The Family Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero

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THE FAMILY LIFE OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the College of William and Mary in Virginia in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

By

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PREFACE

This study presents a phase of Roman Social Life which is a result of careful thought and research.

The basis of my material has been derived from that document unique in the literature of antiquity - The Letters of Cicero.

From nowhere can we get a better understanding of the motives and aims of those who enacted the drama during the Roman Republic, than from the letters of that character, who lets us frankly into his weaknesses and vanities, as well as his generous admirations and warm affections.

I have tried to present "The Family Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero" impartially; remembering that those lives have to be measured by the standards of the age in which they lived.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Walter A. Montgomery, who suggested this study, and who has made many constructive criticisms that have been of great value.

VIRGINIA W. JONES
CHAPTER I
CICERO, "THE HERALD OF ANTIQUITY."

Marcus Tullius Cicero, the predestined leader of the Roman bar, was born to a family of equestrian rank, the upper-middle class, on his father's estate at Arpinum, on January 3, 106 B.C.

His father, also called Marcus, a retiring country gentleman of delicate health, simply cared to live among his books on the ancestral estate, where his gravest concern was the direction of the education of his two sons, Marcus Tullius, and his brother, Quintus.

Of his mother, Helvia, we know only that she was a lady well born (so says Plutarch); and that she was a shrewd housewife who used to seal up all the wine jars in the house, even when they were empty, in order that the claim might not be made that some were empty, when in fact they had been drained clandestinely.¹

The town or Arpinum was situated on the Velabian hills that divide Latium from Campania at the point where the Liris² and Fibrenus met; and it seems that Tullius meant

1. Ad Fam. XVI, 26.
2. A name made familiar by the charming lines of Horace (Lib. 1, Ode XIII):
   "Non rura quae Liris quieta
   Mordet aqua taciturnus amnis."
originally "spring" or "rivulet." Cicero of Arpinum was perfectly content with his actual lineage; he was proud of his country home, and of the sturdy stock from which he sprang.

He was also proud of the old borough in which his ancestors had been leading factors for generations. While the exact date cannot be fixed it is certain that Cicero's father, moved by the desire to give his sons opportunities for education not to be had in the provincial town, purchased a house at Rome in the street called Carinae, a fashionable quarter between the Cocalian and Esquiline mounts, where the family resided each year, at least during the period between October and June.

Whether Cicero then became the pupil of the Roman grammaticus, Aelius, a stoic, described by him as a man "profoundly learned in Greek and Latin Letters," we do not know. But certain it is that he did become the pupil, probably before 88-87 B. C., of the poet, Archias, a Greek of Antioch. Under Archias he studied the orators and poets of Greece, acquired technical skill in versification and rhythm, and was so ambitious to excel his fellow-pupils that Plutarch says that when the boys walked abroad they gave him the place of honor in their midst as a tribute
to his brilliant success, which so excited the curiosity of their parents that they actually visited the places of instruction in order to satisfy themselves as to his preeminent endowments.

Licinius Crassus, very eminent in the civil law of Rome, who had married a sister of Cicero's mother, Helvia, through that family connection was induced to direct the education of Marcus Tullius. Crassus selected the teachers who were to train the two Ciceros, and often invited the boys to his house where Marcus had an opportunity to witness the perfect fluency with which Crassus spoke Greek, "as if he knew no other tongue."

Cicero's life, like every other, was moulded largely by his environment. He looked to Greece for his culture because there was no other available. He was by nature prone to philosophy, which he tells us is "the fountain head of all true eloquence, the mother of all good deeds, and good works."

Not until after he had begun life as a writer on rhetoric did he begin his career as an advocate, and had partly published his great indictment of Verres, the im-

3. De Orat. 11, 2.
4. Cicero, Brutus, sive de claris oratoribus, 93.
mortal oration that soon made him the leader of the Roman bar. The prestige thus won opened the way to political preferment and the holding of office as quaestor, curule aedile, praetor, and consul. With his announcement made at the close of his great speech in the case of Verres that he would appear no more in the courts as prosecutor, Cicero's career as a statesman, in the largest sense of that term, really began.

He was a self-made man, the joint product of genius and culture, largely Greek culture. Despised by the Roman aristocracy as a peregrinus, and unpopular with the Roman populace; he was the trusted leader of the Italian middle class, designated by him as "the true Roman people." Opposed alike to socialistic dreams and to aristocratic exclusiveness, he stood with the people for the ancient simplicity of life as against the splendid luxury of the capital. It was his influence with the middle class that won his elections to the offices of quaestor, aedile, praetor, and consul, at the earliest age at which it was.

5. Pro Sulla, 7; Sall., Cat., XXXI, "inquilinus urbis Romae."
6. Pro. P. Quinctio, 31; Pro Cluent, 46.
possible to hold them. When at the age of thirty-one he offered himself as a candidate for one of the quaestorships (B. C. 75), he was elected "with all the votes."\(^8\)

No one could be chosen praetor until he had been quaestor, or consul until he had been praetor - those three magistracies forming what was called a career of office - cursus honorum. The office of curule aedile was often held between the quaestorship and the praetorship, and the year of the case against Verres (B. C. 70) brought to him the office of curule aedile,\(^9\) and he was looking forward to his election to the praetorship in the year B. C. 67.

Cicero was married to Terentia, probably about (B. C. 80) and a daughter, Tullia or Tulliola, was born on August 5 probably (B. C. 79), there being some doubt as to the date of his marriage.

His intimacy with T. Pomponius Atticus (three years his senior) perhaps begun at school, had lasted at least eleven years, from the time when he met him at Athens (B. C. 79), and with him had been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries.\(^10\) Atticus had lived abroad in Athens and Epirus,

\(^8\) Brut., 93.

\(^9\) Mommsen, "Rome" pp. 764.

\(^10\) de Leg., 2, Section 36.
with occasional visits home from B. C. 88 to B. C. 65, in which latter year he seems to have returned for a more lengthened stay.\footnote{11}

After having reached the zenith of his political preferment, and having held the office as quaestor, curule aedile, praetor, and consul, Cicero again took up his pen and produced such works on government and law as the De Republica and De Legibus, in the first of which is contained an invaluable history of the Roman constitution.

As a sidelight we have for years the invaluable correspondence without which a large section of Roman history would be almost a blank.

Cicero's works grew out of the actual conditions and experiences of his eventful life. "It is not an exaggeration to say that just before the expiring paganism of Greece and Rome breathed its last, Cicero made a complete inventory of its thoughts and feelings which he so embalmed as to make it possible for us to transform a dead past into a living present."\footnote{12}

\footnote{11. Nep. Att., 4.}
\footnote{12. Cicero, Hannis Taylor, pp. 19}
The entire correspondence extending over a period of twenty-six years, and embracing nearly a thousand letters, constitutes the most voluminous record that has descended from antiquity of the acts, the thoughts, the feelings of one of the most gifted men who ever lived, while passing through the most momentous events incident to a turning point in the world's history.

These wonderful compositions, sparkling with wit and written in every style, touch every octave of life and thought from the gravest matters of state down to the trivialities involved in the etiquette of the time.

The fragmentary, yet vivid, history thus written of the last days of the Roman Republic, coming as it does from such a pen, is beyond all price. Cornelius Nepos was certainly right when he said that he who reads these letters will not be tempted to seek the history of these dramatic times elsewhere.

Latin was not a philosophical language, nor one with which a deep thinker could express himself with clearness and purity, so in the presence of such conditions Cicero
set for himself the task of making a language instead of a style; yet not so much by the invention as by the combination of words.\(^{13}\)

It has been said that the essence of latinity is to be found not so much in the epic or lyric poet as in the comedies of Plautus and the letters of Cicero.\(^{14}\)

In the year 68 B.C., the year in which his correspondence with Atticus began we hear for the first time of Cicero's villa above Tusculum, a sort of Roman suburb, where leading statesmen like Pompey, Lucullus, Scaurus, Hortensius, and others could combine the society of the town with the charms of the country.

Not until 65 B.C. was Cicero's only son, Marcus, born. From that time on there was a growing number of residences in town and country. Apart from the cradle spot at Arpinum, which came to him by inheritance, and the retreat near Tusculum, the most important of his villas were situated on the western coast of Italy.

Despite the number of his residences, which necessarily imply a very large income, thoughts of his domestic life naturally cluster around his villa at Tusculum, modeled in miniature after the Academy at Athens, with its

\(^{14}\) Herbert Paul in Men and Letters, p. 246.
palaestra or exercise ground, its gymnasium and its xystus (a corridor with open pillars), where he passed so many happy days in sweet and useful mental communion with his other self, Atticus.15

And here mention should be made of Cicero's favorite freedman, Tiro, who after the death of his benefactor, wrote a life of him and published his letters and speeches.

It is the purpose of this work to acquaint ourselves with the lives of the immediate members of Cicero's family as revealed to us in his letters, and no sketch of his life and family could be complete without reference to Atticus to whom he wrote, "Be assured that I love you like a brother."16

The esteem in which Cicero held Tiro is expressed in the following extract from a letter written to Tiro when ill at Patras: "Your services to me are past counting at home, in the forum, at Rome, in my province; in private and public business, in my literary studies and compositions."17

16. Ad Att. 1, 1.
17. F. XVI, 4.
Cicero described his own mission when he said:
"History is the witness of the times, the torch of truth, the life of memory, the teacher of life, the herald of antiquity." \(^{18}\)

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18. "Historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis."
Cicero, De Oratore, 11, 9.
SUMMARY

After twenty centuries of fame and influence Cicero survives as the most important connecting link between the ancient and the modern world. In his life the history of Roman public life is epitomized at its best.

The Cicero of Arpinum, who was born to a family of equestrian rank, was perfectly content with his actual lineage; he was proud of his country home, and of the sturdy stock from which he sprang.

Endowed with a mind marvelous in its range, and unlimited in its power to grasp and hold everything, the brilliant son of ancient Italy, after possessing himself of the entire deposit of thought made by the Greeks with the Romans, transmitted it to posterity through the Latin tongue which he vastly enlarged and enriched in order to render it capable of the task he imposed on it.

Cicero married and set up a house of his own probably 80 B.C. His only daughter, Tullia, born probably the next year.
He went to Athens in 79 - 78 B. C. to satisfy his natural tendency to philosophy, and was accompanied by the beloved Atticus, who has sojourned in Athens since about 86 B. C.

Cicero rapidly reached the zenith of his official career, having been quaestor, curule aedile, praetor, and consul as soon as he was eligible. Being a self-made man, a leader of the Italian middle class, he was despised by the Roman aristocracy as a peregrinus.

His weapon of defense was his pen which he wielded with such results as De Republica, and De Legibus, and the invaluable correspondence which is to furnish the material for the following chapters of this study of "The Family Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero."

His only son, Marcus, born 65 B. C., will complete the family group; but mention will be made of Atticus and Tiro, whose lives are so closely interwoven with Cicero's that they form an important part of the family history.

Environment being such a potent factor in the lives of men we will pause for a while in the shadow of his Villa of Tusculum.
CHAPTER II
TERENTIA, CICERO'S WIFE

Cicero's immediate family which is the subject of this study consisted of his wife, Terentia, to whom he was married in 80 B. C. (?); a daughter, Tullia, born in 79 B. C. (?); and a son, Marcus Tullius, born 65 B. C.¹

The birth of his son, Cicero announced in a letter to Atticus in this cold and laconic way: "Know that in the consulship of Caesar and Figulus I have had an increase to my family by the birth of a son, and Terentia is doing well."²

Terentia was evidently a lady of good family, possessed of some fortune over which she never surrendered her control. It seems that in the year 73 B. C. her half-sister, Fabia, who was a vestal, was brought to trial, it being alleged that Catiline was her accepted lover.³ Plutarch puts Terentia's dowry at 100,000 drachmas; we also

1. Cicero, Hannis Taylor, "As a statesman."
2. A 1, 2: "L. Julio Caesare, C. Marco Figulo consulibus filiolo me auctum scito, salva Terentia."
3. Ascon. on In toga cand., pp. 92-93 Orelli.
find that she possessed houses in Rome, and besides a forest near Tusculum. Cicero in writing to Atticus said: "I have examined Terentia's woodlands. What need I say? If there was only a Dodonean oak in them, I should imagine myself to be in possession of Epirus."4

Plutarch says Terentia was a woman of violent temper; we imagine her as an economical and orderly, but sharp and disagreeable housewife with whom it was difficult to live at ease.

The affection of their union did not increase with time, but became more enfeebled, and finally wore out, which we shall find from the study of his correspondence with Atticus, Terentia herself, his brother, Quintus, and others.

Niebuhr makes the equally unsupported statement that: "In his marriage Cicero was not happy. His wife was a domineering and disagreeable woman; and as, owing to his great sensibility, he allowed himself to be very much influenced by those around him, his wife also exercised a great power over him, which is the more remarkable because he had no real love for her."5

In 68 B. C. the year in which his correspondence with Atticus begins, we hear for the first time of Cicero's

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4. Ad. Att. 1, 2.
villa above Tusculum, a sort of Roman suburb. After congratulating his friend upon his recent purchase of an estate in Epirus, near Buthrotum, Cicero begs him to get anything suitable for his own Tuscan villa - "in that place alone do I find rest and repose from all my troubles and toil." Then the following reference to his wife at the close of the letter: "Terentia has a severe attack of rheumatism. She is devoted to you, to your sister, and your mother, and adds her kindest regards in postscript. So does darling (deliciae nostrae) Tulliola." Frequent letters to Atticus followed this one concerning the purchase of any article suitable for his Tuscan villa: "If you light on any articles of vertu suitable for a gymnasium, which would look well in the place you wrote of, please don't let them slip." Cicero's "gymnasium" was some arrangement of buildings and plantation more or less on the model of the Greek gymnasium at his Tuscan Villa. Again to Atticus: "My hope of get-

6. Ad. Att. 1, 1/
N. B. The term "gymnasium" had various meanings at several stages.
ting the one enjoyment which I care for when I come to retire depends entirely on your kindness."\(^8\)

We have no letters in the years 64 and 63 B.C., partly, no doubt, because Atticus was in Rome. Those were the two most important years of Cicero's life, and the events which occurred in them cast the shadows over the life of that illustrious man which brought forth the deepest sentiments of his soul as expressed in his letters.

He attained his chief ambition in being elected to the consulship for the year B.C. 63, but the following year the political and social life at Rome was being contaminated by the trial of Clodius, a young aristocratic degenerate.

If we are to believe Plutarch, Cicero was drawn into the position of a voluntary witness in order to quiet the suspicions of the jealous and shrewish Terentia as to Clodia, the sister of Clodius. Those who believe Plutarch say that to allay the suspicions of Terentia he made the assault upon the brother of Clodia.\(^9\) The vengeful counterblast of Clodius culminated in a movement that fired his house and drove him into exile a few years later.

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8. Ad Att. 1, 7.
At this time the pulses of Cicero's vanity were beating strong, and when he was over-stimulated perhaps by the social aspirations of the aristocratic Terentia, he made the grave mistake of exchanging the old-fashioned home of his father in the Carinae for a splendid mansion on the Palatine purchased from Crassus at the enormous price of three and one-half million sesterces. In order to make such a purchase he was obliged to call upon his clients for contributions in the form of loans without interest.

At the end of the year 62 B.C., he wrote to Sestius: "Let me tell you, I am so deep in debt as to desire to enter into a conspiracy myself. But my credit is fairly good on the Forum; the money lenders know who raised the siege from which they were suffering, I can borrow money at six per cent."

The purchase of that mansion to satisfy Terentia's social aspirations to become a neighbor of Caesar, who dwelt in the Regia near by, forced Cicero to borrow two million sesterces from his client Publius Sulla, and to

11. According to Gellius (XII, 12).
enter into an agreement with his colleague Antonius for a certain part of his gains in Macedonia.

In the same letter quoted above Cicero wrote: "I have bought that very house from Crassus for three and one-half million sestertia, a good while subsequent to your congratulations." That subject was alluded to in a letter to Atticus in which he said: "The Teutric business hangs fire, and Cornelius has not called on Terentia since." This shows the allusion which Cicero made to his financial embarrassment, which in later years was attributed to the cause of his divorce, though at that time his ambition to rise politically and socially was as vaulted as hers. Not much is known of her, except that she came of a good and wealthy family, and seems at all times to have taken a leading part in the management of his property.

As this study is using the letters of Cicero for its authority, we have no additional information touching the subject of this chapter till B. C. 58, when we find Cicero on his way to exile.

At Brundusium he wrote his first letter to Terentia, and the inference is that Terentia had wished him to write

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15. Ad. Att. 1, 12.
to her oftener, as he wrote: "Yes, I do write to you less often than I might, because though I am always wretched, yet when I write to you or read a letter from you, I am in such floods of tears that I cannot endure it. Oh, that I had clung less to life! I should at least never have known real sorrow, or not much of it, in my life. Yet if fortune has reserved for me any hope of recovering at any time any position again, I was not utterly wrong to do so. If these miseries are to be punishment, I only wish, my dear, to see you as soon as possible and to die in your arms --- Should I ask you to come — a woman of weak health and broken spirit? Should I refrain from asking you? Am I to be without you, then? I think the best course is this: if there is any hope of my restoration, stay to promote it and push the thing on; but if it proves hopeless, pray come to me by any means in your power. Be sure of this, that if I have you I shall not think myself wholly lost."

Cicero then gave instructions concerning the care of the children which we will quote later, and said a fit of weeping prevented him from writing more. He wrote as

17. Ad Fam. XIV, 4.
a devoted husband and father to an affectionate wife and mother: "I don't know how you have got on; whether you are left in possession of anything, or have been, as I fear, entirely plundered .... As to the manumission of the slaves you must not be uneasy."18

We find from the reading of this unusually long letter that Terentia had been urging him to keep up his courage, and he seemed anxious for letters from her; he also urged her to "Put as dignified a face on the matter as you can, my dear Terentia. Our life is over; we have had our day; it is not any fault of ours that has ruined us, but our virtue. I have made no false step, except in not losing my life when I lost my honours. But since our children preferred my living, let us bear everything else, however intolerable. Take the greatest possible care of your health, and believe me that I am more affected by your distress than my own. My dear Terentia, most faithful and best of wives, and my darling little daughter, and that last hope of my race, Cicero, good-bye."19

18. Ad Fam. XIV, 4.
19. Ad Fam. XIV, 4.
Certainly Plutarch and those who support him in the contention that Terentia was an imperious and oppressive shrew are put upon the defensive when we read such a tender outburst as this letter.

The language of his grief is almost incoherent, and is painful to read. He alludes to the emancipation of his slaves and tells her not to trouble herself about them.

Terentia seems throughout to have acted with firmness and courage, and to have done her best to rouse the drooping spirits of her husband, who had abandoned all hope. Is it possible to believe that the wife to whom he thus wrote was a jealous, imperious and bad tempered woman? Would the courage and devotion with which she supported him in his failing fortunes have been natural for the disposition which Plutarch allots her? Could it have been that Cicero was insincere in the sentiment he expressed in this letter which I have just quoted? Were his critics to answer in the affirmative, read with me the letter written to his brother, Quintus, which shows that separation from loved ones of his family group was a gnawing sorrow:

"Brother! Brother! Brother! Did you really fear that I had been induced by some angry feeling to send slaves
to you without a letter? Or even that I did not wish to see you? I to be angry with you! Is it possible for me to be angry with you? The fact is, the much praised consulate of mine has deprived me of you, of children, country, fortune; from you I should hope it will have taken nothing but myself — The truth is rather that I was unwilling to be seen by you. For you would not have seen your brother— not the brother you had left, not the brother you knew, not him to whom you had with mutual tears bidden fare-well as he followed you on your departure from your province! Not a trace even or faint image of him, but rather what I may call the likeness of a living corpse. —

In this letter like the roll of Ezekiel, there is written lamentation, and mourning, and woe. Seldom has misfortune so crushed a noble spirit, and never perhaps has the "bitter bread of banishment" seemed more bitter to anyone than to him. The affection he had for brother, wife, and children is clearly expressed in the following extract from the same letter: "Can I ever refrain from thinking of you or ever think of you without tears? What pleasure did I ever have without you, or you without me? And what must my case be when at the same time I miss a

daughter? How affectionate, how modest! how clever!
The express image of my face, of my speech, of my very soul!
Or again a son, the prettiest boy, the very joy of my
heart? Need I mention also how I refused to allow my un­
happy wife — the truest of helpmates to accompany me, that
there might be someone to protect the wrecks of the calam­
ity which had fallen on us both, and guard our common chil­
dren?" 21

This eminent man then showed his weakness when he
said: "For I, who was lately supremely blessed in brother,
children, wife, wealth, and in the very nature of that
wealth, while in position, influence, reputation, and pop­
ularity, I was inferior to none, however distinguished.
I cannot, I repeat, go on longer lamenting over myself and
those dear to me in a life of such humiliation as this and
in a state of such utter ruin." 21

He then commended the children to the protection
of his brother, and closed the letter with the following:
"The rest, by my hopes of restoration and the privilege of

dying in my fatherland, my tears will not allow me to write. Terentia also I would ask you to protect, and to write me word on every subject."22

In September Cicero made up his mind to go to Epirus, the residence of his wise and faithful friend, Atticus. He crossed from Brundusium to Dyrrachium and proceeded along the via Egnatia to its terminus at Thessalonica where he spent the autumn B. C. 58.

On the fifth of October he wrote to Terentia, and Tulliola and Cicero saying: "Don't suppose that I write longer letters to anyone else. For I have nothing to write about --. Moreover to you and my dear Tulliola I cannot write without many tears. For I see you reduced to the greatest misery - the very people whom I desired to be ever enjoying the most complete happiness, a happiness which it was my bounden duty to secure, and which I should have secured, if I had not been such a coward. I gather that you have behaved in every respect with the greatest courage and most loyal affection, nor am I surprised at it; but I grieve that the position should be such that my miseries are relieved by such heavy ones on your part.--

22. Ad Quint. Frat., 1, 3.
That you, my Terentia, should now be thus harassed, thus prostrate in tears and humiliating distress. As to what you say about our town house, or rather its site, I shall not consider myself fully restored, until it also has been restored for me. I am only sorry that you, impoverished and plundered as you are, should be called upon to bear any part of the present expense.  

He alluded to Terentia's separate estate when he said, "Will you be so foolish as to throw away even the poor remains of your fortune?"

In November he returned to Dyrrachium, ready for the recall which he had heard was imminent. He wrote to Terentia on the day of his arrival: "To think that a woman of your virtue, fidelity, uprightness, and kindness should have fallen into such trouble on my account! And that my little Tullia should reap such a harvest of sorrow from the father from whom she used to receive such abundant joys! I only add this: if my friends remain loyal to me, there will be no lack of money; if not, you will not be able to effect our object out of your own purse."  

And while waiting at Dyrrachium he wrote most feel-
ingly to Terentia: "For I am ashamed of not having ex-
hibited courage and care to a most excellent wife and most
darling children. As to your coming to me, as you say
you will if I wish it - I should like you to remain where
you are. If you succeed in your attempt I must come to
you; but if, on the other hand - but I needn't write the
rest. Assure yourself that nothing is or has ever been
dearer to me than you are."25

Forsyth says: "It is a great pity that none of the
letters of this affectionate and true hearted woman have
been preserved, that we might have read the outpourings
of her heart and seen the way in which she sought to cheer
and sustain the broken spirit of her husband. Time, how-
ever, has been a ruthless destroyer of female correspondence."26

On the same day he wrote to Atticus and said: "But
if there is no hope (as I perceive both by your con-
jecture and my own) I pray and adjure you to cherish

25. Ad Fam. XIV, 3.
26. Life of Cicero - Forsyth, Chap. XII.
with affection my brother, Quintus, miserable as he is, whom I have miserably ruined. Protect, as well as you can, my Cicero, to whom, poor child, I leave nothing but the odium and ignominy of my name; and support by your good offices Terentia, of all women the most destitute and afflicted." 27

And so the first year of his banishment passed away. The new year found Cicero still at Myrrachium, waiting for the law to pass for his recall, which (owing chiefly to the riotous opposition of Clodius) did not pass till the fifth of August. We have no letters in the interval between January and August, but a few recounting the nature of his return (fourth of September). In writing to Atticus in the early part of B.C. 57 Cicero said: "I implore you, in view of my deplorable position, to stand by my family in whatever respect they shall need your help." 28

Cicero seems to have lived in harmony with his wife till the return from exile, during which unhappy period he acknowledges the activity of her exertion in support of his

27. Ad Att. lll, 23.
28. Ad Att. lll, 27.
recall, and the drain which his ruin was making upon her resources. Terentia had a large private fortune, and apparently used it liberally in his service.

Nevertheless, immediately upon his return from exile, there seems to have been some cause of coldness between the husband and wife. He alluded to his domestic troubles in the first letter to Atticus written from Rome: "In regard to my money matters I am, as you know, much embarrassed. Besides, there are certain domestic troubles, which I do not intrust to writing." He repeats the hint in his next letter: "My domestic affairs are very intricate and difficult. Other causes of anxiety are somewhat more of the tacenda kind. My brother and daughter treat me with affection." When he landed at Brundusium it was his daughter and not his wife who came to meet him: "I arrived at Brundusium on the fifth of August. There my dear Tulliola met me on what was her own birthday." For some time after

29. Ad Att. IV, 1.
30. Ad Att. IV, 2.
she appears to be presiding in his house rather than Terentia, as Cicero invited Atticus and his bride to visit him in Antium in April, B.C. 56, and wrote: "Persuade Pilia32 to accompany you. For that is fair, and Tullia is anxious that she should come."33

Whatever the cause of this coldness was, however, it appears to have been removed for a time. He kept up a correspondence with Terentia while he was in Cilicia (B.C. 51–50) but only a few of the letters are preserved. Though he did not seem pleased at her having arranged the marriage of Tullia with Dolabella, in a letter to Atticus he said: "I have written to Tullia and to Terentia giving my consent."34 Again to Atticus he wrote: "I hope you are safe at Rome. You will as usual be good enough to look after everything which you may understand to affect my interests, especially in regard to my Tullia, about whose marriage I have written to Terentia my decision."35

32. Wife of Atticus.
33. Ad. Att. IV, 4b.
34. Ad Att. VI, 1.
Cicero wrote to her from Athens addressing her with his former affection, using such expressions as: "If you and my darling Tullia are well, I and my dearest boy Cicero are so too ----. I received one from you in which you tell me that you fear your previous letters did not reach me. I got them all; you have shown the greatest energy in writing me full accounts of everything, and I am exceedingly obliged to you.... We are anxious to reach you at the earliest possible time. Pray as well as your health will permit, come as far as you can to meet me. Dearest, sweetest Terentia, as you love me, take care, all of you, of your health."36

Terentia met him at Brundusium; Cicero wrote to Tiro: "At ten o'clock in the morning we reached Brundusium, and exactly at the same time as ourselves Terentia (who values you very highly) made her entrance into the town."37

Discord did not seem to prevail then, as Cicero wrote to Atticus in December B. C. 50 from Trebulanum

36. Ad Fam. XIV, 5.
37. Ad Fam. XVI, 9.
and said: "My son-in-law makes himself very agreeable to me, to Tullia, and to Terentia." In Cicero's frequent letters to Atticus, written between the middle of December, 50 B.C., and the end of June, 49 B.C., we have a picture of the interior of his mind with all the doubts and hesitations that beset him at the moment when, by prejudice and conviction, he was inclined to follow Pompey, while debating with himself whether he would not be justified in submitting quietly to Caesar. He did not finally make up his mind until June, when he went from Cumae to Formiae where a vessel was ready for him. On the seventh, after writing a farewell letter to Terentia, advising her to dwell in those villas farthest removed from men in arms, he embarked with his brother, son and nephew, and sailed to the opposite coast to join Pompey.

He was doubtful of the safety of his wife and daughter in Rome; in one of his letters to Atticus he asked: "What, too, is your opinion as to Terentia and Tullia?" Then he thus wrote to Terentia: "Tullius to his wife, and her father to his dearest daughter, and Cicero to his mother and sister, send warm greetings. I

36. Ad Fam XIV, 7.
think, my darlings, you should carefully consider and re-
consider what to do, whether to stay at Rome, or to join
me, or seek some place of safety. Please observe for
yourselves what other ladies of your rank are doing....
Tell Philotimus to secure the house with barricades and a
watch. Also please organize a regular service of letter-
carriers so that I may hear something from you every day.
Above all attend to your health, if you wish me to main-
tain mine."40

Cicero again expressed like apprehension to Atticus:
"For Tullia and Terentia, when I see a vision of barbar-
ians arriving in the city I am filled with all kinds of
alarm."41 He was afraid that conditions in Rome would pre-
vent their leaving later, or that there might be a want of
provisions; his solicitude for their safety was extreme.42
Terentia remained with Tullia at Rome, and Cicero wrote to
Atticus saying: "About Terentia and Tullia I agree with
you, and I have written to tell them to apply to you."43

We infer from Cicero's allusion to the Oppii (money-
lenders) that Terentia had been borrowing money, and Atticus

40. Ad Fam. XIV, 16.
42. Ad Fam. XIV, 14.
43. Ad Att. VII, 16.
had informed him, as Cicero said: "I wavered about your riddle; but when I hit on the solution, the rest became clear and quite agreed with Terentia's total." 44  Again: "As to those Oppii of yours, I don't know what to advise. Do what seems to you to be best." 45  Again: "Please put the Oppii at Terentia's service. For that is the only danger in the city now." 46

During the five or six months that followed before Cicero left Italy to join Pompey, there was no indication of any alienation from Terentia; but the short notes from Pompey's camp, and in the first half of B.C. 47, are cold and conventional, and on his return to Brundusium after Pharsalia, and during his lengthened stay there, he appears to have declined to allow her to come to see him.

We have a few short letters to Terentia written from Pompey's camp in Epirus containing such laconic expressions as follows: "If you are well, I am glad. I am well.

44. Ad Att. VII, 13 b.
45. Ad Att. VII, 22.
Pray be careful about your illness; continue pray, in future to inform me of any news I ought to know, whatever occurs."47

Again: "It is not very often that there is anyone to whom I can entrust a letter, nor have I anything that I am willing to write."48 After reaching Brundusium he wrote:

"You say that you are glad of my safe arrival in Italy. I only hope you may continue to be glad. Wherefore do your best to help me; yet what you can do I cannot think. It is no use your starting on a journey at such a time as this. The way is both long and unsafe; and I don't see what good you can do me if you do come. Good-bye."49

In the closing months of B.C. 48 Cicero wrote: "In the midst of my terrible sorrows Tullia's ill-health causes me acute agony. But about that I need not write to you at any greater length; for you, I know well, are no less anxious than myself. You wish me to come nearer the city, and I see that I must do so."50 On December twenty-fifth he said: "If I had anything to write to you about I would have done so at greater length and more frequently. As it is, you see the state of my affairs. What the state of my feelings is you will be able to learn from Lepta and Trebatius."51

47. Ad Fa. XIV, 8.
48. Ad Fam. XIV, 6.
49. Ad Fam. XIV, 12.
50. Ad Fam. XIV, 19.
51. Ad Fam. XIV, 17.
In January B.C. 47 he wrote: "Though my circumstances are such that I have no motive for expecting a letter from you, or anything to tell you myself, yet somehow or another I do look for letters from you all, and do write to you when I have anyone to convey it." We infer from his letter of June fourteenth that Tullia had gone to Brundusium to be with him, and he said that it was in his mind to send his son to Caesar and closed by saying: "If he starts I will let you know."

He informed her later that the son would not go, but said concerning other matters: "You will be able to learn from Sicca what my wishes are.... I am still keeping Tullia with me."

In July, Cicero being much disturbed by the unhappy lot of Tullia, wrote to Atticus, and made the following allusion to his wife: "As to what I said to you about Terentia's will, I should like it preserved in the custody of the Vestals.... I beg of you that, if any money can be collected or got together and put in safe hands, from sale

52. Ad Fam. XIV, 16.
53. Ad Fam. XIV, 11.
54. Ad Fam. XIV, 15.
of plate and the fairly abundant furniture, you would take steps to do so. Speak to Terentia also on this subject, if you think it right, at some convenient opportunity."

Cicero saw acutely the dangers on both sides concerning the divorce of Tullia, and left the matter to Terentia; "But you must judge after a review of the whole business and do what you think least distressing in a most distressing business." After this and a few brief notes, Cicero had a meeting with Caesar who gave him free leave to live where he chose.

He seems to have at once started for his favorite round of visits to his villas, and then gone to Rome. He wrote to Terentia from Venusia: "I think I shall arrive at my house at Tusculum either on the seventh or the day after. See that everything is ready there. For there will perhaps be several others with me, and we shall stay there a considerable time, I think. If there is no basin in the bath, have one put in; and so with everything necessary for supporting life and health."  

56. Ad Fam. XIV, 13
57. Ad Fam. XIV, 20.
This, the last letter to Terentia, is as cold and abrupt as all those which he wrote from Brundusium.

It was early in B.C. 46 that Cicero, now a gray-headed man of sixty-one, divorced the wife to whom he had been married for some thirty-four years. The lame excuse generally given for that step rests upon the accusation of mismanagement of his financial affairs by Terentia during his absence, which seems to have been caused largely by the carelessness or dishonesty of her steward, Philotimus. In a letter to Cnaeus Plancius, the orator thus states his own case: "I should not have taken any new step at a time of such general disaster had I not on my return found my private affairs in as sorry a position as the public. The fact is, that when I saw that, owing to the criminal conduct of those to whom my life and fortune ought, in return for my never-to-be-forgotten services, to have been their dearest object, there was nothing safe within the walls of my house, nothing that was not the subject of some intrigue. I made up my mind that I must arm myself by the faithful support of new marriage connections against the perfidy of the old."  

58. Ad Att. VI, 4.  
59. Ad Fam. IV, 14.
Cicero in writing to Atticus\textsuperscript{60} in June B. C. 47 had asked him to see Terentia about making her will, wishing her to make provision for her children. He listened to tales told by Philotimus, which shows how much the alienation had grown. After the divorce Terentia had inquired about the witnesses to his will which Atticus wrote to him and in his reply Cicero said: "This matter you will handle as you shall think right."\textsuperscript{61} Cicero was seriously embarrassed at this time owing to the necessity of repaying Terentia's dowry. It may well have been that, like other adherents to the losing cause he had to suffer from loss of any property that could be easily laid hands on in Rome, and that Terentia had had no power to save it. But, Cicero, rightly or wrongly attributed the embarrassment which he found awaiting him to his wife. In March B. C. 45 in a letter to Atticus Cicero wrote: "As to the dowry, make a clean sweep of the business all the more. To transfer the debt to Balbus is a rather high and mighty proceeding. Settle it on any terms."\textsuperscript{62} Again he makes an excuse for his attitude toward his wife: "About Terentia I can say nothing more to the point than you say in your letter. Duty must be my first consideration; if I have made

\textsuperscript{60} Ad Att. XI, 16. \\
\textsuperscript{61} Ad Att. XII, 18a \\
\textsuperscript{62} Ad Att. XII, 12.
any mistake I would rather that I had reason to be dis-
satisfied with her than she with me."63 Again: "I do
not recognize your usual consideration for me in throwing
the whole burden upon my shoulders in regard to Terentia.
For those are precisely the wounds which I cannot touch
without a loud groan. Therefore, I beg you to make the
fairest settlement in your power."64

In the latter part of B. C. 44 we find in the last
letter to Atticus these words: "For great as my balances
are, I have not yet realized enough to pay Terentia. Terentia,
do I say? For as to the debt to Terentia, Tiro
wrote me word that you said that there would be cash from
Dolabella. I believe that he misunderstood you."65 He
urged Atticus to pay Terentia "before the day if you can."66

Middleton, basing his authority on Plutarch, paints
a dark portrait of Terentia, but except in one particular
there is no evidence at all in the only place where we should
expect to find it - I mean in the letters of Cicero. The

63. Ad Att. XII, 21.
64. Ad Att. XII, 22.
65. Ad Atticus XVI, 15
exception is the negligence, or perhaps misconduct in money matters.

This is a lame excuse for a man of sixty separating from the companion of his whole manhood, and in the eyes of Roman society it was rendered still more questionable by a prompt marriage with his rich ward, Publilia - almost a girl, the daughter of an ambitious widowed mother - largely no doubt as a means of satisfying his importunate creditors.

Not long after his marriage his daughter died and he sent away Publilia as she had seemed to take pleasure in Tullia's death. Hannis Taylor and Forsyth both state that Terentia lived to an extreme old age, dying in her hundred and fourth year. If we believe Dio she was thrice married after her divorce from Cicero, but as she was fifty years old when Cicero divorced her, this is most probably an untrue story.

At that day the Roman wife stood at a great disadvantage by reason of the facility with which the husband could divorce her. They reserved to the man the right to undo the marriage if it did not suit his political interests; still, we should have been glad, both for his
fame and his happiness, if the few years remaining to him had he not had this additional cloud.

As I am defending Terentia I will quote a few more passages from Cicero's letters to show that she was an amiable woman, and that Cicero loved her with passionate fondness. One of his letters is thus addressed: "Tully to Terentia, and the Father to Tulliola, his two souls; and Cicero (the son) to the best of mothers and his darling sister." In another he calls her - "Light of my eyes - my longed for darling! from whom all used to send for help." Again - "Of this be sure, that if I have you I shall not think myself wholly ruined."

He dissuaded her from selling her property to assist him, for fear of leaving their son penniless. Surely all the evidence we have is in her favour.

The Brundusium accusation is refuted by a very curt letter from Cicero to Terentia, in which he wrote: "I do not see what you could avail if you came." Wasn't that a refusal of her offer to go to meet him?

67. Ad Fam. XIV, 12.
Yet there is an indication of something apart from business affairs, which a chivalrous nature was unwilling to express and yet could not conceal from a friend.

Plutarch says Terentia denied all the reasons for the divorce which were set forth; her unmistakable defense was furnished by her husband, who not long after married a young woman for her riches to liquidate his debts.

If there existed no hidden cause, then the great moralist can only be defended as he has been by Cardinal Newman who says: "In reviewing this proceeding, we must not adopt the modern standard of propriety, forgetful of a condition of society which reconciled actions, even of moral turpitude, with a reputation for honor and virtue." 68

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SUMMARY

Terentia, whom Cicero married about 80 B. C., was of an aristocratic family, and possessed a fortune over which she kept her control.

Without sharing her husband's literary tastes she was of assistance to him in his political career; she was conspicuous for the purity of her character; the pains-taking care with which she managed her household affairs; and the courage and devotion with which she supported Cicero in his failing fortunes. She seems at all times to have taken a leading part in the management of his property; it is supposed that her love of speculation caused the gradual coolness between them which resulted in divorce.

His letters to her during his exile are full of affection, and of expressions of a desire to see her; but he yet asks her to remain to look after his interests, there having been many indications that his fortune was depleted.

We find in his letters to her nothing to indicate an estrangement, and if there is truth in the accusation of Plutarch concerning Terentia's jealousy, it must be equally true concerning the cause of the jealousy; hence,
that statement weakens Cicero and makes Terentia a more womanly woman.

Cicero complained, in a letter to Sestius, of being in debt; this was a desire to excel, and to satisfy bitter hatred. The purchase of that piece of property was to outdo Clodius, as it was more pretentious than Clodius's villa.

Plutarch represents Terentia as an imperious woman; gives as causes for the divorce her neglect of Cicero at the time of war; refusal to join him at Brundusium; and bad management of financial affairs.

There is no evidence in Cicero's letters to justify that portrait except in regard to the misconduct in money matters.

Cicero did have some reference to Terentia in an important letter to Flancius; for he had previously accused her of withholding part of the money which ought to have been remitted to him; but it is possible that he included his brother and nephew in that domestic treachery.

That union of more than thirty years was severed by a divorce; Cicero soon married his ward for her riches; Terentia is vindicated.
CHAPTER III

TULLIA, CICERO'S DAUGHTER

The dates of Cicero's marriage and the birth of Tullia cannot be certainly determined as there are no records in existence to establish them.  

It is generally supposed that his marriage to Terentia took place in his thirty-first year. Some think he was married before his tour abroad and place Tullia's birth in 79 or 78. Drumann thinks the marriage took place before he went to Greece. He is influenced chiefly by the consideration that if it was the year assumed in the text, it would follow that Cicero's daughter was betrothed at the age of nine and married at the age of thirteen. 

His correspondence which furnishes the foundation of this work began later in Cicero's life, so no mention is made of his marriage nor of the year of Tullia's birth, but in studying Cicero's letters from the beginning of his correspondence, and noting the references to his "little pet Tulliola" I agree with those who have placed her birth in 79 or 78. We have a letter from Cicero to Atticus in

1. Hannis Taylor, Cicero, pp. 156.
2. Life of Cicero, Forsyth, pp. 35.
3. Forsyth.
57 B. C. which says: "I arrived at Brundusium on the fifth of August. There my dear Tulliola met me on what was her own birthday, which happened also to be the name-day of the colony of Brundusium and of the temple of Safety near your house." This fixes the birthday but throws no light on the year. In the first letter which is preserved from the correspondence between Cicero and Atticus, Cicero said that Terentia was sending her kindest regards and added: "So does my pet Tulliola."

It is pleasant to read the messages he would send from little Tullia or Tulliola, making use of the endearing diminutive so significant in the ancient Latin and modern Italian.

Atticus had promised to make Tullia a present, of which Cicero reminded him in a letter saying: "My pet Tulliola claims your present and duns me as your security. I am resolved, however, to disown the obligation rather than pay up for you." Later he said: "Tulliola gives notice of action against you. She is dunning me as your surety."

4. Ad Att. IV, 1.
5. Ad Att. 1, 5.
6. Ad Att. 1, 8.
7. Ad Att. 1, 10.
An event which we should have thought full of interest to Cicero, he mentions in the most laconic manner to Atticus in January B.C. 66; "I have betrothed Tulliola to C. Piso Frugi son of Lucius." The marriage took place in B.C. 63, Tullia being about fifteen years old.

We have no authentic account of her early educational training but later events prove that Tullia was initiated into Cicero's studies and ways, and acquired a taste for the intellectual things which he loved; hence the affection for his daughter became the deepest of his life, and later proved to be the greatest anxiety of his life.

His affection was unusual; I attribute it partly to his vanity, as he considered her attainments a product of his training solely, and her mental ability a direct inheritance. It seemed to have been his desire to gratify her wish whatever it might be. Though in B.C. 59 he

8. Ad Att. 1, 3.
deemed it necessary for him to be at Rome, he wrote to Atticus as follows: "On the first of May I leave Formiae, intending to reach Antium on the third of May. For there are games at Antium from the fourth to the sixth of May, and Tullia wants to see them."9

To give her pleasure was his delight; to cause her matrimonial trouble brought him deepest sorrow.

When in his exile he wrote to Terentia and the children from Brundusium he asked this pathetic question: "What is to become of my darling Tullia? You must see to that now; I can think of nothing. But certainly, however things turn out, we must do everything to promote that poor little girl's married happiness and reputation."10

He spoke of his darling little daughter as an orphan when writing to his brother Quintus,11 and said her state would be a sorrow to Quintus also.

In October B. C. 58 Cicero wrote to Terentia and the children saying: "Moreover to you and my dear Tulliola I cannot write without many tears. For I see you reduced to the greatest misery - the very people whom I desired to be ever enjoying the most complete happiness, a happiness

9. Ad Att. 11, 8.
10. Ad Fam. XIV, 4.
11. Q. Fr. 1, 3.
which it was my bounden duty to secure, and which I should have secured if I had not been such a coward. Our dear Piso I love exceedingly for his noble conduct. I have to the best of my ability encouraged him by letter to proceed and thanked him as I was bound to do."

Then again on his way to Dyrrachium he said: "And to think that my little Tullia should reap such a harvest of sorrow from the father, from whom she used to receive such abundant joys!"

Piso, Cicero's son-in-law had been watching conditions in Rome; and was striving to keep Cicero from losing hope. In a letter to Quintus while at Thessalonica we find this statement from Cicero concerning Piso: "For Pomponius, Sestius, and my son-in-law Piso have caused me as yet to stay at Thessalonica, forbidding me, on account of certain impending movements to increase my distance. But in truth I am waiting the result more on account of their letters than from any firm hope of my own."

We have no copies of Tulliola's letters, but she had been entreating her father to have courage and hope as he said in a letter to Atticus, "I will not disappoint

13. Ad Fam. XIV, 1.
the entreaties of my most unhappy Tulliolae."  

Cicero also expressed his gratitude to Piso, Tullia's husband, as follows: "Piso's kindness, virtue, and affection toward us all are so great that nothing can surpass them. I hope his conduct may be a source of pleasure to him, a source of glory I see clearly that it will be."  

Again Cicero in expressing to Terentia and the children the self-reproach which he had because he was the cause of their miseries said, "That our Piso has shown surprising zeal and kindness to us I can see for myself, but everybody also tells me of it. God grant that I may be allowed along with you and our children to enjoy the actual society of such a son-in-law."  

Cicero had been kept well informed of what was going on at Rome, and felt so confident that the end of his exile was at hand, that he ventured to leave Dyrrachium for Brundusium. The next day was the fifth of August, the birthday of Tullia, his beloved daughter, and she was at Brundusium eagerly waiting to throw herself into his arms. She had just become a widow, her husband, Piso Frugi, who  

16. Ad Fam. XIV, 1.  
17. Ad Fam. XIV, 3.
had so nobly stood by his father-in-law in his misfortune, having died a short time before. 18

A coldness had started between Cicero and Terentia which has been discussed in the previous chapter, and which is more evident as Terentia did not meet him, nor is she mentioned in connection with the selection of Tullia's second husband. In March B.C. 56 Cicero wrote to Quintus: "As to our Tullia, who, by Hercules, is very warmly attached to you, I hope I have settled her engagement with Crassipes." 19 Later: "I have already sent you a letter containing the information of my daughter Tullia having been betrothed to Crassipes on the fourth of April. On the sixth of April, I gave a betrothal party to Crassipes." 20

Tullia was with her father at Antium and wished to entertain Filia the recently married wife of Atticus; Cicero wrote to Atticus: "Be sure you come yourself, and can persuade Filia to accompany you. For that is only fair, and Tullia is anxious that she should come." 20

18. Forsyth.
19. Ad Q. Fr. 11, 4 & 6.
20. Ad Att. LV, 4b.
that Atticus invited Tullia to stay with him and his wife Pilia, and Cicero in describing her journey from Antium said: "Crassipes\textsuperscript{21} swallows up my money for traveling. Tullia will go straight to your suburban villa."\textsuperscript{22}

The correspondence does not tell when the second marriage took place but Cicero in October B. C. 54 wrote to P. Lentulus Spinther and said: "Crassus named a day and dined with me in the suburban villa of my son-in-law Crassipes."\textsuperscript{23} This marriage was soon ended by a divorce, but evidently had not left Crassipes at enmity with Cicero, because we have a letter written him by Cicero from Cilicia B. C. 51.\textsuperscript{24}

While Cicero was in Cilicia he kept up a correspondence with Terentia, and in a letter to Atticus made this statement: "As to my Tullia, I agree with you, and I have written to her and Terentia giving my consent. For you have already said in a previous letter to me, "and I could wish that you had returned to your old set."\textsuperscript{25} This was in regard to the selection of Tullia's third husband

\textsuperscript{21} That is the dowry and expense of betrothal.
\textsuperscript{22} Ad Att. IV, 5.
\textsuperscript{23} Ad F. I, 9.
\textsuperscript{24} Ad F. XIII, 9.
\textsuperscript{25} Ad Att. VI, 1.
Dolabella. Again in February he wrote to Atticus saying: "As for you, since by this time, I hope, you are safe at Rome, you will as usual be good enough to look after everything which you may understand to affect my interests, especially in regard to my Tullia, about whose marriage I have written to Terentia my decision, since you were in Greece." 

We infer that the marriage took place in B.C. 50, as Cicero received a letter from M. Caelius Rufus in June of that year containing the following: "I congratulate you on a son-in-law who is, on my word, the best of men; for that is my opinion of him. Some other blemishes in his character, by which he has hitherto stood in his own light, are already shaken off by age; and if any remain, I feel sure that they will be quickly removed by your society and influence, and by the modesty of Tullia. For he is not obstinate in vice, nor blunted beyond the power of understanding the higher life. Last, but not least, I am very fond of him." 

26: Ad Att. VI, 4.
27: Ad Fam. VIII, 13.
This third son-in-law was Lucius Cornelius Dolabella, a profligate young nobleman, and though Cicero at first disapproved, later desiring to grow in power with the nobility, he gave his consent to the marriage.

Cicero replied to the letter from Rufus as follows: "I am glad in the first place to hear your compliments to Dolabella, and in the second place to find that you like him. What is done is done, and Heaven prosper it. I hope I shall find him an agreeable son-in-law, and in that respect your kindness will be of much assistance."  

Cicero in writing to Appius Claudius Pulcher was trying to excuse the fact that Dolabella's marriage to Tullia was just at the time that he was prosecuting Clodius and said: "But in this matter there is one thing of which I am not afraid of your not being fully aware - that was done by others, to whom I have left a charge that during my absence they should not refer to me, but should act on their own judgment.”

28. Ad Fam. 11, 15.
However, Cicero became reconciled and in December B.C. 50 he wrote Atticus: "My son-in-law makes himself very agreeable to me, to Tullia, and to Terentia. He has any amount whether of ability or culture. We must be content. Other points in his character, with which you are acquainted must be tolerated."30

When Cicero went on his mission to Campania in B.C. 49 and was so apprehensive for the safety of Terentia and Tullia in Rome, we find that Tullia accompanied her mother to Formiae31 and kept writing to her father begging him to wait and see how things were in Spain before crossing to Pompey.32

On the nineteenth of May B.C. 49 his daughter gave birth at his Pompeian villa to a son, but a very weakly child which soon afterwards died. Cicero wrote this to Atticus,33 And on that day left to join Pompey. Tullia's health began to decline which was a source of constant sorrow, for Cicero in writing to Terentia34 said, "Tullia's ill health causes me acute agony." To Atticus:35 "My dea

Tullia's ill health and weakness frightens me to death. I gather that you are showing her great attention for which I am deeply grateful." Again in reply to a letter from Atticus in which he told Cicero that Tullia implored his help, Cicero said: "What a misfortune? What am I to say? What can I wish? I will be brief; for a sudden flood of tears stops me. I leave it to you. Do as you think right. Only be careful that at such a crisis as this there may be no danger to her safety. Pardon me I beseech you; I cannot dwell on this topic any longer for tears and grief."26 This cause of disquiet just now was the distressed condition of his daughter, Tullia, owing to the extravagance of her husband Dolabella, who had spent the portion of her dowry which had already been paid, and Cicero was afraid that the rest would go in the same manner. Tullia had been reduced almost to penury by Dolabella's extravagance.

Tullia went to her father at Brundusium, but even her affection could not console his sinking spirit. It rather added to his sorrow to see her in distress, which

he thus expressed to Atticus: "I, however, have not got the pleasure from her own virtue, gentleness, and affection which I ought to get from a matchless daughter, but have been overwhelmed with extraordinary sorrow, to think that a character like hers should be involved in circumstances of such distress, and that should occur from no fault of hers, but from my consummate folly....I see no use for keeping her with me any longer in such a sad state of mutual sorrow. Accordingly I am going to send her to her mother as soon as she will herself consent to go." Cicero also wrote to Atticus: "I am worn out and harassed to death by the folly (fatuitate) of this most unhappy girl." It is thought that he was referring to the infatuation Tullia had for her dissolute husband. He also said: "I was blind to pay the second installment," and begged Atticus to get money from the sale of plate and abundant furniture, saying: "For I think that the worst is hard upon us, that there will be no making of peace, and that the present regime will collapse even without an opponent."  

37. Ad Att. XI, 17.  
38. Ad Att. XI, 25
Before the end of November B. C. 46, Cicero arrived at his Tusculan villa where his beloved Tullia divorced at last from Dolabella, her third husband, awaited him.

Cicero wrote to Quintus Lepta: "I am kept at Rome in any case by Tullia's condition; but when she gets as well again as I can wish, I am still detained till I can get the first installment of the dowry out of Dolabella's agents." 39

Tullia gave birth to a son of Dolabella at Rome after the divorce in January B. C. 45. So soon as she had regained sufficient strength she was removed to the Tusculan country seat in the Alban hills, where Cicero closed her eyes about February fifteenth. 40

Her death left a dreary blank in her father's existence. The separation of father and mother must have cast a shadow over the last years of her life. His affection for her shines like a gleam of light through his letters, and he had clung to her as the prop and stay of his declining years.

In 68 B. C. while in exile at Thessalonica when writing to his brother Quintus of the deprivations in his

39. Ad Fam. VI, 18.
life, Cicero said: "And what must my case be when at the same time I miss a daughter. How affectionate! how modest! how clever! The express image of my face, of my speech, of my very soul!"

Her death was the greatest sorrow of Cicero's life; he fled to Astura by the Sea, where he had "his dark hour unseen" in "a dense and wild wood" in which for a time he lived apart and alone. The outcome of his meditations was the "Consolatio, seu de Luctu minuendo."  

Could that extreme grief have been remorse, as the welfare of the Republic was foremost in Cicero's thoughts?

In his De Officiis we find: "The best legacy a father can leave his children, a legacy worth far more than the largest patrimony, is the fame of a virtuous and well-spent life. He who disgraces such a bequest is deserving of infamy." Yet in De Republica he says: "Nor is there

41. Ad Q. Fr. 1, 3.  
42. Ad Att. XII, 20.  
43. "Optima autem hereditas a patribus traditur libris, omnique patrimonio praestantior, gloria virtutis rerumque gestarum: cui dedecori esse, nefas judicandum est."
De Officiis 1, 33.
anything in which the virtues of mankind approach nearer to the gods than when they are employed in founding new commonwealths, and in preserving those already founded.\textsuperscript{44}

And in Ad Familiares we find: "To yield to the times, that is, to obey necessity, has always been regarded as the act of a wise man."\textsuperscript{45}

The sacrifice of the home, the hampered lives of the wife and children played a far too important part in the preservation of the Republic, and in Cicero's thirst for fame.

\textsuperscript{44} "Neque enim est uilla res, in qua propius ad deorum numen virtus accedat humana, quam civitates aut condere novas aut conservare jam conditas."

De Republica I, 7.

\textsuperscript{45} "Tempori cedere, id est necessitati parere, semper sapientis est habitum."

Ad Familiares, IV, 9.
SUMMARY

Tullia, the only daughter of Cicero, according to Taylor and Forsyth, was born 79 B.C.

She and her father were bound by the strongest ties of affection from her infancy, and she proved to be his greatest joy. His literary tastes were reflected by her, and the affection which increased with her age became unusual; her death proved to be his greatest anxiety.

Tullia was married when a mere child to Piso; soon she became a child widow; there was an unfortunate second marriage; divorced from Crassipes her second husband; then followed an unhappy union with Dolabella which resulted in divorce.

Worn in health, reduced to penury by the extravagance of her third husband, Tullia died young at her father's Tusculan villa.

Tullia was courageous during the various ordeals through which her father passed; kept him posted concerning conditions in Rome during his absence; entreated
him to delay his decision to follow Pompey; and though in his absence she suffered, and had to ask aid of Atticus, we find that she never reproached her father for his weak acts, but was always ready to receive him with open arms, and to show the affection which was the crowning joy of his life.
CHAPTER IV

MARCUS, CICERO'S SON

In July of the year 65 B.C. Cicero's only son Marcus was born, a fact he announced in a letter to Atticus in this cold and laconic way: "L. Julio Caesare C. Marcus Figeulo consulibus filiolo me auctum scito salva, Terentia."\(^1\)

But he later showed the deepest affection for him and in the famous letter to Terentia and the children written from Brundusium in April B.C. 58, he said in regard to his son: "What is my boy Cicero to do? Let him, at any rate, be ever in my bosom and in my arms. And that last hope of my race, Cicero, good-bye."\(^2\) Then to his brother Quintus he wrote: "What must be my case when I miss a son, the prettiest boy, the very joy of my heart? Cruel inhuman monster that I am, I dismissed him from my arms better schooled in the world than I could have wished, for the poor child began to understand what was going on."\(^3\)

This quick understanding of the child, Marcus, is again expressed in a letter to Terentia: "For why mention

\(^{1}\) Ad Att. 1, 2.  
\(^{2}\) Ad Fam. XIV, 4.  
\(^{3}\) Ad Q. Fr. 1, 3.
my boy Cicero, who from the first moment of conscious feeling has been made aware of the bitterest sorrows and miseries? And if the same ill-fortune continues to pursue us, what will become of our poor boy?" Cicero begged Atticus to protect his boy saying: "My little Cicero, to whom, poor boy! I leave nothing but prejudice and the blot upon my name." 

While Cicero was writing the treatise "On the Republic" he was staying at Cumae, and we find from a letter he wrote Quintus that he was teaching young Marcus himself, as he said: "But my chief care will be to see your son, or rather our son, if possible, every day at any rate, and to watch the progress of his education as often as possible; and, unless he declines my help, I will even offer to be his instructor, a practice to which I have become habituated in the leisure of these days while bringing my own boy, the younger Cicero on."

In a later letter we learn that young Marcus was diligent in study and affectionate. Cicero said in writ-

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4. Ad Fam. XIV, 1.
5. Ad Att. III, 23.
6. Ad Q. Fr. II, 12.
ing to Quintus: "Our boys are well, diligent in their studies, and affectionate to me and each other." On the twenty-fourth of October B. C. 54 he wrote: "I am on the point of starting for my Tusculan villa, and taking my dear young Cicero with me as though to school (a school not for sport, but for learning)."

While Cicero was proconsul in Cilicia he wrote to Atticus saying: "My son Cicero, the best-behaved and dearest of boys, sends you his regards." When Cicero was in camp at iyoaonia he let Deiotarus, who had received the title of king from the senate, take his son and nephew with him to his own dominions, thinking it the safest place for them. When necessary he expected to transfer them to Rhodes. However, we find them at Laodicea February twenty-second B. C. 50.

Cicero said in a letter to Atticus: "My son and nephew are very fond of each other. They take their lessons and exercise together; but as Isocrates said of Euphorus and Theopompus, the one wants the rain, the other the

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8. Ad Q. Fr. III, 4  
10. Ad Att. V, 17  
spur. I am very fond of Dionysius; the boys, however, say that he gets into made passions. But after all there could not be a man of greater learning, purer character, or more attached to you and me."\textsuperscript{11} We find from a letter which Cicero wrote from Capua February B. C. 49 that young Marcus was with his mother and sister at Formiae.

When Cicero was planning to leave on his mission to Campania in the interests of Pompey he wrote for Dionysius to come to Formiae to continue his duties as tutor to the young Ciceros, but Dionysius declined and Cicero thought he did so rudely, and from a dislike to serve a ruined man. Cicero in writing about this to Atticus said: "He has given himself airs in view of what he thinks will be the state of my fortune. I never saw such gross ingratitude, a vice which embraces every other."\textsuperscript{12} Dionysius repented of his refusal, and did go at once, of which Cicero said: "It is his way to repent when he has done anything intemperate."\textsuperscript{13} But when they met and talked, Cicero discharged him from further attendance, with regret as a master for the boys, but with satisfaction as an ungrateful fellow."\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{11} Ad Att. V, 18.
\textsuperscript{12} Ad Att. VIII, 4.
\textsuperscript{13} Ad Att. VIII, 5.
\textsuperscript{14} Ad Att. VIII, 10.
Cicero had intended to leave Formiae for Arpinum on the eleventh of March B.C. 49, to give his son his "toga virilis" at the Liberalia on the seventeenth of March; he did not leave on that day, but we learn from a letter written to Atticus April first the following: "Being debarred from Rome I gave my son his "toga virilis" at Arpinum in preference to any other place, and my fellow townsmen were gratified at the compliment."15

Just at this time young Marcus, influenced by the young Quintus, it was supposed, began to give his father much anxiety by his conduct; to which Cicero alluded in the following way: "As for our sons, the one, because he is not after all more dutiful than he is, gives me extraordinary pain."16

Young Quintus went to Rome B.C. 48 to interview Caesar, professing to plead his father's and uncle's cause, but really, Cicero thought, to denounce them and repudiate their policy. Cicero again wrote in May: "My own son I keep under control without difficulty. He is the most tractable boy possible; but my remorseful pity for him makes me

15. Ad Att. 19.
less determined in politics, and the more he desires me to be staunch, the more I fear turning out a cruel father to him. What can I do about the boys? Shall I trust them to a small vessel? What sort of courage do you think I shall have in the voyage?" 17

The settlement of his son was a subject of anxiety to Cicero during the period from B.C. 48 - 44. In June B.C. 47 Cicero said to Atticus: "I am thinking of sending my son with Sallustius 18 to Caesar, 19 and wrote the same time to Terentia; 20 but abandoned the idea.

In B.C. 45 when Marcus was twenty years old he was anxious to join Caesar's army; he seems to have been more fitted for the life of a soldier than for anything else; but his father shrank from seeing a son of his fighting against Pompeians even now, and was anxious that he should go to Athens to study rhetoric and philosophy. In a letter to Atticus he said: "I said to him in the most liberal manner what I should like you, if it is convenient to you, to learn from his own youth. But why put it off? I explained to him that you had reported to me his wishes and what means he required: 'He wished to go to Spain; he wanted a liberal allowance.' As to a liberal allowance I said that he should

18. A friend and client of Cicero's.
20. Ad Fam. XIV, 11.
have as much as Publius gave his son, and Lentulus gave his.
As to Spain, I put before him two objections; first, the one
I mentioned to you, the fear of adverse criticism. Was it
not enough that we abandoned the war? Must we even fight
on the other side? And secondly, that he should certainly
be annoyed at being surpassed by his cousin in intimacy with
Caesar and every kind of favor. I could wish that he would
take advantage of my liberality, rather than of his own free-
dom of action; nevertheless, I gave the permission for I had
been given to understand that you were not much against it.
I will think over the subject earnestly, and beg that you
will do the same. It is an important step; to stay at
home involves no complications, the other course is risky.
But we shall see." 21

The young man yielded; but the natural result fol-
lowed. Cicero wrote to Atticus in March of the same year:
"I will leave the date to him. Please see that he is able
to draw for what money he needs. 22 I would have you pro-
pose to my son, that is, if you think it fair, to adapt the
expenses of his sojourn abroad to what he would have been
content with, if, as he thought of doing, he had remained at

22. Ad Att. XII, 27.
Rome and hired a house - I mean to the rents of my property in the Argiletum and Avantine - and in making that proposal to him pray arrange the rest of the business for our supplying him with what he needs from those rents. See also what traveling money and outfit will suffice. There is certainly no need of a carriage and horses at Athens. For such as he wants for the journey there is enough and to spare at home, as you observe yourself."

The academic studies at Athens had no attraction for young Marcus, so he sought amusement in idleness and dissipation. His allowance which was an ample one, drawn from the rents of certain houses in Rome which had formed part of his mother's fortune, was apparently exceeded in his first year, and the reports of his tutors and instructors gave his father great anxiety. This is expressed in a letter of July B. C. 45, to Atticus, who had suggested to Cicero to settle his affairs. "You'd scarcely believe how indifferent I am about such things. I solemnly declare to you, and pray believe me, that those trumpery properties are more a bore than

23. Ad Att. XII, 31 & 32.
a pleasure to me; For I grieve more at not having anyone
to whom to transmit them than at being in want of immediate
cash." 24

It seems that Cicero looked upon his son already as
being unworthy to be his heir. However, in his second year
matters began to improve. His expenses went down, better -
though not yet quite confident - reports came home, and Ci-
cero began to hope both from the style of his letters and
the reports of more than one of his correspondents that he was
reforming and seriously attending to his work. Still - though
he says that he was glad to allow himself to be deceived on
such a subject - the doubtful tone of his son's tutors gave
him some uneasiness.

In April of B. C. 44 Cicero wrote: "I have had a
very well written and pretty long letter from my son. Other
things may be put on, but the classic style of his letter
shows that he is improving in scholarship. Now I beg you
earnestly to see that he is not in want of anything. That
is a duty on my part, and also concerns my reputation and
position." 25 "What you say about my son is very gratifying-

God bless him! I am obliged to you for arranging that he should have an allowance ample for the amenities as well as the necessaries of life.  

In the summer of B. C. 44 Cicero meditated going to see his son; thus expressed his intention to Atticus:

"It is much to my son's interest or rather to mine, or by heaven to that of us both, that I should drop in upon him in his studies. For in the letter of Leonides what is there to give us any great pleasure? I shall never think the boy's report satisfactory while it contains such a phrase as 'as he is going on at present.' I am much obliged to you for having written to Xeno."  

Atticus seems to have employed Xeno, an Epicurean philosopher at Athens, to transmit money to young Cicero. Cicero visited his son in Athens and found that his first year's expenditure had exceeded; his second year had fallen below his allowance of about eighty sesterces (or $3,200) accruing from the rents of the blocks of houses (insulae) which apparently formed part of Terentia's pro-

27. Tutor of Marcus.
28. Ad Att. XIV, 16.
perty secured to her son. Cicero suggested to Atticus to put his son's accounts straight; he fancied that his presence at Athens might confirm his son's good resolutions.

The treatise on duty, De Officiis, was now composed for his benefit. Cicero also took great pains as he became more convinced that the young man was really improving, that he should be liberally supplied with money.

The last letter from young Cicero himself, addressed to Tiro in August B.C. 44 gives a perhaps too rosy account of his own diligence and determination to please his father. After a very affectionate paragraph of address he says: "I am sure, dearest Tiro, that the reports about me which reach you answer your best wishes and hopes. I will make them good, and will do my best that this belief in me, which day by day becomes more and more in evidence shall be doubled. Wherefore you may with confidence and assurance fulfill your promise of being the trumpeter of my reputation. For the errors of my youth have caused me so much remorse and suffering, that not only does my heart shrink from what I did, my own ears abhor the mention of it."

30. Ad Fam. XVI, 21.
He then goes on to assure him of the associates he has, saying his attachment to Cratippus is that of a son rather than pupil; that he never allowed Bruttius to leave his side; practiced declamation in Greek with Cassius, in Latin with Bruttius; saw a great deal of Epocrates the leading man of Athens, and Leonides, and other men of that sort. Then he changes the tone of his letter: "I am glad that you have bought an estate. You are a man of property! You must drop your city manners; you have become a Roman country-gentleman. But do not doubt, my dear Tiro, of my assisting you in the future, if fortune does but stand by me; especially as I know that this estate has been purchased for our joint advantage." 31

This amusing letter gives a curious picture of undergraduate life at Athens, but the account of his reformation is perhaps too highly colored. In October of the same year he wrote a note to Atticus asking him to write, saying: "My father always writes fully to me about his own

wishes in regard to me, yet a letter written to me by you on any and everything, however minute, has always been most delightful to me."32

The opportunity soon came for a career better suited to his disposition and ability. Brutus arrived in Athens in the autumn of B. C. 44 and offered young Cicero as he did the young Horace, a commission in the army which he was collecting to take possession of Macedonia. The offer was gladly accepted, and, to his father's great delight, he served with some distinction in that province against Gaius Antonius. In April B. C. 43 Brutus wrote to Cicero saying: "Your son Cicero is giving me such satisfaction by his industry, endurance, hard work, and high courage, in short, by every kind of service, that he seems to me never to forget for a moment whose son he is. Therefore, as I cannot by any possibility think more highly than I already do of one who is the dearest object of your affection, pay my sagacity the compliment of believing that he will not have to trade upon your reputation for the attainment of the same offices as his father held before him."33

32. Ad Fam. XVI, 25.
Cicero's reply to this was: "As to my son, if he has all the good in him which you describe, I am of course as delighted as I am bound to be, and if you exaggerate it from affection for him, the mere fact of your being attached to him rejoices me more than I can say."34 "I should like my son, my dear Brutus, to be as much as possible by your side. He will find no better school of virtue than the contemplation and imitation of you."35

Cicero wrote to Brutus that he wished his son opted into his college (the college of the pontifices), but the vacancies were filled by others. In May of B.C. 43 Brutus wrote Cicero: "Your son is well and has been sent in advance into Macedonia with the cavalry."36 In reply to Cicero's request concerning his son's being taken into the college of pontifices, Brutus said: "I have written to him to meet me at Heraclea. When I see him I will settle with him about his return for his candidature, commendationem to the office."37

During the same year Cornelius Lentulus wrote to Cicero: "I could not see your son when I visited Brutus,

because he had already started with the cavalry into winter quarters, but upon my honor I am rejoiced at the reputation he enjoys, both for your sake and for his, and especially mine. For he is like a brother to me, as being your son and worthy of you." 38

Cicero thought that Brutus and his army were needed at home and so wrote him saying in conclusion: "My son I hope shortly to see; for I feel confident that he will promptly come to Italy in your train." 39 Young Marcus just at this time left Brutus, but Cicero wrote Brutus that if Marcus came to Italy he would send him back to Macedonia thinking nothing more honorable to him. The election to the sacred colleges had been put off till the next year, and Cicero begged Brutus to keep the son and bring him with him when he returned. 40

Marcus did remain with Brutus, fighting at Philippi, and afterwards joining the standard of Sextus Pompey, who had established a despotic sea power upon the three islands where his rule was absolute, thus posing for a time as the

38. Ad Fam. XII, 14.
40. Brut. I, 14.
last champion of the Republic and its liberties. And yet, despite such obstinate loyalty on the part of Cicero's son to the fallen cause, he became, through the influence of Octavian a commissioner of the Mint, and member of the College of Augurs, and finally consul (B.C. 30) with Octavian as his colleague. As such, public letters were addressed to him by Octavian announcing his victory at Actium and the conquest of Egypt. 41

Nothing more pointedly illustrates the irony of fate than the fact that as censur, Cicero the younger was charged with the execution of the decree directing the destruction of all statues and monuments of Antony, so that his very name might perish from the face of the earth.

After his father's death Marcus is said to have taken to drinking - perhaps to drown remorse, but certainly not for the absurd reason assigned by Pliny, probably in jest, that "he wished to deprive Antony of the 'glory' of being the hardest drinker in the Roman world." 42 Not until after he had been proconsul for Asia Minor, or, according to Appian, of Syria, did Cicero's only surviving heir pass away, B.C. 29 (?) leaving no issue behind him.

42. Forsyth, Cic. p. 537.
It is a saying of Bacon that great men have no continuance; and this rule, if it be a rule, was exemplified in the case of Cicero. His line became rapidly extinct.
Cicero in a letter to Atticus laconically announces the birth of Marcus, his son, in July of B.C. 65.

He showed the deepest affection for him; he reproached himself because the child was born and nurtured under the shadow of sorrow and miseries; he taught him in early childhood; and found him affectionate and diligent in study.

Marcus was placed under the tutorship of Dionysius; he was with his mother at Formiae in B.C. 49; and again instructed by Dionysius.

Cicero gave Marcus his "toga virilis" at Arpinum B.C. 49; Marcus showed a decided taste for military life; he was anxious to join Caesar in B.C. 45; this met with his father's opposition.

Then Marcus was sent to Athens to study rhetoric and philosophy; was given a very liberal allowance; usual result of such a life of idleness and dissipation.
Signs of a reformation came in a letter to his father B.C. 44; therefore, Cicero went to Athens to visit him; he tried to believe that he had reformed; he had ample provision for his sustenance and pleasure.

Marcus served with distinction in the army of Brutus; fought at Philippi; was charged with decree of destroying all reminders of Antony to avenge his father's death; returned to drink and dissipation; and died about B.C. 29, so says Forsyth, though this date is unestablished.

He seems to have inherited some of his mother's high-mindedness, as he was never willing to live in a way which suggested economy; his desire to free himself from the bonds of restraint, and to vault his ambition are most natural tendencies for a son of Cicero.

The attempt to avenge his father's death is in a natural sequence of events the affection which started in his infancy; though apparently stamped out by moments of dissipation, it arose again when he was softened by sorrow and remorse to prove Marcus "that last hope of his race."
CHAPTER V

TIRO, CICERO’S SLAVE, PUPIL, AMANUENSIS AND LITERARY EXECUTOR

It is impossible to think or speak of the correspondence in question apart from Tiro, the faithful slave, secretary, and shorthand writer, who did so much to create it and everything to preserve it.

As the entire fabric of society in the ancient world was based on slavery, it is at once interesting and instructive to observe the tender and intimate relations existing between Cicero and Tiro, who was probably born a slave in the family in which he became such an important factor. Becoming attached to him in his youth, his master took a personal interest in his education, thus preparing him for the part he was to play in the house as regulator of its order and economy, as the confidential director of its finances, as the supervisor of the accounts of the sometime inaccurate steward Eros, and as the negotiator of loans with the bankers who upheld the master’s credit at critical moments.

He was also charged with supervision of the gardens, of all building operations, and even with the delicate task of sending out dinner invitations in such a way as to assemble congenial guests ever mindful of the fact that "Tertia will not come if Publius is invited." It was, however, as Cicero's private secretary, as his shorthand writer, of whom Cicero said: "I did not dictate it even to Tiro, who usually takes down whole periods at a breath;" as the decipherer of his master's scribbling which other copyists could not read, that Tiro was invaluable.

At times this confidential man of all work was a collaborator. In a letter to Tiro, ill at the time, Cicero says: "My poor studies, or rather ours, have been in a very bad way owing to your absence. However, they have looked up a little owing to this letter from you brought by Acastus. Pompey is staying with me at the moment of writing this, and seems to be cheerful and enjoying himself. He asks me to read him something of ours, but I told him that without you the oracle was dumb. Pray prepare to renew your services to our Muses. My promise shall be fulfilled

2. Ad Fam. XI, 22.
on the day named; for I have taught you the etymology of
fides. 5 Take care to make a complete recovery." 6

In another letter written on his journey from
Cilicia, he says: "I do beg you, my dear Tiro, not to
spare any expense in anything whatever necessary for your
health. I have written to Curio to honor your draft for
any amount; something, I thought, ought to be paid to the
doctor himself to make him more zealous. Your services
to me are past counting at home, in the Forum, at Rome,
in my province, in private and public business, in my lit-
erary studies and compositions. But there is one service
you can render me that will surpass them all - gratify my
hopes by appearing before me well and strong! I think if
you are recovered, you will have a most charming voyage
home with the quaestor Mescinius. He is not without cul-
ture, and is, I think, attached to you. And while health
should be your first and most careful consideration, con-
sider also how to secure first a safe voyage, dear Tiro.

5. Referring to promise to manumit Tiro.
6. Ad Fam. XVF, 10.
I would not have you hurry yourself now in any way whatever. I care for nothing but your safety. Be assured, dear Tiro, that no one loves me without loving you; and though it is you and I who are directly concerned in your recovery, yet it is an object of anxiety to many. "7"

Tiro was certainly beloved in the same way by the whole family, because, when he was remiss in correspondence, Quintus writes: "I have chastised you, at least with the silent reproach of my thoughts, for this is the second packet that has arrived without a letter from you. You cannot escape the penalty for this crime by your own advocacy; you will have to call Marcus to your aid, and do not be too sure that even he, though he should compose a speech after long study and a great expenditure of midnight oil, would be able to establish your innocence. In plain terms, I beg you to do as I remember my mother used to do. It was her custom to put a seal on wine-jars even when empty to prevent any being labeled empty that had been surreptitiously drained. In the same way I beg you even

7. Ad Fam. XVI, 4.
if you have nothing to write about, to write all the same, lest you be thought to have sought a cover for idleness; for I always find the news in your letters trustworthy and welcome. Love me, and good-bye."  

Young Marcus was equally affectionate. After Tiro had purchased a farm, no doubt from his master's bounty, the son wrote the playful letter from which we have already quoted, saying: "I see you as large as life, and with very charming look, buying things for the farm, talking to your bailiff, and keeping the seeds you have saved from dessert in the corner of your cloak."  

There can be no doubt that Tiro was the master, probably the inventor, of a system of shorthand which enabled him to take down Cicero's dictation with necessary rapidity. Cicero said in a letter to Atticus concerning the composition of Academica: "May I be hanged if I ever take so much trouble again about anything! Consequently I did not dictate it even to Tiro, who usually takes down whole periods at a breath, but syllable by syllable to Spintharus."  

Taylor says the difficulty was not due to Tiro's shorthand,

(no. 642 in Tyrrell)
but to the subject which was so complicated as to require dictation to the longhand writer, Spintharus.\textsuperscript{11} Cicero said in a letter to Quintus: "Thus, to explain its being in another handwriting, I dictated to Tiro while at dinner."\textsuperscript{12} Sir Edward Launde Thompson wrote: "According to Sestonius the first introduction of shorthand signs or notae was due to Ennius; but more generally Cicero's freedman, M. Tullius Tiro, is regarded as the author of those symbols, which commonly bear the title of Notae Tironianae.\textsuperscript{13}

While it is impossible to fix exactly the date of his manumission, we know that Tiro then assumed the name of Marcus Tullius, according to the custom in such cases. There are several letters to Tiro from Cicero, and one from Quintus to Cicero which are of doubtful dates, but furnish some information concerning the manumission.

Quintus may have written this letter of congratulation during his propraetorship in Asia (B. C. 62-59). Tiro was not a young man and may well have been emancipated.

\textsuperscript{11} Taylor's Cic. p. 423. \textsuperscript{12} Ad Q. Fr. III, 1. \textsuperscript{13} See article on "Shorthand" in Enc. Brit., 11th ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 1008.
even in B.C. 59. Quintus says: "I am delighted about Tiro. He was much too good for his position and I am truly glad that you preferred that he should be our freedman and friend rather than our slave. Believe me, when I read your letter and his I jumped for joy, and I both thank and congratulate you; for if the fidelity and good character of my own Statius is a delight to me, how much more valuable must those same qualities be in your man, since there is added to them knowledge of literature, conversational powers, and culture, which have advantages even over those useful virtues! I have all sorts of most conclusive reasons for loving you; and here is another one, either for what you have done, or, if you choose, for your perfect manner of announcing it to me. Your letter showed me your whole heart."}

Tiro was full of solicitude for the welfare of his patron and benefactor during life, and for his fame after death. Cicero wrote to him in July, 45 B.C.: "I see what

you are about: you want your letters also to be collected into books. But look here! You set up to be a standard of correctness in my writings - how came you to use such an unauthorized expression as *thy faithfully devoting myself to my health?* How does *fideliter* come in there?" Just a year later Cicero wrote to Atticus:
"There is no collection of my letters in existence; but Tiro has something like seventy. Moreover there are some to be got from you. I ought to look through and correct them. They shall not be published until I have done so."

It is fortunate that Tiro, despite his feeble health, lived until he was more than a hundred years old, devoting the remainder of that long life to the labor of love involved in the task of collecting and publishing the works of the illustrious friend with whose name his own will always be connected.

15. Ad Fam. XVI, 17.
18. Quintilian (at the end of book X) observes of the notebooks left behind by Cicero, "Nam Ciceronis ad praesens modo tempus aptatos libertus Tiro contraxit; quos non ideo excusce, quia non probem, sed ut sint magis admirabiles."
SUMMARY

Tiro - slave - secretary - shorthand writer - finally collaborator; he who helped to create the correspondence, and later to preserve it.

Cicero took special interest in his early education; and granted him manumission.

Cicero's letters show his deep affection for Tiro; he was equally loved by the whole family.

Young Marcus congratulated him on his freedom; he playfully called him "country gentleman."

Tiro is considered the inventor of a system of shorthand; he assumed the name of Marcus Tullius after manumission about 59 B.C.; he spent the closing years of his ripe old age collecting and publishing Cicero's letters; a fit culmination of the life-long devotion which existed between Cicero and Tiro.
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