

CICERO'S LETTERS AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER I. LETTERS THEMSELVES	1
A. Number	
B. Grouping and Editing	
C. Periods covered	
D. Dating of the Letters	
E. Scope of Correspondence	
F. Writing Materials and Delivery	
CHAPTER II. SOURCES FOR THE TEXT OF THE LETTERS	12
A. Manuscripts	
1. Ad Familiares	
2. Ad Atticum, Quintum, et Brutum	
B. Editions	
1. Ancient	
2. Modern	
3. Comparison of the English Texts of Shuckburgh and Winstedt.	
CHAPTER III. ELUSIVE NATURE OF THE LETTERS AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE	21
CHAPTER IV. ART, BUILDINGS, LITERATURE	35
CHAPTER V. GEOGRAPHY, COMMUNICATION, TRANS- PORTATION	48
CHAPTER VI. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE	55
CHAPTER VII. POLITICS AND LAWS	68
CHAPTER VIII. THE PROVINCE	80

CHAPTER IX. POMPEY AND CAESAR	89
CHAPTER X. ANTONY AND BRUTUS	106
CHAPTER XI. BIOGRAPHY	123
CHAPTER XII. CONCLUSION	139
BIBLIOGRAPHY	145

CHAPTER I. THE LETTERS THEMSELVES

"What will history say of me six hundred years hence?"
Cicero, ad Atticum XI, 5.

Almost two thousand years ago, amid the relentless, degrading, tempestuous political strife and amid the mad, frenzied, degenerating struggle for pleasure and wealth, in short among the chaotic social and political disorders of the last days of the dying Roman Republic, Cicero, - statesman, orator, writer, and one of the sanest men of his times, - lived and wrote. Among his extant works, which are equal in volume to Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire",¹ are his letters which have made him the unconscious Boswell of himself and his contemporaries,² - in fact have made him his own best biographer and a truthful historian of his period. Of the letters which he wrote, some few more than nine hundred have withstood the vicissitudes of time and have come down as unchanged from the hands of Cicero and his correspondents as copying would allow.³ Of the number just mentioned all are Cicero's own except ninety letters which were written to him by some of the chief men of the day, - Pompey, Caesar, Brutus, and others less known to posterity.⁴

1 T. Petersson, Cicero (Berkley, Cal., 1920) p. 2.

2 Ibid., p. 287.

3 Petersson, Cicero, p. 6.

4 Cicero, Letters, tr. E. S. Shuckburgh (London, 1898).
I, Introd. p. 10.

Subsequent to the extant collections there are evidences of much larger volumes of which only scanty fragments remain.⁵ One modern biographer of Cicero states that not only did Cicero write far more letters than were ever published but that the original number published was perhaps twice those extant.⁶ Plutarch mentions letters written by Cicero to Herodes and to his own son⁷ which are not in the present volumes and further states that there were extant in his time many letters of Caesar to Cicero.⁸ Today's collection contains but a few of these letters.

Cicero who had intended to publish some of his letters is neither the editor nor the collector of them.⁹ If he had been, it is not at all improbable but that he would have excluded from the publication his letters to Atticus which form about one-half of the correspondence, extend over a period of twenty-five years, and are unparalleled for their frankness.¹⁰ Sometime in the Augustan period most of the letters were collected, grouped under the two headings,¹¹

5 Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero. Edited by R.Y. Tyrrell (London, 1885) I, 2nd Ed., Introd. p. 51.

6 Petersson, Cicero, p. 6.

7 Plutarch's Lives, Edited by Chas. W. Eliot (New York, 1909) p. 245.

8 Ibid., p. 257.

9 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd Ed., I, Introd. p. 50.

10 Petersson, Cicero, p. 9.

11 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd. Ed., I, Introd. pp. 50, 51.

"Epistolae ad Familiares" and Epistolae ad Atticum, Quintum Fratrem, et Brutum", and published. Tiro, Cicero's slave and as his secretary, his literary assistant, is thought to have published both groups¹² and to have edited the first named collection because this contains none of his own letters to Cicero although Cicero told Atticus he had kept them but does have letters written to Tiro by persons other than Cicero.¹³ As to the editor of the other group nothing seemingly is known. The bulk, if not all of the letters of this group, was in the possession of Atticus to whom Cicero sent letters received from others (for example from Caesar, Pompey, Antony)¹⁴ doubtless with the idea in mind of some day collecting and publishing them through Atticus who was the publisher of Cicero's other works.¹⁵ The strangest thing about the correspondence is that it contains not one letter from Atticus although Cicero preserved those Atticus wrote to him.¹⁶ It is a great loss that there are none of these letters included for they would aid greatly in interpreting the correspondence.

The letters begin in 68 B. C. when Cicero was thirty-nine years old. He had been quaestor in 75 B.C., aedile in

12 Hannis Taylor, Cicero (Chicago, 1916), p. 427.

13 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd. Ed., I, Introd. p. 52.

14 Cicero, Letters, Tr. Shuckburgh, I. p. 287 (A VIII, 6), p. 345 (A IX, 13a); III, p. 296 (A XIII, 20); II, p. 378 (A X, 9a).

15 Ibid., III, p. 298 (A XIII, 22)

16 Ibid., III, p. 239 (A XII, 37 1-3).

69 B.C., and was in 68 B.C. on the eve of his election as praetor, and was already the leader of the Roman bar, having delivered his great oration against Verres. There are no letters from 64 B.C. when Cicero was canvassing for the consulship or for 63 B.C. when he was consul.¹⁷ Between 68 B.C. and 65 B.C. there are but eleven letters. Thus on the event which colored so much of his life,- the Catilinarian conspiracy and the execution of the conspirators,- there is nothing exactly contemporaneous. The letters are continuous from 62 B.C. when Pompey returned from the East to 43 B. C. when the Second Triumvirate was formed of which Cicero was one of the first and most illustrious victims. The period from 62 B.C. to 43 B.C. was the most momentous of Roman history,- the Fall of the Roman Republic.¹⁸ After Caesar had overthrown the Republic and become dictator, Cicero lived but four years and to this brief space of his life belongs one-half of all the correspondence.¹⁹

Scholars have determined the chronology of these letters which are not dated by events mentioned in the letters themselves. There are some of them, principally those which are notes of recommendation, that are difficult to place in point of time. One of the first persons to make a study of the time order of the letters was Politian (1454 - 1494) who

17 Taylor, Cicero, p. 413

18 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, Introd. p. 13.

19 Petersson, Cicero, p. 11.

was a member of the Florentine Academy and who in his "Miscellanea" discussed the chronology of Cicero's "Familiar Letters".²⁰

Perhaps no better term for describing the nature of the correspondence can be given than to say that it is Boswellian in character.²¹ Comments of various authors on the letters are interesting. Shuckburgh says of them not only do they treat of business, literature, and philosophy but they also depict that which is so rare in ancient literature, the family affairs of the writer, - his relations with his wife, his son, his daughter, his brother, his nephew, and his son-in-law.²² Mommsen, who shows almost a ruthless bias in his treatment of Cicero, states that the correspondence reveals most truthfully his character and that it is interesting and clever as long as Cicero is writing of the urban life of the wealthy and influential class but that it becomes trite and void when he is thrown upon his own resources, as he was during his exile and his governorship of Cilicia, and after the battle of Pharsalus.²³ Taylor's opinion is that this invaluable correspondence prevents a large section of Roman history from being almost a total blank.²⁴ Perhaps no one has placed a higher value on the correspondence than Tyrrell,

20 J.E. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship (Cambridge, 1906) II, p. 84.

21 Petersson, Cicero, p. 287.

22 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, Introd. p. 15

23 T. Mommsen, The History of Rome (New York, 1870) IV, p. 725.

24 Taylor, Cicero, p. 19.

one of the best authorities on Cicero's letters. He has said that if Caesar's works and the epitome of the lost "Books of Livy" are excepted, then the only reliable basis for the history of the period is Cicero's letters because Sallust may be regarded as a political pamphleteer, Velleius Paterculus and Suetonius as untrustworthy unless they cite their authority, and Appian, Plutarch, and Dio Cassus who lived two centuries after Cicero, as writers lacking in critical spirit.²⁵ No one, however, in reading Cicero's letters need expect a connected detailed account of a situation, political or domestic, of a law or a legislative act, or the like, for these letters give information in fragmentary bits buried in a mass of other material. Cicero was not writing for publication but was communicating with friends, relatives, acquaintances, and political associates to whom the mere allusion to an event, a law, a person, or a phrase of literature was enough to suggest to their minds the matter he was discussing. Indeed to gain the true value from these letters one must know something of the details concerning these allusions. The letters might be considered a syllabus or an outline of the times.

To his brother his letters were generally advisory and philosophical in tone,- very brotherly, gentle, and full of excellent sympathetic advice.²⁶ Those to Tiro implored him to take care of his health and make a speedy recovery, for his

25 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd. ed. I, p.49.

26 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, pp.70-87 (2.Fr.I,1).

services were invaluable to Cicero both in private and public business, and in literary studies and composition.²⁷ His earlier letters to his wife, Terentia, show him a thoughtful father and husband sorrowful at having to leave his family during his exile or to join Pompey's side in the civil strife and solicitous for their comfort and welfare;²⁸ his later letters become almost perfunctory notes of four or five lines beginning quite frequently with the very formal statement, "If you are well, I am glad. I am well," and containing little else than a remark that Terentia attend to a matter of business and write him concerning it, or that she might obtain certain information from a person named in the letter, or that she care for her own health and that of her daughter. All the affectionate warmth of the earlier period seemingly is gone. The last letter to his wife, written sometime before their divorce, is little more than a curt command to have his villa in order for him and his guests.²⁹ To those unfortunate Optimates in exile because of Caesar's control of Rome, Cicero wrote deeply sympathetic letters expressing his sorrow over their unpleasant lot, discussing literature and philosophy with them, and mentioning such politics as it was safe to speak of when Rome was

27 Ibid., II, p. 209 (F XVI, 4).

28 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 142 (F XIV, 4) I, p. 245 (F XIV, 8).

29 Ibid., III, p. 40 (F XIV, 11), p. 45 (F XIV, 10), p. 49 (F XIV, 24), p. 54 (F XIV, 22) pp. 56-57 (F XIV, 20).

under the hand of a dictator.³⁰

To no one did he write as he did to Atticus who was his personal and trusted friend and whom he used as a sounding board for arguing himself into clearness on an issue which he must decide or into a justification of his conduct or action. To him he wrote with an abandonment which could be indulged in only when the writer had implicit confidence in the recipient of his letters. Whether Atticus returned the compliment,- was in turn as frank and all confiding as Cicero,- there is no way of knowing for not a single letter of his was published or at least has come down to us. They might have made easier the reading of the letters by providing a key to the allusions. In these letters to Atticus Cicero spoke of his joys, his worries, his aspirations, his thoughts of the moment. Their contents are the most reliable for he made no attempt at concealment.³¹ With other friends he confined himself more largely to the discussion of political affairs, of men interested in the political life of Rome, and of his and their association with that political life. To Atticus he also wrote of these things but he reserved for him almost solely the intimate chatty affairs of life. Seemingly no incident in Cicero's life was too trifling to discuss with Atticus or any service too

³⁰ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 129 (F VI,10, 4-6), pp. 186-189 (F VI,1), pp. 190-193 (F VI,4).

³¹ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 23 (A I,18) and Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell - Purser, 2nd Ed. IV, Introd., p. 12.

small or too large for Atticus to be asked to perform. He had full charge of all Cicero's finances;³² he saw that Terentia's dowry³³ was repaid and that she made her will.³⁴ He criticised and published Cicero's writings,³⁵ sent him books for reference,³⁶ and loaned his slaves to arrange Cicero's library.³⁷ He heard of the bitter disagreements of Cicero with his brother and nephew,³⁸ of his daughter's unfortunate marriage,³⁹ of his brother's quarrels with his wife who was Atticus' sister,⁴⁰ and of the despicable character of the nephew.⁴¹ When Cicero after his divorce from Terentia was looking about for a new wife, Atticus was consulted.⁴² When Cicero's beloved daughter died, it was Atticus again to whom he turned in the agony of his grief for consolation.⁴³ To appreciate fully the relationship of Cicero and Atticus, one must read the letters.

32 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 35 (A XI, 15).
Almost every letter in volume four directs Atticus to attend to his finances.

33 Ibid., III, p. 215 (A XII, 22).

34 Ibid., III, p. 38 (A XI, 17).

35 Ibid., III, p. 298 (A XIII, 22).

36 Ibid., III, p. 323 (A XIII, 39).

37 Ibid., I, p. 224 (A IV, 4b).

38 Ibid., III, p. 26 (A XI, 10), p. 32 (A XI, 13).

39 Ibid., III, p. 43 (A XI, 25), p. 44 (A XI, 23).

40 Ibid., I, p. 2 (A I, 5).

41 Ibid., III, contains many references to his nephew.
Ex. p. 348 (A XIII, 42).

42 Ibid., III, p. 146 (A XII, 11).

43 Ibid., III. From page 200 on, - letter after letter implores Atticus' aid in securing a suitable location for a shrine to her memory.

At times there are contradictions in the letters for Cicero frequently repeated what he heard without verifying it and rumor and gossip two thousand years ago differed not a whit in the misleading quality of its character from gossip and rumor of today. Indeed one of the most pleasurable features of the reading of the letters is the strong realization of just how little human nature or life has changed in its more basic principles since Cicero's day. Vice and virtue, fears and joys, sorrow and death have, as they appear in these letters, a strangely familiar aspect.

In the time of Cicero letters were either written on wood or ivory tablets covered with wax in which were cut uncial characters by the "stilus" (the projecting rim of the tablet protecting these characters from defacement) or were written on paper or parchment with a reed pen and ink. As the Romans used fine parchment for their books, it is not improbable that at least for his longer letters Cicero used the more suitable material, - paper or parchment. When the letter was finished it was bound together with a thread and sealed at the cord.⁴⁴ This seal⁴⁵ was regarded as a guarantee of the genuineness of

44 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd. Ed. I, Introd. p. 47. Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 224 (A IV, 4b). Taylor, Cicero, p. 414.

45 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 24 (A XI, 9), p. 4 (A XI, 2). Cicero used neither his seal nor his handwriting in writing from Pompey's camp in Epirus because he desired to avoid the military pickets.

a letter for the writing was generally in the hand of a slave⁴⁶ if the writer could afford one. The letter which began with a simple salutation had a brief outside address also. As there was no postal arrangement in the time of Cicero, he had either to employ private messengers or the letter-carriers of the publicani who were traveling constantly between Rome and the Provinces.⁴⁷

46 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 47 (A XI, 24).
Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd Ed. I,
pp. 47-48.

47 How letters were sent in Cicero's day is discussed in
Chapter V.

CHAPTER II. SOURCES FOR THE TEXT OF THE LETTERS.

-MANUSCRIPTS AND NOTED EDITIONS-

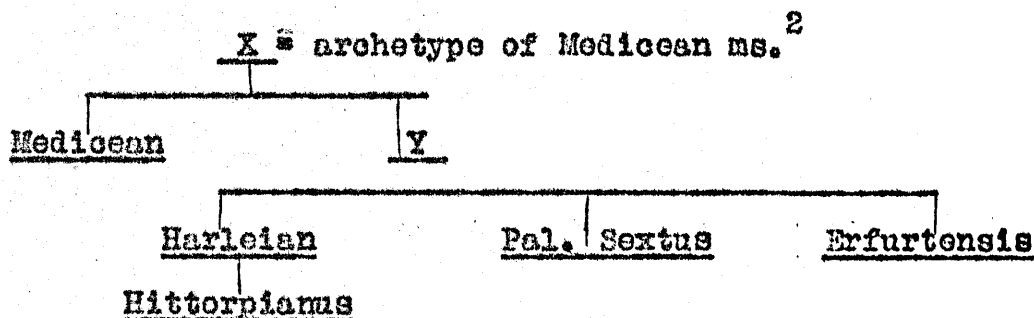
The basic source for the text of Cicero's letters are various manuscripts, the oldest of which dates back to the eleventh century A.D. - Cicero's last letter was written in 43 B.C.- The manuscripts are classified under two general headings, those having the "Epistolae ad Familiares" and those containing the "Epistolae ad Atticum, Quintum, et Brutum."

The most famous perhaps of the manuscripts "ad Familiares" is the Medicean one, which for years was supposed to have been found at Vercelli by Petrarch a few years after the finding of the "Epistolae ad Atticum, Quintum, et Brutum." He, however, did not find the Vercelli manuscript; in fact knew nothing about the letters "ad Familiares." The Vercelli Medicean codex, which is of the eleventh century, together with the copy made by Pasquino of Milan in 1389 for Coluccio Salutati, is now in the Laurentian Library at Florence, Italy.¹

The Harleian manuscripts which are in the British Museum are independent of the Medicean manuscript. From the archetype of the Medicean manuscript, which can be called "X" and which was in uncials, were copied both the Medicean manuscript and another manuscript which can be designated as "Y". This last,

1 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd. Ed., I. Introd., p. 74.

which is lost, was the parent of three German manuscripts, viz. Harleian, Palatinus Sextus, and Erfurtensis. The first of these was the original of the Hittorpianus. The accompanying diagram will aid in making clear the relationship of all these manuscripts of which only the Medicean and Harleian will be discussed in this paper.



The oldest and best of the Harleian codices is No. 2682, an eleventh century manuscript,³ which is written in single columns on rough parchment and which consists of 192 folios and 25 quaternions with thirty-two lines to the page and about eighty-two letters to the line. The handwriting which changes in folio 13, returns to the original hand in folio 14 but varies to a third hand which continues to folio 56 where a return is made to the first hand which finished the manuscript. But few corrections are found in a second hand.⁴ Harleian No. 2682 contains letters "ad Familiares" IX to XVI which are included along with other works of Cicero⁵ and which are complete

² Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 1st Ed., II, Introd.p.90

³ Ibid., On page 67 of volume II of the first edition, the thirteenth century is given while on page 75 of volume I of the second edition, the eleventh century is given.

⁴ Ibid., 1st. Ed., II, Introd. p. 67.

⁵ Ibid., II, pp. 57-76.

except for IX, 18 although the index refers to this number. There are indices to all books but X and XI. It is very unfortunate that there is no index to book XI because it might refer to the mysterious letter XI, 13a, which is about the unhappy people of Parma⁶ and of which there is extant but two words "Parmenses miserrimos" ("Oh most wretched people of Parma").⁷ No mention is made of this letter in the Harleian codices.⁸ From the Hospital of St. Nicolaus at Kues came originally the Harleian codex No. 2773 which is on parchment of folio size, is in two columns,⁹ and like No. 2682 is incomplete. In addition to the Ciceronian letters "ad Familiares" I.1 to VIII.9, (3), this manuscript contains a Latin-Greek Lexicon of about 1550 words, Diomedes (in very small letters), and a Mediaeval Latin poem about a Pope Johannes. While the "Epistolae ad Familiares" are all in correct order save for No. II,9 which is inserted a second time,¹⁰ there is a hiatus from a passage in letter No. I, 9, (20) to a passage in letter No. II, 1. The manuscript shows no distinction between books One and Two, and has no separate indices for each book. The initial letter of each epistle is in black ink. There are many corrections in a second hand which supplies omissions or underlines superfluous

6 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, II, p. 76.

7 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, footnote p. 222.
"Some editions number this piece of a letter F 11, 13b".

8 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 1st. Ed. II, Introd. p. 76.

9 Ibid., 2nd. Ed. I, Introd., p. 77.

10 Ibid., 1st. Ed. II, Introd., P. 61.

words, inserted by the copyist who, since he made mistakes in punctuation and copies what was before him, generally giving words which are Latin but which often fail to make sense, seems to belong to the twelfth century when copyists were not scholars.¹¹

Codex Turonensis, No. 688, in the Library at Tours, is a parchment manuscript of quarto size arranged in two columns and containing from "ad Familiares" I to "ad Familiares" VII, 32, (1). There is an omission extending from letter II, 16, (4) to letter IV, 3 (4). Neither of these two letters is complete. The text of this manuscript which belongs to the end of the fourteenth century, is not only independent of the Medicean manuscript but is a great improvement over it.¹²

The manuscript, Parisinus 178 (Fonds de Notre Dame, 178), which Rühl found in Paris is on parchment in double columns, belongs to the twelfth century, and contains "Epistolae ad Familiares" from I, 1 (1) to VIII, 8 (6). The first letters of each epistle were originally in black but were afterwards altered to red. Most of the corrections are by a later hand than the copyist. This manuscript which is closely connected with the Turonensis one,¹³ has no value independent of the Medicean.¹⁴

11 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 1st. Ed. II, Introd., pp. 61-62.

12 Ibid., 2nd. Ed. I, Introd. pp. 78-79.

13 Ibid., 1st. Ed. II, Introd. pp. 60-61.

14 Ibid., 2nd. Ed., I, p. 83.

Preëminent among the manuscripts for the "Epistolae ad Atticum, Quintum, et Brutum" is the Medicean Codex in the Laurentian Library at Florence. In 1345 at Verona Petrarch discovered a manuscript containing the "Letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus". He immediately transcribed the whole but his transcript has been lost. The copy now in the library was made eighteen years after Petrarch's death for Salutati by Pasquino of Milan.¹⁵ In the Medicean manuscript No. 49, 18 written in 1389 A. D. there is besides the original hand that of a revising hand.¹⁶

There are a number of additional manuscripts for the "Letters to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus". Some are but fragmentary and one is known only through marginal notes.

The Codex Urbina 322 is a manuscript of the fifteenth century preserved at the Vatican Library.¹⁷

Codex l. 5. 34 which is in the University Library at Turin, Italy, and is of the fifteenth century, shows besides the writing of the first hand that of a revising hand.¹⁸

"C" is the name given to a manuscript of which there is no knowledge except that obtainable from the marginal read-

15 Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship, II, p. 97.

16 Cicero's Letters to Atticus, ed. and tr. E. O. Winstedt, III, Introd. p. 9.

17 Ibid., I, Introd. p. 9.

18 Ibid., III, p. 9.

ings of Cratander's edition of 1528. It was independent of the Medicean.¹⁹

"W"-- Some leaves of a manuscript of this letter are preserved at Munich. Others are at Würzburg. They contain portions of books XI to XII. As they coincide with marginal notes of Cratander's edition, they are supposed to have formed a part of manuscript "C".²⁰

Of the Codex Toraesianus, which is lost, all that is known is derived from notes of Lambinus and from a few quotations from Turnebus.²¹

Codex Antonianus and Codex Faerninus, both used by Malaspina,²² must be viewed with suspicion as far as trustworthiness as a source is concerned.²³

Codex ex abbatis Florentina No. 14 in the Laurentian Library, was written in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.²⁴

In the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris is a Latin manuscript No. 8536 of the fifteenth century.²⁵

The manuscripts, both for "Epistolae ad Familiares" and "ad Atticum, Quintum, et Brutum," which have been mentioned, are those listed by Winstedt and Tyrrell as having been con-

19 Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Winstedt, III, p. 10;
Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd. Ed. I, Introd.
p. 83.

20 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, p. 83.

21 Ibid., p. 83.

22 Cicero, Letters to Atticus, Edited and tr. E. O.
Winstedt, II, Introd. p. 9.

23 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd. Ed. I,
Introd. p. 85.

24 Cicero, Letters to Atticus, Ed. and Tr. Winstedt, II,
p. 9.

25 Ibid., II, p. 9.

sulted and compared by Latin scholars of the past in compiling their editions of Cicero's letters, so that the text of the letters might be made as correct as possible. Even still there are many passages in the letters that puzzle the scholars as to what is really meant. Emendations have been made, it is true, but even some of these are far from making the reading a satisfactory one. When the ignorance, the carelessness, and the indifference of many of the monk copyists of the Middle Ages is considered, it is not surprising that mistakes are found in these manuscripts. Copying in many cases was just so much of a daily task prescribed by a superior in the monastery. Doubtless at times the work did become dull and worse than monotonous and irksome; then too perhaps the manuscript being copied was not as legible or free from mistakes as it might have been. Let conditions be what they were, the fact remains that mistakes were made and scholars still are attempting to eliminate them. Since one of the primary requirements for any document to be used as a historical source is that it state the true facts, a student of history can readily appreciate how important for the historical use of Cicero's letters have been these corrections by scholars, which have been made possible through the possession of various manuscripts that overlap and supplement one another.

There have been a number of very interesting, outstanding, and important editions of Cicero's letters, both ancient and modern. The earliest edition of the "ad Familiares" was

printed in Rome in 1467 by Sweynheym and Pannartz.²⁶ There are other ancient editions: the "Editio Neopolitana" of 1474; the edition of Victorius, - one published in Venice in 1536 and another in Florence in 1588; and the edition preserved in the library at Zürich, of which the time and the place of publication are unknown because the last leaf of the copy is lost.²⁷ The oldest editions of "ad Atticum, Quintum, et Brutum" are the "Editio Romana" printed in Rome in 1470 by Sweynheym and Pannartz and edited by Jo. Andreas de Buxis,²⁸ and the "Editio Iensoniana" published in Venice in 1470. Both are founded on the Medicean manuscript, - the first mentioned, "Romana" giving generally the reading "a prima manu" and the second, "Iensoniana" presenting, as a rule, the marginal or superscribed corrections.²⁹

There are four well known modern editions of the letters. Teubner published in 1872 in Leipzig an edition of the letters by A. S. Wesenberg in two volumes. Seven years later in London there appeared volume one of the first edition of the entire correspondence of Cicero in chronological order, edited in Latin in seven volumes by R. Y. Tyrrell, assisted by L. C. Purser. Volumes one and two of the first edition and volume one of the second edition were edited by Tyrrell while

26 Sandys, Classical Scholarship, II, p. 103.

27 Correspondence of Cicero. Tyrrell, 2nd. Ed. I, p. 83.

28 Sandys, Classical Scholarship, II, p. 103.

29 Correspondence of Cicero, Tyrrell, 2nd. Ed. I, p. 86.

the remaining volumes of both editions were the work of both Tyrrell and Purser. The first of the four volumes of E. S. Shuckburgh's English translation of the Ciceronian letters was published in 1899 in London. E. O. Winstedt has edited in Latin and translated into English in three volumes the letters of Cicero to Atticus. Volume one came from the press in 1912.

A comparison of about fifty letters of Cicero to Atticus in the Winstedt and in the Shuckburgh English translations revealed but slight disagreement and that mainly in phrasing rather than in meaning. Of the twenty differences noted the following one was perhaps the most pronounced: "I declare that it is impossible for him (Octavian) to be a good citizen." Shuckburgh;³⁰ and "I behold that it is impossible for a loyal citizen to do so" (To call Octavius Caesar.]. Winstedt.³¹ Shuckburgh justified his translation by stating that it was improbable that Cicero who had consented to the confirmation of Caesar's public acts would have rejected the disposition of his private property. When Octavius was adopted by Caesar in his will he took over Caesar's name. Shuckburgh in the Latin phrase "bonum civem esse" retained the "esse" otherwise he would have had the same statement as Winstedt.³²

30 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 21 (A XIV, 21)

31 Cicero, Letters to Atticus, Winstedt, III, p. 241 (A XIV, 21).

32 Shuckburgh, IV, p. 21, footnote.

CHAPTER III. ELUSIVE NATURE OF THE LETTERS AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE.

Perhaps the best way to indicate what the reader of Cicero's letters must expect to encounter in reading them in chronological order would be to give a short synopsis of a small portion of the correspondence. In order to illustrate more clearly the fragmentary nature of the information and to show how a particular fact is just one of many other details, a rather insignificant little incident will be reviewed as it appears in each of four letters to Atticus. Following each reference to this episode will come the details which separate it from the next mention of the same incident. For clearness and ease in setting forth these episodes the title, "The Financial Dealings in the Provinces of Such Influential Men as Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Brutus," will be given.

Brutus had among his intimate acquaintances certain creditors of the people in Salamis in Cyprus, M. Scaptius and P. Matinus whom he most earnestly recommended to Cicero. Upon Scaptius appealing to him, Cicero for the sake of Brutus promised to see that the Salaminians paid their debt but refused to grant Scaptius a prefecture because he never gave one to a man engaged in business. Appius, Cicero's immediate predecessor in the governorship, had made Scaptius a praefectus

and had assigned to him a squadron of cavalry to coerce the Salaminians into paying. As he was harrying the people of Salamis, Cicero ordered the cavalry to quit Cyprus, and in order to appease Scaptius, who now felt aggrieved, he commanded the Salaminians to pay the debt. When he brought pressure to bear upon them, they agreed to settle their indebtedness. Then there arose the question of the rate of interest. By his provincial edict Cicero had declared the legal rate to be twelve per cent besides the yearly addition to the capital of the accrued interest. As the rate in the bond was forty-eight per cent, Scaptius refused less and attempted to produce a senatorial decree which was made in the consulship of Lentulus and Philippus and which stated: "The governor of Cilicia should recognize the bond." Cicero then recalled the circumstance under which the debt was contracted. When the Salaminians wished to raise the bond at Rome, they were prevented from doing so by the Gabinian Law. At this point Brutus' friends relying on his influence, had agreed to advance the money if they were secured by a senatorial decree. Through the help of Brutus a decree passed the senate to the effect, "That the Salaminians and those who lent the money should be indemnified." When the money had been paid, it

later occurred to the lenders that the senate's decree would not secure them because the Gabinian law forbade a legal decision being based on a bond. Therefore another senatorial decree was passed which read, "That this bond should be recognized in giving judgment."

When Cicero called these details to Scaptius' attention and stated that the last senatorial decree gave this bond as much but no more validity than other bonds, Scaptius informed him that the Salaminians were under the impression that their debt was two hundred talents and that he was willing to accept this amount although the real sum was much less. He begged Cicero to induce them to pay the first sum. When Cicero consulted the Salaminians without the presence of Scaptius, they insisted that the debt was but one hundred and six talents. Whereupon Cicero ordered Scaptius and the Salaminians to check their figures together. They finally agreed to a penny and begged Scaptius to accept the money. But the latter, taking Cicero aside, asked him to leave the matter undecided. He agreed and refused the protesting Salaminians' demands that they might deposit their money in a temple.¹

¹ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shoukburgh, II, pp. 128-131 (A V, 21).

Here ends the narrating of this episode except Cicero gave reasons why neither Brutus nor Cato should censure him because of his method in handling the situation. Then in the same letter from here on he discussed the choosing of a husband for his daughter and the date of the return of his brother, Quintus. This letter ends on page 132. Then follows a one paged letter to the proprætor of Bithynia and Pontus to whom he commended M. Laenius who had business in his province.² On page 133 begins another letter to Atticus which Cicero started by stating that Appius who had governed the province with extreme cruelty, who had removed everything he could, and who had handed the district over to him in an exhausted state, was disgruntled because Cicero was ruling for the welfare of the provincials. Then follows a discussion of Brutus' interests in the province.

"The Financial Dealings in the Provinces of Such Influential Men as Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Brutus."

King Ariobarzanes, who was under the guardianship of the governor of Cilicia, owed money to both Brutus and Pompey. To the latter he paid on every thirteenth day thirty Attic talents (about \$39,000). raised by special taxes. This sum was not sufficient to pay even the monthly interest. Pompey, being an

² Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 132 (F. XIII, 13).

easy creditor, was satisfied to wait for his capital and was content to receive a part of his interest. Brutus, however, was bitterly disappointed because the king did not pay him. Cicero defended himself, because he did not succeed in obtaining the money for Brutus, by stating that the king paid no one but Pompey, nor could he do otherwise, for no place could be stripped cleaner than his kingdom and nobody could be needier than the king. Continually Cicero sent chiding and urging letters to the king to pay Brutus. At last, Cicero as he had promised Brutus through Atticus, conferred prefectures on Scaptius and L. Gavius, who were acting as Brutus' agents in the kingdom of Ariobarzanes, because this territory was outside of Cicero's province.

Now for the Salaminian controversy. Brutus at first had led Cicero to believe that the Salaminians owed the money to his friends, Scaptius and P. Matinus, whose surety he had gone for a large amount. Cicero at length succeeded in arranging that the debt should be paid with interest for six years at the rate of twelve per cent which should be added yearly to the principal. Scaptius, however, demanded forty-eight per cent and at this juncture produced a letter from Brutus stating that his own property was being

imperilled--a fact which Brutus had not told Cicero-- and asking that a praefecture be conferred on Scaptius who had been a praefectus to Appius and who with a squadron of cavalry had kept the local senate under so close a siege in their own council chamber that five had died of starvation. On the first day of Cicero's entrance into his province, having previously been visited by Cyprian legates at Ephesus, he sent orders for the cavalry to quit Cyprus at once. Cicero deplored the fact that Brutus and Scaptius both felt unkindly toward him but was of the opinion that if they had not been such grasping money lenders, Brutus would have had his money, for Cicero had given Scaptius in his court full opportunity to take away the whole sum allowed by his edict. The interest ought to have ceased to run (that is the interest allowed under his edict) but Cicero had induces the Salaminians to say nothing about it in order to do a little toward conciliating Brutus who was writing in a tone of hauteur, arrogance, and offensive superiority.³

After stating that he hoped Atticus would not feel unkindly toward him because he could not please Brutus, Cicero turned

³ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 133-137 (A VI, 1).

abruptly to other topics. From there on to the end of the letter, page 146, he wrote (sometimes he merely mentioned; again he commented to some extent) about a disputed point in history; about two letters recently mailed to Atticus telling of his capture of Pindenissus; about a suitor for his daughter's hand; about the dispositions of his son and nephew; about the details of the death of a robber chieftain; about the probability of his buying some Rhodian ware; about Atticus' economic dinners served on gold plate; about the threatening Parthian invasion; about the contents of his, Cicero's, edict; about how he managed to secure payment of debts owed by the provincials without losing the good will of either the debtors or the publicani; about the amusing, almost ridiculous, historical blunder made by a Metellus Scipio who had a replica made of the statue of Africanus for that of his great-grandfather and had set it upon the Capitol; about certain named historians who had made historical blunders in their books; about a debt owed by himself and to be paid by his freedman; about a sentence at the end of Atticus' last letter; about M. Caelius Rufus' demands that Cicero send him panthers and tax the provincials for his games at Rome; about Cicero's appreciation of the regard expressed for him by Atticus' wife and daughter; about the sale of a piece of property in Rome; about the collection of a debt owed by Caesar to Atticus; about a gay foppish young Roman traveling in Cilicia; and about Cicero's desire to build at Athens, as a memorial to himself,

a propylaeum, such as Appius was building for himself at Eleusis.⁴ This letter to Atticus is followed by two letters of recommendation to the proprætor of Asia⁵ and by a letter to M. Caelius Rufus, telling him that the panthers, on hearing that they were wanted, had wisely fled from the province and expressing to him Cicero's longing for Rome and his friends there.⁶ Then comes the next letter to Atticus which begins by Cicero's discussion of his brother Quintus and his nephew, of his reason for thinking that all the Peloponnesian states had a sea coast, and of the improvement in Cilicia because of his wise administration. Then again the Brutus debt problem is spoken of.

"The Financial Dealings in the Provinces of Such Influential Men, as Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Brutus."

While the king [Ariobarzanes] was with Cicero for three or four days, he continually urged him to pay Brutus. When he returned to his kingdom, he sent letters beseeching him to pay. On account of the distance Cicero was unable to bring pressure to bear on him. He had, however, brought some pressure on the Salaminians who had consented to pay the en-

4 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 137-146 (A VI, 1).

5 Ibid., II, pp. 146-147 (F XIII, 54) and (F XIII, 57).

6 Ibid., II, p. 148 (F II, 11).

tire debt with interest calculated at one per cent per month and not added to the capital each month but only at the end of each year. The money was actually paid down but Scaptius refused it, demanding forty-eight per cent as in his bond and quoting a decree of the senate "that the money should be recoverable on the bond." The intention of this decree was to cover the case of the Salaminians having borrowed money contrary to the lex Gabinia. As Aulus' law forbade the recovery of money so borrowed, the senate accordingly decreed that it should be recoverable on that particular bond, whose validity was exactly the same as all other bonds but not of a greater degree.

Atticus wrote to Cicero urging him to give Scaptius fifty men of the cavalry so that he could coerce the Salaminians into paying. Cicero reminded Atticus that Scaptius when he had been a praeфекtus under Appius and had had a squadron of cavalry, had kept the Salaminian senators shut up in their chamber so many days that some had died of starvation. The chief men of Salamis had met Cicero at Ephesus and had described the abominable conduct of the cavalry and the people's misery. Cicero had thereupon sent a letter ordering the cavalry to leave Cyprus on a fixed day. He saw no need of an

armed force, unless the forty-eight per cent was to be collected, for the Salaminians had offered payment.

The remainder of the letter contains but a short paragraph discussing briefly a number of men active in political life.⁷ Between this letter and the next one to Atticus, are thirteen pages containing various letters. One is to M. Caelius Rufus in which Cicero discusses Appius, Pompey, Caesar, and his own administration of Cilicia.⁸ Another is a letter of advice to the proprætor of Asia concerning the policy he could exercise toward his quaestor who was well qualified for the office and had influential relatives at Rome.⁹ Two are short letters of recommendations to Gaius Memmius of Mitylene, an acquaintance of Cicero.¹⁰ The next one, which is five pages long, was written to placate Appius Claudius Pulcher whose never too friendly feeling toward Cicero had grown almost into animosity because of Cicero's determined endeavor to rule for the good of the provincials.¹¹ The letter following is one of welcome to a man who had been appointed quaestor to Cicero.¹² The last one before the next letter to Atticus is to M. Caelius Rufus stating that Cicero's term as governor would soon expire and

7 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 149-154 (A VI, 2).

8 Ibid., II, pp. 154-156 (F II, 13).

9 Ibid., II, pp. 156-157 (F II, 18).

10 Ibid., II, p. 158 (F XIII, 2); (F XIII, 3).

11 Ibid., II, pp. 159-164 (F III, 10).

12 Ibid., II, pp. 164-165 (F II, 19).

advising Caelius "never to leave Rome, the city full of life."¹³ Atticus' letter begins with a discussion of whom Cicero should leave in Cilicia at the end of his term to take charge of the province until his successor arrived, and with a demand that Atticus send him a sketch of the whole condition of public affairs at Rome. Then once more and for the last time he mentioned the Brutus affair.

"The Financial Dealings in the Provinces of Influential Men Such as Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Brutus."

The Cyprians were ready to pay but Scaptius refused twelve per cent and compound interest reckoned yearly. Cicero would not give Scaptius a cavalry with which to bully the Cyprians.

Ariobarzanes, who was no more inclined to pay Pompey for his own sake than Brutus for Cicero's, had paid Brutus one hundred talents which was more in proportion to the amount of the debt due Brutus than Pompey had received from the king who had borrowed far more heavily from Pompey. Still Brutus was dissatisfied and still Cicero urged the king to do more for Brutus.

Two of Brutus' agents to whom Cicero had offered prefectures outside of Cilicia refused them

¹³ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 166 (F II, 12).

and afterwards treated him with scant courtesy.¹⁴

By comparing the last three accounts with the first one, it will be noted that these contain reiterations and omissions of some of the details of the first, and supplementary information, which if added to the first account of the incident would give a narrative of the episode clearer and fuller than any one of the four accounts. If Cicero had been writing a review of the incident for future reference, he would have made a single, clear, straight forward statement of the episode and then the reader would have found none of the ambiguity which exists as the accounts now stand. Cicero's reason for mentioning the affair four times was to justify himself to Atticus who was a friend of Brutus. Each time he mentioned just such a part of the details as was necessary to meet the objections expressed or implied in letters received from Atticus. Much of the ambiguity is the result of the details being given in a slightly different form. This is especially true of the way in which he states the interest is to be paid. At first reading the reader is just a little puzzled and wonders if a change in method of paying the interest is being discussed in the new statement of the controversy but upon reading finds that Cicero was merely expressing the same idea but in a different form. Always in reading Cicero's correspondence it must be borne in mind that he was not writing for publication but to those who

14 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 167-170
(A VI, 3).

were well enough acquainted with the events of the day to be able to follow his arguments and statements quite understandingly.

In addition to the episode mentioned above, many other interesting facts were obtained from reading the forty-two pages which had to be read before the last of the Brutus controversy was covered. Perhaps the seven most outstanding are these:

1. A senatorial decree was passed at Rome at the very time Cicero and Brutus were arguing over the twelve per cent interest rate to the effect that in the matter of money lenders twelve per cent simple interest was to be the rate.¹⁵

2. The contents of Cicero's edict were mentioned. As this edict will be discussed under provincial government no further comment will be made concerning it at this time.¹⁶

3. Cicero was able to maintain the friendly regard of both the provincial debtors and the publicani by declaring that if the debt was paid on a set date he would allow only twelve per cent interest to be collected but if the debt was paid later, then the rate demanded by the publicani must be paid. The result was that the debtors paid and the publicani rejoiced to be able to collect the money at even a lower interest than originally arranged by them. This scheme was effective if not strictly legal according to our modern ideas of the way in which a governor should abide by a law or decree

15 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 13 (A V, 21).

16 Ibid., II, p. 140 (A VI, 1).

as it is promulgated.¹⁷

4. M. Caelius Rufus' demand that Cicero tax the provincials in order to secure money for his (Caelius Rufus') games to be given to the populus at Rome during his aedileship, indicates how the average Roman official looked upon the province.¹⁸

5. Governors of provinces often built a memorial to themselves as Appius, Cicero's predecessor, did in building the propylæum at Eleusis.¹⁹

6. Not only did Roman provincial officials and the publicani make burdensome money demands from the provinces but the provincial native Greek magistrates in Cilicia practiced peculation.²⁰

7. Lex Cornelia regulated the expense which could be incurred by provincials in sending legates to Rome to vouch for the retiring governor's good service to the province.²¹

17 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 141 (A VI, 1).

18 Ibid., II, p. 143 (A VI, 1).

19 Ibid., II, p. 146 (A VI, 2).

20 Ibid., II, p. 151 (A VI, 2).

21 Ibid., II, p. 161 (F III, 10).

CHAPTER IV. ART, BUILDING, LITERATURE.

Meager indeed are the details of art contained in the Ciceronian letters. Apelles, who painted Alexander the Great, had a Venus whose head and bust he had perfected with elaborate care but the rest of whose body he had left entirely in the rough;¹ Lysippus, a sculptor surpassing all others of his time, made a statue of that youthful but great Macedonian King,² and Protogenes had his Ialysus.³ Atticus owned a bust of Aristotle⁴ and Cicero purchased for his villas Megaric statues and a Hermae of Pentellic marble with bronze heads.⁵ Favorite subjects for statues were the Bacchae, the Muses, Mars, Saturn, and Mercury.⁶ The Romans preserved the likeness of their friends and relatives in small portrait busts.⁷ Next door to Cicero's house in Rome was the porticus or colonnade of Catulus.⁸ On the Capitol were three statues of Africanus; the first one was at a high elevation in the temple of Ops without any inscription save cens; the second one was near the Hercules of Polyoles and contained in addition to cens words to identify it as being that of Africanus; the third one was near a group of gilded

1 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 229 (F V, 12), p. 317 (F I, 9).

2 Ibid., I, p. 229 (F V, 12).

3 Ibid., I, p. 117 (A II, 21).

4 Ibid., I, p. 249 (A IV, 10).

5 Ibid., I, p. 7 (A I, 8).

6 Ibid., I, p. 256 (F VII, 23).

7 Ibid., II, p. 145 (A VI, 1).

8 Ibid., I, p. 191 (A IV, 2), p. 194 (A IV, 3).

equestrian statues with the name Serapio upon it. An amusing story is connected with this last. Metellus, of Cicero's own day, mistaking one of the two statues as that of his great-grandfather, had a replica made of it and inscribed with his relative's name. Cicero maintained that if Metellus had observed that the attitude, dress, ring, and likeness of the two original statues were the same and had known that his ancestor had never been a censor, he would not have made such a blunder.⁹

During even the turbulent days of the civil strife resulting from Brutus' slaying of Caesar, the senate was prevailed upon by Cicero to restore a statue of Minerva which had been blown down in a storm.¹⁰

Meager as the information in these letters is concerning the private buildings of Cicero's day nevertheless it is both interesting and valuable in that it reveals the domestic aspect of the Romans of whom formal history has so often presented only the legal and political view. A wealthy Roman owned not only a town house but also one or more suburban villas to which he went at times to escape the restless turmoil of Rome.¹¹

The road in front of the villa was built by the owner of the property.¹² Conducts carried water from springs or other sources for irrigation; fish-ponds provided diversion for idle

9 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 141-142 (A VI, 1)

10 Ibid., IV, p. 185 (F XII, 25).

11 Ibid., I, p. 326 (A IV, 18).

12 Ibid., I, p. 293 (Q Fr. III, 1).

hours; spouting fountains and statues at intervals in the garden gave a touch of formal beauty; a palaestra was a prime requirement for any dwelling;¹³ and at times ambitious landscape gardeners covered the foundation-walls of the villa and the spaces between the walk with ivy.¹⁴ Hot-beds,¹⁵ an aviary,¹⁶ a garden-wall, a garden-shed, a sun dial,¹⁷ a shrubbery, a paved colonnade,¹⁸ all were desirable features of a Roman home whose interior is much more difficult to construct from facts obtained from the letters than is its exterior. Cicero's Tusculan villa contained some sitting rooms in a miniature colonnade in which pictures were used for decoration.¹⁹ Engraved stone-curbs, medallions let into the walls of entrance courts,²⁰ and statues, such as the Megaric statues and a Hermae of Pentellic marble with bronze heads purchased by Atticus for Cicero,²¹ supplied the desire for ornamentation. Columns, arched roofs,²² and gables²³ added variety to the design or style of the dwelling while a court²⁴ was an accepted part of every Roman house. A fair-sized bedroom and also a lofty one for use in winter,

13 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 292 (Q. Fr. III, 1), p. 338 (Q. Fr. III, 9), p. 256 (F VII, 23). A palaestra was a sort of gymnasium.

14 Ibid., I, p. 293 (Q. Fr. III, 1).

15 Ibid., III, p. 355 (F XVI, 18).

16 Ibid., I, p. 291 (Q. Fr. III, 1).

17 Ibid., III, pp. 355-356 (F. XVI, 18).

18 Ibid., I, pp. 291-292 (Q. Fr. III, 1).

19 Ibid., I, p. 256 (F. VII, 23).

20 Ibid., I, p. 8 (A I, 10).

21 Ibid., I, p. 7 (A I, 8).

22 Ibid., I, p. 292 (Q. Fr. III, 1).

23 Ibid., I, p. 296 (Q. Fr. III, 1).

24 Ibid., I, p. 291 (Q. Fr. III, 1).

both on the side of the promenade nearest the bath, were valuable assets in Cicero's estimation. He preferred in the bath that the hot-chamber be so placed that the steam-pipe would not be immediately under the bedrooms.²⁵ Even in the days of the slowly expiring republic architects found it necessary to justify their deeds. Cyrus, the designer of one of Cicero's villas, advanced the theory that the view of the gardens through broad lights was unpleasant. He corrected this defect by using narrow windows.²⁶

The letters reveal even less about public buildings than about private ones. The Senate which might be summoned to the Curia, also meet at times in the temple of Apollo and in the temple of Jupiter.²⁷ Pompey made his first public speech in the circus Flaminius.²⁸ In 50 B. C. the consul Paullus restored a basilica using the same columns which had been used in the ancient building and constructing on a most magnificent scale the part which he added. In 54 B. C. plans were made to spend about two and a half million dollars in enlarging the forum and extending it up to the Hall of Liberty. In the Campus Martius covered marble voting places, surrounded with a lofty colonnade a mile in circumference, were to be erected for the comitia tributa. At the same time the Villa Publica was to be

25 Cicero. Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 292 (Q. Fr. III, 1). This illustrates the ambiguity of the letters for it is impossible to tell from the text whether "lofty" means high ceiling or second story.

26 Ibid. I, p. 68 (A II, 3).

27 Ibid., I, p. 214 (Q. Fr. II, 3); IV, p. 207 (F. X, 12).

28 Ibid., I, p. 33 (A I, 14).

connected with these new edifices.²⁹ In 45 B. C. Caesar planned to cover the Campus Martius with buildings, to lay out a new Campus Martius in the Vatican plain, and to divert the Tiber, starting from the Milvian bridge along the Vatican Hills.³⁰

Besides the temples already referred to there were the temples of Ops,³¹ of Tellus,³² of Strenia,³³ and of Mars.³⁴

In the field of literature the correspondence conveys fuller details than in art, for here Cicero was not only a reader who read with no small pleasure and understanding but also an author who wrote with no little ability. In short he was both an observer and a participant. Cicero's knowledge of writers was not a narrow one nor was it limited to one type of literature, for he knew something of history, of poetry, and of philosophy. Especially interesting are his comments on authors and their books, on his own literary productions, and on noted historical personages whom he often used to illustrate some remark he was making. The letters have many quotations.

The meagerness of the facts about the various authors makes it difficult to arrange them into paragraphs. Dicaearchus, who was a remarkable man and who emphasized a life of action, wrote the "Soul", the "Descent", "Tripoliticus", the "Constitu-

29 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 283 (A IV, 16, 17).
In a footnote on p. 283 of this volume I, Shuckburgh states that this work planned by the censors and the senate was partially carried out by Caesar but was not completed until the time of Augustus.

30 Ibid., III, p. 300 (A XIII, 33, 4, 5).

31 Ibid., IV, p. 41 (A XIV, 18).

32 Ibid., IV, p. 156 (A XVI, 14).

33 Ibid., IV, p. 91 (A XV, 26).

34 Ibid., I, p. 331 (Q, Fr. III, 7).

tion of Pellene," the "Constitution of Corinth," the "Constitution of Athens," and a letter to Aristoxenus.³⁵ Theophrastus, a historian and an exponent of a life of ease, wrote "de Ambitione"³⁶ while Antisthenes, Panaetius, Phraedrus, and Demetrius of Magnesia were the authors respectively of "Cyrus Books IV and V",³⁷ "On Foresight",³⁸ "On Gods",³⁹ and "On Concord".⁴⁰ The Greek historians Callisthenes, who wrote about the Phocian War, Timaeus, who described the war of Pyrrhus, and Polybius, who treated the war of Numantia, all separated their wars from the main context.⁴¹ Eratosthenes was given ^{to} the original research for he disproved the accepted statement that Eupolis, a poet of old comedy, had been drowned by being thrown into the sea by Alcibiades, by producing a poem written subsequent to that event.⁴² Brutus, the writer of an epitome of the annals of Caelius,⁴³ Lucceius, the historian of the "Italian and Civil War",⁴⁴ and Tubero the author of "Annals" and a member of the staff of Quintus Cicero in Asia,⁴⁵ were contemporaries of Cicero as was also Varro who wrote "Peplographia" and an

35 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 67 (A II, 2), p. 106 (A II, 16); III, p. 269 (A XIII, 32).

Dicaearchus of Messene was a contemporary of Aristotle, fn. p. 67.

36 Ibid., I, p. 106 (A II, 16), p. 70 (A II, 3).

Successor to Aristotle at the Lyceum in Athens Shuckburgh, Vol. I, fn. p. 97.

37 Ibid., III, p. 241 (A XII, 38).

38 Ibid., III, p. 278 (A XIII, 8).

39 Ibid., III, p. 323 (A XIII, 39).

40 Ibid., II, p. 301 (A VIII, 12).

41 Ibid., I, p. 227 (F V, 12).

42 Ibid., II, p. 142 (A VI, 1).

43 Ibid., III, p. 278 (A XIII, 8).

44 Ibid., I, p. 227 (F V, 12).

45 Ibid., I, p. 73 (Q. Fr. I, 1).

"Essay on the Style of Heracleides"⁴⁶ and whose writings together with those of Libo and Vennonius,⁴⁷ were used for references by Cicero. Xenophon, who described Cyrus and the Spartan Agesilaus not as historical characters but as examples of rulers administrating a "righteous government" with dignity and courtesy, wrote so well and praiseworthy of the latter that the account "has proved much more effective than portraits and statues."⁴⁸ Aristotle, author of "On the Republic" and "On the Eminent Man" and Theopompus, acid in style, both directed words of advice to Alexander.⁴⁹ Philistatus,- "the Sicilian, r. a first-rate writer, terse, sagacious, concise, almost a minor Thucydides" wrote of the life of Dionysius whom he knew intimately and who was an intriguer of no small scale.⁵⁰

In spite of their many flashes of genius Cicero believed that the poems of Lucretius were very technical.⁵¹ Because of the elegance of language the plays of Terence were thought to have been written by Laelius.⁵² Cicero's opinion of a

46 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 274 (A IV, 14); IV, p. 149 (A XVI, 11).

47 Ibid., III, pp. 310-311 (A XIII, 44), p. 84 (A XII, 3), p. 269 (A XIII, 32).

48 Ibid., I, p. 78 (Q. Fr. I, 11), p. 129 (Q. Fr. I, 2), p. 229 (F V, 12).

49 Ibid., I, p. 328 (Q. Fr. III, 5,6), p. 92 (A II, 6); III, p. 243 (A XII, 40).

50 Ibid., I, p. 271 (Q. Fr. II, 11, 13) Cicero considered Callisthenes, a Greek historian of the fourth century, "a commonplace and hackneyed piece of business, like a good many Greeks", as contrasted with Philistatus.

51 Ibid., I, p. 266 (Q. Fr. II, 9).

52 Ibid., II, p. 221 (A VII, 3).

certain work of Sallust showed the human side of the great orator and statesman. He said of it, "If you [his brother, Quintus] succeed in reading the Empedoclea of Sallustius, I shall regard you as a hero, yet scarcely human".⁵³ In speaking of Plato, whom Cicero regarded as the master of all genius and learning, the letters disclose that Plato believed that only philosophers and scholars as rulers, or rulers who had adopted philosophy and learning, could bring happiness and salvation to a state; that he abstained from politics because the Athenian people, being in their dotage, could not be ruled by persuasion but only by compulsion which he considered criminal; that he taught that the chief men of the state by their actions determined the kind of individual the average man would be; and that his "Republic" was used by Cicero as a model for his own book of that name.⁵⁴

Cicero, through his terse comments on noted personages of the past, becomes for brief instances an unconscious historian. Themistocles, who believed, as did Pompey, that the master of the sea must inevitably be the master of the empire was, in spite of his unusual ability for forecasting the course of events, unable either to avoid the jealousy of the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians or to determine the kind of promise to make to Artaxerxes, and so died in exile.⁵⁵ Hippias, the son of

⁵³ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 266 (Q. Fr. II, 9).

⁵⁴ Ibid., V, I, p. 281 (A IV, 16, 17), p. 315 (F I, 9), p. 318 (F I, 9), p. 81 (Q. Fr. I, 1).

⁵⁵ Ibid., II, p. 380-382 (A X, 8).

Pisistratus, was killed in the battle of Marathon fighting against his country.⁵⁶ Alexander battled with Darius at Issus.⁵⁷ Sulla's movement of reform while excellent in principle failed because it lacked moderation in its execution.⁵⁸ Under Solon of Greece the man neutral during civil strife was punished by disfranchisement.⁵⁹ Beside these historical facts there are fragmentary bits of information that defy combining into a paragraph.

Cicero was the author of a number of books, the principal ones of which are mentioned in his correspondence with his friends. Politics, however, overshadowed his literary interests as they did every other interest of his life, for Cicero was preeminently a devotee of statecraft.

In the first edition of his "Academica" containing the doctrines of Antiochus, the speakers were Catulus, Lucullus, and Hortensius. As Cicero later decided that these were not well versed in the subject, he replaced them by Cato and Brutus. Finally, at the urging of Atticus, he transferred the entire argument to Varro because it suited him better, and dedicated this second edition of the book to him. The work was written in dialogue form. In this revision, "more brilliant and concise" and twice the size of the first, Cicero, believed that he had so thoroughly elaborated the subject of philosophy that there was

56 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 334 (A IX, 10).

57 Ibid., II, p. 87 (A V, 20).

58 Ibid., III, p. 52 (A X 1, 21).

59 Ibid., II, p. 358 (A X, 1).

nothing even among the Greek writers that compared with it.⁶⁰
 In "de Finibus" about which he said little and which he developed in dialogue form, using as speakers men of the past in order not to arouse the jealousy of the men of his time, Cicero discussed the Epicurean, Stoic, and Peripatetic philosophies.⁶¹

In 54 B. C. Cicero was working on his "Republic" which was "very bulky and laborious", involving a "subject wide, difficult," and requiring more time than Cicero had to give. He had completed two books in which he had represented the conversation as occurring in the consulship of Tuditanus and Aquilius between Africianus and seven other persons when Sallustius advised him to alter the work so as to include himself as speaker. As Aristotle had used the first person for his essays "On the Republic" and "On the Eminent Man" and as it was almost impossible to treat the history of Rome subsequent to the age of the speakers with the plan he had first used, Cicero was not entirely reluctant to make the alteration although he laid aside the books he had completed with no little chagrin for the "work was excellently composed." He stated that in the original plan he had used an introduction to each book, as Aristotle had done in his "Exotericus".⁶² That the "Republic" was appreciated in Cicero's day is shown from the statement of M. Caelius

60 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 285 (A XIII, 12) p. 286 (A XIII, 13), p. 288 (A III, 16), p. 301 (A XIII, 23), p. 304 (A XIII, 24 and 25).

61 Ibid., III, p. 291 (A XIII, 19).

62 Ibid., I, p. 280 (A IV, 16), p. 274 (Q. Fr. II, 12), I, p. 328 (Q. Fr. III, 5, 6).

Rufus, who wrote Cicero from Rome in 51 B.C.: "Your books on the Republic are in universal vogue."⁶²

Written in dialogue in Aristotelian style and differing from the current maxims of Cicero's time, the three books "On the Orator"⁶⁴ were a discussion of the whole oratorical theory of the ancients, including Aristotle and Isocrates. Of the "Orator"⁶⁵ Cicero said, "I have put into that all the critical power I possess in the art of speaking." "On the Best Style of Oratory" was dedicated to Marcus Brutus.⁶⁶

There is no better way describing those speeches called by him "consular" and done in imitation of Demosthenes, who gained his reputation through his Philippics, than by permitting Cicero himself to speak: "Of these are, first, one delivered on the first of January in the senate, a second to the people on the agrarian law, a third on Otho, a fourth for Rabirius, a fifth on the Sons of the Proscribed, a sixth when I declined a province in public meeting, a seventh when I allowed Catiline to escape, which I delivered the day after Catiline fled, a ninth in public meeting on the day the Allobroges made their revelation, a tenth in the senate on the fifth of December. There are also two short ones, which may be called fragments on the agrarian law."⁶⁷

63 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 17 (F VIII, 8).

64 Ibid., I, p. 323 (F I, 9) (54 B.C.).

65 Ibid., III, p. 181 (F VI, 18) (45 B.C.).

66 Ibid., IV, p. 43 (A XIV, 20).

67 Ibid., I, p. 62 (A II, 1).

In addition to these works just discussed Cicero mentioned that he wrote, "On the Lessening of Grief,"⁶⁸ described in Greek his consulship,⁶⁹ composed a funeral oration for a friend to deliver at his son's funeral,⁷⁰ and testified as to P. Lentulus Spinther's services to him in three books in verse, "On My Own Time". He hesitated to publish this last for fear others who had shown him kindness would be offended.⁷¹ He wrote "On Old Age."⁷² In the first book of the "Tusculum Disputation", he said of death, "There is, in fact, no other refuge either better or more available". In 44 B. C. he completed "de Officiis" or "On Duty" which he dedicated to his son,⁷³ and "On Glory" which, as he originally sent it to Atticus, has the same preface as the third book of the "Academica". This error was the result of Cicero's preserving a volume of prefaces from which he was accustomed to select one when he began a new work. In this instance he had forgotten that he had previously used this particular preface. When he was reading "Academica" on shipboard, shortly after completing "On Glory", he discovered his mistake and wrote out a new preface

68 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 208 (A XII, 20).

69 Ibid., I, p. 61 (A I, 20).

70 Ibid., I, p. 336 (Q. Fr. III, 8).

71 Ibid., I, p. 323 (F I, 9).

72 Ibid., IV, p. 107 (A XVI, 3).

73 Ibid., IV, p. 144 (A XV, 13a); p. 150 (A XVI, 11).

Panaetius' treatment of the same subject is discussed on p. 150.

which he dispatched to Atticus with the request that he cut off the old one and glue on the new one.⁷⁴

The dour Cato was the inspiration of a number of books. Brutus, M. Fadius Gallius, and Cicero all wrote in his defense their "Catos".⁷⁵ Caesar, aroused by Cicero's book, replied with his invective against Cato and Hirtius also wrote a criticism of Cato.⁷⁶

Cicero regarded himself very seriously as a writer. In speaking of the "Republic" he remarked, "If it turns out as I wish, it will be labor well bestowed, and if not, I shall toss it into the very sea which I have before my eyes as I write, and set to work on something else."⁷⁷

74 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 112 (A XVI, 6).

75 Ibid., III, p. 328 (A XIII, 46) p. 89 (A XII, 5), p. 330 (F VII, 24). Cicero's "Cato" is lost.

Shuckburgh, footnote, III, p. 89.

76 Ibid., III, p. 249 (A XII, 41), p. 250 (A XII, 44-45).

77 Ibid., I, p. 274 (Q. Fr. II, 12).

CHAPTER V. GEOGRAPHY, COMMUNICATION, TRANSPORTATION.

The vital, pulsating, all absorbing interest in Cicero's life,- Roman politics (his relation to these politics and their effect upon the stability of the Roman Republic) so overshadowed all else on the three occasions upon which he was absent from Italy during the period covered by his correspondence, that he was able to give scant attention to the topography, the climate, the plants, the animals, and the people of the places where he was. It is not surprising that during his exile which he spent at Thessalonica and Dyrrachium in the most bitter dejection or during his sojourn with Pompey and his army previous to the battle of Pharsalus, he should take no thought of the surrounding country, but it is strange that during his year's term as governor of Cilicia he did not have the leisure or desire to note something of a truly geographic nature. Incidentally a few such facts are obtained from the letters of the Cilician period. The Parthians were a fierce warlike people dwelling on the other side of the Euphrates River.¹ Cappadocia, close to Taurus, was a district bordering on Cilicia;² Cyrrhestica was a part of Syria, adjoining Cilicia³ which raised wheat⁴ but was wild enough in places to be the abode of panthers;⁵ Cybistra

1. Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 58 (A V, 18).

2 Ibid., II, p. 59 (A V, 18), p. 61 (F XV, 2).

3 Ibid., II, p. 59 (A V, 18).

4 Ibid., II, p. 128 (A V, 21).

5 Ibid., II, p. 143 (A VI, 1).

was a town at the foot of Mt. Taurus,⁶ Rhodes was noted for its porcelain ware and open merchant vessels,⁷ and Mitylene was known for its biremes.⁸ The remainder of the correspondence also contains a little information which might be classified broadly as geography. Brundisium, mentioned more often perhaps than any other of the number of places named in the letters, had an unhealthy climate⁹ and was a port of embarking from Italy for Dyrrachium. The latter was in Macedonia, was a free state, and was the nearest point to Italy,¹⁰ being only a day's sail from Brundisium.¹¹ The ancients' knowledge of Britain is worthy of notice. The Britons had charioteers;¹² the approaches to the island were protected by "astounding" masses of cliff; not a "penny-weight" of silver or gold was to be found in there; and there was no hope of booty for the Romans except slaves who, Cicero supposed, were uninstructed in literature or music.¹³ His own beloved Rome was at times the victim of the Tiber as the following extract from a letter written in November, 54 B.C. will show. "At Rome, and especially on the Appian road as

6 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 61 (F XV, 2).

7 Ibid., II, p. 31 (A V, 12), p. 139 (A VI, 1).

8 Ibid., II, p. 31 (A V, 2).

9 Ibid., III, p. 52 (A XI, 21).

10 Ibid., I, p. 175 (F XIV, 1).

11 Ibid., I, p. 187 (A IV, 1).

12 Ibid., I, p. 339 (F VII, 10).

13 Ibid., I, p. 273 (F VII, 7), p. 282 (A IV, 16, 17).

far as the temple of Mars, there is a remarkable flood. The promenade of Crassipes has been washed away, pleasure grounds, and a number of shops. There is a great sheet of water right up to the public fish-pond."¹⁴

To the twentieth century with its telephone, telegraph, cablegraph, wireless, and radio, ancient Rome's sole means of communication, the letter or dispatch, seems extremely inadequate. The inadequacy appears even greater when it is recalled that there was no regular, systematized, organized postal service under either government or private control. The sending of letters was an individual enterprise,-- each man was responsible for his letter reaching its destination. The publicani, the official tax collectors, did maintain their own private post which was used not infrequently by both Roman and provincial officials for conveying government communications and also doubtless by influential persons to carry their private letters to the parts of the empire where the publicani had provided that letters should reach their agents.¹⁵ In some cases prominent Romans seemingly maintained a regular system of letter-carriers. Caesar had such a service, while he was in Gaul.¹⁶ When Cicero, following his return from Cilicia, was waiting outside Rome with his lictors during the first stage of the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, he

¹⁴ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 331 (Q. Fr. III, 7).

¹⁵ Ibid., II, p. 116 (F VIII, 7), p. 126 (A V, 21), p. 44 (A V, 15).

¹⁶ Ibid., I, p. 335 (Q. Fr. III, 8).

wrote to his wife, Terentia, to organize a regular service of letter-carriers so that he might hear from her every day.¹⁷ Ordinarily he did not provide for himself any such systematized means as this but sent his letters by guests,¹⁸ by intimate friends,¹⁹ by his own and others' slaves²⁰ and freedmen²¹ and even by strangers.²² Ever he was on the alert to discover someone by whom he could dispatch a letter. To illustrate, once when he was at Antium and was suddenly informed by the quaestor of the district that a slave was being sent to Rome, he hurriedly wrote a letter to Atticus.²³ This hap-hazard fashion of sending mail was quite efficient if Cicero's correspondence is used as a basis of judgment. He wrote daily,-- sometimes twice a day,-- to Atticus who replied as frequently,²⁴ he corresponded with acquaintances in Greece,²⁵ in Gaul,²⁶ in Spain,²⁷ in Sicily,²⁸ in Syria,²⁹ and with his brother when he was in Britain with Caesar.³⁰

17 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 246 (F XIV, 8).

18 Ibid., I, p. 280 (A IV, 16 and part of 17).

19 Ibid., II, p. 44 (A V, 15).

20 Ibid., II, p. 212 (F XVI, 9), p. 89 (A V, 20), p. 199 (A VI, 9).

21 Ibid., II, p. 89 (A V, 20), III, p. 31 (A XI, 13).

22 Ibid., II, p. 390 (A X, 11).

23 Ibid., I, p. 96 (A II, 9).

24 Ibid., II, p. 304 (A VIII, 14), p. 361 (A X, 3a); III, p. 268 (A XIII, 32).

25 Ibid., III, p. 235 (F VI, 2).

26 Ibid., III, p. 340 (F XIII, 7).

27 Ibid., III, p. 236 (F IX, 11).

28 Ibid., III, p. 352 (F XIII, 35).

29 Ibid., III, p. 336 (F XII, 19).

30 Ibid., I, p. 297 (Q. Fr. III, 1).

The signet seal of the writer on a letter was not always sufficient to prevent the carrier reading it. Cicero said, "How few of the gentry are able to convey a letter rather heavier than usual without lightening it by skimming its contents."³¹ As letters often passed through several hands before reaching their destination,³² there must have been opportunity for much such lessening of weight.

As a whole few letters seemed to have failed in arriving at their destined end. Travel from Gaul to Rome during Caesar's governorship of that province must have been done with comparative safety for Cicero stated that the only "personage" that missed a safe journey from there was his brother's tragedy, "Erigona."³³ The letter-carrier of L. Quintus was not quite so fortunate for he was assaulted and robbed near the tomb of Basilus,³⁴ which is on the via Appia near Rome. Considerable time was required for a letter to reach its intended recipient. Cicero received a letter from Caesar twenty-days after it was first dispatched.³⁵ Forty-seven days was considered rapid traveling from Rome to Cilicia.³⁶ Letters sent to Cilicia frequently miscarried.³⁷ For a letter

31 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 29 (A I, 13).

32 Ibid., II, p. 215 (A VII, 2).

33 Ibid., I, p. 338 (Q. Fr. III, 9).

34 Ibid., II, p. 231 (A VII, 19) and footnote.

35 Ibid., I, p. 297 (Q. Fr. III, 1).

36 Ibid., II, p. 64 (A V, 19).

37 Ibid., II, p. 89 (A V, 20).

dispatched from Rome to Pompeii to arrive in three days was considered rapid time.³⁸ The Roman method of sending mail, however, must have been quite satisfactory for Cicero made few complaints of letters failing to reach him or his correspondents.

For means of transportation Rome, judged by twentieth century standards, was as limited as she was in ways of communication. The Mediterranean Sea, the natural highway for Rome and her provinces bordering it, was frequently rough³⁹ and was closed to navigation for a certain period of the year.⁴⁰ Fair weather and favorable winds were two prime requisites for a safe sea voyage for the Romans, who depended upon open vessels, biremes, ten oared pennaces, and small dispatch boats.⁴¹ No ship was worse for rough weather than the Rhodian open vessel.⁴² Traveling was a slow process. Sixteen days were consumed in a journey from Ephesus to Athens⁴³, - a distance of about two hundred and fifty miles. Largely because of storms and absence of proper winds Cicero was fifty-four days coming from Ephesus to Brundisium.⁴⁴ Travel by land presented but little

38 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 41 (A XIV, 18)..

39 Ibid., I, p. 198 (A VI, 9), p. 212 (F XVI, 9).

40 Ibid., I, p. 222 (Q. Fr. II, 4, 6).

41 Ibid., II, p. 31 (A V, 11); IV, p. 108 (A XVI, 3).

42 Ibid., II, p. 34 (A V, 12).

43 Ibid., II, p. 33 (F II, 8), p. 35 (A V, 13).

44 Ibid., II, p. 198 (A VI, 8), p. 212 (F XVI, 9).

better comfort. Carriages,⁴⁵ horses, mules,⁴⁶ and sedans were used. The last mentioned conveyance which could be left open or closed by drawing its curtains, was perhaps the one most commonly used.⁴⁷ At times these were formed into trains. Antony went about Italy with a group of sedans containing his friends, male and female.⁴⁸ A most excellent illustration of the manner in which certain idle rich young Romans travelled is found in the description of P. Veditius, "A hare-brained fellow enough, but yet an intimate friend of Pompey's. This Veditius came to meet me with two chariots, and a carriage and horses, and a sedan, and a large suite of servants, for which last if Curio has carried his law, he will have to pay a toll of a hundred sestertii apiece. There was also in a chariot, a dog-head baboon, as well as some wild asses. I never saw a more extravagant fool."⁴⁹

45 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 145 (A VI, 1).

46 Ibid., II, 213 (F XVI, 9).

47 Ibid., I, p. 252 (Q. Fr. II, 8).

48 Ibid., II, p. 389 (A X, 10).

49 Ibid., II, p. 145 (A VI, 8).

CHAPTER VI. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

Pleasure loving Romans of all classes found their greatest enjoyment in the games and the theatre. Gladiators won popularity¹ for the politicians through their exhibitions before the easily influenced proletariat. In 48 B. C. the games of Praeneste lasted eight days amid the greatest gaiety;² at Rome in 55 B. C. there were for five days wild beast hunts in which weak men were torn by strong animals and magnificent beasts were transfixed by the spear.³ Elephants and panthers were used to excite the vulgar curiosity and astonishment of the masses. Aediles, as well as other crafty politicians, in order to obtain public support, lavished huge sums on their games.⁴ Milo, when candidate for consul, spent forty thousand dollars on his.⁵ Marcus Caelius Rufus had the audacity to request Cicero, the governor, to tax the provincials of Cilicia in order to aid him in defraying the expenses of his public games at Rome.⁶ At the theatre and also at the games officials were hissed and actors recited verses uncomplimentary to leading citizens amid the uproarious applause of the emotionally swayed audience.⁷

1 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 282 (A IV, 16, 17).

2 Ibid., III, p. 72 (A XII, 2).

3 Ibid., I, p. 259 (F VII, 1); IV, p. 103 (A XVI, 4).

In 44 B.C. Marcus Brutus, as praetor, gave a beast hunt. IV, p. 69 (A XV, 10).

4 Ibid., I, pp. 79-80 (Q. Fr. 1).

5 Ibid., I, p. 337 (Q. Fr. III, 9), p. 357 (F II, 6). No one up to 54 B.C. had ever exceeded this cost for games. Some manuscripts have an amount given which would be \$400,000. Footnote p. 337).

6 Ibid., I, p. 80 (F II, 10), p. 143 (A VI, 1).

7 Ibid., I, p. 112 (A II, 19).

When legalized entertainment failed to stimulate jaded sensibilities then the impromptu staged tempestuous scenes of the political gatherings of the Roman forum⁸ and the turbulent pastimes of Clodius, who with his picked band of ruffians armed with shields, swords, missiles, and lighted torches aggressively assaulted the followers and wantonly destroyed the property of his opponents⁹, kept the inhabitants of the restless, thrill-seeking capital in a state of ebullition.

Fishing must have had some claim as a pastime. There was a public fishpond in Rome.¹⁰ Cicero complained bitterly that certain members of the aristocracy neglected the more vital interest, politics, in order to enjoy themselves by feeding from their hands the bearded mullets of their fishponds.¹¹ Cicero himself, enjoyed shrimping as a relaxation from toil.¹²

The triumphs of victorious generals,¹³ the extravagant public games, the extraordinary amusements of the theatre,¹⁴ the public assemblies,¹⁵ the jury panels,¹⁶ the orations of prominent men in the forum,¹⁷ the edicts posted at conspicuous places,¹⁸ all contributed to the informal education of the

8 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, pp. 213-214 (Q. Fr. II, 3).

9 Ibid., I, pp. 194-196 (A. IV, 3).

10 Ibid., I, p. 331 (Q. Fr. III, 7).

11 Ibid., I, p. 65 (A II, 1).

12 Ibid., I, p. 91 (A II, 6).

13 Ibid., II, p. 223 (A VII, 4); II, p. 270 (A VII, 26).

14 Ibid., I, pp. 258-259 (F VII, 1).

15 Ibid., I, pp. 34-35 (A I, 14); II, p. 196 (F VIII, 14).

16 Ibid., I, p. 286 (A IV, 15); p. 38 (A I, 16).

17 Ibid., III, p. 213 (A XII, 21).

18 Ibid., I, p. 196 (A IV, 3); I, p. 117 (A II, 21).

masses. Persons who could afford it employed private tutors for their sons and daughters.¹⁹ The young male relatives of provincial officials might, as did Cicero's nephew, accompany them to their assigned posts where travel to and in a foreign land and association with an alien people greatly broadened their education.²⁰ Athens, the seat of Greek culture, was the finishing school for aspiring Romans.²¹

No doubt one of the greatest disintegrating forces in Roman society was divorce, which by its undermining of the home, prepared the way for the decline of Roman civilization. Cicero divorced Terentia when he was sixty years old²² and married a young girl in order to replenish his purse, lightened by the payment of his former wife's dowry.²³ The divorces of Caesar, Pompey, Spinther, Lentullus, Marcus Brutus, and Quintus Cicero received from Cicero scarcely more than a bare mention.²⁴ His own daughter was married three times. Her last husband was Dolabella, who, loose of morals, pleasure loving, politically

19 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 285 (A VIII, 4); III, p. 223 (A XIII, 33); I, p. 306 (Q. Fr. III, 3).

20 Ibid., II, p. 60 (A V, 18).

21 Ibid., III, p. 329 (A XIII, 47); IV, p. 32 (A XIV, 16).

22 Ibid., III, Appendix B.

23 Ibid., III, p. 146 (A XII, 11), p. 225 (A XII, 31).

These two references contain the most vague information. Authorities have interpreted the first one to indicate the selection of a wife although no actual statement of a wife being selected is given. In the second reference, Publilia, the young wife, offered to return home to him but Cicero refused her wish. Plutarch says he married her to obtain money to pay his debts. Plutarch, Lives, tr. Stewart and Long, IV, p. 197.

24 Ibid., I, p. 31 (A I, 13), p. 27 (A I, 12); III, p. 258 (A XII, 52), p. 278 (A XIII, 7); IV, p. 27 (A XIV, 13).

aspiring, squandered his wife's dowry paid to him in installments and was so in debt that Cicero almost despaired of ever having the money repaid after his daughter's divorce.²⁵

Atticus who married after he was fifty found a deeper happiness in his wife and daughter than many of his contemporaries.²⁶

Cicero's nephew²⁷ and Vedius²⁸ are typical examples of the Roman youth of the last dark days of the slowly decaying republic.

Religion was closely united with the state. The augurship was aspired to by prominent men,--Cicero, Lepidus, Antony.²⁹ If such a profligate person³⁰ as the last could become an augur then fineness of moral character was surely not a requisite for the position. There was a body of law known as augural law.³¹ One of the duties of the holder of this office was the consecrating of temple sites.³² An augur could substantiate the authenticity of a law by declaring he was present when it was passed.³³

The belief in omens by the masses was a whip in the hand of designing politicians, who, desiring to block legislation³⁴ or to interfere with the census³⁵, could do so by declaring that

25 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 45 (A XI, 23); III, p. 11 (A XI, 4); III, p. 181 (F VI, 18).

26 Ibid., Introduction to Volume I, p. 43.

27 Ibid., III, p. 348 (A XIII, 42); IV, p. 38 (A XIV, 17), p. 80 (A XV, 21), p. 93 (A XV, 27), p. 97 (A XV, 29).

28 Ibid., II, p. 145 (A VI, 1).

29 Ibid., III, p. 349 (A XIII, 42); II, p. 401 (A X, 9).

30 Ibid., II, p. 401 (A X, 16).

31 Ibid., II, p. 128 (F III, 9), p. 331 (A IX, 9).

32 Ibid., III, p. 349 (A XIII, 42).

33 Ibid., I, p. 300 (A IV, 17 and 16).

34 Ibid., I, p. 197 (A IV, 3); I, p. 306 (Q. Fr. III, 2 & 3)

35 Ibid., I, p. 250 (A IV, 9).

the omens were unfavorable. The flight or the note of a bird on the left was a good portent as was the "normal and audible pattering of the corn of the sacred chickens."³⁶ Wills were deposited with the Vestal Virgins.³⁷

Slavery was such an accepted institution in Roman life that even Cicero failed to see any wrong in it. To him the conquest of Britain meant the possibilities of more slaves who he disappointedly did not expect would be learned either in music or literature.³⁸ In a thoroughly cold impersonal business tone he wrote to his brother in Gaul, thanking him for the promise of slaves and stating his need of more of them both at Rome and on his country estates.³⁹ It must not be inferred that he was inhumane in his treatment of his slaves for no one could be more solicitous of a beloved relative than he was for Tiro's health and comfort.⁴⁰ Nor was this an exceptional case.⁴¹ Cicero was willing to intrust the care of

36 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 122 (F VI, 6).

37 Ibid., III, p. 43 (A XI, 25).

38 Ibid., I, p. 283 (A IV, 16, 17).

39 Ibid., I, p. 338 (Q. Fr. III, 9).

40 Ibid., I, pp. 384-385.

41 Ibid., When Cicero's reader died, he said, "His death has affected me more than that of slave should, I think." I, p. 27 (A I, 12). Accompanied in his exile by a slave, he wrote to Terentia that he sent "that faithful fellow, Clodius Philhetaerus, home because he was hampered with weakness of the eyes." I, p. 142 (F XIV, 4). When he was outside Rome after his return from Cilicia, Alexis, a slave becoming ill, was sent back to Rome to Atticus with the instruction that if there was an epidemic there he should be sent to Cicero's house along with Tisamenus because the entire upper floor of the villa was vacant. III, p. 315 (A XII, 10).

his small grandson to slaves⁴² and used them in numerous ways in his literary pursuits and in the conducting of his business.⁴³ He emphatically opposed their being permitted to assist in the slightest way in any department of state or in the discharge of any official duties of a government officer. This attitude was adopted not because he doubted the slave's ability but because he feared unfavorable public opinion would result.⁴⁴

The way of the runaway slave was hard. An excellent example of such a case was that of Dionysius who had had the care of Cicero's valuable library and who after stealing a number of expensive books from his master absconded because he realized that he would be punished when the loss was discovered. Cicero applied to Publius Sulpicius Rufus, governor of Illyricum, to return the thief.⁴⁵ Rufus' successor in office, Vatinius, voluntarily wrote to Cicero that he had given orders for the runaway "to be hunted down by land and sea," that he would go after him even if he went to Dalmatia, and that sooner or later he would "extract him".⁴⁶ Cicero's reply was that he would confirm any promise which Vatinius made and that he would permit him to lead the slave a captive in his triumph since he had proved such a rascal.⁴⁷

42 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 222 (A XII, 28) and footnote.

43 Ibid., I, p. 27 (A I, 12), p. 224 (A IV, 4b), p. 226 (A IV, 5); III, p. 172 (F XIII, 7), p. 307 (A XIII, 25, 2, 3).

44 Ibid., I, p. 76 (Q. Fr. I, 1). He does, however, approve of their being used in domestic and private affairs.

45 Ibid., III, p. 172 (F XIII, 7).

46 Ibid., III, p. 303 (F V, 9).

47 Ibid., III, p. 344 (F V, 11).

Public prisons or slave mills were provided for obstreperous slaves.⁴⁸ If a degree of unnecessary harshness appears in the treatment of escaped slaves, it must be borne in mind that slave owning communities always have lived in a state of apprehension of a slave insurrection. In Rome the danger was even greater for she was not dealing with ignorant blacks but with educated whites who no doubt in many cases chafed under their bondage and welcomed any avenue of escape. For these, Rome with her seething, howling mass of unemployed, often the riffraff or scum of humanity, afforded an excellent hiding place. Unscrupulous politicians used these slaves in creating disorder. Clodius, the bitter, revengeful enemy of Cicero, had a picked gang of escaped slaves whom he employed to assist him in the execution of his nefarious schemes. It was with such a mob that he fired Milo's house.⁴⁹

Through the process of manumission⁵⁰ slaves were freed by their masters, who then became their patrons. These freedmen generally remained loyal to their ex-masters and managed their business⁵¹, --even being sent at times to represent them in law suits in the provinces.⁵²

What a modern ring has Cicero's advice to Tiro concerning health. "Good digestion, freedom from fatigue, moderate

48 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, pp. 132-133 (Q. Fr. I, 2).

49 Ibid., I, pp. 194-196 (A IV, 3).

50 Ibid., I, p. 142 (F XIV, 4); II, pp. 216-217 (A VII, 2).

51 Ibid., III, p. 158 (F XIII, 21), p. 351 (F XIII, 33).

52 Ibid., III, p. 65 (F XIII, 14).

walking, friction of the skin, easy operation of the bowels," are simple but effective rules.⁵³ Disease was not unknown among the Romans. At times epidemics occurred as, for example, the one at Thessalonica in 58 B.C.⁵⁴ While gout⁵⁵, rheumatism⁵⁶, stangury⁵⁷, paralysis⁵⁸, catarrh⁵⁹, and dysentery⁶⁰ were not unknown in Cicero's day, it was the sly, lingering, quartan fever with its "shivering fits" and its days of intermittent fever, which was the most discomfoting foe of the ancient inhabitants of Greece and Rome.⁶¹ In their quest for health the men of this period used various remedies: sweating⁶², fasting⁶³, dieting⁶⁴, and emetics.⁶⁵ This last was quite advantageously used by the glutinous. Nico, a doctor, wrote an essay, entitled, "On Over-eating."⁶⁶ When these

53 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 355 (F XVI, 18).

54 Ibid., I, p. 174 (F XIV, 1); III, p. 170 (F V, 16), p. 315 (A XII, 10).

55 Ibid., III, p. 146 (F VII, 41, p. 312 (F VI, 9).

56 Ibid., I, p. 3 (A I, 5).

57 Ibid., II, p. 389 (A X, 10); I, p. 210 (F VII, 26).

58 Ibid., IV, p. 122 (A 16, 7).

59 Ibid., IV, p. 82 (F. 16, 23). Balbus had such a severe case of catarrh that he lost his voice.

60 Ibid., I, p. 201 (F VII, 26).

61 Ibid., III, p. 143 (A XII, 6), p. 8 (F XIV, 8); II, p. 214 (A VII, 2).

62 Ibid., III, p. 355 (F XVI, 18).

63 Ibid., I, p. 201 (F VII, 26).

64 Ibid., III, p. 17 (F VIII, 1).

65 Ibid., III, p. 346 (A XIII, 52).

66 Ibid., IV, p. 110 (F VII, 20).

measures, doubtless often self-prescribed, failed there was
 recourse to a regular physician⁶⁷, or an appeal to a Greek god
 of healing, Apollo or Aesculapius.⁶⁸ And as a last resort all
 earthly worry and pain might be ended by a dose of cantharides⁶⁹
 or of shoemaker's vitriol.⁷⁰

As Cicero was not an Epicurean and hence would not be one
 to dwell much on the delicacies of the table, there is little
 information in the correspondence concerning food. Roast veal,
 sausages, oysters, lampreys, eggs, beets, mallows, mushrooms,
 petits choux, olives, and pot-herbs, of all kinds were eaten
 by the Romans.⁷¹ A dish of cheese and saltfish, or of cheese
 and sardines, was considered a simple inexpensive one by Cicero.⁷²
 If these letters were taken as a criterion for the foods of
 the Romans, then their diet was sadly lacking in milk, fruits,

67 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 389 (A X, 10).

68 Ibid., II, p. 404 (F XIV, 7).

69 Ibid., III, p. 140 (F IX, 21). A preparation of dried
 blister beetles. In moderate internal dose it acts
 as a stimulant or diuretic. In large doses it is
 highly poisonous. Dorland, The American Illustrated
 Medical Dictionary, 12 ed. p. 216; Gould's Medical
 Dictionary, Edited by Scott, p. 274.

70 Ibid., III, p. 140 (F IX, 21). By shoemaker's vitriol
 is doubtless meant copper sulphate for the Romans
 used that as a poison. A. W. Blyth, "Poisons -
 Their effects and Detection", I, pp. 3-4. In the
 "Practical Medical Dictionary" edited by T. L.
 Stedman, 6th Ed., on p. 1105, vitriol is defined
 as Roman vitriol or copper sulphate.

71 Ibid., III, p. 185 (F IX, 10), p. 94 (F IX, 16), p. 98
 (F IX, 20); I, p. 202 (F VII, 26).

72 Ibid., I, p. 234 (A IV, 8a); III, p. 94 (F IX, 16)
 IV, p. 31 (A XIV, 16).

and green leafy vegetables,--three prime requisites according to modern dietetics for good health.

The letters reveal to a very limited extent the value of real estate, the fluctuation of the rate of interest and the money market, the source of government revenue, and a few minor details of Roman business life.

In 62 B.C. Cicero bought from wealthy Crassus his house in Rome for about one hundred and forty thousand dollars.⁷³ This sum was but five thousand dollars more than the consul Messalla one year later paid for Antony's house.⁷⁴ When in 57 B.C. the Senate had voted to grant Cicero an amount of money sufficient to permit him to restore his property which had been confiscated and razed during his exile, the consuls appraised the former Crassus place at eighty thousand dollars and the Tusculan and Formaeian villas at twenty and ten thousand dollars respectively. Cicero, as did others, considered these values as much too low.⁷⁵ Quintus Cicero purchased near Arpinum a suburban estate containing more than fifty iugera of meadow land alone for four thousand dollars.⁷⁶ Land close to Rome sold in 45 B.C. for about seven hundred and thirty-five dollars and acre.⁷⁷

An interesting sidelight is cast upon the money and grain market by the correspondence. December 62 B.C. found money

73 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 25 (F V, 6).

74 Ibid., I, p. 32 (A I, 13).

75 Ibid., I, p. 192 (A IV, 2).

76 Ibid., I, p. 292 (F III, 1).

77 Ibid., III, p. 266 (A XIII, 31).

plentiful at six per cent.⁷⁸ Five years later a great shortage of corn caused a sharp rise in its price. To overcome this situation the Senate and consuls drafted a law giving Pompey complete control over the corn supply for five years throughout the whole world. A second law was drawn up by a tribune, granting Pompey power over all money and adding a fleet, an army, and an imperium in the provinces which was superior to that held by the governors.⁷⁹ In the spring of 56 B.C. the senate set aside over one and a half million dollars for Pompey in the business of the corn supply. This year of 56 B.C. witnessed a shortage in money accompanied by a high price for corn.⁸⁰ That the interest market was closely attuned to the political situation at Rome is revealed when it is noted that the interest rate which was four per cent July 15, 54 B.C. arose to eight per cent only twelve days⁸¹ later because of the contract entered into by two candidates for the consulship and by the consuls in office for the disposition of the consular provinces.⁸² The senate in 50 B.C. passed a decree making twelve per cent the legal rate.⁸³ By February 49 B. C. it was impossible to obtain any ready money except at the mint or from money lenders like the Oppii.⁸⁴

78 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 25 (A V, 6).

79 Ibid., I, pp. 187-188 (A IV, 1).

80 Ibid., I, p. 222 (P V, 5, 6, and 7).

81 Ibid., I, p. 286 (A IV, 15).

82 Ibid., I, pp. 300-301 (A IV, 17 and 16).

83 Ibid., II, p. 131 (A V, 21).

84 Ibid., II, p. 288 (A VIII, 7).

By 59 B.C. Rome, having abolished port dues in Italy, had no other home revenue except a five per cent tax on manumissions.⁸⁵ In 45 B.C. Cicero mentioned a pillar-tax.⁸⁶ The burden of supplying Rome with funds for the government fell upon the heavily taxed provinces, which also supported "other Italian municipal towns".⁸⁷ An excellent illustration of this is Cicero's native city, Arpinum, whose only source of income for keeping her temples and public buildings in repair was the rent from land in Gallia to which at regular intervals a committee of Roman knights was sent to visit the estates in order to collect the rents owed by the tenants, to investigate the condition of the property, and to provide for its management.⁸⁸

Drafts⁸⁹ and bills of exchanges⁹⁰ facilitated business dealings. Property was sold at auction⁹¹ and a mortgage or a lien was taken on property when debts were not paid.⁹² Money was coined at the mint in Apollonia.⁹³ Persons having money placed it in the hands of the publicani for investment.⁹⁴ The Roman of Cicero's day thought in no small sums. The people of Nicaea owed one man \$320,000.⁹⁵ Cicero had legally

85 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 105 (A II, 16).

86 Ibid., III, p. 208 (A XIII, 6).

87 Ibid., III, p. 340 (F XIII, 7); II, p. 67 (F XV, 1).

88 Ibid., III, p. 62 (F XIII, 3).

89 Ibid., III, p. 218 (A XII, 24).

90 Ibid., II, p. 39 (F III, 5); IV, p. 74 (A XV, 15).

91 Ibid., I, p. 211 (Q Fr. II, 2).

92 Ibid., II, p. 94 (F XIII, 56).

93 Ibid., III, p. 67 (F XIII, 29).

94 Ibid., III, p. 3 (A XI, 2).

95 Ibid., II, p. 96 (F XIII, 61).

coming to him from Cilicia \$88,000;⁹⁶ in canvassing for the elections of 54 B.C. two consular candidates arranged to offer \$400,000 for the vote of the first century; and in the same year each candidate for the tribuneship deposited \$20,000 with Cato as a guarantee that they would follow his directions for a clean canvass.⁹⁷

96 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 240 (F V, 20).

97 Ibid., I, p. 279 (Q. Fr. II, 14, 15b).

CHAPTER VII. POLITICAL AND LEGAL

Roman political life was corrupt. Candidates secured popularity through gladiatorial games or wild beast hunts. Votes were obtained by bribery, by catering to the soldier vote, and by securing the support of client towns in Gaul.¹ All the known schemes for obstructing legislation were utilized. Juries were bribed into granting a verdict favorable to the most corrupt party. Caesar did not bring decay into the Roman Republic; the germs of disease were there long before and he merely hastened the final disintegration.

The interference with the ordinary enactment of laws was one of the pastimes of the politicians. As early in the letters as 61 B.C. mention is made that the ruffian followers of Clodius prevented the free expression of the comitia by blocking the entrances to the voting boxes and Clodian sympathizers so manipulated the voting tablets that no "ayes" were distributed.² In 56 B.C. the consul Lentulus Marcellinus blocked legislation displeasing to himself by depriving the people of all comitial days, by ordering the Latin festival repeated, and by decreeing days of thanksgiving.³ A magistrate could prevent the meeting of the comitia by declaring the omens unfavorable. Milo arrived with his supporters on the campus at midnight so as to be ready to serve notice at sunrise, when the comitia

1 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 282 (A IV, 16, 17).

2 Ibid., I, p. 34 (A I, 14).

3 Ibid., I, p. 220 (Q. Fr. II, 4, 6).

could meet, that the omens forbade its assembling, and thus prevent the election of Clodius to the aedileship.⁴ In 54 B.C. the comitia was adjourned day after day in September by the declaration of ill omens.⁵ Legislation was further obstructed by filibustering in the senate which could not assemble on comitial days⁶ and which must adjourn at nightfall.⁷ Indeed this form of legislative obstruction was a favorite weapon of the opposition in Cicero's day. In 57 B.C. Clodius, in order to block the decree of the senate that Cicero's Roman residence be restored to him, talked for three hours and only failed in his attempt because the loud disapproval of the senators warned him that further interference would not be tolerated.⁸ A few weeks later his brother and cousin assisted by the great Hortensius, who had prosecuted Clodius for sacrilege in 61 B.C. but now supported him, talked out the session so that the resolution of the consul-designate, Marcellinus, providing that Clodius be tried for various crimes, could not be voted upon.⁹ In 50 B.C. Hirrus threatened to talk out a senatorial decree.¹⁰

While the tribune's power of veto was a legal one, as was that of preventing the meeting of the comitia by the declara-

4 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 197 (A IV, 3).

5 Ibid., I, p. 302 (A IV, 17, 16).

6 Ibid., I, p. 212 (Q. Fr. II, 2).

7 Ibid., I, p. 206 (F I, 2).

8 Ibid., I, pp. 191-192 (A IV, 2). Cicero's town house, which had been confiscated by the state at the instigation of Clodius when the former was exiled, was restored upon his return by the senate.

9 Ibid., I, p. 196 (A IV, 3) and footnote by Shuckburgh.

10 Ibid., II, p. 176 (F VIII, 11).

tion of ill-omens, still it too in the hands of the unscrupulous could be abused. That the power of veto was frequently exercised is seen from the letter of M. Caelius Rufus to Cicero in which he enclosed four resolutions of the senate, three of which had been vetoed by the tribunes. In one case four tribunes disapproved of the measure while in the other two cases two tribunes vetoed the decree.¹¹ By declaring bad omens these same officials could hinder the "business of the census."¹²

The censor, through the right to issue certain orders, had power of legislation. In 50 B.C. Appius Claudius Pulcher called by Cicero "the director of morals"¹³ and by Caelius Rufus "the ape" made certain regulations concerning statues,¹⁴ pictures, landowning, and debts. Since Appius was one of the consuls who was bribed in 54 B. C.¹⁵ and was Cicero's immediate predecessor in Cilicia, who had oppressed the provincials so severely that they welcomed death,¹⁶ then M. Caelius Rufus' comment concerning him is very appropriate: "He is persuaded that his censorship is a kind of soap or soda. I think he is wrong; while he is meaning to wash off stains, he is really exposing all his veins and vitals."¹⁷

11 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 76-78 (F VIII, 8).

12 Ibid., I, p. 250 (A IV, 9).

13 Ibid., II, p. 193 (F III, 13), p. 195 (F VIII, 12).

14 Ibid., II, p. 197 (F VIII, 4). A footnote by Shuckburgh reads, "about the amount of such things it was legal for a man to have."

15 Ibid., I, p. 301 (A IV, 17, 16).

16 See Chapter on "Provinces".

17 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 197 (F VIII, 14).

Law suits were one of the pastimes in Rome and furnished entertainment for the scum of the forum. Magistrates were accused of misconduct in office and candidates of bribery. In 54 B.C. all four aspirants for the consulship were under charges of bribery¹⁸. Gabinus, a returning proconsul in 54 B.C., was accused of lèse majesté by three persons before he arrived in Rome. With no group to meet him without the city gates, he slunk into his home at night fall, thus giving up his right to demand a triumph. He delayed until the tenth day before entering the senate. On that day he was, according to law, required to report the number of the enemy and his own soldiers slain in battle. As he started to leave, after having made his report, he was stopped by the consul who introduced the publicani. These, together with members of the senate, assailed Gabinus fiercely because of his conduct in the province. Cicero, in discussing the case previous to the trial, said, "He [Gabinus] is at a disadvantage from the hatred entertained by all classes for him: witnesses against him as damaging as can be: accusers in the highest degree inefficient: the panel of jurors of varied characters: the president a man of weight and decision,--Alfius: Pompey active in soliciting jurors on his behalf." He was acquitted in spite of the absolute proof of his guilt.¹⁹ Cicero, however, in the same

18 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 300 (A IV, 17), p. 304 (Q. Fr. III, 2).

19 Ibid., I, p. 271 (Q. Fr. II, 11, 13), p. 296 (Q. Fr. III, 1), pp. 303-304 (Q. Fr. III, 2), p. 306 (Q. Fr. III, 3), p. 307 (Q. Fr. III, 4).

year made a very favorable speech for Scaurus, candidate for consul, who was being tried for extortion but who was acquitted and who then straightway summoned the tribes to his home and bought their votes for his consular election.²⁰ Three years later all the three orders by a unanimous vote in each of the orders acquitted a magistrate accused of extortion although popular sentiment bitterly condemned the action of the jurors.²¹ When M. Caelius Rufus in 50 B.C. was accused by his enemy Appius, the censor, under the Scantinian law, because a charge under no other law could be found, he reversed the tables by instigating a similar charge against Appius, who then dropped the suit. Such was not done by Caelius, who brought an additional action against the censor, namely,--to recover a shrine then within the walls of his own house.²² Thus worked the Roman legal system.

20 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p.302 (A IV,17,16). Scaurus was one of the four consular candidates accused of bribery in 54 B.C.

21 Ibid., II, pp. 21-22 (F VIII,2). Under the Aurelian law there was a provision that the three orders should judge together in equal numbers. The first order was comprised of senators, the second of equites, and the third of tribuni aerarii. The last class, a moneyed one, was roughly indentifiable with that of the great middle-men and contractors. To distinguish between equites and tribuni aerarii is difficult. The second and third classes formed a middle class as opposed to the plebs. A.H.J. Greenidge, "The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Times", pp. 442-444. In commenting on a trial of a certain Sext. Clodius in 56 B.C., Cicero said: "For the votes of the senators were largely in his favor, those of the Knights [equites] were equally divided, while the tribuni aerarii voted for his condemnation." I, p. 221 (Q. Fr. II, 4,6.).

22 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 195 (F VIII,12). On this same page there is a footnote by Shuckburgh stating that the Scantinian law had a provision against unnatural crimes. For a detailed account of a Roman trial see, I, pp. 37-40 (A I, 16).

The pontifices were the judges of questions of religion.²³ It was they who determined that Clodius was guilty of sacrilege when he intruded upon the rites of Bona Dea.²⁴ In 57 B.C. after his recall Cicero plead before these same officials that his property confiscated during his exile be restored. They issued a decree: "If neither by order of the people or vote of the plebs the party alleging that he had dedicated had been appointed by name to that function; nor by the order of the people or the vote of the plebs had been commanded to do so, we are of the opinion that the part of the site in question should be restored to M. Tullius." Following this decree the senate which according to M. Lucullus,-both a member of the college of pontifices and of the senate,-was the judge of the question of the validity of a law, ordered Cicero's property restored.²⁵

Bribery was undoubtedly a curse to Roman politics. Elections were carried by its aid and juries manipulated by its persuading grace. In 61 B.C. the tribune Lurco proposed a law on bribery which stated that the payment but not the promise of money among the tribes made the person "liable for life to pay 3000 sesterces to each tribe." In the same year two decrees instigated by Cato and Domitius passed the senate.

23 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 191 (A IV, 2).

24 Ibid., I, p. 31 (A I, 13).

25 Ibid., I, pp. 189-192 (A IV, 2). Clodius had torn down Cicero's villa at Rome, consecrated the site, and had begun a building dedicated for a certain purpose. I, p. 188 (A IV, 1).

One provided for the search of magistrates' houses; the other stated that all persons having bribery agents in their homes were guilty of treason.²⁶ In this year too the tinkling gold of Crassus secured the votes of thirty-one jurors--a sufficient number to acquit Clodius of sacrilege.²⁷ In the following year one of the consuls secured his office by purchase.²⁸ At the same time Cato, in spite of the opposition of the knights, secured a law providing that a person who had taken a bribe for his verdict could be brought to trial.²⁹ Even the agents of kings offered bribes to obtain their ends.³⁰ However, in 54 B.C. bribery reached its climax. Four hundred thousand dollars were set aside by two of the candidates for the consulship to buy the votes of the first century. Two would-be-consuls offered the existing consuls one thousand-six hundred dollars for their assistance in obtaining the office from them in return for their aid in securing immediately after they assumed office the consular provinces for the departing consuls. Another candidate for the same office invited the people tribe by tribe to his house and gave them the expected money doles for their votes. The tribunician candidates,

26 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 43 (A I, 16).

Cato was a bitter foe of all corruption and insincerity. Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, was the husband of Cato's sister, an aristocrat and an opponent of Caesar. Footnote of Shuckburgh, I, p. 43.

27 Ibid., I, pp. 39-40 (A I, 16).

28 Ibid., I, p. 55 (A I, 19), p. 65 (A II, 1).

29 Ibid., I, p. 65 (A II, 1).

30 Ibid., I, p. 203 (F I, 1).

fearful that there would be dishonesty in canvassing for the election, each deposited about twenty thousand dollars with Cato who was to be the judge of the purity of the campaign, with the understanding that any violator of the compact forfeited his money to his competitors.³¹

Corruption, indifference, greed, ambition,--all took their toll of Roman virtue and laid the foundation for the two civil wars that followed soon after 54 B.C.

The letters are too fragmentary in the information which they convey to be of any value as a satisfactory source for the contents of various Roman laws but they are useful in giving, in a few instances, a fact or two concerning those laws with which Cicero and his correspondents were familiar. The Julian law provided that a province should furnish hay to the governor and his staff,³² that the governor should leave in the province an account of the expenditures during his term of office and should also deposit a verbatim copy at the treasury,³³ and that land tenure should be under certain prescribed conditions.³⁴ This same law fixed the time limit of a "free legation".³⁵ Under the Gabinian law provincial towns were

31 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 279 (Q. Fr. II, 14), pp. 300-302 (A IV, 17), p. 286 (A IV, 15).

32 Ibid., II, p. 45 (A V, 16).

33 Ibid., II, p. 236 (F V, 20).

34 Ibid., I, p. 110 (A II, 18).

35 Ibid., IV, p. 70 (A XV, 10) "A [free legation] or libera legatio was really a colorable method of a senator travelling with the right of exacting certain payments for his expenses from Italian or provincial towns. Sometimes it was simply a legatio libera, a sinecure without any pretence of purpose, sometimes it was voti causa, enabling a man to fulfill some vow he was supposed to have made." I, p. 110 footnote.

forbidden to borrow money at Rome³⁶ and the meeting for the legations must be held between February 1st and March 1st.³⁷ The lex Pupia prohibited any meeting of the senate before the first of February or during that month unless the business of the legations was finished or adjourned.³⁸ Provisions of the Cornelian law regulated the expenses of legates sent to Rome by the provinces and stated that the retiring governor should leave the province within thirty days of the arrival of his successor.³⁹ Both the lex Aelia and the lex Fufia had something to do with the way a tribune should enter office.⁴⁰ The lex Campania of 59 B.C. compelled candidates to take an oath in public meeting that they would suggest no public land tenure other than that provided in the lex Julia.⁴¹ Besides these Roman laws just cited, there is mentioned in the correspondence the Solonian law of Athens which punished by disfranchisement the man who in case of civil strife took neither side of the struggle.⁴² The Greeks of Solon's period had no patience with the neutral citizen. The lex Aurelia⁴³, lex Cincia⁴⁴, lex

36 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 130 (A V, 15).

37 Ibid., I, p. 271 (Q. Fr. II, 11, 13). In this period the senate did not meet to transact regular business but heard and answered disputations from the provinces and foreign states which sent legates or ambassadors. I, p. 208, footnote by Shuckburgh.

38 Ibid., I, p. 208 (F I, 4).

39 Ibid., II, p. 161 (F III, 10), pp. 53-55 (F VIII, 6), p. 47 (A V, 17).

40 Ibid., I, p. 43 (A I, 16).

41 Ibid., I, p. 110 (A II, 18).

42 Ibid., II, p. 358 (A X, 1).

43 Ibid., I, p. 152 (Q. Fr. I, 3).

44 Ibid., I, p. 60 (A I, 20).

Roscia theatralis⁴⁵, lex Sempronia⁴⁶, lex Iunia Licinia⁴⁷,
lex Scantinia⁴⁸, lex Licinia de Sodalitiis⁴⁹, and lex Caecilia
et Didia⁵⁰ were all sufficiently well known to Cicero's
 correspondents that the mere alluding to the laws was sufficient
 to explain the matter under discussion.

That the augural books contained interpretation of what
 constituted lawful practices may be inferred from this quotation:
 "It is on record in our augural books that so far from consuls

45 Cicero., Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p.113 (A II,19).

46 Ibid., I, p. 240 (F I, 7).

47 Ibid., I, p. 281 (A IV, 16, 17).

48 Ibid., II, p. 195 (F VIII, 12).

49 Ibid., II, p. 22 (F VIII, 2). This law was against
 brotherhoods originally formed for religious rites
 and social intercourse but which later became a
 factor in politics through members accepting bribes.
 The law was passed in 55 B.C. providing that jurymen
 be chosen from the whole list of the four tribes
 of which the defendant could reject one tribe. Then
 the jury selected from the remaining three tribes.
 Only four cases are recorded under this law: in 54
 B.C., C. Messius (A IV, 15), P. Vatinius (A I, 9),
 C. Plancius, and in 51 B.C., M. Valerius Messalla
 (F VIII,2). Taken from Zumpt, "Criminal Procedure"
 pp. 547-549, 552 by Tyrrell-Purser, Correspondence
 of Cicero, 2 Ed. III, p. 326.

50 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 93 (A II, 7).
 In reference to these laws it is often difficult
 to know what law is meant, for Cicero gives the
 law only as named for the person passing it. For
 example, there were two Licinian laws mentioned and
 at first reading they might be thought to be the
 same. In volume IV of Shuckburgh's translation of
 the letters on p. 227 (Brut. I, 5) Cicero makes
 this statement about the lex Julia, "most recent
 legislation on the subject of the priesthoods in
 these words: 'the candidate and anyone for whom
 votes shall be taken'." There is nothing in the
 letter to aid the reader in deciding whether this
 is the same Julian law mentioned in volumes I and
 II. The Julian law passed by Caesar in his consul-
 ship in 59 B.C. contained 101 clauses. [Tyrrell-
 Purser, Correspondence of Cicero, III, p. 327].
 For a list of Roman Laws see Index in A.H.J. Green-
 idge, The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Times.

being legally capable of being created by a praetor, the praetors themselves cannot be so created, and that there is no precedent for it: that it is illegal in case of the consul, because it is not legal for the greater imperium to be proposed to the people by the less; in case of praetors because their names are submitted to the people as colleagues of the consuls, to whom belongs the greater imperium."⁵¹

The letters cast further fascinating sidelights upon phases of Roman law besides those already mentioned. It was legal for Roman provincial officials to accept from the provinces money for a temple or a monument.⁵² Auctioneers in actual business seemingly were not above suspicion, for there was a law excluding them, but not retired auctioneers, from serving as municipal consellers.⁵³ Doubtless to curb excessive expenditures for monuments, a law was passed which declared that if the sum spent was greater than that lawfully allowed then an equivalent sum must be deposited in the exchequer.⁵⁴ Rome too found it necessary to regulate the sale of provisions by decreeing that the aedile should measure all goods.⁵⁵ While tribunes, might have a law passed, they were not bound by a law emanating from their own body.⁵⁶ The senate could

51 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 331 (A IX, 9).

52 Ibid., I, p. 80 (Q. Fr. I, 1).

53 Ibid., III, p. 180 (F VI, 18).

54 Ibid., III, p. 237 (A XII, 35).

55 Ibid., II, p. 115 (F VIII, 6). At least such a law was proposed by Curio;—perhaps as a mere attempt to anger the opposition. The letters are not clear on this point.

56 Ibid., I, p. 177 (A III, 23).

pass a decree that, in case of a tribunician veto, the whole question under discussion could be referred to them anew. The consul could refer to the senate a matter which a tribune had vetoed.⁵⁷ The comitia centuriata could pass a law recalling from exile, as it did in Cicero's case in 57 B.C., when an influx of voters from Italy came to Rome to pass upon this measure.⁵⁸

Women, as well as men, in Cicero's period, could lawfully make wills, which to be legal had to be signed with the seals of the witnesses.⁵⁹ Wills seemingly were required to be deposited with some one. Cicero upon returning to Rome from Cilicia carried with him the will of Manius Curius of Patrae.⁶⁰ Terentia, was requested by her husband to place her will in custody of the Vestal Virgins.⁶¹ Closely allied with the question of wills was that of inheritances. Besides the ordinary and natural fashion of leaving property to friends and relatives there prevailed among wealthy Romans the custom of bequeathing possessions to leading public men who might be mere acquaintances. Cicero and Caesar both received a number of fortunes in this way.⁶² At times the inheritance could be obtained only by the heir assuming the name of the donor.⁶³

57 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 302 (A IV, 17, 16).

58 Ibid., I, p. 187 (A IV, 1).

59 Ibid., II, pp. 214-215 (A VII, 2).

60 Ibid., II, pp. 214-215; III, p. 47 (A XI, 24).

61 Ibid., III, p. 43 (A XI, 25).

62 Ibid., III, p. 319 (A XIII, 48), p. 287 (A XIII, 14), p. 31 (A XI, 12); I, p. 115 (A II, 20); II, pp. 214-215 (A VII, 2).

63 Ibid., II, p. 229 (A VII, 8).

CHAPTER VIII. THE PROVINCE.

Two hundred and forty of the four hundred and four pages of Volume Two of Shuckburgh's translation of "Cicero's Letters" are devoted to the period of Cicero's governorship in the province of Cilicia. By far the greater number of these letters are addressed to Atticus and are thus very reliable as expressing Cicero's honest convictions; of the remaining letters those written by M. Caelius Rufus are of no little value or interest for they were written at the earnest request of Cicero so that he might be kept acquainted with the political situation at Rome.¹ Shuckburgh in his introduction to this volume states that these letters of Cicero give the most detailed account now extant of the staff of a provincial governor, of the conditions under which he and his staff performed their functions, and of the pressure put upon them to exercise their power in the interests of the rich men at Rome who made their profits by provincial loans at high interest rates.² Thankful as one is for the information given, still one can but wish that it had been less fragmentary. Cicero was bitterly disappointed in being sent to rule Cilicia,- thus being forced to remain away from his beloved Rome whose politics were the only great and lasting and absorbing interest in his life. As an old sailor deprived of being near the sea longs ever for the sight of it so Cicero longed passionately for Rome

1 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 33 (F II, 8).

2 Ibid., II, Introd., P. X.

all during this period of his governorship. Indeed he seemingly was more intently interested in Roman affairs than in solving the problems in his province although it must be said that his rule was a mild one and far superior to that which the provincials had been accustomed to receive. In his letters one finds him repeatedly urging Atticus and his friends at Rome to exert their influence to prevent the senate from passing a decree lengthening his term of office,³ repeatedly explaining in detail how he was giving the province a most lenient rule,⁴ and repeatedly indicating how he was at the same time doing all in his power to preserve the good will of the influential money lenders of Rome.⁵ In fact Cicero's entire term was a contest between what his conscience dictated and what would win the approbation of the prominent politicians and the great men of Rome. Meager as are the details of his governorship nevertheless the information is in itself invaluable.

The governor of a province had his imperium bestowed upon him by the Roman Senate⁶ and could lose it only by entering Rome.⁷ He was assisted by legates (Cicero had four), prefects, and a quaestor⁸ and was accompanied by lictors⁹ who were the

3 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p.85 (F II,7), p. 56 (F XV, 9).

4 Ibid., II, pp. 126-127 (A V,21), p. 151 (A VI, 2).

5 See Chapter III for the episode of Brutus and the Cyprians.

6 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, pp.1-2- (F III,2).

7 Ibid., II, p. 227 (A VIII,7); I, p. 324 (F I, 9).

8 Ibid., II, p. 45 (A V, 16), p. 46 (A V, 17), p. 134 (A VI, 1), p. 164 (F II, 19).

9 Ibid., I, p. 147 (A III,9); II, p. 262 (A VII, 20).

symbol of the authority of his office. A legate had a knowledge of military affairs¹⁰ and directed troops in the field under the governor who was commander-in-chief of the army¹¹ and who had been either a consul or praetor in Rome.¹² An ex-pro-consul or an ex-praetor might be a legate under a governor.¹³ Prefects were appointed by the governor and often on the advice and recommendation of friends¹⁴ for here was the opportunity for the governor to reward his friends for rendering faithful service to him politically, socially, or economically. Prefects were exempt from jury service.¹⁵ The governor was further assisted by a marshal who in Cicero's case was a freedman. A captain of engineers was also a necessary member of the governor's official family.¹⁶ There were good service rewards for military tribunes, prefects, and other members of the governor's staff, and for centurions and subalterns of the military tribunes. The lists for the former had to be in within thirty days of the handing in of the governor's accounts; the lists for the latter were under no time limit.¹⁷ The governor besides his military duties, had administrative and judicial duties. His decree modeled after that of the praetor of Rome had during his term of office in the province the full force of law. This

10 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 104 (F XV, 4), p. 147 (F VIII, 57).

11 Ibid., II, p. 101 (F XV, 4).

12 Ibid., II, pp. 94-95 (F XIII, 55-56), p. 52 (F XV, 3).

13 Ibid., II, p. 104 (F XV, 4), p. 167 (A VI, 3); IV, p. 70 (A XV, 10).

14 Ibid., II, p. 31 (A V, 2), p. 153 (A VI, 2).

15 Ibid., II, p. 31 (A V, 2).

16 Ibid., II, p. 118 (F III, 7).

17 Ibid., II, p. 239 (F V, 20).

edict or decree was quite comprehensive. Cicero divided his edict into three parts. The first section allowed the Greeks to decide a controversy among themselves by their own laws and contained provisions concerning the borough accounts, debts, rate of interest, contracts, and all regulation of the publi-cani; the second section related to inheritances, to ownership and sale, to appointing of receivers,- all of which were by custom brought into court and settled in accordance with the edict; the third section which embraced all the remaining departments of judicial business Cicero left unwritten, accommodating his decisions to those of Rome.¹⁸ The governor held court or assizes in which as judge he had among other rights those of freeing a city from vexatious tributes, excessive interest, and fraudulent debts.¹⁹ Provincial officials were corrupt. Cicero's were disgruntled because he refused to distribute among them the money he had saved from the sum allotted by the Roman Senate for the annual expense of the province for Cicero had managed expenditures so well during his term that after paying all the expenses of his own governorship and leaving to his quaestor, whom he left behind him, enough money to meet the expenses of the province for a year, he was able to pay back into the Roman treasury almost forty thousand dollars.²⁰

18 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 140 (A VI, 1).

19 Ibid., II, p. 101 (F XV, 4), p. 71 (F III, 8), p. 38 (A V, 14).

20 Ibid., II, p. 205 (A VII, 1).

Cicero mentioned a number of laws applying to the province. The lex Cornelia limited the time the retiring governor could remain in his province after the arrival of his successor to thirty days,²¹ and regulated the expense of legates sent to Rome by towns to sing the praises of the governor.²² The lex Julia which is discussed more fully than any other law mentioned by Cicero, made it necessary for the governor to deposit two complete copies of his accounts in two cities of the province and to present a verbatim copy of them at the treasury at Rome.²³ The provincials under this law were required to furnish hay to the governor and his staff.²⁴ The Gabinian law prohibited the provincial towns from borrowing money from Rome.²⁵

The condition of Cilicia, Cicero's province, was pitiful. Cicero said of it that it was in a state of desolation and irreparable ruin; that the people could not pay the poll-tax, that groans and lamentations came from the towns upon which acts of savagery more appropriate to wild beasts than men, had been practiced; and that the inhabitants were weary of life because they had been so thoroughly exploited.²⁶ Provincial officials robbed and cheated them; their own Greek magistrates

21 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 53-54 (F VIII, 6).

22 Ibid., II, p. 161 (F III, 10).

23 Ibid., II, p. 181 (A VI, 7); p. 236 (F V, 20).

24 Ibid., II, p. 45 (A V, 16).

25 Ibid., II, p. 130 (A V, 21).

26 Ibid., II, p. 45 (A V, 16).

were guilty of speculation,²⁷ the publicani, the official tax collectors for Rome, harassed them unwearingly; and prominent Romans lent both to individuals and towns money to pay their debts at ruinous rates of interest. The people of Nicaea, for example, owed about \$320,000 to one man.²⁸ Creditors appealed to the governors of provinces for aid in collecting these debts just as did Brutus in the Cyprian affair mentioned in the third chapter.²⁹ Indeed, Cicero, conscientious and scrupulous Roman that he was, was guilty of appealing to governors of provinces to aid his friends to collect money owed them by individuals and towns.³⁰ The provincials paid tribute, poll-tax, door tax,³¹ and pasture and harbor dues. These last two, Cicero specified, were collected by companies of publicani.³² The pasture dues were taxes levied on public pastures.³³ In addition the governor or the head men of the state often demanded that cities bear the expense of sending legates to Rome to chant his praise to the Roman Senate or that the cities dedicate to his honor temples, statues, or marble chariots.³⁴ The suffering of the people was further increased by the cornering of grain by Greeks and Romans.³⁵ No better illustration of the

27 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 151 (A VI, 2).

28 Ibid., II, p. 96 (F XIII, 61).

29 This is outlined in illustrating the elusive nature of the correspondence, Chapter III.

30 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 94 (F XIII, 56), p. 97 (F XIII, 64).

31 Ibid., II, p. 70 (F III, 8).

32 Ibid., II, p. 98 (F XIII, 9), p. 44 (A V, 15).

33 Ibid., II, footnote by Shuckburgh, p. 98.

34 Ibid., II, p. 70 (F III, 8), p. 127 (A V, 21).

35 Ibid., II, p. 128 (A V, 21).

way in which officials at Rome regarded the provinces need be cited than the arrogant demands of M. Caelius Rufus who not only ordered that Cicero send him for his aedile games panthers captured at the public expense of the province but also had the brazen audacity to suggest that Cicero levy a tax on the provincials to enable him (Caelius) to meet the expense of the games that he was required to give as an aedile in the city of Rome.³⁶ Besides taxes the people were forced to have troops quartered upon them. The richer states paid large sums of money for exemption from furnishing troops with winter quarters, as for example, when the Cyprians paid two hundred Attic talents for that purpose.³⁷ Even the demands just enumerated were not the end of Roman exactions for it was customary to make a levy of soldiers.³⁸ In Cilicia during Cicero's governorship men were numerous and fled in every direction at the slightest mention of a levy; and the auxiliaries so raised from the Roman allies owing to the harshness and injustice of the Roman rule were either so weak or so disaffected to the Romans that to Cicero, - and so he stated in his report to the Roman senate, - it seemed improper to expect anything from them or to trust anything to them.³⁹ When the Cilicians rose in arms, doubtless as a protest against the misery of their lot, they were put down by the armed force of the governor.⁴⁰ Surely the lot

36 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 143 (A VI, 1).

37 Ibid., II, p. 127 (A V, 21).

38 Ibid., II, p. 67 (F XV, 1).

39 Ibid., II, p. 67 (F XV, 1).

40 Ibid., II, p. 66 (F XV, 1).

of the provincial in the last days of the dying Roman Republic was a hard one.

The provincial letters reveal an interesting relationship between Rome and the petty rulers that governed the kingdoms adjacent to her provinces--a relationship that bears some resemblance to England's present relations to native kings ruling over their dominions adjoining British India. The kings of the neighboring kingdoms were merely friendly to the Romans, warning them of threatened attacks from hostile rulers and co-operating in arms with the Romans;⁴¹ or were under the care of Rome as was Ariobarzanes who was under the guardianship of Cilicia and who had both his personal safety and the integrity of his dominions protected by Rome;⁴² or owed their title to the Roman senate as did Deiotarus the Younger;⁴³ or were unfriendly to the point of open warfare as was the ruler of the Parthians.⁴⁴ Part of Cicero's term of office was filled with apprehension for fear the Parthians would attack.⁴⁵ After reading Plutarch's account of the fatal struggle Crassus waged with these warlike savage people,⁴⁶ one only too readily appreciates why Cicero dreaded them more than a pestilence.

41 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 52 (F XV, 3), p. 66 (F XV, 1).

42 Ibid., II, pp. 62-63 (F XV, 2). This was the first time that the senate had offered such protection.

43 Ibid., II, p. 47 (A V, 17).

44 Ibid., II, pp. 51-52 (F XV, 3).

45 Ibid., II, p. 20 (A V, 9), p. 58 (A V, 18), p. 128 (A V, 21), p. 139 (A VI, 6).

46 Plutarch's Lives, tr. Stewart and Geo. Long, III, pp. 67-87. Crassus lost his life in a campaign against the Parthians in 55 B.C. Cicero was governor of Cilicia in 51 B.C.

Cicero's military exploits while in Cilicia centered largely around the taking of Eleutherocilicia which had never been "peaceful in living memory."⁴⁷ His success lead him to request that the senate vote him a supplicatio. He was granted this honor but the triumph for which he longingly hoped was never realized.⁴⁸ In his recital of his military feats, he described the geography of the country in which the fighting occurred and mentioned the method used in besieging a town.⁴⁹ This campaign was not an unprofitable one for besides the spoils given over to the soldiers, about \$480,000 was obtained from the sale of captives in the war. Rome lost no opportunity to enrich herself at the expense of weaker people.⁵⁰

47 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 87 (A V, 20).

48 Ibid., II, p. 124 (F III, 9), p. 186 (F II, 15), pp. 205-206 (A VII, 1), p. 235 (F XVI, 2).

49 Ibid., II, p. 81 (F 10, 11).

50 Ibid., II, p. 88 (A V, 20).

CHAPTER IX. POMPEY AND CAESAR.

Rome seemed always to be in a turmoil,- rioting was a vocation for persons such as Clodius and his ruffian band. There were minor riots in 60 B.C.¹ Clodius in 57 B.C. with his stone hurling and club and sword brandishing crew in midday fired the houses of Quintus Cicero and Milo, battered down the roof of the porticus Catuli, state property, and attacked not only Cicero and his workmen but those of Milo. In the medley a number of Clodius' most notorious braves were killed. This defiance of law was provoked by the senate's returning to Cicero property confiscated under the influence of Clodius after he, using his office of tribune, had brought about the exile of Cicero who had openly and tauntingly denounced him.² Clodius, tearing down Cicero's Roman villa, had erected upon the site a shrine and had incorporated in it the porticus Catuli located on adjoining ground. Immediately upon the recovery of his property, Cicero began to replace his house while the senate let the contract for the rebuilding of the porticus Catuli. Maddened to frenzy by having his most cherished plans frustrated, Clodius had retaliated as suggested.³ In the next year he, with his infamous followers, interrupted with abusive harangue Pompey who spoke in Milo's behalf at his trial before the comitia tributa. Milo was a friend of Cicero and a bitter

1 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 65 (A II, 1).

2 Ibid., I, pp. 41-42 (A I, 16), p. 63 (A II, 1).

3 Ibid., I, pp. 194-196 (A IV, 3).

enemy of Clodius whom he had threatened to kill. For two hours following Pompey's speech the supporters of Clodius and Milo assaulted each other with abusive words. Finally Clodius and his ruffian crew, goaded to action by the indecent outspoken epigrams against himself and his sister Clodia whose reputation was bad, began spitting at the opposition, who thereupon charged and routed their opponents. To end the disturbance the senate was summoned into the Curia.⁴

Two years before in 59 B.C. Cicero wrote that the power, which the people objected to the senate's enjoying, had passed not to them but to "three unscrupulous men" [Crassus, Pompey, Caesar] who would select for consuls and tribunes whom they desired. Both private citizens and magistrates felt the repression of these men.⁵ This same year witnessed the stormy consulship of Bibulus and Caesar.⁶ The despotism of the coalition of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus, had by 55 B.C. assumed such proportions that the position of the senate, law courts, and constitution had been completely changed.⁷

In 54 B.C. bribery was rife. The struggle among contending factions, desirous of obtaining control of the government in order to further their own selfish ambitions, intensified

4 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 197 (A IV, 3), pp. 213-214 (Q. Fr. II, 3), p. 282 (A IV, 16, 17).

5 Ibid., I, pp. 97-98 (A II, 9), pp. 109-110 (A II, 18), p. 115 (A II, 20).

6 Ibid., I, pp. 116-117 (A II, 21), pp. 121-123 (A II, 24), p. 315 (F I, 9).

7 Ibid., I, p. 247 (F I, 8).

itself, and every means, legal and illegal, were utilized to prevent competitors from obtaining office.⁸ In June a "profound calm" but one of "descrepitude" and not "content" lay over the forum.⁹ The comitia were postponed from day to day in September,¹⁰ so no elections were held, and conditions all trended toward a dictatorship. Gossip offered this office to Pompey.¹¹ In October Cicero wrote to Atticus: "We have lost not only all the healthy sap and blood of our old constitution but even its color and outward show. There is no Republic to give a moment's pleasure or a feeling of security!"¹² The next year he complained of the number of interregna for the elections¹³ seemingly had not been held.

By 51 B.C. those differences between Pompey and Caesar, which had smouldered underneath the apparently amiable agreements and relationship of the two men, threatened to burst into flame. The people were restless; their temper was uncertain; they hooted the jurors who acquitted a dishonest office holder; the next day at Curio's theatre they hissed so roundly the great orator Hortensius who had won the case for the above officer and who had never before in his entire career been hissed, that Caelius Rufus believed that "he had received enough on this occasion to serve any man for a whole lifetime"¹⁴ and

8 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 279 (Q. Fr. II, 14), p. 286 (A IV, 15), p. 302 (A IV, 17, 16).

9 Ibid., I, pp. 277-278 (Q. Fr. II, 13).

10 Ibid., I, p. 302 (A IV, 17, 16).

11 Ibid., I, p. 326 (A IV, 18), p. 335 (Q. Fr. III, 8).

12 Ibid., I, p. 325 (A IV, 18).

13 Ibid., I, p. 345 (F VII, 11).

14 Ibid., II, pp. 22-23 (F VIII, 2).

scarcely two months later, in August, they hooted down vigorously a law arranging for a dictatorship.¹⁵ In May, 51 B.C. just before setting out for his consular province, Cilicia, Cicero made a visit with Pompey, whom he quitted, confident that he was a noble citizen and one fully prepared to ward off the dangers then alarming the people.¹⁶ During mid-summer rumors floated into Rome that Caesar in Gaul had lost his cavalry, that the seventh legion had been vigorously opposed, and that he had been besieged and cut off from his main army.¹⁷ All these vague whispers had their influence on passing events.

In July, when the senate was deliberating over the problem of pay for Pompey's soldiers, mention was made of the legion which he had furnished Caesar. In order to determine in what division it was to be counted and for what purpose it existed Pompey was questioned. When he replied that "It was in Gaul" he was compelled under the fiery attacks of his opponents to promise to withdraw the legion. At this same time he was asked concerning the appointment of a successor to Caesar and the senate passed a resolution that compelled Pompey, who had planned to join his army at Ariminum, to remain in Rome where he could be present when the question of the succession to the provinces was debated.¹⁸ The day set for this discussion was August 13. As the trial of the consul designate for corruption

15 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 42 (F VIII,4).

16 Ibid., II, p. 13 (A V, 7).

17 Ibid., II, p. 16 (F VIII, 1).

18 Ibid., I, pp. 42-43 (F VIII,4).

interfered with the consideration of the succession question on that date, it was postponed until September 1. At that time nothing was done aside from the motion offered by Scipio and Pompey. The latter had begun to object to Caesar's keeping a province with an army while he was consul. Pompey's motion was that no decision of the senate was to be passed at the time concerning the succession in Gaul; and that of Scipio was that the question of the Gallie provinces should be considered on March 1, uncombined with any other business.¹⁹ After frequent postponements and stormy debates the senate, perceiving that Pompey desired Caesar to leave his province by March 1, 50 B.C., passed on September 29 a resolution reading as follows:

"Twenty-ninth of September: in the temple of Apollo; the following assisted in drawing up the decree:

"Seeing that M. Marcellus, the consul, has made mention of the consular provinces, on that subject the senators have voted as follows: L. Paullus, C. Marcellus, the consuls, shall, when they have entered on their office, on the first of the month of March that is about to fall within their year of office, bring the matter of the consular provinces before the senate in preference thereto; nor shall anything be brought before the senate in conjunction therewith by the consuls. And for the sake of that business they shall hold meetings of the senate, comitial days notwithstanding; and shall draw up decrees of the senate. And when that business is brought before the senate

19 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp.49-51 (F VIII,9).

by the consuls, they may bring into the house those of the senators who are among the three hundred and sixty jurors without incurring penalties thereby. If on that matter it is necessary to bring any resolution before the people or plebs, Ser. Sulpicius and M. Marcellus, the consuls, the praetors, and the tribunes of the plebs, to which of them it seems good, shall bring it before the people or plebs. But if they shall fail to bring it, whosoever are next in office shall bring it before the people or plebs. No one vetoed."²⁰

This postponing of the provincial issue until March and Pompey's assurance to the people that he would do nothing until after that date, as well as his adroitly worded replies to the question, what he would do if Caesar refused to obey the senate or secured some one to prevent the passing of the senatorial decree, led to a general feeling of security.²¹ Indeed in February of 50 B.C., M. Caelius Rufus reported to Cicero in Cilicia that a general lethargy was settling over the Roman state and that only a dispute between the shopkeepers and the water commissioners broke the lifeless monotony of the days.²²

There is no actual mention of the meeting of the senate on the appointed day in March but doubtless something was done, for in June of 50 B.C., Caelius in his letter to Cicero stated that Pompey was heartily agreed with the senate that Caesar

20 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp.76-77 (F VIII,8).

21 Ibid., II, p. 78 (F VIII, 8).

22 Ibid., II, p. 115 (F VIII, 6).

should leave his province on November 13. While assuring every one that he was not attacking Caesar but was only making arrangements which were entirely just to him, nevertheless Pompey was evidently alarmed at the prospect of Caesar's becoming consul designate before handing over his army, especially since his own second consulship was being severely criticised by Curio, a staunch, open, fiery, and insistent supporter or rather manager for Caesar, in the senate.²³

In another letter written also in June but subsequent to the above, Caelius informed Cicero that Curio who, as a tribune, had vetoed the senatorial decrees concerning the provinces, had had a fitting climax to his victory over Pompey by the full senate denying the request of the consul M. Marcellus, that the tribunes be remonstrated with for vetoing the decrees. Pompey, who was exceedingly disgruntled over this negation of the senate, was still more so when Caesar's faction finally arranged that Caesar should stand for the consulship without giving up either his army or the provinces.²⁴

Extremely interesting are the views of Caelius Rufus and of Cicero on the situation. The former was convinced that Pompey had fully determined to allow Caesar to become consul only on the condition that he first hand over his army and provinces and that the compromise offered by Caesar in September, namely that both he and Pompey give up their armies, was actuated

²³ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 176-177 (F VIII, 2).

²⁴ Ibid., II, p. 182 (F VIII, 13).

by the belief that he would not be safe if he gave up his army. M. Caelius Rufus' further comments are illuminating. "That mighty love and unpopular union of theirs has not degenerated into mere secret bickering but is breaking out into open war." In the strife Pompey would have the support of the senate and the iudices while Caesar would be joined by all those whose past life gave them cause for fear and whose future was hopeless. Between the armies of the two rivals there was no comparison. Only the sword and force could settle their quarrel and war would be upon the republic before a year had passed.²⁵

Cicero, who was for peace and who in private urged Pompey to promote such a condition, thought it unwise to oppose Caesar strong when Caesar weak had been pampered. For ten years the senate had prepared the way for the condition confronting the Roman government in 50 B.C. This body had permitted Clodius, a patrician, to be adopted by a plebeian in order that he might be eligible for the tribuneship. It had approved of Cicero's banishment and had agreed to the loss of the Campanian land.²⁶ In addition to these concessions to Caesar and his faction, it had voted five additional years to Caesar

25 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 196-197 (F VIII, 14).

26 This was a small district around Capua which paid rent to the state and which had not been distributed in the age of the Gracchi. In spite of the opposition of Cicero and others, Caesar was finally permitted to settle his veterans on this Campanian land. J. L. Strachan Davidson, Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic (New York, 1894) pp. 100, 182, 265, 394.

as proconsul, had allowed him to become a candidate while absent from Rome and to retain his army while standing for the consulship. In return for the above favors and others not enumerated, Caesar, a leader of consummate boldness, influence, and audacity, stood ready to defy the senate with eleven legions and ample cavalry and supported by the Transpadani, the publicani, the city rabble, the majority of the young men, all the criminals--guilty, condemned and uncondemned, all the overburdened debtors, and the influential tribunes. In short "the only thing the cause lacks is merit: it has everything else in abundance." The senate was lacking in strict loyalty to the constitution, the publicani, never staunchly allied to the senate, favored Caesar, and the financiers and farmers were for peace. The contention was between two men, Pompey and Caesar, for supremacy. It was foolish to think that Caesar was defending the constitution for he had ignored it in his consulship.²⁷ Pompey, believing Caesar alienated from him, had no desire for peace.²⁸ Thus the picture, that Cicero drew, was a dark one.

In a letter written to Atticus in the latter part of December Cicero stated the various phases of the political problem. "Either Caesar should be allowed to stand for the consulship while he still holds his army (whether by the favor of the senate or tribunes); or Caesar should be persuaded to hand

27 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 219-220 (A VII, 3), pp. 224-225 (A VII, 5), p. 225 (A VII, 6), p. 228 (A VII, 7).

28 Ibid., II, p. 223 (A VII, 4).

over his province and army, and so become consul; or, if he can not be persuaded to do so, the election should be held without admitting his name as candidate; or, if he employs tribunes to prevent that, and yet makes no warlike move, there must be an interregnum; or, if on the ground of his legal candidatureship having been ignored, he moves up his army, we must fight him with arms, while he must begin hostilities either at once before we are prepared, or as soon as his friends have their demands for having him recognized as a candidate at the election refused; but he will either have the one excuse for an appeal to arms (that his candidature is ignored), or will have an additional one, if it chances some tribune, when vetoing the senate or stirring up the people is censured, or hampered by a senatorial decree, or forcibly removed, or driven out of the city, or flies to him alleging that he has been driven so out; seeing finally, that if war is once begun, we must either defend the city, or abandon it and try to cut him off from supplies and other resources."²⁹

In November of 50 B.C., Caesar suggested as a compromise that both he and Pompey give up their troops. On December 21 a speech containing an invective against Pompey and a threat of armed intervention was delivered by Antony. When Pompey read the address, he cringed and muttered words to the effect-- "what could be expected of Caesar when his quaestor Antony without either influence or wealth, dared to be so outspoken."³⁰

29 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 231-232 (A VII, 9).

30 Ibid., II, p. 230 (A VII, 8).

The new year came in with the embers of civil war threatening to burst into flame. Caesar sent the senate a menacing and offensive note. Antony and Q. Cassius expelled, yet not in a violent fashion by the senate, left with Curio to join Caesar as soon as the senate on January 12, 49 B.C., passed the decree ordering that consuls, praetors, tribunes, and proconsuls should exert themselves to see that no damage was done to the Republic.³¹ Then the civil war was on.

Immediately the senate began to prepare to resist. Italy was divided into districts one of which, the Campanian seacoast, Pompey placed in charge of Cicero who was to supervise the levying of troops in that section.³² Within a short time after January 12 Pompey, magistrates, and many senators abandoned Rome, leaving it without even the protection of a garrison, to provide which the senate had retained Pompey at Rome for years.

Thus the capital city with its immense wealth, public and private, was left to the mercy of Caesar.³³ Pompey proceeded to the neighborhood of Larinum, Luceria, Teanum, and Apulia where he had cohorts.³⁴ At Teanum on January 23, Pompey and the consuls received Caesar's proposals: Pompey was to go to his province, Spain; the levies already made and the garrisons of the Pompeians were to be disbanded; he (Caesar) was to hand over farther Gaul to Domitius and hither Gaul to Cossidius

31 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 234 (F XVI, 11).

32 Ibid., II, p. 235 (F XVI, 11), p. 243 (A VII, 11).

33 Ibid., II, pp. 246-247 (A VII, 13a).

34 Ibid., II, p. 253 (A VII, 12).

Nonianus, both of whom had already been assigned to their provinces; and, relinquishing his demands that his candidature be admitted in his absence, he was to go to Rome to canvass for his consulship and was to be in town the legal number of days required of a candidate. These proposals were accepted by the Pompeians provided that Caesar would withdraw his garrisons from those towns which he had occupied outside of his province-- Ariminum, Pisa, Ancona, and Arretium.³⁵ Cicero reported to Capua as the consuls ordered him. As Caesar occupied successfully more towns the zeal of the loyalists' recruiting officers diminished, as did the desire of men to enlist.³⁶ L. Domitius was at Corfinium with thirty-one cohorts which he had divided among three towns³⁷; Pompey had the two legions which Caesar had had in Gaul and which were none too loyal.³⁸ Pompey, almost immediately after resistance had begun, had adroitly distributed by twos, among the heads of families in the Campanian section, the five thousand gladiators of Caesar's stationed at Capua, because he feared they would break out and menace the safety of the republic.³⁹

35 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 250 (A VII, 14), pp. 253-254 (F XVI, 12). Seventeen clear days (legally three nundinae) were required as the time a candidate should be in Rome. Footnote on p. 253. Perhaps other towns besides those mentioned were occupied by Caesar. The letters do not state clearly on this point.

36 Ibid., II, p. 263 (A VII, 21).

37 Ibid., II, p. 265 (A VII, 23), pp. 266-267 (A VIII, 11a), p. 276 (A VIII, 12a).

38 Ibid., II, p. 262 (A VII, 20), p. 275 (A VIII, 12c).

39 Ibid., II, p. 251 (A VII, 14).

About the middle of February Pompey, knowing that Caesar was pushing forward to the district held by Domitius, ordered that general, as he had previously suggested Cicero to do, to join him at Luceria.⁴⁰ A few days later Pompey again admonished Domitius to leave before Caesar, who had strong cavalry and infantry of his own and who would soon be joined by Curio with garrisons from Umbria and Etruria, had surrounded him at Corfinium. Pompey was unable to join him as he requested because he lacked confidence in his two legions. The day following, having been informed by Domitius that Caesar was encamped near Corfinium, Pompey urged Domitius, who desired to resist Caesar if he came near him and only to withdraw to aid Pompey if Caesar came along the seacoast, to leave at once with his troops which were formed of the staunchest loyalists. Pompey did this because he was unable to go to Domitius' assistance, for he had no soldiers save the untrustworthy two legions, since the levies made by the consuls had not yet assembled.⁴¹ On the same day he wrote to the consuls stating that he feared it impossible for Domitius to evade Caesar that he, because of the nature of his troops, was unable to render any assistance at Corfinium; that he had but fourteen cohorts, having dispatched two to Brundisium and left others at Canusium; that he wished one consul to join him and the other one to go to Sicily with the Campanian recruits; and that all other forces with spare arms should be gathered at

40 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 266-267 (A VIII, 11a), pp. 268-269 (A VIII, 12b).

41 Ibid., II, pp. 270-275 (A VIII, 12c), p. 275 (A VIII, 12d).

Brundisium preparatory to being shipped to Dyrrachium.⁴²

February 20, Pompey wrote to Cicero who was at Formiae urging him to join him at Apulia so that their united counsels might be utilized in supporting the violated Republic.⁴³ Caesar took Corfinium on February 21 and on the afternoon of that same day set out for Brundisium for which place Pompey left Canusium on the morning of the same day.⁴⁴ In the meanwhile Pompey's supporters were collecting a fleet from Alexanderia, Colchis, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Lycia, Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, Lesbos, Smyrna, Miletus, and Cos, in order to cut Italy off from the corn-producing provinces.⁴⁵ Caesar was well equipped with cavalry, infantry, Gallic auxiliaries, and a fleet.⁴⁶

When Caesar reached Brundisium March 9 Pompey sent Numerius Magius, his perfect whom Caesar had captured at Corfinium but immediately released,⁴⁷ to negotiate peace.⁴⁸ The terms demanded of the Pompeians must have been unsatisfactory for Caesar besieged them, throwing out moles from the headlands of the harbor so as to force Pompey to evacuate by sea speedily.⁴⁹ With all his forces the loyalist leader left Brundisium six days later and Caesar entered the town the next day, remained long enough to

42 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 276-277 (A VIII, 12a)

43 Ibid., As Cicero had not followed Pompey's suggestion in his first letter, that he join him at Luceria, he wrote him again. II, p. 284 (A VIII, 11c).

44 Ibid., II, p. 283 (A VIII, 3), p. 305 (A VIII, 14).

45 Ibid., II, pp. 329-330 (A IX, 9).

46 Ibid., II, p. 343 (A IX, 13).

47 Ibid., II, p. 303 (A IX, 7c).

48 Ibid., II, p. 345 (A IX, 13a).

49 Ibid., II, p. 347 (A IX, 14).

make a speech, and then hurried to Rome which he hoped to reach before April 1.⁵⁰

After Brundisium, levies were held in Italy and men drafted into winter quarters.⁵¹ By the middle of April Caesar had left Rome, angry with the senate and indignant over certain intercessions of the tribunes, and was on his way to Spain where Afranius and Petreius, Pompeian generals, had six legions.⁵² In April Curio, with his imperium bestowed by Caesar instead of the senate as prescribed by law, took over Sicily unopposed by Cato who, refusing to assent to the pleas of the loyalists of the island that he raise an army and withstand the Caesarians, sailed from Syracuse April 23.⁵³

January of 48 B.C. found Cicero at Epirus with Pompey after months of indecision in which Atticus, M. Caelius Rufus, Antony, and even Caesar had requested that he remain neutral.⁵⁴ By May or June Caesar was camped in Epirus, for the Spanish province and the veteran army stationed there had been captured.⁵⁵ The final outcome of the attack on Pompey is not ascertainable from the letters for there are none describing it. In July Cicero wrote guardedly or rather suggestively from Epirus concerning his dissatisfaction with the manner in which

50 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 351 (A IX, 15).

51 Ibid., II, p. 355 (A IX, 18).

52 Ibid., II, p. 254 (F XVI, 12), pp. 367-368 (F VIII, 16).

53 Ibid., II, p. 365 (A X, 4), p. 400 (A X, 16).

54 Ibid., II, p. 315 (A X, 2a), p. 370 (A X, 8b), p. 378 (A X, 8a) p. 384 (A X, 9), p. 367 (F VIII, 16), p. 309 (A IX, 7a); III, p. 2 (A XI, 1).

55 Ibid., III, p. 6 (F IX, 9).

Pompey was conducting the campaign;⁵⁶ in November he was back in Brundisium in Italy.⁵⁷ From then on till Caesar's death, Cicero rarely mentioned political affairs and then only with the greatest caution, for he knew that his being in Italy was only at the sufferance of Caesar.⁵⁸

However, from chance references it is possible to follow the events in Roman politics to Caesar's death. After Caesar's victory in Epirus many of the Pompeians went to Africa to seek pardon of Caesar at Alexandria. He allowed no one to enter Italy without his permission.⁵⁹ By December of 48 B.C. Pompey's death had occurred.⁶⁰ In the early part of 47 B.C. conditions in Africa, Spain, Italy, and even in Rome seemed unfavorable to Caesar. His legions in Italy failed to show their usual loyalty.⁶¹ He, however, was able to conquer Africa and arrived in Rome before the end of 47 B.C.⁶² By the fall of 46 B.C. he had all the authority in his own hand and consulted no one.⁶³ The senate approached him in a suppliant attitude⁶⁴ and at last Rome was tranquil.⁶⁵ The two sons of Pompeius Magnus, Sextus and Gneaus, with a great force of eleven legions in Spain

56 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 10 (A XI, 4), p. 11 (F XIV, 6).

57 Ibid., III, p. 12 (F XIV, 12).

58 Ibid., III, p. 175 (F XV, 16), p. 109 (F IV, 13).

59 Ibid., III, p. 17 (A XI, 6), pp. 18-19 (A XI, 7).

60 Ibid., III, p. 16 (A XI, 6), p. 19 (A XI, 7).

61 Ibid., III, p. 27 (A XI, 10).

62 Ibid., III, p. 55 (A XV, 15).

63 Ibid., III, p. 117 (F IV, 9).

64 Ibid., III, p. 137 (F IV, 4). Cicero himself thanked Caesar at length in the senate when he had been extremely magnanimous in recalling an exile.

65 Ibid., III, p. 132 (F XII, 17).

forced Caesar in January of 45 B.C. to return to that province for they with their sympathizers there had created a disturbance of serious proportion.⁶⁶ The two leaders were forced to flee and Caesar returned to Rome where later he was assassinated.⁶⁷ The receiving of a king who came to purchase a kingdom,⁶⁸ the championing of the land sales and assignments of Sulla in order to obtain greater security for his own,⁶⁹ the extensive and expensive plans to enlarge Rome,⁷⁰ the holding of farcical elections like the consular one of December, 45 B.C.,⁷¹ and similar actions of Caesar stamped him in the minds of idealistic loyalists as a tyrant, responsible for the decay which had overtaken the Republic. Thus ended the civil war between Pompey and Caesar.

66 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 180 (F VI, 18).

67 Ibid., III, p. 239 (A XII, 37, 4), IV, p. 5 (A XIV, 1).

68 Ibid., III, p. 265 (A XIII, 2, 1, 2).

69 Ibid., III, p. 343 (F XIII, 8).

70 Ibid., III, p. 300 (A XIII, 33, 4, 5).

71 Ibid., III, p. 358 (F VII, 30).

CHAPTER X. ANTONY AND BRUTUS.

While the correspondence does not furnish a very clear detailed account of the civil war into which Rome was hurled by the slaying of Caesar, it does reveal the lack in the conspirators of those attributes which are necessary for a successful "coup d' état." Cicero said of the Ides of March, "That deed was done with the courage of men but with the prudence of a child."¹

When Caesar was struck down by his assassins, all the loyalists and semi-loyalists were exultant while the followers of the dead man were dismayed. But after the public funeral and the reading of the will, popular feeling turned.² Two days after Caesar was slain, Decimus Brutus wrote to his fellow conspirators on the Capitol that, as it was unsafe in Rome for them, he had asked Antony for a free legation for them so they could leave the city without seeming to be fleeing. He further stated that armed resistance at the time was impossible for they had neither an army nor supplies and no one upon whom to depend for safety except possibly Sextus Pompeius and Cæcilius Bassus who might offer their assistance when they learned of Caesar's death.³ The tyrannicides had failed to seize the opportune moment and thus defeated themselves.

1 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 45 (A XIV, 21).
The same idea in almost identical words is on p. 55 (A XVI, 4, 1-4).

2 Ibid., IV, p. 17 (A XIV, 10), p. 29 (A XIV, 14).

3 Ibid., IV, p. 2 (F VI, 1), p. 9 (A XIV, 4).

On the other hand Antony was not slow to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the unprepared state of the enemies of Caesar. He immediately refused to tender to Brutus his province. Because of the antagonism of the common people he advised the conspirators to leave Rome.⁴ He refused to put down a conspiracy of Caesar's freedmen for he was aware that the fear of Caesar's armies, of his veterans, and of his late henchmen with their imperium, and the knowledge that the magistrates were a weak type and that loyalists were indifferent, kept the slayers confined to their houses. Antony desired to intensify their uneasiness.⁵ He purchased so much corn for his armed guards that there was none left for anyone else.⁶ In less than a month he had made Caesar's influence in Rome as strong as it had been during his lifetime, for all his acts, projects, and promises were being executed.⁷

Furthermore through bribery and forgery Antony obtained measures never suggested by Caesar. Such was the case of the granting of full Roman citizenship to the Sicilians. This law was secured by bribing the comitia.⁸ On June 2, 44 B.C. a law was passed empowering the consuls "to decide on all things appointed, decreed, done by Caesar." At this time many proposed measures of Caesar, which were introduced, were approved by the

⁴ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 2 (F VI, 1).

⁵ Ibid., IV, pp. 9-10 (A XIV, 5).

⁶ Ibid., IV, p. 8 (A XIV, 3).

⁷ Ibid., IV, p. 15 (A XIV, 9), p. 27 (A XIV, 13), p. 36 (F XII, 1), p. XIV, 14), p. 16 (A XIV, 10).

⁸ Ibid., IV, pp. 20-21 (A XIV, 12).

consuls.⁹ In May of 44 B.C. Cicero described the political conditions in these terms: "Decrees are fastened up; immunities are granted; immense sums of money are squandered; exiles are being recalled; forged decrees of the senate are being entered in the aerarium."¹⁰ In addition Antony visited all the veterans to induce them to take an oath to support Caesar's acts.¹¹

As the prestige of Antony increased that of the conspirators diminished. The Germans and tribes in Gaul, upon hearing of the assassination, promised obedience to the person in command,¹² thus removing the fear expressed by some at Rome of an uprising there.¹³ On the other hand municipal towns were overjoyed at Caesar's death.¹⁴ Gaius Trebonius, to avoid detection by the Caesarians, was obliged to depart for his province by by-roads.¹⁵ In spite of Antony's opposition Decimus Brutus in April joined his legions in Gaul.¹⁶ Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus, praetors at Rome, remained for a time outside the city, having upon Antony's advice dismissed from the country towns their friends through the issuing of both an edict and a circular letter and thus placing

9 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 115 (A XVI, 16c).

10 Ibid., IV, p. 36 (F XII, 1).

11 Ibid., IV, p. 45 (A XIV, 21).

12 Ibid., IV, p. 16 (A XIV, 9).

13 Ibid., IV, p. 5 (A XIV, 6).

14 Ibid., IV, p. 11 (A XIV, 6). The municipal towns had found certain of Caesar's trade regulations irksome. T. Mommsen, History of Rome, V, p. 405.

15 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 16 (A XIV, 10).

16 Ibid., IV, p. 25 (A XIV, 13).

themselves at his mercy.¹⁷ On June 5 the senate gave the superintendency of the corn supply in Asia to Brutus and in Sicily to Cassius.¹⁸ This was the most menial office in the public service.¹⁹ Cicero discussed the acceptance of the offices with the two men at Antium in the presence of Servilia, the mother of Brutus. Cicero, who at first had regarded the offer of these positions as too great an indignity²⁰ to allow of their acceptance, even though they provided a legitimate excuse for the tyrannioides to leave Rome during their praetorship, later decided the taking over of these duties would assure their safety. Cassius, deeply insulted and with a determined look which suggested his readiness for war, angrily retorted that he would not go to Sicily but to Achaia. Brutus, although desirous of going to Rome, accepted Cicero's advice which he had solicited, and decided to remain away from the city and to permit another person to give his praetorian games in his name. Servilia promised to use her influence to obtain the elimination of the corn-commissionship from the senate's decree. Cassius and Brutus both lamented at this time their failure to have grasped opportunities of the past which would have improved their present position in the state. Whereupon Cicero

17 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 64 (F XI, 2).
This information is contained in a joint letter of Cassius and Brutus written to Antony as protests against the crowd of veterans whom he was gathering at Rome for the two conspirators feared these would render it unsafe for them to attend the session of the senate June 1, 44 B.C.

18 Ibid., IV, p. 66 (A XV, 9).

19 Ibid., IV, p. 68 (A XV, 10).

20 Ibid., IV, p. 67 (A XV, 10).

reminded them that the time to have acted was in the senate which should have been summoned while the people's fever for them was at its height, immediately following the assassination. Brutus seemingly was anxious to depart for Asia as soon as he had made arrangement for his games.²¹ Soon after this interview, Cassius and Brutus began to assemble a fleet.²²

On August 4 the two men sent from Naples a joint letter sharp in tone to Antony. They refuted his insinuation that they were "holding levies, demanding money contributions, tampering with armies and sending couriers across the sea." Merely because they had waived their praetorian rights in an edict, they saw no reason either for his threatening, insulting edict or his letter similarly expressed. They replied to his taunting of them with Caesar's death by this: "Our feeling is that, while we desire you to have a great and honorable position in a free state and do not challenge you to any quarrel, we yet value our liberty higher than your friendship. Consider again and again what you are taking upon yourself, what you are capable of maintaining, and be careful to consider not how long Caesar lived, but how long he reigned. We pray the gods that your designs may be for the safety of the Republic; if not, we hope that they may damage yourself as little as is consistent with its safety and honor."²³

21 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, pp. 68-69 (A XV, 11).

22 Ibid., IV, p. 71 (A XV, 12), p. 104 (A XVI, 4), p. 106 (A XVI, 2).

23 Ibid., IV, pp. 118-119 (F XI, 3).

At a meeting of the senate called for September 1 Cassius and Brutus through a dispatch requested that all ex-praetors and ex-consuls be present.²⁴ Early in October in order to further excite public opinion against the conspirators, Antony placed on the rostra a statue of Caesar bearing the inscription: "To the father for his eminent services."²⁵ By that date Antony had secured complete control of the senate, of the assembly, and of the law courts and prevented the free expression of public opinion by the presence of his armed force.²⁶

By the end of 44 B.C. civil war seemed probable. About October 1 Antony went to offer the four Macedonian legions on the way to Italy money-bounties to serve him at Rome.²⁷ In December Decimus Brutus wrote Cicero from Cisalpine Gaul that he had defeated a number of Alpine tribes, capturing strongholds and devastating the country and that all this was done to season his troops for the coming struggle with Antony.²⁸ Octavian, who had arrived at Naples in April of 44 B.C. to claim Caesar's inheritance²⁹ and who in August had given games in honor of his uncle's victory,³⁰ was in November raising troops. When he requested a secret meeting with Cicero at

24 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 120 (A XVI, 7).

25 Ibid., IV, pp. 137-138 (F XII, 3).

26 Ibid., IV, p. 132 (F X, 1); p. 133 (F X, 2).

27 Ibid., IV, p. 140 (F XII, 23).

28 Ibid., IV, p. 145 (F XI, 4).

29 Ibid., IV, p. 18 (A XIV, 10). Atticus at the time remarked that the claiming of the inheritance would lead to a contest with Antony.

30 Ibid., IV, p. 127 (F XI, 28).

Capua, the latter refused. Octavian through the payment of five hundred denarii or about seventy dollars had won over all the veterans of Casilinium and Calatia. With his three thousand veterans, he offered himself to Cicero's party as a military leader. He consulted Cicero whether he should start for Rome; should hold Capua where he was organizing his army,³¹ and thus intercept Antony who was advancing to Rome leading the Alaudian legion and exacting money payments from the municipal towns; or should join the three Macedonian legions sailing to Italy, which, since they had refused either to accept Antony's bounty or listen to his address, Octavian hoped to secure for himself. Cicero advised him to go to Rome for there he would have the city mob and the loyalists, provided he could gain their confidence.³² He in turn daily through letters urged Cicero to go to Rome to save the Republic.³³ The municipal towns were enthusiastic for Octavian³⁴ who later turned Antony aside as he advanced from Brundisium to Rome.³⁵

On December 20 at a full meeting of the senate, which had been summoned by the tribunes of the plebs to provide protection of the consuls-designate,³⁶ was confirmed Cicero's motion

31 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 147 (A XVI, 9).

32 Ibid., IV, pp. 145-146 (A XVI, 8). This information was conveyed to Cicero by an agent of Octavian. From two other passages the inference can be drawn that two of the Macedonians' legions failed to join Antony at Brundisium. p. 166 (F XI, 7), p. 176 (F X, 28).

33 Ibid., IV, p. 150 (A XVI, 11).

34 Ibid., IV, p. 151 (A XVI, 11).

35 Ibid., IV, p. 186 (F XII, 25).

36 Ibid., IV, p. 166 (F XI, 6).

providing that the provinces should be retained by the persons actually in possession and should not be handed over to any successors except those designated in a senatorial decree.³⁷

On the expiration of their consulship on January 1, 43 B.C., Dolabella and Antony were followed in office by Pansa and Hirtius who, according to Cicero's brother, were "a compact of vice and the most womanish weakness."³⁸ The senate authorized a levy to be held in Rome and Italy to which people eagerly responded, and despatched an emissary to Antony with definite demands which, if not accepted, meant war.³⁹ Antony not only refused to comply with them but sent back intolerable orders of his own.⁴⁰ Cicero had become the leader of the senate⁴¹ whose strength lay mostly in the members of lowest rank who were very resolute. The consulars, save for Lucius Caesar, were either inactive or disloyal. In Rome and Italy the people were for Cicero's party, the constitutionalists.⁴²

The struggle for control of the Roman state was carried on in three localities: in the West where Decimus Brutus opposed Antony; in the East where Cassius and Trebonius contended with Dolabella; and in Macedonia where Marcus Brutus did little but express his disapproval of civil wars. By

37 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 168 (F XII, 22).

38 Ibid., IV, p. 170 (F XVI, 27). For reference to Dolabella as consul see IV, p. 33 (A XIV, 17 a and F IX, 14); and for a similar reference for Antony see IV, p. 118 (F XI, 3).

39 Ibid., IV, p. 173 (F XII, 24).

40 Ibid., IV, p. 174 (F XII, 4).

41 Ibid., IV, p. 173 (F XII, 24).

42 Ibid., IV, p. 180 (F XII, 5), p. 174 (F XII, 4), p. 176 (F X, 28). Lucius Caesar was Antony's uncle.

February of 43 B.C. the situation had shaped itself in Gaul and Italy. Decimus Brutus was being besieged by a small force at Mutina; Antony with a large army was at Bononia; Hirtius with a strong force was at Claterna; Octavian similarly supported was at Forum Cornelium; and Pansa with a large number of troops raised from the Italian levy was at Rome. All of Cisalpine Gaul was devotedly for the constitutionalists save Bononia, Regium Lepidi, and Parma. Even the Transpadani who had been Caesarian supporters in Pompey's civil war were as a whole favorable to the conspirators' cause.⁴³ March found Antony in camp at Mutina. In April Cicero wrote that, unless Decimus was relieved at once at Mutina, the Republic's cause was lost and all would be forced to flee to Cassius in Syria for protection.⁴⁴ On April the fifteenth Decimus Brutus' side won a victory which is graphically described by a participant.⁴⁵ This battle was followed by the victory of Mutina which released Decimus Brutus from seige but resulted in the death of Hirtius and the mortal wounding of Pansa.⁴⁶ The first day after the engagement Brutus did nothing for he was unaware that Hirtius had been killed, had no confidence in what Octavian would do until he had interviewed him, and was without cavalry and transport animals. The second day, being summoned by Pansa, he set out for Bononia but upon learning of his death

43 Cicero, *Letters*, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, pp.179-180 (F XII,5)

44 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 202 (F XII, 1).

45 *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 211-213 (F X, 30).

46 *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 220-221 (Brut. I, 304).

on the way, he returned to his miserable little army. The third day he began his pursuit of Antony. That general, breaking open slave-barracks and forcing every kind of person into his service, did not halt until he reached Vada where he was joined by Ventidius who had brought his fully armed veterans by a difficult march across the Apennines.⁴⁷

Brutus, because of the condition of his army, was forced to make frequent stops. When he was within thirty miles of Vada and heard that Antony was planning to go to Pollentia, he set out for that place but his opponent only sent a small detachment there.⁴⁸ Antony then went on to meet Lepidus with whom he must even at that time have had a secret agreement that he would desert to him. Brutus had never trusted the loyalty of Plancus, Asinius, or Lepidus, "that shiftest of men", and had in the course of his pursuit of Antony intercepted messages from him to the above three men entreating them to come over to his side.⁴⁹ May 21 found Brutus at Vercellae with naught but ill-equipped raw-recruits,⁵⁰ for the fourth and the Martian legion had refused to go over to him after Hirtius' death⁵¹ and Octavian who had not lent his assistance after Mutina,

47 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, pp. 236-237 (F XI, 13, 1-4), pp. 230-231 (F XI, 10).

48 Ibid., IV, p. 237 (F XI, 13, 1-4). Brutus camped at Regium Apr., 29, p. 222 (F XI, 9), at Dertona, May 5, p. 230 (F XI, 10), at Statiellae May 6, p. 231 (F XI, 11).

49 Ibid., IV, pp. 221-222 (F XI, 9), p. 231 (F XI, 11).

50 Ibid., IV, p. 264 (F XI, 19).

51 Ibid., IV, p. 262 (F XI, 14), p. 211 (F X, 30).

would not yield him any of Pansa's soldiers.⁵² Brutus had one million and six hundred thousand dollars when he began the task of liberating the Republic. In May of 43 B.C. he was unable to feed or pay his seven legions although all his private property and his friends had been encumbered with debt by him to secure money to finance the war.⁵³ In June from his camp near Cularo he wrote Cicero to have the senate send him troops and pay for his soldiers or all would be lost.⁵⁴

In April while Brutus was still shut up in Mutina, Plancus who had been in Gallia Narbonensis was able to take his army by forced marches across the Rhone and to arrive on April 26 at Vienne. From this place he sent his brother ahead of him by a shorter route with three thousand cavalry to relieve Brutus. Plancus feared that Lepidus might attempt to hinder his reaching Brutus.⁵⁵ Upon learning of Antony's defeat at Mutina, Plancus ceased his advance for he feared that the section of his army strongly devoted to Antony might desert and he desired reinforcements from Rome before he met that general.⁵⁶ In May he built a bridge in a single day across the Iser over which he took his troops, and then sent his brother with four

52 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 267 (F XI, 20), p. 280 (F XI, 10).

53 Ibid., IV, p. 230 (F XI, 10).

54 Ibid., IV, p. 289 (F XI, 26).

55 Ibid., IV, p. 220 (F X, 9), p. 223 (F X, 11). On p. 223 Plancus stated his brother was sent with 3000 cavalry while on p. 220 he said with "a thousand cavalry."

56 Ibid., IV, p. 223 (F X, 11).

thousand cavalry to engage Lucius Antony who had arrived at Forum Iulii. He himself planned to follow speedily with his four legions and the rest of the cavalry and to unite with Lepidus.⁵⁷ This individual after having requested Plancus to join him, sent him word not to do so. Plancus willingly complied⁵⁸ for both he and Lepidus were playing a game of intrigue, - pretending to aid the Republic but ever finding legitimate sounding excuses for not moving vigorously against Antony. Shortly afterwards, having been earnestly entreated by Lepidus to join him, Plancus on May 20 broke up his camp at Iser, admitting to Cicero that it would have been a wiser plan to have waited until Brutus, of whose loyalty he was confident, had crossed the mountain, and joined him. He did, however, leave the bridge standing and a strong garrison at each end so that Brutus could more quickly unite with him. Plancus justified his action by stating that his presence was necessary to preserve Lepidus' loyalty.⁵⁹

Upon hearing that Lucius Antony was coming into his province with a detachment of cavalry, Lepidus moved by daily marches to Forum Voconii⁶⁰ which was twenty-four miles from Forum Iulii where Lucius and Mark Antony, who had more than five thousand troops and the fifth legion and other veterans,

57 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 238 (F X, 15).

58 Ibid., IV, p. 239 (F X, 21, 1-6).

59 Ibid., IV, pp. 258-259 (F X, 18).

60 Ibid., IV, p. 257 (F X, 34, 1-2).

were encamped. A little to the east of them was Publius Ventidius with three legions.⁶¹ On May 20 Plancus approached within forty miles of both the camps of Lepidus and the Antonys and left a river between himself and these generals. At this distance he could advance quickly or retire safely.⁶² Although he had pledged his loyalty and cooperation to Plancus by sending a hostage,⁶³ nevertheless Lepidus deserted to Antony on May 29, 43 B.C. and thereupon both moved against Plancus, who, receiving the news of their approach while they were twenty miles away, made an orderly retreat, losing neither soldiers nor baggage. June 4 he crossed the Iser and destroyed the bridge. He waited near Cularo for Brutus to meet him.⁶⁴

On July 28, 44 B.C. when the last letter of the Cicero-
nian correspondence on this subject was written, Plancus and Brutus were encamped at that place. The former had three legions of veterans and one of very excellent recruits, the latter had one veteran legion, one of two-years' service men, and eight of recruits. Not desiring to place too much dependence on such raw recruits, Plancus wrote to Cicero to strengthen them with the veteran African army or with that of Octavian. With such a force Antony could be engaged. Plancus severely censured Octavian for withdrawing his forces from the war in order to devote his attention to securing the consul-

61 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 257 (F X, 34, 1-2), p. 261 (F X, 17).

62 Ibid., IV, p. 293 (F X, 23).

63 Ibid., IV, p. 261 (F X, 17).

64 Ibid., IV, p. 293 (F X, 23).

ship for two months.⁶⁵ This is as far as the correspondence carries the struggle in the West.

In the East the war centered in Asia and Syria around Dolabella. After murdering Gaius Trebonius and securing possession of Asia for the Caesarians,⁶⁶ Dolabella turned to Syria. He had in Lydia a fleet guarding more than a hundred ships for transporting his army to Italy to join Antony, if he failed in Syria. With a much smaller fleet, Lentulus Spinther opposed⁶⁷ Dolabella, who had been declared a public enemy by the senate as had Antony after Mutina.⁶⁸ The Rhodians, aligning themselves with the Caesarians, refused water and provisions to Lentulus' soldiers and ordered his fleet out of the harbor. Upon arriving at Lycia from Rhodes, Lentulus took over the transports which two of Dolabella's legates, after much trouble in collecting, had abandoned when they fled. Lentulus returned these to their owners and pursued Dolabella's retreating fleet as far as Sida, the most distant district of his province. Learning that a number of the ships had scattered and the remainder had gone to Syria and Asia, he gave up the pursuit and left Cassius with his large fleet in Syria to continue the war. After Dolabella had lost six hundred

65 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, pp. 327-328 (F X, 24). Octavian was elected to serve out the remainder of the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa who had been killed. Appian, Roman History, tr. White (New York, 1913), IV, p. 107.

66 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 232 (F XII, 12).

67 Ibid., IV, p. 272 (F XII, 14).

68 Ibid., IV, p. 278 (F XII, 15), p. 221 (Brut. I, 3, 4).

soldiers in trying to force an entry into Antioch in Syria, he abandoned his sick and retreated to Laodicea. Almost all of his Asiatic soldiers deserted him during the night. Eight hundred of them returned to Antioch where they surrendered to officers whom Cassius had left in charge of the city. The rest crossed the mountain into Cilicia. Cassius was but a four day's march from Laodicea⁶⁹ when Dolabella reached there with his Greek soldiers, willing volunteers from the cities of Tarsus and Laodicea which had turned against the Roman senate. In order to unite the city with his camp, Dolabella removed a part of the wall. Cassius with ten legions, twenty auxiliary cohorts, and four thousand cavalry was encamped twenty miles away, confident that starvation would force Dolabella to capitulate, for the price of corn in his vicinity had become exorbitant and his own fleet and those of three other commanders awaited just outside the harbor of Laodicea to prevent any food entering the city.⁷⁰ Here the correspondence leaves Dolabella.

Marcus Brutus was in charge of the war in Macedonia. His stubborn passiveness or clemency⁷¹ must have been almost maddening to Cicero and other zealous loyalists at Rome. The senate in a decree gave him permission to raise loans from the cities.⁷² In the beginning the consul Pansa complained

69 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, pp. 272-274 (F XII, 14), pp. 276-280 (F XII, 15).

70 Ibid., IV, p. 306 (F XII, 13).

71 Ibid., IV, p. 213 (Brut. II, 5), p. 217 (Brut. I, 2, 3-6), p. 219 (Brut. I, 3, 1-3).

72 Ibid., IV, p. 210 (Brut. II, 4).

of the number of volunteers Brutus had.⁷³ With a spurt of sternness, Brutus captured Gaius Antony, a Caesarian sent over as proconsul in Macedonia. While the senate was rejoicing over this brilliant stroke, he hurled that body into a state of agitated excitement by sending a despatch praising his captive and by delivering a letter to the senate signed, "Gaius Antonius, Proconsul".⁷⁴ In spite of Cicero's pleas for stern methods with Gaius, and the almost rebellious attitude of his soldiers against this Caesarian, Brutus refused to do more than hold him prisoner.⁷⁵ He was bitterly opposed to Octavian's being granted any favors for in him he saw a second Caesar. Not for an instant would he admit that the conspirators should commend their safety to this heir of Caesar. To have done so would only have meant that Caesar had been killed in vain.⁷⁶

Brutus remained in Apollonia and Dyrrachium until after the victory at Mutina.⁷⁷ Then late in May he moved into the interior of Macedonia, having placed Cicero's son in charge of a troop of cavalry.⁷⁸ When Lentulus Spinther, proquaestor of Asia, made a special trip in the last of May, to ascertain when Brutus would come to assist in Asia against Dolabella, he replied that it would not be soon.⁷⁹ It was at this time that

73 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 211 (Brut. II, 4).

74 Ibid., IV, pp. 214-215 (Brut. II, 5).

75 Ibid., IV, p. 234 (Brut. I, 4, 1-3), p. 264 (Brut. I, 2, 1-3).

76 Ibid., IV, pp. 244-248 (Brut. I, 14).

77 Ibid., IV, p. 263 (Brut. I, 1, 2, 1-3).

78 Ibid., IV, p. 254 (Brut. I, 6).

79 Ibid., IV, p. 272 (F XII, 14).

the murderer of Trebonius despatched five cohorts into Macedonia. There is no record in the letters that Brutus captured them. He might easily have done so for they would have been no match for his five legions, excellent cavalry, and large force of auxiliaries.⁸⁰ In June the senate ordered Brutus to bring his army to Italy, for internal disorder grew daily more alarming and Octavian's once excellent army had become a menace to the state.⁸¹ The African legions were on their way.⁸² Repeatedly Cicero urged Brutus to obey this decree of the senate. In his last letter written July 27, 43 B.C., he pleaded for Brutus to come speedily to Italy's relief.⁸³ While Brutus, unlike the other generals, asked no recognition for his services to the state from the senate still his tenacious adherence to his policy of clemency and his deep-seated aversion to war certainly were no material aid in recovering the former constitutional glory of the Republic.

While the final chapter of the civil war is unrevealed in the correspondence, still the failure of the movement is clearly foreshadowed. The greed for personal power was the undoing of the Republic. Cicero ably defined the situation in 43 B.C. in these words: "Each man claims to be powerful in the Republic in proportion to his physical force. Reason, moderation, law, custom, duty, all go for nothing as do judgment and opinion of their fellow citizens and their respect for posterity."⁸⁴

80 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 263 (Brut. I, 2, 1-3).

81 Ibid., IV, pp. 297-298 (Brut. I, 10), p. 318 (Brut. I, 14).

82 Ibid., IV, p. 282 (F XI, 14).

83 Ibid., IV, p. 314 (Brut. I, 12), p. 318 (Brut. I, 14), p. 325 (Brut. I, 18).

84 Ibid., IV, p. 299 (Brut. I, 10).

CHAPTER XI. BIOGRAPHY.

If Cicero had established no other claim upon posterity's memory than that of the unconscious, spontaneous biographer of the ancients, he would still have ample fame, for valuable as are the letters as a source in almost all the phases of history, it is in their biographical content that they are of almost immeasurable worth. More than eight hundred persons, who lived before or during Cicero's age, are mentioned.¹ Individuals representing many walks of life--the fop,² slave,³ freedman,⁴ king,⁵ poet,⁶ teacher,⁷ historian,⁸ philosopher,⁹ physician,¹⁰ lawyer,¹¹ banker,¹² artist,¹³ architect,¹⁴ gardner,¹⁵ and office

1 Tyrrell, *Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero*. The Index volume has a list of all the persons mentioned in the letters.

2 Cicero, *Letters*, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 145 (A VI, 1).

3 Ibid., I, p. 27 (A I, 12), p. 142 (F XIV, 4), p. 179 (F XIV, 3); III, p. 172 (F XIII, 77), p. 316 (A XII, 10).

4 Ibid., I, p. 150 (Q. Fr. I, 3), p. 351 (F VII, 14); III, p. 31 (A XI, 13), p. 355 (F XVI, 18).

5 Ibid., I, p. 129 (Q. Fr. I, 2), pp. 229-230 (F V, 12); II, pp. 61-62 (F XV, 2).

6 Ibid., I, p. 115 (A II, 20), p. 226 (Q. Fr. II, 9); II, p. 142 (A VI, 1), p. 221 (A VII, 3).

7 Ibid., II, p. 285 (A VIII, 4); IV, p. 32 (A XIV, 16), p. 72 (A XV, 16a).

8 Ibid., I, p. 67 (A II, 2), p. 78 (Q. Fr. I, 1), p. 227 (F V, 12); II, p. 382 (A X, 8).

9 Ibid., I, p. 81 (Q. Fr. I, 1), p. 318 (F I, 9), p. 328 (Q. Fr. III, 5, 6).

10 Ibid., III, p. 157 (F XIII, 20); IV, p. 48 (A XV, 1a).

11 Ibid., I, p. 332 (F VII, 16), p. 340 (F I, 10).

12 Ibid., III, p. 158 (F XIII, 22).

13 Ibid., I, p. 117 (A II, 21), p. 229 (F V, 12), p. 317 (F I, 9).

14 Ibid., I, p. 69 (A II, 3), p. 351 (F VII, 14).

15 Ibid., III, p. 355 (F XVI, 18).

holder¹⁶--have been in many cases saved from complete oblivion by Cicero. It must not be assumed that a detailed account of all persons, whose names appear in the correspondence, can be developed. Very frequently the person is merely mentioned as a performer of some menial task,¹⁷ or the executor of a painting¹⁸ or a piece of sculpture,¹⁹ or the author of a book²⁰ or a quotation,²¹ or an individual whom Cicero is recommending to some friend or acquaintance for a favor.²² Sometimes in a short statement like the following, a person takes on well defined characteristics: ["Piso consul in 61 B.C."] is the less mischievous because of one vice--he is lazy, sleepy, unbusiness-like, an utter faineant..... His action is dictated.....by a taste for a profligate policy and a profligate party".²³ It is only of the men and of himself whom Cicero discusses time and time again that the correspondence offers extensive information. Here an essential fact and there one pertaining pertinently to the man's life, must be selected from matters often extraneous to it, and woven by the reader into a unified whole.

16 There is scarcely a letter which does not mention an office holder.

17 Cicero, Letters, Tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 179 (F XIV, 3). Aristocritus carried letters.

18 Ibid., I, p. 229 (F V, 12).

19 Ibid., I, p. 117 (A II, 21) p. 317 (F I, 9).

20 Ibid., I, p. 227 (F V, 12).

21 Ibid., I, p. 94 (A II, 7).

22 Ibid., III, p. 156 (F XIII, 19).

23 Ibid., I, p. 35 (A I, 14).

The women of Cicero's age could with reason complain that he had slighted them in his voluminous correspondence. Less than five per cent of all the persons mentioned are women and of none except his sister-in-law, his daughter, and his wife can detailed accounts be gathered--and these are unsatisfactory ones. While there are a number of Cicero's letters to his wife, Terentia, written during his exile in 58 B.C. and during his sojourn with Pompey in the first part of the struggle between that general and Caesar for mastery of Rome, there is not a single letter of Terentia's extant. Thus the estimate of the wife must be drawn from her husband's letters to her,²⁴ to his brother,²⁵ and to his bosom friend Atticus.²⁶ She had poor health,²⁷ a rather uncompromising and uncertain temper,²⁸ the courage of a man which gave her a sturdy self-reliance well recognized by her husband,²⁹ and no small business ability which she utilized at times to manage both her own and her husband's property.³⁰ In her old age she was divorced³¹

24 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 404 (F XIV, 7).

25 Ibid., I, pp. 148-152 (Q. Fr. I, 3).

26 Ibid., III, pp. 36-38 (A XI, 16), p. 48 (A XI, 24).

27 Ibid., I, p. 3 (A I, 5). This letter to Atticus mentions that she suffered from rheumatism. In any of Cicero's letters to Terentia, especially the early ones, there are admonishings that she care for her health.

28 Ibid., III, p. 205 (A XII, 18a), p. 239 (A XII, 37, 1-3).

29 Ibid., II, p. 404 (F XIV, 4).

30 Ibid., I, p. 89 (A XII, 4), p. 141 (F XIV, 4), p. 171 (F XIV, 2), p. 175 (F XIV, 1; III, p. 28 (A XI, 11)). These references state not only that Terentia managed her own property but also mention her private income.

31 Ibid., III, pp. 206-208 (A XII, 19, 20), p. 212 (A XII, 12), p. 215 (A XII, 22); IV, p. 160 (A XVI, 15). No direct mention is made of the divorce but there are a number of references to the return of her dowry.

by her elderly husband who soon afterwards married a young girl, Pubilia, whom he shortly sent home and never permitted to return to him because she seemingly in some way offended him when his only daughter Tullia died.³² This daughter's only rival in her father's affections was Roman politics. Her third husband was Dolabella, a licentious, unscrupulous, ambitious politician,³³ who wasted her dowry and broke her heart³⁴ and whose conduct became so degrading that finally, in spite of her seemingly uncontrollable infatuation for him, she was forced to divorce him just before the birth of her second child.³⁵ She died very shortly afterwards.³⁶ Pomponia, the wife of Cicero's brother Quintus, was a shrew who taxed the patience of her husband, of Cicero, and of her brother Atticus to whom Cicero wrote, admonishing that he take her in hand.³⁷ On one occasion when her husband had invited his brother and other guests to luncheon at his villa, Pomponia when kindly and courteously requested by Quintus to invite in the ladies while he asked in the men, rebuffed him with, "I am only a stranger here." Seemingly she had been angered because a servant had preceded Cicero and Quintus, as they journeyed

32 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 225 (A XII, 31, 3, 32); IV, p. 105 (A XVI, 2); III, p. 209 (F IV, 5).

33 Ibid., III, p. 44 (A XI, 23); IV, p. 85 (A XV, 14), p. 276 (F XII, 15).

34 Ibid., III, p. 43 (XI, 25), p. 48 (A XI, 24).

35 Ibid., II, p. 403 (A X, 18); III, p. 181 (F VI, 18); IV, p. 41 (A XIV, 18).

36 Ibid., III, p. 209 (F IV, 5).

37 Ibid., I, p. 2 (A I, 5), p. 223 (Q. Fr. II, 5, 6, 7); II, p. 4 (A V, 1).

toward the villa, and had arranged the luncheon as ordered by Quintus. Not only did she refuse to join her guests at the table or to eat the food which her husband sent to her, but she carried her ill-temper through the night and over into the next morning when her husband was leaving for a year's service in Cilicia as a legatus under Cicero, the newly appointed governor. At no time during her husband's visit with her at the villa did she show him the slightest sign of affection.³⁸ Such in a general way is the extent of the information concerning the women of his own family, while Pilia and Attica, the wife and daughter of Atticus his closest friend and almost second self,³⁹ and Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, and Clodia, the sister of his arch enemy, Clodius, and the wife of a consul, are little more than shadows. Both the last named women had considerable force in politics.⁴⁰ Of Clodia Cicero wrote, "I detest that woman so unworthy of a consul. For 'A shrew she is and with her husband jars.'⁴¹ Cytheris, an actress, Antony's mistress, and a guest at a dinner to which Cicero was invited was thoroughly despised by him because of loose morals.⁴² Tutia, of whom but the slightest glimpse is

38 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shackburgh, II, pp. 3-4 (A V, 1).

39 Ibid., III, p. 223 (A XII, 33); IV, p. 122 (A XVI, 7).

Both generally are mentioned in letters to Atticus in which Cicero inquires about their health.

40 Ibid., I, pp. 63-64 (A II, 1); IV, p. 69 (A XV, 11).

41 Ibid., I, p. 64 (A II, 1).

42 Ibid., II, p. 401 (A X, 17); III, pp. 102-103 (F IX, 26). In this letter referring to Cytheris at the dinner, Cicero wrote: "That sort of thing having a mistress never had any attraction for me when I was a young man, much less now that I am an old man."

afforded by the letters, also called forth Cicero's scorn. She offered herself, as soon as a divorce could be obtained from her present husband, to Cicero's obstreperous nephew and saucily replied, when her self-selected husband's father threatened to discontinue his son's allowance if he married her who was totally unknown to Cicero's family, that she would "not be balked by the like of him."⁴³ Of the other women referred to in the letters, in addition to these just cited, the comments concerning them are either so meager or so commonplace that they are of little value. Surely it can be said that the gentle sex has received little attention from Cicero in his correspondence.

If the letters can be taken as a standard for measuring his associates, then it must be admitted that he was a man's man and that his acquaintances were almost exclusively men connected with Roman political life. Indeed all of those of whom a detailed account can be gathered were extremely interested in politics save Atticus, Tiro, and the son, nephew, and brother of Cicero. These last three, like the majority of the Romans, did connect themselves with politics but it is in the intimate blood relationship that the letters most clearly depict them. Tiro, first a slave, then a freedman, and always a friend of Cicero and his family was dearly beloved by them all.⁴⁴

⁴³ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 97 (A XV, 29).

⁴⁴ Ibid., I, pp. 384-386 (F XVI, 14) and (F XVI, 15);
II, pp. 266-213 (F XVI, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9);
IV, pp. 128-130 (F XVI, 21), pp. 169-170 (F XVI, 26).

He was an invaluable aid to Cicero in business matters and in his literary productions⁴⁵ and was ambitious to the point of desiring that his own and Cicero's letters be published.⁴⁶

Although the bulk of the correspondence is addressed to Atticus, he still remains a far from clearly defined personage. Perhaps this is because there is none of his letters extant and he is reflected only through Cicero's letters to him. His chief claim to fame lies in the patient, unflinching loyalty he bore to Cicero. The reader cares little to know that he was a rich, frugal publisher,⁴⁷ a lender of money,⁴⁸ and an owner of gladiators,⁴⁹ who divided his time between Athens and Rome,⁵⁰ and took no part in politics; but he does feel the human in him reaching out across the centuries to this man who was a friend to Cicero in every time of need.⁵¹

45 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 209 (F XVI, 4).

46 Ibid., III, p. 317 (F XVI, 7); IV, p. 102 (A XVI, 5).

47 Ibid., II, p. 139 (A VI, 1); III, p. 298 (A XIII, 22), p. 311 (A XIII, 44); IV, p. 86 (A XV, 14), p. 112 (A XVI, 6).

48 Ibid., I, p. 57 (A I, 19); IV, p. 95 (A XVI, 16a).

49 Ibid., I, p. 224 (A IV, 4b).

50 Ibid., In volume I, Cicero wrote letters to Atticus which show that he lived in Epirus during 65 B.C., 61 B.C., 60 B.C., and 59 B.C. Other letters indicate that in the later years of the correspondence, Atticus dwelt at Rome.

51 Ibid., I, p. 6 (A I, 9); III, p. 35 (A XI, 15), p. 47 (A XI, 24), p. 207 (A XII, 19), p. 311 (A XIII, 34). He was even requested by Cicero to select a new wife for him. Cicero, although an old man, was fastidious in his tastes and refused to consider one woman suggested, saying: "I never saw anything uglier." III, p. 146 (A XII, 11).

to whom Cicero revealed himself as an open book,⁵² and of whom Cicero must have been thinking when he wrote: "In true friendship there is nothing false and nothing pretended, and whatever belongs to it is sincere and spontaneous." Faithful Achates are rare in this world but Atticus, as shown by the correspondence, has every claim to such a title.

Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was a writer of annals⁵³ and at least one tragedy,⁵⁴ acted as governor in Asia,⁵⁵ served under Caesar in Gaul,⁵⁶ and joined the Pompeians, but deserted them after the defeat at Pharsalia and made his peace with Caesar.⁵⁷ His most outstanding characteristic was his fiery ungovernable temper⁵⁸ which when unleashed spared no one, not even Cicero whom he publicly denounced at a time when it might have caused his death.⁵⁹ As a counterpart to this temper was an ever ready willingness to seek forgiveness of the person wronged when the outburst of anger had spent itself.⁶⁰ His son, Quintus, was a typical youth of the decadent

52 It is impossible by a reference to indicate in any adequate way how Cicero revealed himself. It requires the reading of many letters to perceive this revelation.

53 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 107 (A II, 16).

54 Ibid., I, p. 338 (Q. Fr. III, 9).

55 Ibid., I, pp. 77-79 (Q. Fr. I, 1).

56 Ibid., I, p. 296 (Q. Fr. III, 1).

57 Ibid., II, p. 312 (A IX, 1), p. 322 (A IX, 6); III, p. 14 (A XI, 5).

58 Ibid., I, p. 2 (A I, 5), p. 45 (A I, 17), p. 84 (Q. Fr. I, 1), p. 128 (Q. Fr. I, 2).

59 Ibid., III, p. 22 (A XI, 8), p. 26 (A XI, 10).

60 Ibid., III, p. 44 (A XI, 23).

age--intelligent, avaricious, artificial, untruthful, disloyal to family and friends.⁶¹ Cicero's own son, over-indulged by his father, was ambitionless, harmlessly weak, fonder of pleasure than duty, and lacking the more despicable traits of his stronger willed cousin.⁶²

However, it is of himself and of those men influential in Roman politics and not of his relatives, of his most intimate friends, or of the women of his time, that Cicero has furnished the greatest biographical information. The more prominent the man was in the Roman government the greater are the number of facts concerning him. It is not the purpose of this study to give more than a cursory mention of the most prominent men--indeed just sufficient facts to suggest what the letters contain as a biographical source.

The influence of Publius Clodius, who was a tempestuous force in the Roman forum for years, was destructive and not constructive. With hired ruffians and enlisted slaves he did not hesitate to tear down state property, to smash with stones and to ignite with firebrands in sight of the whole of Rome, the houses of Quintus Cicero and of Milo, a friend of Cicero,⁶³ because of the frenzied hatred he bore toward Cicero who had

61 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, 302 (A XIII, 37), pp. 321-322 (A XIII, 38), p. 323 (A XIII, 39); IV, pp. 18-19 (A XIV, 10), p. 80 (A XV, 21), p. 97 (A XV, 29).

62 Ibid., III, pp. 225-226 (A XII, 31, 3, 32); IV, p. 32 (A XIV, 16), p. 58 (F XII, 1), p. 72 (A XV, 16a), p. 80 (A XV, 20), p. 99 (XVI, 1), pp. 317-318 (Brut. I, 14).

63 Ibid., I, pp. 194-195 (A IV, 3).

publicly discredited and taunted him with his misdeeds.⁶⁴ When he was brought to trial for his act of religious sacrilege,⁶⁵ the tinkling gold of Crassus, called by Cicero, "Bald-Head, the Naneian millionaire,"⁶⁶ and the intimidation of the "seedy" jurors by Clodius' own daring bands of ruffians and escaped slaves, obtained his acquittal.⁶⁷ Raising a disturbance in the public assemblies so as to force an adjournment of the meetings and thus prevent the passing of legislation unfriendly to his nefarious schemes, was a common pastime of this patrician rowdy,⁶⁸ who, aided by Caesar and Pompey, was adopted into the plebs in order that he might be eligible for the tribuneship.⁶⁹ When elected he forced Cicero into exile as he had threatened.⁷⁰ Clodius had respect neither for law, religion, or his three sisters.⁷¹ In short he was a whirlwind of iniquity.

64 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, pp. 41-42 (A I, 16), p. 63 (A II, 1).

65 Ibid., Disguised in woman's clothing, he had entered the consul's house when the ceremony of Bona Dea was being held, at which the consul's wife officiated and only women could attend. I, p. 27 (A I, 12), p. 31 (A I, 13); p. 316 (F I, 9).

66 Ibid., I, p. 39 (A I, 16). Shuckburgh explains that Crassus was the person meant by this statement.

67 Ibid., I, pp. 37-40 (A I, 16). Here is given an excellent account of the trial.

68 Ibid., I, p. 34 (A I, 14), p. 191 (A IV, 2), pp. 199-200 (Q. Fr. II, 1).

69 Ibid., I, p. 99 (A II, 12), p. 118 (A II, 22).

70 Ibid., I, p. 138 (A III, 4), p. 177 (A III, 23).

71 Ibid., V, p. 316 (F I, 9). Cicero intimates that he had defiled the honor of his three sisters.

In striking contrast to him was Cato who, waging almost a single handed fight against corruption in politics, was selected in 54 B.C. by the candidates for the tribuneship to direct their canvass so that it would be fairly conducted and be free from bribery. As a guarantee among themselves that they would abide by the mutual agreement entered into, each man deposited with Cato about \$20,000 which was to be forfeited if Cato's directions were not followed and to be divided among the other candidates. Cato alone was to be the judge as to whether the canvas was a clean one.⁷² Such was the faith of his fellow citizens in his integrity. Cicero who admired him deeply, felt that he might have exercised a bit more wisdom in his campaign for clean politics. Of him he wrote: "With the very best intentions and the most absolute honesty, he sometimes does harm to the Republic. He speaks and votes as though he were in the Republic of Plato, not in the scum of Romulus."⁷³

Crassus, to whom Cicero became reconciled in 54 B.C. only because Caesar and Pompey desired it;⁷⁴ Bibulus, consul with Caesar and pro-consul in Syria, whose most distinguishing characteristic was shutting himself in when danger threatened

72 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 279 (Q. Fr. II, 14, 15b), p. 286 (A IV, 15).

73 Ibid., I, p. 65 (A II, 1).

74 Ibid., I, p. 321 (F I, 9). Throughout volume I Crassus is spoken of repeatedly as are Caesar and Pompey.

and remaining until it was safe to venture out again;⁷⁵ Lepidus, who treacherously deserted the cause of the conspirators and joined Antony;⁷⁶ Decimus Brutus, one of those who aided in Caesar's death and who with dogged untiring zeal in the face of unsurmountable obstacles, tried to retain Gaul for the conspirators against Antony;⁷⁷ Marcus Brutus, one of the assassins of Caesar, who, as a money-lender to provincials mercilessly demanded that an armed force be used to exact payments from borrowers so exploited by tax-farmers, Roman money-lenders, and unscrupulous officials that they hated life worse than death, and who because of his aversion to civil war did comparatively little to further the conspirators' cause in Macedonia although he was well supplied with troops;⁷⁸ Octavianus, who immediately hurried to Rome to accept the inheritance left him by Caesar, his uncle, and who by his adroitness in leading Cicero and those championing the conspirators' cause to believe that he too was allying himself with them while he was actually shaping events to his own ends thus early displayed those qualities which made him later virtually sole

75 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, p. 315 (F I, 9); II, p. 52 (F XV, 3), p. 199 (A VI, 8). There are many indications in the brief comments by Cicero that Bibulus' consulship with Caesar was a stormy one. I, p. 115 (A II, 20); p. 116-117 (A II, 21), p. 122 (A II, 24).

76 Ibid., IV, p. 239 (F X, 21, 1-6), p. 265 (F X, 34, 3,4), p. 293 (F X, 23).

77 Ibid., IV, p. 230 (F XI, 10). See the chapter on "Antony and Brutus" for further references to Decimus Brutus.

78 Ibid., II, pp. 169-170 (A VI, 3); IV, p. 216 (Brut. II, 5), p. 217 (Brut, I, 2, 3-6).

master of Rome;⁷⁹ and Antony, a gambler and Caesar's henchman, who openly flaunted his mistress, who treated simple country folk with contemptuous insolence, and who bent every effort and resource to become Caesar's full successor in the government⁸⁰ --all are discussed by Cicero to a greater or less extent, as are many others less well-known to the reader of history.

Of Pompey, Caesar, and himself Cicero has left the most complete account. While Pompey and Caesar are mentioned repeatedly earlier in the correspondence,⁸¹ it is not until 51 B.C. that they almost completely dominate the letters and continue to hold that place until their respective deaths in 48 B.C. and 44 B.C.⁸² They were so closely associated with the Roman government that to recite their lives is to narrate the political history of their times. Indeed the correspondence reveals little of the private life of either man for it was their public functioning that held the attention of Cicero. As his autobiographer Cicero spanned his life from

79 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shackburgh, IV, p. 18 (A XIV, 10), p. 127 (F XI, 28), p. 145 (A XVI, 8), p. 186 (F XII, 25, 1-5), p. 230 (F XI, 10).

80 Ibid., II, p. 389 (A X, 10), pp. 395-396 (A XI, 13); IV, p. 9 (A XIV, 5), pp. 20-21 (A XIV, 12), p. 118 (F XI, 3). Besides Clodius there is no person mentioned whom Cicero disliked as he did Antony. Indeed he thoroughly despised him.

81 Ibid., I, pp. 106-138; p. 188; pp. 203-204; p. 268. ff.

82 Ibid., II, p. 42 ; III, pp. 2-356. Pompey's death is spoken of in Volume III, p. 16 (A XI, 9) and Caesar's in volume IV, p. 16 (A XIV, 9).

68 B.C. to 43 B.C.⁸³ and unwittingly showed to the world both his weakness and his strength. The pitiful whimpering of his exile,⁸⁴ his weeks of indecision as to whether he should join Pompey against Caesar or remain neutral,⁸⁵ his period of worry and agitation following his desertion of Pompey after Pharsalia and preceding his pardon by Caesar,⁸⁶ and his debating over the proper location for a shrine to his daughter's memory⁸⁷ --all are clearly depicted. He reveals himself as a father,⁸⁸ a brother,⁸⁹ a husband,⁹⁰ and a friend.⁹¹ Unfortunately there are no letters for the period of his consulship. He was an aedile,⁹² a praetor,⁹³ a consul,⁹⁴ a procon-

83 See Chapter One for the periods covered by the letters.

84 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, I, pp. 140-143 (F XIV, 4), p. 159 (Q. Fr. I, 4), pp. 160-164 (A III, 15).

85 Ibid., II, p. 217 ff.

86 Ibid., III, pp. 12-57.

87 Ibid., III, pp. 205-300. Almost every letter to Atticus contained within these pages has a reference to the shrine.

88 Ibid., I, p. 16 (A I, 2), p. 50 (A I, 18), p. 149 (Q. Fr. I, 3).

89 Ibid., I, pp. 71-87 (Q. Fr. I, 1), p. 45 (A I, 17).

90 Ibid., I, pp. 142-143 (F XIV, 4); III, p. 41 (F XIV, 11), p. 42 (F XIV, 15), p. 54 (F XIV, 22).

91 While the correspondence contains friendly letters to others besides Atticus, it is those letters to Atticus that portray Cicero most vividly as a friend.

92 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, III, p. 204 (A XII, 17).

93 Ibid., I, p. 9 (A I, 11).

94 Ibid., III, p. 210 (F IV, 5).

sul,⁹⁵ and an augur.⁹⁶ His aim in politics, which were his delight, was to preserve peace between the senatorial class and the equites.⁹⁷ When Caesar became supreme at Rome, Cicero turned to literature,⁹⁸ mingling with the new ruling class at dinners for relaxation and for dispelling any doubts as to his loyalty, since he had actively supported Pompey for a time and was only living in Rome because Caesar had magnanimously pardoned him.⁹⁹ When Caesar was assassinated¹⁰⁰ and there was no other influential person to direct the conspirators' cause at Rome, Cicero, no doubt against his better judgment as far as his own safety was concerned, took over the task of advising the senate,¹⁰¹ urging the consuls and other generals in the field to be hopeful and zealous for victory against Antony and to be loyal to the duty of restoring the old Republic with its constitution¹⁰² which he prized so highly.¹⁰³ What he failed to realize in its entirety soon enough and what the biography of the lives of the men he has unconsciously portrayed reveal, is that the Republic could not endure when the leaders of public life had failed to do aught

95 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 65 (F XV, 1).

96 Ibid., III, p. 349 (A XIII, 42).

97 Ibid., I, p. 48 (A I, 17), p. 82 (Q. Fr. I, 1).

98 Ibid., III, p. 266 (A XIII, 31), p. 73 (F IX, 3), p. 251 (A XII, 44, 45), p. 137 (F IV, 4).

99 Ibid., III, p. 93 (F IX, 16), pp. 102-103 (F IX, 26).

100 Ibid., IV, p. 16 (A XIV, 9).

101 Ibid., IV, p. 173 (F XII, 24), p. 203 (Brut. II, 1).

102 Ibid., IV, p. 301 (F X, 26); IV, p. 318 (Brut. I, 14), p. 309 (F XII, 9), p. 308 (F XI, 25).

103 Ibid., III, p. 325 (A IV, 18); IV, p. 14 (F VI, 17).

to advance the common good but had expended their energy to enhance their own glory and prestige. The last letter of the correspondence was written by Cicero on July 27, 43 B.C.¹⁰⁴ just four months before his death.¹⁰⁵ Although he has revealed himself with unstudied frankness, still he has done himself no great harm for his virtues outnumber his faults.

In conclusion it may be stated that while the letters contain excellent biographical material, it is so intermingled with other details and so elusive in its character, that it is of little value to the general reader of history until selected bit by bit and worked into a connected, unified whole.

104 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shackburgh, IV, p. 324 (Brut. I, 18).

105 Ibid., III, Appendix B. p. 381.

CHAPTER XII. CONCLUSION.

The mass of historical material in the letters has been utilized in one form or another by many authors for whatever particular phase the historian was interested in, and which to some degree could be found in the correspondence. Plutarch in writing his "Lives" had letters of Cicero which are not now extant.¹ In narrating events in the lives of Crassus, Caesar, Brutus, Pompey, Cato, and Cicero he gave many details suggestive of the present correspondence.

Suetonius in the "History of Twelve Caesars" stated that Cicero wrote epistles concerting Caesar and that there were extant letters from Cicero to his brother Quintus whom

1 Plutarch had letters written by Cicero to his son and to Herodes which do not now exist. pp. 245-246. He further adds that Cicero wrote many letters to Caesar. p. 257. The Clodian affair, Caelius Rufus demanding that Cicero send him panthers from Cilicia (p. 257), Caesar and Cicero both writing on Cato (p. 441), and the election of Rivilius consul for one day by Caesar (p. 446), are suggestive of Cicero's letters. Above references are from "Plutarch's Lives", edited by A. Stewart and Geo. Long. Plutarch stated that the reason for Pompey's divorcing Mucia is given in Cicero's letters. On p. 418 of volume IV, of the same edition, Plutarch wrote that Brutus sent Cicero letters rebuking him for championing Octavian and requesting his presence at his (Brutus) praetorian games during his absence from Rome.

he admonished to rule Asia wisely.² Dio Cassius commented on Cicero's unmanly weeping during his exile and of Clodius' attempt to raze Cicero's house.³ In Appian's "Civil Wars" there were a number of statements strongly suggestive of the Ciceronian correspondence; Octavian's enlisting of the veterans in Campania and paying of five hundred drachmas to each man;⁴ the Martian and fourth legions' going over to Octavian;⁵ Antony's falsifying of Caesar's decrees;⁶ Crassus and Brutus' being made corn commissioners by the Senate;⁷ and Caesar's capturing of Domitius and his army and Pompey's hastening to Brundisium.⁸

Modern writers with their footnote references leave no doubt as to the source of their authorities. Bossier in his delightful book, "Cicero and His Friends" has over a hundred footnotes referring to the Ciceronian letters. Strachan-Davidson in "Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic" has also

2 Suetonius, History of Twelve Caesars, tr. by P. Holland, (London, 1899) p. 20, p. 51, p. 57, p. 83.

3 Dio Cassius, Roman History, tr. by Earnest Cary, (New York, 1914), III, pp. 237, 335, 323.

4 Appian, Roman History, tr. by Horace White, (New York, 1913), IV, p. 31.

5 Ibid., IV, p. 39.

6 Ibid., III, p. 527.

7 Ibid., III, p. 529.

8 Ibid., III, p. 297.

Other suggestive references: III, pp. 286-287, p. 275, pp. 255-257, p. 521. IV, p. 48. There is no actual proof that Appian secured his data from Cicero's letters. He may have used other sources.

been generously aided by the same correspondence. While Petersson in his "Cicero" has omitted footnotes almost entirely there are indications that he too is indebted to the letters. "Cicero--A Sketch of His Life and Works" by Hannis Taylor contains formal references to the letters. Not only have biographies been based on the invaluable correspondence but legal works also have been written, using it as a source. Strachan-Davidson in volume two of "Criminal Procedure" and Greenidge in "The Legal Procedure of Cicero's Times" have both freely used the letters in their works. W. T. Arnold in "Roman System of Provincial Administration" found valuable information in the letters, for Cicero's account of his rule as proconsul is the most complete first hand source now existing.⁹ The general historian, like Mommsen and Ferrero, has gone to the letters. The former, exceedingly antagonistic to Cicero, has selected references unfavorable to the statesman.

The greatest criticism of the correspondence, as a historical source, is the fragmentary nature of its data. Another defect is the contradictions it contains. Rumor often contributed to the letters dealing with the Pompey-Caesar civil war erroneous information. An excellent illustration of this is the statement in a letter written on May 5 that Cato was holding levies in Sicily at the earnest pleadings of the Sicilian loyalists and the comment in a letter

⁹ Cicero's, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, Introd. p. X.

written May 14 that Cato, who might have held the island if he had cared to do so, had sailed from Syracuse on April 23.¹⁰ The same lack of accuracy but to a much less extent is found in the account of the struggle between Antony and Brutus. Cicero persisted in regarding Antony's withdrawal from Mutina as a disorganized and ignoble retreat although Decimus Brutus wrote him that the superior condition of Antony's army permitted him to march without pausing while he, Brutus, was forced to make camp nightly.¹¹ Subsequent events should have clearly indicated to Cicero that Antony was far from crippled by his repulse at Mutina.¹² On two occasions Cicero was deliberately inconsistent in different letters. He wrote to Atticus revealing his true opinion of Appius Claudius who was his immediate predecessor in Cilicia and who ruled with tyrannical severity, while in a letter to Appius he addressed conciliatory terms in order to appease his possibly wounded feelings.¹³ Lack of agreement between a letter to Atticus, concerning their nephew, and delivered by the young man, with that of a subsequent note to Atticus, is explained by Cicero who said he wrote the complimentary account because he desired to please both his brother, Quintus, and his son because

10 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, p. 393 (A X, 12), p. 400 (A X, 16).

11 Ibid., IV, pp. 236-237 (F XI, 13, 1-4).

12 See chapter on "Civil War between Antony and Brutus."

13 Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, II, pp. 52-55 (F III, 6) and P. 134 (A VI, 1).

they wished Atticus to form a favorable opinion of the young man's reformation which Cicero doubted.¹⁴

In the hands of an unsympathetic biographer, the letters can be used to present Cicero as an unworthy and cowardly individual by reviewing only the unfavorable incidents of his life and by regarding all that he wrote to Atticus as a direct expression of his beliefs. Much that appears vacillation is the result of Cicero's unreservedly writing to Atticus on every angle of a situation before he decided to act. While most persons argue a matter out within their own minds, Cicero so trusted Atticus that he used him as a sounding board in arriving at his decisions. If this view is taken, then a much more charitable estimation will be made of the great statesman. No autobiographer would have written with the abandonment that Cicero did, who all unconsciously became his own biographer. There are moments of weakness in every life which are best hidden from the unsympathetic public. It is almost impossible for an outsider to judge tolerantly and impartially of events of which he has not the fullest information. What is outwardly a weakness becomes a strength when all the attending circumstances are fully appreciated. Thus Cicero's own words can be so construed as to make him noble or ignoble depending on whether the reader is tolerant of his faults or unsympathetic

¹⁴ Cicero, Letters, tr. Shuckburgh, IV, p. 99 (A XVI, 1), pp. 100-101 (A XVI, 5), p. 108 (A XVI, 3).

toward his virtues.

This study makes no claims to having treated the letters exhaustively. It aimed only at organizing as much as possible the data under broad headings so that there would be under one cover a compilation of the historical information scattered at random throughout the correspondence. The task has been a pleasant one and has brought its own remuneration through the deepening of the writer's appreciation of Cicero and through emphasizing forcibly that human nature is fundamentally the same no matter what the age.

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