999, 1–5).
[321] Fantham (1975, 435) claims without supporting evidence that he was. But Treggiari (2007, 93) does not think that Tiberius was likely to have "a powerful family network of living kin."
[322] *Fam.* 13.64=SB 138. Rawson (1973, 225–26) points out that according to Livy and Polybius, the Claudii Nerones had already begun building personal networks in Asia and Syria by the early second century. Levick (1971, 483–84) shows that Tiberius Nero later transferred those ties to his son, the future emperor Tiberius.

do so, and we have no evidence that he ever took action when in Rome. At any rate, he became interested after Cicero made a marital suggestion, which was certainly beneficial to him, a young man about to run for office. As Cicero told Atticus at the beginning of August of 50, after having Tiberius Nero's consent he sent several reliable staff members back home in order to endorse him. However, Cicero's wish for a marriage between his daughter and his protégé did not come true. It was not because the women disapproved of the plan but because Tullia had already been betrothed to Dolabella by the time Cicero's servants reached Rome. The engagement must have taken place in early June at the latest, given Caelius' message of congratulation to Cicero at that time.[323] There can be multiple reasons for those servants' belated arrival. For example, they did not leave the province until mid- to late April; their journey was affected by bad weather; and they did not use the fastest route or means of transport.

**3. Terentia, Tullia and Dolabella**

In the above discussion we approached the search of a new husband for Tullia primarily from Cicero's perspective. Since his letters are our main, if not sole, source, such a perspective is both inevitable and justifiable. But here we may pay some close attention to the role of the two women. First of all, it is noticeable that it took them a little over one year to complete the search in question. That is to say, the process was longer than that of finding Gaius Calpurnius Piso Frugi and Furius Crassipes. There can be no doubt that Cicero's absence caused them logistical problems, which tended to arise when they felt the need to consult him. Of course, it also seems reasonable to suppose that they

[323] *Fam*. 8.13.1=SB 94.1.

wanted to be as cautious as possible about their decision to maximize the family's interests.

We have already discussed that between the two candidates were shortlisted in late 51, namely Sulpicius Rufus the Younger and the man canvassed by Pontidia, Terentia and Tullia might have leaned towards the former. As has also been mentioned, Cicero said that he would not get into debt only if Tullia married Dolabella or Pontidia's person.[324] We are justified in suspecting, therefore, that the younger Rufus required a dowry larger than what the women found acceptable, and their prolonged negotiations over this issue led to the women's delay in deciding on him. Most likely it was in this process that Dolabella joined the competition and immediately became a game-changer.

A reasonable request for dowry was merely one factor that made Dolabella appealing to Terentia and Tullia. Another is revealed by what Cicero told Atticus upon hearing the news about the engagement: "I know that the women are indeed much attracted by the young man's obsequiousness and friendliness."[325] Here Cicero appears to be speaking in a calm tone. He perhaps already found during the search ending with Tullia's engagement to Crassipes that Terentia and Tullia were susceptible to agreeable young men. One might wonder whether that kind of charm could easily affect Terentia and Tullia; after all, both were mature women who had many marital experiences. What is particularly interesting is the improvement in Cicero's impression of Dolabella, which can be seen from Cicero's letter to Atticus on December 9 of 50. As he claims, Dolabella was "pleasant to me, Tullia and Terentia" and "as much clever and civilized as you

[324] *Att.* 7.3.12=SB 126.12.
[325] *Att.* 6.6.1=SB 121.1: *mulieres quidem valde intellego delectari obsequio et comitate adulescentis.*

wish."[326] Given Cicero's earlier assertion that he had no intention of marrying Tullia to Dolabella, he seems to have also become fond of Dolabella after some intimate interactions with his new son-in-law, even though he was not ignorant of his problems because of both personal observation and warning from Caelius.[327]

As immediately family members of a senior statesman, Terentia and Tullia must have had political sense and taken part in Roman politics in other ways than holding office.[328] So how did their understanding of the political environment from the second half of 51 to the first half of 50 influence their decision on Dolabella? We are fortunate in having contemporary accounts of this period, notably Caelius' letters to Cicero. They hardly suggest that an open war between Caesar and Pompey was widely considered as inevitable and imminent or that the former had already gained the upper hand over the latter.[329] But it cannot be denied that their alliance showed signs of serious crisis in early

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[326] *Att.* 7.3.12=SB 126.12: *gener est suavis mihi, Tulliae, Terentiae; quantumvis vel ingeni vel humanitatis †satis†.* As noted earlier, in the spring of 49 Caesar wrote to Cicero and praised Dolabella for being very delightful as well as for having humanity, consideration and friendliness (*Att.* 9.16.3=185.3).

[327] Cicero arrived at Brundisium on November 24 of 50 and was welcomed by Terentia (*Att*. 7.2.2=SB 125.2). It seems likely that Tullia, Dolabella and the younger Marcus also went there, with the result that the entire family was reunited. Caelius' warning about Dolabella's deficiencies: *Fam*. 2.15=SB 96; Cicero's acknowledgement in the letter to Atticus: *Att.* 7.3.12=SB 126.12 (*reliqua, quae nosti, ferenda*; "as for the remaining [qualities], which you know, we must put up with"). Neither reference is specific or explicit.

[328] See the preceding chapter. For other brief discussions, see Ermete (2003, 172–73) and Treggiari (2007, 158–59). For a discussion of Tullia's, see Treggiari (2007, 108–9). For a general discussion of women's role in politics in the late Republic, see Dixon (1983).

[329] It was not until the fall of 50 that Cicero began at last to talk with Atticus about the prospect of a real conflict between Caesar and Pompey (*Att*. 6.8=SB 122, dispatched on October 1). At the end of September, a certain Batonius visited Cicero and provided him with updates on the current affairs. He seems to have told Cicero that the elections in the summer were partly responsible for the deterioration of the situation, because Caesar received much support from many magistrates elected for 49.

50, especially when Pompey demanded that Caesar resign his Gallic command in mid-November. There was probably even a rumor in circulation that Pompey would capitalize on the jurors he chose two years earlier to find Caesar guilty.[330]

As discussed earlier, the search of a husband for Tullia attracted the attention of people who had ties with Caesar: Sulpicius Rufus the Younger and her mother Postumia, Servilia (though it is uncertain whether she actually played a role in supporting Rufus), Caelius and, of course, Dolabella. But curiously enough, no person closely associated with Pompey is known to have been involved. It is thus tempting to for us to interpret Terentia and Tullia's final decision in such a context of struggle between the two dynasts as an indication that they were inclined towards Caesar.

What is more curious is the rashness with which they arranged an engagement in early June. Regardless of whether Cicero had told the women to choose whomever they found suitable with no need to consult him, it was still necessary for them, at least in principle, to ask for Cicero's approval of their choice first. Yet Terentia and Tullia most likely did not even inform the *paterfamilias* before taking action towards the betrothal, which Cicero did not begin to mention until early August.[331] As it seems, something that happened in the late spring—something that indicated an upcoming war between the two dynasts and increase in Caesar's power?—urged them to finalize the engagement as soon as possible rather than take the trouble to communicate with Cicero.

[330] But according to Gruen (1974, 464–65), in 51 and early 50 Pompey did not really want the alliance between himself and Caesar to break down but came under considerable pressure from his supporters from the nobility.
[331] *Att.* 6.6.1=SB 121.1 (ca. August 3) and *Fam.* 2.15.2=SB 96.2 (August 3 or 4).

To be sure, there is clear evidence for the women's political stance immediately following the outbreak of the civil war. As Cicero wrote to Atticus on March 11 of 49, a disagreement over future plans had arisen in his family: "my wife, daughter and two boys preferred me to follow the other course and thought this one [i.e. following Pompey] dishonorable and unworthy of me."[332] Unfortunately, Cicero did not give us an explicit explanation for his family members' advocacy of Caesar. At any rate, he did not take their advice.

In congratulating Cicero on Tullia's engagement to Dolabella, Caelius praised her for having good judgement (*prudentia*).[333] However, her marital life demonstrates that she made a terrible choice.[334] After the civil war broke out, Dolabella departed from Rome to join Caesar's forces in the East and left the pregnant Tullia behind. Sometime before May 19, she gave birth to a seven months' boy.[335] Since this baby is mentioned in in the existing correspondence only once, he most likely died soon afterwards. It is easy to imagine that Tullia's deep anxieties over the social turmoil and lack of sufficient care were major reasons for such an awful tragedy for both her and her child.[336] What was worse, the end of the war did not lead to much improvement in Tullia's situation. Dolabella was encumbered with heavy debts and devoted to his political ambitions at her

[332] *Att.* 9.6.4=SB 172.4: *…uxor, filia, Cicerones pueri, me illud sequi mallent, hoc turpe et me indignum putarent.*
[333] *Fam.* 2.15.2=SB 96.2.
[334] A detailed account of Tullia's marital life with Dolabella, which is beyond the scope of the current chapter, can be found in Treggiari (2007, 100–135).
[335] Cic. *Att.* 10.18.1=SB 210.1.
[336] Cicero spent the spring staying in his villas in local towns, so Tullia was staying in Rome only with her mother.

expense. In addition, he was alleged to have an affair with Antonia, Mark Antony's wife and cousin.[337]

The couple's marriage finally came to an end in late 46, less than one year after the dissolution of Cicero's marital relationship to Terentia.[338] Although divorce was by no means an uncommon phenomenon among upper-class families, such a decision could have been an extremely tough one for Tullia. First, Dolabella's financial conditions were so terrible that the chance of getting the dowry back must have appeared slim to her and her family. To be sure, in a letter to Quintus Lepta Cicero wrote several months following the divorce in question, he expressed his frustration that Dolabella had yet to pay first installment.[339] Second, she was pregnant again at the time of their separation. Probably sometime towards the very end of the winter of 45, she gave birth to a boy.[340] Yet it was a tragedy that the mother died in childbirth and the son did not live long.

Dolabella was then fighting along with Caesar against Pompey's two sons (Gnaeus and Sextus) in Spain. He received the news soon afterwards and wrote a letter to Cicero, which would have been delivered no later than mid-April. Yet now we only have Cicero's response to it (dispatched in late April).[341] It is unclear whether a lack of attempt by Cicero to console Dolabella in this reply means that the latter had no problem in

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[337] Cic. *Phil.* 2.99; cf. Plut. *Ant.* 9.2–3.
[338] The conventional view is that Cicero and Terentia divorced in early 46. See Treggiari (2007a, 131) and Ermete (2003a, 159–60).
[339] *Fam.* 6.18.5=SB 218.5.
[340] Both Plutarch (*Cic.* 41.7) and Asconius (5C) that the baby was born in the house of Dolabella's adoptive father Lentulus. But since neither mentions Tullia's divorce, they may be making an assumption. Modern scholars such as Shackleton Bailey (1972a, 204), Dixon (1985, 368) and Treggiari (2007a, 135) think that she more likely gave birth in Cicero's house.
[341] *Fam.* 9.11=SB 250. See the discussion below.

coping with the two consecutive deaths. At any rate, Cicero was apparently overcome with grief. He withdrew himself from social life for such an extended period of time that he was criticized by his contemporaries for grieving excessively.[342] He even determined to build a shrine (*fanum*) to commemorate his daughter, though it was hardly a judicious decision.[343] Cicero's letters to Atticus show that when thinking about where to purchase an estate, he did not give the land's profitability full consideration. That is to say, despite its emotional value for Cicero, the investment was likely to result in a capital loss on his part in the future. What was worse, Cicero was then far from being in a good financial situation. For not only did he have difficulties in recovering Tullia's dowry from Dolabella, but he also needed to return Terentia's dowry.[344] It was thanks to Atticus' strenuous efforts at dissuasion that Cicero finally decided to give up his plan.

**4. Cicero and Dolabella**

There appears no good reason to doubt Cicero's dissatisfaction with (to say the least) Dolabella's frequent absences from home and neglect of Tullia during the first half

[342] Baltussen (2009) and Evans (2007) analyze Cicero's grief at Tullia's death from a psychiatric perspective. For a discussion of the criticism levelled against Cicero and Cicero's response to rebuild his public image, see Wilcox (2005).
[343] García Morcillo (2019). But she also points out that in developing this plan, Cicero still retained some economic sense because he avoided selling his revenue-generating estates.
[344] It is small wonder that not long after his marriage to Terentia ended in divorce, Cicero married Publilia primarily for the sake of her wealth (Plut. *Cic*. 41.8). Yet this short-lived marriage probably did little to relieve his financial stress. Our information about their marital life is so limited that we cannot tell with certainty whether Plutarch is right to claim that Cicero divorced Publilia for her lack of compassion for Tullia's death. For a short discussion of Cicero's marriage to Publilia, see chapter 7 and Treggiari (2007a, 134–35).

of the 40s.[345] However, this did not stop Cicero from having the intention of remaining on good terms with his son-in-law, whose popularity with Caesar certainly mattered a great deal during that dictator's reign.[346] The correspondence reveals several instances of Dolabella's services to Cicero. For example, upon Cicero's request he helped a Greek man from Sicily obtain citizenship around the summer of 46.[347]

In the preceding chapter we mentioned the interactions between Cicero and Crassipes after the latter separated from Tullia. The case of Cicero and Dolabella was no different. At the beginning of February of 45 when Tullia was still expecting her baby, Cicero pled with Dolabella to help Gaius Subernius and Marcus Planius, who were presumably Cicero's clients and whose lives in Spain were disrupted by the war between the two sons of Pompey (Gnaeus and Sextus) and Caesar.[348] Yet of some more interest is an epistle Cicero wrote to Dolabella around mid-May of 45, that is, a couple months following the tragic deaths of Tullia and her son. Instead of asking for favors, Cicero simply intended to express gratitude to Dolabella for sending his condolences as well as for providing him with updates on the fighting in Spain.[349] Despite an effort to be polite,

[345] We can only guess that Terentia, who was chiefly responsible for taking care of Tullia during this period, was also discontent with Dolabella's failure to fulfill his obligations as Tullia's husband.
[346] For a very brief overview of Cicero's relationship with Dolabella in the 40s, see Treggiari (2007a, 139–40).
[347] *Fam.* 12.36.1=SB 307.1. The Greek was originally called Demetrius Megas and after the enfranchisement became a Publius Cornelius by taking up Dolabella's *praenomen* and *nomen*.
[348] *Fam.* 9.13=SB 311. He wrote to Dolabella because the latter was then fighting in Caesar's forces. Interestingly, the editor(s) did not place this epistle in the thirteenth book of the corpus *Ad Familiares,* which is a collection of recommendation letters.
[349] *Fam*. 9.11=SB 250.

Cicero at the same time also sought to refrain from adopting a formal tone. So it seems that their relationship operated on both the public and private levels.

When Dolabella as consul managed to suppress the riots caused by Caesar's followers in the aftermath of the dictator's assassination, Cicero was so delighted as to regard him as a stout defender of the commonwealth and a faithful ally. The lavish compliments he paid both directly to Dolabella and in two letters to Atticus are a testimony to such a conviction.[350] However, this high praise would soon stand in stark contrast with the violent attacks Cicero levelled against Dolabella. A change in Cicero's attitude towards him can be detected in an epistle to Atticus dating to mid-November of 44, when Cicero learnt that Dolabella had recently decided to switch allegiance after receiving Antony's offers of the command of the expedition against the Parthians as well as of the province of Syria. Cicero accused him of betraying the Republican cause.[351] As for the breakup of their relationship, the law straw was Dolabella's torture and murder of Gaius Trebonius, one of the tyrannicides, in January of 43.[352] It was in response to this heinous act that Cicero castigated Dolabella in his eleventh Philippics.

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[350] Cicero's letter to Dolabella: *Att.* 14.17A=SB 371A; Cicero's letters to Atticus: *Att.* 14.15=SB 369 and 14.16=SB 370.

[351] *Att.* 16.15.2–3=SB 426.2–3.

[352] Trebonius, a former lieutenant of Caesar, did not stab the dictator himself. Instead, he aided the other tyrannicides by detaining Mark Antony in conversation outside the Curia Pompeia, thereby preventing Antony from coming to Caesar's rescue when the attack began (Cic. *Phil.* 2.34). After the assassination, he left immediately for Asia, where he was supposed to hold the proconsulship in 43, and began to amass supplies for Brutus and Cassius. When Dolabella was traversing that province on his way to Syria, Trebonius openly opposed him by refusing to let him get through the cities under his control. See Syme (1939, 172).

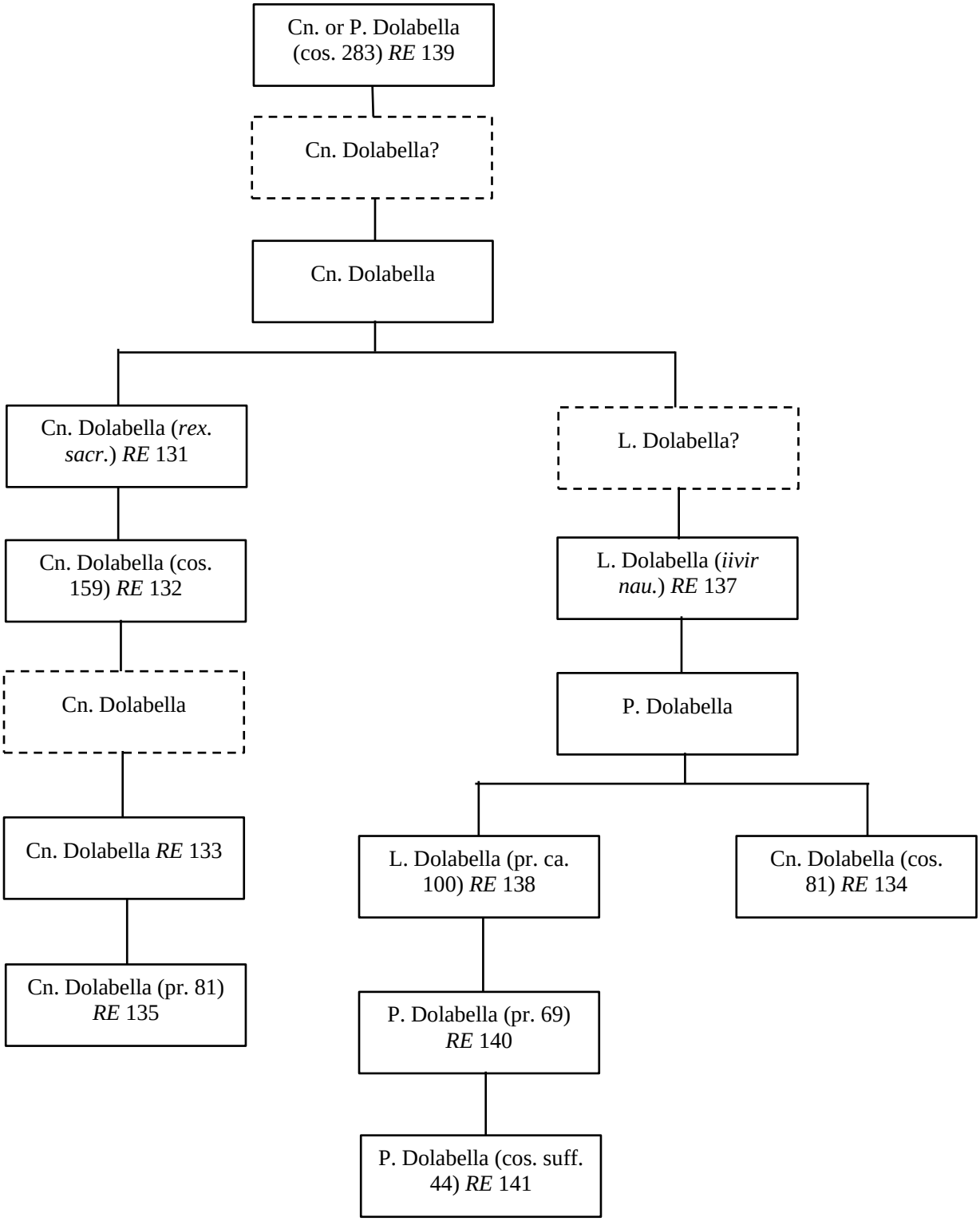
## 5. Conclusion

Cicero's absence in Cilicia between mid-51 and mid-50 made it difficult for him to take an active part in finding a new husband for Tullia, so it was Terentia and Tullia who were in charge of that search, which can be divided into two phases. By the end of the first stage in late 51, the women had narrowed the number of Tullia's suitors down to two: Servius Sulpicius Rufus the Younger and an unidentifiable man with Pontidia's support. While Cicero preferred the latter, the women might have leaned towards the former, but a delay in finalizing the match was perhaps caused by protracted negotiations over dowry. Dolabella's entry into the competition, then, marked the beginning of the second phase. Both his decision to marry Cicero's daughter and concurrent prosecution of Appius Claudius Pulcher illustrate the political ambitions harbored by this young man who was from an office-holding family of a prominent patrician clan.

Dolabella's charm and close connection with Caesar are most likely what made him particularly attractive to Tullia and her mother. Initially Cicero was not fond of him and even tried to prevent Tullia from marrying him by recommending his protégé Tiberius Claudius Nero. However, his attempt ended in vain because the women chose Dolabella and arranged an engagement in early June without properly informing him. For Tullia, this was hardly a good match. Her marital life was affected by both Dolabella's personal problems (notably, debts and devotion to his own political ambitions at his wife's expense) and the civil war. On the other hand, though probably discontent with Dolabella's treatment of Tullia, Cicero still sought to take advantage of his relationship with Dolabella until they fell out openly in late 44 and early 43.

**Appendix: Stemma of the Cornelii Dolabellae in the Republic**

The following stemma is derived from that of Badian (1965).



## 5. Quintus and Pomponia (I)

We have already seen that Tullia's marriages were of much concern to Cicero. In fact, he was concerned, too, with his brother's marital affairs. According to Cornelius Nepos, Cicero was primarily responsible for arranging a match between Quintus and Atticus' younger sister Pomponia.[353] This may well be true, since Nepos was on familiar terms with Atticus and Cicero.[354] The earliest surviving letter from Cicero to Atticus, written in November of 68, attests that the two were already married by then.[355] However, their marriage have not yet received as much attention as it deserves.[356] Therefore, it will be the topic of both the current chapter and the one that follows. This chapter will examine the background against which the marital relationship in question was established, with an emphasis on the economic factor. As it attempts to demonstrate, money played a key role in motivating Quintus to take Pomponia to wife.

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[353] Nep. *Att.* 5.3.

[354] Gellius calls Nepos as "an especially close friend of Cicero" (*NA.* 15.28.1: *M. Ciceronis ut qui maxime amicus familiaris fuit*). Both Macrobius (*Sat.* 2.1.14) and Suetonius (*Jul.* 55) mention the exchange of letters between him and Cicero (but none of them has survived). Some recent scholarship on Nepos include Pryzwansky (2009) and Stem (2012). For important studies of Nepos' *Life of Atticus*, see Horsfall's commentary (1989) and Millar's article (1988a). Horsfall does not think highly of this biography and even questions whether Nepos was as familiar with his subject as other scholars tend to believe. Of course, it makes sense to have a critical view of Nepos. But since he is one of our two major sources of information about Atticus, we probably still need to accept his evidence unless there is a compelling reason for dismissal. More recently, there have been attempts to analyze the *Life* from a historiographical perspective; for example, Stem (2010) and Nelsestuen (2019).

[355] Cic. *Att.* 1.5=SB 1. See below for a more detailed discussion of the dating of the marriage in question.

[356] Previous studies that specifically focus on Quintus' marriage to Pomponia include Bradley (1991, 186–91) and Harders (2008, 249–63).

## 1. Atticus and Pomponia's Family: A Sketch of Other Attested Members

Nepos is the main source of information about other members in Atticus and Pomponia's family, including their parents and maternal uncle. Sometimes Cicero supplements our knowledge of those people. This is particularly the case with the siblings' father. Nepos depicts him as an intellectual who was fond of letters and attentive to his son's education, and such an image is confirmed by Cicero's mention that he was the dedicatee of Iunius Gracchanus' work on magisterial power.[357] Nepos also highlights the riches of Atticus and Pomponia's father, but in using *ut tum erant tempora* as a qualification he intends to emphasize that the man can be considered as wealthy only if he is to be judged by the standards of his own day. It is unfortunate that how he managed to amass his fortune is not directly revealed by the biographer.

In Nepos' account, the death of the siblings' father is mentioned immediately before Publius Sulpicius' tribunate in 88.[358] Presumably the biographer is meant to suggest to his readers that the two events were temporally close to each other. Since Atticus is known to have been born in 110 and his mother in 132, it is reasonable to date his father's birth to the first half of the 130s. In other words, he was a few years his spouse's senior, became father a little under thirty and died around forty. Nepos describes his death as a premature one (*pater mature decessit*). Rather than taking that adverb at face value, we may interpret it as Nepos' intention to stress that Atticus and Pomponia were still young at the time of their father's death. An alternative explanation can be that

[357] Nep. *Att.* 1.2–3; Cic. *Leg.* 3.49. For Junius Gracchanus who may be identified with Junius Cognus, see Rawson (1985, 234–35).
[358] Nep. *Att.* 2.1.

Nepos aims to draw a contrast between Atticus and his father in the length of life. Dying at the age of 77, Atticus lived almost twice as long as his father did.

We do not know much about the siblings' mother, except that she originated from the *gens* Caecilia (though it is unclear whether she belonged to the most famous branch of the clan, the Caecilii Metelli) and lived until she was 90 years old.[359] There seems no reason to doubt that she was born into a wealth family. Nothing suggests that she remarried after losing Atticus' father. If her husband did die around the Social War period, it would certainly make sense that she as a woman over 40 decided to remain widowed instead of finding a new husband. She is mentioned in two of Cicero's letters dating to the 60s.[360] As both references indicate, throughout that decade she was living with Quintus and Pomponia.

Caecilia's brother Quintus Caecilius is better attested in our sources, but his public image is far from good. Nepos takes special note of how a bad temper made the man unpopular; both Cicero and Seneca portray him as an avaricious businessman who made a large fortune by lending money to others at high interest rates.[361] Caecilius is mentioned by Nepos as having been on good terms with Lucius Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74), and in asserting that Caecilius owed both rank and wealth to Lucullus, Valerius

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[359] Nep. *Att.* 17.1.

[360] At *Att*. 1.7.1=SB 3.1 Cicero tells Atticus that Caecilia was having some health problems. At *Att.* 2.3.4=SB 23.4 Cicero mentions his invitation to Pomponia and Caecilia for the purposes of celebrating the festival of the *Compitalia* (at that time Quintus was in Asia).

[361] Nep. *Att.* 5.1; Cic. *Att*. 1.12.1=SB 12.1 (Cicero claims to feel surprised to know that Caecilius even refused to lend at less than 12% annual interest rate to relatives); Sen. *Ep*. 118.2. For fuller discussions of Quintus Caecilius, see Marshall (1986, 11–13) and Nicolet (1974, 809–10).

Maximus appears to hint at a patron-client relationship between them.[362] Since Caecilius had no child, he adopted Atticus as his son before death and bequeathed him an inheritance worth 10 million sesterces which included a house on the Quirinal.[363] According to Nepos, Atticus received his maternal uncle's goodwill because he was the only person who was able to tolerate his acerbity. Here the biographer most likely intends to highlight Atticus' gentleness, though it also appears safe to suppose that he treated Caecilius well in the hope of benefitting from his wealth.[364]

Moreover, Nepos says that Atticus had a *consobrina* named Anicia.[365] The term *consobrina* can be used to denote any cousin, though it commonly refers to a first cousin on the maternal side. If the latter use is intended here, it then means that in addition to Atticus' mother, Caecilius had another sister who married a man from the Anician clan.

## 2. Atticus

### 2.1. Atticus and His Move to Athens

A major concern in the beginning section of Nepos' biography is Atticus' move from Rome to Athens.[366] In explaining the motivation, Nepos first adduces the conflict between Sulla and Publius Sulpicius Rufus in 88 that ended in unprecedented consequences: it was the first time a Roman marched on his home city, took it by force

[362] Nep. *Att.* 5.1 and Val. Max. 7.8.5. Note that Lucullus' mother, Caecilia Metella Calva. There can be a possibility that Atticus' mother and uncle were her relatives.
[363] Nep. *Att.* 13.2 and 14.2. See also Cic. *Att.* 3.20.1=SB 65.1. For a more detailed discussion of this testamentary adoption, see chapter 7.
[364] Bettini (1991, 39–66) offers a general analysis of the relationship between *avunculus* (mother's brother) and nephew in ancient Rome, though other scholars do not find his core argument for a close sense of intimacy well-founded.
[365] Nep. *Att.* 2.1.
[366] Nep. *Att*. 2.1–3.

and had the senate declare his opponents public enemies. The biographer specifically identifies two sources of Atticus' anxiety. For one thing, Atticus was connected to Sulpicius Rufus by a marriage between his cousin Anicia and the tribune's otherwise unknown brother Servius. For another, he provided Marius' son, with whom he developed friendship when learning from the orator Crassus, with financial support after Marius the Younger was designated a *hostis* and forced into exile.[367]

Yet Nepos links Atticus' decision to leave Rome more directly with Cinna's domination during the mid-80s. By following the example of his archenemy Sulla, Cinna once again marched on the capital city and captured it in 87. Since Sulla had already departed for the East to deal with the threats posed by Mithradates, this created conditions for massive retaliation against his supporters. Numerous ancient sources mention that Cinna and Marius, whom Cinna had recently summoned back from banishment, carried out a massacre and even allowed the use of indiscriminate violence.[368] There is nothing to suggest that Atticus and his family fell victim to the chaos in that period. Here Nepos probably intends to create an impression that Atticus was extremely cautious about his safety and standing, particularly in times of unrest.

While it certainly made sense for Atticus to avoid staying in Rome, his decision to move to Athens rather than somewhere else calls for explanation. It has been suggested that such a choice of residence was primarily determined not by "commercial interests"

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[367] According to Horsfall (1989, 61), Nepos intends to use this financial support as strong evidence for Atticus' loyalty to his friends, which is a recurring theme in the biography (also at 4.4, 5.3 and 10.3).

[368] For this massacre in 87, see, for example, Livy *Epit.* 80, Cic. *De or*. 3.2.8, App. *BCiv*. 1.71, Diod. Sic. 38.2, and Plut. *Sert*. 5 and *Mar*. 43–4. For a convenient overview of the so-called *Cinnanum tempus*, see *CAH*$^2$ IX: 173–87.

but by "cultural attractions."[369] It is certainly true that Atticus was under the influence of the trend within the Roman elite class towards fascination with Hellenic culture. If Nepos is correct in asserting that Atticus had a near-native level of proficiency in Greek, he might well have been more obsessed with Hellenism than the majority of his peers were.[370] However, we should not underestimate the importance of the economic motivation behind Atticus' move. To do justice to it, we need in the first place to examine both the economic conditions of Athens and Atticus' economic activities in that city.

Nepos does not specify when Atticus went to Athens. Given that he met with Sulla there when Sulla was on his way back to Rome after securing a peace treaty with Mithradates VI at Dardanus, Atticus could not have arrived later than 84.[371] On the other hand, the pro-Mithradates, anti-Rome government established by Aristion led Sulla to besiege Athens in 87, and the city was freed from tyranny in the following year. It appears safe to assume that this liberation in 86 is the earliest time of Atticus arrival.[372] Although Sulla is said to have forbidden any attempt at destruction because he cherished the city's glorious past, what actually ensued from the Roman takeover was a disaster caused by plunder, killings and arson.[373] In other words, it was to a war-torn place that Atticus relocated.

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[369] Habicht (1997, 328).
[370] Nep. *Att*. 4.1. Horsfall (1989, 64–65) warns us not to overestimate Roman aristocrats' average ability to speak Greek.
[371] Nep. *Att.* 4.1.
[372] App. *Mith*. 30, Paus. 1.20.5 and Plut. *Sull.* 12.
[373] Memnon, *FrGH* 434 F 22; Plut. *Sull*. 14; App. *Mith*. 45 and 51; Strabo 9.1.20; and Florus 1.40. For a discussion of how archaeological evidence reveals the extent of the destruction caused by the sack, see Santangelo (2007, 40–41). Another succinct account of the consequences of the First Mithridatic War for Athens is Habicht (1997, 304–14). It is striking that Nepos mentions nothing about Aristion's tyrannical rule, Sulla's siege or the ensuing sack.

We are fortunate to have a detailed account of what Atticus did there. According to Nepos, a drained treasury compelled the Athenian government to borrow money to keep itself running; presumably many individuals needed loans to maintain their lives, too. But no financier agreed to lend money to them on favorable terms. Then Atticus came to the rescue, for he was willing both to make loans that carried no interest and to allow his debtors grace periods.[374] Considering the dreadful financial situation in Athens in the aftermath of the First Mithridatic War as well as Atticus' generosity, it does appear at first glance that business interests were not of much concern to him.

Let us pause here and turn our attention to a pair of brothers named Cloatii, since their activities at Gytheum in the late 70s are to a certain degree similar to what Atticus did in Athens. Like many other Greek cities including Athens, Gytheum (which was located on the coast of southern Peloponnese) also suffered from the Mithradatic War, with the result that both the town and its citizens were forced to take out loans. Due to a lack of dependability, their need scared off most moneylenders but attracted Numerius and Marcus Cloatius (probably of Campanian origin). The epigraphic evidence records the details of two of their several loans.[375] One was worth 3965 drachmas, on which the Cloatii agreed to grant a deduction after negotiating with the local residents. As for the

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[374] Nep. *Att.* 2.3–6. In referring to Atticus' act of making loans to the Athenians, Nepos uses the phrase *semper se interposuit*. It has been interpreted by several scholars including Holtzmann, Migeotte and Habicht (1997, 329 n.69) as indicating that Atticus borrowed from others and then lent the money in Athens. It is doubtful whether *interponere* can mean "to act as an intermediary in a business or financial transaction;" the *OLD* does not give such a definition. On the contrary, it lists Nepos' phrase as an example of the meaning "to take a hand, intervene, interfere" (s.v. *interpono* 9). So what Nepos intends to say seems simply that Atticus came to the city's aid when it was in a financial crisis and could not find creditors.

[375] *SIG*$^{3}$ 748 = *IG* V 1.1146 = Sherk *Augustus* No.74. Santangelo (2009) offers a detailed study of this inscription.

other one worth 4200 drachmas, the brothers consented to reduce its interest rate by half to 2% (per month, compounded monthly).

Unlike other financiers, the Cloatii brothers saw Gytheum as a place where they could have business opportunities without facing intense competition. Of course, they were still cautious about their activities, since neither of the two aforementioned loans was large and this was probably true of the remaining ones. By reducing the amount and/or the interest rate of their loans, they might have suffered some immediate losses. Yet what is more important for all creditors is to ensure that every debtor remains solvent. So the Cloatii's decision to make concessions made it more likely for them to get their credit back in due course. As the inscription shows, the Cloatii brothers were recognized as the town's guest-friends (πρόξενοι) and benefactors (εὐεργέται).[376] Although their material donations were repaid simply with honors, there is no reason to doubt that the establishment of a firm connection with the town of Gytheum would be conducive to their future financial activities there. To put it differently, they aimed more for long-term profits.

In the late 70s, Marcus Antonius Creticus, the father of Mark Antony the triumvir, was given an infinite command (*infinitum imperium*) to fight against pirates in the Mediterranean during his term of office as praetor in 74.[377] He required Gytheum to make contributions to his campaigns and dispatched his legates, including Lucius Marcilius, Gaius Julius Caesar and Publius Autronius Paetus, to the town to collect both money and

[376] In some sense, therefore, their benefactions could be seen as acts of euergetism, which was common in the Hellenistic world. For a most recent study on euergetism in the Greek world, see Domingo Gygax (2016).
[377] Cic. *Verr*. 2.2.8 and 3.213; Vell. Pat. 2.31.3. *MRR*. 2.101–2.

men.[378] The epigraphic evidence attests that the Cloatii took this opportunity to associate themselves with those Roman magistrates. Indeed, the two brothers not only volunteered to host them at their own expense but even managed to persuade them to lift the burdens imposed on the residents of Gytheum. Apparently, the Cloatii had every intention of capitalizing on their relationships with state officials to facilitate their business.

Now it is time for us to return to Atticus' case. As Nepos notes, to express their gratitude for Atticus' generosity, the Athenians also bestowed upon him all kinds of public honors, though he declined many of them (such as citizenship and statues).[379] Meanwhile, Atticus is said to have become so close to Sulla during the latter's visit to Athens in 84 that Sulla even made an abortive attempt to take him back to Italy.[380] This could have happened, but it is not clear whether Nepos is correct in asserting that an intimate tie between the two men developed primarily because Sulla admired Atticus for his culture and learning.[381] Plutarch tells us that Sulla removed the library of Apellicon

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[378] It is curious that although Broughton did take note of the inscription in question, he only listed Marcilius as Antonius Creticus' legate (*MRR* 2.105) but not Caesar or Autronius Paetus.

[379] Nep. *Att.* 3.1–2. There is a textual problem at *Att.* 3.2, which reads *Itaque aliquot ipsi et Phidiae locis sanctissimis posuerunt* in MSS. E. O. Winstedt kept this reading in his OCT edition. But given the difficulty in explaining *Phidiae*, some scholars or editors of Nepos' texts including Denis Lambin, Ettore Pais, Otto Wagner (for the Teubner version) and John Rolfe (for the Loeb version) changed it to *Pilia*. Although Horsfall (1989, 63) briefly discusses this textual problem, he does not explain why he rejects the reading *Pilia*. This reading, however, is acceptable and would indicate that the Athenians proposed to erect honorific statues for him and Pilia after the two got married in early 56 (for this marriage, see chapter 7). Although Atticus left Athens sometime in the 70s, he retained a lifelong association with Athens. For example, he made a donation of grain to the Athenians in mid-50 (Cic. *Att.* 6.6.2=SB 121.2; see below).

[380] Nep. *Att.* 4.1–2.

[381] There is no specific reference to Atticus in Plutarch's account of Sulla's visit to Athens (*Sull.* 26).

the Teian, which included many rare Aristotelian manuscripts, to Rome.[382] Since in later times Atticus engaged in activities related to publishing and trading of books, one may wonder whether he helped Sulla acquire Apellicon's collection.[383] Atticus could also have offered assistance if Sulla procured works of art in Athens. Significantly, his refusal to return to Italy with Sulla indicates that he wanted to make friends with prominent political figures without getting himself directly involved in politics.

However, there is a striking difference between the Cloatii's moneylending activities at Gytheum and those of Atticus in Athens. That is, unlike the two brothers Atticus asked for neither interest on his loans nor punctual repayment. Admittedly, it can be argued that he decided to be this generous because he attached great importance to profitability in the long run and to immaterial rewards, such as a good reputation and a position of prominence within the local community.[384] Yet the short-term risks involved seemed so high that they should have been avoided by a person like Atticus who made continuous and strenuous efforts to expand his portfolio throughout his life. Indeed, the evidence available to us suggests that the practice of making interest-free loans was uncommon in neither the Roman nor the Greek world.[385]

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[382] Plut. *Sull.* 26.1.

[383] Such evidence has been conveniently complied by Feger in his biography of Atticus in *RE* Pomponius 102: 517–20. Horsfall (1989, 64), however, thinks that "it seems unlikely that Atticus could do much to help."

[384] The practice of lending at high interest could be frowned upon. We have already mentioned Cicero's complaints about Quintus Caecilius' moneylending activities. He also grumbled about those of Marcus Brutus, whose loans to the Salaminians in the late 50s were 48 percent per annum (*Att*. 5.21 and 6.1=SB 114–5).

[385] While interest-carrying loans were technically banned by the *lex Genucia* passed in 342, not only did the practice of lending at interest exist in the Roman world but interest-carrying loans were much more common than interest-free loans, sometimes known as *mutua* (e.g. Plaut. *Asin*. 1.3.95). See Andreau (1999, 142–43). For the *lex Genucia*, see

Examination of Cicero's corpus has led several scholars to argue that capital markets in the late Republic depended much on personal connections.[386] In other words, moneylenders tended to make loans to people with whom they were acquainted (e.g. relatives, friends and fellows of local religious groups), apparently because they were in a better position to evaluate the credibility of those borrowers.[387] At the same time, it has been shown that foreign benefactors of a Greek city-state often had pre-existing relationships with its residents before they performed acts of euergetism for the sake of the entire community.[388] Therefore, it seems reasonable to think that Atticus' generosity towards the Athenians at his own expense was motivated by his deep connections with the city that most likely went beyond cultural attractions.

Considering that he was merely a young man about 25 years old at the time of arrival, we are justified in suspecting that it was his father who developed those connections and passed them down to him. Indeed, in Roman society social relations could be transferred from fathers to sons. For example, Cicero describes his friendship with Lucius Munatius Plancus (cos. 42) as "hereditary" (*paternas necessitudines*).[389] The ties between patrons and clients were even transmissible through several generations. Tiberius Claudius Nero, to whom Cicero once wanted to marry his daughter, inherited

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Barlow (1978, 56–58). For a study of lending and borrowing money in ancient Athens, see Millett (1991).

[386] Kay (2014, 236–43), which includes a discussion of previous scholars' arguments.

[387] Alternatively, lenders could rely on financial intermediaries (for example, a deposit bank) so that they themselves did not need to evaluate the creditworthiness of potential borrowers. For a discussion of those intermediaries, see Kay (2014, 113–24).

[388] Domingo Gygax (2016, 251).

[389] *Att.* 16.16A.1=SB 407A.1 and 16.16B.2=SB 407B.2.

from his ancestors many clients in the East. In the late 50s, he visited Tralles and Nysa to further cultivate those connections through his own benefactions.[390]

But how did Atticus' father develop ties with the Athenians? It seems unlikely that he held office there, since neither he nor other members in his family are not known to have ever been magistrate. In fact, the entire Pomponian clan was not particularly famed for its ability to produce office-holders, though some men did enjoy political success.[391] On the other hand, it appears more likely that the connections mainly stemmed from his economic activities in Athens. Given that the Roman government relied heavily on contractors to collect revenues in provinces and this system boomed in the East from Gaius Gracchus' tribunate onwards, there can be a possibility that Atticus' father was a tax farmer.[392] The majority of *publicani* were men of the equestrian order, to which Atticus and his ancestors are said to have always belonged.[393] However, such a hypothesis may need to be treated with caution. For not only do we lack direct evidence for the presence of tax farmers in Greece, but the fact that most of the Greek city-states (including Athens) readily cooperated with Rome after the First Mithridatic War, if not during it, has been taken to suggest that the absence of exploitation by *publicani* before

[390] Cic. *Fam.* 13.64.2=SB 138.2.
[391] Some notable office–holders are Marcus Pomponius Matho (cos. 231), another Marcus Pomponius Matho (*praetor peregrinus* in 217), the preceding person's homonymous son (pr. 204) and Marcus Pomponius (pr. 161).
[392] For a recent discussion of the use of tax farming, see Tan (2017, 40–67). More specifically, he (2017, 66) argues that Gaius Gracchus advocated and managed to convince other people, including his enemies, to advocate such a system because "it raised revenues fast, it did not depend on the skills of the governor, and it protected the treasury from embezzlement by the provincial administration." A classic study of the *publicani* is that of Badian (1972).
[393] Nep. *Att.* 1.1. See below for a discussion of their membership in the equestrian order.

the 80s made resentment against the Roman state in Greece much less intense than in Asia Minor, where many tax collectors were killed by pro-Mithridates forces.[394]

Alternatively, Atticus' father might have conducted business in Athens, for the city's status as a commercial center in the Mediterranean was elevated since the mid-second century.[395] Because of its loyalty during the Third Macedonian War, Athens was permitted by the Roman government to annex Delos in 166 and kept the island as a free port from them on.[396] Trade of Delos soon grew rapidly at the expense of Rhodes, its old and bitter rival for regional commerce.[397] Athens enjoyed a boom, too, because the acquisition allowed it to participate more actively in Delos' economic and social life. At the same time, the Achaean War exerted a positive impact on Athenian economy.[398] This war, which took place in 146, culminated with the plunder of Corinth by the Romans under the leadership of Lucius Mummius Achaicus, consul of that same year. Although Corinth was not totally destroyed as many later authors such as Cicero believed, the

[394] Santangelo (2007, 42).
[395] Day (1942) is a study of Athenian economic history between the third century and the Late Antiquity and its third chapter (pp. 50–119) focuses on the period between the mid-second and early first centuries. Habicht (1997, 220–96) offers a more comprehensive account of the city during that same period.
[396] Polyb. 30.20 and Strabo 9.411. For the Third Macedonian War, see Hammond and Walbank (1988, 505–58).
[397] According to Polybius (30.31.10–12), the Rhodian ambassadors complained in the senate about a drastic reduction in the amount of their harbor dues from one million drachmas to 150,000. We do not need to take this figure at face value, but it does show that Rhodes' importance as a trade center slumped. The Romans apparently intended to punish the island for its equivocal attitude shown during the Third Macedonian War. Meanwhile, as Cato the Elder's speech (Gell. *NA* 6.3.50 = *ORF*$^{4}$ 8 F163–71) indicates, the rapid extension of the Rhodian power in the eastern Mediterranean made Rome so anxious as to seek to curb it. For a history of Rhodes in the second century, see Berthold (1984, 102–232). In addition to Day and Habicht, Kay (2014, 197–202) also analyzes Delos' prosperity in the second century.
[398] Studies of the Achaean War include Fuks (1970) and Gruen (1976).

disaster no doubt left it in grave conditions.[399] The city had since long been taking advantage of its proximity to the Isthmus and accumulated an enormous amount of wealth from transit trade as well as export of wine and oil.[400] The sack caused Corinth to lose its business to its main competitor Athens.

There is every indication that foreigners played a vital role in Athens' economic expansion in the second half of the second century.[401] Cults of non-Greek deities, including both the newly introduced deities and the ones introduced in the early Hellenistic era, flourished. Intermarriage between Athenian citizens and foreigners became more common, and so did granting of citizenship. The religious practices and personal names popular in the city during that period suggest that Asia and Egypt were two main sources of emigrants. Inscriptions also attest to the presence of people from Rome and Italy, though it was not until the mid-first century that they began to visit and stay in Athens in great numbers.[402]

Two points are worth mentioning again here. First, Atticus' father was a lover of letters and took great care of his son's education. Second, Atticus was himself obsessed with Greek culture. It seems likely that Atticus developed a love for Hellenism not only because of a general tendency among the Roman elite but also under the direct influence of his father. In other words, Atticus' father might well have been a passionate advocate

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[399] For an overview of the destruction of Corinth which is based on both archaeological and literary evidence, see *ANRW* II.7.1:465–502.
[400] For the importance of the Isthmus for Corinth, see Pettegrew (2016). For Corinthian trade in archaic and classical periods, see Salmon (1984).
[401] Day (1942, 76–78).
[402] Follet (2002) studies some of the Italians and Romans who are known to have been in Athens between the second century BCE and the first century CE. It is noteworthy that we have epigraphic evidence for the presence of the Pomponii in Delos; see Ferrary et al. (2002, 211).

of Greek culture, too. If correct, it makes more sense for us to assume that he once resided in Athens, the cultural center of the Greek world, to conduct business. The inheritance he left to Atticus, which is said to have been 2 million sesterces, indicates that he managed to earn a fortune in the East.[403]

As the above discussion shows, the chaotic political environment in Rome during the early and mid-80s, the arising of opportunities for financial activities in the post-war Athens as well as the pre-existing ties in that city are all factors in Atticus' decision to move to Athens. In fact, there can be another reason: the economic problems all over Italy in that same decade. The Social War between 91 and 88 left many towns in the Italian peninsula in terrible conditions.[404] Soon shortage on the public level led individuals to suffer from poverty. Hence the debt crisis in the capital city in 89.[405] Debtors were unable to pay off loans on time, but lenders refused to compromise and some of them even killed the praetor Aulus Sempronius Asellio when he tried to break the stalemate by acting on debtors' behalf.[406] Then the situation in Italy worsened both because the Roman officials took improper measures to fight against this financial crisis and because the First Mithridatic War disrupted the collection of revenues from Asia.[407]

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[403] See below for a discussion of this inheritance.
[404] Dart (2014, 212), whose discussion is mainly based on archaeological evidence. Strabo (5.3–4) notes that several major urban centers in the central Apennines were not heavily affected.
[405] Such a close connection between the public *inopia* and private debt crisis during the Social War period is highlighted by Williams (1998) and accepted by Kay (2014, 245).
[406] Appian (*BCiv.* 1.54) describes this debt crisis at some length. Brief mentions can be found at Cic. *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 19, Livy *Epit*. 74 and Val. Max. 9.7.4.
[407] For a fuller discussion, see Kay (2014, 243–47), who also makes an interesting comparison between this crisis and the financial crisis that took place in 2008. See also Perlwitz (1992, 35–39).

## 2.2 Atticus after the Move

For his financial activities in Athens, Atticus would have mainly relied on the property he inherited from his late father, which, according to Nepos, was worth 2 million sesterces.[408] Part of it clearly existed in the form of real estate, and Atticus is said to have sold the Italian estates off and brought the cash with him to the East for fear that he could not protect them while being absent from Italy.[409] At first glance, that inheritance can hardly be considered as substantial, especially when compared with the one valued at 10 million sesterces that Quintus Caecilius left to Atticus in 58.[410] However, we should examine the inheritance Atticus received from his father in context.

To do so, it is significant to note in the first place that the pace at which individuals' wealth grew accelerated over time. As far as we learn from Pliny the Elder, although Quintus Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus (cos. 121) was the first person to own 1000 pounds of silver personally, Marcus Livius Drusus (tr. pl. 91), who was about one generation later than Allobrogicus, possessed 10000 pounds.[411] The accuracy of those specific figures is no doubt an issue, but the overall trend is undeniable.[412] Because of Sulla's proscriptions in the late 80s and the foreign campaigns waged by Pompey and Caesar, private wealth was accumulated at a speed and in quantities unimaginable in previous generations.

Meanwhile, two additional points about Atticus' father's assets are worth making here. For one thing, even if he did not leave legacies to his wife Caecilia, other kinsmen

[408] Nep. *Att.* 14.2.
[409] Nep. *Att.* 2.3.
[410] Nep. *Att.* 14.2. This inheritance will be discussed in detail in chapter 7.
[411] Plin. *HN* 33.141.
[412] Tan (2017, 6–14), with more example to argue for this trend.

or friends, it seems almost impossible for him to have transmitted all of his property to Atticus without giving anything to Pomponia. For another thing, while the existing evidence is not as straightforward and abundant as can be expected, it did appear common for Roman and Italian economic elites to own property in the Greek East during the second and first centuries, and it was not until the Augustan period that such property began to be factored into one's census assessment.[413] So Atticus' father might have held estates in Athens or other places in Greece that escape Nepos' notice. In the *De legibus*, "Cicero" mentions the house owned by "Atticus" in the southeastern part of the city near the river Ilissus and describes it as old (*antiqua*).[414] The historical Atticus probably did have it, but it is unclear whether it had previously belonged to his father. At any rate, there is some reason to believe that Atticus' father was wealthier than Nepos depicts in the biography.[415]

It may be safe to assume that the inheritance in question easily qualified Atticus for the equestrian rank. The Augustan poet Horace says in one of his poems that a person who failed to have 400000 sesterces would be an ordinary man even though he might have other qualities desired in Roman public life such as eloquence and loyalty.[416] This claim not only attests to the importance of wealth in creating a man's position within

[413] Eberle and Le Quéré (2017, 36).
[414] Cic. *Leg.* 1.3.
[415] We have a glimpse of the financial conditions of a rich man who was contemporary with Atticus' father and had the same social status as him: the elder Sextus Roscius, father of Cicero's first legal client. As a big landowner, he possessed 13 productive farms in his Umbrian hometown Ameria. In defending his son in the court, Cicero mentioned that those estates were worth 6 million sesterces (*Rosc. Am.* 6). Dyck describes that sum as "substantial" (2010, 65). Yet we should avoid making a direct comparison between the financial situation of Atticus' father and that of the elder Roscius because the way they accumulated wealth were not exactly the same.
[416] Hor. *Epist*. 1.1.57–9. This poem is generally dated to 20/19.

society but has been taken to indicate the property qualification for membership in the equestrian order in Horace's day.[417] We do not have clear evidence for what was the case in the late Republic. According to Suetonius, after crossing the Rubicon River Caesar promised the *ius anulorum* and 400000 sesterces to each soldier who would remain loyal to him. This anecdote seems to suggest that the financial criterion for being an *eques* in the very end of the Republic was the same as, if not lower than, that in the early Principate.[418] Presumably Atticus' father was able to meet the financial requirement, too.[419]

We have already discussed Atticus' moneylending activities in Athens. Although it can be quite certain from the generous terms on which he made loans to the Athenians that he could hardly earn huge short-term profits from moneylending, we cannot jump to the conclusion that he was bound to suffer heavy losses. First, Atticus might well have been very cautious about giving big loans, just as the Cloatii brothers did in Gytheum. Second, if pre-existing connections enabled him to judge the dependability of his borrowers, the problem of their failure to repay debts could have become less worrisome.

In fact, there can be a real possibility that the income Atticus derived from other economic activities was large enough to make him willing to be generous with his loans. But what activities could Atticus have engaged in? Nepos notes that he once donated 6

[417] Davenport (2019, 121–22).
[418] Suet. *Iul.* 33. The *ius anulorum* was the right to wear the ring that signaled the senatorial or equestrian rank.
[419] Nepos (*Att*. 1.1) claims that Atticus' equestrian rank was passed down without interruption from his ancestors. But as Marshall (1986, 8) has correctly pointed out, there is no evidence that the rank was hereditary. It is also worth noting that the definition of *eques Romanus* is elusive throughout Roman history and changed considerably over time. For fuller discussions, see Nicolet (1974) and Davenport (2019).

pecks (=1 *medimnos*, about 40 kilograms) of wheat to each Athenian citizen.[420] A letter from Cicero indicates that Atticus donated wheat again to the Athenians in mid-50.[421] It is important to remember that since the fifth century Athens had been dependent for its survival on a supply of grain from overseas sources, and much of it came from northern Greece (Thessaly), the Black Sea, North Africa (especially Egypt) and Sicily.[422] Atticus' donations, therefore, prompt us to suppose that he participated in grain trade. If so, it would be tempting to further conjecture that he imported grain from Sicily, because it would have been easier for him to establish connections on that island, which also exported grain to Italy (of course, including the city of Rome).[423] From the late 70s onwards, Cicero's clients there could have helped Atticus with his business. Alternatively, one may wonder whether Atticus invested in urban property, with the intention of selling the houses when their prices became high again.[424] As a consequence

[420] Nep. *Att.* 2.6. We do not know the population of Athens at that time, but it still seems quite reasonable to assume that the total amount of the wheat donated by Atticus was gigantic.
[421] Cic. *Att.* 6.6.2=SB 121.2. The amount is not indicated.
[422] Authors of classical Athens who specifically mention the necessity of grain imports include Demosthenes (*Lept.* 20.31–2) and Xenophon (*Hell*. 6.1.11 and *Mem*. 3.6.3). According to Demosthenes (*Lept*. 20.31), yearly imports of wheat in the mid-fourth century were 800,000 *medimnoi* (about 26,368 tons). Moreno (2007, 32–34) argues that this figure was more or less accurate and the imported grain could support at least 100,000 men. See also Garnsey (1988, 107–33) for a discussion of Athens' dependence on grain import.
[423] For a discussion of the supply of grain from overseas in Italy, see Garnsey (1988, 182–97).
[424] For an overview of urban property investment in ancient Roman, see Garnsey (1976). Later studies on urban property investment, including those by Rauh (1989) and Craver (2010), tend to focus on the city of Rome in the late Republican period, for which evidence is relatively abundant.

of the First Mithridatic War and the subsequent sack, the real estate market in Athens at the time of Atticus' arrival was presumably at a low ebb.[425]

We are much better informed about Atticus' economic activities in the first half of 60s, since several letters dating to this period have survived.[426] In a letter of late 68, Cicero reports that Marcus Fonteius (who held the praetorship sometime in the mid-70s) had recently purchased the Rabirius house (*domum Rabirianam*) in Naples.[427] Then he goes on to say: "I wanted you to know this in case that property might bear on your plans" (*id te scire volui, si quid forte ea res ad cogitationes tuas pertineret*). As this suggests, Atticus was at least considering buying a residence in that city if he had not yet been ready to do so. At that time, Atticus was also dealing in works of art as well as books. To furnish his new "Academy" at Tusculum, Cicero kept requesting Atticus to procure those items for him.[428]

Given Nepos' mention that Atticus stayed in Athens for several years (*complures annos*), he might have moved to other places in Greece sometime in the mid- and late 70s.[429] He surely started to live at Buthrotum in Epirus since the fall of 68 after he

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[425] Appian (*Mith*. 63) says that the situation of some cities in Asia Minor was so desperate in the aftermath of the Mithridatic War that they even mortgaged their theaters, gymnasiums, walls and harbors, etc. If Athens also mortgaged some of its public property to Atticus, his interest-free loans would make more sense.
[426] Nepos (*Att*. 4.5) notes that Atticus returned to Rome in 65. The timing suggests that he most likely intended to support Cicero's campaign for the consulship.
[427] *Att*. 1.6.1=SB 2.1.
[428] *Att.* 1.6.2=SB 2.2 and 1.7=SB 3. Atticus procured for Cicero some Megarian statues and Pentelic herms with the bronze heads. The former cost Cicero 20,400 sesterces (*Att.* 1.8.2=SB 4.2 and 1.9.2=SB 5.2). Atticus' acquisition of works of art for Cicero is also mentioned in passing at *Att.* 1.2.3=SB 7.3, 1.3.2=SB 8.2 and 1.4.3=SB 9.3. See Fulton (2017, 205–6) for a brief discussion of Atticus' role as an intermediary who acquired luxury goods for redistribution.
[429] Nep. *Att.* 4.3.

happily purchased an estate there.[430] While the region was sacked by the Romans under the leadership of Lucius Aemilius Paullus in 167 (coss. I 182 and II 168) and further suffered from the raids by Mithridates of Pontus, it still managed to recover later. Its potential for economic prosperity may well have been the primary reason why Atticus decided to make this property his principal residence in the East. Nepos describes it as one of Atticus' major sources of income, so he most likely engaged in farming.[431] Meanwhile, located on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea in northwestern Greece, Epirus lay at the heart of the Mediterranean between the Greek and Roman worlds. By taking advantage of its port, Atticus would have earned huge profits from interregional trade.

To conclude, we have every reason to believe that the loans Atticus made to the Athenians did not harm his portfolio. Rather, the generosity most likely brought him more returns. It is, therefore, little wonder that he had impressive success in expanding his enterprise. While this is of course not the place for a detailed analysis of his extensive business interests in the Greek world in later periods, we should nevertheless notice that he had financial dealings in Sicyon, Macedonia, Delos and Asia.[432] Needless to say, by no means is this list, which is only based on the surviving evidence, a comprehensive one.

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[430] Cic. *Att.* 1.5.7=SB 1.7. Atticus' estate in Buthrotum has been the subject of numerous discussions, including Deniaux (1987), Marshall (1986, 94–101) and Perlwitz (1992, 66–78).

[431] Nep. *Att.* 14.3. In his treatise on agriculture, Varro (*Rust.* 2.5.10) takes special note of Epirus' suitability for raising cattle. Indeed, he also points out Atticus' engagement in animal husbandry (*Rust.* 2.2.20 and 2.10.11).

[432] Sicyon: *Att*. 1.13.1=SB 13.1 and 2.21.6=SB 41.6; Macedonia: *Att.* 3.1=SB 46 and *Fam.* 5.5= SB 5; Delos: *Att.* 9.9.4=SB 176.4; and Asia: *Att.* 5.20.8=SB 113.8.

**3. Pomponia**

Although Cicero provides us with some information about Pomponia after she was married to Quintus, direct evidence for her prior to that marriage is unfortunately rather meager. According to Nepos, she was "almost of the same age" as Atticus, who was born in 110.[433] He seems intended to suggest that she was born at most a few years later than her brother, probably sometimes between 109 and 105. Quintus' date of birth is not securely attested in our ancient sources, either. As Cicero's younger brother, he would have been born no earlier than 105. On the other hand, he is known to have held the praetorship in 62. So 102 is the *terminus ante quem* and is often accepted by scholars as his birthyear.[434] If the above hypotheses are correct, the couple's age difference can range from 0 to 7 years, and it seems very likely that Pomponia was older than Quintus.[435]

The Romans, including jurists and physicians, thought that girls entered puberty around 12, which was marked by the advent of menses and signaled their physical readiness for marriage.[436] As suggested by the above discussion, Pomponia might well have reached such a stage of life when her father died. Given the longevity of adult Roman people, it was not a rare phenomenon that children of about her age had already

[433] Nep. *Att.* 17.1:… *prope aequalem habebat*.
[434] For a discussion of Quintus' date of birth, see Prost (2017, II).
[435] Many scholars believe that Pomponia was Quintus' senior, including Bradley (1991, 186), Treggiari (2007, 41) and Harders (2008, 252). For the age difference between Pomponia and Quintus, see the table in the appendix. There is a 58% probability that Pomponia was at least one year older, and nearly a 1 in 4 chance that she was between 4 and 7 years older.
[436] Laes and Strubbe (2014, 59).

lost their fathers, especially if they were descendants of older men.[437] That death had profound implications for Pomponia. First, in terms of legal status she changed from a person under the authority of the *paterfamilias* to a person of her own right (*sui iuris*). But rather than being entirely independent, as a woman she still needed a male guardian for the rest of her life.[438] Although we do not know for sure who took the responsibility of guardianship at first (a close kinsman or her husband if she married?), Atticus would have made a natural candidate for that purpose after he turned 25.[439] The guardianship mostly concerned property. While there were certainly instances where tutors administered or even appropriated their wards' assets, it is clear from many other cases that their task was often simply to give formal approval to important transactions such as purchase of slaves and use of dowry. Pomponia would have enjoyed much freedom and say in her own affairs since she was under the tutelage of her brother who did not even spend much time in Rome.

We have already argued that the two siblings were born into a wealthy family, so their father's death no doubt resulted in the redistribution of his large fortune. Although Nepos mentions that Atticus received an inheritance of 2 million sesterces, unsurprisingly he says nothing about Pomponia's situation. What is certain is that her capacity of inheriting was much restricted by the *lex Voconia*, which was proposed by the tribune Quintus Voconius Saxa in 169 with the support of Cato the Elder.[440] According to Gaius,

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[437] For a demographic study of children's risk of losing fathers, see Scheidel (2009), which uses basic parameters established by Saller (1994, 43–69).
[438] A classic study of the guardianship for Roman women is that of Gardner (1986, 5–30).
[439] Men under 25 were considered as *minores*, so they themselves needed a special type of guardianship known as *cura*.
[440] There is much scholarship on the *lex Voconia*. Weishaupt (1999) is a comprehensive study of this law.

it prohibited members of the highest census class—the minimum property qualification was 100000 asses—from instituting a woman as a testamentary heir and forbade all makers of wills to let the value of legacies exceed that of inheritances for ordinary heir(s).[441]

In his treatise on government, Cicero complains about how the Voconian law caused injustice against women.[442] His view must have largely resulted from his concern for Tullia. Conceivably, therefore, that law did not enjoy popularity among affluent families with daughters. But instead of being rescinded soon after its passage like the *lex Oppia* of 216, which was also designed to regulate women's wealth, the *lex Voconia* was still in effect during Augustus' reign. The reason is obvious: it was so easy for the economic elite to circumvent it that abrogation became unnecessary. In fact, evidence from Cicero alone records several strategies for evasion, including the use of *legatum partitionis*, the use of a "trust fund" (*fideicommissum*), and avoidance of registration in the census.[443]

For the siblings' father, the most convenient method seemed to be *legatum partitionis*. That is to say, he perhaps let Atticus inherit all of his assets on condition that Atticus give a share to his sister. Thus in terms of succession Pomponia would be at an

[441] Gai. *Inst.* 2.274 and 2.226. When discussing Augustus' legal reform in 9 CE, Dio Cassius (56.10) says that although the *lex Voconia* did not allow women to receive an inheritance of more than 25000 drachmas (= 100000 sesterces), the emperor exempted some women from this restriction. Dio's claim concerning an upper limit on the size of women's inheritances is confusing. Von Woess (1911) argues that the historian is referring here to intestate situation, but such an explanation has been questioned, as Weishaupt (1999, 58–59 n.104) notes.
[442] Cic. *Rep.* 3.17.
[443] *Legatum partitionis*: Cic. *Caecin*. 10–12; *fideicommissum*: Cic. *Fin*. 2.55; avoidance of registration in the census: Cic. *Verr*. 2.1.104.

advantage over women who had no brother. Another benefit of Atticus' existence was that it enabled the family wealth to stay within the family. If Pomponia's father only had had her as child or all of his descendants had been female, according to the second provision of the *lex Voconia*, at least half of his property would have fallen into possession of outside members appointed as his heirs.

A traditional view is that Roman testators tended to favor sons over daughters when dividing their property.[444] Admittedly, in both literary and legal texts we can see instances where a son's portion set in the will was larger than his sister's.[445] However, in examining those examples, two points should be remembered. First, male descendants were usually responsible for financial burdens that were commonly not applicable to female descendants, such as paying for the funeral, giving legacies and discharging debts. Second, the figure to be seen in a testament may not necessarily reflect the actual amount a daughter ended up receiving from her father. For example, he could have reserved an additional share to serve as her dowry. Therefore, although it would be an overstatement to say that in ancient Rome women achieved full equality with men in succession, blatant and widespread discrimination against women did not seem to be the case.[446]

So while we do not know for sure how much exactly was allotted to Pomponia, there can be no reason to believe that she was placed at a grave disadvantage in the redistribution of family wealth. Most likely her father prepared a generous dowry,

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[444] Advocates of such a view include von Woess (1911, 94–106), Champlin (1991, 114–15 and n.44) and Saller (1994, 120). For a fuller bibliography, see Pölönen (2002, 147 n.1).
[445] Literary evidence: Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.2; legal evidence: *Dig.* 31.77.30, 32.27.1, 35.2.14 pr., 35.2.94, 36.1.58, 36.1.80.5 and *Cod. Iust.* 3.28.12.
[446] This point is elegantly argued by Pölönen (2002), which is accepted by Treggiari (2003, 424).

because at the time of his death she had already reached a marriageable age. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note the scandal of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso *pater* that took place during Tiberius' reign. After Piso committed suicide in the face of numerous accusations, the senate assigned his granddaughter Calpurnia not only a dowry of 1 million sesterces but also a *peculium* of 4 million sesterces by means of an edict in 20 CE.[447] Given its enormous amount, the latter was probably intended for her personal allowance. But can Calpurnia's case serve as evidence that Pomponia and other women of the late Republic received both a dowry and a *peculium* like her?

Indeed, there are examples of late Republican women who possessed and managed their property that did not form part of their dowries. Terentia is a case in point. In addition to the financial contribution of 400,000 sesterces she made to her marriage to Cicero, she surely had additional assets.[448] What is often mentioned in Cicero's letters is her slave/freedman named Philotimus. His main responsibility appeared to be taking care of both his master's and Cicero's financial affairs, though Cicero was sometimes dissatisfied with his services.[449] Moreover, the *saltus* (a term usually referring to a piece of land consisting of forest and pasture) that Terentia and Cicero went to inspect in 59

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[447] We learn about this grant from the *Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre* (ll. 104–5). For the texts of this decree, see Potter and Damon (1999). For a commentary, see Eck et al. (1996). In existing scholarship on *peculium*, the focus is predominantly on sons under their fathers' authority and slaves as holders of that specific type of property that they did not personally own but had the right to use.

[448] For Terentia' property and her management of it, see Dixon (1984), Treggiari (2007, 34–35) and Ermete (2003, 136–42).

[449] For a list of all the references to Philotimus in Cicero's correspondence, see Shackleton Bailey (1995, 77–78). This person should be distinguished from Cicero's namesake slave/freedman, but in some cases it is difficult to say to which person Cicero is referring. For more discussion of this slave/freedman of Terentia's, see the following chapter.

more likely than not belonged to her personal possessions.[450] Presumably she exploited it by raising livestock and deriving natural resources such as timber and hay.

In the biography, Nepos notes in passing the close relationship between the two siblings: Atticus is said to have "never quarreled with his sister."[451] The fact that brothers and sisters remained on intimate terms in elite Roman families should not come as a surprise.[452] In the case of Atticus and Pomponia, their deep affection for each other would have stemmed not only from their natural connection but also the small difference between their ages. During Atticus' extended residence in the East, it was Pomponia who shouldered the responsibility to take care of their mother.[453] Because of her service, Pomponia might have benefitted financially from both Atticus and Caecilia. There can even be a possibility that he himself prepared a dowry for her when she was married to Quintus.[454]

However, the two siblings' closeness raises the question of why Atticus escaped from the city of Rome in the mid-80s instead of staying at Pomponia's side. In fact, he also left their mother behind, to whom he is said to have been very devoted.[455] It would

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[450] Cic. *Att.* 2.4.5=SB 24.5.
[451] Nep. Att. 17.1: *numquam cum sorore fuisse in simultate*.
[452] For a concise discussion of the brother-sister relationship in elite families, see Hallett (1984, 152–80). Harders (2008) is a fuller study on that topic. She specifically argues in the fifth chapter (2008, 71–86) that the good relationship between the brother and the sister was a lack of rivalry between them because after the death of the paterfamilias, the son would become the full head of his family whereas the daughter could neither establish nor continue her own *familia*. It is rather unfortunate for us that Cicero's correspondence does not reveal the interactions between Tullia and Marcus the Younger.
[453] Cic. *Att*. 1.7=SB 3 and 1.8.1=SB 4.1. Parkin (2003, 203–26) discusses care for the elderly in the Roman family.
[454] Cicero (*Off*. 2.56) mentions that there were people who prepared dowries for their friends' daughters as a gesture of generosity.
[455] Nep. *Att.* 17.1.

seem curious if he were so confident about the two women's ability to withstand the political turbulence as to underestimate the importance of the protection by an adult man like him for them.[456] Therefore, it is reasonable to conjecture that at the time of Atticus' departure, Pomponia was married to a man who was attentive to her and Caecilia's welfare, with the result that Atticus did not feel too worried about them after he relocated to the East.

The conflict between Cinna and Sulla ended with the latter's victory in 82. Yet what followed was a reign of terror rather than a period of peace, because Sulla used proscription to eliminate his opponents. Those purges caused hundreds of deaths among the upper class.[457] The example of the Sexti Roscii of Ameria demonstrates that it was even difficult for families not actively involved in Roman politics to remain safe. Unfortunately, there is no information at all to allow us to reconstruct Pomponia's experiences during the proscription. She might have lived in fear, since the wealth of her family could have turned its members into targets for plots. To be sure, Atticus' financial support for Marius' son in the early 80s had the potential to be conveniently employed as a pretext.

On the other hand, however, it is also possible that Pomponia ended up benefitting financially from the proscription. The properties of the proscribed were

[456] The so-called *laudatio Turiae* (*CIL* 6.41062) shows us, among other things, how difficult a woman's life could be in a period of political turbulence without being protected by a mature man. For example, she had to avenge her parents' deaths on her own.

[457] For Sulla's proscriptions, see, for example, Vell. Pat. 2.28, Oros. 5.21, App. *BCiv*. 1.95, Plut. *Sull*. 31, Livy *Epit*. 88, Cic. *Rosc. Am*. 130 and *Dom*. 43. Persecutions and confiscations throughout Italy are mentioned at App. *BCiv*. 1.96, Livy *Epit*. 88, Sen. *Ep*. 47.10 and Sall. *Hist*. 1.49.17. Hinard (1985a) is a classic study on Sulla's proscription.

confiscated and sold at public auction, and buyers were often able to purchase them at prices far lower than their real values. For instance, Sulla's freedman Chrysogonus bought the estates of the elder Sextus Roscius, reportedly worth over 6 million sesterces, for a nominal sum of 2000 sesterces.[458] In addition to Chrysogonus, the senatorial Crassus is another confirmed person we know of who made massive gains in such a way.[459] Needless to say, opportunities for profiteering were abundant and open for people of different backgrounds.

Although Pomponia might have married sometime in the mid-80s as discussed above, the complete absence of evidence makes it impossible to tell who her husband was or what their marital relationship was like. Nevertheless, it appears likely that she lost him to either divorce or death shortly before her marriage to Quintus in the late 70s.[460] Indeed, having previous marital experiences can help to explain why, as we will examine in the following chapter, she sometimes behaved assertively towards Quintus.

**4. Quintus Tullius Cicero**

Despite a wealth of information about Cicero, our knowledge of his younger brother Quintus is quite limited, especially when it comes to Quintus' early years. During the 80s Cicero studied law with the Scaevolae, philosophy with Philo the Academician as well as Diodotus the Stoic, and rhetoric with Molo of Rhodes. Since Quintus was only a few years Cicero's junior, there can be a real possibility that he joined Cicero in receiving such legal, philosophical and oratorical training, just as their sons—Marcus the Younger

[458] Cic. *Rosc. Am*. 6.
[459] Plut. *Crass*. 6.8.
[460] Bradley (1991, 186).

and Quintus the Younger—were educated together in the 50s. Quintus accompanied Cicero on the visit to Athens at the beginning of the 70s. However, unlike his elder brother and brother-in-law, he showed little interest in intellectual study, with the sole exception of literature. As an avid reader, he had a special taste for verses and admired both Euripides and Sophocles. In fact, he was even such a keen writer as to have finished four tragic plays within sixteen days (one of them was named *Electra*) when participating in Caesar's Gallic campaigns in the mid-50s.[461]

In preparing himself for a senatorial career, Cicero mainly capitalized on his achievements in the courts, though such a route to political success was hardly common.[462] For new men, the two traditional venues were serving in the army and holding a minor office.[463] Quintus' career in the 50s is worth noting here. In 56, he acted as Pompey's legate in Sardinia. Then he campaigned with Caesar in Gaul between 54 and 52. Caesar makes two references to Quintus in the *Gallic Wars*, and one of them can be found in the detailed account of the siege of Quintus' camp by local peoples under Ambiorix's leadership, where Caesar praises Quintus for being a brave and efficient commander.[464] At the end of that same decade, Quintus accompanied Cicero to Cilicia and made significant contributions to the Romans' victories over the Parthians, including

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[461] *Qfr.* 3.5.7=SB 25.7. Quintus seems to have written at least twenty poems during his life time. In addition to tragedies, he also composed an astronomy-themed poem in hexameter. Wiemer (1930, 6–13) offers a detailed account of Quintus' interest in and production of literature. Interestingly, Cicero was interested in reading and writing verses, too, though he did not seem gifted at the poetic arts. For *testimonia* and *fragmenta* of Cicero's and Quintus' compositions, see *FPL*[4] pp.144–81 and pp.181–3, respectively.
[462] Van der Blom (2016, 280).
[463] Wiseman (1971, 143–53).
[464] Caes. *BGall.* 5.38–52. The other account (6.32 and 36–42) concerns the disaster at Aduatuca in 53 that partially resulted from Quintus' failure to follow orders. Yet Caesar uses this as an example to illustrate the accidents of war rather than to criticize Quintus.

the one won at the battle of Mount Amanus. It is thus reasonable to believe that he was more likely to choose military service as a springboard for future career.[465]

Although in the late Republic military service was no longer a prerequisite for young men aiming to become magistrates, it still remained a popular career path, but the previous length of ten years was probably shortened. For one thing, battlefield served as a convenient context where one could display courage—an essential value in Roman society, as Polybius correctly observes—and earn himself a good reputation, which would contribute to electoral success.[466] For another thing, serving in the army offered many opportunities for making profits. Victories, especially those won in foreign wars, often led to huge spoils. Since generals were allowed to dispense with such gains at will, they tended to use them to reward their subordinates and soldiers so as to keep them loyal.[467]

The need to improve his financial conditions was part of the reason for Quintus' decision to join Caesar's Gallic campaigns.[468] He must have felt the same need for money when young, due to his burning ambition for prominence in Roman politics. But the two brothers' family, though certainly a well-to-do one, did not seem to be wealthy enough to

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[465] McDermott (1971, 711–13) suggests that Quintus might have served under Pompey, Lucius Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74), Lucius Licinius Murena (pr. 88 and father of Murena consul in 62), Gaius Valerius Triarius (proprietor of Sardinia and Corsica in 77) or Publius Servilius Vatia (proconsul of Cilicia between 77 and 75). But this is pure conjecture. Incidentally, Cicero also had some military experience and was even honored for his service to Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo's victory over an Italian armed force near Asculum in 89 (*CIL* $1^2$.709 = *ILS* 8888 = *ILLRP* 515).

[466] Polyb. 31.29.1.

[467] For massive spoils obtained by Lucius Licinius Lucullus, see Plut. *Lucull*. 11.5 and Shatzman (1975, 378–81).

[468] Cic. *Qfr.* 2.15.2=SB 19.2. *Fam.* 1.9.24=SB 20.24 suggests that in 54 some problem happened to Quintus' business, so Cicero asked Lentulus for help. Wiseman (1966) argues that Quintus aimed to become consul, so he needed campaign funds.

support both of them in their efforts to climb up the *cursus honorum*. To be sure, Plutarch notes that in his early adulthood Cicero had barely sufficient money to meet his expenses and it was Terentia's dowry as well as a legacy of 360,000 sesterces, most likely from a legal client, that enabled him to live in a decent manner.[469] At the same time, Quintus' desire to enrich himself no doubt helps to explain his marriage to Pomponia, who as shown above was a rich woman from an affluent family.

It is less clear, however, whether Quintus held any minor office prior to the quaestorship (doing so and military service need not have been mutually exclusive). In his day, there were six boards of minor magistrates in Rome, and they were collectively referred to as *vigintisexviri* in some inscriptions.[470] The committee of ten on judging lawsuits was probably the oldest and of the greatest significance. The board of three men who were in charge of minting coins is well attested by numismatic evidence. We have already seen that both Tullia's first husband Gaius Culpurnius Piso Frugi and Gaius' father Lucius had been moneyers before they became quaestors. As for the members belonging to the remaining four colleges, their responsibilities included policing the city of Rome, maintaining the cleanness of both urban and suburban streets as well as administrating Campania.

Quintus succeeded in embarking on a senatorial career, but the date of his quaestorship is not attested in our ancient sources. His absence from Rome in 68, which is clear from Cicero's correspondence, has led to the hypothesis that he was holding the

[469] Plut. *Cic.* 8.3.
[470] Cicero mentions three boards at *Leg.* 3.6.5. A detailed discussion of those minor magistrates can be found in Mommsen *Röm. Staatsr.* $2^3$: 578–95. For an updated and briefer treatment, see Lintott (1999, 137–44).

position in a province that year, though we do not know whether Cicero means to say that Quintus was only out of town on an errand.[471] At any rate, his birth in the second half of the 100s indicates that the office can date between the very end of the 70s and the beginning of the 60s. Given the general tendency among elite men to have marriage timed to coincide with political career, it is safe to assume that Quintus married Pomponia during that period, too.[472]

As discussed earlier, Pomponia was more likely than not Quintus' senior, and their age difference can be as big as seven years if Pomponia was born in 109 and Quintus in 102. This is a somewhat striking feature of their marriage, because the norm suggested by the existing evidence was that not only did men marry younger women, but for elite men at first marriage there tended to be a ten-year gap. Interestingly, however, we do see in our sources a few cases of men pursuing women older than them. Talna was likely one of such suitors.[473] When Atticus was looking for a fiancé for his six-year-old daughter Attica in 45, Cicero once planned to recommend this man. He was probably a young man (at most in his early twenties?), or it would make little sense for Cicero to consider him as a potential candidate for the little Attica.[474] But Cicero became less interested in Talna after learning that he made a marriage proposal to Cornificia, the

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[471] *Att.* 1.5=SB 1. The hypothesis that Quintus was quaestor in 68 was first proposed by Münzer (*RE* Tullius 31) and accepted by Broughton (*MRR* 2.139). Fündling argues that Quintus could hold that office in any year between 74 and 69 (*DNP* s.v. Q. Tullius Cicero [I 11]).

[472] We already discussed this tendency in chapter 2. Note that it might be more likely for patrician men to marry earlier.

[473] Cic. *Att.* 13.28.4–5=SB 299.4–5. Talna might be a member of the Iuventian clan and a relative to Titus Iuventius Thalna (pr. 194), Marcus Iuventius Thalna (cos. 163) and a Publius Iuventius Thalna (pr. 149).

[474] Indeed, Talna is sometimes thought to be the young man who appears in some of Catullus' poems (24, 81 and 99; *BNP* Iuventius I5).

daughter of Quintus Cornificius.[475] It seems from Cicero's description of her as "a little old woman of many marital experiences" (*vetulam sane et multarum nuptiarum*) that she might be a divorcée at least in her late twenties.[476] While we cannot make much of this example as Talna's attempt failed, it still apeears true that the traditional age difference might matter less if remarriage was involved.[477]

The frequency of divorces and remarriages within the Roman elite in the late Republican period warns us not to buy into Apuleius' claim in the *Apologia* that divorced women were disgraceful because they could not offer virginity to their new husbands and might even be ill-omened if they lost their previous husbands to death.[478] However, Apuleius may well be correct in saying that some widows were still able to attract suitors, including younger ones, because of their ample dowries. Indeed, we can infer from the reason for Cornificia's rejection of Talna's courtship—which was that with a "net worth" of only 800,000 sesterces, he was not wealthy enough for her—that Talna's bold move was primarily motivated by a desire to improve his financial situation. Thus once again the age difference between Pomponia and Quintus may well point to the vital role of money in the making of their marriage.

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[475] Broughton tentatively dates Quintus Cornificius' praetorship to 66 (*MRR* 2.152).
[476] *Vetula,* which comes from the adjective *vetulus* (a diminutive of *vetus*), would certainly mean "a woman somewhat advanced in age." But our examples (Plaut. *Mostell.* 1.1.138; Juv. 6.241; Mart. 8.79.1) do not tell to which age group of women the term commonly refers.
[477] Humbert (1972) is a comprehensive study of remarriage in ancient Rome, but he does not specifically discuss how the issue of age might have affected the decision-making process of people who intended to remarry or people who intended to marry the divorced.
[478] Bradley (1991, 156–76) studies how the Roman elite in the late Republic use divorce and remarriage as family strategy. For Apuleius' claim, see *Apol.* 92.5–11.

It is interesting to note that Quintus' marriage to Pomponia had much in common with Cicero's marriage to Terentia. Regardless of whether Terentia was born into an office-holding family, her personal possessions demonstrate that it was an affluent family.[479] In other words, both marital alliances attest to new men's efforts to connect themselves to wealthy families, in the hope of boosting their political ambitions. There is no reason to doubt that Quintus' successful move through the *cursus honorum* was partially dependent upon Pomponia's financial support.

## 5. Conclusion

As one of the two chapters on the marriage between Quintus and Pomponia, the current one has attempted to focus on their backgrounds in order to answer the question of why it was made. Atticus and Pomponia's family was certainly wealthy, and their father might have amassed a fortune by doing business in Athens. Both the substantial inheritance and social relations he left Atticus upon his death allowed Atticus to establish a big enterprise in the East after he moved there from Rome in the mid-80s. Since sons were not necessarily put at an advantage over daughters in succession, it is reasonable to believe that Pomponia received a lot of money from her late father, too. On the other hand, Quintus was also born into a well-to-do family, but he still needed improve his financial conditions to prepare himself for a costly senatorial career. Therefore, it made perfect sense for him to marry Pomponia, even though she might well have been his senior. At the time of marriage, Quintus is likely to have proved himself to be a

[479] For more detailed discussions of Terentia's family background, see Ermete (2003, 125–26) and Treggiari (2007, 30–31).

promising young man in politics through his military service. This can help to explain why Pomponia agreed on the marriage in question.

**Appendix: The Age difference between Quintus (Q) and Pomponia (P)**

1. Negative numbers indicate that Quintus was younger than Pomponia; positive numbers indicate that he was older.
2. Although Nepos' evidence makes it less likely that Pomponia was born in the second half of the 110s, possibilities are still given in the table below for a complete picture (in italics).

| Q / P | 105 BCE | 104 BCE | 103 BCE | 102 BCE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 109 BCE | -4 | -5 | -6 | -7 |
| 108 BCE | -3 | -4 | -5 | -6 |
| 107 BCE | -2 | -3 | -4 | -5 |
| 106 BCE | -1 | -2 | -3 | -4 |
| 105 BCE | 0 | -1 | -2 | -3 |
| *104 BCE* | *1* | *0* | *-1* | *-2* |
| *103 BCE* | *2* | *1* | *0* | *-1* |
| *102 BCE* | *3* | *2* | *1* | *0* |
| *101 BCE* | *4* | *3* | *2* | *1* |
| *100 BCE* | *5* | *4* | *3* | *2* |

## 6. Quintus and Pomponia (II)

The previous chapter elucidated the making of the marriage between Quintus and Pomponia and argued that money played a significant part in it. This chapter, however, will focus on the dynamics of their marital life, upon which Cicero's correspondence sheds important light. The first section will mainly analyze three instances of domestic discord that the couple are known to have encountered. As the proposer for the marriage in question, Cicero intended to deepen not only his own friendship with Atticus but also Quintus friendship with Atticus, which in fact could be easily affected by Quintus' marital relationship with Pomponia. In the second section, we will examine the connections between the three men by looking specifically at how Cicero patched up the quarrel that took place between Quintus and Atticus over provincial administration in the late 60s. The third section is concerned with Quintus the Younger, the only descendant of the couple and the only nephew of both Cicero and Atticus. It will pay particular attention to his role, especially the disruptive role, in his parents' marriage.

An underlying theme that joins the current chapter's three sections together is (interpersonal) conflict. But it is important to clarify at the outset what we mean by it. It has been defined as a problematic situation with the following four characteristics: 1) the conflicting parties are interdependent; 2) they have the perception that they seek incompatible goals or favor incompatible means to the same ends; 3) the perceived incompatibility, if not addressed, has the potential to adversely affect the relationship; and 4) there is sense of urgency about the need to resolve the difference.[480] A notable

[480] This definition is taken from Cahn and Abigail (2014, 3–4).

strength of the above definition lies in its process view.[481] To be more specific, instead of equating conflict simply with the event that triggers a problematic situation, we should bear in mind that conflict 1) is dynamic (for example, the mood of every person involved can keep changing over time); 2) has stages of development (e.g. prelude to conflict, triggering incident, initiation of conflict, intervention phase and so forth); and 3) has a history in which a distinctive pattern emerges (in other words, something in the past can still exert influence today). In order to get a fuller picture of the cases of conflict to be studied below, we will adopt such a process view.

## 1. Quintus and Pomponia: Three Case Studies of Domestic Conflict

### 1.1 Case No. 1 (Late 68)

The earliest letter in the current epistolary collection, which dates to November of 68, reveals that a conflict arose between Quintus and Pomponia. About this incident Cicero says as follows:

> "As for the matter you wrote to me regarding your sister, she will tell you herself how much I have been concerned about the feelings of my brother Quintus for her as he should. Since I consider him as more responsible for the offense, I have sent him a letter through which to appease him as my brother, to admonish him as my junior and to reprimand him as a wrongdoer. Thus from the letters that he wrote me many times afterwards I feel confident that everything is faring as is proper and as we wish."[482]

[481] Cahn and Abigail (2014a, 11).
[482] *Att*. 1.5.2=SB 1.2: *Quod ad me scribis de sorore tua, testis erit tibi ipsa quantae mihi curae fuerit ut Quinti fratris animus in eam esset is qui esse deberet. quem cum esse*

There is not enough information from the above passage to allow us a clear and complete picture of the quarrel, especially why it happened. The fact that Cicero contacted Quintus via letters suggests that Quintus was not in Rome at that time, though it is difficult to tell whether he was holding the quaestorship in a province or temporarily out of town on some errands.[483] At any rate, his absence could well have had something to do with the conflict: if it was not the direct cause, it probably worsened the problem because the physical distance between the couple made communication inconvenient.

What is worth mentioning is that the marital discord in question also affected Pomponia's relationship with Cicero. Later in that same epistle Cicero tries to explain to Atticus why he was recently slack in letter-writing. Cicero shifts part of the blame to Pomponia by asserting that "I have not been told by Pomponia to whom I can give my letters."[484] Apparently, during Atticus' stay in the East Pomponia was in the habit of corresponding regularly with him (just like Cicero) and had couriers on staff for that purpose. Indeed, it is from her that Atticus learnt about the couple's quarrel, but we do not know what exactly Pomponia told her brother. Pomponia's refusal to let her messengers help Cicero, then, seems to suggest that she implicated Cicero in the conflict. Given her attitude towards Cicero, there is good reason to believe that the tension between her and Quintus was higher.

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*offensiorem arbitrarer, eas litteras ad eum misi quibus et placarem ut fratrem et monerem ut minorem et obiurgarem ut errantem. itaque ex iis quae postea saepe ab eo ad me scripta sunt confido ita esse omnia ut et oporteat et velimus.*

[483] See the previous chapter for a discussion of Quintus' quaestorship.

[484] *Att.* 1.5.3=SB 1.3: *De litterarum missione, sine causa abs te accusor. numquam enim a Pomponia nostra certior sum factus esse cui dare litteras possem.*

The news evidently worried Atticus and prompted him to contact Cicero to make inquiries. Cicero's response quoted above reveals how he handled the matter. He seems to have aimed to be impartial, so he frankly admits that Quintus was a wrongdoer (*errantem*) who failed to fulfill his duty towards Pomponia and claims to have reproved (*objurgarem*) him. Note that this verb can be used in a nonhierarchical context: for example, Cicero suggests that friends should criticize each other frequently.[485] Thus we cannot interpret his action of reproaching Quintus as necessarily an attempt to claim authority over Quintus, though a position of seniority did lead Cicero to advise Quintus (*monerem ut minorem*). However, it is clear that Cicero attaches the most significance to their fraternal tie, because he calls Quintus brother (*fratrem*) before labelling him either a *minor* or a *errans*.[486] Cicero's efforts to mollify (*placarem*) Quintus in the first place attest to his affection for Quintus while at the same time confirming the general impression that Quintus was quick to get provoked but slow to calm down.[487]

We can notice from the excerpt that not only is Cicero cautious about how to portray Quintus, but he also pays special attention to how he comes across to Atticus. As shown by the first sentence, Cicero feels the need to demonstrate that he was able to identify with Atticus' concern over the matter. Meanwhile, the switch from the use of first-person singular (*mihi, arbitrarer, misi, placarem, monerem, obiurgarem, me* and *confido*) to the use of first-person plural (*velimus*) is worth noting. Although Cicero appears to have been chiefly responsible for that successful intervention, he invites

[485] *Amic*. 88: *monendi amici saepe sunt et obiurgandi*.
[486] It is noticeable that when constructing a parallel structure in a series, users of the Latin language tended to arrange elements in descending order of prominence. See Allen and Greenough §595-9.
[487] Cicero also mentions such an impression of Quintus at *Qfr*. 1.1.37-8=SB 1.37-8.

Atticus to claim a share in the achievement instead of attributing the credit solely to himself. At the end of that letter, Cicero even asserts that he has brotherly love for Atticus.[488]

By the time Cicero wrote to Atticus in November of 68, the married couple had probably been reconciled. As additional information suggests, Pomponia was then waiting for Quintus' return.[489] Since Cicero specifically mentioned that she was on good terms with Terentia, Terentia might have contributed to the reconciliation. We do not have much direct evidence for the two women's interaction, except that Terentia invited Pomponia to celebrate the festival of the *Compitalia* in the end of 60.[490] Moreover, Pomponia's willingness to help Cicero exchange letters with Atticus attests that she became friendly towards her brother-in-law again.[491]

After the conflict was resolved, Cicero continued to keep an eye on the marital relationship between his brother and sister-in-law, even though his absence from Rome occasionally made it difficult for him to do so. Subsequent letters contain several pieces of news about the couple. At the beginning of 67 they stayed for a while in Quintus' estate at Arpinum, which was probably an inheritance Quintus received from his father who died in late 68.[492] Then they returned to the capital city in February, presumably to take care of Pomponia's sick mother.[493] In May, Cicero told Atticus excitedly from Tusculum that not only were Quintus and Pomponia still living in harmony in Rome, but

[488] *Att.* 1.5.8=SB 1.8: *tibi persuadeas te a me fraterne amari*.
[489] Cic. *Att.* 1.5.8=SB 1.8.
[490] Cic. *Att.* 2.3.4=SB 23.4.
[491] *Att.* 1.10.1=SB 6.1.
[492] *Att.* 1.6.2=SB 2.2.
[493] *Att.* 1.8=SB 4.

they were expecting a baby.[494] The younger Quintus, therefore, was most likely born either later that year or in early 66.

### 1.2 Case No. 2 (Mid- to Late 61)

Quintus' political career thrived in the mid- and late 60s because he held both the aedileship (in 65) and praetorship (in 62). Yet the survival of only a few letters dating to that period does not allow us to reconstruct his life, including family life, during those years in any detail. Given the common interests that stemmed from their marriage, it is not inconceivable that Pomponia took pains to support her husband's advancement on the *cursus honorum* and they made collaborative efforts to attend to their little son. However, another problem arose towards the end of that same decade, though unfortunately the information from Cicero this time is even meagerer and vaguer.

Writing to Atticus on December 5 of 61, Cicero claims to have detected a while ago an undercurrent of unpleasantness in Quintus, which demonstrated that "his feelings were hurt and certain disagreeable suspicions had settled in his mind."[495] Then he goes on to say that "even if no harm had been triggered by Quintus' domestic circle, they could at least have been able to remedy the situation."[496] This protasis with concessive force may be the key to our understanding of what happened. First, regardless of whether Cicero actually intends to exonerate the members of Quintus' household from the responsibility for causing the initial problem, he makes clear that they were to blame for neglecting it

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[494] *Att.* 1.10.5=SB 6.5.
[495] *Att.* 1.17.1=SB 17.1: *subesse nescio quid opinionis incommodae sauciumque esse animum et insedisse quasdam odiosas suspiciones.*
[496] *Att.* 1.17.3=SB 17.3: *ut nihil a domesticis vulneris factum sit, illud quidem quod erat eos certe sanare potuisse.*

and letting it worsen. Second, the use of the third-person plural pronoun *eos* seems to suggest that he is referring to both Pomponia and her mother, who was living with the couple.

In addition, Cicero asserts that Quintus forgot his sense of family obligations as well as Atticus' affection for him because "what had been implanted on his mind by some cunning people grew stronger."[497] The impression Cicero creates here is that certain people ignited that domestic discord on purpose in order to take advantage of it. If correct, we may be tempted to think that Cicero aims to implicate Statius, Quintus' favorite slave of whom Cicero was not fond.[498] Upon learning about Statius' manumission in mid-59, Cicero expressed deep concern to Atticus twice.[499] The complaint he made to Quintus later that year gives us a better sense of why he disliked that slave and disapproved of Quintus' decision to free him:

> "But what used to disturb me the most, when I heard that he had more power at your side than the gravity of your age, authority and wisdom called for—how many people indeed do you think have asked me to recommend them to Statius, how often do you think he has appeared brazenly when talking to me by saying 'I didn't agree,' 'I suggested,' 'I advised' and 'I discouraged'? Even if he had complete loyalty in those affairs (which I absolutely believe, since you think so), that group of people, either freedmen or slaves who enjoy so much favor, cannot

[497] *Att.* 1.17.3=SB 17.3: *valuit enim plus quod erat illi non nullorum artibus inculcatum quam aut officium aut necessitudo aut amor vester ille pristinus.*
[498] For a general discussion of slaves in the Roman family, see Edmondson (2011), which includes a very brief analysis of slaves' role in causing domestic conflict as well as a useful bibliographic essay.
[499] *Att.* 2.18.4=SB 38.4 and 2.19.1=SB 39.1.

have any elevated position. Be assured of this (I should neither say anything without reason or be silent craftily): Statius supplied you with every word of the speeches of your potential detractors. Previously I only knew that some people could be angry at your strictness, but after this manumission I knew that they did not lack topics to talk about."[500]

Cicero felt acutely anxious mainly because he feared that freeing Statius might allow him to enjoy undue influence over his patron.[501] As Cicero tells in the above passage, he had even been asked by numerous people in Rome to recommend them to Statius (rather than to Quintus). In fact, Statius already had much say with his master prior to the emancipation. For example, when serving as governor of Asia between 61 and 59, Quintus put Statius in charge of official letters. But Statius took the liberty of examining all the received documents and sent them out indiscriminately before reporting

[500] *Qfr.* 1.2.3=SB 2.3: *Quod autem me maxime movere solebat, cum audiebam illum plus apud te posse quam gravitas istius aetatis, imperi, prudentiae postularet—quam multos enim mecum egisse putas ut se Statio commendarem, quam multa autem ipsum ἀφελῶς mecum in sermone ita posuisse, "id mihi non placuit," "monui," "suasi," "deterrui"? quibus in rebus etiam si fidelitas summa est (quod prorsus credo, quoniam tu ita iudicas), tamen species ipsa tam gratiosi liberti aut servi dignitatem habere nullam potest. atque hoc sic habeto (nihil enim nec temere dicere nec astute reticere debeo), materiam omnem sermonum eorum qui de te detrahere velint Statium dedisse; antea tantum intellegi potuisse iratos tuae <se>veritati esse non nullos, hoc manumisso iratis quod loquerentur non defuisse.*

[501] Although freedmen (*liberti*) were not seen as equal to freeborn men (*ingeni*), upon manumission ex-slaves could vote and own and transmit property. The granting of these rights was one of the reasons for the Roman elite's anxiety over the emancipation of the slave. Meanwhile, as Mouritsen (2011, 118–19) notes, such anxiety could grow deeper when it fed into wider concerns about morality, virtue and the social order. On the other hand, Cicero seems to have happily freed his slave Tiro in 53 when Tiro was sick. Quintus, who was then campaigning in Transalpine Gaul, said that he was also delighted by this manumission (*Fam.* 16.16.1=SB 44.1, from Quintus to Cicero, May or June of 53).

them to his master.[502] Apparently, Statius abused Quintus' favor to the point of manipulating him. To make the problem even worse, Quintus was too ready to trust him.[503]

If Statius' trickery either solely or partially caused the conflict between Quintus and Pomponia in 61 as Cicero may have implied, part of his goal was probably to get himself manumitted. At the same time, his unruly behavior can be interpreted more generally as an attempt to assert agency and autonomy.[504] Interestingly, Cicero's house also had a servant who appears to have been as cunning as Statius: Terentia's slave/freedman Philotimus.[505] Entrusted with several important tasks such as that of managing Terentia's and Cicero's finances, Philotimus enjoyed much influence, too.

Yet despite loyalty to Terentia, Philotimus did not always act in good faith when dealings with Cicero's affairs. He might have defrauded both Cicero and Milo in the purchase of Milo's property on Cicero's behalf in mid-51.[506] He allegedly mishandled Cicero's assets when Cicero was away governing Cilicia. So upon realizing this in October of 50, Cicero angrily admonished him, reported the issue to Terentia and transferred a sum of money to Atticus.[507] As the political situation worsened after the

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[502] *Qfr*. 1.2.8=SB 2.8. In either late 60 or early 59, Cicero wrote a long letter to instruct Quintus how to govern a province. In that letter (*Qfr*. 1.1.17=SB 1.17), he warns Quintus not to let slaves or freedmen, including outstandingly faithful ones, handle anything related to state business. Apparently, Quintus did not follow his brother's advice.
[503] Quintus acknowledges his affection for Statius in a letters by himself that happens to survive to us (*Fam*. 16.16.2=SB 44.2).
[504] For a brief discussion of Roman slaves' agency, see Hunt (2016).
[505] Evidence for Philotimus has been conveniently collected by Münzer (*RE* Philotimos 1).
[506] *Att.* 5.8.2–3=SB 101.3. We do not know the details of Philotimus' fraud. At that time, Milo had been condemned to exile and was encumbered with heavy debts. So he planned to arrange a fake sale to keep his property from confiscation.
[507] *Att.* 7.1.9=SB 124.9.

outbreak of the civil war, he became more dissatisfied with Philotimus' service (or the lack thereof). For example, during his stay in Greece in 48, he could not even know where Philotimus was or what he was doing.[508] Philotimus' conduct in this period probably led Cicero to suspect that Terentia specifically instructed him to act only in her best interests.[509] If so, such suspicions would have contributed to the rift between Cicero and Terentia.

Let us now return to the discord in Quintus' household. On the one hand, it was followed by another conflict between Quintus and Atticus over provincial government, which must have further complicated the existing situation.[510] On the other hand, Quintus soon left his family members for Asia, where he held the governorship. The separation might have to some extent mitigated the problem, as it allowed conflicting parties an opportunity to calm down. Of course, there is still reason to believe that Cicero's intervention played a key role in ameliorating Quintus' strained relationships with both his wife and his brother-in-law. In early 59, Quintus' residence on the Palatine Hill was suffering from a problem: its bricks on the roof kept falling off. So Quintus sent 35,000 sesterces directly to Pomponia and an additional 15,000 sesterces to Cicero to get the house repaired.[511] It is most likely, therefore, that the couple had already been reconciled by that time.

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[508] *Att.* 11.1–2=SB 211.1–2.
[509] Plut. *Cic.* 41.2.
[510] See below for a discussion of Quintus' direct conflict with Atticus.
[511] *Att.* 2.4.7=SB 24.7 and 2.7.5=SB 27.5. Different readings in the manuscripts make it difficult to say with certainty how much money Quintus sent to Pomponia. Shackleton Bailey adopts the reading "XXXV" (hence "35,000 sesterces").

### 1.3 Case No. 3 (Mid-51)

Quintus' relationship with Pomponia did not run smoothly in the 50s. When informing his brother of Tullia's engagement to Crassipes in April of 56, Cicero brought him a piece of bad news: "Pomponia has been complaining about you."[512] Instead of revealing the reason for her dissatisfaction in that letter, Cicero simply suggested that the matter be discussed when they met in person. We do not know why Cicero was reluctant to commit what he had to say about Pomponia to writing and whether such reluctance indicates a serious problem with Quintus' marriage to her. At any rate, it seems highly likely that Pomponia felt unhappy about Quintus' extended absence. He did not return home until the fall of 58 after three years of governing Asia, but left again for Sardinia in December of 57 to become Pompey's legate. Atticus' wedding in February of 56 and Tullia's betrothal might have made Pomponia particularly desirous of celebrating those joyful occasions along with her husband.

In fact, Quintus did not spend much time staying in the city of Rome during the second half of the 50s, either. Between 54 and 52, he took part in Caesar's Gallic campaigns. Curiously enough, although more than a dozen of Cicero's letters to Quintus dating to that period have survived, Pomponia is hardly mentioned. The only exception is an epistle dispatched in September of 54, where Cicero asks Quintus to write to her so that she and Quintus the Younger would agree to join him in taking a vacation together.[513] As Cicero's request implies, Quintus was then in the habit of exchanging letters with his wife. So they most likely remained on good terms.

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[512] *Qfr.* 2.6.2=SB 10.2: *Pomponia…de te questa est.*
[513] *Qfr.* 3.1.7=SB 21.7.

Since Pompey's law in 52 requiring a five-year gap between the holding of the praetorship or consulship and the holding of provincial governorship caused a shortage of provincial governors, Cicero was assigned the task of governing Cilicia in early 51.[514] Because that region situated on the eastern Roman frontier was under threat of attack by the Parthians, Cicero appointed several people experienced in military affairs on his staff, including Quintus, who had not yet remained at home for a full year after returning from Gaul. The two brothers started their journey to the East together at the end of April of 51, bringing with them their respective sons who were on the brink of adulthood and ready for some training in the province. Pomponia came along as well, though probably only with the intention of accompanying them during the first leg.

However, a quarrel between Quintus and Pomponia took place soon after the departure, and Cicero's letter to Atticus in early May gives us a vivid account:

> "Now I come to the brief line in the margin at the end of your letter, where you draw my attention to your sister. This is how the matter happened. As I arrived at Arpinum, my brother came to me and in the first place we talked much about you; then I mentioned the things you and I said at Tusculum about your sister. I had seen nothing as gentle and kind as the way my brother behaved towards your sister then, so that even if he had taken offense for some reason, he showed no sign. Thus ended that day. On the next day we left Arpinum, though the festival called for Quintus' stay at Arcanum. I stayed at Aquinum, but we had lunch at Arcanum (you know the estate). When we arrived there, Quintus said in a very

[514] For background information about Pompey's new law and Cicero's appointment, see *CLA* 3.189.

friendly manner: “Pomponia, you go invite the female servants, and I’ll get the male ones.” To be sure, as it seemed to me, nothing could be more agreeable, and this was the case not only with his words but also with his attitude and facial expression. But she responded within our hearing: “I myself am a guest here.” I think she said so because Statius had arrived earlier to check our meal. Then Quintus said to me: “See, this is what I put up with every day.” You’ll say: “Please tell me, what was that matter?” An important one, so it disturbed me. Her response and countenance were inappropriate and rude to such a degree, yet I pretended not to notice them even though I felt aggrieved. We all took our places at table except her; Quintus sent some food to her, but she refused. In short, I think no one to be gentler than my brother and unfriendlier than your sister. In fact, I have left out many things that caused more annoyance to me than to Quintus. Then I went to Aquinum. Quintus remained in Arcanum and came to Aquinum for me the following morning. He told me she had refused to sleep with him and at the time of her departure behaved in the same way as I had observed. What more can I say? If you wish, you may tell her that in my opinion she lacked kindness that day. I have written these things to you, perhaps more than was necessary, so that you would also be responsible for educating and admonishing her.”[515]

[515] *Att*. 5.1.3-4=SB 94.3-4: [3] *Nunc venio ad transversum illum extremae epistulae tuae versiculum in quo me admones de sorore. quae res se sic habet: ut veni in Arpinas, cum ad me frater venisset, in primis nobis sermo isque multus de te fuit; ex quo ego veni ad ea quae fueramus ego et tu inter nos de sorore in Tusculano locuti. nihil tam vidi mite, nihil tam placatum quam tum meus frater erat in sororem tuam, ut, etiam si qua fuerat ex ratione sumpta offensio, non appareret. ille sic dies. postridie ex Arpinati profecti sumus. ut in Arcano Quintus maneret dies fecit; ego Aquini, sed prandimus in Arcano (nosti*

The conflict in question perhaps arose on May 1, a main holiday for *lares* in Rome.[516] To celebrate the festival, Quintus spent the last night of April at Arcanum to make preparations. On the feast day, he put Statius in charge of the meal, and then split minor duties between himself and Pomponia. Yet not only did she refuse to obey Quintus' order, but she reacted so vehemently as to have left her husband and son abruptly the next day. Shortly afterwards she must have told Atticus about the quarrel, who in turn contacted Cicero.

Despite Cicero's detailed description, not everything is completely clear and straightforward. For example, what exactly does Pomponia's response to her husband's request—"I myself am a guest here"—mean? It has been suggested that she was angry at Quintus' division of responsibilities and tried to protest against the indulgence he showed

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*hunc fundum). quo ut venimus, humanissime Quintus "Pomponia" inquit, "tu invita mulieres, ego vero ascivero pueros." nihil potuit, mihi quidem ut visum est, dulcius, idque cum verbis tum etiam animo ac vultu. at illa audientibus nobis "ego ipsa sum" inquit "hic hospita"; id autem ex eo, ut opinor, quod antecesserat Statius ut prandium nobis videret. tum Quintus "en" inquit mihi, "haec ego patior cottidie."* [4] *dices "quid, quaeso, istuc erat?" magnum; itaque me ipsum commoverat; sic absurde et aspere verbis vultuque responderat. dissimulavi dolens. discubuimus omnes praeter illam, cui tamen Quintus de mensa misit; illa reiecit. quid multa? nihil meo fratre lenius, nihil asperius tua sorore mihi visum est; et multa praetereo quae tum mihi maiori stomacho quam ipsi Quinto fuerunt. ego inde Aquinum. Quintus in Arcano remansit et Aquinum ad me postridie mane venit mihique narravit nec secum illam dormire voluisse et cum discessura esset fuisse eius modi qualem ego vidissem. quid quaeris? vel ipsi hoc dicas licet, humanitatem ei meo iudicio illo die defuisse. haec ad te scripsi. fortasse pluribus quam necesse fuit, ut videres tuas quoque esse partis instituendi et monendi.*

[516] Shackleton Bailey (*CLA* III.189) and Schilling (2003, 141–42). The only surviving Republican calendar (the *Fasti Antiates maiores*) does not recognize May 1 as a holiday, though the festival of *lares praestites* was celebrated that day in the Augustan period, as Ovid's *Fasti* (5.129-46) indicates. For a discussion of *lares praestites*, see Flower (2017, 108–11). Alternatively, Quintus might have had the intention of participating in the annual sacrifice to Maia or the observances for Bona Dea. Both events occurred on May 1, too. See Scullard (1981, 116–18).

to the servants in a fit of jealousy.[517] Such an explanation no doubt makes sense, but questions still remain. On the one hand, it would have been normal for Pomponia, the female head of the family, to have a share of domestic chores. On the other hand, Quintus does not seem to have been unfair in assigning duties or intended to undermine his wife's authority. After all, he himself was also supposed to carry out certain tasks and the use of imperative without any form of politeness indicates an intimate tone.[518] As for Statius, although he was surely involved in this fight, there is not enough evidence to show that he deliberately provoked the couple into a fight by means of trickery.

Cicero's account is worth examining here. Instead of focusing on the quarrel itself, he begins by telling what had happened in previous days. As can be easily noticed, the point he takes pains to highlight is that to the best of his knowledge, his brother harbored no resentment against Pomponia. In other words, Cicero aims to depict a peaceful background against which the discord arose, so that he can make her loss of temper under that circumstance less justifiable. When it comes to his narrative of the altercation, a pronounced feature is the employment of dialogs, which helps to establish Cicero's role as an observer.[519] The use of pronouns and verbs in the first-person plural form serves the same purpose. For instance, Cicero specifically points out that he arrived at the estate at Arcanum together with Quintus (*venimus*) and he heard Pomponia's reply to Quintus (*audientibus nobis*). The presence at the scene, therefore, enables him to adopt

[517] Treggiari (2007a, 81).
[518] Hutchinson (1998, 128).
[519] Hutchinson (1998, 128–38) analyzes the dialogs in Cicero's account at length. Note that Quintus the Younger must have also observed his parents' quarrel. Božić (1951, 14) may well be correct in claiming that the impact of those scenes upon him, who was only fifteen years old, would be serious.

an assertive tone in writing to Atticus, particularly when he urges Atticus to educate (*instituendi*) and admonish (*monendi*) his sister.

Yet it is important, too, to note that Cicero attempts to appear impartial. After Pomponia refuses to perform the task assigned to her, Quintus reportedly says: "See, this is what I put up with every day (*cottidie*)!" Given his quick temper, it is not difficult to imagine him responding in such a way that serves more to exacerbate the existing tensions than to relieve them. However, instead of buying into Quintus' claim, Cicero makes it clear in the letter that what made him concerned was Pomponia's behavior that day (*illo die*). To put it differently, Cicero refrains from passing a generalized or unsubstantiated judgement. Rather, he wants to justify his criticism of Pomponia by providing as many details as possible about her reactions (or perhaps overreactions) in the aftermath of the quarrel: she is said to have refused the food sent by Quintus (it evidently symbolizes a gesture of goodwill), declined to sleep with him during the night and left the villa angrily the following day. Needless to say, Cicero tries not to provoke Atticus, who presumably inclined to side with Pomponia because of their natural affection.

Scholars have tended to use the quarrel in question as evidence that Pomponia lacked charm and was susceptible to envy and anger.[520] Admittedly, there can certainly be some truth in such a belief. As already discussed, she was a wealthy woman and most likely older than Quintus. Her age and wealth, then, would naturally translate into a strong desire for agency in marriage, sometimes probably even stronger than Quintus expected. However, it would be unreasonable for us to let Pomponia take full

[520] For example, Johnson (1913, 161), Wiemer (1930, 19–20) and Horsfall (1989, 68).

responsibility for this particular conflict while paying insufficient attention to Quintus' part. Even if he did nothing wrong at that very moment when giving Pomponia instructions, both his tendency to dote on Statius and devotion to his political career at the expense of the family must have long since sown the seeds of this quarrel and are thus the underlying causes. It is not surprising at all, therefore, that Pomponia flew into a temper right before her separation from her husband and their son, who were on their way to Cilicia.

Strikingly enough, Cicero does not mention anything about that quarrel in subsequent letters, so we do not know what exactly became of the couple. Yet a letter dating to early July may be of some interest to us. During his sojourn in Athens, Cicero received a parcel of epistles which included one from Atticus' wife Pilia to Quintus—this is the only known instance of epistolary communication between them. After reading the letter behind Quintus' back, Cicero told Atticus that "it was indeed written sympathetically."[521] There is thus a real possibility that Pilia was concerned about the problem with Quintus' marriage to Pomponia and wanted to solve it by appeasing Quintus. Since she, Atticus and Pomponia were all staying in the city of Rome at that time, it seems highly likely that she had also sought to placate her sister-in-law.

### 1.4 Conflict in Quintus' Marriage to Pomponia

Although the husband and the wife are bound to develop common interests in the course of their marriage, their goals are not always compatible and the means they use to achieve shared goals are not always compatible. Such incompatibility, therefore, is the

[521] *Att*. 5.11.7=SB 104.7: *valde scripta est* συμπαθῶς.

fundamental cause of conflict. It also follows that tensions can be a normal part of marital life.[522] Quintus' marriage to Pomponia is no exception. While there is no sufficient evidence for us to draw a valid comparison between it and other elite marriages in the late Republican period in the frequency or severity of conflict, the above discussion has shown that various factors might have rendered their marriage somewhat susceptible to problems. A notable factor is Pomponia's age and wealth, which made it less likely for her to behave as submissively as her husband might have wished. Quintus' treatment of the slaves he trusted and his political ambitions can be causes, too. Meanwhile, both of them seemed to have such deficiencies in their characteristics that it was easy for them to pick a quarrel.

Within a dense interpersonal network where every member is connected to everyone else with a close tie, a change in a single relationship can easily result in chain reactions.[523] When it comes to Quintus and Pomponia, it can be seen that every time they quarreled, people surrounding them, especially their siblings, were affected.[524] We are poorly informed about Atticus' reactions to the couple's conflict. Yet regardless of whether he directly helped them solve the problem, he was always at least so concerned as to contact Cicero. On the other hand, ample evidence from the letters demonstrates Cicero's efforts to keep Quintus and Pomponia on good terms. Sometimes Terentia and Pilia took action to mediate. All such endeavors reflect their shared belief that the

[522] Dixon (1997, 151).
[523] Watts (2003, 19–24), who illustrates this point with the example of the blackout that affected many states in the western US in the summer of 1996.
[524] This pointed is also highlighted by Bradley (1991, 191).

maintenance of that match could yield benefits, whether social, economic or emotional, for both the couple and themselves.

**2. Quintus and Atticus: From Conflict to Co-operation**

It is clear from Quintus' successful political career in the 60s that he capitalized on his marriage to Pomponia, especially her wealth. At the same time, there can be no doubt that this marital alliance strengthened Cicero's friendship with Atticus, even though from a legal perspective it did not turn them into *adfines*.[525] The current section, then, is primarily concerned with the relationship between Quintus and Atticus, which Cicero most likely also had in mind when arranging the match in question. The two men must have already been on familiar terms before Quintus married Pomponia, because, as mentioned earlier, Quintus accompanied Cicero to Athens in the early 70s, where they spent half a year studying philosophy and rhetoric with Atticus. In fact, it is even possible that their acquaintance was developed in the late 90s if Quintus joined Cicero and Atticus in learning from Quintus Mucius Scaevola Augur. However, the following discussion is not aimed at a full treatment of how Quintus interacted with his brother-in-law. Instead, the focus will be on the period between the late 60s and the early 50s, for which we have relatively abundant evidence to shed light upon their relations.

The lengthy letter Cicero sent Atticus on December 5 of 61 attests to a bitter conflict between Quintus and Atticus, though it in fact arose in the spring of that same year.[526] Following the end of his praetorship, Quintus was assigned in early 61 the task of

[525] *Dig*. 38.10.4.3–4 (Modestinus).
[526] *Att.* 1.17=SB 17.

governing the province of Asia. In response to this appointment, Quintus invited Atticus to serve on his provincial staff; Cicero also pled with Atticus to accept that offer.[527] But contrary to their expectations, Atticus declined. Such a decision infuriated Quintus so much that he allegedly spoke ill of his brother-in-law to the latter's friends. Their tensions rapidly escalated in the summer when Atticus disregarded Quintus' efforts to make peace via a meeting, thus prompting Quintus to write him letters full of verbal attacks. Then Atticus forwarded copies of those epistles to Cicero, with the result that Cicero felt the urgent need to intervene.

Nepos specifically mentions that Quintus planned to appoint Atticus as a legate. In principle this can be true, because during the late Republic provincial magistrates were able to nominate their own *legati* (though the senate's authorization was still required) and there were indeed many non-senatorial *legati*.[528] Yet whatever position Quintus had in mind for his brother-in-law, the basic question to be raised here is why he needed Atticus during his term of office as governor of Asia.

Since the late second century, the Romans began to extract revenues from Asia by farming taxes to companies of *publicani*.[529] As a result, a lot of tax collectors were driven there by profits, but their exploitative acts often made them enemies of local residents. When instructing Quintus in provincial administration, Cicero highlights the governor's overriding responsibility for settling disputes between those two groups of people.[530] Although there is no evidence that Atticus ever engaged in tax farming, he certainly had

[527] Cicero's pleas: *Att.* 1.15.1–2=SB 15.1–2 and 1.16.14=SB 16.14.
[528] For a full discussion of the legate in the Republican period, see Schleussner (1978).
[529] It was Gaius Gracchus who established tax farming in Asia. Despite hostility towards him, this particular institution was readily accepted. See Tan (2017, 60–65).
[530] *Qfr.* 1.1.32–6=SB 1.32–6.

business in Asia and could have developed ties with both the provincials and the *publicani*, the majority of whom were of the equestrian order like him. Indeed, the situation in 61 was particularly tricky because some tax collectors in Asia also conflicted with certain senators. For those tax collectors realized that they had considerably overbid, but their request for the cancellation of the contract was rejected by senators.[531] Under such circumstances, it made sense for Quintus to expect the help of Atticus, who was well-connected among the elite.

Meanwhile, there are several good reasons to think that Quintus also expected his brother-in-law to assist him in earning profits in Asia. First, this province was a lucrative source of income for Roman magistrates and *equites* alike. Second, Atticus was adept at making money in the East. Third and most importantly, Quintus must have felt an especially urgent need to enrich himself at that point, since his consular campaigns would have been around the corner once he returned to Rome. Of course, this is not to say that he had to achieve the goal of profiteering by exploiting the provincials or even by adopting illegal means.[532]

We find no clue in Cicero's letters about why Atticus rejected Quintus' offer. Yet according to Nepos, Atticus' own explanation is that he "did not think it appropriate for

[531] Cic. *Att.* 1.17.9=SB 17.9. Cicero had mixed feelings about those tax farmers, because he supported their request but at the same time disapproved of their greed. Those people's demand was also endorsed by Marcus Licinius Crassus, though there is no second occasion we know of where he espoused business interests of the equestrians. For a brief discussion of the episode, see Davenport (2019, 91–92).

[532] For a discussion of the strategies for profiteering in the provinces available to Roman magistrates, see Tan (2017, 68–90). The example of Lucullus, proconsul of Asia in the mid-60s, shows that benefactions to the provincials could enable one to enrich himself, too. See Cic. *Flac*. 85; Plut. *Luc*. 20 and 23.1; and Santangelo (2007, 124–25).

him to be a praetor's assistant when he did not even want to be praetor."[533] Atticus' avoidance of holding any kind of office no doubt makes sense, though the reader can feel confused about the biographer's other claim that when Atticus was invited by other consuls and praetors to be their provincial prefects, he merely accepted the title without actually accompanying them to their provinces.[534] Moreover, it seems very likely that Quintus requested Atticus' service in the aftermath of his quarrel with Pomponia discussed above. Therefore, the couple's discord might well be part of the reason for Atticus' refusal to accept the request and his decision to escalate the tensions with his brother-in-law. Needless to say, it was a big challenge for Cicero to resolve their conflict.

Cicero concedes that Quintus' letters to Atticus are a strong testimony to his improper behavior and that the deficiencies in his brother's character caused this offense. Interestingly, Cicero singles out Quintus' tendency to be influenced by people around him as an example of the deficiencies and describes it in a way that works to Quintus' advantage. As he points out, while this characteristic on the negative side means that one can be provoked and make mistakes easily, it on the positive side means that one can be appeased and brought back onto the right track easily. Then he concludes that because of the latter quality, an impressionable mind should be considered as the sign of a good person. At the same time, in mentioning other individuals' influence upon Quintus,

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[533] Nep. *Att.* 6.4: *non enim decere se arbitrabatur, cum praeturam gerere noluisset, asseclam esse praetoris*.

[534] Nep. *Att.* 6.4: *multorum consulum praetorumque praefecturas delatas sic accepit, ut neminem in provinciam sit secutus, honore fuerit contentus*. Nicolet (1974, 436) points out that there is no other evidence to support such honorary appointment of prefects. But Jones (1999) thinks that the Atticus mentioned in an Ephesian inscription as prefect of the deified Caesar and Octavian may be the Atticus we are familiar with (that is, the friend of Cicero). If his identification is correct, Nepos' claim would be correct, too.

Cicero certainly aims to shift part of the blame Atticus has placed on Quintus to other people, though he stops short of exposing the culprits he has in mind.[535]

The following passage offers us some telling evidence for how Cicero tactfully describes Atticus' role in the matter in question:

> "Yet I was comforted because I had no doubt (*non dubitabam*) that he [Quintus] was going to visit you either at Dyrrachium or somewhere else in that region. I was confident (*confidebam*) and firmly believed (*mihi persuaseram*) that if this happened, you two would be reconciled not only by a conversation but even by seeing and meeting each other… Very unfortunately, however, you did not see him anywhere."[536]

The three different verbs used to express assurance help Cicero make the contrast sharper between what he expected to happen and what actually happened. Hence, he emphasizes his bitter disappointment in a subtler manner. At the same time, Cicero manifests two effective communication strategies crucial to a successful mediation.[537] First, he only points out the fact that Quintus and Atticus did not meet each other or become reconciled, without going as far as to say that it was Atticus' fault that neither a meeting nor a reconciliation took place, even though deep in his heart Cicero could well have thought it

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[535] We have already discussed in the preceding section that Cicero implies that both Statius and Pomponia was responsible for this domestic conflict.

[536] *Att.* 1.17.2=SB 17.2: *sed tamen hoc me ipse consolabar quod non dubitabam quin te ille aut Dyrrachi aut in istis locis uspiam visurus esset. quod cum accidisset, confidebam ac mihi persuaseram fore ut omnia placarentur inter vos non modo sermone ac disputatione sed conspectu ipso congressuque vestro.* This passage indicates that Atticus was residing at Dyrrachium at the time of his quarrel with Quintus. For his financial interests there, see chapter 7.

[537] See Cahn and Abigail (2014, 252) for some effective communication behaviors in mediation.

unreasonable for Atticus to reject Quintus' efforts to make peace. To put it differently, Cicero tries to be descriptive rather than judgmental. Second, as is indicated by both the verbs in the first-person singular form and pronouns (including personal pronouns *me* and *mihi* and intensive pronoun *ipse*), Cicero only speaks for himself in case he should sound impolite and insincere.

It is noticeable that Cicero is reluctant to blame anyone harshly in the letter. First, the discord in question was complicated and the tensions were high. Second, since he was physically separated from both Quintus (who was in Asia) and Atticus (who was in Greece), he did not think that he had enough information to make a fair judgement. Thus we can see that when Atticus accuses Quintus of speaking ill of him to his (Atticus') friends, Cicero neither accepts nor denies the allegation. Significantly, his primary concern in writing to Atticus is not so much to explain how the conflict arose as to how he can resolve it.

To such an end, Cicero takes pains to pay Atticus extravagant compliments, even though his other letters tend to show "an easy informality" that fits with the two men's intimacy.[538] Those lavish encomia deserve special attention here:

> "From my perspective, every hope of alleviating this unpleasant situation lies in your humane character…With respect to real excellence in uprightness, integrity, diligence and sense of duty, I place you above me or anyone else, while as far as the affection for me is concerned, I bestow the first prize on you if I leave aside the love I receive from my brother and my family members."[539]

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[538] Hall (2009, 64).

[539] *Att.* 1.17.4-5=SB 17.4-5: *omnis in tua posita est humanitate mihi spes huius levandae molestiae...vera quidem laude probitatis, integritatis, diligentiae, religionis neque me tibi*

The beginning sentence of the above passage shows Cicero's cunning. By forwarding Quintus' letters to Cicero, Atticus confronts Cicero and apparently expects Cicero to solve the problem by admonishing Quintus. Yet here Cicero makes his belief clear that the solution to the problem lies with no one else but Atticus. Given Cicero's flattery couched in a formal tone, it would be difficult for Atticus to continue avoiding a reconciliation with Quintus. For doing so means that he is willing to deny himself the virtues Cicero bestows upon him, which were traditionally valued by every Roman elite. Meanwhile, when beseeching Atticus, Cicero appeals not only to Atticus' moral goodness but also to their friendship, the implication being that Atticus cannot fully reciprocate Cicero's affection for him unless he forgives Quintus.

A famous section of the letter in question is where Cicero compares his modes of life and Atticus'. As he points out, whereas ambition (*ambitio*) motivated him to seek political advancement (*honorum studium*), a different yet entirely justifiable way of thinking (*alia minime reprehendenda ratio*) led Atticus to seek dignified leisure (*honestum otium*).[540] The use of *honestum* has special effects here. First, the parallel is made more conspicuous by the alliteration (*ambitio~alia* and *honorum~honestum*). Second, given the etymological link between *honorum* and *honestum*, Cicero appears to

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*neque quemquam antepono, amoris vero erga me, cum a fraterno <a>more domesticoque 6 discessi, tibi primas defero.*

[540] *Att.* 1.17.5=SB 17.5. *honestum otium* also appears in Cicero's speech on behalf of Publius Cornelius Sulla (nephew of Sulla the dictator), probably dating to mid-62: *si nullum aliud mihi praemium ab senatu populoque Romano nisi honestum otium postularem* (*Sull.* 26). Wirszubski (1954) has argued convincingly that Cicero's *honestum otium* should be distinguished from his *cum dignitate otium* (e.g. *Fam.* 1.9.21=SB 20.21 and *Sest*. 98), because the former denotes a life of retirement from state affairs whereas the latter (when applied to an individual) refers to leisure enjoyed in the midst of an active political career.

be judging Atticus from the perspective of a person who is devoted to public office. His attempt to depict Atticus as the opposite of himself, therefore, can be seen as an attempt to find common ground, which lies not in their manners of life but in their empathy with each other.[541] Hence Cicero claims that his achievements always give Atticus delights and his misfortunes always prompt Atticus to feel anxious.[542]

> After lavishing praise upon Atticus, Cicero says as follows:
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> "While modesty (*verecundia*) frequently hindered both of us from saying these things, now it has become necessary to do so because of that section of your letter, whereby you wanted me to feel that you as well as your judgement of right and wrong were blameless and pleasing."[543]

In a Roman context, *verecundia* generally denotes a feeling which arises when one worries that one's behavior has gone beyond the boundaries of social norms, given offense to others and thus caused oneself to lose face. It works as a force for social cohesion because whoever has this emotion looks to both the self and the other.[544] As the above discussion demonstrates, Cicero does care about how he comes across to Atticus.

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[541] Cappello (2016, 479–80).

[542] *Att.* 1.17.6=SB 17.6: *vidi enim, vidi penitusque perspexi in meis variis temporibus et sollicitudines et laetitias tuas. fuit mihi saepe et laudis nostrae gratulatio tua iucunda et timoris consolatio grata* ("Indeed, I have observed with my eyes and thoroughly discerned with my mind the concerns and delights you have expressed in various stages of my lifetime. You often pleasantly congratulated me for our merits and consoled me when I was worried").

[543] *Att.* 1.17.7=SB 17.7: *atque harum rerum commemorationem verecundia saepe impedivit utriusque nostrum; nunc autem ea fuit necessaria propter eam partem epistulae tuae per quam te ac mores tuos mihi purgatos ac probatos esse voluisti.*

[544] *Verecundia* appears many times in Cicero's works; to name a few, *Fam*. 5.12.3=SB 22.3, 4.9.4=SB 231.4 and 9.22.5=SB 189.5; *Off.* 1.99 and 1.105; *Orat.* 238; *Quinct.* 39; *Att.* 8.6.5=SB 154.5; *Qfr.* 2.8.1=SB 13.1; *Tusc*. 5.74; *Clu*. 198. For a more detailed study on *verecundia* as a Roman emotion, see Kaster (2005, 13–27). Hall (2009, 8–13) and McConnell (2014, 163–69) also briefly treat *verecundia* with an emphasis on Cicero.

Cicero concludes his mediation in the conflict between Atticus and Quintus in the following way:

> "But in fact, there is one good thing lying in this misfortune which caused Quintus' feelings to be estranged and offended: I and other friends of yours have been made aware of your inclination, which you demonstrated some time earlier, to withdraw from provincial government, so that you two not being together will not be seen as resulting from dissension or discord but from your disposition and decision."[545]

Conflict can exert harmful (sometimes even devastating) impacts on interpersonal ties and can be difficult to handle, so it is common for one to adopt a negative attitude towards it. However, in pointing out the "one good thing lying in this misfortune" Cicero appears to show an effort to look for the bright side of the conflict between Quintus and Atticus. More specifically, he attempts to see it as an opportunity for relationship development that results from a better understanding of Atticus' way of life.[546]

Cicero's letter dating to the Ides of February of 60 offers us some information about the sequel to his mediation:

> "Then I am extremely delighted that you had a very temperate attitude towards the fact that we, or indeed, people near me, seemed to have treated you rather harshly and unpleasantly; I consider it as evidence for your deep affection,

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[545] *Att.* 1.17.7=SB 17.7: *atque in ista incommoditate alienati illius animi et offensi illud inest tamen commodi, quod et mihi et ceteris amicis nota fuit et abs te aliquanto ante testificata tua voluntas omittendae provinciae, ut, quod una non estis, non dissensione ac discidio vestro sed voluntate ac iudicio tuo factum esse videatur.*

[546] Cahn and Abigail (2014, 19–20) argue for the importance of a positive view about conflict to conflict management.

> excellent character and wisdom. For this reason, you have written to me in such an agreeable, attentive, courteous and humane manner that not only should I refrain from exhorting you further but I could not have even expected either from you or from anyone such great affability and gentleness."[547]

It seems clear that Cicero succeeded in persuading Atticus to make peace with Quintus. We do not know whether Quintus had already become reconciled with his wife by that time. If so, their harmonious marital relationship could also partially account for why Atticus changed his mind. There is evidence for direct epistolary communication between Atticus and Quintus in the spring of 59.[548] They were probably concerned about how to protect Pomponia and the younger Quintus from the potential risks posed by the falling bricks of their house.

Cicero kept showing deep anxieties over Quintus in the course of his banishment. The earliest reference to his brother can be found in the letter dating to April 29 of 58, when Cicero was about to leave Marcus Lenius Flaccus' villa outside the town of Brundisium for Greece. He claims to have mixed feelings about meeting Quintus, who was then on his way back to Italy. He was eager because they had been living in separation for more than three years, but he at the same time was afraid of not knowing how to bid farewell to him after the reunion. [549]

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[547] *Att.* 1.20.1=SB 20.1: *deinde te in iis rebus quae tibi asperius a nobis atque <adeo a> nostris et iniucundius actae videbantur fuisse vehementissime gaudeo idque neque amoris mediocris et ingeni summi ac sapientiae iudico. qua de re cum ad me ita suaviter, diligenter, officiose, humaniter scripseris ut non modo te hortari amplius non debeam sed ne exspectare quidem abs te aut ab ullo homine tantum facilitatis ac mansuetudinis potuerim.*

[548] Cic. *Att*. 2.16.4=SB 36.4.

[549] *Att*. 3.7.3=SB 52.3: *dubitationem autem de Epiro, non inconstantia nostra adferebat sed quod de fratre, ubi eum visuri essemus, nesciebamus; quem quidem ego nec <quo>*

Cicero became increasingly worried about Quintus at the end of May, as the rumor began to circulate that upon returning to the city of Rome Quintus would face a charge of maladministration in Asia. Later Cicero received from Lucius Livineius Regulus more worrisome news that Appius Claudius Pulcher, his archenemy Clodius' elder brother who was then president of the standing court to try cases of extortion, seemed to have been ready to preside over Quintus' trial. There is no clear evidence that Quintus actually misgoverned the province, though it was not impossible, given the way in which Statius handled the official documents on his master's behalf.[550] Regardless, prosecutions against ex-governors on a charge of *repetundae* were so common in Cicero's day that it shows that prosecutors did not simply intend to regulate the behavior of former provincial magistrates. Rather, they used this strategy also to strike a blow at their opponents and, in the case of prosecutors who were relatively young and inexperienced when compared to their targets, to earn themselves public attention.[551]

In subsequent letters, therefore, we see Cicero take great pains to praise his brother as an attempt to entreat Atticus to help Quintus. Quintus is described as "the best and kindest of brothers" and "an extraordinary man who loves me so ardently, paints a

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*modo visurus nec ut dimissurus sim scio. id est maximum et miserrimum mearum omnium miseriarum* ("But I was hesitating about visiting Epirus not because of my unsteady mind but because of my brother, that is, I wasn't sure where to meet him. Indeed, I don't know how to meet or say goodbye to him. This is the greatest and most wretched thing of all my afflictions"). Hutchinson (1998, 37) takes special note of the alliteration in *maximum et miserrimum mearum omnium miseriarum* and argues that this literary device highlights Cicero's misery. To be sure, Cicero uses alliteration in two other instances of expressing concern about Quintus: *me et meorum malorum maeror et metus de fratre in scribendo impedit* (*Att.* 3.8.4=SB 53.4; May 29 of 58) and *ex quo magnitudinem mearum miseriarum perspicere possis* (*Att.* 3.9.1=SB 54.1; June 13 of 58).

[550] Prost (2017, 191).

[551] Alexander (1990, 210).

rosy picture of everything and fears, as I suppose, that I would give myself up to despair."[552] Of special interest is Cicero's stress on Quintus' *mollissimo animo*.[553] As can be inferred from the context, the adjective here denotes Quintus' ability to sympathize with others. So it sharply contrasts with *mollis animus*, which Cicero has previous used in explaining how Quintus' impressionability, apparently a character defect, caused him to conflict with Atticus over the issue of provincial government.[554]

Although it does not seem likely that Atticus could do much to prevent any person from prosecuting Quintus, he could have been of help if Quintus had been convicted and forced into exile. We have a glimpse of how he treated Cicero after Cicero withdrew to the East. According to Nepos, Cicero received a sum of 250,000 sesterces from Atticus, but no clue about this financial assistance can be found in the correspondence.[555] In addition, Cicero was invited to take refuge in Atticus' estate in Epirus, though some logistical problems led him to decline that invitation.[556] Needless to say, if the worst-case scenario had happened to Quintus, Atticus would also have taken on responsibility for attending to Pomponia and Quintus the Younger. Fortunately, the threat of a prosecution against Quintus did not materialize in the end. This, then, must have created better conditions for their joint efforts to have Cicero recalled.

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[552] *Att.* 3.11.2=SB 56.2: *Quintum fratrem optimum humanissimumque*; *Att.* 3.18.2=SB 63.2: *homo mirus qui me tam valde amat, omnia mittit spei plena, metuens, credo, defectionem animi mei.*
[553] *Att.* 3.9.1=SB 54.1.
[554] *Att.* 1.17.2=SB 17.2.
[555] Nep. *Att.* 4.4.
[556] *Att*. 3.7.3=SB 52.3.

### 3. Quintus the Younger: A Good Boy Gone Bad?

The abundance of information about Quintus the Younger in the correspondence reveals the considerable extent of Cicero's care about his sole nephew, who was, as already mentioned, born in late 66 or early 65 and was slightly older than his own son Marcus the Younger.[557] As for the boy's childhood experiences, we have some glimpses of how he was educated. In 56 he was having lessons with a librarian named Tyrannio. But after Quintus departed for Sardinia to be Pompey's legate, Cicero assumed responsibility for the younger Quintus' education, with the result that the sons of two Cicero brothers were taught together during the mid- and late 50s. As can be clear from the progress reports in the letters to Quintus, Cicero tutored them in declamation.[558]

A change took place in 54, when Cicero requested that Atticus send his freedman Dionysius to instruct both Marcus the Younger and Quintus the Younger. Although Cicero thought highly of that servant and once praised him for being learned, virtuous and faithful, the two boys were evidently far from satisfied with his supervision. Yet despite their complaints (particularly about his bad temper), Dionysius remained to be their tutor for the next few years and even accompanied them to Cilicia. It was not until 49 that Cicero finally dismissed Dionysius for lacking tutorial skills and claimed, when informing Atticus of such decision, that he would rather teach his son and his nephew on his own.[559]

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[557] Because of such a wealth of evidence for Quintus the Younger, he has received much scholarly attention. Previous studies include Stinchcomb (1933), Münzer (*RE* Tullius 32), Božić (1951), Bradley (1991, 192–98), Bettini (1991, 34–38), and Harders (2008, 264–66). It should be noted that the discussion here is not aimed at a full biography of Quintus the Younger.

[558] E.g. *Qfr*. 3.3.4=SB 23.4 and 3.7.9=SB 27.9.

[559] For a brief discussion of Dionysius the freedman of Atticus, see Späth (2010, 152–53).

There thus can be no doubt that Cicero not only considered it of critical significance for the two children to be educated properly but also took pains to achieve that goal. However, what irritated him was that his efforts at the upbringing of Quintus the Younger were often frustrated by Quintus. Of interest is a letter to Atticus dating to April of 49, which allows us to see the sharp contrast between the two fathers' parenting styles.[560] According to Cicero, whereas he endeavors to seek a balance between being a compliant uncle and being a strict one who is able to nip any kind of bad behavior in the bud, his brother inclines to be indulgent.[561] Given what we have seen from Statius' example, Cicero may well be correct in describing the way in which Quintus tended to treat his son. The direct cause of Cicero's bitter complaint here was the younger Quintus' elaborate lie about having been introduced to Caesar by Hirtius. After finding out that such a meeting with Caesar did not actually happen, Cicero realized that his nephew was having an undercurrent of resentment against him that had much to do with his decision to take both Quinti Tullii out of Italy.

The image of a severe *patruus* (paternal uncle) can be found in some other works of different genres, ranging from satire and epigram to speech and historical account.[562] Although it is difficult to tell with certainty whether Roman paternal uncles were widely

[560] *Att.* 10.4.4–6=SB 195.4–6.
[561] Criticism of Quintus' tendency to spoil his son can also be found at *Att.* 10.6.2=SB 197.2 and 10.11.3–4=SB 202.3–4.
[562] Bettini (1991, 14–30) analyzes the examples found in Horace's satire (2.2.94–8), Suetonius' *Life of Claudius* (9.3), Cassius Dio's *Roman History* (59.23.3), Catullus' epigram (74.1–4) and Cicero's defense speech on behalf of Caelius (11.25). Another short poem by Catullus gives an example of an indulgent uncle named Gallus (78.1–6), but Bettini argues that since the poet describes Gallus as foolish and having promoted father's brother's shame, he actually aims to show that Gallus was expected to be "a severe reprover of a dissolute nephew."

expected to be strict with their nephews, the existence of such an expectation, at least within the upper-class, would be hardly surprising. The Romans attached vital significance to *agnatio* (kinship on the father's side), which was not only distinguished from *cognatio* (kinship on the mother's side) but also placed above it.[563] In other words, it was the paternal lineage that allowed one to "own and define one's identity through the chain of wealth, name, cults, residence and so forth."[564] Since the *patruus* was the nearest of one's agnates after one's siblings, it would make sense for the *patruus* to take great care of the nephew (*nepos*) to ensure the continuity and, more importantly, prosperity of the family's male line. As far as Quintus the Younger is concerned, it sometimes even appears that Cicero treated him as his own son. We have already discussed that the younger Quintus were educated along with the younger Marcus for a period of time. Moreover, in several letters to Quintus the Elder, Cicero refers to his nephew as "your and my boy Quintus" or "our little boy" as if he and his brother shared him.[565]

Let us return to the letter in which Cicero discusses the issue of parenting. For a moment he suspects that Quintus the Younger's dishonesty was rooted in his character. In fact, this is not the first time he has such a suspicion. As he wrote to Atticus perhaps one

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[563] Note that there were two different terms for the father's brother (*patruus*) and mother's brother (*avunculus*) as well as for the father's sister (*amita*) and mother's sister (*materteral*). Agnatic and cognatic kins were also treated differently for succession purposes. At least in its original form, Roman law only permitted agnates (but no cognates) to be inheritors. It was only at a much later time that cognatic relatives were able to receive the right of inheritance with the intervention of a praetor. See Bettini (1991, 107–8) and Lentano (2018, 174–75).

[564] Bettini (1991, 108).

[565] See for example *Qfr*. 2.6.2=SB 10.2, 2.9.1=SB 12.1 and 2.13.2=SB 17.2. This point is raised by Bradley (1991, 185). In fact, Cicero also uses the phrase "my daughter (and yours) and our Marcus" once (*Qfr*. 1.4.10=SB 4.10). Bradley is right to think that such a mode of reference signifies something more than "a social affectation."

year earlier, "the boy's nature, though gifted, is complex."[566] However, Cicero ends up placing the blame mostly on Quintus, whom he believes to be slack and incompetent in the education of his own son. Curiously, nowhere do we see Cicero make mentions of, let alone explicit judgements about, Pomponia's role. Yet the seriousness of Cicero's concern about the younger Quintus' problem makes it tempting fur us to think that she was more likely than not a doting parent like her husband.

How did Atticus, the maternal uncle (*avunculus*) of the younger Quintus, treat him? Although direct evidence, unfortunately, does not exist, it seems safe to infer from Cicero's many references to their nephew in the correspondence that Quintus the Younger was of great concern to Atticus, too. As demonstrated by the request Cicero made in one letter that Atticus admonish Quintus the Younger, Cicero surely thought that Atticus was responsible for a proper education of their nephew (this partially means that Atticus should be strict with him when a problem had arisen).[567] But we do not know whether Cicero requested Atticus to take action because Atticus tended to be a lenient, passive uncle previously.[568] If we are right in speculating that Pomponia was inclined towards over-indulgence in parenting, there can be a possibility that Atticus preferred not

[566] *Att.* 6.2.2=SB 116.2: *sed est magnum illud quidem verum tamen multiplex pueri ingenium.*
[567] *Att.* 10.6.2=SB 197.2.
[568] Bettini (1991, 39–66) characterize the *avunculus* as the defender of the nephew because "the lack of an official part for the maternal lineage were compensated in some sense by a greater familiarity and intimacy in relations" (the quotation is from p. 108). This view has been attacked by Dixon (1993) and Saller (1997). Although Bettini certainly intends to draw a contrast between the paternal uncle and the maternal uncle in the way of treating the nephew, it is unclear why he only discusses Cicero's treatment of Quintus the Younger but not Atticus.' In fact, he does not even mention Atticus once.

to interfere at the risk of annoying his beloved sister.[569] Whatever the case, Atticus' long and frequent physical absences from Rome presumably made it unlikely for him to get involved in the upbringing of Quintus the Younger as actively as Cicero. Meanwhile,

> Cicero would soon realize that his attempts to put the younger Quintus back onto the right track were too late to be effective. First, at that point the younger Quintus not only had already come of age (he received the *toga virilis* from Cicero in February of 50 when in Cilicia) but more significantly was well on the way to becoming stubborn. Second, the increasingly volatile political situation impeded any efforts at discipline. Caesar's victory over Pompey at the Battle of Pharsalus brought Cicero into conflict with the two Quinti over what to do next, with the result that they parted ways. Cicero returned to Italy on Caesar's instructions; the other two men travelled to Asia and kept condemning Cicero on the journey.[570] Since it was only shortly after the civil war broke out that Quintus the Younger started to blame his uncle for taking them to Greece to join Pompey, we may be justified in suspecting that he played an active role in stirring things up.

In fact, that was also what the younger Quintus did to his parents at later stages of their marriage, even though he had previously been a pious son.[571] Two letters dating from April of 50 indicate that Quintus and Pomponia were estranged to such an extent as

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[569] See the previous chapter for a discussion of the affectionate relationship between Atticus and Pomponia.

[570] Although this conflict between Cicero and the Quinti was bitter and features prominently in the correspondence, it still remains understudied. Shackleton Bailey's brief account (1972, 179–85) is unfortunately short on analysis.

[571] For a general discussion of young male descendants' attitude towards their parents, see Eyben (1993, 199–207).

to have begun contemplating a divorce.[572] The direct cause remains unclear, but Cicero again tries to implicate Statius, whom he accuses of spreading the rumor that he approved the couple's plan. About Quintus the Younger's response to this news, Cicero says: "I saw the boy exceedingly disturbed. He lamented to me while crying…I perceived in him an extraordinary sense of duty, agreeableness and humanity."[573] With Cicero's encouragement, Quintus the Younger acted dutifully in order to achieve a reconciliation between his father and mother and succeeded in the end.[574]

In writing to Atticus in August of 45, however, Cicero spoke of his nephew's unfilial conduct with disgust. He even quoted from a letter by the younger Quintus to his father: "I wanted you to rent a house for me so that I could stay with you as much as possible and I wrote to you about it. You did nothing. So we won't be together that much. For I can't bear the sight of your house; you know why."[575] The tone does not seem adequately polite, especially when Quintus the Younger threatens to avoid meeting his father if his request should continue to be ignored. As Cicero reveals to Atticus in a subsequent letter, their nephew lied to his father about the reason behind his decision to move into a rented house: despite claiming an intention not to stay with his mother, Quintus the Younger actually wrote to his mother affectionately behind his father's back.[576] In other words, he was playing off one parent against the other.

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[572] *Att.* 6.2.1=SB 116.1 and 6.3.8=SB 117.8.
[573] *Att.* 6.3.8=SB 117.8: *mirifice conturbatum vidi puerum; lacrimans mecum est questus…miram in eo pietatem, suavitatem humanitatemque perspexi.*
[574] *Att.* 6.7.1=SB 120.1.
[575] *Att.* 13.38.1=SB 341.1: *volueram…ut quam plurimum tecum essem, conduci mihi domum et id ad te scripseram. neglexisti. ita minus multum una erimus. nam ego istam domum videre non possum; qua de causa scis.*
[576] *Att.* 13.39.1–2=SB 342.1–2. Cf. Att. 13.41.1=SB 344.1

To demand a monthly allowance to rent a house might not be the only reason why the younger Quintus chose to adopt such a risky strategy, which had the potential to backfire once his deceit was exposed. In fact, the correspondence shows that at that time Quintus and Pomponia were in the middle of arranging a marriage for their twenty-year-old son, but he was dissatisfied with the plan. We are thus tempted to interpret Quintus the Younger's trickery at least partially as an attempt to protest and assert autonomy. Cicero would not have felt surprised by his nephew's behavior, as he believed impetuosity (*ferocitas*) to be a marked characteristic of the youth.[577] One woman under consideration was a Cana, probably the daughter of Quintus Gellius Canus.[578] Most likely it was Atticus who proposed her, given that he was a good friend of Gellius Canus and later used his own influence to have this man removed from the triumvirs' proscription list.[579] Although nothing is known about the Gellii Cani, the fact that both Cicero and Atticus attached importance to the candidate's social status suggests that she was born into a decent, presumably affluent family.[580]

Initially, Quintus the Younger resisted marrying Cana. Once again, an intention to assert agency could in part account for such a decision, though it turned out that he himself paid a heavy price for it, too.[581] First, in refusing to marry a wealthy woman, he

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[577] *Sen.* 33.
[578] Cic. *Att.* 13.31.1=SB 344.1.
[579] Nep. *Att.* 10.4. See also *RE* Gellius 15 (Münzer).
[580] Cic. *Att.* 13.31.1=SB 344.1: *ut scribis, ratio est habenda gravitates* ("as you said, dignity must be considered"). Harders (2008, 264) hypothesizes that like Atticus, Gellius Canus was also of the equestrian rank and avoided pursuing a political career. The *gens* Gellia were a clan of Samnite origin and belonging to the plebeian nobility. Some of its notable members include Lucius Gellius (cos. 73) and Gnaeus Gellius, a Roman historian of the second half of the second century (*FRHist* 14).
[581] *Att.* 13.42.1=SB 354.1.

gave up an opportunity to improve his financial situation, which was far from good due to debts. Meanwhile, he brought himself into conflict with his parents and Atticus, all of whom approved of that match. While the affectionate tone in which Cicero talked to Quintus the Younger about it—their conversation is recorded in a letter to Atticus in December of 45—seems to suggest that Cicero was not as much annoyed by his nephew's refusal as the other three were, he did emphatically remind Quintus the Younger of his obligation to please his father. Quintus the Younger eventually bowed to pressure and agreed to take Cana to wife.

Much to his surprise, however, Cicero learnt from Atticus in June of 44 that a joint decision had been made to suspend that arrangement. As the vague information from the letter appears to suggest, the cancellation of the plan had a lot to do with Cana's failure to recover all of her dowry from her former husband.[582] It is interesting to note that by this time Quintus had already divorced Pomponia. Exactly when it took place is unclear, though in writing to Atticus in late April that same year Cicero already spoke of the issue related to Quintus' repayment of Pomponia's dowry and denied the rumor Atticus heard from their nephew that he was about to help his brother either by selling some of his own estates at high prices or by transferring them to Quintus.[583] Apparently, Quintus was having difficulties in raising money.

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[582] *Att.* 15.21.2=SB 398.2. The sequel to this suspension remains unclear. There is no secure information about whether Quintus the Younger was engaged or married at the time of his death in late 43. Harders (2008, 265) also suggests that on Pomponia's and Atticus' advice, Quintus the Younger also pursued Tutia, the daughter of Atticus' friend Otho, to no purpose. But the evidence for this pursuit is only found in two dubious letters that Shackleton Bailey did not collect into his editions of Cicero's correspondence, namely *Att*. 15.32 and 16.4.

[583] *Att*. 14.13.5=SB 367.5.

In mid-April, Cicero received a letter from Quintus where Quintus condemned his son for double dealing.[584] That is to say, he realized at long last that his son had been playing him off against Pomponia. It is hard to tell whether Quintus the Younger should be held chiefly responsible for the dissolution of his parents' marriage; after all, their marriage had already been problematic and unstable before he played tricks on them. Nevertheless, what he did to them in the mid-40s could at least have been the straw that breaks the camel's back.

Having studied Quintus the Younger's disruptive role at the later stages of his parents' marriage, it may be interesting for us to pay some attention to Tullia and Marcus the Younger's roles in the final years of the marriage between Cicero and Terentia.[585] The tone of Cicero's last extant letter to Terentia, which dates to October 1 of 47, is hardly friendly: he simply informs Terentia of his itinerary and instructs her to prepare accordingly.[586] Although there was no open breach, a sense of estrangement is undeniable. At that time Tullia was perhaps travelling with her father and Marcus the Younger might have stayed at his mother's side. If correct, the two children seemed to be in a good position to mend the strained marital relationship between their parents. But there is no way to say for sure whether they made efforts to do so. At any rate, the marriage soon ended in early 46.[587]

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[584] *Att.* 14.10.4=SB 364.4.
[585] But it should be pointed out that a full treatment of this topic is beyond the scope of this chapter.
[586] *Fam.* 14.20=SB 173. For a short analysis, see Treggiari (2007, 128–8), who describes this letter as "short and to the point, with no endearments."
[587] For discussions of this divorce, see Treggiari (2007, 129–30) and Ermete (2003, 156–59). Pluttarch (*Cic.* 41.3) mentions Terentia's failure to take good care of Tullia after the outbreak of the civil war as one of the reasons for Cicero's decision on the divorce. We

Let us now focus specifically on Marcus the Younger. As noted above, Quintus and Pomponia started to look for a fiancée for their son in 45. However, there is no evidence at all to suggest that Cicero at that time took action to arrange a marriage for his son, who was only one year Quintus the Younger's junior. On the other hand, we are better informed about Marcus the Younger's education in the mid-40s. For example, in the spring of 45 Cicero sent him to Athens, where the latter stayed for learning rhetoric and other subjects at least till the summer of the next year. The letters Cicero wrote to Atticus during this period show that he kept a close eye on his son's progress and set high standards of performance for him.[588] It thus appear likely that Cicero wanted to advance his son's political career as much as possible before marrying him off so as to increase the chances of finding him a good match.

**4. Conclusion**

The above three sections, though treating different aspects of Quintus' marriage to Pomponia, share a common theme: conflict. In the first section, we focused on the marital relationship between the couple that lasted about 25 years. While given the existing evidence it may be an overstatement to say that it was fraught with dissension, it has to be acknowledged that problems were not rare. Important factors include Pomponia's desire for agency as a result of her age and financial strength, Quintus' bad temper and the destructive force caused by other protagonists such as Statius and Quintus the Younger.

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do not know whether this alleged negligence caused Tullia to be somewhat estranged from her mother.

[588] For a discussion of Marcus the Younger's stay in Athens and Cicero's careful watch over him, see Späth (2010, 153–54).

Likewise, Quintus' relationship with his brother-in-law Atticus did not always run smoothly, either. A case in point was the tension arising from Atticus' refusal to serve on Quintus' provincial staff, which was discussed in the second section. As Cicero's letters demonstrate, he made strenuous efforts at conflict management so that Quintus could remain on good terms with Pomponia and Atticus. Apparently, he believed that such a state would be beneficial to every member in his, Quintus' and Atticus' families. The third section pays close attention to the sole descendant of Quintus and Pomponia, Quintus the Younger. Despite Cicero's active involvement in the upbringing of his nephew, he still failed to prevent Quintus the Younger from becoming unruly after he came of age, with the result that he caused much trouble to his parents as well as two uncles.

## 7. Atticus and His Marriage

More attention needs to be paid to Atticus' marital life, not only because the evidence available to us, though not as abundant as can be expected, has not yet been fully exploited, but more importantly because, as this chapter attempts to demonstrates, a good understanding of it is essential for answering two key questions, namely how Atticus navigated his way safely in the political arena of the late Republic as well as how he managed to build a large business enterprise. Meanwhile, for the purposes of the current study, the way in which Atticus dealt with marital affairs can serve as a meaningful comparison and/or contrast with the way in which Cicero did. The two men no doubt had much in common, on which their long-lasting friendship was based. Yet there are also differences between them, with a marked one being the fact that while Cicero as a new man from an Italian town took great pains to pursue a public career, Atticus as a member of a noble Roman clan avoided directly engaging in politics and for certain periods of time even avoided staying in Italy. Atticus' case, therefore, presents us with an additional opportunity to examine how a social elite's background, manner of life and aspirations affected his decisions on marriage.

According to Cicero, an important change in Atticus' life took place in early 56, when he married a woman named Pilia. The first section of this chapter is devoted to exploring Atticus' marital status before that point. What then follows is a section on why Atticus chose Pilia. In previous chapters, we saw Atticus' involvement in Cicero's and Quintus' family affairs. It would thus be of interest to take a look at Cicero's role in Atticus' family affairs, which is the primary concern of the third section.

**1. Atticus and the Question of Being Single**

As Cicero tells us, shortly after returning to Rome from Greece, Atticus married Pilia on February 12 of 56 and held a reception in the evening.[589] At that time, he was 54 years old. For most men, marriages at such a stage of life would be remarriages. Both Cicero's marriage to Publilia and Pompey's to Cornelia Metella are examples. However, it is not entirely certain whether Atticus had married before that point. Although Nepos makes efforts to disclose the intimate details of his subject by describing Atticus' devotion to his mother, affection for his sister and kindness to his household slaves, what is curiously missing from the biography is information about his marital life. To be sure, even Nepos' reference to Pilia is indirect, and her existence has to be inferred from the mention of the couple's daughter.[590]

The fact that Cicero's correspondence records no former wife of Atticus is worthy of closer examination here. First, within the current epistolary collection, over seventy letters were composed prior to Atticus' marriage to Pilia, the earliest of which dates to the end of 68. While this sample can hardly be said to be very large and unfortunately does not cover the 70s at all, by no means is it useless in revealing the affairs of Atticus' family. Indeed, Cicero mentioned what happened to Pomponia, Caecilia and Quintus Caecilius in numerous letters of that period, sometimes in response to Atticus' inquiry yet on other occasions of his own accord. What should also be noted is the way in which Cicero treated Pilia in the 350 or so epistles written when she was married to Atticus. Cicero apparently had a habit of showing gestures of goodwill to her by asking Atticus to

[589] Cic. *Qfr*. 2.3.7=SB 7.7.
[590] Nep. *Att.* 12.1.

send her his greetings, with the result that we now have more than forty references to Pilia. For these two reasons, it would not be unreasonable for us to expect Cicero to drop at least some hints about Atticus' previous wife if Atticus had had one. The complete absence of evidence in this case, therefore, more likely than not indicates that instead of entering into a marital relationship around thirty like many of his male peers, Atticus remained single until his mid-fifties.

The delaying and even foregoing of marriage did not appear to be extremely rare phenomena in ancient Rome, otherwise there would not have been various attempts to curb such practices. In fact, punitive measures were introduced as early as the very end of the fifth century. According to Valerius Maximus, the two censors of 403—Marcus Furius Camillus and Marcus Postumius Albinus Regillensis—ordered men who reached old age without ever marrying to pay copper coins to the state treasury on the grounds that they neglected their obligation to procreate.[591] In a speech delivered at his appointment to the censorship in 131, Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus urged all citizens to marry and bear children.[592] Later, by way of the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* (18 BCE) and *the lex Papia-Poppaea* (9 CE), Augustus once again imposed punishments on people of both genders who remained single within the age limits set by him. He deprived them of certain social privileges (for instance, eligibility to hold office) and forced them to forfeit half of their inheritances as well as legacies.[593] Apparently,

[591] Val. Max. 2.9.1. In his biography of Camillus, Plutarch specifically notes (2.2) that the two censors ordered unmarried men to join in wedlock with widowed women.
[592] For fragments of this speech, see *ORF*[4] 18 F3 and *FRL* III.1 (LCL 540) 18 F4-7.
[593] There has been extensive scholarship on Augustus' marriage legislation. A most recent study is that of Evans Grubbs (2019) with bibliography.

such penalties had more profound implications for unmarried people of the elite class than those belonging to lower levels of Roman society.

In their accounts of Augustus' marriage legislation, both Suetonius and Cassius Dio tell us that a large crowd of unmarried equites assembled in the Forum to demand that the penalties inflicted upon them be repealed.[594] Whether the two historians shared a common source or Dio simply followed and expanded on what his predecessor had to say, their specific mention of such fierce opposition from men of the equestrian rank may be taken to indicate that compared with other social groups, those people were more likely to be bachelors and to resist any attempt to interfere with their lifestyle. At the same time, it is interesting to note that Horace, who was himself an eques writing in the Augustan Age, has a rich man claim that "nothing is better than the single life" (*melius nil caelibe vita*).[595] Given the evidence from Suetonius and Dio, here Horace is probably describing a thought that enjoyed some popularity among men of property in his day. The poet might have subscribed to it, too.

The Latin word for "bachelors" is *caelibes*. The late Republican grammarian Gavius Bassus contends that it was etymologically linked to *caelites*, which stands for "gods", because the Romans considered bachelors as free from a heavy load of burden just like gods.[596] While Quintilian is most likely correct in questioning the validity of Gavius' argument, Gavius nevertheless makes a good point that being single means

[594] Suet. *Aug*. 34 and Cass. Dio 56.1-9.
[595] Hor. *Epist*. 1.1.88. Since the publication of this poem (20/19 BCE) predates the passage of the Julian marriage law, Horace would not have worried about offending the emperor with such a statement.
[596] Gavius' view is mentioned and discussed by Quintilian (*Inst*. 1.6.36). Some grammarians of later periods also showed interest in it. See Laes (2019, 12–13).

having a good chance of enjoying a happy-go-lucky life, a life that is at least not complicated by the obligations to take care of a spouse and offspring.

Epicureanism is known to have had a negative attitude towards family responsibilities. According to Diogenes and Seneca, Epicurus as the founding father of the sect not only remained single for his entire life but also explicitly discouraged other people from entering into a marital relationship and begetting children.[597] This is understandable, because the ultimate goal of this school of thought was to achieve a happy and tranquil life through rationalized selfishness.

There can be little doubt that Atticus was familiar with Epicurean philosophy. He seems to have already become acquainted with Phaedrus and Patro—two leading Epicurean scholars of his day—before moving to the East and attended their lectures when staying in Athens. In addition, he associated himself with people who professed to be Epicureans, including Lucius Saufeius, Lucius Manlius Torquatus (cos. 65) and Gaius Vibius Pansa (cos. 43).[598] Moreover, two guiding principles of his life, namely to have as little direct involvement in politics as possible and to attach vital significance to friendship, agree with the precepts of Epicureanism. Epicureanism, therefore, might well have influenced Atticus' decision on marriage. The impact, however, should not be

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[597] Diog. Laert. 10.119: Καὶ μηδὲ καὶ γαμήσειν καὶ τεκνοποιήσειν τὸν σοφόν, ὡς Ἐπίκουρος ἐν ταῖς Διαπορίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως ("as Epicurus says both in *The Problems* and in *On the Nature*, a wise man will neither marry nor beget children"). Sen. fr. 45 Haase: *Epicurus…raro dicit sapienti ineunda coniugia, quia incommoda admixta sunt nuptiis* ("Epicurus says that a wise man should not enter into a marital relationship because troubles are mingled with marriage"). For Epicurus' opinion of marriage and children, see Leslie (1950, 12–13), Chilton (1960) and Arenson (2016).

[598] For Atticus' association with both Greek and Roman Epicureans, see Leslie (1950, 16–17). Gilbert (2019) and Haake (2017) are two recent studies of Saufeius, a well-connected Roman *eques* who abstained from political office and chose to devote himself to intellectual studies just like Atticus.

exaggerated. Unlike devoted practitioners of Epicureanism, Atticus chose to live moderately (of course, for his class) and enjoyed studying literature and history. This demonstrates that whether an Epicurean or not, he felt no need to follow any Epicurean teaching (including that concerning being single) unless he found it suitable for him.[599]

Using the influence of Epicureanism to account for Atticus' decision to be a long-time bachelor leads to a question: how can we explain his affection for both Pilia and Attica, which does not indicate at all that he considered them as a source of burden? A possible answer may be that Atticus had a different view about family at earlier stages of his life, and once he had a family, he began to think differently about his actual wife and child. As already mentioned, Atticus established an impressively successful enterprise during the two decades of residence in the East between his move to Athens amidst Cinna's domination and return to Rome shortly before Cicero's campaign for the consulship.[600] For example, he made loans in Athens, Sicyon and Macedonia, invested in estates (certainly in Epirus but probably also in Athens and Delos), traded agricultural produce from his land in Epirus and acted as a dealer in art objects as well as books. Apparently, he dedicated an enormous amount of time and energy to his business. It thus seems logical to think that he preferred to be single because he did not want the fulfillment of his financial ambition to be impeded by family obligations. While Cicero's

[599] There has been ongoing debate over whether Atticus was or could be called an Epicurean. Theodor Mommsen, Marie-Louis-Antoine-Gaston Boissier and Jérôme Carcopino believed that he was. Leslie (1950) was among the earliest scholars (if not the first one) to cast doubt on such a view and was followed by Marshall (1986b, 40–57) and Perlwitz (1992b, 90–97). Most recently, Gilbert (forthcoming) has attempted to revive the previous view by suggesting that "it is hard not to think that Atticus' life may well illustrate the life of an Epicurean sage."

[600] See chapter 5.

example demonstrates that having a family did not necessarily interfere with one's efforts to build a career, Atticus' case can be somewhat different. Given his activities in different regions of the Greek world, he probably needed to travel a lot (even though he must have delegated many tasks to his assistants). Having a wife and especially little children could have made it more inconvenient for him to do that, or he had to let them suffer from his frequent absences from home.[601]

On the other hand, it may appear surprising at first glance that as an astute and ambitious businessman, Atticus did not use marriage as an economic strategy, even though he must have been aware that matrimony carried economic benefits. First, he could expect to capitalize on his wife's dowry, in the course of their marital relationship, to grow his own business. At the same time, he could expect his wife to make her own contributions to the finances of the household by overseeing expenses, managing the domestic budget, supervising servants and engaging in small-scale production such as that of textiles. Indeed, a particularly strategic decision for Atticus would be to marry a woman from a wealthy family that also had commercial interests in the Greek world so that he would be able to take advantage of the information and interpersonal connections possessed by her kinsmen.[602]

Needless to say, marriage was of vital economic significance to Cicero and Quintus. Both of them planned to pursue a political career, which was expensive in the

[601] Here we may recall two examples mentioned in previous chapters. First, the birth of Marcus the Younger in the summer of 65 prevented Cicero from being a short-term legate for Gaius Calpurnius Piso (cos. 67). Second, Quintus' frequent absences from home during the mid-50s seem to have caused trouble to his relationship with Pomponia.
[602] Broekaert (2012) is an overview of how businesspeople used marriage as an economic strategy in ancient Rome.

post-Sullan Rome. But their family's financial conditions did not seem strong enough to support their ambitions simultaneously. Thus without their respective wives' dowries, neither could have succeeded in the highly competitive arena of Roman politics. Yet it seems reasonable to believe that marriage did not matter economically as much to Atticus as to the two Ciceros. For not only did he feel no need to raise campaign funds because of his decision to abstain from office-holding, but he had abundant resources at his disposal, including the money and interpersonal ties he inherited from his late father, which were surely sufficient to get his business enterprise off to a great start. Therefore, Atticus' reluctance to get married may be taken to indicate that for him, the economic benefits of a marriage could not outweigh the costs he would have incurred by undertaking family responsibilities.

Moreover, it might not be easy for Atticus to find a match for himself during his long stay in Greece. For a marriage to be valid for the effects of Roman law, both parties needed to have the so-called *ius conubii*. But in the late Republic the majority of the residents in the East did not possess that right.[603] Of course, it does not mean that Atticus was forbidden to marry a woman without *ius conubii*. The consequences, however, would have deterred him from doing that. First, all the children she gave birth to would be illegitimate in terms of Roman law, with the result that they were not recognized as being in the *potestas* of their biological fathers and thus did not have a firm social location.[604]

[603] In fact, Roselaar (2013) has even suggested that in the Republic the Romans did not bestow *conubium* upon the Latin people as extensively as scholars tend to assume.
[604] Syme (1960) briefly discusses illegitimate children in the Roman aristocracy, but an in-depth study of illegitimate children is that of Rawson (1989). It is also worth noting that illegitimate children might not necessarily be at a disadvantage when it came to succession. Although they could not be their fathers' automatic heirs, their fathers were

The various ways to ensure proper recognition of legitimate children indicate that the Romans took the issue seriously.[605] Second, in Atticus' time any descendant born from a marriage between a Roman citizen and a foreigner was ineligible for Roman citizenship, because the *lex Minicia*, which was introduced sometime before 90, stipulated that a child must follow the civic status of the "inferior" parent.[606] Evidence for a general tendency among the Romans to avoid invalid marriages can be found in Seneca. When stressing the vital significance of keeping promises, he makes clear that it is perfectly appropriate for a (Roman) father who has already betrothed his daughter to a man to break off the engagement if he later realizes that his future son-in-law does not have *ius conubii*.[607]

However, if Atticus had wanted to marry, there would have been various ways to overcome that difficulty. For example, he could have taken to wife the daughter of a Roman and Italian merchants who was doing business in the East. Alternatively, he could have asked his friends for help with finding a suitable bride. Returning to Italy was another solution to the problem, but according to Nepos, Atticus remained in Greece continuously before he went back to the city of Rome in the mid-60s, presumably mainly to support Cicero's campaign for the consulship.[608] Therefore, while we should not go so

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still able to transfer their property to them by instituting them as heirs or leaving a legacy to them.

[605] During Augustus' reign, the state established a birth registration system for that purpose. Before the Principate, parents usually relied on witness and rituals associated with birth celebration to recognize their legitimate children. Proper registration during censuses was another way to guarantee the legitimacy of descendants.

[606] This Minician law is recorded by Gaius (*Inst*. 1.77-8). For modern discussions, see Böhm (1967), Luraschi (1976) and Treggiari (1991, 45–49).

[607] Sen. *Ben*. 4.35.1-2.

[608] Welch (1996, 455), who follows Shackleton Bailey (*CLA* I.4), thinks that Atticus "made infrequent but significant visits to the capital during the sixties and perhaps the late seventies" because his connections with senators and equites could not have been developed overnight or been easily maintained if he had been absent for two decades.

far as to say that Atticus had no intention at all of getting married before his mid-fifties, it does seem that he was less interested in leading a marital life than attending to his commercial enterprise. There is no good reason to doubt that he was content with being a bachelor.

We have already mentioned that Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, who held the censorship in 131, expressed strong disapproval of the delaying or refusal of marriage when giving his inaugural speech. It is understandable that a censor was concerned about the likelihood of the decline of population caused by a tendency among people of marriageable age to neglect marriage. Yet no existing evidence can confirm that a social stigma was ever attached to individuals who chose to be single before the passage of Augustus' marital laws.[609] Since Horace dared to declare that the single life was the best, it appears that the decision not to get married was at least to some degree accepted as a matter of personal choice. Of course, this is not to say that single people could get away with having a lifestyle that was different from the mainstream one. Nevertheless, the extent of the effect on one's reputation varied, and this point can be illustrated by a comparison between Cicero and Atticus. As a new man with an ambition of pursing a political career, Cicero had to subject himself to strict assessment by both the

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Although such a view does make some sense, two points need to be taken into account. First, many of Atticus' ties might be hereditary ones. Second, since Atticus was able to develop ties with some important individuals of his day while he was in Greece (e.g. Sulla, Pompey and Marcus Pupius Piso Frugi), it is reasonable to believe that he was also able to maintain his ties despite being absent from Rome.

[609] Of some interest here is an article by Kiiskinen (2019). In analyzing the ways in which Cicero and Catullus depict certain characters who behaved improperly, he finds that neither author uses singleness as a pretext for personal attacks or as an explanation for any unacceptable behavior. But we should treat his conclusion with caution because it is not always possible to tell with certainty whether the characters he studies are single persons.

ruling aristocracy (since he aspired to become a member of this group) and the plebs (since their votes were vital for his success). For this reason, he had to be cautious about deviating from social norms. Meanwhile, a desire to have a son who would enjoy success in holding office required him not only to marry but also to find a suitable woman. By contrast, Atticus was an established member of the social and cultural elite by birth and had no interest in climbing up the *cursus honorum*. It is thus conceivable that he was allowed more freedom to live in whichever way he preferred.

**2. Atticus and His Marriage to Pilia**

Considering that Atticus seems to have remained a bachelor for many years and was probably content with this manner of life, why he married Pilia in his mid-fifties no doubt calls for an explanation. Unfortunately, neither Nepos nor Cicero gives us a direct answer. Since this major change in Atticus' life is temporally close to another one we happen to know of, that is, the adoption of him by his maternal uncle Quintus Caecilius, it is tempting to see whether there is a link between them. In a letter dispatched on October 5 of 58, Cicero addresses his best friend, for the first time and perhaps in a playful manner, as Q. Caecilius Q. f. Pomponianus Atticus.[610] Thus Atticus must have been adopted sometime before that date, most likely in September.

Both Nepos and Valerius Maximus explicitly mention that Caecilius adopted Atticus by his will, so here we are dealing with an example of what is commonly known

[610] Cic. *Att.* 3.20=SB 65.

as testamentary adoption.[611] Is it then possible that Caecilius set marrying Pilia as a condition for Atticus' entitlement to his property? No existing evidence can demonstrate that it was a common practice for testamentary adopters to impose obligations upon adoptees. Even the so-called "condition of bearing the name" (*condicio nominis ferendi*) was merely a general expectation rather than a requirement, as pointed out by the second century CE jurist Salvius Julianus.[612] In fact, the nature of testamentary adoption as ultimately a private arrangement between the two relevant parties that did not need a relevant magistrate's approval means that this type of adoption was less suitable than *adoptio* or *adrogatio* for adopters who expected their adoptees to fulfill certain duties.[613]

However, we may notice that after being adopted Atticus began to be known as Quintus Caecilius Q.f. Pomponianus Atticus, but in a more private context—for example, when communicating with Cicero—his previous gentile name Pomponius was still often used. Moreover, his daughter was called Caecilia Attica and freedmen the Caecilii.[614] It seems likely, therefore, that Quintus Caecilius expressed an informal wish in his will that Atticus take his name. There can also be a possibility that he suggested at the same time

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[611] Nep. *Att.* 5 and Val. Max. 7.8.5. The term *adoptio testamentaria* first appears in the work of Pliny the Elder (*NH*. 35.8). For modern discussions of the testamentary adoption, see for example Konrad (1996), Kunst (1996), Kunst (2005) and Lindsay (2009, 79–86).
[612] *Dig*. 36.1.65.10: *…sed tamen si recuset nomen ferre, remittenda est ei condicio* ("the condition must be remitted to him who refuses to take [his or her adoptive parent's] name").
[613] *Adoptio* refers to the adoption of a person under the authority of a *paterfamilias* and *adrogatio* the adoption of someone of his or her own right.
[614] Varro *Rust*. 2.2.2: *Atticus, qui tunc T. Pomponius, nunc Q. Caecilius cognomine eodem* ("Atticus, who was then Titus Pomponius, is now Quintus Caecilius with the same cognomen"). Attica appears as Caecilia in *Att*. 6.2=SB 116 and 6.4=SB 118; there is no evidence that she was ever called Pomponia. For discussions of Atticus' nomenclature, see Shackleton Bailey (1991, 68), Shackleton Bailey (1995, 26–27) and Salomies (1992, 8).

that Atticus marry and produce descendants to carry on his *nomen*, though this raises another question of why Caecilius did not adopt a younger man, who would have been more capable of procreating than a man in his mid-fifties. Since Caecilius is said to have had such a difficult personality that no one else was able to bear it except Atticus, he probably could find no better candidate for adoption than his nephew.[615] Yet in fact, adoption by relatives on the mother's side (including maternal uncle) was quite common.[616]

Significantly, the testamentary adoption in question had profound financial implications for Atticus. According to Nepos, Quintus Caecilius assigned three quarters of his property, with a total value of 10 million sesterces, to Atticus. Valerius Maximus, on the other hand, claims that Caecilius left all of his property to Atticus while giving no further details about the exact worth.[617] Whatever the case, there is little reason to doubt that the inheritance Atticus received from his uncle was a large one (even for a rich man like him) and led to a considerable expansion of his portfolio. What is worth recalling here is that at the time of the adoption, Atticus was of an advanced age by Roman standards: he was over fifty years old. As can be easily imagined, therefore, another consequence of this new addition of a substantial fortune was that he had a more pressing need than before to think about the destinations of his material goods. From this point of view, Atticus' marriage to Pilia may be interpreted as his attempt to acquire an heir.

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[615] Nep. *Att.* 5.1.
[616] For examples, see Lindsay (2009, 160–64).
[617] Horsfall (1989, 67) does not think Valerius Maximus' evidence for Caecilius to be as reliable as Nepos' on the grounds that the episode of people humiliating Caecilius' corpse because he did not leave an inheritance to his intimate friend Lucius Lucullus (cos. 74) in the former's account hardly makes sense.

By Atticus' day, adoption had long been used as a strategy for succession. So why didn't he choose this method like his uncle? One possible explanation for his decision to take the trouble to have his own child may be that he believed the relationships between biological parents and children to be the strongest and most valuable. Such a notion was very popular in Roman society.[618] Of course, it still seems plausible that Atticus once considered transmitting his possessions to an adopted heir. From the mid-60s onwards, Quintus the Younger would have made an obvious and ideal adoptee because the boy as the son of Pomponia was related to Atticus by blood and close to him emotionally. However, the elder Quintus, under whose authority the younger Quintus remained, was highly unlikely to be willing to let Atticus adopt his only descendant. On the other hand, there must have been other candidates for adoption by Atticus, though we cannot know for sure who they were. Perhaps none of them was good enough to convince Atticus to see adoption as the best choice.

Why Pilia? The background of this woman is largely obscure, but we happen to learn about two of her kinsmen from Cicero's correspondence. The first person was Marcus Pilius, who once sold an estate in Campus Vaticanus to the senator Gaius Albanius for 11,500,000 sesterces.[619] He was no doubt a landowner of substantial wealth, though how exactly he was related to Pilia remains unclear. The other person, Quintus Pilius Celer, has been generally assumed to be Pilia's brother.[620] Given the multiple

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[618] See Treggiari (2005) for a discussion of how Cicero highlights the natural affection between parents and children in his forensic speeches.

[619] *Att*. 13.31.4=SB 302.4. This transaction is all we know about Marcus Pilius in question. For a brief discussion of the estate sold by him and its price, see Frank (1929, 184).

[620] Drumann and Groebe (1919, 5:90) and Münzer (*RE* Pilius 2) are among the earliest scholars to suggest so.

mentions of him in Cicero's letters, it does seem likely that he had a close relationship with Pilia.[621] To be sure, our knowledge of the Pilian clan is rather scanty and primarily derived from epigraphic evidence.[622]

One Republican inscription was discovered at Cora, a town in southern Latium which had already become a *municipium* by the time of the Second Punic War. It shows that the local censorship was once held by a Publius Pilius son of Lucius.[623] Apparently, the Pilii there must have belonged to the town's aristocratic class. This inscription has led several scholars to believe that Cora was where Pilia and her family came from.[624] Such a view certainly makes sense, since it would have been easy for Atticus to interact with aristocrats of the towns near Rome (Cora was only about 50 kilometers away in the southeast), as they most likely also had many dealings in the capital city.[625] The acquaintance with the Pilii, then, might have been established in the latter half of the 60s when Atticus remained in Roman for some time to support Cicero's campaign for the consulship as well as to help him suppress the Catilinarian conspiracy.[626]

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[621] *Att.* 4.18.5=SB 92.5, 6.3.10=SB 117.10, 9.18.2=SB 187.2, 10.1a=SB 191, 11.4=SB 215, 12.8=SB 245; *Ad Brut*. 2.5=SB 5. Another mention can be found at *Fam.* 8.8.2=SB 84.2, where Caelius Rufus gives Cicero an account of Pilius Celer's bringing a charge of extortion against Marcus Servilius. For a more detailed discussion of him, see the third section below.

[622] Chase (1897, 129) put forward a hypothesis that *gens* Pilia originated from Picenum.

[623] *CIL* 10.6509 = *CIL* $1^2$.1509 = *ILS* 3708 = *ILLRP* 111 = EDCS-21300017*: Fortunae Opse[q(uenti?)] / P(ublius) Peilius L(uci) f(ilius) C(aius) Calvius P(ubli) f(ilius) / cens(ores).* This inscription is dated between the mid-second and early first centuries. Alföldy (1999, 81) takes Peilius as an archaic, variant form of Pilius. For a brief discussion of censors in Italian municipalities, see Bispham (2007, 361).

[624] Syme (1989, 314 n.9), Münzer *RE* Pilius and Horsfall (1989, 65–66).

[625] Cora was only about 50 kilometers away from the city of Rome.

[626] For an analysis of Atticus' participation in the *equites*' campaign against Catiline, see Perlwitz (1992, 48–53).

However, the existence of another inscription warns us not to jump to the conclusion that Pilia originated from Cora. Found at what was later known as Iulia Concordia (near the present-day Venice), it is a funerary dedication a certain Andetius made along with a Marcus Pilius to his deceased grandfather.[627] Of particular interest is the mention of this Pilius' tribunate at the end of the text.[628] As far as the current evidence is concerned, he seemed to be the first member of the Pilian clan and one of the earliest people from northeastern Italy to become a magistrate in the city of Rome. Again, we are justified in believing that he was an elite at Concordia.

Iulia Concordia was established as a Roman colony either by Caesar in the 40s or by Octavian during the triumviral period, and the founder settled a few thousand Roman citizens. Most likely the inscription predates this colonization program.[629] In the pre-colonial period, the majority of the local residents would have been the Veneti and the Celts, as was the case with many other communities in northeastern Italy beyond the Po River.[630] As the name Andetius suggests, this man was of Celtic origin. How can we,

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[627] *CIL* 1.2980a = *IRConcor* 16 = *Pais* 411 = *ILLConcordia* 2, 90 = *AE* 1981, 398 = EDCS-12000880: *]ISSI C[3] / Andetius Cra[3] / avo |(obito) M(arcus) Pileiu[s 3] / tr(ibunus) pl(ebis).* Alföldy (1999, 77–84) is a helpful analysis of this inscription, though his text is slightly different: *[.]OSI[..]+++[---] / Andetius Cra[ssi (?) f(ilius)] / avo (obito) M(arcus) Pileiu[s – f(ilius)] / tr(ibunus) pl(ebis).* It is unclear whether this Marcus Pilius was the person mentioned in Cicero's letter.

[628] Since municipal tribunes have been found only in towns of central and southern Italy (for example, at Venusia and Bantia in Lucania, Teanum Sidicinum in Campania and Spoletum in Umbria), Marcus Pilius was most likely elected in the city of Rome. See Alföldy (1999, 79–80).

[629] For the dating, see Alföldy (1999, 82) and Di Filippo Balestrazzi (2001, 115). For the colonization of the town, see Marrone (2001), who conjectures that about 3000 Roman citizens were settled there.

[630] Since we do not know how the town was called before it took the name Concordia and became a Roman colony, the pre-colonial town will be referred to as Concordia for convenience's sake.

then, explain the presence of Marcus Pilius? He in fact was probably not the only Pilius in that town.

They would have moved there from somewhere else (Cora?), and one possible motivation behind their relocation might be to exploit the rich resources of that region.[631] According to Strabo, Polybius once mentioned that in his own day, a mine containing a large quantity of high-quality gold was found near the contemporary triple frontiers between Italy, Austria and Slovenia. This new mine would have attracted many profit-seeking *publicani*, just as the mines in northwestern Italy did after being seized by the Romans from the Salassi in 143.[632] Moreover, rivers, plains and the Adriatic sea made the area naturally conducive to various forms of transport.[633] Communication was further improved in the second half of the second century by the building of Roman roads, with the result that Concordia was located on both the via Annia and the via Postumia.[634] In other words, this place was also suitable for doing trade. Regardless of whether the Pilii at Concordia had a business in the mining industry or in the commerce, the political success of Marcus Pilius demonstrates that they made huge profits there. They might have achieved this partially by means of an alliance with the local, aristocratic family to which Andetius belonged.

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[631] Livy (40.34. 2-4 and 43.17.1) suggests that this was one of the two main reasons why the Roman established a colony in Aquileia (not very far from Concordia) in the late 180s and settled at least two groups of Latin colonists within the first decade of the founding.
[632] Strabo 4.6.7 and 12.
[633] Strabo 4.6.8-12 offers a topographical survey of northeastern Italy. Chevallier (1988) offers a modern study.
[634] The via Annia was completed in 131 at the behest of the praetor Titus Annius Rufus and the via Postumia was completed in 178 at the behest of the consul Spurius Postumius Albinus Magnus. See Veronese (2009) for a comprehensive study of the former and Cera (2000) for a comprehensive study of the latter.

As we will see below, Pilius Celer was an ardent supporter of Caesar. Since Caesar is known to have made great efforts to cultivate elites from Cisalpine Gaul since the 60s, there is a possibility that Pilius Celer and Pilia were residents of Concordia before they relocated to Rome to follow Caesar.[635] Caesar's support also helps to explain why Marcus Pilius, a man from a place distant from the capital city, managed to become tribune of the plebs.[636] It would require no explanation if Atticus came into contact with those Pilii at Rome. But it is not impossible for the acquaintance to have been made elsewhere. What may be of interest to notice is that Concordia was located at the northern head of the Adriatic Sea, whereas Epirus, in which Atticus' principal residence in the East was based, was situated at the Sea's southern end. Therefore, maritime trade in the Adriatic Sea, which played a vital role in the commerce of the entire Mediterranean world, could have provided them with opportunities to get to know each other.[637]

Despite our scanty evidence, two main features of the Pilii in the late Republic are evident. First of all, they belonged to the social and economic elite of their own

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[635] For Caesar's efforts to cultivate elites from Cisalpine Gaul and enfranchise that province, see Ewins (1955, 83–95). According to Suetonius (*Iul*. 8), he started to do so in 68. When returning from the Further Spain before the end of his quaestorship that year, Caesar lingered for a while in Cisalpine Gaul, where the demand for Roman citizenship was high in Latin colonies and Romanized municipalities. What is worth noting here is another inscription found at Concordia and generally dated to the first half of the first century (*CIL* 5.1890 = *CIL* $1^2$.2191 = *Pais* 392 = *ILLRP* 572 = *IRConcor* 32 = *ILLConcordia* 1, 33 = *AE* 1995, 581). It attests that a Lucius Iulius son of Gaius once held a local office there. He might have been a member of the *gens* Iulia, but it is also possible that as a native of Concordia and client of Caesar he adopted Iulius as his gentile name. At any rate, Caesar probably had some connection with Concordia prior to the colonization.

[636] Both Gruen (1974, 180–89) and Thommen (1989, 21–39) note that in the late Republic tribunes who were new men tended to attach themselves to one or another of the leading political figures.

[637] For trade in the Adriatic Sea, see Čače, Kurilić, and Tassaux (2006).

communities. Second, although some members had political aspirations, the clan as a whole hardly took part in Roman politics. Overall, therefore, Atticus' marital alliance with a woman of this *gens* made sense, whether she was from Cora, Concordia or somewhere else. But if her family had already established an association with Caesar by the early 50s, how might it have affected Atticus' decision on the marriage?

Admittedly, Atticus would not have been an advocate of Caesar, because his financial interests could easily be jeopardized by Caesar' *popularis* tactics such as redistribution of land and debt reforms.[638] Upon learning in late 61 that Caesar was a promising candidate for the consulship, he even sneered.[639] However, it is vital to remember that unlike Cicero, Atticus was ultimately a pragmatist when it came to politics.[640] This point can be illustrated by way in which he treated Pompey after Pompey returned from the East. Although at that time Atticus must have felt deeply concerned about Pompey's intention of acquiring land to settle his veterans, he made efforts to deepen his friendship with Pompey rather than to oppose him, and one of his strategies was to cultivate Theophanes of Mytilene, whose services in the campaigns against Mithridates in 67 made him a close confidant of Pompey.[641] Apparently, Atticus was

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[638] Nepos says that Atticus "in public life lived in such a way that he was and was considered as being on the side of the optimates" (6.1: *in re publica ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum partium et esset et existimaretur*). In the *De legibus*, the persona Atticus claims that "surely no popular measure ever pleased me, and I think the best government is that which the consul here [i.e. Cicero] had established and which is under the control of the optimates" (3.17: *mihi vero nihil umquam populare placuit, eamque optimam rem publicam esse dico, quam hic consul constituerat, quae sit in potestate optimorum*). But we should not go so far as to consider Atticus as an optimate.
[639] *Att.* 1.17.11=SB 17.11: *rides? non sunt haec ridicula, mihi crede* ("You are laughing? These are no jokes, believe me").
[640] A convenient study of Atticus' pragmatism in politics is that of Welch (1996).
[641] Clear evidence for a close tie between Atticus and Theophanes can be found at *Att.* 2.17.3=SB 37.3, where Cicero requests Atticus to ask Theophanes about how Pompey

acutely aware that his financial interests in the Greek world would depend on Pompey's goodwill. We are less certain about what specific benefits Atticus expected to obtain from Caesar. Perhaps the political situation in the early 50s, including Cicero's misfortune, alerted him to the need to take Caesar's power seriously.[642] For this reason, the Pilii's connection with Caesar, if it had been established before Atticus married Pilia, could have made the marriage in question appear more attractive to Atticus. Of course, none of Atticus' moves to connect himself to Pompey and Caesar should be understood as an attempt to take sides.

As noted earlier, the wedding ceremony celebrating Atticus' marriage to Pilia was held on February 12 of 56. The date was selected with care, because Parentalia, a multi-day festival of ancestors, began on the next day (February 13) and was inappropriate for marital celebrations.[643] However, the couple's decision to schedule the wedding for February is still curious. It is not entirely clear whether the Roman people tended to avoid getting married on *dies nefasti*, that is, ill-omen days when political and judicial activities were banned. If they did (which would certainly be understandable), then February did not seem to be a good choice for marriage purposes, since in the Republican calendar prior to Caesar's reform that month, despite being the shortest one of the year, contained

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was disposed to him. Theophanes received Roman citizenship from Pompey in an assembly of soldiers, probably in 62 (Cic. *Arch.* 24). Various ancient testimonies indicate that he exerted important influence on Pompey (Strabo 12.2.3; Plut. *Pomp*. 42.4 and 49.7; Cic. *Att.* 5.11.3=SB 104.3; and Caes. *BCiv*. 3.18.3).

[642] Thus it seems plausible, as Marshall (1986b, 146) suggests, that in 59 Atticus advised Cicero to accept Caesar's offer of a legateship for the next year as an expedient measure to avoid Clodius' retaliation, though Cicero did not take Atticus' advice.

[643] Ov. *Fast.* 2. 557-64. See Hersch (2010, 44–51) for a discussion of the impact of the Roman calendar on the planning of weddings.

the largest number of *dies nefasti*.[644] More importantly, the wedding date in question also seems to have caused Atticus a practical problem. He had been staying in the East at least since the fall of 57 and needed to return to Rome for the ceremony.[645] But voyages on the Mediterranean Sea during winter times were especially difficult and dangerous, as the weather was less predictable and the sea was more likely to be rough due to sudden gusts of wind.[646] One thus wonders why Atticus did not postpone the marriage until the spring or early summer.[647]

In the letter to Quintus, Cicero simply notes that he attended the wedding without giving a detailed description. It is thus possible that the newlywed couple followed the

[644] For the distribution of days in the Republican calendar of the first century, see the convenient chart in Michels (1967, 35). Half of the 28 days of February were *dies nefasti*. Other months that contained many such days include April (14 of 29 days) and June (10 of 29 days).

[645] But according the jurist Pomponius, it was possible, at least in principle, for a woman to be "married by a man in his absence, either by letter or by a messenger, if she is let to his house" (*Dig*. 23.2.5).

[646] The entire period between March and early November was generally suitable for sailing on the Mediterranean Sea, and summer was the best season. For a detailed discussion, see Casson (1995, 270–78). As Gertwagen (2014, 162) notes, even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, people still avoided seafaring on the Mediterranean Sea between the end of October and the beginning of March.

[647] Two points need to be noted here. First, Shaw (1997) has argued that in agricultural societies, people tended to marry during down times following the most labor-intensive periods in the annual cycle of agricultural production, so winter months were popular months for weddings whereas spring and summer months were not. Hersch (2010, 50–51) only partially accepts this seasonal pattern of marriage on the grounds that the supporting evidence was primarily drawn from a sample of Christian epitaphs. Shaw does not address the question of whether the elite class, which was not directly involved in agricultural production, inclined to follow the pattern he proposes in that article. Second, according to Rüpke (2011, 109–10), the calendar at that time was in disarray because the pontiffs failed to insert intercalation properly. So although Cicero dated the letter to mid-February, it was perhaps already spring time. For a detailed study of the problems in the Republican calendar prior to Caesar's reform, see also Radke (1990).

traditional customs associated with Roman marriage.[648] That is to say, Pilia might have had her face completely covered with a deep yellow garment called *flammeum* and been led by attendants from her residence to that of Atticus' through a public procession. The moment she entered Atticus' home would mark the change of her marital status from single to married. A wedding feast usually ensued, though ancient authors disagreed on whether the groom or the bride's father was responsible for it.[649] Cicero's mention of a dinner in Atticus' house suggests that it was Atticus who organized the banquet.

**3. Cicero and Atticus' Marriage to Pilia**

As our sole source for Atticus and Pilia's marital life, Cicero offers more than forty references to Pilia in the correspondence and they attest to his attention to her. The earliest mention can be found in a letter probably dating to the early summer of 56, when Cicero was residing in his villa at Antium. He invited Atticus for a visit and specifically asked him to bring Pilia along.[650] He reiterated such a request in a subsequent letter.[651] It is difficult to say whether Cicero was on intimate terms with Pilia at that time. After all, during the preceding two years he spent much time living in exile, and shortly after the couple got married, he left Rome for vacation in local towns. Whatever the case, the invitations indicate that Cicero had every intention of having a good relationship with Pilia.

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[648] For traditional Roman marriage customs, see the in-depth study of Hersch (2010), especially chapters 2 and 3.
[649] Juvenal (6.200-203) says that the groom was expected to organize and pay for it, while Plautus (*Aul.* 294, 356, 385 and 539-40) claims that it was the bride's father's responsibility.
[650] *Att.* 4.4a.2=SB 78.2.
[651] *Att.* 4.12=SB 81.

What is particularly interesting to notice is Tullia's attempts to become close to Pilia; Cicero told Atticus that she also wanted Pilia to come over. Interactions between the two women are attested in the letters of later periods. For instance, Cicero occasionally sent greetings to Pilia on Tullia's behalf, and Pilia offered her congratulations to Tullia when the latter married Dolabella.[652] Given their affection for each other, it seems likely that they were about the same age.[653] If this was the case, Pilia could have been born sometime around the first half of the 70s and thus younger than Atticus by as much as thirty years. It made sense for Atticus to marry a woman around twenty if the primary goal of this marriage for him was, as argued above, to have offspring.

Cicero's marriage to Publilia, which was contracted in either late 46 or early 45, is another example showing a wide disparity in the couple's ages. In fact, their age gap was probably even bigger than that between Atticus and Pilia, if Publilia was still in her mid-teens when becoming Cicero's wife.[654] Terentia is said to have believed that Cicero was attracted by Publilia's beauty, but Tiro's view seems to make more sense that his former master chose Publilia because he found it easier to exploit the wealth of a young wife.[655] According to Quintilian, some used Publilia's age as a pretext to criticize Cicero.[656]

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[652] *Att*. 12.3.2=SB 239.2 and 6.8.1, 5=SB 122.5. On the other hand, Terentia and Pilia must have interacted with each other on various occasions, clear evidence is lacking.
[653] Münzer suggests so (*RE* Pilius 3.1327).
[654] Treggiari (2007, 134) seems to agree with Syme's and Hoffmann's hypothesis that Publilia was around fourteen and fifteen at the time of her marriage to Cicero, who had already reached 60 by then.
[655] Plut. *Cic*. 41.4-5.
[656] Quit. *Inst*. 6.3.75-6. Cicero is said to have defended his marriage to such a young girl by saying that Publilia could become a grown woman soon. Plutarch (*Pomp*. 55.1-3) records that Pompey was criticized, too, for marring Cornelia, who was more suitable for one of his sons in terms of age.

However, it may be an overstatement to say that marriage between an old man and a young woman was widely considered as unacceptable in ancient Rome.

How a big gap in age affected a couple's marital life varied from one case to another. Cicero's marriage to Publilia was a disaster and lasted for only about one year. According to Plutarch, Cicero divorced her on the grounds that she showed no compassion for Tullia's death.[657] It is unclear whether the source the biographer cites here is biased in favor of Cicero. In fact, Cicero could have invented such a rumor to justify his decision on the divorce. Yet there can still be a possibility that Publilia did not get along with Tullia because she was much younger than her stepdaughter (by about ten years). On the other hand, we also have examples of happy marriages between old husbands and young wives. For instance, Pompey lived in harmony, as far as ancient sources tell us, with his fourth wife Julia (even though Pompey married her mostly for the sake of a political alliance with Caesar) and fifth wife Cornelia Metella, both of whom were younger than him by thirty years.[658] There is no reason to doubt that Atticus and Pilia's relationship was harmonious, though details about how they interacted with each other are lacking.

The majority of Cicero's mentions of Pilia are not as informative as can be expected; they are merely formulaic greetings such as *Piliae salutem*. But it may be worth examining when Cicero inclined to greet Pilia and how it tells us about their relationship. First, gestures of goodwill appear repeatedly in the letters of the year 50

[657] Plut. *Cic.* 41.8.
[658] See Marshall (2009, 109–11) for those two marriages of Pompey.

when Cicero was governor of Cilicia.[659] Sometime before the fall of 51 Pilia gave birth to Attica, so we are tempted to think that Cicero wanted to take such a celebratory occasion to further strengthen his ties with Atticus and his family.[660] At the same time, Cicero might also have intended to show his gratitude to Pilia, who attempted to handle the conflict between Pomponia and Quintus in the summer of 51 by placating the latter with a sympathetically written letter.[661] Her intervention seemed to be of critical importance, since after the quarrel happened both Cicero and Atticus sided with their respective siblings and this caused the situation to be in stalemate. Second, greetings to Pilia can be frequently found in most of the epistles dating to the spring of 45, and in one of them, Cicero asks Atticus to tell Pilia not to feel distressed. The timing of such a request demonstrates that Pilia must have been deeply saddened by Tullia's death, which took place in February of that year.[662] It is thus evident that Pilia was perceived by Cicero to be a caring, compassionate woman.

On the other hand, Cicero was ready to help Pilia when she needed it. In July of 54, Cicero promised Atticus that he would attend to her affair. It seems possible, from the

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[659] *Att.* 6.1.22=SB 115.22, 6.2.10=SB 116.10, 6.3.10=SB 117.10, 6.4.3=SB 118.3, 6.5.4=SB 119.4, 6.8.5=SB 122.5 and 7.5.1=SB 128.1.

[660] The exact birth date of Attica is unknown, but Cicero already shows his fondness of her in a letter dispatched on September 21 of 51 (*Att.* 5.19.2=SB 112.2). Considering the time needed for delivery of the news, she might have been born in the early summer. In writing to Atticus in late 54, Cicero mentions Atticus' mulieres (*Att.* 4.19.1=SB 93.1). Shackleton Bailey takes the plural form of the noun as indicating that Attica is included in that group, but his view is not popular.

[661] *Att.* 5.11.7=SB 104.7. This is our only piece of evidence for direct exchange of correspondence between Pilia and Quintus. It is conceivable that she sought to placate Pomponia, too. The quarrel between Quintus and Pomponia is described at *Att.* 5.1.3-4=SB 94.3-4.

[662] *Att.* 12.14.4=SB 251.4, 12.17=SB 255, 12.24.3=SB 263.3, 12.26.2=SB 265.2, 12.27.3=SB 266.3, 12.28.3=SB 267.3, 12.31.3=SB 272.3, 12.37.1=SB 276.1, 12.40.5=SB 281.5 and 12.48.1=SB 289.1.

vague information available to us, that Pilia was planning to purchase an estate.[663] Such a decision would hardly be surprising. Yet what is more interesting here is Cicero's intention to ask for his daughter's assistance.[664] We happen to have another episode that sheds some light upon how Tullia was able to help her father with business transactions. In 46 Marcus Fabius Gallus wanted to buy a house near Cicero's Palatine residence, but Cicero's absence from Rome kept him from taking care of this matter. So Tullia made an effort to contact Licinia, who was the tenant of the house in which Fabius Gallus was interested. Despite failing to make the sale happen as Licinia found her unable to decide while her husband was away, Tullia's attempt to exploit her female network is certainly noteworthy.[665] It is unclear, however, whether she succeeded in handling Pilia's affair.

The letters dating to the spring of 44 attest to another favor Cicero did for Pilia's sake: he handed over to her his house on the Lucrine in Cumae along with the staff working there.[666] During her stay of at least two months, she was accompanied by neither Atticus nor, much to Cicero's disappointment, Attica. We do not know what happened to Pilia; a possible explanation can be that she was infected by a contagious disease and needed an isolated place. She seems to have mostly recovered in mid-May, as she was

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[663] *Att.* 4.16.4=SB 89.4: *etenim est luculenta res Aureliani, ut scribis, indiciis* ("the thing [estate] is indeed very good, as you write, according to Aurelianus' reports").
[664] *Att.* 4.16.4=SB 89.4: *in eo me etiam Tulliae meae venditabo* ("moreover, I will pay court to my Tullia regarding this affair").
[665] Treggiari (2007, 133) offers a brief but insightful analysis of this episode, which is originally described at *Fam.* 7.23.4=SB 209.4. For a fuller treatment of Licinia, see Harders (2020).
[666] *Att.* 14.2.4=SB 356.4, 14.15.3=SB 369.3, 14.16.1=SB 370.1, 14.17.1=SB 371.1 and 14.19.6=SB 372.6.

able to go into town to attend the funeral Gnaeus Lucceius organized for his late mother.[667]

Pilia fell ill again in the summer due to a stroke. After this happened, Atticus reported the news to Brutus without telling Cicero anything. It was not until her condition began to improve that Cicero finally learnt about her health problem from Brutus, and in writing to Atticus later he complained about not getting the news sooner.[668] Rather than simply shedding light upon Cicero's consideration Pilia, this incident in fact reveals more about the relationships between Cicero, Atticus and Brutus. Atticus had been on good terms with Brutus for many years, and their relationship was close to such an extent as to have previously caused Cicero to feel jealous.[669] As for why Atticus withheld the information from Cicero, reluctance to worry Cicero probably cannot be an adequate explanation; after all, he duly updated Cicero on his and Pilia's illness (malaria?) in late 50 and early 49.[670] In any case, Atticus was not forthcoming with Cicero about everything that mattered to both of them, and this surely suggests that he was craftier than Cicero might have perceived him to be.

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[667] *CIL* 10.3685-3690 show that Gnaeus Lucceius belonged to an aristocratic family in Cumae. Cicero mentions that Lucceius visited Brutus multiple times in the summer of 44 in Puteoli (*Att.* 16.5.3=SB 410.3). There is no way to tell how Pilia got to know Gnaeus Lucceius (through her own family's connections or through Atticus'?).

[668] *Att.* 16.7.8=SB 415.8.

[669] For example, in the late 50s Cicero took responsibility for Brutus' affairs in Cyprus at Atticus' request, only to realize later that he was asked to deal with an issue much more complex than he had anticipated. Hence his complaint in a letter to Atticus: "My dearest Atticus, you have cared too much about Brutus—yes, too much—in that matter, but about me, I am afraid, not enough" (*Att.* 6.2.9=SB 116.9: *nimis, nimis inquam, in isto Brutum amasti, dulcissime Attice, nos vereor ne parum*). For brief discussions of Atticus' relationship with Brutus, see Welch (1996, 463–65) and Perlwitz (1992, 113–14).

[670] *Att.* 7.5.1=SB 128.1, 8.6.4=SB 154.4 and 10.15.4=SB 207.4.

That stroke is our last piece of news about Pilia, despite the fact that Cicero continued to live and exchange letters with Atticus for another year until his own death in late 43. It is unclear whether she died sometime after the stroke, which could have resulted in some serious sequelae and weakened her physical strength considerably. Yet if that was the case, it is unfortunate that we catch no glimpse of how Cicero and Atticus reacted to such a tragedy from the eleven subsequent epistles.

To be sure, Cicero not only cared about Pilia but also paid attention to her kinsman Quintus Pilius Celer; so did Atticus. Since the earliest mention of him dates to late 54, Cicero most likely became acquainted with him through Atticus' marriage to Pilia.[671] The news was about Pilius Celer's recent departure for Gaul to help Caesar crush local rebellions against the Roman state.[672] Apparently, Pilius Celer was a Caesarian at that time. As can be easily noticed, the relationship between Cicero and Caesar reached a high point in 54. On the one hand, Caesar treated both Quintus and Cicero's protégé Gaius Trebatius Testa with special favor, and dedicated his treatise on the Latin language titled *De analogia* to Cicero, whom he claims to be the pioneer and inventor of eloquence in the work's preface. On the other hand, captivated by such gestures of goodwill, Cicero took pains to oversee Caesar's building plans for renovating the Forum and the Campus Martius and to write poems to commemorate the general's military exploits.[673] Caesar

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[671] *Att.* 4.18.5=SB 92.5.

[672] Note that Quintus also joined Caesar's Gallic campaigns in 54, so he must have been fighting along with Pilius Celer against local rebels. As Atticus' brother-in-law, he would have become acquainted with Pilius Celer at an earlier time, though certainly not at the wedding since he was then serving as Pompey's legate in Sardinia. There is no direct evidence for the two men's interactions.

[673] The relationship between Cicero and Caesar in 54 is briefly discussed by Mitchell (1991, 189–90). A more detailed study on the topic is that of Lossmann (1962), who argues that Cicero considered Caesar's gestures of goodwill as genuine and intended to

could have capitalized on Pilius Celer as one of his ways to strengthen his tie with Cicero. Meanwhile, Cicero most likely asked Pilius Celer to help him deliver messages to Caesar.

When in Cilicia, Cicero became interested in Pilius Celer's affairs again after learning about his prosecution of Marcus Servilius from Marcus Caelius Rufus.[674] Upon returning to Rome in 53, former governor of Asia Gaius Claudius Pulcher was found guilty of extortion, but he went into exile without fully paying the damages assessed by the court. An otherwise unknown Pausanias served as an advocate of the maltreated Asians and sought to indict Servilius, probably a member of Claudius Pulcher's provincial staff, on the grounds that Claudius Pulcher bribed him with the extorted money to get himself acquitted. After the presiding praetor Marcus Iuventius Laterensis dismissed Pausanias' application for prosecution, Pilius Celer picked up the baton and made another attempt to prosecute Servilius.[675] Needless to say, Pilius Celer harbored an ambition to build a reputation for himself. But it is less clear whether his act was also partially incited by Atticus. Since Atticus had many financial dealings in Asia, it would make sense for him to protect the interests of residents there. Cicero requested a copy of

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improve their tie, despite being at the same time somewhat cautious about becoming too beholden to him to lose his own political independence.

[674] Identifying this Marcus Servilius is a problem. It is unclear whether he was the tribune of the plebs who took office at the end of 44 (*RE* Servilius 21 and *BNP* Servilius I3, but Broughton (*MRR* 2.340) does not consider this possibility at all).

[675] See *Fam*. 8.8.2-3=SB 84.2-3 for an account of the affair from the perspective of Caelius Rufus, who had collaborated with Pausanias in preparing for a prosecution. Pausanias sought to prosecute Servilius on a charge of "receiving," which was based on a Julian law that, according to Cicero (*Rab. Post*. 8), "requires that full restitution be exacted from those who received money from a convicted person" (*iubet lex Iulia persequi ab eis ad quos ea pecunia quam is ceperit qui damnatus sit pervenerit*). Pilius Celer, however, simply accused Servilius of extortion.

Pilius Celer's speech against Servilius from Atticus, though the subsequent letters do not contain their discussions of the trial in question.[676] Unfortunately, however, no further discussion about it can be found in the existing correspondence.

The outbreak of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey put Cicero's relationship with Pilius Celer to the test. In writing to Atticus in March of 49, Cicero described Pilius Celer as one of the ghostly heroes living in the Underworld, and the cause of his anger presumably had to do with Pilius Celer's connection with Caesar.[677] Interestingly, that metaphor (originally from Homer's *Odyssey*) was earlier used by Atticus to refer to Caesar's entourage that contained many disgraced and impoverished people.[678] Yet Atticus would have neither intended to include his *adfinis* among those social outcasts nor disapproved his decision to follow Caesar. In fact, even Atticus himself chose to cooperate with Caesar and advised Cicero to do the same.[679] According to Nepos, Caesar was so pleased with Atticus' neutrality—because he did not leave Rome like others—that he exempted him from tribute and released both Quintii Cicerones at his request.[680]

Although it would be an exaggeration to say that Pilius Celer enabled Atticus to enjoy a privileged status during the years of Caesar's domination, there is no reason to doubt that Atticus benefitted from his connection with Pilius Celer. For example, given

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[676] *Att.* 6.3.10=SB 117.10.
[677] *Att.* 9.18.2=SB 187.2. Another complaint can be found at *Att.* 10.1a=SB 191: "your relative Celer is more eloquent than wise" (*Celer tuus disertus magis est quam sapiens*).
[678] *Att.* 9.10.7=SB 177.7.
[679] Atticus went to the Regia to welcome the returned Caesar (*Att.* 10.3a.1=SB 194.1), though Cicero had previous dissuaded him from doing so (*Att.* 9.10.9=SB 177.9). Atticus had suggested even before Caesar crossed the Rubicon that Cicero take his power seriously and be on good terms with him (*Att.* 7.1.2=SB 124.2).
[680] Nep. *Att.* 7.3.

that Cicero treated Pilius Celer as a source of information about Caesar after their reconciliation, Atticus most likely did the same.[681] We can see Atticus' reliance on Pilius Celer in another incident. In mid-48, the Caesarians intended to besiege Pompeians' base in Dyrrachium and such a plan worried Atticus. He probably had business in Dyrrachium, which had been a commercial center for a long time thanks to its convenient location.[682] Apparently, a siege would disturb all of the trading activities there. Atticus, therefore, requested Pilius Celer, who was in the Caesarians' camp, to attend to his financial interests in that city.[683]

**4. Conclusion**

This chapter centers around Atticus' marital life. The complete absence of evidence, particularly in Cicero's correspondence, more likely than not suggests that he remained a bachelor before marrying Pilia in early 56. As discussed above, such a decision might have resulted not from a single factor but from a variety of factors working together, including the influence of Epicureanism, devotion to his business enterprise, less need to improve his financial conditions through marriage, the scarcity of women suitable for him in Greece and more freedom to choose a lifestyle.

When it comes to Atticus' decision to get married after many years of a single life, an important reason may be the substantial inheritance he received from his uncle

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[681] Cic. *Att.* 12.8=SB 245.8. We do not know for sure when exactly Cicero was reconciled with Pilius Celer. There is reason to believe that after Cicero agreed to cooperate with Caesar and received his pardon, his relationship with Pilius Celer might have improved, too. As this letter indicates, they were certainly on friendly terms again by 46.
[682] Dyrrachium was connected to Byzantium by the *via* Egnatia (initiated by the proconsul of Macedonia Gnaeus Egnatius in the mid-second century BCE) and its harbor was facing that of Brundisium across the Adriatic Sea. For a brief discussion of Dyrrachium, see *EAH* s.v. Epidamnos/Dyrrhachion.
[683] Cic. *Att.* 11.4=SB 215.4.

and adoptive father Quintus Caecilius in his early fifties: more specifically, he needed heirs to his large possessions and preferred biological children to adoptive ones for that purpose. Although we do not know much about the family background of Pilia, epigraphic evidence indicates that all the known Pilii in the late Republic belonged to the social and economic elite of local communities and enjoyed little (if anything) influence in Roman politics. This would have satisfied Atticus' expectations of a good match for himself.

Cicero's letters give us a glimpse of Atticus and Pilia's marital life. Despite a wide gap in age, the couple appears to have lived in harmony for at least one decade and Attica was their only child. While there is little direct information about how they interacted with each other, abundant evidence demonstrates that both Cicero and Tullia were on intimate terms with Pilia, as they frequently showed Pilia gestures of goodwill by word and deed. Moreover, it is also noticeable that both Cicero and Atticus tried to capitalize on their connections with Pilia's kinsman (perhaps brother) Pilius Celer.

# 8. Conclusions

## 1. What Happened Afterwards?

The six cases analyzed in this dissertation covers three households, namely Cicero's (with Terentia, Tullia and Marcus the Younger), Quintus' (with Pomponia and Quintus the Younger) and Atticus' (with Pilia and Attica). But before we draw conclusions from our investigation, let us take a brief look at how these families fared in the mid-40s and afterwards for the sake of a fuller picture. We may begin by paying some attention to Quintus' household.

As discussed above, he and Pomponia divorced no later than early 44, though in the months following the breakup of their marriage they still collaborated in searching for a match for their son and made the joint decision to call a halt to the arrangements for his engagement to Cana. It is thus apparent that a child could serve to bind his or her two parents together even after they separated. Yet the discovery of his son's deceit caused Quintus to have an aversion to him, and their relationship further worsened for two reasons. First, Quintus the Younger opposed his father's plan to marry again. In fact, Quintus previously told Cicero that he found nothing more agreeable than a bachelor's bed.[684] Conceivably, his financial problems, which would have been exacerbated by the returning of Pomponia's dowry, compelled him to find remarriage as a solution. The woman under Quintus' consideration was an Aquillia who was not otherwise known.[685] But if money was indeed of great concern to Quintus, it is reasonable to assume that she

[684] *Att*. 14.13.5=SB 367.5: *a ducenda autem uxore sic abhorret ut libero lectulo neget esse quicquam iucundius.*
[685] Cic. *Att.* 14.17.3=SB 371.3.

came from an affluent family at least of the equestrian rank.[686] Cicero does not make it clear whether Quintus the Younger refused to have Aquillia as his stepmother or to have a stepmother at all.[687]

Meanwhile, the assassination of Caesar on the Ides of March in 44 seems to have provoked a conflict between the two Quinti Tullii Cicerones. While Quintus' reaction to it is not directly attested, he probably shared his brother's delight and naively believed that the event meant the liberation of the state from dictatorship. On the other hand, Cicero was appalled at the devotion to Caesar's cause shown by his nephew, who even reportedly said that he owed everything to the deceased dictator.[688] Despite the apparent exaggeration in such a statement, Quintus the Younger did prove his loyalty by wearing a wreath to honor Caesar at a festival held on April 21 in commemoration of the Battle of Munda and by associating himself with Mark Antony.[689]

In the summer Cicero learnt from Statius that Quintus the Younger had decided to support the liberators. He felt confused about such a sudden switch of allegiance on his nephew's part; in reporting the news to Atticus, he speculated that the young man might have fallen out with Antony, have been on the lookout for a new glory, or have changed

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[686] We know some members of the *gens* Aquillia who held senior offices in the late Republic, including Manius Aquillius (cos. 129; *MRR* 1.504), Manius Aquillius (cos. 101; *MRR* 1.570) and Manius Aquillius Crassus (pr. 43; *MRR* 2.338). But we cannot tell with certainty whether she was related to them.

[687] Note that the motif of the wicked stepmother can often be found in Latin literature. For some discussions of the bad stepmother in Roman society and the representation of the bad stepmother in Latin literature, see Gray-Fow (1988), Noy (1991) and Watson (1995, 92–206).

[688] Cic. *Att.* 14.17.3=SB 371.3: *…se a Caesare habuisse omnia, nihil a patre, reliqua sperare ab Antonio—o perditum hominem!*

[689] Quintus the Younger's honoring Caesar: *Att.* 14.14.1=SB 368.1 and 14.19.3=SB 372.3. His association with Antony: *Att.* 14.20.3=SB 374.3.

his mind simply on a whim.[690] His hypothesis was soon confirmed by a letter from Quintus, who mentioned that his son had infuriated Antony by strongly objecting to the latter's plan to appoint himself as dictator and had to take refuge with Marcus Brutus.[691]

The younger Quintus' decision to switch sides not only pleased Cicero but also led to a reconciliation between himself and his father. Unfortunately, however, the two Quinti Cicerones failed to realize at that time that in arousing Antony's hostility, they sowed the seeds of their future destructions. Not surprisingly, both of them were put on the proscription list when the triumvirs launched their purge in late 43. Plutarch, Appian and Cassius Dio all describe how the two Quinti Cicerones were killed, though their accounts show noticeable differences.[692] Plutarch simply says that after the assassins found out Quintus, who was betrayed by his servants (was Philologus one of them?), they put him and his son to death together.[693] In comparison, Appian and Dio give us more dramatic stories and seem to feel a greater need to portray Quintus the Elder and Quintus the Younger as very loyal to each other. For example, Appian notes that the father and the son each begged to be killed before the other, and Dio observes that when the killers were torturing the son into telling them the hiding place of his father, the father revealed himself to save his son from torment. Yet such details may have been made up.

Nepos records several instances of Atticus' intercession with individuals in power on behalf of his *familiares* during the 40s. In mid-47, Atticus persuaded Caesar to

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[690] *Att*. 15.9.2=SB 396.2.
[691] Cic. *Att.* 15.21.1=SB 398.1.
[692] Plut. *Cic*. 47.4; App. *BCiv*. 4.20; Cass. Dio 47.10. 6–7.
[693] For this Philologus, see below.

show mercy on the two Quinti Cicerones, who had been previously on Pompey's side.[694] When the triumvirs' purge began, Atticus obtained from Antony amnesty for three men of the equestrian rank, namely Gellius Canus, Lucius Saufeius and Lucius Julius Calidus.[695] However, the biographer does not mention at all whether Atticus ever made efforts to save his brother-in-law and nephew from being proscribed.[696] Given Cicero's frequent references to Quintus in the letters, Atticus would still have remained on good terms with him after the marriage between Quintus and Pomponia ended in divorce.[697] Meanwhile, it would be very surprising if Atticus did nothing for the sake of Quintus the Younger, the only descendent of his sister. On the other hand, according to Nepos, Antony loathed Cicero so much as to resolve to proscribe not only him but also all of his friends. If so, it appears plausible that Atticus' attempts to have the three Tullii Cicerones pardoned failed.[698]

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[694] Nep. *Att.* 7.3. But we can find no information about this intervention in Cicero's correspondence.

[695] Gellius Canus: Nep. *Att.* 10.4. We already discussed in chapter 6 that the daughter of this Canus might be the woman to whom Quintus and Pomponia once planned to betroth their son. Lucius Saufeius: Nep. *Att.* 12.3. Lucius Julius Calidus: Nep. *Att.* 12.4.

[696] Nor does Nepos mention explicitly whether Atticus ever tried to save Cicero from the triumvirs' proscription.

[697] As noted above, a divorce did not necessarily bring an end to all the social relations. Given the length of the connection between Atticus and Quintus, there is possibility that it was hardly affected by the disintegration of Quintus' marriage to Pomponia.

[698] Nep. *Att.* 10.4: *Antonius autem, etsi tanto odio ferebatur in Ciceronem, ut non solum ei sed etiam omnibus eius amicis esset inimicus eosque vellet proscribere multis hortantibus.* In analyzing Nep. *Att.* 10.4, Hinard (1985, 248) only focuses on the amnesty for Canus without discussing at all what the biographer has to say about Antony's determination to proscribe all of Cicero's friends, which is not supported by other sources available to us.

Atticus' requests from Antony for mercy on his friends raise an important question about the relationship between the tow men.[699] As Nepos records, after Antony escaped from Rome to Cisalpine Gaul in late 44, Atticus did him a favor by protecting his wife Fulvia as well as followers (e.g. Publius Volumnius).[700] Nepos tells us that Atticus did so because unlike the majority he believed that Antony would soon return and hold sway over the state. But this explanation may reflect the biographer's own opinion. It is rather curious that Atticus did not follow his long-time principle of political neutrality. In fact, since he did not even conceal his support for Antony's wife and associates from the public, he ended up attracting criticism. It would be very interesting to know what Cicero and Brutus thought about Atticus' goodwill towards Antony.[701] The former spared no effort to condemn Antony from the fall of 44 onwards (notably, by means of his *Philippics*), and after arriving in Greece in August of 44 the latter was busy with collecting resources to prepare for a fight against Antony.

Moreover, it was Mark Antony who proposed a marital alliance between Atticus' daughter Attica and Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa.[702] As mentioned earlier, Atticus already began to find a fiancé for Attica in 45 when the girl was only six years old.[703] Because he

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[699] Syme (1939, 192–93), Millar (1988, 45), Horsfall (1989, 76–77) certainly noticed this question, but none of them pursued it. But a full treatment of Atticus' relationship to Antony is not within the scope of this dissertation.
[700] Nep. *Att.* 9.2–7. Strictly speaking, Nepos' statement that *hostis Antonius iudicatus Italia cesserat* is not accurate, because when he left Rome on November 28, the motion aimed at declaring him as a public enemy had not yet put to the vote.
[701] It is important to note that the last letter from Cicero to Atticus in the existing corpus (*Att.* 16.15=SB 426) dates to sometime after November 12 of 44. We are tempted to think that Atticus' goodwill towards Antony caused his relationship with Cicero to sour to some extent.
[702] Nep. *Att*. 12.1–2. The engagement might have taken place in 37.
[703] See chapter 5.

was then about 65, it made sense for him to take early action towards his daughter's marriage. Yet whether this search yielded any result is unclear. As for the marriage proposal put forward by Antony, Nepos does not explicitly explain the rationale behind it, though the fact that Agrippa was Octavian's right-hand man makes it tempting to think that Antony intended to reinforce the peace he had recently made with Octavian.[704] Perhaps he also expected to cement his relationship with Atticus for future financial benefits.[705] What is most interesting with regard to Attica's marriage to Agrippa is that one of their two daughters, Vipsania Agrippina Minor, became the wife of the emperor Tiberius in 16. However, Atticus did not live long enough to witness his daughter's divorce in 28, let alone his granddaughter's entry into the imperial family. He died of some disease on the last day of March in 32 at the age of 77 and was buried in the tomb of his adoptive father Quintus Caecilius located near the Appian Way.[706]

We are poorly informed about Pomponia's life after she separated from Quintus. Most likely she was living with her mother Caecilia until the latter's death in 42. When she died is unknown. Interestingly, in his *Life of Cicero* Plutarch records a story about her, which he claims to have discovered in other historians' accounts.[707] It goes as follows: a freedman of Quintus' named Philologus revealed Cicero's hiding place to the assassins and led him to be killed; after Mark Antony handed him over to Pomponia, she

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[704] Roddaz (1984, 82).
[705] Horsfall (1989, 83).
[706] Nep. *Att.* 21.1–22.4. Nepos gives us a detailed account of Atticus' final days. Horsfall (1989, 111) speculates that Atticus' illness is "some sort of cancer of the lower bowel."
[707] For a brief discussion of the sources Plutarch might have consulted when writing his biography of Cicero, see Lintott (2013, 16–17). They are likely to include Cicero's own works (but Plutarch's use of them may be limited because he was not proficient in Latin (*Dem.* 2.3–4)), Nepos' biographies, works by Cicero's freedmen Tiro and some anti-Cicero accounts that probably began to circulate right after Cicero's death.

felt so furious at Philologus' treachery that she even forced him to cut off his flesh and eat it.[708] While we may well be justified in rejecting this anecdote for lack of historicity, it is significant to notice that the tradition on which it is based is hardly favorable to Pomponia. As shown before, Cicero's description of her quarrel with Quintus that occurred on their journey to Cilicia in mid-51 gives the impression that she was rude and recalcitrant (at least on that day).[709] The originator of the above story, then, seems intended to further denigrate her by highlighting her cruelty, even though her attempts to avenge the deaths of her *familiares* (Cicero, and presumably also the two Quintii Cicerones) would have been considered as praiseworthy.[710]

Since much has been written about Cicero's household both in the above and elsewhere, there is no need to go into detail about it here. What merits special attention is the collaboration between Cicero and Terentia in supporting their son Marcus the Younger after the breakup of their marriage. We already mentioned that the two apartment complexes on the Aventine Hill and the Argiletum formed part of Terentia's dowry.[711] But instead of reclaiming them after the divorce, she transferred the ownership to Cicero, with the anticipation that the rents derived from them could offer the younger Marcus monthly allowances.[712] In 44, they yielded 80,000 sesterces. However, Marcus

[708] Plut. *Cic.* 48.1–49.4. But Plutarch specifically points out that Tiro did not mention the treachery of Philologus.
[709] See chapter 6.
[710] For example, in the so-called *Laudatio Turiae* "Turia" is praised by her husband for bringing her parents' murders to justice.
[711] See chapter 2.
[712] References to those two apartment complexes can be found at *Att.* 12.32.2=SB 271.2, 15.17.1=SB 394.1, 15.20.4=SB 397.4 and 16.1.5=SB 409.5. See also Dixon (1984, 92–94).

the Younger most likely did not inherit them from his father, because Cicero was proscribed and his property would have been confiscated and then auctioned off.[713]

In fact, Marcus the Younger's own name was on the proscription list.[714] Yet he escaped the purge. For at the time of the deaths of his father, uncle and cousin, he was serving under Brutus in the East. Upon Antony and Octavian's victory over Brutus and Cassius at the Battle of Philippi in 42, he went away to join Sextus Pompeius Magnus in Sicily. He was one of the beneficiaries when Octavian granted pardon to previous opponents in 39. Although few modern scholars think highly of Marcus the Younger, he not only survived the chaos but also achieved a successful political career.[715] For example, following Octavian's amnesty he was elected *pontifex* and held the suffect consulship in 30. After the Principate was established, he became *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Syria and then proconsul of Asia. While there is no information about his marriage at all, it seems that he died childless.

**2. Conclusions**

In the first half of the dissertation we examined Tullia's three marriages. Now it is time for us to compare these cases. As has been discussed, Gaius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Furius Crassipes and Publius Cornelius Dolabella were all *nobiles*. This indicates

[713] Hinard (1985b, 536) gives a short discussion of the triumvirs' attempt to proscribe Cicero.
[714] Hinard (1985b, 537).
[715] Note, for instance, the judgement by Wood (1988, 47): "a disappointment to his father" and "an amiable spendthrift and souse." See also that of Baraz' (2012, 222): "His failure to live up to his father's expectations was matched by two parallel failures of Cicero's project. He did not succeed in recreating and stabilizing Roman values… Nor was he able to reverse Roman resistance to philosophy." For biographies of Marcus the Younger, see *RE* Tullius 30, *BNP* Tullius I10 and Testard (1962).

that when choosing a husband for Tullia Cicero's family considered family background and social status as important factors. What is also interesting is that all seem to have been selected to some extent on personal grounds. For example, Gaius' talent for and diligence in oratory, Crassipes' enthusiasm in the course of pursuing her and Dolabella's charm and gentleness might have impressed Cicero's family and added their chances of success. Women's roles in the decision-making process cannot be overlooked. It is somewhat striking that Cicero allowed them to be in charge of the search in the late 50s and respected their wishes, since he tried to prevent Dolabella from becoming his son-in-law not by overturning their decision but by recommending another young man to them. There is thus some good reason to believe that Terentia and Tullia had some say in the first two searches.

We already mentioned that it might be the Pisones Frugi who proposed a marriage alliance with Cicero's family. They were probably impressed Cicero's promising career and electoral success. We should not downplay the aristocratic families' pressure to retain their honors. Tullia's second marriage shows Cicero's adaptability to the political situation. In the months following his restoration he tried not to take sides in the conflict between the *popularis* force and the conservative force, in case he should isolate himself from the other group. Apparently, he learnt a lesson from his misfortune. Such a principle of neutrality was an important factor in his decision on Crassipes. However, the women's decision on Dolabella seems to indicate that they attempted to side with Caesar. It is not very clear how they understood the political environment of early 50.

In the second half of the dissertation, we examined the triangulation of Cicero, Quintus and Atticus. It would not be surprising to see Cicero help with Quintus'

marriage. In proposing a match between Quintus and Atticus' younger sister Pomponia, he chose not to expand his personal network but densify it. Conceivably, the relationships between himself, Quintus and Atticus deepened. His immediate goal was certainly to advance Quintus' public career. Since Pomponia was a wealthy woman, Quintus could expect to rely on her money. However, this circle was not without conflict. Deficiencies in both Pomponia's and Quintus' characters, Pomponia's desire for autonomy and Quintus' doting on Statius were some of the important reasons for the couple's conflicts. Quintus and Atticus had a serious fight, too. In the 40s, the couple's only son Quintus the Younger became a trouble-maker. Cicero's efforts to maintain peace and harmony can be seen from the letters. After Atticus married Pilia, Cicero remained on intimate terms with her, too. The durability of this small interpersonal network is worth emphasis, and Cicero apparent though the emotional rewards of marriages important.

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