1950

Women in the life and works of Marcus Tullius Cicero

Edith Ethel Culver

The University of Montana

Let us know how access to this document benefits you.

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd

Recommended Citation

Culver, Edith Ethel, "Women in the life and works of Marcus Tullius Cicero" (1950). Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers. 4111.

https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/4111

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact scholarworks@mso.umt.edu.
WOMEN IN THE LIFE AND WORKS OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

by

Edith E. Culver

B. A., Huron College, Huron, South Dakota, 1924

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts

Montana State University

1950

Approved: W. P. Clark
Chairman of Board of Examiners

W. P. Clark
Dean, Graduate School
PREFAE

In this thesis an attempt will be made to draw a composite picture of the "Women in the Life and Works of Marcus Tullius Cicero." It is impossible to reach incontestable conclusions on the subject. The evidence is often fragmentary and perhaps, one-sided. However, this may be said about it—the material, especially that taken from Cicero's letters, gives us a 'close-up' of the author's feelings, if not his thoughts.

In order to understand Cicero's opinion of women one must consider the factors which influenced his conceptions, and also know the position of and the attitude of men toward women of Cicero's time. As far as possible, a complete picture of the women in Cicero's private and public life will be presented. This study is divided into five chapters. With each part goes an introduction that is intended to furnish guideposts for the reader. Instead of the full titles for each of Cicero's works the following abbreviations will be used in the footnotes:

- Letters To Atticus - Ad. Att.
- Letters To His Friends - Ad. Fam.
- Pro Caelio - Pro. Cael.
- De Oratore - De Orat.
- Tuscan Disputations - Tusc. Disp.

All translations are the writer's own unless otherwise specified.

The writer wishes to express her grateful thanks to Dr. W. P. Clark for his help in interpreting Cicero's works, and for his many valuable suggestions. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Marguerite H. Ephron for her invaluable criticisms.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. BACKGROUND—THE ROMAN WOMAN</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. WOMEN IN CICERO'S PRIVATE LIFE</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. WOMEN IN CICERO'S PUBLIC LIFE</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. CICERO'S OPINION OF WOMAN AND HER RIGHTS AS OPPOSED TO MAN</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. CONCLUSION</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND - THE ROMAN WOMAN

"The reader may profitably murmur to himself, 'that is Rome, the Republican Rome of Caesar and Pompey, which came to an end nearly two thousand years ago, and was in many ways different from anything that has existed since.'"¹

From the very beginning Rome was a man's state. There was great distinction between the conduct of the man and the woman. Men's freedom of action was considerably greater than women's. Some acts of men were often regarded as crimes when committed by the opposite sex. "If you were to catch your wife," was the principle laid down by Cato, the censor, "in an act of infidelity, you could kill her with impunity without a trial; but if she were to catch you, she would not venture to touch you with her finger, and indeed she had no right."²

There are many incidents which show that the Romans had an admiration for the higher qualities of virtuous women and insisted upon their extreme chastity. Livy's story of Lucretia is one of these. This beautiful woman was the wife of Tarquinius Collatimus, the nephew of Tarquinius Superbus, the last King of Rome. Unfortunately for the house of Tarquin, the conversation one day at a feast, at which the

king's sons and Collatinus were present, turned upon women. Each one commended his wife's virtues, and a dispute arose. The husbands decided to pay a surprise visit to their wives. They went to Rome, where the wives of the young princes were found to be neglectful of true womanly virtues and to be having a banquet. Then they rode to Lucretia's home. Though it was late at night Lucretia was still spinning at the loom. She was behaving herself as the Roman thought it the duty of every matron to behave. Her husband was very proud of her. However, her beauty and proven purity aroused the passion of Sextus Tarquin, one of the king's sons.

Upon the following day Sextus returned alone and was welcomed by Lucretia as her husband's friend. After supper when everyone had retired he entered her chamber. He threatened her not merely with death but with a disgrace worse than death. She had no choice but to yield. Sextus departed, exulting in having overcome her inflexible chastity. Lucretia was broken-hearted and filled with shame. She sent for her husband and father; and after telling them all, she plunged a sword into her heart. The Romans were so moved by the outrage to a virtuous woman that they shook off forever the tyranny of the Tarquins.³

Livy's tragic story of Virginia is not less informative.

The Republic had been in existence for over fifty years when the sole

authority in the state was placed in the hands of ten Commissioners, the Decemviri, as they were called. This board was to draft the first written code of laws. The appointment of the Decemviri was an outcome of the struggle between the plebeians and the patricians. The use the Decemviri made of their power was often cruel. One of the most cruel was Appius Claudius, a patrician of patricians. Serving in the army at the time was a certain centurion, Virginius, a plebeian, who had a beautiful daughter, Virginia. Claudius, burning with passion for Virginia, determined by any means to get her into his power. When he realized that all moderate means to the possession of Virginia failed, he ordered his freedman, Marcus Claudius, to claim her as his slave.

Amid the indignation of the people she was taken before the decemvir. Appius found it inadvisable, owing to the insistence of the girl's friends, and Icilius, her lover, to carry his case further at the moment, and postponed it until her father returned from the camp. The father came but his entreaties were in vain. The beautiful and innocent Virginia was pronounced the slave of Appius' freedman. When Virginius saw no aid anywhere, he asked to be allowed to speak privately to his daughter and her nurse. His request was allowed and the father, daughter and nurse went to the shops near the temple Cloacina. Suddenly Virginius snatched a knife from the butcher's shop and cried, "Thus, my daughter, in the only way I can, do I assert your freedom." He then plunged the knife into his daughter's heart.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} Ibid. iii. 48.}\]
The results of the story of Virginia were not less fatal than those connected with the injured chastity and violent death of Lucteria. Thus not only did the same end befall the Decemvirs as had befallen the kings, but the same cause deprived them of their power.5

It is significant also that one of the most honorable religious offices was filled by women. This institution was the Vestal Virgins. Nothing could surpass the reverence with which they were regarded by the Romans. They were daughters of patrician families and were appointed by the Pontifex Maximus for a term of thirty years. In case of a vacancy the Pontifex Maximus, or a person representing him, announced the vacancy to the senate. Two girls were submitted by their fathers, and the senate then made the choice. The Vestals were chosen between the ages of six and ten.6 Fabia, a Vestal who was accused of an intrigue with Catiline, was tried for unchastity and acquitted. "This Fabia," says Plutarch, "was the step-sister of Cicero’s wife, Terentia." He also informs us that "a Vestal who had broken her vows of chastity was buried alive."7 Such was the important position which the Romans considered their women worthy to hold; such was the extreme punishment for violation of the rules of chastity imposed upon the Vestal Virgins.

5 Ibid. iii. 44-59.
The privileges of the Roman woman gradually increased. Her social freedom yearly became greater. Women whose aspirations lay toward intellectual development studied Greek poetry and philosophy. One of the earliest of these learned women was the famous Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi. This remarkable woman of the second century B.C. was a daughter of the great house of Scipio. Cornelia has come down to modern times as a remarkable combination of the virtues ascribed to the old Roman matron and the accomplishments of the more polished era in which she lived. She was left by her husband's death in charge of twelve children. Only three survived: one daughter and two sons, Tiberius and Gaius. The care of her family was foremost in her mind, and her education and refinement were used in the training of her sons' characters. Her two sons were brought up by her so carefully that they became, beyond dispute, the most accomplished of all the Roman youth; and this they owed, perhaps, more to their excellent upbringing than to their natural gifts.

Through her sons, Cornelia was the driving force in the struggle of the plebeians to restrain the plutocracy and for redistribution of wealth. When Tiberius was tribune he revived the Licinian Law of 376 B.C. which restricted land ownership to three hundred acres. Encouraged by his mother, Tiberius faced the opposition of the powerful landlords.


He was killed in 133 B.C., during the outbreak which later led to civil war between the patricians and the plebeians. The second son, Gaius, attempted land and other reforms when he became tribune. He met the same fate as his brother.

After the death of her sons, Cornelia spent her last years in her villa near Misenum. Here she was visited by many learned men. Plutarch tells how courageously she bore the death of her sons and how often to her friends she told of their deeds and hopes.

It seems possible that some of the leaders of the next century may have been inspired by the teachings of Cornelia. Mary Beard mentioned that Caesar and Pompey, like the Gracchi, were friends of the people, or made pretensions of being their friends. Pompey unmistakably became identified with the aristocratic party although he pretended for a time to be affiliated with the 'populares.' Caesar did more for the common people: he admitted the plebs to the senate, revived the Licinian Law for which the Gracchi had labored, built homes for 30,000 landless folk and permitted local self government in the method of collecting taxes. Perhaps the reforms of the Gracchi and their mother led indirectly to the reforms of Caesar.

Another of the remarkable women of the next century was Octavia, sister of Octavius and wife of Antony. Like Cornelia, she was gentle and virtuous. "A wonderful woman," Plutarch calls her, "and beautiful."  


To understand the part Octavia played in Roman history, it seems necessary to mention the political situation of this time. After the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C., the struggle for power among the leaders continued for several years. For some time, Antony carried on the administration without great opposition. Octavius, Caesar's great-nephew, who had been studying military tactics at Appollonia, returned to Rome and resolved to avenge his uncle.\textsuperscript{12} He was Caesar's heir and adopted son. He set about obtaining possession of his uncle's property. Shuckburgh states that Antony had claimed much of Caesar's property as public property. This was one of many reasons which caused Antony and Octavius to become antagonists. Octavius was elected consul in 43. He wished to make terms of peace with Antony and Lepidus in order to overcome the assassins of his uncle. The Triumvirate of 43 was composed of Octavius, Antony and Lepidus. Lepidus, pontifex maximus, became an inactive member of the commission. The struggle for power was between Antony and Octavius. These leaders organized a dictatorship for five years with absolute power. It practically suspended the republican constitution.\textsuperscript{13} The western provinces of Rome were divided among the three. Antony was to have all Gaul except Narbonensis; Lepidus, Narbonensis and Spain; and Caesar, Africa, Sardinia, Sicily and other islands.

However, the Triumvirate did not end the struggle for supremacy of power. Jealousy arose among the leaders. Octavius and Antony


\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.} p. 771.
found many causes for dissatisfaction. In 40 B.C., another peace treaty was made at Brundisium. Antony was to govern all east of the Adriatic and to undertake the Parthian War; Lepidus was given charge of Africa; and Octavius was to have all the rest and to secure command of the fleet which was in the hands of Sextus Pompeius. 11 It was at this time that Antony married Octavia. Those who were in favor of this marriage thought that it would restore harmony between Antony and Octavius. But peace did not last, and discord was renewed between the two men.

However, an outbreak of civil war was prevented for a time by loyal Octavia, with whom Antony lived in Greece for two years after his marriage. When the powers of the Triumvirate expired at the close of 38 B.C., it was Octavia who crossed over to Italy from Greece and prevailed upon her brother to renew the alliance with Antony. 15 Antony, after being unsuccessful in the war against the Parthians in 37, went to Egypt, where he became fascinated by Cleopatra. He had left Octavia in Italy and never returned to her. 16 When Octavia came to Greece with supplies and provisions for his soldiers in the Parthian war, Antony refused to see her. He did accept the help after sending her a message to return to Rome. Octavia returned to Rome and cared for Antony's

11 Ibid. p. 776.
15 Plutarch op. cit. xxxv. 2
16 Shuckburgh, op. cit., p. 779.
children in a noble and magnificent manner, not only the children which she herself had borne, but also those whom Fulvia, Antony's former wife, had borne him. After Antony's death, his children by Cleopatra were also reared by the compassionate Octavia. How many women would do as much for their husbands when they were fascinated by other women?

For many years the role of the accomplished women rapidly grew, and they had many opportunities to display their abilities. Women won and continued to hold an important place in Roman public affairs. In the imperial age some turned their ambitions toward securing recognition. Livia, the wife of Emperor Augustus, for example, left no stone unturned to attain her ambition.

In 38 B.C., Julius Caesar Octavianus, afterwards Augustus, asked the pontifical college, the highest religious authority of the state, the following question: Might a divorced woman, who was expecting to become a mother, contract a marriage with another man before the birth of the child? The reply was that, if there was a doubt in the minds

17 Flütersch op. cit. xxxv.5
18 ibid.
19 There were numerous women who were very influential during the days of the Republic. For example, Julia, daughter of Julius Caesar, kept peace between her father and Pompey to whom she was married; Servilia, mother of M. Brutus and mistress of Julius Caesar, was one of the most influential and ambitious women of the Republic; Clodia, sister of Clodius, was socially prominent and a patron of intelligentsia; and Hortensia, daughter of Hortensius, the orator, was capable and defended women's rights at law.

of the parties concerned about their intent to marry, it would not
be permissible; but if it was certain, there was no objection.
Shortly after this Octavianus divorced his wife Scribonia and married
Livia, who obtained a divorce from Tiberius Claudius Nero. Three
months later Livia gave birth to a son whom Octavianus sent to its
father. The reason for this hasty marriage is uncertain. Ferrero points
out that a marriage to Livia meant much to the future Augustus—it
opened the door to him into the old aristocracy; it drew him closer to
the families of Claudii and Livii Drusi which were still very influen-
tial. Nero perhaps desired an affiliation with Octavius, who was
considered one of the future leaders of Rome. The marriage may have
been one of love.

Henceforth, until she died in 29 A.D., Livia kept foremost in
her mind the interests of her family. She had a great influence over
Augustus during his reign. It is said that he depended upon Livia for
guidance in carrying out his plans. Ferrero thinks Livia played her
part with moderation, great tact and constancy. Tacitus says that as
a mother she was a curse to the realm; as a step-mother a curse to the
house of the Caesars. All of Livia's hopes were centered on her

21 Ibid. p. 55.

22 Cornelius Tacitus  *The Annals* i.10. "The Loeb Classical
Library," translated by John Jackson. "She was a curse because in
one capacity, she had borne a son, Tiberius, and in the other, she
was credited with procuring the deaths of Gaius and Lucius Caesar,
Augustus' sons," by editor and translator.
son, Tiberius, and she was determined to have him rule. He was sole heir to the throne as his brother Drusus had died. Tiberius was adopted by Augustus. Livia no longer secretly plotted for Tiberius but openly supported him. She so firmly riveted her claims upon Augustus that he banished his one remaining grandson, Agrippa Postumus.

Livia was successful in carrying out her plans until opposition sprang up in her own family. Augustus had a daughter, Julia, by his former wife Scribonia. When very young, Julia was married to Marcellus, Augustus' nephew. According to Ferrero this marriage was not successful. He informs us that Marcellus, being influenced by Julia, became haughty and insolent and thus offended Agrippa, who was next in power to Augustus. The difficulty was that Julia desired her husband to be second in power so that she would be second to Livia.

In contrast to Livia, who fell into the traditional pattern of the aristocracy, Julia rebelled against the traditions of the age and was a member of a group who proposed to enjoy life in their own ways. She is said to have been beautiful, intelligent and to have had a desire for studies. However, her passionate and fiery temperament repeatedly caused her to do things which were forbidden by law, custom and public opinion.

23 Ibid. i.3.
24 Ibid.
25 *Ferrero, op. cit.*, Ch. II, p. 11.
26 Ibid., p. 76.
I:

J:

M:

I:

The marriage was a happy one at first, but discord gradually developed. The couple were always happy, but their relationship was strong.

When I first met them, I was surprised by their happiness. They seemed to be perfectly contented and were always so affectionate. But as time went on, I began to notice a change. The husband became distant, and his wife appeared to be suffering.

I: Why do you think this is happening?

J: I think it's because of the marriage. They are not really compatible. Their personalities just don't match.

M: I agree. They are always fighting and bickering. They don't seem to understand each other.

I: Have you tried to help them?

M: Yes, I have talked to both of them separately. But they just don't seem to listen. They are too set in their ways.

J: I think it's because of the marriage. They are not really compatible. Their personalities just don't match.

I: How do you think they should resolve this?

M: I think they should try to work together. They need to find a way to communicate and understand each other.

I: It sounds like a difficult situation. I hope they can find a way to make it work.
pity, family purity and strict observances of all laws. Tiberius stood for enforcement of the laws on marriage and adultery. Julia, in contrast, loved extravagance, companionship of men, a life full of amusement. She threw all tradition to the winds. She became a leader of a number of men who endeavored to ruin the lofty position of Tiberius. Sempronius Gracchus again made advances to Julia, and Tiberius learned of it. According to the 'Lex de adulteriis', which was passed in 18 B.C. during Augustus' reign, Tiberius was supposed to report his wife's misconduct to the praetor. However, he hesitated as he felt that he could not make known such a scandal. Julia was the daughter of Augustus. Julia's father wished his daughter to be wise, but he also loved her and protected her as long as he could. Finally, he felt compelled to banish her in 2 B.C., to an island where she died of neglect in 14 A.D. According to the Roman moral standards, no doubt, Julia sinned. However, it seems evident to the writer that she certainly was a victim of family politics and that she paid a heavy penalty for her sins. Perhaps the reports about Julia have been exaggerated.

After Julia was banished her step-mother was successful in suppressing the Julian opposition against her son. In fact, whenever opposition to her son's succession to the throne arose, Livia supported her son with such a firm determination that it was settled in his favor.

29 Ibid., p. 86.
30 Ibid., p. 91.
The Roman women regulators refused to tolerate even her father's elopement. She chose to do as she desired, and justice was done with wisdom and determination. The trend of the new generation. The mother she was well-equipped.

In contrast, to the three women mentioned above, Zilla represented her determination to act despite her weakness.

Many contradictions for she did not rest until she had perpetrated every need arise in order to carry out her mission. Her methods caused great terror in the strong element in her character. One feels that she was a determined personality like the first few women who led and respected because of their kind manner, intelligence, and courage. They were very different from the traditional and old-fashioned women. However, they had adapted and modified the behavior of the aristocracy. However, they were reformers and revolutionaries.

The leadership and contribution, their was a reformer of the tradition.

The reports did not even return for the mother's request.

that power had gone to her as her gift. He was reported that neither she had given her gift, nor courage to share his power with her, though he had been driven away by his mother's importance temper, he could not, so fortune returned to fortune from the city. Some said that

rather, her dominance over the time was so strong that it caused the power behind the throne during her husband's and son's

Though her efforts, she became emperor. She is accused by prejudice.
Imy. STILL there was nothing deplorable in her intellect, she could
acknow about the offices of her character. And was often than she was asked for
for nothing took than her esteem, and modesty, and her dearest were so

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature, could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature, could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature, could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
\end{align*}\]

for a part to her country.

Curious Curiosity believed the secret of the harp no thought of concordant
women of noble birth, when she learned of the concordant from her lover.

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
\end{align*}\]

betimes then she could temper the spirit of the people; the female population of Rome,
supported by women. Settled ends that the voice was heard; thus it came that women

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
\end{align*}\]

Futhermore, there were many women whose desire for fame and

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
&\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{ought, she was well read in Greek and Roman literature. So could she.} \]
write verses, converse with modesty, tenderness, or wantonness as
the occasion required. In fact, she possessed a high degree of wit
and charm.\textsuperscript{3h}

How did this come about? How did the Roman matrons, whose home
training had been in the exact traditional beliefs, become so morally
changed? One of the most important causes of this change was the
Roman marriage system. Matrimony based on romantic love, which is
an important factor in our civilisation, was unusual among the Roman
aristocracy. From the viewpoint of our modern civilisation, the pur-
pose of the Roman marriage was exterior to the parties concerned. The
aristocracy of Rome regarded matrimony as an instrument for political
domination. It was also a means of increasing the power of a great
family and by family affiliations to strengthen the association. The
main object of marriage was to produce a race of citizens.

For these reasons the Romans seldom allowed the woman to choose
her own husband. A woman was passed from one man to another; the
choice rested with the fathers, or with the father and the girl's
present husband in case of remarriage. One example told by Plutarch
will suffice to illustrate this. Quintus Hortensius, an outstanding
orator and a plebeian of excellent character, desired to be more than
a mere associate of Cato, the Younger. He wished in some way to bring
his whole family and line into a community of kinship. He boldly

\textsuperscript{3h} Ibid. xxv.i.
asked Cato for Marcia, his wife. She was still young enough to bear children at that time; besides Cato had enough hairs. Cato said that Marcia's father must approve the marriage. The consent of all parties was secured except Marcia's. Thus Marcia was given in wedlock to Hortensius after her divorce from Cato in 56 B.C. 35

Lucan in "Pharsalia" describes Marcia's return and remarriage to Cato after the death of Hortensius. Marcia's feeling of love and loyalty to Cato are clearly shown in her words: "While there was warm blood in these veins and I had power to be a mother, I did your bidding, Cato: I took two husbands and bore them children. Now I return wearied and worn-out with child-bearing, and I must not again be surrendered to any other husband. Grant me to renew the faithful compact of my first marriage; grant me the name of wife; suffer men to write on my tomb, 'Marcia, wife of Cato'; let not the question be disputed in after time, whether I was driven out or handed over by you to a second husband. You do not receive me to share in happiness or for prosperous times; I come to take my part in anxiety and trouble." 36
Her words moved her husband and Cato married Marcia in a simple ceremony without the usual display.

35 Plutarch Cato The Younger xxv.5. "The Loeb Classical Library."

Sometimes a difficulty arose because of the early age at which the Roman marriage of the aristocracy took place. Boys were almost always married from eighteen to twenty years, and girls from approximately thirteen to fifteen. The boys and girls were hardly beginning adolescence at the time of marriage. Matrimony not only gave women the opportunity to take part in the private entertainments of men but also a chance to appear in all public places, in the Forum, in the theatre and in the public resorts. Many dangers threatened the youthful marriages where matrimony gave the woman more freedom and placed her in contact with others. Thus women on becoming married came in contact with many new temptations.

Another disadvantage of marriage during Cicero's time was the facility of divorce. There was no shame attached to divorce. The wish of either the husband or the wife was sufficient to dissolve a marriage. Notification of divorce was made by the writing of a mere letter. For this reason, a person often was married several times in his lifetime. Ovid and the younger Pliny married three times; Caesar and Antony, four times; Sulla and Pompey, five times; and Cicero's daughter, Tullia, three times. Cicero's wife, Terentia, married


twice after her divorce from Cicero, first to Sallust and later to Messala Corvinus. 39

The Romans of Cicero’s time treated sex life more realistically than it is treated in the United States today. The double standard did apply. The free sex life of the Roman man was not condemned; he could follow his own desires without hindrance. It was common practice for the Roman man to have a mistress. However, the woman was not allowed the same freedom. She was expected to show her affections only to her husband. In this respect the Roman attitude toward woman’s conduct during Cicero’s time was different from that of our own day.

Different ages have different standards of taste. Thus, one clearly sees that Cicero belonged to an age when women were not wooed or won. Romantic love, as it is thought of in the modern world of our day perhaps, did not enter into the match-making of the Roman aristocracy. As was formerly stated, Roman women were married to produce a race, to strengthen a political alliance, to exert influence behind the scenes or to furnish wealth. However, it must not be thought that all Roman marriages were lacking in warm affection and devotion. Cases could be cited to show the deep love of a wife for her husband during the age of Cicero. The story of the death of Porcia, daughter of Cato, the Younger, and the wife of Marcus Brutus is one of matrimonial love.

Porcia killed herself by swallowing hot coals at the news that her husband, assassin of Julius Caesar, had committed suicide rather than meet death by the hands of the enemy. She foresaw the end of the Republic to which she and her husband were staunch supporters. Porcia preferred death rather than life without her husband.

Information concerning the middle and lower classes of society is very scanty. The record of common people does not occur in literature. Frank Frost Abbott in his book, The Common People of Ancient Rome, discusses the epitaphs of common people on the tombstones and monuments which give the reader a glimpse of the life of the average individual. "Inscriptions of the common woman make clear to us," so Abbott says, "the place which women held in Roman life, the state of society, and the feminine qualities which are held most in esteem." For example, Martinianus records on the tomb of his wife Sofroniola: "Purity, loyalty, affection, a sense of duty, a yielding nature, and whatever qualities God has implanted in women." 

---

40 Edwin Post, Selected Epigrams of Martial. New York: Ginn and Co., 1908. ["The burning coals" are probably an invention of the Republicans; it is more likely she inhaled the fumes of burning charcoal. --note 42, p. 24.]


42 Ibid., p. 86.

43 Ibid.
Most of the epitaphs, according to Abbott, are in praise of women. A double tribute is paid Statilia in this novel inscription: "Thou who wast beautiful beyond measure and true to thy husbands, didst twice enter the bonds of wedlock... and he who came first, had he been able to withstand the fates, would have set up this stone to thee, while I, alas! who have been blessed by thy pure heart and love for thee for sixteen years, lo! now I have lost thee."

The above inscriptions are typical examples of the available information of the common women. The women of the aristocracy alone were conspicuous in history and it is to that class exclusively, this discussion has been restricted.

In conclusion, then, the Roman women during the time of Cicero, who have been discussed, fit into the following patterns: the conventional woman like Cornelia and Octavia, with intelligence, influence and culture;—the domineering woman like Livia who held sway over her husband and son by her force of will;—the quiet, submissive, homely type like Marcia and Octavia willing to be pushed about by any man in order that his wishes be fulfilled. These were typical examples of the various kinds of women with whom Cicero came in contact.

\[\text{i}^{4}\text{Ibid., p. 87.}\]
CHAPTER IX

WOMEN IN CICERO'S PRIVATE LIFE

For this study the primary source of material is Cicero's private letters. His personal opinions were not revealed in his forensic speeches, for in them he spoke as a lawyer in pursuit of distinction. His primary objective in his orations was to win cases. It is futile to rely too much on them for evidence for he often gave different points of view in different speeches. Even in his political speeches one must not expect too accurate a record of his real convictions. It is Cicero's private correspondence which furnishes the best information on his true opinions.

The approximately eight hundred extant letters of Cicero were written between 68 and 43 B.C. Many of them were addressed to his friend, Titus Pomponius Atticus. Atticus was intimate with the best Romans, from Sulla to Augustus; he was on good terms with both Caesar and Pompey; he had the warm friendship of Brutus, Hortensius and Cicero. He was useful to Cicero as he was a friend of influential

1 Tyrrell and Purser, The Correspondence of Cicero, Vol. 1, p. 4.

2 Ibid., p. 5.

3 The writer has used throughout this study the dates as accepted by the editors of Cicero's letters.

4 Tyrrell and Purser, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 45.
leaders, a business man, a lender of money and a literary critic.

Atticus published the works of Cicero because he kept a large number of slaves who acted as copyists. ⁵ Atticus was Cicero's best friend, a person to whom he poured out his innermost secrets. He knew that any revelations or indiscretions in his letters to Atticus were not for publication. ⁶ Cicero's letter to Atticus written in 60 B.C., shows the intimate feeling between the two men so well that it is worth quoting:

*Nihil mihi nunc scito tam doceas quam hominem sum, quaecum cum, quae me cura aliqua sufficiunt, uno communicas, qui me amat, qui sapit, quicum ego cum lequar, nihil fingo, nihil dissimulam, nihil obtenam. Abest enim frater ἀφελέστατος et amantissimus. . . . Tu autem, qui sapissimus curas et angeream animi mei sermones et consilio levasti tuas, qui mihi et in publica re seceis et in privatis omnibus conscius et omnium neorum sermonum et consiliorum particeps esse soles, ubinam es? Ita sum ab omnibus destitutus, ut tantum requiris habens, quantum cum uxore et filiola et mellitae Cicerores consuetur. . . . Quare te suspectamus, te desideramus, te iam etiam acessimus. Multa sunt enim, quae me sollicitant angustique, quae mihi videlicet aures nactus tuas unius ambulatibus sermones exhaustur posse. ⁷*

---

⁵ Ibid.


The writer of this study has attempted to reflect out and examine

the writer as the absolute reflection of the man's mind."

he took the most intimate thought. "His correspondence," says Tyrrell,
attorney. One can practically see the thought was the one person to whom

I would go to for a conversation or a single walk if I could call
for there are many things which disturb and distress me which I feel

therefore, I seek for you, long for you, in fact, I summons you.

butt with my-wife, my little daughter and my dear little niece.

desired by everyone that I have only one certain of release that it is

weather of all my conversations and thoughts—where else are you? I am so

in pointed attention and condensation in all previous matters, the

more and more by your conversation and concern, the need to be

and meet kind, as easy. What you, that have so often之际 heard

because of conclusion First and brother who is meet understood and

and who loves me, who is gone, with whom I can talk without effort?

to whom alone can communicate everything that causes me any excitation?

Dedicate me, there is nothing I new want so much as a person.
First, let us consider Cicero's relations to women in his immediate family. He married Terentia in 77 B.C., when he was about thirty years old. Very little is known about Terentia. "She was neither tender-hearted nor timorous," remarks Plutarch, "but a woman eager for distinction who, as Cicero himself says, would rather thrust herself into his public affairs than communicate her domestic matters to him." 9

Toward Terentia during the early days of his exile in 58 B.C., Cicero showed the deepest affection. The first extant letter during his banishment definitely reveals his tender attitude toward her. Of course, this feeling may have been affected by the fact that he was lonely and in a miserable state of mind. He writes:

Et litteris multiarum et sermonee canum perfectur ad me, incredibilem tuam virtutem et fortitudinem esse teque not animi, neque corporis laboribus defatigari. Me miserum te, icta virtute, fides, probitate, humanitate, in tantas aequalias propter me incidisse! . . . Quam ergo dian si videro et si in vestrum complexum venere ac si et vos et me ipsum recuperare, satis magnum mihi fructum videbor perceplisse et vestrae pietatis et meae. 10

"I am informed by letters of many and the conversation of everybody, that your courage and fortitude are incredible, and that you are not exhausted by your anxieties either of mind or body. O wretched me! To think that you, so virtuous, faithful, upright and generous should


10 Ad. Fam. xiv.1. 1-3, Nov. 25, 58 B.C.
have fallen into such trouble because of me! . . . If I shall ever see that day and if I shall ever be in your embrace and recover you, as well as myself, it will seem to me that I have gained a great reward for your loyalty and mine."

The letters to Terentia continue for some time to reveal tender expressions; they also indicate the depth of his misery at the time of his exile from Rome. He may have been more concerned about himself than he was about Terentia because he was very agitated and worried about his own predicament. In one, he says:

... Ad te vero et ad nostram Tulliam non quos sine plurimis lacrimis scribere. . . . Hen, mea lux, meum desiderium, unde eumae opem petere solebant? te nunc, mea Terentia, sic vexari, sic inscribere in lacrimis et cordibus: idque fieri mea culpa, qui ceteros servavi, ut nos perieramus.11

"I cannot write to you and our darling Tullia without a flood of tears. . . . Alas, light of my life, my desired one, to whom all were accustomed to look for help; to think that now, my dear Terentia, you are so harassed, so steeped in tears and misery! And this is my fault, who have saved others to perish myself!" Exactly what Cicero meant by speaking of Terentia as 'one to whom all were accustomed to look for help' is hard to tell. He may have meant that she was helpful to her family and friends. A month later he remarks: "... Cura, ut

11 Ibid. xiv. 2. 1-2, Oct. 58 B.C.
valess et ita tibi persuades, mihi te carius nihil esse, nec unquam fuisses." 12

"Attend to your health and be assured that no one is, or ever has been, dearer to me than you." This reveals that he has always loved her.

Five months later, his letters still are the words of a lover. In speaking of Terentia's joining him, he writes from Brundisium:

... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...
quid nunc rogat te, ut vanias, mulieres aequas, et corpora et animo confectam? Non rogam? Sine te igitur sim? ...
Unum hoc scito: si te habebo, non mihi videbo plane perisse.
... Cura, quod potes, ut valeas; et sic existimes, me vehementius tua miseria, quam mea commoveri. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et carissima filiula et... ... Cicero, valeste. 13

"Shall I now ask you, a sick woman, exhausted in body and mind, to come to me? Shall I not ask you? Can I be without you? ...

Know this one thing, if I have you, I shall not seem so wholly lost.
... Take care, as far as you can, of your health; and believe me, that I am much more distressed by your misery than by my own. Farewell, my dear Terentia, the most faithful and best of wives, and my most dear little daughter and dear Cicero." Terentia did not join her husband.

---

12 Ibid. 3. 5, Nov. 58 B.C.

These letters are not exactly love letters, but they certainly seem to give evidence of a fond and devoted husband. How much the conditions under which they were written affected Cicero's feelings, as formerly stated, it is difficult to ascertain. However, it does seem that his personal feelings are colored by his experiences. The writer notices that in the quoted letters, Cicero mentions himself almost as often as he refers to Terentia. It is evident that his own affairs are predominant in his mind.

It is also significant that Cicero mentions Terentia's emphasis on religion. Boissier's account of Terentia's superstitious beliefs is as follows: "She consulted soothsayers, she believed in prodigies, and Cicero did not try to cure her of this eccentricity." Cicero refers to her belief in the gods and compares her trust in them to his trust in men. "... quaesidit, quae tu castissimae coluisse, quaes homines, quibus ego semper servivi, nobis gratiam rettulerunt." Cicero

"... neither the gods whom you have so piously worshipped, nor the man, whom I have always served, have returned us thanks." Here Terentia is pictured as respectfully serving the gods, while he is busy in working for men.

---

14 Gaston Boissier, Cicero and His Friends. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909, p. 92. [Boissier does not state the source of this fact.]

15 Ad. Fam. xiv. 4. 1. 58 B.C.
In another letter when he is on his way to Pompey's camp,
Cicero states:

Omnes molestias et sollicitudines, quibus et te
miseram habui, . . . deposui et eisici. Quid causae
autem fuerit, postridie intellexi, quam a vobis discessi
χολὴν ἀκρατοῦ nectu eisici. Statim ita sum levatus,
ut mihi deus aliquis medicinam fecisse videstur. Cui
16
quidem tu deo, quasdammodum solae, pie et caste satisfacias.

"All the troubles and anxieties, with which I kept you in a
state of utter misery . . . I have put away and got rid of. What the
reason was I discovered the day after I left you; it was pure [indiges-
tion] undiluted bile; I got rid of it all that night. My immediate
relief was such that I fancied some god or other had doctored me, and
to that god I beg you to pay due tribute with piety and innocence, in
the same manner as you usually do." This letter reveals how lightly
Cicero took religion; he gives the impression that religion is all
right for women. In this respect he shows, as Boissier stated, a
spirit of the modern Parisian.

One notices, after a break from 57 to 50 B.C. in Cicero's
writing to Terentia, a gradual waning of his affection for her. His
correspondence up to 48 B.C., reveals deep feelings of tenderness
although he had been married for twenty years. The letters become
shorter in length, the tone is changed, and words of endearment are

16 Ibid. 7. 1. June, 49 B.C. "The Loeb Classical Library,"
translated by W. Glynn Williams.
less frequent. After his return to Rome from exile in August 57 B.C.,
comes the first hint of trouble. He omits any mention of Terentia in
two successive letters to Atticus. In one of them, Cicero tells of
his daughter, Tullia, awaiting him when he arrived at Brundisium.
The second one contains a reference to his domestic difficulties:

... As ferensium quidem rerum haec nostra consilia
sunt, domesticorum autem valde impedita. ... Oterea,
quae me sollicitant, μνυο-Τερέμα sunt.
Assur a fratre et a filia. 17

"These are my plans concerning public affairs, but my private
affairs are in a terrible state... Other things which disturb me
are not to be mentioned. My brother and daughter love me." It is
significant that he fails to speak of Terentia along with Quintus, his
brother, and Tullia.

One naturally asks what were the causes of the change in his
affection toward Terentia. Plutarch gives the following reasons which
led up to the divorce: (1) Cicero was neglected by Terentia during
the civil war between Caesar and Pompey and he was sent away without
the necessary supplies for his journey; (2) she did not come to him
at Brundisium where he stayed after his exile; (3) when his daughter
went to him, Terentia did not allow her the requisite expenses;
(4) besides, she left him a naked and empty house; (5) furthermore,

17 Ad. Att. iv. 1. 3, Sept. 57 B.C. [Cicero had been in exile
approximately sixteen months at Dyrrachium. He arrived at Brundisium
Aug. 1, 57 B.C.]

18 Ibid. 2. 5, Oct. 57 B.C.
she had involved him in bad speculation. 19 Tyrrell and Pursar, and Forsyth refute all of Plutarch's arguments, with the exception of four and five. Forsyth goes so far as to say that Plutarch's reasons, except the two formerly mentioned, are malicious gossip. 20

From the study of Cicero's letters one does not find any evidence to prove the first charge. In fact, it is contradicted by the tone of Fam. xiv. 7; Cicero even praises Tarentia and Tullia in this letter written in 49 B.C., saying that they have more courage than any man. 21 When Cicero returned to Rome at the end of his praetorship in Cilicia, he found a civil war going on between Pompey and Caesar. Pompey fled from Rome and Cicero wrote this letter on his way to join Pompey. In regard to the second charge, Cicero tells Tarentia not to join him, and no doubt, this is why she did not do so. However, the letter is brief and does indicate that he did not wish to see her. The reader gets the impression that Tarentia formerly had sent him a letter of welcome and had expressed her willingness to join him.

Quod nos in Italian salves venisse gaudeas, perpetue gaudeas valiam. Sed perterbati dolere animi magnisique inferius, nostro id consili ceparisimus, quod non facile explicare possumus. Quare, quantum potes, tibi. Quid autem possis, nil hine in mentem non venit. In vixim quid te des hoc tempore, nihil est; et longum est iter, et non tute; et non video, quid prodesse possis, si veneris. 22

19 Plutarch Cicero xi. 2-3.
21 The entire letter is too long to cite. It has formerly been referred to. See note 16, p. 29.
"You are glad that I have arrived safe in Italy; I hope that you may always be so. But, disturbed by the griefs of mind and the great wrongs, I fear I adopted a policy from which I cannot easily free myself. However, assist me as much as you can. What you can, however, do I have no idea. That you should undertake a trip at this time is sheer nonsense; the journey is a long one and unsafe; I do not see what good you could do if you did come." This letter reveals an entirely different feeling from those of affection which were addressed to Terentia six years previously. The writer believes that the tone of the above letter conveys this added thought: "I don't want to see you anyway."

There is nothing about the third accusation in the letter which tells of Tullia's visit to her father at Brundisium. In fact, there is no evidence in any of Cicero's letters of this time that Terentia did not give Tullia adequate provisions for the trip.

However, the writer does find letters which pertain to disputes over money matters; some intimate Terentia's dishonesty. The first hint of trouble about money appears in March, 48 B.C. In writing his friend, Atticus, Cicero remarks:

... De dote quod scribis, per omnes deos te obtestor, ut tandem rem suscipias et illam miseram mea culpa et negligentiam tuseae meis opibus, si quae sunt, tuis, quibus tibi molestum non erit, facultatibus. ... In quos enim

---

23 *Ad. Att. xi. 17. 1, 47 B.C.*
sumptus absunt fructus praedierum? Iam illa HS LX, quae scribis, non mihi unquam spirit ex dete esse detracti; unquam enim essem passus. 24

"As for what you write about the dowry, I adjure you for heaven's sake that you undertake the whole matter and protect the poor girl, a victim of my culpable carelessness, with my funds, if there are any, and out of your own, so far as you can without inconvenience. . . . On what are rents of my farm being wasted? That 500 guineas of which you write, no one ever told me that it had been kept back out of the dowry, for I would never have allowed it."

The next year Cicero makes a direct accusation against his wife. He seems embarrassed about her speculations and wishes her to make a settlement with her creditors. One wishes that he had gone more into detail. He says:

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Extremum est, quod te orem, si putas rectum esse at a te suscipi posse, cum Camillo communices, ut Terentiam monesatis de testamenti. Tempora moment, ut vides, ut satis facias, quibus debent. Auditis ex Phileismo est ex scalarate quaedam facere. Credibile est, sed certe, si quid est, quod fieri possit, providendum est. De omnibus rebus velim ad me scribas, et maxime quid sentias de ea, in qua tuo consilio ego, etiam si nihil exsequias. Id enim mini erit pro desespero. 25

---

24 Ibid. 2. 1. "The Loeb Classical Library," translated by E. O. Winstedt. "The dowry referred to is Tullia's dowry due Delabella, her third husband. Evidently Terentia had kept back 500 guineas of this amount." — note by editor and translator of "The Loeb Classical Library."

25 Ibid. 16, 47 B.C. Brundisium, translated by E. D. Winstedt with revisions.
"The last thing which I have to ask you, if you think it is right and can undertake it, is that you and Camillus should advise Terentia about her will. Circumstances indicate that she ought to make satisfactory provisions to her creditors. I hear from Philotimus that she is doing underhanded things. It is hardly believable, but certainly, if there is anything of this kind, it ought to be guarded against. I wish you would write to me about everything, and especially what you think about her; I want your advice about her even if you cannot think of anything. For in that case I will consider the case desperate." Evidently Cicero had heard of Terentia making a will and her actions were of such a kind that he wished Atticus to interfere.

Two months later he again mentions Terentia's will. He had found out that his wife had defrauded him of some money. Concerning these matters, he confers with Atticus.

Sed ad meam manum redo; erunt enim haec occultiius agenda. Vide, quae so, etiam num de testamento, quod tum factum cum illa haerere coeperat. Non, credo, te commovit; neque enim rogavit ne me quidem. Sed, quasi ita sit, quoniam in sermonem iam venisti, poteris sam monere, ut aliqui committat, cuius extra periculum minus belli fortuna sit. Equidem tibi potissimum valia, si idem illa vellet. Quam quidem eae miseram me hoc timere. . . . De Terentia autem . . . . quid ad hoc addi potest? Scripseras, ut HS XII permittaret; tantum esse reliquum de argente. Misi illa (CCI) mili et adscriptit tantum esse reliquum. Cum hoc tam parvum de parvo, detraxerit, perspicis, quid in maxima re fecerit.26

26 Ibid. 24. 2, 47 B.C.
"But now I don't dictate; for I shall have to deal with confidential matters. I beg of you, see to the will even now, as it was done when she had begun to get into difficulties. I believe she did not bother you; for she did not even ask me. But, supposing that is so, since you have already discussed it, you will be able to advise her that she trust it to someone whose position is not affected by the war. I much rather you were the person, if she agrees to that. In fact, I am concealing from the poor woman that fear of mine. . . . Concerning Terentia, however, what can be added to this? You wrote that she was to remit me £100, saying that was the balance. She sent 80 guineas and wrote that was all the balance. If she takes so small an amount from so small a total, you clearly see what she has done in case of very large sums." This letter is a typical instance of how Cicero dealt with or treated his own private life. He certainly does not go into detail—only the scanty details, and does not reveal his real feelings. One feels that he is hiding something. After reading this letter one is left with questions unanswered. What is the fear which he is concealing from his wife? One editor, Poteat, suggests that it means that her property would be confiscated. Why doesn't he write directly to Terentia and advise her? This letter reveals that he did not take her into his confidence, and that the two are far apart. It also definitely shows that Cicero does not have much patience with women who are greedy for money. Whether he was justified in his beliefs of Terentia's dishonesty is difficult to know because Terentia's side of the story is not recorded.
To Terentia during this period Cicero writes only brief notes. Usually they are only inquiries about her health; he has little to say to her. His last letter, dated Oct., 47 B.C., sounds very much like a man's order to his housekeeper.

In tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Homic aut pestridie. Ibi ut sint omnia parata. Flures enim fortasse nobiscum arunt, et, ut arbitror, diutius ibi commerabimus. Labrum si in balineo non est, ut sit. Item cetera, quae sunt ad victum et ad valstudinem necessaria. Vale. 27

"I think I shall arrive at my Tusulan villa either on the 7th or the following day. See that everything there is ready. Perhaps there will be several persons with me and I think we shall stay there for some time. If there is no basin in the bath, see to it that there is one. In the same manner, attend to everything else which is necessary for every day living and health. Goodbye." Now curt, abrupt and inconsiderate! His affection now has been replaced by business. This is his last extant letter to his wife before his divorce in 45 B.C.

After the divorce other letters to Atticus indicate more causes for the separation and also throw further light upon Cicero's opinion of Terentia. One indicates Terentia's fear that Cicero has not made adequate provision in his will for Tullia's child.

27 Ad. Fam. xiv. 20.
... Quod scribis Terentiam de obisignatoribus mai testamenti loqui, primum tibi persuade me istae non curare neque esse quisquam aut pervae curae aut novae loci. Sed tamen quid similis? Illa eos non exhibuit, quae existimavist quasituras, nisi scissent, quid esset. Nnum id etiam nisi periculi fuit? Sed tamen faciat illas quod ego. Dabo meum testamentum legandum, cui velamcit; intelligat non petuisse hancificiuntis a me fieri de nepote, quam facturus. Nam, quod non advocavi ad obisignandum, primum nisi non venit in mentem, deinde ea re non venit, quia nihil attimuit. 28

"... You write Terentia is talking about the witnesses of my will. In the first place bear in mind that I am not troubling my head about those things, and this is no time for any new or unimportant business. But anyhow are the two cases parallel? She did not invite anyone she thought would ask questions, if they did not know the contents of the will. Was I likely to be afraid of anything of this kind? However, let her do what I have done. I will hand over my will to anyone she likes, to read. She will find I could not have treated my grandson more handsomely than I have. As to my not calling certain people as witnesses, in the first place it never entered my mind, and in the second, the reason why it never entered it, was because it was of no importance." Terentia seems to have feared lest Cicero fail to make proper provision in his will for his daughter’s infant, Lentulus. Her fears derived confirmation from the fact that no relative of Dolabella, the father, was present at the execution of the will and

especially as I don't think she as either sincere or repentant about it all. And, of course, it is the more serious and the more important...
the second." Cicero is concerned about the question involving his character as an upright man.\textsuperscript{31} He writes Atticus in several letters that duty is his first consideration. The controversy hinges upon the amount of money to be paid. Terentius is evidently trying to get more under the promise of making advances to their son, Marcus.\textsuperscript{32} Cicero does not think that her intentions are sincere.

A letter to his friend, Flaccius, pertains to Terentius and gives Cicero's explanation of his divorce. It says:

\begin{quote}
... sed ego tam misere temporal nihil novi consili cepisse, nisi in reedito meo nihil meliores res domesticas, quam respublicam offendisse. Quibus enim pro meis immortalibus beneficiis carissima mea salus at meae fortunae esse debant, cum propter eorum scelus nihil nihil intra meae parietes tutam, nihil insidias vacua viserem, novarum me necessitudinem fidelitate contra veterum perfidiass muniam am putavi.\textsuperscript{33}
\end{quote}

"... But I would not have made a change in my life in these unhappy days, if I had not on my return from abroad found my domestic affairs in as bad a plight as those of the state. For when I saw, those very persons in whose eyes my welfare and all I possessed should have been most precious, considering the imperishable benefits I had bestowed upon them, had behaved so wickedly that there was no safety

\textsuperscript{31} Tyrrell and Purser, \textit{op. cit.}, vol. v. note p. 14.

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 23.

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Ad. Fam. iv. 14. 3, 45 B.C. "The Loeb Classical Library," translation with revisions by W. Glynne Williams. [\textit{Reedito meo: i.e. from his long and weary sojourn in Brundisium—Potest, note, 3, p. 213.]}
before the extra-constitutional means have been gathered one facing

there is no evidence that Terenta did anything to encourage the attack.

Terenta, however, it is difficult to choose need one economic

due to the scandal of the initiative with Patel, the huckster of the

after or co-height the second, because of her increased personal

and carthilge—the third, because of her Zealotry as close, the

political life. They state that she used Ciecole's attack on Ciecole

introduced Cioe to take steps which brought him emery in the

boisterer and refer to our that Terenta was conserved and action

followed. Many restrictions, including the right to personal, political

part of ac. D.C. Terenta passed one of Ciecole's life and divorce

Laure Par la. We have seen the point in refer to the..., again the point

write the article, agreed the part of the aid. In the above letter

place—I then thought that I ought to be protected by law and trust

within the walls of up own house, no concern of it, free from that
to why Cicero divorced her. No doubt many factors entered into the cause of the separation. Evidence does indicate that one cause of the divorce was money affairs—the reason which figures in many American divorces. Another reason for this divorce perhaps, was incompatibility which is also a common reason for many American divorces.

Terentia doesn't appear to be a close companion to her husband, nor the type of person who would be interested in Cicero's literary pursuits. She is not his confidante. Boissier reminds us that in none of Cicero's works, in which his daughter, his brother, and his son recur so frequently, is there any mention of his wife. She seems to have held an unimportant place for a wife—who was a member of his intimate family circle. Thus ends the story of Terentia's life with Cicero, to whom she had been married for over thirty years. This seems to be an exception to the general rule of Roman marriages. Particularly in the age of Cicero it was unusual for a man of the aristocracy to be married to the same wife for over thirty years.

After Cicero's divorce from Terentia, his friends at once began thinking of making another match. One candidate was Pompey's daughter. Concerning her he writes Atticus: "De Pompei Magni filia tibi rescripti nihil me hoc tempore cogitare; alteram vero illam, quam tu scribis, puto, nesi. Nihil vidi foedius."  

35 Boissier, Cicero and His Friends, p. 92.
36 Ad, Att. xii. 11. 1.
"... Concerning Pompey's daughter I have written you that I was not considering her at present. I think you know the other woman of whom you write. I have never seen anything uglier." This shows Cicero had his eyes open to the beauty of women. The last remark is quite unusual coming from Cicero, who appeared too busy to pay much attention to women or to talk about them. He had his own idea about a woman's appearance; perhaps beauty was one governing factor in his choice.

Near the end of the year after his divorce from Terentia, Cicero made his choice. He married Publilia, his young, rich ward.\footnote{Ferrero, The Women of the Caesars, p. 29. According to Ferrero, Cicero was 63 years old and Publilia, 17, at the time of the marriage.} Plutarch informs us that Terentia upbraided Cicero for marrying Publilia for the love of her beauty; Tiro, Cicero's freedman and friend, said he married her for her riches to pay his debts. The latter reason seems more correct as Cicero had to repay Terentia's dowry and he was in great need of money.

Cicero divorced Publilia a few weeks after their marriage; thus he lost the money as he had another dowry to repay. No information in his correspondence throws light on the reason for this separation. As usual, his letters concerning his private affairs are reserved and fail to give the reader the details. Plutarch says that Cicero, wishing solitude after his daughter's death, sent Publilia back
to her mother—his newly-married wife seemed pleased at the death of Tullia.\textsuperscript{38} Cicero had trouble refunding the dower to Publilia’s brother, Publilius. In July \textit{45} B.C., he writes: \textit{"... illud in primis, cum Publilie me absente conficias. De quo quae fama sit, scribes. \textit{Id populus curat seiliet!}"\textsuperscript{39}}

\textit{"... The most important point is that you should settle with Publiliius during my absence. About that you will write what people say. \textit{Of course, the world is all agog with that."}

Cicero refused to see Publilia after he sent her away. He lived in fear that she and her relatives would sneak in to pay him a visit. He writes Atticus in fright:

\textit{... Haeo ad te maa manu: Vida, quaevis, quid agendum sit. Publilia ad me scripsit matrem suam, cum Publilie videretur, ad me cum ille venturas, et se unam, si ego paterem. Grat multis et supplicibus verbis, ut sibi rescribam. Res quae mola sit, vides. Rescripsi mi istam graviss esse quam tum, cum illi dixissent me solum esse velle. Quare malle me hoc tempore eum ad me venire. Putabam, si nihil rescripisset, illam cum mater venturas mune non puto. Apparebat enim illas litteras non esse ipsius. Illud autem, quod fore video, ipsum velo vitere,}

\textsuperscript{38} Plutarch \textit{Cicero xli. 5.}

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Ad. Att. xiii. 34. 1. "The Loeb Classical Library,"} translated by E. O. Winstedt.

\textsuperscript{40} "About Cicero’s divorce from Publilia,"—note by editor and translator of \textit{"The Loeb Classical Library."}
ne illae ad me veniant, et una est vitatic, ut ego
avolem. Hocam, sed ncesse est. Te hoc nunc rogo, ut
explices, ad quam diem hic ita possum esse, ut ne oppri-
mar. Ages, ut scribis, temperate.\[1\]

"... The rest I don't dictate as he deals with confidential
matters. Please see what can be done. Publilia has written me that
her mother in a conversation with Publilius decided to come with him
to me and she says she will come at the same time if I will give my
consent. She begs me in many urgent entreaties to allow her and that
I answer her. The whole affair is irritating, as you see. I answered
that I was even in a worse state than when I told her I wished to be
alone. So I do not wish her to come at this time. I thought that if
I did not answer her, she would come with her mother; now I do not
think she will. For it is clear that the letter was not hers. However,
the thing I see will happen—the very thing I wish to avoid—they will
come to me, and the only way to avoid it is to get the 'heck out of
here.' I don't want to do it but it is necessary. Now I beg you,
find out how long I can stay here without being caught. You will act,
as you say, with moderation." This letter speaks for itself. It
clearly shows how he stood with his new wife. He definitely has made
up his mind to have nothing more to do with her. He must have been
successful in avoiding the unwelcome visit as there is no further men-
tion of it in his correspondence.

\[1\] _Ad. Att. xii. 32. 2, 45 B.C._
A year later when Caecullia, one of his close friends, tries to persuade him to remarry Publilia Cicero comments: "... quod regaret, ne licere quidem, non modo non lubere."\(^2\)

"... What she asked was not even permissible, besides, it is not agreeable to me." Cicero pictures Publilia as a very unsatisfactory wife for him. They have very little in common.

Now the story of another relative, who plays a part in Cicero's life, will be traced. Pompeania is the wife of Quintus, Cicero's brother, and also the sister of his dear friend, Atticus. The unhappy relationship between Quintus and Pompeania is a source of anxiety to Cicero and Atticus. Atticus naturally takes his sister's part. Cicero is influenced by his love for his brother but he also knows his faults. Quintus is a violent, fierce person in his dealings with his fellow men, but when he enters his home he is docile and subdued.\(^3\)

Several letters were exchanged between Cicero and Atticus concerning this couple's disagreements; however, only two which seem pertinent to this topic will be noted. In a letter to Atticus, Cicero says:

... Quod ad me scribis de sorear tuae, tectis orit tibi ipsa, quantae nihil curae fuerit, ut Quinti fratris animus in eam esset ea, qui esse debaret. Quae cum esse offenderem arbitraverer, eas litteras ad eam misi, qubus et placarem ut fratrem et munarem ut minarem et obhurgarem

\(^2\) Radd. xiv. 19. 4, 44 B.C.

ut errantes. Itaque ex iis, quae postea saepe ab eo ad me scripta sunt, confide ita esse omnia, ut et opus est et velim us.\(^{44}\)

"... You write to me concerning your sister. She herself can tell you what care I took to make Quintus, my brother, behave as he should toward her. When I observed that he was somewhat annoyed, I wrote to him to pacify him as a brother and to advise him as my junior and to reprimand him as one in error. Judging from the letters which I have received from him since that time I trust that everything is as it should be and as we wish it to be." From the tone of this letter one feels that Pompasia has been complaining to her brother about Quintus. This involves the familiar "in-law" interference in wife and husband disputes, which usually causes trouble. Cicero again measures one's actions by the standard of formal duty.

Another letter to Atticus exhibits Pompasia as a moody and sulk person with an uncontrollable temper. Men, perhaps, would say the letter reveals the trials of a married man. Here is Cicero's side of the story:

... Nunc venio ad transversum illum extremes epistolae tane versiculum, in quo me adhæres de sore. Quae res se sic habet. Ut veni in Arpinas, cum ad me frater venisset, in primis nobis sermo isque multus de te fuit. Ex quae ego veni ad ea, quae fueramus ago et tu inter nos de sore in Tusculano locuti. Nihil tam vidi-mite, nihil tam placatum, quam tam meus frater erat in sorem tuam, ut, etiam si qua fuerat ex ratione sumptus offendit, non apparet. ... sed prædiximus in Arcanos. ... Quo ut venimus, humanissime

\(^{44}\) Ad. Att. 1. 5. 2, 68 B.C.
Quintus "Pomponia" inquit, "tu invita mulieres, ego arriero viros." Hicli potuit, mihi quidem ut visum est, dulcis idque cum verbis tum etiam animo se vultu. At illa audientibus nobis "Ego ipsa sum" inquit "hic hospita," id autem ex eo, ut opinor, quod antecesserat Statius, ut prandia nobis vidaret. Tum Quintus "En" inquit mihi "haec ego patier cotidie."

Dixit: "Quid, quaeo, solum erat?"

Magnum, itaque me ipsum commoverat; sic absurde et aspera verbis vultuque responderat. Dissimulavi delan.

Discubuimus aemae praeter illas, cui tamen Quintus de mensa misit. Illa reiesit. Quid solu? nihil meo fratre leniis, nihil aspiris tuae serere mihi visum est; et multa praeterer, quae tum mihi maiori stenoche quam ipsi Quinto fuerunt. Ego inde Aquinum. Quintus in Arcanum remanens et Aquinum ad me postridie man venit mihiique narravit nec seum illam dermire voluisse et, cum discessura esset, fuisse eum medi, qualem ego visissam. Quid quaeris? val ipsi hoc dicas licet, humanitatem ei meo iudicie ille die defuisse.

Hae ad te scriptae fortasse pluribus, quam necesse fuit, ut videres tuas quoque esse partes instituendi et monendi.45

"... Now I come to the line you wrote crosswise at the end of your letter, in which you give me a word of advice about your sister.

The facts of the case are that when I reached Arpinum and my brother had come, the first thing we did was to have a long talk about you. After that I brought the talk around to the discussion you and I had about your sister at Tusculum. My brother's behavior then to your sister was gentleness and kindness itself. If there ever was any quarrel about expense, there was no sign of it... but we lunched at Arcanum... well, when we reached it, Quintus said most politely, 'Pomponia, you invite the ladies, I will ask the men.' Nothing as far

as I could see, could have been more gentle than his words or his in-
tention or his expression. But before us all she answered, 'I'm only
a guest here'; just because Statius had been sent on in front to get
dinner ready for us, I suppose. Says Quintus to me: 'There you are.
That's what I have to put up with every day.' You may say there surely
was not much in that. But there was a good deal: indeed she upset me
myself; she answered with such uncalled for acrimony in word and look.
I concealed my annoyance. We all took our places except her: but
Quintus sent her something from the table which she refused. In a
word, it seemed to me that my brother was as good-tempered and your
sister as cross as could be, and I have omitted a lot of things which
aroused my wrath more than Quintus'. Then I went on to Aquinum.
Quintus stayed at Arcanum and came to me the next morning, and he told
me she would not sleep with him, and when he was leaving, she was as
cross as when I saw her. In fact, I don't care if you tell her herself,
that to my mind she behaved with a lack of courtesy that day.

"I have said perhaps more than necessary about it to show you
that it is your turn to do a little instructing and advising too."

Some ideas are pretty much the same in all ages—private differences
are not to be discussed in public. This letter does give a very nat-
ural description of a henpecked husband. Here Pomponia is depicted
as a woman of a very uncertain temper. It is clear that Quintus and
Pomponia just did not belong together; they are divorced shortly after
this.
The story of the woman who holds the foremost place in Cicero's heart now will be told. Tullia, Cicero's daughter, is the light and center of his life. She is the one person in whom he finds solace during his troublous life. Cicero never tires of telling of her virtues. He brought her up in his own way, initiating her into his studies, and giving her the taste of those intellectual things that he loved so much himself, and which, it appears, his wife did not care for. 

Hence, this indicates that Cicero did not oppose education for women. Cicero's affection for his daughter is the deepest that he ever felt. "In his love for his daughter," remark Tyrrell and Purser, "the character of Cicero presents a trait familiar in modern French life."  

Affectionate references to his daughter often occur in his correspondence. One of the earliest mentions of Tullia is to Atticus. Atticus promises Tullia a present and then neglects to keep his pledge. Tullia, now approximately eight years old, torments her father for Atticus' gift. "... Tulliula, deliciolas nostras, tum munusculum flagitat et me ut sponsorem appellant;"  

"... My darling Tulliula is anxious for the promised present, and calls on me as though I were answerable for you." He also calls

---

46 Boissier, Cicero and His Friends, Ch. 3. p. 100.  
47 Tyrrell and Purser, op. cit., p. 40.  
48 AD. Att. 1. 8. 2, 67 B.C.
her, "My pet Tulliola" when telling Atticus that she sends her love to him. Later we learn that Cicero is going to be at one of his country places at the time of the games because Tullia wishes to go. He is very devoted to his child and at all times is the fond father. When Cicero returns from exile, it is ". . . Ibi mihi Tulliola mea fuit praesto, natali suo ipso die."

"It was my dear Tullia who met me on her own birthday." That is his greatest delight.

When he is separated from his daughter he longs for her companionship. In writing to Quintus he says: ". . . Quid, quod eodem tempore desidero filiam? qua pietate, qua modestia, quo ingenio? effigies oris, sermonis, animi mei?"

". . . What of the fact that at the same time I long for my daughter? How dutiful; how unassuming, how talented—the very image of my looks, of my speech, and of my disposition?" This plainly reveals that Tullia is his close companion, a partner in his studies and very much like her father. If Tullia resembled her father, no wonder Cicero loved her for he was very vain.

In another letter one learns that Cicero trusted his daughter with transacting business. It shows the use of women in business.

In writing M. Fadius Gallus, he informs him:

---

49 Ibid. l. 5. 5, 68 B.C.
50 Ibid. iv. l. 3, 57 B.C.
51 Ad. Fam. l. 3. 3, 58 B.C.
... Quod ad me de dome scribis iterum, iam id ego proficiens mandaram meae Tulliae. ... Ut redii autem, prius, quam tuas legi has proximas litteras, quaesivi de mea Tulliae, quid agisset. Per Liciniam se agisse dicebat;

... Eam perro negare se autem, cum vix abasset ... 
ille et absente et insciente migrare.52

"... As to what you again write about the house, already I had turned the matter over to my daughter, Tullia. ... On my return, however, before I read your last letter, I asked Tullia what she had done. She said that she had dealt with the matter through Licinia. Licinia said that in her husband's absence she did not dare to change her house, he not only being absent but knowing nothing of it."

Tullia's matrimonial adventures bring great anxieties to her father. When she is about nine years old, she is betrothed in 66 B.C. to Piso, a member of an important patrician family. Two years later she marries Piso; this union seems happy. But Piso died in 55 B.C., when Tullia was about twenty years old; later she married Grassipes, of whom little is known. They are apparently soon divorced. While her father is governor in Cilicia in 50 B.C., she becomes the wife of Publius Cornelius Dolabella.

She is passionately in love with Dolabella; her infatuation for him is inconsistent with her father's account of her. However, as Tyrrell and Purser say, it is not unusual to find women of exceptional intellect yielding to the fascinations of a handsome, shallow, somewhat

Cicero favors Tiberius Nero, the father of the Emperor, but Terentia and Tullia decide without Cicero’s consent.

How different it might have been for Cicero if Tullia had married Nero. By her marriage to Dolabella, Cicero was to become linked with a man who was a fellow of Caesar. In writing Atticus, he gives this account:

Ego, dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium eram, subito sum factus accusatoris eius socer. . . . Sed, crede mihi, nihil minus putaram ego, qui de Ti. Nerone, qui secum egerat, certos homines ad mulieres miseram; qui Roman venearit factis sponsalibus. Sed hoc spero melius; mulieres quidam valde intellego delestari obsequio et somitate adolescentia.

"While in the province I show Appius every honour, suddenly I find myself father-in-law of Dolabella, his accuser. . . . Believe me it was the last thing I ever expected. Indeed, I had even sent trusty agents to Terentia and Tullia about the suit of Ti. Nero, who had made proposals to me; but they arrived in town only when the betrothal was over. However, I hope the better course has been taken. I understand that my women folks are highly pleased with the young man’s obliging and courteous temper." Cicero shows in this letter that he prefers Nero, but he resigns himself to Tullia’s decision if only she is happy. Later Cicero himself fell under the spell of Dolabella’s personality.


54 Ad. Att. vi. 6, 1. 50 B.C. "The Loeb Classical Library," translated by E. O. Winstedt.
He found amusement in giving lessons in declamation to Dolabella, whom he called his pupil in the art of speaking but his teacher in the art of entertainment.  

Authorities state that Dolabella made himself notorious by the profligacy of his life and his intrigues with the famous Cecilia Metella. It is hardly conceivable, considering the common practices of Roman men, that Dolabella's affair with Metella would be regarded as anything unusual. However, not long after Tullia's third marriage, there is a hint in one of Cicero's letters to Atticus in 49 B.C. of his daughter's trouble with Dolabella. Cicero writes this letter when he is waiting at Cumae to set sail to join Pompey in Greece:

... Etsi nihil usquam tam fuit scribendum quam nihil nisi usquam ex pluribus tuis incunctatibus gratius accidisse, quæ quod max Tullian susvisisse diligentissimique coluisti. Valeo etsi ipsa delacetata est, ego autem non minus. Cuius quidem virtus mirifica. Quo modo illa fert publicas clades, quo modo domesticas tricias? quantus autem animus in discussu nostro! Est στομήγη, est summa, συνήψη 5. Tamen nos recte facere et bene audire vult.  

"Yet I never wanted so much to write anything, as I want to tell you that of your many kindnesses to me, none has given me greater pleasure than your very kind and most careful care you have given my dear Tullia. She herself has been delighted by it and I not less. Her goodness has indeed been wonderful. How she has borne the national

---


calamity! How her own private worries! What courage she shows at
my departure! She loves me and sympathises with me. Yet she wishes
me to do what is right and keep my good repute." This letter shows
his esteem for Tullia and his great concern for her welfare.

Even after the divorce proceedings are impending, Tullia clings
to Dolabella. If her husband possesses faults, they are overlooked
by Tullia because of her deep love or infatuation for him. Evidence
seems to indicate that she is not happy when she is living with him,
yet she is unhappy without him. Her father in 47 B.C. writes to
Atticus that a divorce is necessary. This letter also refers to
Dolabella's conduct.

Malum quidem in passim nihil fuit dissipatio.
Aliquid fessissimae ut viri vel tabularum novarum nomine
vel nocturnarum expugnationem vel metallae vel amantium
malerum; ... Hec minime nullis suas litteras, sed et
tempus illud; et al quidvis praestitit. Hanc quidem ipso
videtur demum dare; ... Generumque nostrum potissimum
vel hoc vel tabulas novas! Proept mihi igitur et item
filli mentium remitti. Petet fortasse tertiam pensionem.
Considera igitur, tumne, cum ab ipso nascetur, an prius.57

"In this very bad business there was nothing better than a
divorce. I should have done something like a man, either on the score
of his cancelling his debts or his night attacks on houses, or metallae
or all his sins together; ... I remember of course your letter, but
I remember the circumstances too; yet anything would have been better

57 Ibid. xi. 23. 2, 47 B.C.
than this. Now he seems to be giving notice of divorce himself.

... To think that a son-in-law of mine above all people should do such a thing as that, or abolish debts! So I agree with you we must serve a notice of divorce on him. Perhaps he will ask for the third installment of the dowry. So consider whether we should wait for a move of his or act first."58

Tyrrell and Purser state that Tullia and Dolabella appear to have lived together again in the following summer. On his return in July 46 B.C. from an African campaign with Caesar, Dolabella lived for some weeks at Tusculum on friendly terms with Cicero; he also renewed his connections with Tullia, as the divorce had never been formally executed.59 They were not divorced until 46 B.C.

The daughter's troubles draw the father and daughter closer together. In 45 B.C., Cicero takes Tullia to his favorite villa, Tusculanum. Here he cares for her until she dies. Her early death at about the age of thirty is a crushing blow to him.

Nothing on earth can lessen the desolation which Cicero felt after his daughter's death. Many of his friends wrote letters of

58 "If Dolabella started the divorce proceedings, he could not claim the rest of the dowry, and would have to refund what had already been paid. If Tullia began them, part at least of the dowry would remain with him, unless she could prove misconduct," cited by editor and translator of "The Loeb Classical Library," Att. 23, note 1, p. 421.

condolence to him; even Dolabella attempts to share his sorrow.

None of the letters touch him more deeply than that which he receives from one of his old friends, Sulpicius, the great lawyer, who is governor of Greece at this time. Cicero comments many times in letters to his friends about his grief but his reply to Sulpicius pictures most clearly his sadness. After discussing the ills of the Republic which bring him sorrow, he says:

\.\. 
. . . habebam, quo confugeram, ubi conquiescerem, cuius in sermone et susvitate semes curas doloresque deponere. Nunc autem, hoc tam gravi vulneri, etiam illa, quae consamuisse videbantur, reorudescunt. Non enim, ut tue me a republica maestum domus excipiesbat, quae levaret, sic nunc domo maersens ad respublicam confugere possum, ut in eis bonus aquissem. Itaque et domo abssum, et ferro, quod nec sum dolorem, quae e republica capio, domus iam consolari potest, nec domesticum respublicae.61

"\.\. I always had a sanctuary to flee to and a haven of rest; I had one whose sweet converse could help me to drop all burden of all my anxieties and sorrows. But as it is, so cruel is this new wound, that the old wounds, too, which I thought had entirely healed, are breaking out afresh. For whereas in those days when depressed by the ills of the state, I had a home to welcome me, where I could be comforted, now depressed as I may be, I cannot flee from my house and

60 Ad. Fam. iv. 5.

take refuge in the state, to find repose in her prosperity. And so I absented myself both from my home and from the courts, since neither can the sorrow the state causes me any longer be condoled by my home life, nor the sorrow of my home by the state." As one reads this letter one feels how completely alone Cicero is. He seems to be saying, "She is gone—the one joy of my life. How can I go on?"

For a time Cicero's thoughts are turned to erecting a shrine in Tullia's honor. His plans are not completed before his death in 43 B.C.

Cicero's daughter must have been a great comfort to her father. In his portrayal of Tullia he pictures a woman with strength, sympathetic understanding, charm and talent. He finds in her his ideal woman. This is his fullest presentation of a female character.

In conclusion there is one other letter, which Cicero writes concerning Tullia, that the writer wishes to add. On reading this comment, the reader perhaps will not change his opinion of Cicero's love for his daughter, but he will gain further light on Cicero's and Tarentia's disagreements. Late in 48 B.C., Cicero starts to join Pompey in Greece after his break with Caesar which has been formerly mentioned. In hesitation Cicero stops at Brundisium. Here he hears of Caesar's defeat of Pompey. He anxiously waits word from Caesar to learn his own fate. In 47 B.C., writing Atticus, Cicero makes this comment: "... Tulliana autem non videbam esse causam omnium diutius mecum tanto in communem maiorum retinere. Itaque matri eam, cum primum per
ipsam liceret, eam remissurus. 62

"... As for Tullia, I see no reason for keeping her with me any longer when both of us are in such sorrow. So I am going to send her back to her mother, as soon as she herself will allow me." The writer believes that this note shows that Cicero perhaps at times was a difficult and temperamental person with whom to live. There might have been many times in the midst of the disorders of the state in Cicero's lifetime, when his wife found him very irritable and sensitive.

This completes the picture, as recorded in his letters, of the woman in Cicero's private life—the greedy, domineering, pious mother, respected as the mother of his children; the young, passive, inef- fective new wife; the moody, jealous, hotsparking sister-in-law; and the comforting, intelligent, understanding daughter.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC LIFE OF CICERO

Cicero, although he was politically active and busy with the affairs of the Republic and with his writings, found enjoyment in conversation and association with women. He was stimulated by the society of women of his class and sought relaxation in their company. Cicero certainly was not a passionate lover like Catullus, who poured our his ardent love in his "Lesbia" poems. Nevertheless, he was not lacking in appreciation of feminine beauty, as was shown by his critical attitude toward the woman suggested by his friends for his second marriage.

Neither was he irresponsible to women of intellectual ability. Cicero's association with Laelius, the wife of Scaevola, the augur, showed that he desired association with women of correct speech. Cicero's opinion was that women spoke Latin more conservatively\(^1\) as their language was not affected by the careless speech of the forum. To Cicero Laelius's grace of conversation made her remarkable. In the

\(^1\) Pliny, The Younger, in his Letters also refers to the refined speech of women in the following passage: "He [Pompeius Saturninus] read to me, the other day, some letters which he assured me were by his wife; I fancied I was hearing Plautus or Terence in prose. If they are that lady's, as he positively affirms, or his own, which he absolutely denies, either way he deserves equal applause; whether for writing so politely himself, or for having so highly improved and refined the genius of his wife, who was but a girl when he married her."—I.16.6. "The Loeb Classical Library," translated by William Melmoth.
Orator, Cicero has Lucius Crassus describe Laelia's purity of language. "When I listen," says Crassus, "to my mother-in-law, Laelia—for women preserve the traditional purity of accent the best because, being limited in their intercourse with the multitude, they retain their early expressions—I could imagine that I hear Plautus or Naevius speaking; the pronunciation is so plain and simple, so perfectly free from all affectation and display; from which I infer that such was the accent of her father and her ancestors, not harsh like the pronunciation to which I have just referred, not broad nor rustic nor jerky, but terse, even, and smooth." 2

Forsyth states that Cicero also enjoyed his association with Laelia's daughters and her granddaughters, whose conversations contributed to refining and improving his taste. He further adds that Cicero read and appreciated the letters of Cornelia, the famous mother of the Cracchi, who was a woman of culture. 3

Another lady, who held an important place in Cicero's circle of friends, was Caerealia. She was a wealthy and intellectual lady who was an intimate friend of Cicero for several years. One bond of their friendship was their common liking for philosophy. One learns that she copied part of Cicero's philosophical work De Finibus, having obtained the manuscript against his wishes. Cicero expresses his


3 Forsyth, Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero, Vol. 1, p. 35.
willingness to forgive Caerellia because of her interest in philosophy.

... Mirifico Caerellia, studio vidualicet philosophiae flagrans, describit a tuis; istos ipsos "de finibus" habet. Ego autem tibi confirmo a meis eam non habere; numquam enim ab oculis meis aferunt.4

"I nearly forgot to say that Caerellia, inspired, of course, by her love of philosophy, is copying from your copies; she has gotten hold of those very books De Finibus. However, I assure you that she did not secure them from mine, for they were never out of my sight."

Besides being cultured, Caerellia was a lady of means. In writing to Servilus, Cicero asked him to look out for Caerellia's possessions in Asia. He revealed that a favor to her was also one to himself. Notice that he introduced Caerellia to Servilus as his "intimate friend."

Caerelliae, necessariae meae, rem, nomina, possitiones Asiaticas commendavi tibi praesens in hortis tuis, quam potui diligentissime; tuque mihi, pro tua consuetudine, preque tuis in me perpetuis maximisque officiis, omnia te facturum liberalissime recepisti. ... Equidem existimo, habere te magnum facultatem ex eo senatus consulto, quod in heredes C. Vennoni factum est, Caerelliae commendandi. ... Quod reliquam est, sic velia existimes, quibuscumque rebus Caerelliae benignae feceris, mihi te gratissimum esse facturus.5

---


5 Ad. Fam. xiii. 72. 1-2, 46 B.C. "The Loeb Classical Library," translated by W. Glynn Williams. "Tyrrell thinks the 'senatus consultum' was passed to meet a special case in violation of the laws," cited by editor and translator of "The Loeb Classical Library."
"As regards the estates, investments, and Asiatic possessions of my intimate friend Caerellia, I commended them to you as particularly as I could when I was with you in your pleasure gardens; and you, in accordance with your custom, and your unflinching and substantial services to me, most handsomely guaranteed that you would do everything you could. . . . Now I believe you have an excellent opportunity of obliging Caerellia, arising out of that decree of the senate which was passed in reference to the heirs of C. Vennonius. . . . As to what remains to be done, I would have you believe that in whatever respects you prove your kindness to Caerellia you will do me the greatest possible favour."

Later Cicero borrowed money from Caerellia. Evidently his friend Atticus, being a cautious banker, considered him indiscreet.

... De Caerellia quid tibi placet, Tiro mihi narravit; debere non esse dignitatis meae, perscriptionem tibi placere: ... Sustinenda tamen, si tibi videbitur, solutio est nominis Caerelliani, dum et de Metone et de Faberio sciamus. 6

"... Tiro told me what you think of Caerellia; that it does not suit my dignity to be in debt, and I should give a note. . . . However, if it is agreeable to you, payment of the debt to Caerellia must be held over until we know about Meton and Faberius." Atticus suggested that Cicero make over some notes to his benefactress. Cicero did not wish to do this until he learned the financial status of the

men whose notes were involved. Again Cicero revealed his deep concern for his personal friend.

Because Cicero admired Caerellia, Publilia's relatives thought she would have influence over him in other matters. They sent her to persuade Cicero to remarry his second wife, Publilia, but he would not listen to the suggestion.  

Thus ended the references to the friendship of Cicero and Caerellia as recorded in the correspondence of Cicero. Authorities differ in their interpretation of this friendship. Writers who are pro-Ciceronian state that Caerellia's and Cicero's acquaintance began with a common liking for philosophy; that Caerellia's age, education and pleasing conversation put Cicero at his ease; and that she was a great admirer of Cicero's work. Tyrrell and Purser call her the "Stella of Cicero." Like Swift and Goethe, Cicero felt the charms of a woman's sympathy; but Caerellia never had reason to regret that she had extended it to him. The pro-Ciceronians think it absurd to regard their intimacy as an intrigue because of the difference in their ages. Forsyth says that Cicero was sixty-two and Caerellia seventy at the time of Cicero's divorce from Publilia. Dio Cassius also states that Caerellia was much older than Cicero.

---


8 *Ad. Att. xiv. 19, 45 B.C.* This passage was quoted in Ch. II, p. 45.

9 Plutarch, Boissier, Petersson, Forsyth, and Tyrrell and Purser.

Writers who do not like Cicero try to find evidence of an "affair" between Cicero and Caecillia. The most ill-disposed was Dio Cassius, a Greek historian of the Empire (155-229 A.D.). He put into the mouth of Fufius Calenus a sharp attack upon the character of Cicero. Calenus was a tribune of the plebs in 61 B.C. In 59, he was praetor and from this time an active partisan with Caesar. This is his speech:

"Who does not know that you put away your first wife who had borne you two children, and in your extreme old age married another, a mere girl, in order that you might pay your debts out of your property? And yet you did not keep her either, since you wished to be free to have your Caecillia, whom you debauched though she was much older than yourself as the maiden you married was younger, and to whom old as she is you write such letters as a jester and babbler might write if he were trying to get up an amour with a woman of seventy." 11

These are the two lines of thought as presented by the various authorities. Perhaps Calenus in Dio Cassius was too severe in his malicious remarks. One must remember the unrestrained license of invective to which the ancients gave vent; it was common practice to attack a person's reputation. It seems that Dio let Calenus indulge in unbridled accusations.

However, the pro-Cicarionians mention that the best answer to the scandal of Cicero and Caesellia is their ages. If they mean that Caesellia was seventy years old at the time of Publilia's and Cicero's divorce, then Cicero was about sixty-two. That does not necessarily prove that there was not an intrigue between them just because Cicero was eight years younger than Caesellia. It is true that more often in those days and even now, a man marries a woman younger than himself. Nevertheless, the reverse did happen. For example, Dolabella married Cicero's daughter who was seven years his senior.\textsuperscript{12} Tullia was twenty six and Dolabella, nineteen, at the time of their marriage in 50 B.C., and Cicero in his letter on Dolabella showed no surprise at the difference in their ages. Dolabella's first wife was a Fabia. If Fabia was the Vestal Virgin, step-sister of Terentia, she was much older than Dolabella. In fact, she was old enough to be his mother. If proof was available to substantiate this, it would indicate that Dolabella had a tendency to marry women much older than himself. As has just been pointed out, the eight years difference in their ages is not sufficient proof that Cicero did not have an "affair" with Caesellia. But it does seem unusual that a man of sixty-two and a woman of seventy would have a romance. After studying Cicero's attitude toward Caesellia as reflected in his correspondence, one comes to the conclusion that their relation was probably based on intellectual friendship rather than on sex.

\textsuperscript{12} Tyrell and Purser, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. iv. p. Lxxxi.
Moreover, she also assumes the part played by certain women in a woman who is in her position. Nelson adds, support given her during difficult times by ladies, wife of G. Blaine to Barrington, when in distress and care, during Barrington, a context.

In addition, it is true, some of the greater associations, were than may be happening to any women, given to my patience and position by that most constant and excellent lady, your mother.

Besides the important part played by women in male choral by Nelson, the other station which they assume in the two centuries of the brotherhood, the association, after the G. Blaine and G. Barrington, held a conference which was of much to the church. These (permanent) which attended-Garrity, Blaine, and Barrington, the chief of many and composition of Blaine, Garrity was one of the most important partners toward of Pope and her influence was considerable. Her position at that conference is significant.

From that station women and families to accept the new purchasing, taking in data and learning, Garrity and she cut 15 [new supply job]
out of the senatorial decree."

"... emm Servilia sublaturam ex senatus consulto se esse
dicebat." Servilia did this to satisfy the wishes of Cassius who
declared he would not accept the corn supply job in Sicily.

Cicero wrote Atticus one month before: "... Ponti neapolitanum
a matre tyrannoctoni possideri!" Just think of the mother of the
tyannicide occupying Pontius' house at Naples! Servilia was living
in a villa formerly owned by Pontius, of the senatorial side. It was
not known whether she acquired it by purchase or as a gift from
Caesar. 17

Another woman who was instrumental in assisting Cicero at an
important time was Fulvia, who was briefly mentioned in Chapter I.
She played an important and daring part in the Catilinarian conspiracy.
Catiline thought he might best advance his plot to overthrow the
Republic by taking command of the forces of Etruria. First Cicero was
to be murdered. Sallust reported that Quintus Curius, a member of the
conspiracy, whom the Censors had expelled from the senate because of
immorality, revealed Catiline's plot to Fulvia with whom he had had an
intrigue of long standing. When Quintus Curius began to lose her
favour, he boasted about how wealthy he soon would be and thus told of
the plans of the conspirators. Fulvia, realising the peril to her

15 Ibid. 12. 1, June 44 B.C.
16 Ibid. xiv. 21. 1, May 44 B.C.
country and also being an adventureress, informed Cicero of Catiline's
designs. Hence, the would-be assassins of Cicero were refused admis-
sion to Cicero's home and proved to have undertaken their crime to
no purpose.

Two other women, whom Cicero watched with eagle eyes because
of their strong personalities and far-reaching influence, were
Cleopatra, the Queen, and Clodia, wife of Metellus Celer, the consul,
and sister of Publius Clodius.

The liaison between Julius Caesar and Cleopatra was of greatest
concern to Cicero for he feared lest this Eastern woman might attain
great influence in Rome. He writes:

"... Reginam odi. Id me iure facere scit sponsor
promissorum eius Ammonius, quae quidem erant \( \phi\lambda\delta\alpha\gamma\alpha \)
et dignitates meas, ut val in contione dicere auderem.
Saran autem, præsteraquam quod nefarium bonum, cognovi
praeterea in me cœtusamem. Semel cum cœnas domi meae
vidi. ... Superbiam autem ipsius reginae, cum esset
trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare sine magno dolore
non possum. Nihil igitur cum istis; nec tam animus me
quam vix stomachum habere arbitrantur."

"... I loathe the Queen; and the voucher for her promises,
Ammonius, knows I have good reason to do so. Her promises were all
things that had to do with learning and not derogatory to my dignity,
so I could have mentioned them in a public speech. Sara, besides being
a knave, I have noticed is also impertinent to me. Once, and only once,
have I seen him in my house. ... But the insolence of the Queen,
The first character (not a human) was neither a poet nor a writer. She was not a person and was perhaps an interpreter or observer, for she was associated with another human.

In contrast, her friend was a very strong person. She was no ordinary character referred to Cothern more often than the did to Cothern.

Cothern described her friend and that you accept the witness of.

I hope it is true about Cothern and about Cothern, too.

In saying: "... Be the reason walls speak other de Cothern..." so another time Cothern made a very vague reference to Cothern.

expressed the same desires for her.

was then living at home. Ammonia and water were attached to her.

credited me with any spirit of enmity and feelings of all. Cothern

without great interaction. So no deities with them. They don't

herself, when she was in her villa across the river, I cannot mention
care for public opinion and she did as she wished. She had a gay
passion for the rights of women, shocked the older generation by
going unchaperoned with male friends after her marriage, accosted
people whom she met and knew, and sometimes publicly kissed them
instead of lowering her eyes as proper women were supposed to do.

The description of Clodia is similar to that of the modern sophistica-
ted girl of our own country. Her influence was great, as she was rich,
attractive and a descendant of the Claudian and Metelline families.

The information about Clodia may be biased, as she is known
only from Cicero, Catullus and Caesius, masters of invective. How-
ever, the bitterness of their attacks showed the force of her
personality. Caesius, a gay young politician of Rome, was her lover.
Clodia's influence on Catullus was tremendous. He called her "Lesbia"
and immortalized her in his passionate verses of love and hate. 23
Plutarch tells of Cicero's frequent visits to Clodia's salon and her
attempts to persuade him to divorce Terentia and marry her. 24
"His refusal," so Plutarch says, "caused Clodia's enmity."

22 Will Durant, Caesar and Christ. New York: Simon and
Schuster, 1944, p. 136.

23 Elmer Truesdell Merrill, Catullus. New York: Ginn and Co.,
1893. "Italian scholars say that the general character and course
of life of Clodia coincide with those of 'Lesbia' in the poems of

24 Plutarch Cicero xxix. 2-3.
Whatever Cicero's attitude was previously toward Clodia, it is difficult to know, but in 60 B.C., he wrote: "... sed ego illam odi mali consulariam. Ea est enim seditionis, ea sum vire bellum gerit."²⁵ "... but I hate the woman, ill partner for a consul. 'She is a shrew, always fighting with her husband.'" He often called her "June," referring to her as "ox-eyed," a person with large burning eyes.²⁶

In 57 B.C., Cicero had an opportunity to attack Clodia in his speech delivered Pro Caelio. The son of Afratimus, urged by Clodia, brought suit against Caelius. He had broken with Clodia so she was anxious for revenge.²⁷ The charges brought against Caelius were two: one of money matters; the other, of poisoning.²⁸ Caelius defended himself and the defense was supported by Crassus and Cicero.

At the trial Cicero poured forth all the hate he possessed against the Clodian family.²⁹ Cicero pretended to accept as the truth all the reports about Clodia. He pictured her with the worst possible

²⁵ Ad. Att. ii. 1.2.
²⁶ Ibid. ii. 9. 1; ii. 12. 2; ii. 13. 1.
²⁷ Tyrrell and Purser, op. cit., vol. iii, p. xlv.
²⁸ Pro Caelio 30, 1. 16.
²⁹ Cicero remembered that his exile had been instigated by Clodius, Clodia's brother. He had persecuted his wife and children while Cicero was in exile, and had ordered his property in Rome to be burned.
reputation. He blamed her for all of Caelu's troubles; accused her of poisoning her husband, 30 said she was acting out of spite as Caelu's cast-off mistress, 31 and that she was carrying on an intrigue with her brother, Clodius. 32 He left nothing unsaid which would add to her reputation for profligacy.

"All the misfortunes of Caelu have been caused by this 'Medea of the Palatine,'" Cicero declared. "When Caelu left his father's home, he was full age and his father sanctioned it. But I wish he had never done so; for then he would have escaped this 'Medea of the Palatine,' 33

He excused his client's behavior by saying that he was sowing his "wild oats," which is a natural tendency of youths. 34

Cicero called her "the lady friend of all" saying:

... Nec enim muliebris usquam inimicitias mihi gerendas putavi, prassertim cum ea quam omnes semper amicam canius potius quam cuiusquam inimicam putaverunt. 35

"... I never thought it desirable to be on bad terms with ladies,

---

30 Pro. Caelu. 60
31 Ibid. 39.
32 Ibid. 36.
33 Ibid. 18.
34 Ibid. 43.
35 Ibid. 32.
especially with one who has the character of being a mistress to everybody."

If one believed Cicero's story, he would think Clodia a very licentious woman. He stated, "... non solum meretrix sed etiam proterva meretrix procaxque videatur."36 "... she appears to be not only a prostitute but also an alluring, licentious prostitute."

Cicero told the jurors that the question they had to decide was

... utrum temeraria, procax, irata mulier finxisse crimen, an gravis sapiens moderatusque vir religiosse testimonium dixisse videatur.37

"... Whether a lustful, furious woman seems to have invented an accusation or a dignified, wise and temperate man is believed to have given his evidence scrupulously."

Cicero's portrait of Clodia seems colored by his personal feelings. It is obvious that his remarks were exaggerated to intensify feeling and to arouse the jurors at turning points in the trial. Therefore, one must not take this information as real evidence of Cicero's honest opinion of Clodia.

The writer quite agrees with Plutarch that Terentia was jealous of Clodia. Perhaps this jealousy was fostered by admiration on the part of Cicero for this attractive and socially prominent "Medea of the

36 Ibid. 49.
37 Ibid. 55.
Palatine." It is possible that a man like Cicero was attracted by the charms of this intellectual woman. She was the center of a circle of intellectuals. Cicero also may have been jealous of Clodia. They were two strong personalities—Clodia, the 'new' type of woman, with beauty, health, wealth, high birth and intelligence.—Cicero, the conservative man, a follower of traditional beliefs, intelligent, a scholar and a great orator. Thornton Wilder, in his imaginary picture, describes Clodia as the gracious, competent hostess reigning over a dinner party at which Catullus, Caesar and Cicero were guests. 38

It seems very likely that Cicero may have been attracted to this woman who had such a striking personality.

Catullus, in his "Lesbia" poems pictures his mistress, Lesbia, at the beginning of his infatuation for her, as perfect in virtues. He is seized by a mad desire to win her love. Lesbia is a married woman and this necessitates secret meetings of the lovers at the home of a friend. 39 Catullus at first is so mastered by his own passion for Lesbia that he does not doubt her faithfulness. 40

However, Lesbia grows tired of him, so one learns from Catullus, and he attempts to assert his own independence. 41 Catullus' poems


39 Catullus 83. 68.

40 Merrill. op. cit., Intro. p. xix. 17.

41 Catullus 8.
portray his own torture as he slowly realizes that his mistrees' affections are not confined to him. At one time his old passion is strong and he believes that Lesbia's infidelity is only occasional; at another time he appeals to his friends who are now his rivals. Finally, his eyes are opened to the truth. He loses all faith in Lesbia; he knows now that she is an abandoned prostitute. "I hate and love," he calls out in anguish, "and if you ask me why, I have no answer, but I discern, can feel, my senses rooted in eternal torture."

Catullus' poems are filled with hate for his rivals. At first, he blames them, and not Lesbia, for her downfall. Finally, he is convinced that Lesbia was not led astray by his rivals, but was always deceitful. When she tried to win him back again, he scorns her. Catullus conveys his opinion of Lesbia's character in these final words:

Caelius, my Lesbia, that one, that only one, Lesbia, Lesbia whom Catullus loved more than himself and all things he ever owned or treasured. Now her body's given up in alley-ways, on highroads to these fine Roman gentlemen, fathered centuries ago by the noble Remus.

\[42\] Ibid. 68. 73.
\[43\] Merrill, op. cit., Intro. p. xxii. 23.
\[45\] Ibid. 58.
Catullus' portrayal of Lesbia as Clodia perhaps is as biased as Cicero's description of her. The poet, Catullus, seems to be swayed by his intense emotions of burning love and deep hatred. Unfortunately, Clodia's side of the story is not recorded. It is difficult to ascertain how justifiable Cicero's and Catullus' accusations of Clodia were.

It is of further interest to learn that Cicero thought women were sometimes fortune seekers. This attitude was revealed in a letter to Atticus about Cornificia. Although an old lady of many marriages, Cornificia rejected Talna's proposal of marriage because he was not worth more than 800,000 sesterces.

"... Cum quasi alias res quaserem de philologis e Niciis, incidimus in Talnam. Ille de ingeniio nihil nimis, modestum et frugi. Sed hoc mihi non placuit. Se scire aitbat ab eo nuper petitam Cornificiam, Q. filiam, vetulum sans et multarum uxoriarum; non esse probatum mulieribus, quod ita reperirent, rem non maiorem BOCC. Hoc putavi te scire oportere."

"... When I was discussing men of learning with Nicias, we chanced to speak of Talna. He had not much to say of his intelligence, though he gave him a good and steady character. But there was one thing that seemed to me unsatisfactory. He said he knew he had lately sought in marriage Cornificia, Quintus' daughter, though quite an old lady and married more than once before; but the ladies would not agree as they found out he was not worth more than 7,000 guineas. I thought you ought to know this."

---


47 800,000 sesterces.
is the immediate cause to study. They were interested in the
attitude was an "opposition." The opposite sense of the "opposition"

is receiving their attention that he was seriously not a good "opposition"
and many more that the and the social title is denied. The
deterrent. For without this there can be no deterrent the between
and that you have prepared to yourself that a desire for attention is

"... I am glad that you take pleasure in your little girl."

The attitude grows older. Choose mentioned here more often.

Yet I love her and I am sure she is lovely.

such delight in your little daughter. Though I have never seen her,

been at one of my little daughters this, but I know she is your
time that I can see those days again. I am grateful that,

she truly responded. When she was born we noticed:

from her earliest childhood he showed attention on her to which

that they held an important place in the life. He developed attention,

attentive: while, Pizzicato and the daughter, attention, there is evidence

Although there is little mention in Czerny's letters of
social duty. Therefore according to Cicero, Atticus was not practising his Epicurean beliefs by being a fond husband and father.

Cicero was very fond of children; this attitude was revealed by his keen interest in Attica.

. . . Atque utinam continuo ad complexum mae Tulliae, ad oculos Atticæ possim currere! Quod quidem ipsum scribe, quaeo, ad me, ut, dum consisto in Tusculano, sciam, quid garrist, sin rusticatur, quid scribat ad te; eique interea aut scribes salutem aut multisibus itemque Pilias.\[51\]

"... I only wish I could run immediately to the embraces of my Tullia and the lips of Attica. Please write all about her, so while I am at Tusculum, I may know what she prattles; or if she is in the country, what she is writing to you. In the meantime either send her or give her my love, and to Pilias too."

Again he remarks, "Atticæ, quoniam, quod optimum in puéris est, hilarula est, meis verbis suavium des volo."\[52\] "Give Attica a kiss for me; she has such a lively disposition, a charming quality in children."

In his recent book, Epicurus, My Master, Max Radin has Atticus tell of Cicero's deep affection for Attica and Pilias. He describes Pilias as a perfect mother and wife. Atticus showed great respect and love for Pilias and complete harmony existed between them.\[53\]

\[51\] Ibid. xii. 1, 46 B.C.

\[52\] Ibid. xvi. 11. 8, 44 B.C.

\[53\] Max Radin, op. cit., Ch. vii-ix.
There are references to P.I. and attention to the rise very fond of.

I sincerely hope she's well and that her and I have best regards.

disturbed about it, though I hope you still hope she is better.

He says you told him the P.I. had an attack of paralysis. I am very much

...but for mercy's sake I'll take that I hear from you.

Attending,

The prime reader et al. discuss plant/phenomenon of circumstance.

With this comment, perhaps the correspondence might not be stock enough:

"See," Osborne, you again get good and at that time.

He written attention.

often inquiries about her health. When the heard that she was sick,

Cleaver repeatedly sends his kindest regards to P.I. and

her husband as it is not becoming to the usual manners between you.

P.I. that such a perfect agreement must not be stock any longer than

"I have just heard that you have lost your father. Tell

And see vegetation considered. So

P.I. do not cause anything seen during Norfolk's to decide.

Cleaver also said that last statement.
The women of Cicero's public life as portrayed in his works possessed various characteristics: Laelia—charming conversationalist and woman of perfect speech; Casellia—cultured, intelligent and fond of philosophy; Junia—generous and willing to help; Servilia—very influential and a great leader in political affairs; Cornificia—a fortune seeker; Cleopatra—shrewd and influential; Clodia—intellectual, strong personality, unconventional—broke all rules; Attica—lovable child with cheerful disposition; and Pilia—the ideal wife and mother.\footnote{56}

\footnote{56 When I was gathering data for this chapter I had a very interesting experience. I thought that I had discovered an exciting scandal about Cicero. When reading Mary Beard's book, \textit{On Understanding Women}, I was greatly surprised to read Mrs. Beard's account of Cicero's being caught and flogged by a rival lover when he attempted to enter the home of Sulla for a rendezvous with Fausta Cornelia, Sulla's daughter. What an interesting light this account would throw on Cicero's attitude toward women! I wrote the author to check on the source of her remarks. Mrs. Beard spent some time attempting to locate the evidence. In her reply she frankly admitted her error and graciously thanked me "for catching this dreadful mistake." She stated that she would make the correction in the new edition \textit{On Understanding Women}. I admit that it was rather disappointing that no evidence could be found to substantiate the 'juicy' bit of scandal about Cicero. However, it was gratifying to receive Mrs. Beard's hearty cooperation and thanks.}

\footnote{57 New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1931, p. 232.}
CHAPTER IV

CICERO'S OPINION OF WOMAN AND HER RIGHTS AS OPPOSED TO MAN

The purpose of this chapter is to portray as far as possible Cicero's opinion of woman and her rights as opposed to man and to show whether or not Cicero at any time discussed woman's rights.

Woman had gained a recognized place in society in Cicero's time, and it seems quite natural that to Cicero, a great prose writer in the fields of rhetoric, politics and philosophy, women would have been considered a worthy subject.

Furthermore, it is known that biographers of Cicero report his keen interest in philosophy. He devoted much of his leisure time to the study of the views of philosophers and was greatly influenced by them. Cicero was also a great admirer of Plato who treats of the subject of women in the Republic and De Legibus.

Plato in the Republic divided his ideal State into three classes: the rulers [governors], the fighters [guardians] and the farmers. He called them the men of gold, the men of silver and the men of iron and brass. He was primarily concerned only with the governing and fighting classes. He advocated that these classes be trained for services to the State. He also deprived the administrators and the array of private property and attempted to free them of any temptation to engage in other pursuits except in public duties.

Plato's system involved the participation of women in education, in pursuits of men and the abolition of the family in favor of State—
regulated marriage. He maintained that there was no difference between the natural endowment of women and that of men.

Furthermore, Plato opposed the Greek custom of excluding women and he desired that they take part in the occupations of men and in the duties of the State. In his Republic he says: "Women must take their part with the men in war and the other duties of civic guardianship and have no other occupation. But in these duties lighter tasks must be assigned to the women than to the men because of their weakness as a class." Also in De Legibus Plato mentions women as officials of the state. Thus by Plato's system, if women were trained for the lighter labors of guardianship, more service would be rendered to the State.

By an analogy drawn from the animal world Plato came to the conclusion that men and women had the same capacity for learning and needed the same training. He observed that dogs of either sex can do the work of watching and the one difference is that the female is physically weaker than the male. Therefore, he concluded that women must receive the same education as men and be trained by specialisation for positions to which they are naturally suited.

---


2 Plato De Legibus 784 C.

3 Plato Republic 466 D; 451 D-E.
Plato also set up a system of communism under which the wives and children of the guardians were to be common. He states, "That these women shall all be in common to all these men, and none shall cohabit with any privately; and that the children shall be common, and that no parent shall know its own offspring nor any child its parent." Plato preferred this system in order to produce children from the fittest and best parents and to have State-controlled temporary marriages directed to eugenic ends.

Cicero also must have been familiar with Aristotle's idea of women. Aristotle took the opposite view from that of Plato. In Politics Aristotle discussed women and assumed that they were inferior to men. He states that "Freedom in regard to woman is detrimental both in regard to the purpose of the constitution and in regard to the happiness of the state."

These are the views concerning women as stated by Plato and Aristotle, from whom Cicero often quoted. Does Cicero agree with Plato that women are equal to men and that women should be free to follow the same pursuits as men? Or does he agree with Aristotle, who thinks that women are not equal to men and considers them as slaves?

Scanning the works of Cicero one does not find a discourse on the subject of women. Not even in De Officiis, his treatise on duty,...

4 Diod. 457 C-D.

does the reader find women discussed. This seems strange, as it would have been particularly fitting to include such a discussion in the treatise on duty. Neither in De Republica nor in De Legibus does Cicero treat of the subject of women. He was surely aware of the important place women held in society. He apparently just accepted women in their present status and avoided a frank discussion of his own ideas.

Thus, the study of Cicero's opinion of women is restricted to Cicero's casual references to women to reveal traits of character. The writer has taken most of the references from the Tusculan Disputations.

In the Tusculan Disputations, a discourse on the subject of happy living, Cicero repeatedly reflects the traditional view in his reference to the frailty of women. For example: "If some pain happens to give you a twitch will you cry out like a woman?" And again: "We, on the contrary, cannot bear pain in the foot, or a toothache; the reason is that it is a kind of womanish and frivolous way of thinking exhibited in pleasure as much as in pain which makes our self control melt and stream away through weakness, and so we cannot endure a beating without crying out."

Also the phrase "weeping woman" is used frequently in the

7 Ibid. 22. 52.
8 Ibid. 24. 58; v. 38. 112.
Tusculan Disputations when Cicero wishes to intensify the emotion and to emphasize the point.

Furthermore, Cicero states that the principal precaution to be observed in the matter of pain is to do nothing in a despondent, cowardly, slothful, servile, or womanish spirit and before all to resist and spurn those Philoctetean outcries. 9

Cicero again pictures the cries of grief and the wailing of women as they give way to their emotions when those things which they treasure are taken from them:

Hic quos putatis fletus mulierum, quas lamentationes fieri solitas esse in hisce rebus? Quae forsitan vobis parvae esse videantur, sed magnum et acerbum dolorem commoveant, mulierulis præsertim, cum eripiantur e manibus ea quibus ad res divinas uti consuerint, quae a suis acceperunt, quae in familia semper fuerunt.10

"What weeping of women, what lamentations do you suppose took place over these things? Things, which may perhaps seem insignificant to you, but which excite great and bitter distress; especially among women, who grieve when those things are torn from their hands which they have been accustomed to use in religious ceremonies, which they have received from their ancestors and which have always been in their family." In the above passage the sentimental woman who preserves

9 Ibid. 23. 55. "Philoctetes, son of Polas, was wounded in the foot by one of Hercules' poisoned arrows. His outcries forced the Greeks to leave him on the island of Lemnos," by the editor and translator of "The Loeb Classical Library."

10 In G. Verrem, 11. iv. 21. "The Loeb Classical Library," translated by L. H. Greenwood. [Subject of this speech is the manner in which Verres had plundered not only private individuals, but even some temples, of valuable statues and other works of art.]
things which have always been in her home or were used for religious purposes is portrayed. This is a common characteristic of women.

In direct contrast to the references to the frailty of women Cicero points out the bravery, faithfulness and the endurance of certain women.

In discussing the power of nature over custom, Cicero recognizes that custom is very powerful but he believes that it takes more than custom to make one behave as he does. According to Cicero, custom alone does not regulate behavior. Mentioning the courage of the women of India, he says, "The women in India, when the husband of any of them dies, compete with each other to decide whom the husband loved the best, for each man usually has more than one wife. She who is victorious, accompanied by her relatives, goes joyfully to join her husband on the funeral pyre."\(^\text{11}\)

In referring to the Spartan woman whose son had been killed in war, Cicero points out her courage and sturdiness. He says, "When she had sent her son to battle and heard the news of his death, 'To that end,' said she, 'had I borne him, to be a man who should not hesitate to meet death for his country,'"\(^\text{12}\)

It is also observed that Cicero, in speaking of the force of habit in enduring suffering, comments on women. "Old women often

\(^{11}\) \textit{Rusc. Disp. v. 27. 77-78. "The Loeb Classical Library," translated by J. K. King.}

\(^{12}\) \textit{Ibid. i. 40. 102.}
The, compares, commonness, set, on project. It's
resettlement, majority, pattern, can, as, to,
benefit, test, disfinance, common, want, causes of
that affects one in seventeen, interest, as, the, good

who he never reads

What woman even would not venture to stay a while and meditate
perception, causes, intensity, nor, extended, or, perception, non
because of fear of the result. He says, 54. manner, seduction, en
the Republic. Woman would dare to reject the state, but hesitates
popularity, death, or punishment, threat him, still ventures to defend
In my name, Cecero expresses the desire that men, thought

men

"In it is surprising that the multitude noted women with notice
situates, food for a single day, " he will cry out he cannot
endure going without food for two or three days. Take away an

16
dismissed, came home, changed his shoes and his garments, waited a little, as men do, while his wife was getting ready, and then set out. . ."

The quotes given in this chapter are typical examples of Cicero's casual, brief remarks about women. However, they do give some inkling about Cicero's opinion of women. It is obvious that he emphasizes the differences rather than the similarities of the sexes. He assumes, of course, the accepted belief that physically women are weaker than men and stresses the frailty of women; in this respect his belief is similar to Aristotle's. He also describes women as emotional, lacking self control, sentimental and loyal but precautious. After a thorough survey of Cicero's works the writer concludes that Cicero did not frankly discuss the topic of women in any of his works. Why he did not do so, it is difficult to say; no evidence was found to establish a definite conclusion. However, the fragmentary evidence does indicate that Cicero held traditional, conservative beliefs regarding women.
be and fulfill as all that she should be.

to someone else. Cheerfully devotion. One who, as all that a woman should not be revealed, to become their own decisions, and sometimes to break the dead.

and patience in clothes and in life. They employed them as cheerfully, combined with those characteristics, one kind determination.

ability, resourcefulness and political influence shown in General and educated or distinguished. Among the admirable qualities found are

It was found that courage set forth qualities in these characters.

Figure, who also was in many respects like the activities.

determine the traits, and the talented, dutiful, faithful woman—characteristics, traits like those, are common.

where, with qualities like heroes common, duty, with

Character, who demonstrated justice and respectability and submission—were striking to the character, common and interest, common, intellectual.—

The results revealed the following types: common, with culture, the traits revealed the same patterns as those mentioned in chapter I.

It was discovered that the woman in General, articulate and protective,

standing of the woman in General, life and work. In General, life, women found in the first chapter presented the way to a more intelligent world—

the woman in the life and works of General. The discussion of相同 was, the reader

I CONCLUSION

CHAPTER A
The details which Cicero gave concerning Publilia revealed little as to her character; she was a passive person, always being influenced by another person.

Cleopatra was depicted as a shrewd woman who usually attained what she had her heart set on.

Cicero’s correspondence did not give a complete picture of Tarentia. At first he set her before the reader as a devoted, brave woman. Later he expressed his doubts as to whether she was honest or sincere. She was also portrayed as determined, economical and greedy.

According to Cicero’s testimony, Tullia had a lovable disposition, possessed talent and was a devoted daughter. She was his ideal woman. If she had any faults, Cicero overlooked them. Tullia represented to him the results of his own training.

There is evidence given by Cicero that Pilia and Attica had virtues to be admired—charity, purity of mind and heart.

Cicero’s account of such other women as Pomponia, Lælia, Junia and Cornificia was brief. However, these descriptions added to the composite picture of the women in his life.

No evidence was found in Cicero’s works of a frank or full discussion of woman versus man. Cicero, though a sort of philosopher did not, so far as the record showed, consider woman as a subject which statesmen, educators, political scientists, psychologists and physiologists should examine. Therefore the conclusions were drawn from the scattered remarks on women in his works.
One concludes from facts stated in this study that Cicero had no prejudice against women of learning; not even in his bitter attack upon Clodia did he criticize her intellectual achievements. His education of his daughter indicates that he was not opposed to education of women. There was also evidence that he had respect for women of virtue and had no patience for money-chasing women. He also felt the charms of female company. He realized the important influence women had as exercised, and he sometimes sought their assistance.

From the analysis given one comes to the conclusion that women in Cicero's life were at the center of every sort of activity. They were active in political affairs, in business affairs, in caring for the home, and in religious ceremonies. They were also students of philosophy and took part in intellectual exercises.

The words of Mary Beard seem very applicable to the women in Cicero's life: "Women have been alive to everything that was going on in the world. They always will be."¹

¹ Mary Beard, On Understanding Women, p. 522.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. ANCIENT SOURCES


B. MODERN SOURCES


C. PERIODICALS


D. PAMPHLET
